To

MY FATHER
FOREWORD

The collection of Coptic texts from Deir el-Bala'izah which Dr. Kahle here edits for the Griffith Institute was discovered by Sir Flinders Petrie as long ago as 1907, and soon afterwards became the property of the Bodleian Library. That it has had to wait so long for an editor is due, not to any failure of scholars to realize the inherent value of the collection, but rather to the magnitude of the task.

That task Dr. Kahle has now brought to a successful conclusion after six years of unremitting labour, and it is a particular pleasure to the Griffith Institute to be able, with the aid of substantial grants from the General Board of the Faculties, the Denyer and Johnson Theological Scholarship Fund, and the Revision Surplus Fund, to accept this work as one of its occasional publications.

The Committee of Management desires to acknowledge its indebtedness to the General Board of the Faculties, the Board of the Faculty of Theology, and the Trustees of the Revision Surplus Fund respectively, for this most generous financial aid, without which this book would have had to be delayed and might not have been published at all.

D. B. HARDEN
Secretary to the Committee
of Management

January 1954
The present edition of the important collection of Coptic texts from Bala'izah that is now the property of the Bodleian Library has been my main object of study for most of the past six years. For a number of reasons a photographic reproduction has been necessary, a long and tedious process, since all the typing and copying have had to be done by myself. There are some obvious disadvantages; for one thing the typing has taken well over two years and it has not been possible to exclude some inconsistencies. Furthermore, during this time a number of books have appeared of which I could only take note in the introduction, after the texts had been completed. On the other hand, it has not been entirely a disadvantage, as will be obvious from the edition of the texts, in which I have been able to indicate the length and position of superlinear strokes, punctuation and much else which could not have been noted in a printed edition. It has been possible to insert most of the corrections in the pages themselves, but a few addenda have been inevitable; these will be found on pp. 888 ff. below.

I am deeply indebted to a number of scholars whose advice has been invaluable to me. First I would mention the late Professor Battiscombe G. Gunn, who not only introduced me to the study of the Coptic language, but was always ready to help with his advice and criticism. Dr. J. W. B. Barns has taken great pains in working through the original D.Phil. thesis which formed the basis of the present work; he has made innumerable suggestions and corrections, many of which will be found acknowledged below. A like debt of gratitude I owe to Mr. James Drescher, sometime professor at Cairo, who read through most of the work in its earlier stages. For the past year I have had the advantage of the help of Professor J. Černý, whose criticisms have been particularly valuable on the text of chapters VIII and IX. To Mr. C. H. Roberts I am much indebted for constant advice on palaeography and Greek papyrology, and on questions of superlineation and grammar I have had the valuable advice of Professor H. J. Polotsky. I must thank also Sir Alan Gardiner, Professor G. R. Driver, and the Rev. Professor G. D. Kilpatrick for suggestions and help from time to time.

My thanks are due to the authorities of the Bodleian Library, especially to Dr. A. F. L. Beeston, for permission to edit the texts and for special facilities when copying and collating the manuscripts. Leave to publish certain texts from the British Museum was obtained from the Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts.

I am extremely grateful to the Committee of Management of the Griffith Institute, particularly to its secretary Mr. D. B. Harden, both for accepting the present work for publication in their series, and for generous financial assistance. My special thanks are due to the same committee for freely putting at my disposal the complete manuscript material of W. E. Crum, which I have rearranged and catalogued. In the present book, my indebtedness to the Crum material has been far greater than could be indicated, although direct use of it has always been noted. In addition, many important unpublished
manuscripts have been available to me from his own copies and photographs. Nor
must I fail to mention the help received from Mr. O. H. Lehmann of the Bodleian
Library, Mrs. J. V. H. Eames (formerly Miss Penelope Fox) and Miss Barbara Sewell of
the Griffith Institute.

In dedicating this work to my father I should like to acknowledge in particular the
benefit which I have derived from his experience in the field of biblical and oriental
studies.

P. E. KAHLÉ

WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD

Michaelmas 1953
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Abbreviations and Bibliography

The abbreviations used throughout the present edition are the same as those used in W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* and for the Greek papyri those used in F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*. There are, however, a few inconsistencies which have accidentally been overlooked, as J. Krall, *Koptische Texte* which is sometimes cited as Kr. (as in Crum's Dictionary) and sometimes as Krall. In addition the following abbreviations have been used:

Bal. for Bala'izah; this refers to the texts in the present edition.


BSAC for *Bulletin de la Societe d'Archeologie Copte*.

JHS for *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

MH for Stephanski-Lichtheim, *Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*. This book appeared when the present volume was almost complete and it is rarely cited. On reflection it would have been better to cite these texts as OMH (suggested by Till) since MH in Crum, Dictionary refers to the inventory numbers of these ostraca.

V.C. or VC for W.E. Crum, *Varia Coptica*.

The correct description of the Coptic texts in the present edition is e.g. (Oxford, Bodleian) Ms. Copt. d 10(p), but I have consistently omitted Ms. Copt. and (p) when referring to the manuscripts; thus, e.g. d 55 represents Ms. Copt. d 55(p). The Greek and Arabic papyri from this collection have always been cited in full, e.g. Ms. Greek Class. d 87(p).

For a bibliography of the subjects covered in this book I would refer to W. Kammerer, *A Coptic Bibliography*, supplemented by the admirable *Bibliographie Copte* by Father J. Simon in *Orientalia* 1950-1953. To both these works I am very heavily indebted for numerous references which otherwise I should certainly have overlooked. Having had the advantage of the use of Mrs. Kammerer's bibliography for the past few years, I feel
that my review of this work in JEA XXXVII,120f. hardly does justice to its importance for Coptic scholars.
Chapter I: The Bala'izah Collection

The material which forms the subject of this book was excavated early in 1907 at Deir el-Bala'izah. Deir el-Bala'izah is situated some 12 miles south of Assyut on the west bank of the Nile on the edge of the desert. The most important neighbouring sites at which Coptic material has been found are Wadi Sarga near Deir el-Ganadlah, some 5 miles to the south, and Aphrodito, some 20 miles to the south. Deir el-Bala'izah was excavated by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt under Sir W.M.Flinders Petrie; the following is the account in Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, p.1:

"Mr.Rhoades left Gizeh, and began work at Deir Balyzeh January 18, and was joined there at the end of the month by Mr.Mackay, who had finished packing at Gizeh. At the end of February Messrs. Mackay and Gregg went to Deir el-Ganadlah and Mr.Rhoades joined us at Rifeh."

A short account of the finds made at Bala'izah was given in Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Report 1906 - 1907 on p.29 and especially on p.75 which may be quoted in full:

"In the past season Petrie explored the ruins of two Coptic monasteries at Balaizah and Ganadlah S.W. of Abutig. There are, he says, many such ruined sites in that district, each consisting of an ancient cave (the chapel) with partition walls while additional buildings protrude outside. At the former site, a find of Coptic MSS was made whereof a description by Crum may have appeared (in Petrie's 2nd volume) before this report is published. From these and from incidental coins it seems that the monastery, which was that of Apa Apollo flourished till the 8th century; but many of the MSS are far older. From them it has further been possible to identify the town Sbeht (now Kom Esfat) with one of the ancient lower (or Lesser) Apollinopolis. The plates of Petrie's first
volume produce some interesting fragments of sculpture, a remarka-
ble engraved (liturgical ?) knife, a bronze hanging lamp identical
with those in enamelled glass of the 14th century and 7 Coptic ste-
lae, some showing some rare place-names."

The stelae and graffiti were published in Petrie's Gizeh and Rifeh
and Memphis I.1) I have seen a photograph of one of these stelae, and
the corrections to be made are so numerous that I do not consider myself
justified in reprinting these texts in the present volume. The Archaeo-
logical report cited above is the only reference to the presence of coins
at Bala'izah; nothing appears to have been published indicating where
these coins are kept at present.

Unfortunately no account has been published of the general outlay
of the buildings of the monastery, nor any description of them; all we
have are the three photographs published in Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, pl.
XXXVIIIA. In the papyri several places are mentioned which might have
been identified.

The collection eventually presented to the Bodleian Library consis-
ted of the whole manuscript find made at Bala'izah, but included also a
few pieces found at Deir el-Ganadlah. Unfortunately no attempt was made
to keep the two finds separate; from Crum's notebook 822) it appears
that number 11 here definitely came from Ganadlah. The excavation of a
site at Wadi Sarga near Ganadlah was undertaken by the Byzantine Research
Account, and the manuscripts found there were eventually published by
Crum and Bell3). It is not clear, however, whether the site at Ganadlah
which Petrie excavated was actually at Wadi Sarga; at any rate, none of

1) Gizeh and Rifeh, pl.XXXIX, Memphis I, pl.LIII, LIV. For the museums to
which these stelae were assigned see Memphis I p.15(par.45) and the
relevant paragraphs describing the plates in Memphis I.
2) Now in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
3) W.E. Crum and H.I. Bell, Wadi Sarga (Hauniae 1922).
the numerous fragments of literary manuscripts found at Wadi Sarga\textsuperscript{1}) are part of any of the manuscripts now kept in the Bodleian Library as part of the Bala'izah find. Furthermore, no records appear to have been kept indicating whether the manuscripts were all found in one place only, or whether they were scattered about or found on rubbish-heaps\textsuperscript{2}).

The whole manuscript material was brought to this country in 1907 and was handed to Dr. W. E. Crum for investigation. Crum copied some 200 fragments and published a short account of them in Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh (the double volume)\textsuperscript{3}). The whole material was then assigned to the Bodleian Library, Oxford where it arrived in 1908\textsuperscript{4}). Of all the texts copied by Crum I have failed to find only Crum's 63,1; I am certain that it is not in the Bala'izah Collection and it must have been lost somewhere on the way. I have included it in Number 38 here from Crum's copy. The whole collection was put under glass by Mr. E. O. Winstedt\textsuperscript{5}).

1) These MSS are now in the British Museum (Or. 9035; Pap. 2240, 2241).
2) Crum, indeed, in Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, par. 97 notes: "The manuscripts are clearly the debris of the monastic library and charters-room: there are but few private documents which might not have been preserved in the latter."
3) Crum's two notebooks dealing with this collection (82 and 99) are now kept in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford with the rest of his material as part of the Crum Bequest.
4) It may be noted that Ms. Copt. g93(p) was sent by Crum to the Bodleian Library in 1915 with a letter stating that this was part of the Bala'izah find.
5) The texts were classified according to language and size and were eventually numbered: Ms. Copt. b 2 - 10; d 11 - 202; e 12 - 76, 83 - 86; f 4 - 102, 106 - 108; g 4 - 86, 91 - 93; Ms. Greek Bibl. g 2; Ms. Greek Theol. f 12; Ms. Greek Liturg. d 2 - 4; e 3; f 1,3; g 1,2; Ms. Greek Class d 77, 87 - 89; e 91,92; f 77,82 - 87; g 52,53,56,57; Ms. Greek
When the collection was handed to Dr. Crum, it was "in more than the usually dilapidated condition". Crum was able to piece together a number of fragments, but even so there was hardly a single complete document. Mr. Winstedt, whom I consulted, informed me that he "had to piece many fragments together before putting them under glass". Moreover, hardly any scraps were thrown away, but these were put mainly in the plates Ms. Copt. d 59 - 202. This was done so conscientiously that even a great number of fragments without writing were kept in plates Ms. Copt. d 194 - 202. Crum numbered some of the fragments and stuck a small white label on them with his number; these are still to be seen. When I began working on this collection with the help of Crum's notebooks, I was surprised to find that in quite a few cases fragments had been added to those copied by Crum, making many documents more complete. When, however, I had seen a few of the plates Ms. Copt. d 59ff., it was obvious that many fragments were yet to be joined. I approached Dr. A. F. L. Beeston, keeper of the Oriental MSS in the Bodleian Library, and the Bodleian authorities very kindly granted me facilities in 1947 and 1949 to see together the whole material, consisting of more than 450 separate plates of glass between which the fragments were mounted. In all I have been able to make over 375 'joins'. In some cases I was able to complete documents (e.g. 102, 103), in others I could add very substantially to the sense (e.g. 100, 188, 287). I was particularly fortunate in piecing together the papyrus manuscript of I Kings (Samuel) (number 4). I feel that no useful purpose could be served by indicating in the present edition the extent of the newly joined fragments, but I am presenting to the Bodleian Library a copy of this book in which I shall show in each case how the various

Arab. c 58; d 90, 92 – 94, 96, 99, 100 – 102; e 70 – 72, 74, 75, 78; f 29; g 15 – 17.

1) Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh p. 39.
2) Presumably these are the fragments added by Mr. Winstedt.
fragments are to be joined. There may be more fragments to be joined, but I have attempted to find all fragments belonging to texts which I have included in the present edition.

The fragments in plates d 59 - 194, numbering between 10 - 50 or more fragments per plate, were not numbered separately, but to make it easier when referring to these I have assigned to those included in this edition the letters 'a,b,c,' etc.; the same letters are mentioned in the copy which I am presenting to the Bodleian Library.

I may add a note of appreciation of the work of Dr. Crum on this collection. His two notebooks, 82 and 99, were of considerable value to me as they contained his reading of many difficult passages; he had already identified many of the literary fragments and had collected some valuable notes on certain texts. Moreover, in his Dictionary he had cited many passages from these texts, often with full explanation and references. I have indicated in each case if I have incorporated Crum’s suggestions or emendations. On the whole, however, Crum had only copied the more important part of the collection, and in the case of the literary manuscripts only the more legible part. Crum’s copies were not always accurate, especially as he recollated only a few of the texts, but in the present edition I have only indicated disagreements from Crum where the manuscript was doubtful or if the text had been cited incorrectly in the Dictionary.

The whole material is very extensive and there are fragments of some 3000 texts. Out of these I have selected about 370 which seemed worth publishing. I have included all complete pieces, all biblical fragments and any other texts which had a few lines of continuous text. In addition I have also included a large number of smaller fragments which seemed interesting for grammatical, dialectical or other reasons.

1) Numbers 358 - 394 have been included mainly because they contain interesting names which are rarely found in Coptic texts.
I have given the size of all complete texts and of most of the fragmentary ones which seemed of special importance. In mentioning the size I have always given the height first. In the case of the legal documents I have made use of Roman numerals (e.g. I, II, III etc.) to indicate the first, second, etc., hands. I have numbered the literary fragments 1-64 and commenced the non-literary texts with the number 100, to distinguish the two types of text in this collection which have little in common. I felt that this course was more advisable than to use, for instance, Roman numerals for the literary texts and ordinary numerals for the others. All superlineations have been reproduced whenever they occur in the texts, and I have attempted in most of the manuscripts to indicate the exact length and position of the strokes. I have generally supplied lacunae if the text was otherwise known or if the restoration seemed obvious. In difficult cases, especially in the non-literary texts, I have usually stated reasons why a particular lacuna had been supplied thus.

I am publishing a full index for the non-literary texts and only common particles like Ανα, Εκ, Προ, Περί have been omitted. I have found it very tiresome when using other published editions not to have a reasonable index, and often the most common words like εξ αι., etc., not included in the indices of those works, are precisely those which are most interesting for the study of dialects.
Chapter II: The Manuscripts.

Of all the manuscripts found at Deir el-Bala'izah only four have so far been published. One is the famous liturgical text which has recently been re-edited by C.H. Roberts and Dom B. Capelle. Number 188 was published by Tipl, *Koptische Schutzbriefe* number 84; I have been able to add another five lines to that document by piecing 13 fragments together. The very interesting early Gnostic fragment was published by Crum in *JTS* XLIV, 176ff., but I have been able to add a few lines to Crum's text. A fourth manuscript was published by myself in *Le Muséon* LXIII, 147ff. I have reprinted the text with a number of corrections and a full discussion of its dialect and importance will be found in chapter IX below.

All the other manuscripts are published here for the first time, though some of the New Testament fragments were used by Horner for his edition of the Sahidic New Testament.

The literary manuscripts are mostly of great interest and several of them must rank among the earliest manuscripts known in Coptic. Among the ten Old Testament manuscripts is one of the fourth century being written in a hand very like the second hand of the *Pistis Sophia*. For part of the text, especially in III(I) and IV(II) Kings, these manuscripts are the only evidence we have for the Sahidic Version. Some of the New Testament manuscripts are also unusually early and we have several manuscripts from the fourth and fifth centuries. For an estimate of the importance of these manuscripts for the Sahidic Version of the Bible see the Appendix to the present chapter.

1) *An Early Euchologion, The Der-Balizeh Papyrus enlarged and re-edited,* (Bibliothèque du Muséon XXIII) Louvain 1949. See also the introduction to numbers 28 and 180 below.

2) For the dialect see pages 231ff.

3) Cf. Chapter IX, Appendix I.
Among the non-biblical literary manuscripts are also a number of great interest. Here again it is often the early date of the fragments which gives them special importance. A small fragment from the Liturgy of St. Basil in Coptic (28) is written in a hand extraordinarily like that of the famous Greek liturgical text also found at Bala'izah. There are three pages from a papyrus manuscript of the Canons of St. Basil (31), often illuminating obscure passages in the Arabic Version published by Riedel. The Apophthegmata are represented by a few pages and a number of unidentified fragments, probably of the seventh century, and presumably this is the earliest manuscript of these stories (32). Among the other literary fragments I may mention an apocryphal gospel (27), an unidentified sermon of St. Athanasius (44), and various sermons, homilies and a martyrdom, mostly not otherwise known.

The main part of the present book is the edition of over 300 non-literary documents. The great importance of these texts is the fact that, unlike the majority of Coptic texts found in Egypt, these manuscripts have been found by a scientific excavation and their provenance is absolutely assured. All of them seem to fall within the fairly narrow limits of about 100 years from A.D. 675 - 775 and they provide us with considerable material for the conditions of the time and the difficulties with which the monastery was faced.

The language of the texts is of some interest. Most of the manuscripts are, of course, written in Coptic, but there are a few Greek and Arabic fragments. The relative proportion is about 85% Coptic, 9% Greek and 6% Arabic. There are four Greek literary texts: A fragment of Exodus (2), the liturgical text (1), a fragment of prayers (29) and a literary work containing some curious aphorisms (2). Among the non-literary

1) See p.7 note 1.
2) See Crum's note in Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh (double volume), p.41. On the advice of Mr. C.H. Roberts I have not attempted to publish the text
Greek texts there is a very interesting notification of a tax assessment (130), also a tax-receipt(148), two letters by the Arab governor Kurrah b. Sharik (181-2), a receipt (123) and a number of accounts relating to taxation (esp. 286, 287, 297-300); apart from the receipt (123) only one other Greek legal document has come to light in the present collection. There is also a fragmentary private letter addressed to the monastery (204). A comparison with the texts from the neighbouring Wadi Sarga which was probably earlier, reveals a yet further decline in the use of the Greek language 1).

There are some Arabic documents, mainly dealing with matters of taxation and administration; they are of great interest for the date of the settlement at Bala'izah 3).

The presence of one Fayyumic literary text (38) and one Fayyumic letter (258) is not unduly surprising; similar finds were made at Wadi Sarga 4) and elsewhere in the Thebaid 5). Very remarkable, however, is the presence of some Bohairic texts. Of unusual interest is a fragment here; it is now numbered Ms. Greek Class. d. 77(p).

1) Ms. Greek Class. d. 89(p), a small fragment. It was too fragmentary to be included in the present edition.


3) See pp. 16ff. below. It is a pity that these texts could not be included in the present edition.

4) W. S. 15; see also chapter IX pp. 220ff. on Middle Egyptian texts found at Wadi Sarga.

5) An ostracon with marked Fayyumic forms was found at Deir el-Matmar on the east bank of the Nile opposite Bala'izah, cf. below p. 224 and note 2 there. Fayyumic manuscripts formed part of the library of the White Monastery (Muséon XXXV, 3ff.). Fayyumic Ostraca were found at Thebes (CO 500-510, cf. p. 39 and ST 135, 440), and many Fayyumic inscriptions are known from Baouit (MIF LIX, 142, 196, 228, 261, 262, 263, 319, al.).
of Philippians in Semi-Bohairic(19); there is also a fragment which may be from a horoscope, probably of the sixth or seventh centuries(60) and a fragmentary Bohairic legal document from Busiris in the Delta(151)\(^1\).

The dialect of the non-literary texts on the whole bears out the estimate of Crum\(^2\);...at Deir Ganadlah and Deir Balaizah, the finding-places of much material, the idiom common to all is the purest Sa'edic, less tainted there, it seems, than at any other point in the upper valley.' A full discussion will be found in chapters VIII and IX below.


I had hoped to include in the present book a detailed study of the Sahidic Versions of the Old and New Testaments with special reference to the texts found at Bala'izah, but for a number of reasons this has not been possible. A few remarks may however be useful.

Some important discoveries during the past 40 years, in particular the find of the Pierpont Morgan manuscripts at Hamouli in the Fayyum\(^3\), have made it possible to revise our estimate of the Sahidic Versions. In the Old Testament it is interesting to note that the Bala'izah fragments like many other early manuscripts\(^4\) agree on the whole closely with the Pierpont Morgan manuscripts against those of the White Monastery\(^5\) where both are extant for comparison. The estimate of the Sahidic Version which we find, for instance in A.E.Brooke and N.McLean, *The Old Testament in Greek*\(^6\) is only true of the manuscripts of the White Monastery:' It

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1) For the significance of these texts see below chapter IX pp.231ff.,250.
3) I have made use of the photographic edition by Hyvernat.
4) In particular the British Museum manuscript of Deuteronomy and Jonah ed.Budge,*Biblical Texts*; cf. the texts from Saqqara, see W.H.Worrell, *Coptic Texts* pp.25ff., which present a similar picture.
5) Principally edited by Ciasca and Maspero.
6) Volume II,part II,*I and II Kings*(1930), prefatory note.
may however be worth while to emphasize again the need of caution in the use of Egyptian versions as evidence for the Greek text, especially in the case of the Sahidic. It is often loose and paraphrastic, and cannot be safely used except ...¹. On the other hand, the Pierpont Morgan manuscripts like many earlier manuscripts have preserved a much better and earlier form of the Sahidic Version which on manuscript evidence must be dated not later than the late third century. Indeed, the earliest witness of the standard version of any part of the Bible is the Achmimic Psalm-fragment edited by Crum¹) which can be dated in the second half of the third century. Sahidic manuscripts of the Old Testament which show a version different from the normal 'textus receptus' are extremely rare and only two manuscripts, both of the fourth century, are known to me²). The Achmimic manuscripts of the Old Testament (Genesis, Exodus, Proverbs and Minor Prophets)³) invariably have the Sahidic 'textus receptus', though often with considerable variants; on the other hand, the two fragments in Middle Egyptian (Genesis and Job) like the glossary to Amos and Hosea in the same dialect⁴) show a version independant of both the Sahidic and Bohairic Versions.

In the New Testament the position is somewhat different. There ¹) See below p.237 and n.3. For the earliest Sahidic texts see Chapter IX Appendix I. Till in Aegyptus VIII,254ff. attempted to show that the manuscript of the Achmimic Minor Prophets was based on a previous Achmimic text which in turn had been translated from a Sahidic original. See also J.Ziegler in Biblica XXV(1944) pp.105ff..
²) BM 932(Genesis) and Lefort,Les Manuscrits Coptes ... Louvain, number 9(Ecclesiastes) and note. Cf. also the Pistis Sophia where some of the Psalms quoted show the standard Sahidic Version, others an independent Version, see Schmidt in ZNTW XXIV(1925) pp.233f. and refs..
³) For a bibliography see Simon in Mémorial Lagrange,pp.197ff.
⁴) For these manuscripts see chapter IX, pp.220ff. below.
can be no question that a standard version was fixed at an unusually early period. On the other hand, the translations of the Sahidic Version which we find in Achmimic (Matthew, Luke, John, James, Jude), Subachmimic (John) and Middle Egyptian (Romans) manuscripts show considerable variants from the standard Sahidic text which we find in manuscripts of the sixth century and later. In this connection it is of some interest:

1) See chapter IX pp. 260ff. and elsewhere.

2) The Sahidic Version was clearly earlier, against Thompson, The Gospel of St. John p. XXIII and others; see chapter IX pp. 260ff.


4) Sir Herbert Thompson, The Gospel of St. John. It is interesting to note that for several of the readings where this manuscript differs from the Sahidic Version (listed on pp. XXIIff.) support can now be cited from the two Chester Beatty manuscripts of which a collation was published by Thompson, The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles, pp. 251ff.; e.g. IX, 28 'my hands' is also found in Ch. Beatty AB; XII, 9 κατανοώ with Ch. Beatty AB and D, OLa, b, c, e, ff, against εγνώ read by the other Sahidic manuscripts, the Achmimic manuscript and the rest of the Greek manuscripts and versions.


6) We now have an almost complete text of the Gospels in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript IV, and a complete text of the Acts and the Pauline Epistles in the Chester Beatty manuscripts, the latter also in the Morgan Collection, see Thompson, The Coptic Version of the Acts etc. These manuscripts represent more or less the final form of the Sahidic "textus receptus" and provide us with a definite text with which we can compare other Sahidic manuscripts.
It is clear from all the evidence that at an early period not only two or more Sahidic versions, but even several types of the standard version which later became the official 'textus receptus' were current. Whether these early variants are due to the influence of Greek manuscripts which were collated with the existing version, or due to the independent versions, it is difficult to state at present. I hope to return to this subject elsewhere.

1) See Chapter IX p.241.

2) It is not easy to understand why this was listed with the Middle Egyptian texts in Crum's Catalogue. It is clearly Sahidic with some dialectical forms. In James II,3 read ωοοοο for ωοοοοο (collated).

3) Berlin Ms.Or.408 and BM Or.3518. The text of the Apocalypse was edited by Goussens, Studia Theologica I, and Delaporte, Fragments Sahidiques du N.T. (1906); Delaporte also published the text of I John and Philemon from this manuscript in Rev.Biblique,1905,pp.377ff.

4) The manuscript is Horner's number 7.
A note may be added on Horner's edition of the Sahidic Version of the New Testament\(^1\). His work was a great achievement in its time, but during the course of my work on manuscripts from Bala'izah and elsewhere a number of defects in his edition have become apparent. Nearly all of the New Testament manuscripts in the present collection were used by Horner, but his citations of not only the variant readings\(^2\) but also the manuscripts themselves\(^3\) are so inaccurate and incomplete, that it has been necessary to publish all the manuscripts in full. Also in the case of fragmentary manuscripts Horner only attempted to read the more legible parts, and often very much more is extant than is indicated by him\(^4\).

I have found the same deficiencies in Horner's edition when collating manuscripts in the British Museum. In publishing the New Testament manuscripts I have not attempted to correct Horner's citations for obvious reasons. A new edition of the Sahidic New Testament on the basis of the Pierpont Morgan and the Chester Beatty manuscripts is evidently desirable.


2) A collation of a few lines of any of the manuscripts with the citations in Horner's 'apparatus criticus' will suffice to show the defects of his work. For example, Bala'izah 15 (Horner's 26) in John III,5 reads 'δειν τὴν Ὑσταυάτα τοῦ Θεοῦ with \(\text{P} 1093, 1241, z\) against 10 other Sahidic manuscripts and the majority of the Greek manuscripts and Versions, not noted by Horner.

3) Thus, part of Horner's number 11 of the Pauline Epistles (Bal.20) is actually part of Horner's number 10 (Bal.21), a manuscript at least two centuries earlier than Horner's number 11.

4) Compare, for instance, the extent of Horner's number 4 of the Pauline Epistles with the text actually published here from that manuscript (Bal.17).
Chapter III: The Monastery of Apa Apollo

No less than 26 documents in the present collection mention the monastery of Apa Apollo and Crum, no doubt rightly, concluded that the monastery at Deir el-Bala'izah was called by this name\(^1\). The presence, however, of five documents relating to a monastery of Apa(or Abba) Pouli makes it probable that the monastery was known by more than one name\(^2\).

In a number of legal documents\(^3\) the monastery is officially described as Μοναστηριον (ετούβας) Ἴμα τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀπολλωνικοῦ και τῆς κωμῆς Σβεήττου τοῦ Πόλεως 'The (holy) monastery of Apa Apollo in the nome of the town Sbeht'. Sbeht has been identified with Apollonopolis Parva, the modern Kom Esfaht, about six miles south of Bala'izah\(^4\). The name of the present monastery occurs in only two documents outside the Bala'izah Collection, both in a group of papyri recently acquired by Mr. E. von Scherling of Leiden\(^5\).

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1) See Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, the double volume, p. 41.
2) For a full discussion see p. 25 below.
3) E.g. 100, 102, 103, etc.
4) First by Amelineau, Géographie (1883) p. 463; see also C. Schmidt, X. Z. LXVIII (1932), pp. 66f. On the history of the nome Sbeht–Apollonopolis Parva see the survey by Bell in Sir Alan Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica vol. II, pp. 56ff.
5) E. von Scherling of Oegstgeest, Leiden informed me by letter that he bought these papyri in the Fayyum in 1935/6. Crum copied a number of these documents when they were submitted to him for examination and his copies are in Notebook 109 of the Crum Collection, Griffith Institute, Oxford; in the Dictionary Crum cited them a few times as papyri penes Maggs Bros. Crum pointed out on the basis of place-names that these papyri must have come from the immediate neighbourhood of Bala'izah. Unfortunately, Mr. von Scherling was unable to sell the collection as a whole and most of it has been sold separately. Some of the papyri are still in his possession, others are in
Crum already mentioned most of the historical names occurring in the present collection which help us to date the settlement at Bala'izah. There is a protocol(400) by Abd'el-Aziz b. Marwan, governor A.D. 685 - 705, another(401) can be dated A.D. 705 - 714, a third is by Ubaid Allah b. el- Habhab, treasurer A.D. 724 - 7302. There are three letters by (?) Kurrah b. Sharīk(180-182), governor A.D. 709 - 714, and two letters by El-ʿĀsim b. Ubaid Allah, treasurer ca. A.D. 739 - 7403. In addition there is one document(287) which is dated exactly A.H. 106 = A.D. 725. This evidence would indicate a period from the late seventh century until the middle of the eighth century as the time of the settlement at Bala'izah. The non-literary texts would seem to confirm that dating and there are no documents which could confidently be put outside that period, though a few might be earlier. The use of Arabic words in Coptic documents, in particular the remarkable اَنْتَخُبُ لِدین in 10214, would also indicate a rather late date. Two Arabic fragments on paper were found at the site and if the monastery still existed at the time when these fragments were written we would have to put the date of the settlement much later than A.D. 7504. It seems, however, probable that these fragments were deposited on the site of the monastery long after this had been deserted5. As regards the literary fragments found at Bala'izah, the majority are certainly

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1) In Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, the double volume, p. 41.
2) This is Ms. Arab.d 92(p), not published here.
3) Both in Arabic, Ms. Copt.b 7(p) and d 29(p), not published here.
5) At Wadi Sarga, too, an Arabic fragment on paper was found, though not mentioned in the publication; it is now numbered BMOr. 9035145.
earlier than A.D.685. Some of them can be dated as early as the fourth or fifth centuries, others are from the sixth and seventh centuries and comparatively few from the eighth century. But here too there is no manuscript which could confidently be dated later than the middle of the eighth century. Manuscripts written in the late Coptic rounded uncials, so common in the ninth century and later, are rare and the script is still in the earlier stages in the few cases where it occurs. On the other hand, it is not surprising to find early manuscripts in a collection like this and other instances can be cited.

At the neighbouring Wadi Sarga a considerable number of ostraca was found, but most, if not all, of them seem to have been written about A.D. 600; yet the settlement there was still inhabited in the early eighth century as is evident from the presence of a letter by the Arab governor Kurrah b.Sharīk. Crum already pointed out that it was remarkable that at neither of the neighbouring sites, Bala'izah and Aphrodito, any ostraca were found; and this might be cited as some evidence that the settlement at Bala'izah was later than the middle of the seventh century. On the other hand Aphrodito is known to have been an important centre and even a nome-capital centuries before the Arab conquest; in any case ostraca found outside the Theban region are extremely rare, though a few

1) All the Pierpont Morgan manuscripts from Hamouli of the ninth century are in this script.
2) Numbers 28,35,39,41,49, also in the Greek liturgical papyrus from Bala'izah, probably of the seventh century, see above p.7 note 1.
3) Early manuscripts were also found at Wadi Sarga where there was probably a settlement from the sixth to eighth centuries and Crum notes (p.9): 'But the books brought together in a library may well have been written long before that library was formed'.
4) See Bell's note, W.S.p.16.
5) W.S.p.12.
particularly from the neighbourhood of Bala‘izah, are known\(^1\). Even at
Thebes ostraca from the eighth century are comparatively rare, a notable
exception being the tax-receipts and the documents giving a 'promise by
God' (\(\lambda\omicron\sigma\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\nu\nu\omicron\omega\eta\nu\tau\varepsilon\))\(^2\), and only very few Arabic ostraca have been found\(^3\).
Papyrus evidently became much more easily accessible after the Arab con­
quest in A.D.641, presumably due to the fact that with the fall of Alex­
andria the export of papyrus from Egypt must have dropped sharply.

Of the Apa Apollo from whom the monastery took its name nothing is
known; whether there is any connection between him and the founder of
the famous monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit\(^4\) seems very doubtful. We
hear of another Apa Apollo who was expelled from the Pachomian monastery

\(^1\) From the neighbourhood of Bala‘izah: an ostracon from Deir el-Matmar,
see p.224 and note 2; an ostracon from the monastery of Apa Kena, see
p.25 below; G.Brunton, \textit{Qau and Badari III} p.38 mentions three ostraca;
P.Lond.IV 1573\(^5,6\) mentions tax-receipts on ostraca at Aphrodito; E.A.
Murray, \textit{The Osireion} pl.XXXVII published an ostracon from Abydos; one
from Assiut was edited in BIFAO III,pp.119ff.. One might also men­
tion the \(\epsilon\tau\chi\omega\gamma\nu\omicron\nu\omicron\\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\) ostraca which are reputed to have come from the
Fayyum or Assiut, see Worrell, \textit{Coptic Texts} pp.255ff. and references
there; Assiut seems more probable, since an ostracon from Manqabad
near Assiut is certainly of this type, found and edited by Kamal in
\textit{Ann.Serv.XV},p.179. A few sherds were also found at Bawit.

\(^2\) Cf.Till, \textit{Koptische Schutzbriefe} and references there, \textit{AZ} LXXVI,74ff..

\(^3\) A.Grohmann, \textit{From the World of Arabic Papyri},p.61.

\(^4\) This monastery, some 50 miles north of Bala‘izah and about 15 miles
south of Hermopolis, was excavated by Clédat early this century on
behalf of the Service des Antiquités; cf. also Crum, \textit{AZ} XI(1902),pp.
60ff., and P.van Cauwenbergh, \textit{Étude sur les Moines d’Égypte}, pp.17,57,
130,133. I am hoping to publish a considerable number of documents
in the British Museum from that monastery in the near future.
of Phoou\(^1\) in the time of Justinian\(^2\); it is reported that he founded
two monasteries\(^3\), one of these being on the mount of Titkooh(\(\tau\kappa\omega\kappa\))
where Apa Phib became a monk under his direction\(^4\). That monastery is
mentioned in a recently published Greek papyrus of the sixth century
which notes that Titkooh, there spelt \(\tau\kappa\kappa\omega\kappa\) was situated in the nome of
Hermopolis\(^5\). We do not hear where the other monastery was which Apa
Apollo founded, but if this was the monastery at Bala'izah, we would have
a definite date in the sixth century when the monastery was founded.
Number 36 in the present collection might be cited in evidence that the
monastery at Bala'izah was based on a Pachomian system, but in that case
we should have expected Pachomius to have been invoked on the stelae
found at Bala'izah\(^6\).

Summing up the evidence for the date of the settlement at Bala'izah
there seems little doubt that the monastery was either deserted or de­
stroyed shortly after A.D.750, a time when most of the lesser Coptic

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1) For Phoou see Lefort in Le Muséon LII(1939) pp.387ff.
2) His life is found in Morgan XXXVII, cf. Cauwenbergh, *Étude* pp.158ff.
3) Morgan XXXVII p.297: \(\pi\nu\epsilon\chi\nu\alpha\nu\ \lambda\mu\mu\alpha\nu\nu\tau \rho\alpha\nu\mu\nu\tau\iota\omega\iota\)\(\nu\)ion.
4) Morgan LVI p.52.
number XI. The editors also compare P.Lond.1899. Both papyri are
apparently from the sixth century and were presumably written either
in the life-time or shortly after the death of Apa Apollo. Two per­s
sons from \(\tau\kappa\kappa\omega\kappa\) are mentioned in two unpublished graffiti in the
Theban hills, kindly communicated to me by Professor J.Černý.
6) See above p.2 note 1. The names invoked are: (1) Apa Apollo\(\alpha\), Apa
Anoup, Apa Pţoš(Gizeh and Rifeh pl.XXXIX); (2) Apa Apollo, Apa
Petre, Apa Jōhannēs, Apa P轿 (Memphis I pl.LIII); (3) Apa Apollo,
[Apa Petre](sic !), Apa Jōhannēs, Apa P轿 (Memphis I pl.LIV); (4) Apa
Apollo, Apa Petre, Apa Jōhannēs (Memphis I pl.LIV).
monasteries disappeared\(^1\). It is difficult to ascertain whether the mon­nastery was founded as late as the end of the seventh century, as seems indicated by the non-literary documents. Most finds of papyrus from Egypt relate only to certain specific periods, localities and sometimes even persons, and the absence of documents from any site during any par­ticular period is not sufficient reason to assume that the locality did not exist then\(^2\). The rather considerable number of early literary texts found at Bala'izah makes it probable that the settlement existed long before the eighth century, but there is no evidence for the actual time when it was founded.

In P.Cairo Masp.67096 we hear of a monastery of Apa Apollo, being described as situated(line 10): ἐν τῷ ἔρημῳ Ἀθ'σοῦ τοῦ Ἀγνέωυ, which must have been within a few miles of Bala'izah\(^3\). It was

1) This was the beginning of the 'Abbasid Caliphate; it seems inevitable to conclude that the change of government was in some way responsible for the disappearance of these monasteries, though the early Arab historians do not indicate any change of policy under the 'Abbasids, cf.G.Wiet in Encyclopedia of Islam s.v.Kibt.

2) Cf.H.I.Bell, Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest.

3) At first sight it might seem probable that this referred to the settle­ment at Bala'izah, but this would hardly be described as being 'on the mount of Aphrodito', Aphrodito being some twenty miles to the south; also it is certain that during the sixth century Apollonopolis Parva(Sbeht-Kom Isfaht) existed as a nome separate from that of Antaiopolis which included Aphrodito then, see Sir Alan Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica vol.II,pp.55ff.. Bala'izah is only a few miles from Kom Isfaht, and as in the eighth century would have been in that nome; cf. PSI 933, dated A.D.538, also from Aphrodito, where a monastery of Apa Agenios is actually described as being in the nome of Apollonopolis. Cf.also BSAC IX p.235 note 1.
founded by Apa Apollo, who later became Flavius Apollo, the son of Psimano- 
1) bet and the father of the poet Dioskouros who figures largely in the 
find of sixth century papyri from Aphrodito. In the Crum Material 2) 
there is a photo of a Coptic papyrus from that monastery; the first two 
lines read: "Νανα φοιβαμμον πνουτ Μπαλλαον [..]απα αλλαολο [..]απα πλασι πλακ 
μενουτε μενες ημοιον Νανα χαλαρον Απα Φοιβαμμον the father of the mount [of] 
Apa Apollo [.....]and the whole people of God and the poor brethren [.....]. 
We hear no more of that monastery; it is not mentioned in the papyri of 
the eighth century from Aphrodito.

1) In this connection it seems remarkable that in the monastery of Apa 
Apollo at Bawit we find an inscription (EIF LIX,128): Ψίμανοβετ προ- 
χαρογ γ'Psimanobet from Jkoou(Aphrodito)', Psimanobet was certainly 
not a common name.

2) Griffith Institute, Oxford, C/Group V.4. This photo was taken by E. 
Brugsch for Maspero who sent it on to Crum. Presumably it is now 
in the Cairo Museum with other Coptic papyri from that find.
Chapter IV: Other monasteries mentioned in the Bala'izah Collection.

A number of monasteries are mentioned in the present collection, and some of these are known from other collections; a summary of the evidence may be useful here:

The Monastery of Apa Jeremias

This monastery is mentioned in three documents: 137, 214, and 312. Number 214 is of special interest as it appears to be a letter written jointly by the monks of the two monasteries of Apa Apollo and Apa Jeremias, and presumably the monastery of Apa Jeremias must have been in the immediate vicinity of Bala'izah. Probably the same monastery is mentioned in W.S.193 and perhaps in P.Mich.1524 if this can be established to have come from Wadi Sarga.

Near Antaiopolis on the east bank of the Nile was also a monastery of Apa Jeremias. This must have existed already in early times and was famous through a saint Apa Pshoi who had lived in this monastery. In the life of Paul of Tammah we hear of this person as a teacher of the monks.


2) This with two other, obviously related, documents from Michigan was recently published by E.M. Husselman in Aegyptus XXXI, 1951, pp.332f. One of them had previously been published by Crum as W.S.174 as he assumed on internal grounds that it had come from Wadi Sarga. It is difficult, however, to understand what internal grounds would justify such an assumption. The opening phrase "καὶ γένοις περιτελείας (et sim.) indeed occurs several times at Wadi Sarga, but it is also found quite commonly on unpublished financial documents in the British Museum of undoubted Ashmunein provenance. For the curious use of Ν in these three texts see chapter VIII par.27b below.
Another monastery of Apa Jeremias was south of Antinooupolis, also on the east bank of the Nile. This is mentioned in Kr.86 which is a deed issued by the monastery παϊκαιων ημοναστηρίων [Στούδαλ Ναπ Ιερμιας κατηκ Ντικ Αντικολ Αγιος Τάγας Αντινοοπολισ]. The δέκατον of the holy monastery of Apa Jeremias in the south of the town Antinoou'. This monastery is mentioned in the life of Apa Daniel of Sketis5) and on three inscriptions from Bawit6).

Another monastery of Apa Jeremias was the great monastery at Saqqara which was excavated early this century by Quibell7). This monastery was well known in ancient times and was probably founded by Apa Jeremias

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1) Zoega p.370 = Miss.IV p.768.
2) N.de G.Davies, Deir el-Gebrawi vol.II pl.XXIX,3.
3) MIF LIX,452ff.; these two inscriptions have many names in common.
4) There is, however, no certainty whether these refer to this particular monastery or any of the other monasteries of Apa Jeremias in the neighbourhood. There might well have been further monasteries named after this saint of which nothing is known.
5) See ROC V,1900,p.67 and P.van Cauwenbergh,Étude sur les moines d'Égypte p.17.
6) BIFAO V,1907,p.13 Δασιτις πσυγαφος ημα ναπ Ιερμιας, and on two stelae, said to be from Bawit, in Berlin, published by O.Wulff,Altchristliche Bildwerke, part.I of vol.III of Koenigliche Museen zu Berlin(1909) number 253(pp.83ff.) and Ιακωβ πειστ Μπόπο Ναπ Ιερμιας, 258(pp.85ff.) and Ζαχαριας πειστ Μπόπο Ναπ Ιερμιας.
7) Excavations at Saqqara, volumes III - V.
sometime in the fifth century\(^1\).

Near Wanquabad, a few miles north of Assiout on the west bank of the Nile, a number of stelae, graffiti and ostraca were found and published by A. Kamal\(^2\). Apa Jeremias is mentioned prominently on nearly all the invocations and presumably this was a monastery known by his name. Whether it is identical with any of the monasteries mentioned above would be difficult to establish. Perhaps yet another monastery of Apa Jeremias in the Thinite pagarchy is mentioned in P. Lond. IV 1640\(^3\).

The Monastery of Apa Johannes

This monastery was situated in the desert above Assiout and was known as either the monastery of Apa Johannes or the rock(or mount) of Assiout; an inscription from Bawit (Baouit p. 43) describes it as "MONA\(\text{\textit{ST}}\)\(\text{\textit{E}}\)\(\text{\textit{I}}\)\(\text{\textit{ON}}\) NAMA \(\text{\textit{JOHANNE}}\) \(\text{\textit{NEPT\|A NIDRO}}\) 'The monastery of Apa Johannes of the rock of Assiout'. In the present collection it occurs once as the rock of Apa Johannes (312\(^2\)) and once as the mount of Assiout (155\(^1\)). It must have existed already in early times and is mentioned in the life of Paul of Tammah as the rock (2.370) or mount (2.366) of Assiout. For the life of this Apa Johannes and his identity see Crum, Der Papyruscodex p. XVII number 8 and note\(^3\). Another monastery of Apa Johannes was found at Antinoe\(^4\) and another is known to have existed in Scetis\(^5\).

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1) See P. van Cauwenbergh, Étude sur les moines d'Égypte pp. 130f. and references there.
2) \textit{Ann. Serv.} XV, 1915, pp. 179ff.
3) Cf. also De Vis, \textit{Homélies Coptes} vol. II p. 124 and note, and Butler, \textit{The Lausiac History of Palladius} vol. I p. 186. A monastery of St. John the Dwarf, also called the monastery of the Seven Mountains, near Assiut is mentioned in Abû Şalih (ed. Evetts) p. 251 (fol. 90a) and Makrizi reports that it was destroyed by a mob in A.H. 821 (ib. p. 315).
The monastery of Apa Mena

This monastery is mentioned twice in the present collection: 119^1

^\text{Mοναστηριον έτουαλας (Απα Μηνα) 'The holy monastery of Apa Mena' and 140^2}

πτορευμάτω} κάππα Μηνα. 'The mount of Apa Mena'.^1) Two documents from this

monastery were published by C. Schmidt in ÅZ LXVII,102ff. \text{Μοναστηριον έτουαλας}

πτορευμάτω} κάππα Μηνα. 'The holy monastery of the rock of Apa Mena', and ÅZ

LXVIII,60ff. τπετρα έτουαλας κάππα Μηνα. 'The holy rock of Apa Mena'; this

last document was signed by the notary (γεωργιος) of Sbeht^2) and the monas­
tery was presumably in the hills above the town. It is also mentioned

in the K. von Scherling papyri^3). It may be noted that there was a

church of \text{κυριακη μετυχως} at Aphrodit^4)?

The monastery of Abba Poulos

This monastery occurs as 'the rock of Abba Pouli' in five financial
documents of the present collection: 113^3 and note, 130^2, 288^12, 298^1.

Nothing else appears to be known about this monastery, but the presence
of documents like 130 and 298 at Bala'izah is not easy to explain; these
two documents would be of no interest to any other monastery. It may
be noted, however, that this monastery occurs only on Greek documents or
Greek docketts and perhaps in the government treasury \text{Απα Μηνα} was confu­
sed with \text{Απα Μηνα}, or the monastery was also known as the monastery of
Apa Pouli (=Paulos)^5) Alternatively, perhaps these documents were found

1) Perhaps a further reference to this monastery is 132^8 ζατάμινα 'for
her of Mena', but the exact interpretation of this is doubtful. If
a monastery is meant, it would indicate the presence of nuns there.
2) See above p.15 and note 4 there.
3) See above p.15 note 5.
5) P.van Cauwenbergh, \text{Étude sur les moines d'Égypte} p.169 cites an in­
stance where a monastery of Apa Apollo (presumably the one at Titkooch,
see above p.19) was also known as the monastery of Apa Isaac.
The monastery of Apa Thomas

This is the monastery which was excavated for the Byzantine Research Fund at Wadi Sarga about five miles to the south of Bala'izah. It seems remarkable that this monastery is only mentioned once in the present collection in a doubtful reference, but, similarly, the monastery of Apa Apollo is never mentioned at Wadi Sarga. Two documents from the E. von Scherling papyri mentioning this monastery were published by H. de Nie. The monastery of Apa Thomas is called \( \text{ναὸς Τομάς} \) (WS 164, 344, Ryl. 124, E. von Scherling papyri), \( \text{πιστευτικὴ Μονὴ Τομᾶ} \) (WS 375), \( \text{σημεῖο} \) (Ryl. 289, 294) and \( \text{πτωκεῖο} \) (WS 96).

The convent of Ama Sophia

In 286, we hear of a nun from this convent which is also mentioned once at Wadi Sarga (Ryl. 124). The Coptic Synaxary, Paoni 4, commemorates the martyrdom under Diocletian of a certain Ama Sophia with Ammon; Ama Sophia is also included in a list of martyrs from Teshta.

Other monasteries

A number of other monasteries are mentioned in the present collection, but little appears to be known of them; for a list of these see below index B.

1) See above p. 2.
2) See Crum and Bell, Wadi Sarga, especially pp. 6ff.
3) See above p. 15 note 5.
5) For the lacuna cf. AZ LXVIII (1932) pp. 60ff., line 24.
7) See Ep. I p. 7 and note 3 there; Apa Ammone also occurs in this list and perhaps these are the same as those in the Coptic Synaxary.
Appendix: A note on τοού and πετρα.

The description of monasteries in the neighbourhood of Bala'izah varied between μοναστηριον, πετρα, τοού, and (rarely) τοοοσ. The monastery of Apa Apollo itself is usually called μοναστηριον, but occurs twice as πετρα (2057, 2115) and twice as τοοοσ1). The two words τοού and πετρα are of some interest in their specific monastic sense and a brief discussion may be useful here:

τοού

This word, corresponding to the Greek ὁ στίγμα, refers to the mountains or hills above the Nile valley and thus indicates also the desert generally. In its specific monastic sense it had four principal meanings:2)

1) It could be used of a hill or mount near some locality on which there were several monastic establishments. Perhaps the best known of these hills was the 'Hill of Jeme' πτοοού Νολμεε (ο στίγμα μετανοι αγον P.Lond. I, 7776) on which there was among others the famous monastery of Apa Phoibammon3). This meaning of τοού seems to have been common throughout Egypt and we find it at Edfu4) and as far north as Saqqara5), Shiet and Nitria6).

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1) In the E. von Scherling papyri, cf. above p.15 note 5.
4) Lant.LIX11 ποιαστηριον τοοού μετανοι μεσσυριος μπατοοού Ντεμ.
5) τοοοε Νολυσε 'The mount of Memphis', see Revillout,Actes etc.,papyrus du Louvre 5 and 6; in both cases the facsimiles should be consulted; cf. also Krall,Rec.Tr. VI, pp.63ff.,no.3.
6) See Crum,Dict.p.441b; cf. also B.Mar.210 ευκοονεε μονασκος ηπατοοού Νομμουν; two monasteries ἐν τῷ ῥέει κώμης Αφροδίτης are known from the sixth-century Aphroditos find: P.Masp.6709610 and P.Flor.2854.
2) It could also be used in the same way as referring to one monastery only. This is certainly the meaning of τοῦ ους ἁρωμένος 'the mount of Assiout'. An early example of this is Ryl.268 where we have 'Apa Pshoi, the priest of the mount(τοῦ ους) of Pnomt. The White Monastery is frequently called 'the mount(τοῦ ους) of Atripe'.

3) It was used in the particular sense of 'monastery' and was combined with the personal name by which this was known. Thus we have 'the mount(τοῦ ους) of Apa Mena'; cf. Baouit I 78 'Papa Timotheos the father of the mount(τοῦ ους) of Apa Bane', CO 371 'The mount(τοῦ ους) of Apa Pesynthius' and Z.314 'The mount of Apa Antonius' (= P.G.65,397 οἰκός, Crum). The Greek οἰκός was also used like this, e.g. P.Masp.67096 τοῦ οἰκού τοῦ Απα Μηνα καὶ P.Masp.67141 τοῦ οἰκού τοῦ Απα Μηνα.

4) It was simply used in the phrase τοῦ ους ἁγιασμένος 'Holy mount' or just τοῦ ους 'mount' referring to a monastery, e.g. WS 96 τοῦ ους οὐσίως and CO 407 'We the whole community of the mount(τοῦ ους)'; cf. VC 47 ὁ ἅπαν τοῦ ους ἁγιασμένος 'By the power of the mount'.

Closely allied to τοῦ ους and often replacing it is οὔτετα. Not content with having withdrawn from the world and living in the desert, the ideal of many of the early Egyptian monks was to withdraw even further to isolated caves in rocks(οὔτετα) which could be reached only with the greatest difficulty. In time communities were grouped round these caves.

1) See above p.24.
3) See above p.25.
4) For further references see Crum, Dictionary p.441a.
and we find ρηρα, indicating a monastery and used like τοου, except that obviously it could only refer to one monastery:

1) I have been able to find only one example of ρηρα combined with a place-name referring to a monastery: The rock(ρηρα) of Assiout\(^1\).

2) Like τοου it is frequently found combined with the personal name by which a monastery was known. This appears to have been particularly common in the neighbourhood of Bala'izah. In the present collection three monasteries are called ρηρα: Those of Apa Apollo, Apa Johannes and Apa Pouli\(^2\). The monastery of Apa Thomas at Wadi Sarga is also called 'the rock(ρηρα) of Apa Thomas',\(^3\) and 'the rock of Apa Mena'\(^4\) is yet another example from this region. In Ryl.139 we hear of 'the rock of Apa Victor', cf. Mus. Guimet XXV p.186 'the rock of Saint Makarius'.

3) It also, like τοου, occurs frequently as τηρετrho ετορος 'holy rock' or ρηρα 'rock'\(^5\). At Bala'izah we have two examples of this (212, 213), presumably referring to the monastery of Apa Apollo there\(^6\). Cf. also the frequent use of ρηρα in this sense in Mus. Guimet XXV pp.56,76, 208,291,292.\(^7\)

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1) See above p.24.
2) See above pp.27,24,25.
3) See Ryl.124,289,294, also WS pp.6f. and notes.
4) See above p.25.
5) Cf. Ep. I p.113 and references there; also p.134 note 1.
6) Against Crum in WS pp.6f.
7) Cf. also Miss.IV 768 αναφορει τοου anbino novpetra 'We walked in the desert(τοου) and found a rock(ρηρα).
Chapter V: The Organisation of the Monastery

We have no certain evidence, internal or external, whether the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bala'izah was based on any particular monastic system such as that of Pachomius or Shenoute. I have drawn attention above (pp. 18f.) to the very slight evidence that perhaps the monastery was founded by the Apa Apollo who was expelled from the famous Pachomian monastery of Pboou in the time of Justinian. But even if this Apa Apollo was the founder of the monastery at Bala'izah there is still no certainty that it was based on the Pachomian system of Pboou. The monastery is nowhere in the present collection called a κοινωνία and indeed it seems more likely that it was of the type usually associated with the Sarabites which was common throughout Egypt during this period 1). In the present collection we may point to a certain Apa Ammone, presumably a monk in the monastery of Apa Apollo, who on one occasion lends his monastery some money to pay its taxes (103) and in other documents appears as superior 2). This evidence, combined with the fact that the neighbouring monastery of Apa Mena was certainly of this type 3), is perhaps conclusive.

1) For a full discussion of this type of monastery see the interesting study by W. Hengstenberg, Bemerkungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des ägyptischen Mönchtums, Extrait des Actes du IVe Congrès international des études byzantines (Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare, tome IX, 1935) pp. 355 - 362, and references there.

2) 100, 159, 190, 302, cf. 188 introduction. 100 is a most interesting document demonstrating that a superior could be appointed for only a few days. Presumably this document was drawn up to make Apa Ammone superior permanently; cf. also the deed appointing a superior published by C. Schmidt in ÄZ LXVIII (1932) pp. 60ff..

that the monastery at Bala'izah followed this same system.

A number of titles and technical terms concerned with the organisation of the monastery occur in the present collection and a summary of the evidence may be useful here:

\[ \text{\textit{Îîκκλον}} \]

Professor A. Steinwenter fully dealt with this technical term and its legal aspect\(^1\); he pointed out that \textit{Îîκκλον} does not indicate the 'council' or 'Körperschaft' of a monastery, as had been assumed previously, but simply the jurisdiction of a church or monastery represented by its superior\(^2\). C. Schmidt\(^3\) collected all instances so far known, where \textit{Îîκκλον} occurs in Coptic texts; the present collection adds six examples and in the British Museum there are many more among the Ashmunein papyri which I am hoping to edit in the near future. On the evidence now available from Greek and Coptic texts it may be noted that \textit{Îîκκλον} is usually found in texts from the neighbourhood of Aphrodito, Bala'izah and, to a less extent, Ashmunein. In the south it occurs as far as Dendera in a Greek papyrus of the sixth century (P.Masp.67298), but it is remarkable that at Thebes it is not found before the eighth century. Perhaps the earliest examples from there are two documents from the Bucheum\(^4\); it also occurs in two late texts from Medinet Habu\(^5\) and it is notable that in the Jeme Corpus it is only found in texts from the second half of the eighth century\(^6\). It occurs however in P.Lond.II 483, dated A.D.616, which may have come from Edfu. This with three others was brought to

1) Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung, Kan. Abt. vol.XIX,1930,pp.31ff.,par.IX.
2) Cf. also A.A. Schiller, Koptisches Recht I (Kritische Vierteljahrsschrift vol.XXV) pp.264ff. and references there.
3) Az LXVIII,1932,pp.60ff.
5) Stephansky and Lichtheim, Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu,81,174
the British Museum in 1890 by the Rev. A. C. Headlam; they were all stated to have been bought at Esne and were presumed to have come from Edfu (Apollonopolis magna). In P. Lond. II 483 a village Tanyaithis is mentioned which is otherwise only known from the neighbourhood of Kom Isfaht (Apollonopolis parva) and J. Maspero argued that this papyrus in fact came from Apollonopolis parva. Bell, however, replied to this but P. Lond. 483 seems to form part of the same find as the papyri edited by Grenfell Journ. Phil. XXII, 268ff. which certainly come from Edfu and I am not aware that any papyrus from Heptakomia had been discovered so early as 1895.


The superior of the monastery at Bala'izah is usually called by this title (17 times). It also occurs in the two documents from the neighbouring monastery of Apa Mena, at Wadi Sarga and at Aphrodito. The title is used frequently at Thebes and further south, but it is also rare at Oxyrhynchus and in the Fayyum, and at Thebes only in the eighth century, is more difficult to explain.

1) P. Lond. II 483 was published by Kenyon, the other three by Grenfell in the Journal of Philology XXIV, 1894, pp. 266ff.
4) Few monastic deeds are known from the far south and the absence of Σμως there may be accidental. The fact, however, that it does not occur at Oxyrhynchus and in the Fayyum, and at Thebes only in the eighth century, is more difficult to explain.
5) See above p. 25.
6) WS 375, also 164 and 344 where πςρος is clearly πςοςςτον as in the present collection.
8) Cf. A. A. Schiller, Koptisches Recht II (Kritische Vierteljahresschrift XXVII) p. 44 and Ep. I pp. 130f.
9) E.g. J. Ant. LXX, CVIII, CXVIII, 25, CXIX, 2, CXX, 2.
extraordinarily rare in non-literary texts north of Assiout\(^1\). On the other hand the title seems to have been current in the Fayyum in the ninth century, as it occurs a number of times in colophons of the Pierpont Morgan manuscripts from Hamouli\(^2\) and Cauwenbergh\(^3\) cites an example from Ennaton near Alexandria.

The superior of the monastery at Bala'izah is called by this title three times(210\(^9\) and note, 395\(^4\)). On this title see especially Ep.I p. 130: 'The title was proper, in Egypt as elsewhere, to the abbots of only the larger coenobitic communities: in the neighbourhood of Thebes conspicuously to the successor of Pachomius ...',\(^4\).

The superior of the monastery at Bala'izah is also called by this title which occurs seven times. It was common throughout Egypt\(^5\).

Often the superior is simply called \(\varepsilon\iota\alpha\omega\tau\) 'father' or with the addition 'father of the monastery', cf. the index. This practice was common throughout Egypt, but, of course, the title only rarely refers to the superior of a monastery.

This title frequently indicates the superior of a church or monastery at Thebes and Aphrodito, but it is extremely rare further north.

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1) I can only cite five examples from Ashmunein: Kr.101, BM 1077, BMOr. 6201A67, B183, 268. Ryl.201 probably is from Wadi Sarga.
2) Lant.VII, 1\(^3\), XIII\(^7\), XIV\(^6\), XXIV\(^2\), XII\(^3\), XLVI\(^4\), XLVII\(^3\), XLVIII\(^1\).
4) Cf.also Schiller, Koptisches Recht II(as p.32 note 8) p.44, WS p.10, Lant.vol.II index p.118.
at Ashmunein\(^1\). On the other hand, it is again frequent in the texts from the monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara\(^2\). In the present collection it occurs twice\((205^7,235^{10})\).

\(\text{o} \iota \kappa \omicron \nu \omicron \mu \omicron \sigma\)

This title occurs five times at Bala'izah\((\text{cf. index})\); the \(\text{o} \iota \kappa \omicron \nu \omicron \mu \omicron \sigma\) ought to indicate the steward of a church or monastery who was responsible for all business transactions\(^3\), but in fact the title in non-literary texts usually indicates the superior\(^4\).

\(\text{πλας} \tau \iota \rho \iota \chi\)

C. Schmidt, when publishing one of the documents from the neighboring monastery of Apa Mena\(^5\) drew attention to \(\text{πλας} \tau \iota \rho \iota \chi\) 'the whole people' occurring there and pointed out that this evidently referred to the monastic congregation; he was unable, however, to find any parallels. At Bala'izah it occurs four times as \(\text{πλας} \tau \iota \rho \iota \chi\)\((188^{11},230^7,244^6,249^{10})\) and once as \(\text{πλας} \tau \iota \rho \iota \chi \ \text{α\iota \kappa \o \iota \nu \o \tau} \iota \varepsilon\) 'the whole people of God'\((192^{13})\). It also occurs in the papyrus cited on p. 21 above. More examples could be mentioned, but it is often not easy to decide whether a monastic congregation is indicated\(^6\). The expression is presumably taken from the Bible, e.g. Hebrews IX, 19 al..

\(\text{N-\iota \o \o \iota \nu \o \iota \mu \nu} \)

This title 'the senior brethren' evidently refers to monks who are senior in the monastery and it occurs twice at Bala'izah\((102^4,108^2)\).\(^7\)

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1) I can only find Ryl. 290, a 11th-12th century text.
2) RAC pap. du Louvre 2, 4, 5, 8; Krall, Rec. Tr. VI pp. 63ff., pap. I, II.
3) Cf. Schiller\(\text{as.p.32 note 8}\) and references there.
4) Especially in the later legal documents from Thebes, cf. J. index p. 416; cf. also Lant. XXIII\(^4\), XLV\(^{15}\), XLVII\(^{13}\), XLVIII\(^{15}\), al.
6) Cf. Bal. 30\(^{26}\), BSAC X(1944) p. 91 ετεπαρκαλει \(\text{α\iota \kappa \o \iota \nu \o \tau} \iota \varepsilon\) \(\text{πλας} \tau \iota \rho \iota \chi\), al.
7) Cf. also Crum, Dictionary p. 250b.
Outside the present collection I can find only one other example, VC 6 \textsuperscript{Vo}6, from Thebes. It was probably equivalent to \(\text{n•n•} \text{g•g•}^1\), see below.

\[
\text{n•n•} \text{g•g•}
\]

This description of senior monks, lit.: 'senior sons', occurs once in the present collection(130\textsuperscript{3-4}) and was probably equivalent to \(\text{n•n•} \text{g•g•}\), see above. It is also found in a document from the neighbouring monastery of Apa Mena\textsuperscript{2}) and in BP.11937\textsuperscript{3}); it also occurs three times at Thebes(\textit{J.}39\textsuperscript{21},40\textsuperscript{15},52\textsuperscript{10}\textsuperscript{4}).

\[
\text{βοηθός}
\]

Officials bearing this title occur eleven times at Bala'izah in connection with the payment of taxes. The \(\text{βοηθός}\) at this period was an intermediary between the pagarch and the tax-payer, who on the one hand collected the taxes, and on the other was responsible to the pagarch for paying over the amount received from a tax-paying district\textsuperscript{5}).

Appendix: A note on \(\delta\text{x•x•v•x\cdot 6}\)

The word in Greek originally meant 'service' in a general sense without any particular significance\textsuperscript{7}). Later, but before the New Testament period it had also acquired the particular meaning of service at table. At the time of the New Testament four distinct meanings appear:

1) Compare 102\textsuperscript{4} with 103\textsuperscript{5}.
2) \(\text{AZ LXVIII,1932,pp.60ff. line 28; cf. p.25 above.}\)
3) Cited in Crum,\textit{Dictionary p.250b}; see also the other references mentioned by Crum and cf. here \textit{36}\textsuperscript{3} and \textit{56}\textsuperscript{7}.
4) Cf.\textit{Steinwenter,Studien p.43}, especially note \textit{7}, and \textit{J.Sch.13,14} and note by Schiller there.
5) Cf. especially P.Lond.V p.22(1660) where two tax-receipts are signed by a \(\text{βοηθός}\) for the pagarch; cf. also Freisigke,\textit{Wörterbuch}.
6) I am particularly indebted to Professor James Drescher for many valuable references.
7) Cf. the Greek dictionaries, e.g.Liddell and Scott, Sophocles, etc..
1) The old meaning of 'service' in a general sense.
2) The use of the word in the sense of 'service to God'.
3) The special sense of service necessary for preparing food at meals.
4) Closely related to the last: the 'service' to the poor and needy and alms in general.

The meaning of the word in Coptic texts is principally based on these four uses of the word, and while it is still found with those meanings, in most cases it has acquired new meanings derived from these.

1) In the meaning of 'service' without a particular significance it is found a few times in the New Testament, e.g. II Cor. III, 9, but during the Coptic period it is difficult to find a clear instance where the word is used without some divine significance; cf. Hyvernat, AM I, p. 22 line 17: '...he (Apa Lakaron) turned to the executioners and said to them: Come, complete your service (κορεν ημετεραν ασκησιαν). Immediately the executioners came, and the blessed Apa Lakaron stretched out his neck and his holy head was cut off ...'. Cf. also DeV II p. 19615, C 99, 19311, C 89, 8519, 1252.

2) Frequently in the New Testament some service to God is implied in the use of the word, though it is unlikely that it had already acquired that particular significance then. In Coptic the word has generally a more specialised significance, but instances where it implies some service to God in general can still be cited: C 42, 22023 (Shenoute) '...for it is necessary that we should see each other, each one according to his rank, firstly the bishops, likewise the priests and the deacons who are in this clergy, they seeing those who have completed their service well and all their other works which are fitting for them to do ...'. Cf. also DeV. I, 15, 1Mar. 3712, Tri. 6422, BM p. 411, al.

In the New Testament we already find the word describing the office of an apostle, e.g. I. Tim. I, 12, which is common in the early church1) and

we find it also in Coptic, e.g. Pcod.33: '...Cyril is he who makes remembrance of those who have need among the people of the bishop without ceasing; for he shall be asked about this (at the last judgement) more than (about) his whole service', (here applied to the bishop).

In the Pistis Sophia the word occurs several times describing the particular mission for which Christ came down to earth, e.g.912 '...when I knew that the order of the service for which I came was complete ...', similarly 819,910,204,3212,3714, etc.

Twice the word is used of the particular service of angels: Hiom. 109: '...Oh! This great grief and all the sufferings of this great time (the end of the world) which is the administration and service of the angels ...', cf. C 73,3318 (Shenoute).

The word is also found to describe the particular mission for which a man is sent in the service of God: Shenoute C 73,265: '...because of this it is folly and blindness to us, if some among us deal treacherously by strife and disobedience as against some works, of which they are able to take care, whether it is men to whom things have been entrusted, or some services, or some other good work ...'. In DeV II,398,4212 the service is the particular mission on which the prophet Jonah was sent, and ib.1472 the mission of John, archimandrite of Assiout.

Closely allied to these meanings are two instances where the special service consisted in martyrdom, e.g.: Till,Heil._u.Martyrerleg. I, 107 '... and grant healing to Dionysius the brother of Julius thy servant who is performing this great service with thy servants the martyrs ...', similarly Togo Mina,Le Martyre d'Apa Epima p.3011.

3) Once in the New Testament we find the word denoting the service necessary for preparing a meal (Lk.X,40), and in this sense it is also found once in Shenoute and several times in the life of Pachomius: C 73, 13614 (Shenoute): '... then let each one of us manage well with care the thing which has been entrusted to him in fear of God; the stewards, let them take care of everything in their service, so that none may perish
among them, or that they should not overlook some loaves ...'. Cf. C 99, 236\(^2\)(= C 89, 71\(^1\)), also 174\(^1\), 195\(^1\), 261\(^3\), al..

Evidently derived from this and the use of the word in the meaning of 'alms' (see below) is a new meaning indicating food or things in general given as alms, e.g. Till, Heil. u. Märt. - leg. I p. 28\(^2\): '... There was a daughter of the magistrate of the city in whose dwelling-place the monks were living for a long time, and he was doing good to them, taking their δακονία to them to the mount and receiving their blessing ...'; similarly ib. 28\(^1\)f., 29\(^2\).

4) Perhaps derived from the vague sense of service to God is the meaning, already found in the New Testament, in the particular sense of service to the poor and needy and administration of alms in general, often food. Thus it occurs as διακονία ἡμῶν 'service of the poor' in Shenoute, e.g. C 73, 122\(^1\), Leyd. 320, and elsewhere, e.g. BM p. 169, Drescher, Three Coptic Legends p. 6\(^5\), etc. It also occurs as διακονία θυρών 'service of the gate', e.g. Till, Heil. u. Märt. - leg. II, 22\(^2\): '... the service of the gate which is alms (διακονία)...'.

5) From Shenoute onwards we can trace two separate developments of the word to denote a definite place. One is from its sense of a particular service to God, hence the monastic service, hence the community or monastery; the other from the principal meaning of service necessary to prepare a meal, hence the food given as alms, hence the place in the monastery where food was prepared, i.e. the kitchen. Unfortunately, it is often extremely difficult to decide from the context which of the two is meant; moreover, sometimes the same writer makes use of the word in both meanings, the most obvious example being Shenoute by whom the word is used in almost every sense.

5a) In Shenoute we frequently find the word used in the meaning of the monastic service, but it does not indicate the monastery itself in his time. Of particular interest is C 73, 179\(^8\) where Shenoute quotes the word from St. Paul (II Cor. VI, 3) and takes this to refer to the monastic
we are not afraid, nor are we ashamed of those who condemn us, as it has been said; we do not give any scandal in anything, so that no one may despise our service; for many have despised us and our service and even our ordinances and habit ...'; similarly Leyd. p.376, cf. C 42, 1596, C 73, 429. In other passages in Shenoute it almost comes to mean the monastery itself, e.g. C 42, 19816: 'woe unto him ... who shall steal in any manner and him who shall remove some articles from the service of God and shall sell them outside stealthily for the brethren; he is estranged to the community(κοινωνία) of the holy heavenly dwelling-place ...'; cf. C 73, 713, 10510, Z.CCXXXIII p.247 (of the manuscript).

In Greek papyri of the sixth century from Aphrodito the word occurs frequently in the sense of community1) and J. Maspero2) published a special discussion of the word and its meaning at this period: 'Le mot ιερός dans la langue de l'époque a une signification bien précise; c'est un ensemble de biens, mobiliers ou immobiliers, appartenant à un monastère ou à un église, et gérés par un fonctionaire décoré du titre général de ιερός. In this meaning it is often found in Coptic documents, e.g. BMOr.620454f. (ca. A.D. 850): '... and after your going out of the body (i.e. after your death), you Paulos the priest and my brother Petros, the ιερός of the monastery(μοναστηριακόν) shall become lord over this cell ...'; BM Or.620169f.: '... and the work-place south of this which can be made into a bakery is not yours, but that of the ιερός and all the brethren shall bake in it ...'; similarly KKS XLVII no.3, BMOr.6201B219,270, Ep.17888, BM 548 and probably here 1641.

5b) The other meaning of the word denoting the place where food was prepared, hence the kitchen, is also found already in Shenoute. In C 73, 9810,16-17, also ib.453,461,9, al., we find μανδακονία or μανδακονία; 'he (or; those) of the ιερός' occuring side by side with 'those of the herb-

1) For references see Preisigke, Worterbuch.
garden', 'those of the fruits of the trees', 'those of the place of the gate' and 'the men of the house (θύμη)' in C 73,4424 'those of the δικόνοια' occur with 'those of the sick' and 'those of the refectory (ΑΛΑΝΟΥΜΑ)' showing that the δικόνοια in this sense was distinct from the refectory (ΑΛΑΝΟΥΜΑ) which is borne out also by other evidence. That this δικόνοια was closely connected with a place of food in Shenoute is further shown by BM p.84a: '... he who shall receive it (the food) for them, it shall be given to him (lit.: them) by those who are in the δικόνοια and they shall ask for them from the father of these monasteries ...', similarly C 73,17312.

This meaning of δικόνοια is often found in later Coptic texts. In two instances it is clearly distinguished from the refectory (ΑΛΑΝΟΥΜΑ), but evidently connected with it: Z.365: '... he dismissed the brethren to the δικόνοια and he caused people to make ready for us that we should eat ...', cf. Le Musée XXXVIII, 1925, p. 271 where in procession round the monastery appropriate texts were read at different places, so at the refectory and the δικόνοια they read the passage of the five loaves and the two fishes. The same meaning of δικόνοια connected with a place where food was kept occurs in the life of Samuel of Kalamon1), 2.538, and probably here 312, cf. BM.463, WS 175, J.10825, etc. An interesting passage is Till, Heil. u. Märt.-leg. II, 1211 '... our father went on the roof of the δικόνοια ...', here obviously a place within the monastery.

Chapter VI: Taxation at Bala'izah

A considerable number of texts in the present collection, in Greek, Coptic (and also Arabic) relate to various taxes and afford some interesting information supplementing our existing evidence for taxation during the early Arab period. Invaluable for the study of these documents is the monumental work of H.I.Bell on the Aphrodito papyri in P.Lond.IV and I have had to refer to this work constantly. Recently D.C.Dennet, Conversion and the Poll Tax in early Islam has re-investigated the question of taxation at this period. His book raises highly controversial issues but it is beyond the purpose of the present volume to deal with these here. It seems a pity that so much Coptic material for taxation during the early Arab period is still unpublished and that hardly any of the published material in Coptic has been utilised by Dennet for his study.

It may, however, be pointed out that his conclusion that the Coptic clergy and monks did not pay the poll tax, or did so only for a short period, is directly contradicted by the evidence of Coptic texts in the present collection as elsewhere. If Coptic priests, deacons and monks do not appear in the documents from Aphrodito, this is, in the opinion of the present writer, merely due to the fact that the Arabs did not recognise such titles and referred to the Copts irrespective of their ecclesiastical dignities merely by their names together with those of their fathers. In number 149 here a certain Apa Ammone, well-known in the collection and at one time the superior of the monastery pays χρηστήτης, and in number 290 the χρηστήτης(1) of the monks is the most prominent item among the taxes which the monastery had to pay.

In fact, the taxes must have been extremely heavy on the monastery and it frequently had to borrow money, sometimes from its own members, to

1) Cf. also G.Wiet in Encyclopedia of Islam s.v.Kibt and references.
2) P.108.
pay its taxes (102,103,108,111). From the neighbouring monastery of Apa Mena we have a most interesting document relating to the appointment of a superior\(^1\); a person who wished to become the superior of a monastery at this period had to make himself responsible for the payment of its taxes which clearly had to be paid from his own resources to a considerable extent. At Bala'izah the position must have been much the same and presumably this was the main reason for the appointment of Apa Ammone, a wealthy monk\(^2\), as superior of the monastery there. Perhaps no other collection demonstrates so clearly that the disappearance of many monasteries during the middle of the eighth century was directly due to heavy taxation\(^3\); I need only mention number 290 here which shows that the monastery had to pay in one single year more than 88 solidi in taxes alone. This is an extraordinarily high figure for an establishment which had to pay its expenses mostly from handiwork or capital brought in by some of its wealthier members\(^4\). A short summary of the taxes mentioned in the present collection may be useful here:

The principal taxes demanded by the Arabs at this period were the land-tax (δημόσιον), the poll-tax (διάγειον, διάγειος), and the expenses-tax (δαπάνης) which were generally paid in money, and the corn-tax (ἐμβολίον) which was usually paid in kind. In addition, the Arabs demanded also a number of special taxes and personal service\(^5\).

The δημόσιον is frequently mentioned (cf. index) but it is often not clear whether this refers to the land-tax, or stands for χρεός δημόσιος i.e. public taxes in general, paid in money\(^6\); the latter seems more

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1) Published by Schmidt in ΑΖ LXVIII, 60ff., cf. above p.25.
2) Cf. above p.30; cf. also the index.
3) Cf. also above pp.19f. and p.20 note 1.
4) Cf. the article by Hengstenberg cited above p.30 note 1.
5) For a full discussion see P.Lond.IV pp.xxv ff.
6) See P.Lond.IV p.xxv and elsewhere.
The poll tax is denoted by διαγραφή or διαγραφή του οίκου and it seems that there was no difference between the two terms\(^1\). It is important, when dealing with this tax, to bear in mind that the taxes were levied in the first instance on the communities who in turn demanded payment from the individual in proportion to what each person could pay\(^2\). Thus it is not surprising to find this tax varying in amount in the tax-receipts from this period in the present collection and elsewhere\(^3\). As pointed out above, the superior was apparently responsible for the whole amount due from the monastery and presumably he collected at least some of this from the various monks. The poll tax was clearly the most substantial item in taxation as is demonstrated by number 290 here.

A remarkable tax called διαγραφή του οίκου occurs in 287; this ought to stand for διαγραφή του οίκου δοματεων, cf. Λαμπρανθος Ναπουμανος which occurs in 290. It can hardly indicate 'poll tax of the faithful(δοματεων = μόνος του μοναχος, i.e. the Muslims)' since the Muslims did not pay the poll-tax. I am unable to offer any satisfactory explanation for this tax which, apparently, does not occur elsewhere.

The expenses tax, δάνεια, is found several times in the present

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1) Cf. here 130 Appendix note 6 and P.Lond.IV p.168.
2) Cf.P.Lond.IV pp.xxvff. and 167ff..
3) From Thebes over 360 tax-receipts, mostly for poll tax, are now known. About 180 of these have been published recently by Stephansky-Licht- heim, Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu; most of the others were published by Crum in CO,ST,VC, by Hall, Coptic and Greek Texts and by Till in Orientalia XVI, 1947, pp.525ff., and another 40, unpublished, have been copied by myself. I have found definite evidence which enables us to date most of these ostraca within the short period of A.D. 710 - 730. I cannot deal with the full evidence here, but I am hoping to return to this subject elsewhere.
collection, cf. index. This tax was levied to cover the expenses of the administration in Egypt and these fall into four main groups:

1) The expenses of the local officials in general, usually referred to simply by δεσπότης. For this tax see 130 note and references there. It is interesting to note that in 130, 130 Appendix and Ryl.120 the poll tax is paid for the current year whereas the δεσπότης had to be paid one year in advance, cf.130 note.

2) The expenses of the Muslim army and officials. Presumably this is the tax mentioned in 290 as ἄλλα πολλά ἀλματῶν ἡμᾶς 'expenses of the faithful i.e. the Muslims', cf. also P.Lond.IV 1447, p.360. The expenses of the soldiers form an item in 291, and the army (ἀλπάς = ἀλπή) is mentioned in 338.

3) The expenses of the governor. This is mentioned once in 301, see note 4 there. In 294 we apparently have the expenses of the 'dux' as a separate item.

4) The expenses of the caliph. This tax does not occur in the present collection, but we find it in 130 Appendix (a document from Thebes). The corn tax, ἑμπόλη, is mentioned in five documents, cf. index. Presumably the entry in many accounts, usually relating to taxation, of ἑκούε 'for wheat', e.g. 290, refers to this tax.

Three unusual tax-receipts for weaving-garments-tax(132,133) and weaving-tax(134) have already been mentioned by Crum. Artisans and others who held no land were exempt from the land tax, but generally had to pay some special taxes. It is of some interest to note that one of these was written after A.D.740(132). Apparently, no other tax-receipts of this type have come to light elsewhere.

Apart from the general taxes, the Arabs also demanded personal

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1) For this tax see P.Lond.IV p.xxvi and references there.
3) See especially P.Lond.IV p.xxv and 1419 note.
service and the communities were responsible for the wages of these persons while engaged on such service. An order for sailors, similar to those from Aphrodito is number 181 here. Dyke-service and sailor-service are mentioned in number 138, see note 3 there. Three letters in the present collection are from persons on government service, see 186 introduction. An item in a tax-account(290) mentions the wages of the craftsmen who are on the sea, and the expenses of persons away from home, presumably on government service, occur twice, see 130 note.

Of some interest are numbers 296 - 300, all in Greek, relating to various taxes, in particular number 298 with some information on the επύγομεν.

The fact that at least two tax-receipts, one in Sahidic(132) and one in Bohairic(151), were issued from the name of Busiris in the Delta is of unusual interest. The Sahidic document was written after A.D. 740 and perhaps the taxes or certain special taxes were collected from Busiris during the middle of the eighth century.

1) Another tax-receipt, perhaps also from Busiris, is 146 which was written on a leaf from a semi-Bohairic biblical text(19). These texts are of considerable interest from a linguistic point of view, see below chapter IX pp. 231f., 241, 248, 250, 252.
Chapter VII: An unusual oath-formula at Bala'izah.

E. Seidl made a detailed study and analysis of oath-formulae in Coptic documents and the texts from Bala'izah generally follow the same pattern as those cited by him. An interesting variation in the usual formula, mostly in texts from Aphrodito, by the insertion of ηηραν αν before πνούτε, 'swearing by the name of almighty God', is found again in two documents from the present collection (103 and note 10); it also occurs in three texts from Thebes.

There are, however, five texts from Bala'izah in which we find the unusual practice of 'swearing by almighty God and the prayers of NN the bishop' and in another document it is 'the prayers of our father';

167-3 εἰσερχεται ηηραν αν ηπαντοκράταρ ἐν ἄγιοι ν ὑπὸ τοῦ ηηραν τοῦ βίσχοπος, 'I swear by almighty God and the prayers of our father';

165-12f. εἰσερχεται ηηραν αν ηπαντοκράταρ ἐν ἄγιοι ν ὑπὸ τοῦ ηηραν τοῦ βίσχοπος, 'I swear by Almighty God and the prayers of our father

Also in three fragments: 111, 116, 168. In 111 and 116 the oath appears to be not only by 'almighty God' and 'the prayers of NN the bishop' but also by 'the health [of ...]' (cf. the two parallel documents below.

169 εἰσερχεται ηηραν αν ηπαντοκράταρ ἐν ἄγιοι ν ὑπὸ τοῦ ηηραν τοῦ βίσχοπος, 'I swear by almighty God and the prayers [of Apa] Theodoros the bishop

I have been able to find only two parallels to this unusual formula: Revillout, Actes et Contrats, papyrus du Louvre II (corrected

1) Der Eid im Römisch-Ägyptischen Provinzialrecht; it seems a pity that Seidl made no attempt to differentiate between texts from different regions, such as Thebes and Ashmunein, which differ considerably in the oath-formulae as also in other respects.

2) Seidl l.c., p.140 note 1.

3) Both not in Seidl; one (VC 8) was published after Seidl's study.
from Crum's copy in the Griffith Institute Library, Oxford):

4 εἰσώρκ εὖνοὔτε
5 παντακράτωρ ἀνεὐξῆλα ἀντακολοκήν ἀνεῦσε[α]
6 ἀνεὐξῆλα ἀνεὐσίστε ἑσταρκὲ εἴην κατὰ κατα κερος νῦν
7 ἑτράκαρες ταίρης ἀποσφεντ' ἐτής ἐπιχαρτην

'I swearing by almighty God and the prayers of the Catholic Church\(^1\) and the health of our fathers who rule over us at any time, that I shall act according as it is written on this document ...'.

Crum, Varia Coptica 8\(^{13}-15\) εἰσώρκ [ὦνοὔτε ἀντακράτωρ ἀνεὐξῆλα ἀνεὐσίστε ἑσταρκὲ εἴην κατὰ κατα κερος νῦν

'Ve swearing [by] almighty [God] and the health of our lords and the prayers of our holy fathers; we have drawn up this promise ...'

It is to be noted that in each case it is a monk who swears; for this compare Seidl, l.c., pp.38ff.

Attention may also be drawn here to chapter VIII par.159 below which deals with variations in the sentences which follow the oath-formulae.

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\(^1\) The 'Catholic Church' presumably indicates, as elsewhere in texts from this period, the principal church, cf. Ep.I p.116 and PSBA vol. XXVII,1905, p.171.
Chapter VIII: Dialectical Variations in Sahidic non-literary texts

Soon after I had copied a few documents from the present collection it became obvious to me that some special study of the dialect was essential for a proper understanding of the texts. At first I intended to deal only with the dialect of texts from Bala'izah and its immediate neighbourhood, but in time I extended the collection of slips on dialectical material to include texts from Ashmunein and elsewhere. Crum had already made a detailed study of the dialect of texts from Thebes, though much material could be added to Crum's lists; he had also published some notes on the dialect of texts from Aphrodito, Wadi Sarga and the present collection, but nothing appears to have been done so far on the dialect of texts from Ashmunein and further north.

My principal aim in collecting slips on dialectical material has been twofold: 1) to discover to what extent the dialect in non-literary texts differed from locality to locality in the Nile Valley; 2) how far the dialect of non-literary texts was influenced by earlier literary dialects and to what extent these texts help us to localise such dialects. During the past few years I extended the collection of slips to include also dialectical misspellings in literary texts from the fourth and fifth centuries which often reveal remarkable affinities to the dialect found in non-literary texts of a much later period. The conclusions which I was able to draw from the material included in the present chapter led to some remarkable results and a full discussion will be found in chapter IX below.

It ought to be made quite clear, however, that there has been no

1) Winlock and Crum, The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, chapter X.
2) In Aegyptus vol. VI, pp.181ff..
3) Crum and Bell, Wadi Sarga, pp.12f..
4) W.F.M. Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, double volume, pp.42ff.
attempt to aim at completeness. The only texts which have been dealt with more or less fully and systematically in this chapter are those from the present collection, from Wadi Sarga, Aphrodito, and a few others from the neighbourhood of Bala'izah. For the texts from the Theban area I have mainly relied on Crum's great work, but I have supplemented

1) Including the inscriptions, cf. above p.2 and note 1 there.
2) Crum and Bell, Wadi Sarga, including also Ryl.124,289,294.
3) From the sixth century find only two Coptic texts have so far been published: P.Lond.V 1709 and the Greek-Coptic glossary in Aegyptus VI,181ff.. I have also occasionally made use of unpublished papyri from that find at Cairo (cited as P.Jkow) from copies in the Crum Material, Griffith Institute, Oxford. Coptic papyri from the eighth century find were mostly published in P.Lond.IV. Further papyri were edited in Grohmann, Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library, vol.III numbers 164-167. Jernstedt in the introduction of P.Ross.Georg.IV mentioned further Coptic papyri from this find at Leningrad, but none of these appear to have been published so far.
4) The more important texts from this neighbourhood are two papyri from the monastery of Apa Mena, see above p.25; the E.von Scherling papyri, see above p.15 note 6, but I have not made use of these; various inscriptions, especially Brunton, Qau and Badari III plates III - LV; Brunton, Matmar, paragraphs 172ff.; M.A.Murray, The Osireion at Abydos and Bouriant in Miss.I, pp.382ff.; Peet and Loat, Cemeteries at Abydos part III, pp.38ff. (one was republished by Engelbach, Ann.Serv., XXXIX, p. 314); also BIFAO III, 126-128; Ann.Serv.X, 51, 55-56, XI, 7, 242-4, XV, 179-181, XVI, 65-6, 97-99, XXII, 50-59; also a number of texts which may be presumed to have come from this neighbourhood: ST 265, 329, 330, Kr.120, Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 8, perhaps BM 1160, also a few unpublished texts in the British Museum.
this to some extent where necessary for comparison. For texts from Ashmunein I have collected most of the material from the two catalogues of Coptic manuscripts in the British Museum and the John Rylands Library published by Crum; I have also made use of Krall, Koptische Texte and Coptic inscriptions from Bawit 1); some unusual spellings in the unpublished British Museum collections, especially BM 80.6201A&B, have been cited from my own copies. I have not attempted to deal with Fayyumic and semi-Fayyumic texts here, as this would have held up the publication of the present volume even further. I hope to be able to discuss these dialects later in connection with unpublished material.

On the whole I have confined myself to texts earlier than the ninth century, though a few examples from later texts have been listed occasionally for comparison. Some interesting parallels to the peculiarities cited in this chapter are found in certain poetical texts of the tenth century 2). Some of the more interesting features have been noted in the paragraphs below, cf. especially par. 143.

I have not attempted to deal with misspellings of Greek words except those in the present collection and a few unusual examples from elsewhere. The principals on which misspellings in Greek words are based are usually different from those which have occasioned dialectical variations in Coptic words.

In general the examples listed below will speak for themselves. As might have been expected, the dialect of texts from the neighbourhood of Bala'izah agrees sometimes with the dialect of texts from Thebes, sometimes with that of texts from Ashmunein, though agreements with the

1) Especially those published by J. Maspero in MIF LIX; those published by Cledat in MIF XII seemed too unreliable to be cited with safety.

latter are far more marked. In a few cases we can note a difference in dialect between the texts of Bala'izah-Wadi Sarga and those of Aphrodito (21, 43, 157). On the whole, however, it ought to be borne in mind that the great majority of the texts from the neighbourhood of Bala'izah are written in pure Sahidic with few, or no dialectical spellings, and as Crum already pointed out: '... at Deir Ganadlah and Deir Balaizah, the finding-places of much material, the idiom common to all is the purest Sahidic, less tainted here, it seems, than at any other point in the upper valley'. At Thebes, too, the majority of the texts are in pure Sahidic, though the dialectical element in some of the texts, even of a late period, is much stronger than elsewhere in Upper Egypt with the possible exception of some texts from the Fayyum. On the other hand, it would be difficult to cite any considerable number of texts from the Ashmunein collections which do not at least show some traces of dialect such as $e$ for $n$ (82), $n$ omitted (80), etc.

To make it easier to distinguish texts from different regions in the Nile Valley I have made use of capital letters to denote these regions when citing the examples:

A for texts from Cairo to the Fayyum, in particular the texts from Saqqara.

B for Sahidic texts from the Fayyum and the neighbourhood of Herculaneum, sometimes including Fayyumic texts.

C for texts from Oxyrhynchus to Bawit, in particular the Ashmunein collections.

D for texts from Assiut to Abydos, in particular those from Bala'izah, Wadi Sarga and Aphrodito.

E for texts from Coptos to Armant, in particular the Theban area.

F for texts from Esna to Assuan.


1) \(\varepsilon\) expressed by \(\ddot{a}\); cf. \(\ddot{a} = \varepsilon(21), \varepsilon = \ddot{a}(7)\).

a) Before \(\varepsilon\). This is already found in the earliest Sahidic texts, but it does not seem to occur in any texts from Thebes. It appears to have been common in most districts north of Thebes, but particularly in Ashmunein and the Fayyum. Cf. Stern par.76, Crum: Dictionary p.1a.

Budge: Biblical Texts, 1st. hand: \(\tau\omega\beta\varepsilon\) Dt. 925; \(\omega\nu\alpha\nu\varepsilon\) Dt. 118; \(\omega\nu\alpha\varepsilon\) Dt. 121, 19; 2nd. hand: \(\kappa\omega\nu\alpha\varepsilon\) Acts V, 21, XXI, 27.

Thompson: The Coptic Version of certain Books of the O.T.: \(\omega\nu\omega\varepsilon\), \(\omega\nu\omega\nu\varepsilon\), \(\omega\nu\alpha\varepsilon\) (passim).

C \(\kappa\omega\nu\alpha\varepsilon\) Kropp D78 al.; \(\omega\nu\omega\varepsilon\alpha\varepsilon\) Ryl. 135, 346 al.; \(\omega\nu\alpha\varepsilon\varepsilon\) Ryl. 135, 153, BM 1113 al.; \(\alpha\nu\alpha\varepsilon\varepsilon\) BM 1185, 1197, Kropp D11 al.; \(\kappa\omega\varepsilon\) Ryl. 409; \(\kappa\omega\varepsilon\varepsilon\) BM 1036; etc..

D \(\kappa\omega\nu\alpha\varepsilon\) Bal. 2408; \(\alpha\nu\alpha\varepsilon\varepsilon\) Bal. 2457, WS 111.

b) Before other consonants (rare).

\(\kappa\omega\nu\varepsilon\varepsilon\) Acts 22, 19 (Budge); cf. \(\kappa\alpha\varepsilon\) Aeg. p. 207, BM 124 (Horner's 6).

Rom. 13, 14.

C \(\varepsilon\kappa\varepsilon\varepsilon\) BM 112324 (4th cent.); \(\kappa\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\) BM 1116; \(\kappa\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\) Jern. 3.5.

E \(\varepsilon\kappa\varepsilon\varepsilon\) ST 305 (bis), cited Ep. I p. 236; \(\varepsilon\kappa\varepsilon\varepsilon\) J. 4, 3; \(\kappa\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\) MANTHI, MANTHK.

B KU 80, 265.

1A) \(\varepsilon\) expressed by \(\varepsilon\).

There is a general uncertainty in the writing of \(\varepsilon\nu\) or \(\ddot{n}\) etc. in our earliest Coptic manuscripts, although in some of them we already find considerable consistency. Thus in early literary manuscripts we find a confusion between \(\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\) and \(\ddot{n}\varepsilon\), \(\ddot{n}\varepsilon\varepsilon\) (perfect II) and \(\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\varepsilon\) (past relative); we also have \(\varepsilon\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\), \(\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\), \(\ddot{n}\varepsilon\varepsilon\) for \(\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\) (poss. art.) and in verbal prefixes \(\varepsilon\varepsilon\) for \(\ddot{y}\), \(\ddot{m}\varepsilon\varepsilon\) for \(\ddot{m}\varepsilon\varepsilon\) etc.; the same is true of suffixes, e.g. \(\tau\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\), and unaccented syllables e.g. \(\varepsilon\omega\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\), \(\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\). On the other hand it is remarkable that
in manuscripts prior to the fifth century we never find the particle ṅ-written ṅ--; this is of some significance for the history and development of the superlinear stroke.

It is rare to find manuscripts earlier than the end of the fourth century which are always correct in the writing of the ē. Thus, ṅēn and ṅēn are confused in the Paris Magical Papyrus, the Turin Wisdoms (ed. Lagarde), the Berlin Gnostic (cf. Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten), the Berlin-London Apocalypse (see p. 13 n. 3), the Subachmimic Acta Pauli and the Manichaean texts, also rarely in Acts (Budge), e.g. 24; yet ṅēn and ṅēn are not confused in the Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs), Pistis Sophia, Deuteronomy (Budge), Subachmimic St. John and Achmimic manuscripts generally. ṅēn- and ṅēn- are confused in the Turin Wisdoms, Pistis Sophia, Bal. 18 and others. Texts which correctly spell ṅēn, ṅēn, ṅēn-, ṅēn-, ṅē, etc., nevertheless frequently have, often side by side with the correct forms, τισιέκ, τισιέγ (Subachmimic St. John, Budge, Biblical Texts), ᾑνεκ, ᾑνεκ, ᾑνεκ, ᾑεκ (Berlin Psalter), etc.

It seems probable that, apart from the particle ṅ-, the distinction was to a large extent artificial and only worked out in the course of time. It is only towards the end of the fourth century that we have manuscripts which are consistent throughout. Such manuscripts, as numbers 7, 17, 21, 22 in the present collection, exhibit the Sahidic dialect in a remarkable purity. After the fifth century the confusion becomes more and more marked, especially in manuscripts from Ashmunein and the Fayyum.

In non-literary texts the confusion is common at Ashmunein and further north, but it is comparatively rare in the south, particularly at Thebes. A number of examples may be cited from the present collection, but most of these are confined to particular texts, e.g. ἔν ποιμνῇ ἐνθύστε, μεριτ ἐνιωτ, μεριτ ἐνιωντ 161;
VIII, I A, 2

This is not found in early literary manuscripts, an exception being P. S. 140\textsuperscript{10} 
\textit{Ntμe} for \textit{Ntτe}. It occurs rarely in some early documents usually before \textit{N}, \textit{μ}, also \textit{ρ}, \textit{c} and \textit{γ}:

P. Aberdeen (Rec. Champ. p. 539) \textit{Ntμe} (also \textit{Ntμ} = \textit{Ntτ-c}), \textit{θμ} and \textit{ζην} (also \textit{εν}); Lemm, Misc. Lyon.; P. Gol. 47 \textit{τάμε}, \textit{μτ} (6 times); B.M. 1223 \textit{μαντων}; B.M. 1224 \textit{ταμτονος} (also \textit{ταμτονος}), \textit{τετούγης}; Ryl. 1270 εαρτοντη.

In non-literary texts it is extremely rare at Thebes, but common before \textit{ν}, \textit{μ} and \textit{π} north of the Theban region, particularly at Ashmunein. In the ninth and tenth centuries it becomes very common even in literary manuscripts from the same region, cf. Junker, Koptische Poesie p. 91, but only before \textit{ν}, \textit{μ} and \textit{ψ}.

a) \textit{Hγ} = \textit{ή}.

C only. \textit{θμ} BM 1118; \textit{θμτ} Ryl. 308, also Matth. XVII, 27 (Horner's 119).

b) \textit{HΚ} = \textit{κ}.

C \textit{ω} Ryl. 284, 409, Kr. 127\textsuperscript{24} al.; \textit{ω} Ryl. 284; cf. X. X. 125.

D \textit{ω} Ryl. 157\textsuperscript{14}.

c) \textit{ΗΛ} = \textit{λ}.

D \textit{βλάχσ} WS 101, P. Lond. IV, 1573.

B \textit{βλάχσ} ST 42, 53, 54, TurO 17\textsuperscript{8}, Worrell, Coptic Texts IV, 13, WH 50\textsuperscript{6}.

d) \textit{ΗΝ} = \textit{ν}.

D \textit{θμ} WS 30\textsuperscript{17}, P. Lond. IV 1553\textsuperscript{11}, Grohmann, Ar. Pap. in the Eg. Lib. III 167, 39, 61, 75.


e) \textit{HN} = \textit{N}.

B e.g. \textit{HN-} BM 529\textsuperscript{4}; \textit{και με} BM 529\textsuperscript{7}, 544\textsuperscript{17}; \textit{και τε} BM 594\textsuperscript{10}; etc.; cf.
VIII,2

BM 503 Lk.XIV,10(Fayyumic) πνήματα τάξιμεκ.

C ρηφτον Ryl.284(ter); τυχ-(1st.pres.) Ryl.320; ρηφτοντω Ryl.277; ρηφτοτ Ryl.339; -τυφ θύτων Worrell, Cop.Texts III,5(4 times),6(both early); Κήν- and Κυμντ (εινε) Ryl.282,284,Κρ.52,115,Jern.67,al.; ρηφτοκ Baouit(Inst.XII)p.25 IV3; ρυκνν- , ρυκντος Ryl.139,BM 1046,10567,1063,1112,al.; ρηφτε Ryl.368,Ρ.Černý(ined.)lines 9,15; κουμντε BM Or.6201A179; τυχθν Worrell, Cop.Texts III,6; Κήν-, Κυμν-ib.III,5; χιομντ Κρ.113; al..

D ρηφτεκις Bal.21616; ρηφτακωμε Bal.5113; ρηφτευ Bal.25910; ρηφτθ P.Lond.IV 155410,15617,17; ρυκνν- Bal.1149; Κήν- Bal.2805,WS 18; Κυμντ Bal.3395,WS 29,16, Petrie, Memphis I pl.III; 6κν- (εινε) Bal.2168.

E ρηφτθ ΜΗ 996; ρηφτε ΜΗ 646; Κυμπόλ Τ.7951; Κουμντί BKU 289; τυχθαυ Ερ.2806; Καλθάν Τ.7959.

f) Κήν = Τ.

C ρηφρ Ryl.352(early), BM 4613; ρυκνν BM 11464; χιομφ BM 46149.

D ρηφρ Bal.3161.

g) Κήν = Τ.

C Κήν-(ειφε) Worrell, Cop.Texts III,5(early), Ryl.369,385,ΑΖ IXXVII p.106 no.3(10th century); Κυμφ- Worrell, Cop.Texts III,5; ρηφρ-Κρορπ D76,Ryl.131,136,144,162,167,185,319,BM 101314,10179,10186,103511,105925,10447,10609,106425,106530, al.pl.

D Κήν-R.Jkow(Cairo); ρηφρ- Bal.11618,16517,P.Lond.IV 149420,14989,150920,15119,151818,151915,155911,15657,15687,15847,15879,1591,15997,11,161054,35,16835.

Ε Cf. χιομφ βκυ 126.

h) Κήν = Κήν.

C χιομφ (κωρφ) BMOr.6201A79b; λωμφ Ryl.206; τυρφς BM 1031vo8, Κρ.1148.

D τυρφς Bal.1561.

i) χιομφ = χιομφ.

C χιομφτ BM 104411; συτορφμ ψυ BM 112710.
j) \( \eta \gamma = \gamma \).

C \( \tau \alpha \omega \varphi \mu \eta \) \( \text{BM 1103}^2 \); \( \mu \varphi \tau \nu \eta \) Worrell, *Coptic Texts* III, 6 (early).

D \( \tau \rho \eta \nu \) \( \text{Bal.626} \).

k) \( \eta \xi = \xi \).

C \( \omega \rho \mu \chi \) \( \text{Ryl.205,BM 1063} \).

3) \( \epsilon \) expressed by \( \iota \); cf. \( \iota = e \) (23).

I can cite two early examples: Lemm, *Misc.* L line 19 \( \epsilon \nu \nu \) (\( \epsilon \nu \nu \));

BM 1224 \( \epsilon \iota \iota \) (twice). It seems to occur in all regions before \( \eta \).

a) \( \iota \nu \iota = \overline{\eta} \).

A \( \epsilon \mu \iota \in \) \( \text{Kr.104} \).

B \( \epsilon \iota \iota \) \( \text{Kr.3} \); \( \epsilon \mu \iota \in \) Sphinx X number V; \( \epsilon \iota \iota \iota \) \( \text{BM 530} \); \( \epsilon \iota \iota \iota \) \( \text{Kr.3} \).

C \( \epsilon \mu \iota \in \) \( \text{Kr.105,BM Or.6201 A 31a} \).

D \( \epsilon \iota \iota \) \( \text{P.Lond.IV 1500}^2 \); \( \epsilon \mu \iota \in \) \( \text{WS p.198 note 3,P.Lond.IV} \).  
1495\( ^4 \), 1497\( ^6 \), 1509\( ^7 \), 1515\( ^9 \), 1519\( ^9 \), 1521\( ^{18} \), 1531\( ^9 \), 1565\( ^{25} \), 1573, 1586, 1587, 1596\( ^{12} \), 1610\( ^{21} \), 1633; \( \epsilon \iota \iota \) \( \text{P.Lond.IV 1611}^4, 5 \).

E \( \epsilon \iota \iota \) \( \text{see Ep.I p.239 (5 exx.)}; \epsilon \mu \iota \in \) \( \text{J.105}^20 \); \( \epsilon \iota \iota \) \( \text{see Ep.I p.239, add J.659}^2, 1222^9 \).

b) Before other consonants:

A \( \epsilon \iota \iota \) \( \text{Kr.228}^3 \).

D \( \epsilon \iota \iota \) \( \text{P.Lond.IV 1639 (twice)} \); \( \epsilon \mu \iota \iota \) \( \text{P.Lond.IV 1494}^3, 8 \).

? \( \epsilon \mu \iota \iota \) \( \text{Turm 917} \).

4) \( \epsilon \) expressed by \( \sigma \); cf. \( \sigma = e \) (24).

Hamburg Old Fayyumic text \( \kappa \omega \lambda \omicron \mu \mu \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron 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B cynte BM 531.

C γν-(eine) BM 1173; γλυγγ γρ.114,2,Jern.8; cyν-(eine) Ryl.327; cynte BM 1041,1103,12, BMOr.6201A64a,1310.

D γν-(eine) Bal.276(?); cynte Bal.303b,3054,3425, P.Lond.IV 15127,1589,1631(passim), BMOr.6230,45(cited Crum,Dict.p.668a).

E cynte BKU 292, CO 1064,23511(cynte in same text).

b) Before other consonants:

C γντη-BMOr.6201A74; πνγυκ Ryl.353(9th-10th cent.).

D γντη-Bal.15211.

6A) α expressed by ε; cf. ε = α (7).

I can cite three examples from early literary texts: ΤΑΛΚΟΥγ Sah.
Elias 512 (= Achm.Bl.ΤΑΓΑΥγ); +NAΣΝΜ Hos.114(Achmimic); ΝΑΛΜΧΕ

6b) ε expressed by ε. See above par.1A.

6c) η expressed by ε; cf. ε = η (34).

C τω(τωτ), Χρ ι Jern.55; βαςτέ κ Jern.52; ιντταν Ryl.161;
Cramer, Totenklage 68 γγμ (γγμ).

D ωκελ Bal.22311,22711; this is often found in literary manuscripts,

6D) i expressed by e; cf. e = i (39), i omitted (38B).

a) In a number of early Sahidic texts we find the Achmimic form XN
for the normal Sahidic XN: Wessely, Sah.gr.Ps.Fr. p.72(Old Vienna
Psalter) three times, Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs) once(3211), Budge,
Biblical Texts once(Acts III,2, elsewhere XN). In the Sub-Ach-
imic texts we find the Manichaean texts writing ΧΝ or ΧΜΝ, Jo.
and A.P. writing XN. For the Fayyumic evidence see Crum,Dict.
p.772b. From non-literary texts a number of examples can be
cited from Thebes, but it is rare elsewhere.

C Ryl.2778 (but XN in same text); cf. xεν Krall, Mitt.P.E.R.V p.32.
D cf. xεν P.Lond.IV 156534.

E see Ep.I p.238.
b) The verbal prefix δι-' is sometimes found written as ὑ-, e.g. Wisdom (Thompson) VII, 6 διεικόμεθα, διακόμεθα, VIII, 16 ὑνὶ, as it is usually spelt in Achmimic texts, but even in Achmimic texts we sometimes find ὑ-, e.g. Till, Osterbrief A 68, 69, 71; Sub-Achmimic texts seem to write always ὑ-. For the Fayyumic evidence see Crum, Dict. p. 819a. Crum, Ep. I p. 238 cites one example of ὑ- from a Theban text.

c) Other instances, rare; cf. i omitted (38A).


6E) α expressed by ε.

C χυτε νεπρος τον Κρ. 125.

? ιντεπε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε νε ν
be cited from the unpublished part. It is remarkable that the first two of these manuscripts were found together with Achmimic manuscripts and the other three were found at Thebes, whereas this peculiarity is conspicuously absent in early Sahidic texts found further north, e.g. Budge, Biblical Texts. In non-literary texts this phenomenon is common only in the Theban area and in a few texts, mostly early, from further north. It should also be noted that in the examples cited from regions C and D the change of vowels could be due to Fayyumic as well as Achmimic or Sub-Achmimic influence, a remarkable exception being εζωη. Only at Thebes we find examples which are not Fayyumic, e.g. τελο, τεζο.

a) Due to Achmimic, Sub-Achmimic (or Fayyumic) influence.

C neεκ, εεε JEA XIII, 19f. (Melitian)7,8; (M)εεκ Ryl. 269, 270; neεεγ Ryl. 270 (all 4th century); also: neεεγ Ryl. 352; εζωη Cramer, Totenklaage 22 (A.D. 765!); neεγ Ryl. 1, 124, BMGR. 6201B4714.

D neεκ Rec. XI, 147; neεκ Brunton, Natmar LXVIII, 11, 18; meε Glos. 107; meεε Glos. 66; pet Glos. 175, 176; neε P. Lond. IV 1553vo. 16, BM 1160; neεε P. Lond. IV 151512; αετεν P. Mich. 593x (this region?); κατεκ, κατεκ, Bal. 1182, Brunton, Qau and Badari III LIII, 521 (photo pl. LV).

E Very common; see Ep. I p. 237, CO index p. 117; many more could be cited, e.g. neεκ ST 54, CO 315; neεεκ ST 54; etc..

b) Not due to Achmimic or Subachmimic influence.

Cf. Sah. Elias ενον, pet-γινε (see above); Miss. LXVI (Achmimic Psalm-fragment) χεκ for χαε.

C εε BM 10255.

D εε Bal. 3392; γεγεμτ Bal. 2532.

E εε CO 869.

8) H = Α; cf. H = E (22), C = Α (7).

From early literary texts I can only cite neευ Br. 1406, 22, 14115 and neευ Sah. Elias 118, 1321; these forms are very common at Thebes, but rare in region D and C; except for neευ which is also
the normal Sub-Achmimic and Bohairic form, these are really the Fayyumic forms; the frequent occurrence at Thebes is probably due to the interchange of the vowels e and m, and these forms are presumably Achmimic (m6eK, m6eK, etc.) in origin; in fact, they are already found in the Old Coptic Horoscope from Thebes (m6eK).

B Common, e.g. Kr.3; due to Fayyumic influence.

C m6eK BM 1123vo.1 (4th cent.); n6teKr.803 (but same line m6eK ace).

D m6eK P. Lond. IV 15525, 15535, 14; n6te Brunton, Gau and Badari III pl. IV (also LIII) no. 526; γραφίτi, εγράφει ib. lines 11, 15, 18, 21.


9) δ = χ.

Crum in Ep.I p.239 note 1 already drew attention to ρίν for ράN in Br.13914, 140412; I have also found ρίν for ράN (Sah. ρίν) in the Achm. Elias 3718. ρίν for ράN (absol.) only occurs at Thebes. Cf. also Crum, Dict. p.297b.

C Cf. katarikicicm Kropp D 113.

D m6eK P. Lond. IV 151239; eβaγαγ P. Lond. IV 150820, 1509.

E ρίν Crum, Ep.I p.239 cites Ep.169, CO 126, J.611, add: BKU 119A7, TurO 135; 21N J.6715; Crum also refers to the Theban forms of the verb ।.

10) δ = χ.

This peculiarity is mostly confined to Thebes and occurs in a number of early texts of Theban provenance: ρορωμα Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) 833, Sap.1319 (ed. Lagarde), Berlin Gnostic P. 8502; ερνος Br. 14020; Χρονος Lemm, Misc. L; cf. ersona Berlin Gnostic (Schmidt, Alte Petrusakten) 13116, 1322. From early texts outside Thebes I can only cite τον Acts X, 11 (Budge) cf. ersona ib. index. Cf. also ersona P. Mich. 593, 594 (AJSXLVI, 246).

D m6eK Bal. 1243; n6te (verbal, 2nd. perf.) Bal. 2423.

E Very common, see Ep.I p.239.
\[10A) \omega = \Delta \text{ (rare).} \]

D See Ep.I p.241; cf. also Br.42\(^2\) ΕΝΤΑΝΟΥΝ ΡΑΩ ΝΟΩ.".

E See Ep.I p.241; cf. also Br.42\(^2\) ΕΝΤΑΝΟΥΝ ΡΑΩ ΝΟΩ.

11) \(\Delta \Delta = \Delta \); cf. \(\varepsilon \) added (19), \(\mathfrak{c} = \mathfrak{c} (45), \omega = \omega (63A)\).

Cf. Luke Semi-Achm. (BIFAO VIII, 36f.) I, 45 ναι ἄτη; Worrell VII, 11 οὐκ ἕντανε; Blom. 1 ωάραλ, ωάραλον τεμένε; etc.

C M.427 Ryl.277; M.51 MIF LIX 131.

D M.427 Bal.1898; M.427 WS 48; P.246.593 \(\text{(this region ?)}\); Ann. Serv. XVI, 66 (twice).


12) \(\Delta \Delta = \Delta \); cf. \(\Delta \Delta = \Delta \) (15); (rare).

C n.427 BM.201B206; n.427 BM.6201A107, B213; γιερέ με MIF LIX 400.

D n.427 Brunton, Mat mar pl.LXVIII.


13) \(\Delta \Delta = \Delta \); cf. \(\epsilon = \varepsilon (20), \mu = \mathfrak{m} (38), \omega = \omega (48), \omega = \omega (63C)\).

This is already found in a number of early manuscripts; thus we have \(\varepsilon \) in Br.246, BG 132\(^{17}\) (Schmidt, Alte Petrusakten); \(\varepsilon \) and \(\varepsilon \) in Luke Semi-Achm. (BIFAO VIII, 36f.) I, 42; Wessely, Sah. Gr. Ps.-Fr. (Old Vienna Psalter) p.11 notes λαλα, πέμαχε, πεμαχα, πεμαχα (twice); Worrell, Chicago Proverbs p.XIV notes μακε, γυνατκ., παλατσ, ξαλα, ξαλα, also λαλ XXIV, 23; in Budge, Biblical Texts I have noted ετγιδες Deut. VII, 19; Lemm, Misc. L and BM 1224 have κατ, κατ. In non-literary texts it occurs in all regions, but is common only at Thebes.

a) C κατ BM.1123\(^{10}\). (4th cent.); λαλ BM.916, BM.6201A21; κατ BIFAO 1901, p.87; τας BM.6201B65; στομα MIF LIX, 307 and elsewhere.

D n.427 Gloss. 260; n.427 Brunton, Qau and Badari III pl.LIII (= pl. LV photo) line 27; λαλε P.246 Cairo; κατ WS 29\(^4\), 30\(^2\), 34\(^1\), Ann. Serv. IX, 56 (twice), ib. XVI, 98; τας Bal.242\(^{10}\), WS 106; στομα & Bal.228\(^{12}\), WS 29\(^2\), 32\(^2\), 9, Petrie, Memphis I pl.LIV.
E Μκρέν Ep.386; λαγ (ε&ε) CO 604,JAOS XLVIII,149(twice),VC 715–8, al.

λαγ J.243,ST 19920(λ&γ); λαγε CO index p.119,ST 22817,Ep.6320,98ps,
120,13512,2566,2609,2626,265,28013,30011,al.; λαγε CO 2012,2424,
Ad32,Ad498,Ep.1792,25814,2805,33628,48517,al.; λαγε CO 1655,2066,
24110,462vo3,46512,4764,Ad186,ST 909,1237,1251,1274,2559,27547,
etc.,Ep.17613,297etc.,al.; καμιν Worrell,Copt.Texts IV,4; ταγ,
ταγ CO Ad18,BKU 89,121,al.; ετανε CO 483,Ad5912,Ep.24411,3682,al.


C λαγ BM 112318(4th cent.), cf.Kr.2283(bis)(from Cairo ?).

D λαγ Bal.2413; λαγ Bruntom,Qau and Badari III pl.LIII(top left).

E λαγe ST 3473; ζναγ CO 31510; al..

14) ε&γ= αγγ (rare).

D μεγ Gloss.87, μεγ Bruntom,Qau and Badari III pl.LIII(top right).

These two instances are of great interest as μεγ,μεγ are the Sub-
Achm. and Fayy.forms.

15) α = α 1; cf. α 1 = α (12), I omitted (38B).

a) I have found four examples in the Achm.Minor Prophets: εμμακε

In the Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)XI,5 αρνόκε was corrected to απ-
νόκε. In the Bruce Codex we find μα for μα (12418) and εσφρ
for εσφρ (5816); with the latter cf.Lemm,Misc.I εσερ (three ti-
mes but εσερ once),BM 1224 εσερ passim, γεσφρ,P.Gol.47 εσερ(twice),
P.Aberdeen(Rec.Champ.539) εσερ and εσερ (4 times); εσφρ also
ST 3955. It seems unlikely that all these are scribal errors.

C Τενανε (for ετε νανι) Kr.767; εσφρ μεγή Kropp D30; οταομεν-
δοου BMor.620LA35; Ταογ (for νταοοογον) P.Øerny(ind.)line 5.

D Αοδον Bal.1875; Άοκοο Bal.2776; Άντογ Bal.2777; ετε νανε Bal.
1383; εσανε Bal.1982; cf.Cμαπτε Bal.24919.

E Ταογ (for Ταογ) CO 29420; προε νταογι Tor.1110; γεσφρια ST
2268; νταοοογον(for νταοοοοογον)ib.10; μανοτε Ep.3864, μανεκε
COAd.6020; ετανε VC 1035,Ep.2022.
b) A few further examples might be cited, but these may be due to assimilation: ade for \( \Delta \iota \varepsilon \) Sub-Achm.St.John XVI,28, Acts (Budge)
VII,36, XXIII,27; \( \Delta \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon \) for \( \Delta \varepsilon \iota \varepsilon \) ib.XII,11.

C \( \Delta \varepsilon \iota \varepsilon \) (= \( \Delta \varepsilon \iota \varepsilon \varepsilon \))EMOR.6201B47, also BIFAO III,208 (but probably Theban).

D \( \Delta \varepsilon \iota \varepsilon \) (= \( \Delta \varepsilon \iota \varepsilon \varepsilon \)) Bal.15610,26.

16) \( \varepsilon = \Delta \iota \); cf. \( \Delta \iota = \varepsilon \) (26); mostly in Greek words.

D \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) (for \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \)) Bal.327.1; cf. \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) Bal.102,103;
\( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) WS 29,30; \( \varepsilon \) (= \( \varepsilon \)) Bal.152 (bis); \( \varepsilon \) Bal.103,1169; etc..

E Cf.CO index p.117; al.pl. (Greek words only).

17) \( \Delta \iota = \Delta \gamma \).

From the Achm.Minor Prophets I can cite five examples: \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) Hos IX,10; \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) Mich.II,1 (ed.Malinine); \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) Zach. 1,21;
\( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) Naum III,18,Hag.I,6. Other early examples are: Br.103;
\( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) 137.17 \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \); Ps 45 \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) on \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) : Sah.Elias \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) ; also \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \)
for \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) Semi-Achm.Luke (BIFAO VIII,36f.) I,42; Sir.XLVIII,22 (Lagardere, see note), Pro. (Worrell) XXIV,62; Mani P 1019,141 \( \varphi \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \);
C \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) (1st perf.) Ryl.3213.

D \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) Bal.5513; Bok \( \varepsilon \Delta \varepsilon \nu \) Bal.2298; \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \) for \( \Delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \?) Bal.27713.

E Bok \( \varepsilon \Delta \varepsilon \nu \) RE V,30, CO 30 (but perhaps for \( \varepsilon \Delta \varepsilon \nu \) ); cf. \( \varepsilon \Delta \varepsilon \nu \) for \( \varepsilon \Delta \varepsilon \nu \) VC 106.

18) \( \Delta \gamma = (\Delta \gamma \) ; cf. \( \Delta \gamma \) for \( \Delta \gamma \) (14).

This is frequently found at Thebes but not elsewhere, particularly in the words \( \Delta \gamma \), \( \Delta \gamma \), \( \Delta \gamma \) (v.b. and mn.) which are written \( \Delta \gamma \) (also \( \Delta \gamma \), \( \Delta \gamma \) and \( \Delta \gamma \), see Ep.I p.241. These forms are clearly due to the influence of the Achmimic forms \( \Delta \gamma \), \( \Delta \gamma \), \( \Delta \gamma \) and it is of considerable interest to note that Sub-Achm. with Fayy.
manuscripts write \( \Delta \gamma \), \( \Delta \gamma \), \( \Delta \gamma \), an exception being the Manichaean Homilies (ed.Polotsky) which has the Achmimic forms. The Sub-Achm. forms are, indeed, found outside Thebes (above par.14), but not at Thebes, cf. chapter IX.
aoy = ay; (rare) cf.paragraph 56A.

Pro.(Worrell)XXIV,76 aoyoun; P.Mich.593(AJSI XLVI,245)  
C  
D  

18B) ayo = ayo ('and'); (rare).

B BM 601,659.
E Kropp27, ST 22717(?), cf. ayo ST 22531.

19) e added; cf.paragraph 140.

a) Due to Achmimic or Subachmimic influence. This is found in a  
number of early texts, but seems mostly confined to Semi-Achmimic  
and Theban manuscripts. In the Sah.Elias we find:  
cooye 728,30,  
811,930,113, al.;  
eoye, aoye 518,105; laaye 32;  
cooyne 83;  
eg 131;  
eame 46. Luke(BIFAO VIII,76ff.) I,60 oywye;  
Br.4524  
epw 416,22,42,18  
laaye, laye;  
Berlin Psalter(ed.  
Rahlfs)IX,28 caey;  
Wessely,Sah.GT.Ps.Fr.p.13(Old Vienna Psalter)CVIII,26 nek-  
me;  
BG 32 me (cited in Crum,Dict.p.157a),82  
me (cited ib.p.798a);  
Crum's fragment of St.John(see p.241  
ote 2) eneye, oywye.  
me for me (AAPmme) is found in a few  
ey manuscripts, e.g.  
PS 12510,17710, Jo.VI,55(2 MSS), Deut.  
(Budge)XIII,14, I John I,9(Berl.Or.408).  
ace yap for the normal  
Sah. ace yap is found occasionally;  
Deut.(Budge, corr.H.T.)  
VII,24, Br.247. In non-literary texts these Achmimicisms are  
very common at Thebes, but only a few examples, mostly early, can  
be cited from the rest of Upper Egypt.

C cooyne occurs in three fourth century texts: Ryl.270(twice),273,  
311; Ryl.352 has eneye, cooyne; caane Baouit 93; cf. also  
P.Mich.13660,61(Ora.IV,20)  
and P.Mich.593(AJSI XLVI,244)  
D  
E See Ep.I p.247, particularly common are oywye and laaye,laaye; cf.
also Ep.I p.242 see 'truth'(twice).

b) Added at the end of words, but not directly due to Achmimic influence. Here also the examples are mostly from Thebes. A few early instances may be cited: In the Achmimic Minor Prophets an ε has been added incorrectly in οὐνασώει Zach.IX,8, οὐνασώει Zach.X,1(for οὐσώει 'rain'). Dt.XXXIII,26(Budge)τ-νεε (cf.see above); Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)XIII,3[JKLM].

C άπινε εαροτης Ryl.270; πετευσανε Ryl 292(both of the fourth century); εγώρξε ΝΑΚ Kr.1127.

c) Other instances (rare). Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)p.33 υπηρε εε[τα],


20) E omitted.
a) Verbal. Br.5715ντερτ-τωμ.

B οικη_νηνοντ, οικη_νοοοτ BM 5927.

C μερ_παςμτ BM 1116Vο.2; ΝΑIK γρ Kr.1148; πολικ_τενυκ να Κε Kr.227,767(sim.)

D ταρ_τεταμεταφρς Bal.2054; ευρή_νουντε Bal.1605; ετ_και η Νε Bal.1211;

E οικη_ντερ_εχιανος J.1818; εγγραφευς_τρεχαεγγραφε J.1310; τηρον_ταν-

2051; ταϊκαλακια_τηνηκτς Ep.1774.

b) Preposition ε . A few early examples may be cited: Achm.Elias

1420οσ_ρακ_νοικος Μ τε Br.12719ετα_νεβραν.13626μιη_παφ; PS 1744

αρει_θμ,18615τοπο_πονοειν; Worrell,Proverbs p.XIV εαρερ_ρος

(6 times),εαρερ_ροε(2times),εαρε_να, εαρε_νευ, εαρε_πονοει(2times); cf.


B τεθ_βαλ, τετευ_βαλ BM 5808,650,Stern,AJ 1885,35(pap.VI); κω_βαλ

BM 5806,635; ονευ_νατι Kr.35.
At the end of words. A few examples may be cited where in Achimmic texts the final e is omitted, probably due to Sahidic influence: δησεου Ιoelian II, 26; λαγυ Ηοσ. VII, 7, Τεςπτ. III, 2; ουω (for ουως) ΙΙ Μαсс. Β. IV, 20; εκαν ουκαί Ναυμ ΙΙΙ, 17; ιεναι ιοιο Ιοelian II, 8; γοου Ηοσ. XII, 9, Σοφ. Ι, 15(4 times), 16; not due to Sahidic influence: ετη μεευε ΙΙ Μας. Β. IV, 20; ιο ΙΙ Μας. Β. IV, 6. In Μας. Β. IV we find μεευ (vb and nn.) more commonly than the usual μεευ, also γηρ (once) and γεερ (twice) for γηρ, γεερ; these forms are of considerable interest as they recur in certain non-literary texts (see below). From early Sahidic texts a few instances may be cited: Wessely, Sah. Gr. Ps. Fr. (Old Vienna Psalter) p. 13 ας (twice), μπνου; PS 14 ονζεατου, 7623 ξιν λόταρα ουρα Ριν, 19214 ταλατουμη, 3325 μηλα Μπακε, cf. 2224 ανελατευ-θρου; Fro. (Worrell) XVI, 15 γηρ. C μεευ, μεευ, μεου, for μεευ J&C 1921 ΙΟ (μεευ), Ryl. 292 (both of the fourth century); MIF LIX 494, 145, 307, 334, 399, 453, 457; γεερ for γεερ BM 1047, BM Or. 6201A120a, 124b, Ann. Serv. XV, 122 no. 10; μανογ-θρου MIF LIX 455; φιμ (τε-ςεμε) Κρ. 248 (passim), Ryl. 305; cf. κελον μμου BM Or. 6201A156; ευωπνουτε BM 1137.
D n.u.ey Bal.58²; ouer (= ueep) Bal.245³,⁷; n-pa Bal.332¹; anwini_bal P.Lond.IV 1641; nenxicooy metap P.Lond.IV 1515⁶; cf. tiacmaa _itekaet xφeic Bal.269¹.

E (rare) npeperney Worrell, Cop.Texts IV,4¹⁰; etb nakot BKU 118⁷.

d) ouernte for ouernt, due to Achmimic or Sub-Achmimic influence. A few early instances may be cited: Er.103²,269, Wessely, Sah.Gr.Ps. Fr.(Old Vienna Psalter)p.13(twice), Worrell, Proverbs p.19. In non-literary texts it is common at Thebes, but only occurs once elsewhere.

C neynpte BM.6201A80.

E ouernte CO 50²,93³,30²vo.⁵,32²³,35²⁴,35³⁷, Ep.1²⁷³,199³,20²³,20³⁷, 25⁴⁹,31⁰²,47⁵², j.6⁶⁶², st 30⁰²,al.

e) Varia. Cf. PS 5¹⁷ ouernte nōey; P.Mich.3565(Ora.IV,15)¹¹ _nuene (enebhn)

C nnuonpte(nτε-conj.) MIF LIX 145; _we Ryl.134⁹; cf. nτ- (nτ-rel.) Kropp D 11,100,10³, Ryl.162.


C "weye, "wey Ann.Serv.XV,115 no.2, MIF LIX 59²,307,334; _weye) JEA XIII,19f.(fourth cent.), MIF LIX 399¹,27¹⁴, BM.6201A79(early ?).

D nweye Ann.Serv. IX,56, XVI,98, BIFAO III,126; nweye WS 32¹⁰, Ann. Serv.XV,179, XVI,98.

E nweye ST 97³, Ep.213⁶; nwey Worrell, Cop.Texts IV,4¹⁰.

g) e = ee within words. "wepe for "wepe is the usual spelling in ManiP and ManiH(once) and P.Gol.47(7 times). We also find nene Worrell, Proverbs p.XIV and nœq (nœq) ib.XXIII,34; cf. ovele ecet P.Mich.1190¹²(Ora.IV,7). At Thebes "wepe J.2⁴; cene J.3³⁶.
h) Final e omitted before following e. Achm.II MacC.VI,20 πετυγγε; Berlin Psalter (ed.Rahlfs) p.33 πετονας, ευφανερωσα, γωνεβολ; Sah. Elias 517 μετανοετερε; Pro.(Worrell)XXII,17 ειμεροου, XXVII,21 μαχερου; Sap.(Thompson)II5 αντωωερερου.

C υμεροκ J&C 19222, Peremans, Vergote, Papyrologish Handboek, pl.XI Louv.18b (both 4th century), Worrell, Coptic Texts III,16,20, BM 112611,115010,16; υμενεωναυ (et sim.) Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 162,3,4, BM 11479,10, P.Černý (ined.)11; ταμερου Ryl.316; ταμεφων BM 6201A76; μαγεροι BM 104228, εθατεβολ, ημητεβολ Kropp 22,39; Kenna,us. Ryl.1280.

D υμεροκ Bal.22616, P. Lond. IV 1639; υμενεωπεριτ (et sim.) Bal.242,3, P. Lond. IV 1641; ειοτετοναλ Bal.19712; χιοοτετοματε P. Lond. IV 1519; ρωμενικο P. Lond. IV 1639; τιονμετερ τισομολογεια P. Lond. IV 150826.

E υμεροκ BKU 280; μεγεωμεχ ΣΟ 723.

21) Δ = ε.

a) Verbal; ωαρε-, ωαι-, ωακ-, etc. for ωερ-, ωει-, ωευ-, etc., due to Achmimic or Subachmimic influence. A few early examples: Br.1191, Sirach (Lagarde) XI,25(27)bis, XXI,16, XXXVIII,4, XLII,27, cf. ωαι- for ηευ- (imperf.) Sah. Elias 124. In non-literary texts this is common in regions D and B, but rare elsewhere:

C μαι-, μαι-, μας-, BM 10196, Ryl.221,323, AJSL XLVI,246.

D μαι-, μαι-, μας-, μας-, Bal.27711, P. Lond. IV 149434,14999,150830, 15096,151827,152129,155231,155318,1554vo,36,156214,156326,15649, 156552,157324,158723,1593,163410.

E μαρ-, μας-, μας- etc., very common, e.g. ST 38, BKU 92, CO 29, 61, 82, J.493, etc..


C Kr.236, Kropp D 64, cf. Ryl.279 μαρκυμου.

D Bal.3054, P. Lond. IV 157218.

c) Δ for ε in the preposition ε-etc. This is perhaps the most
marked and important evidence for the spread of the Achmimic and Subachmimic dialects. It occurs regularly throughout the Coptic period from Thebes northwards as far as Achmim and a few examples may be cited north of that region. Leipoldt, Schenoute von Atrippe p. 95 cites a few examples in late manuscripts from the White Monastery and at Abydos graffiti and stelae as late as the time of the Patriarch Gabriel (A.D. 910-921) still show this peculiarity, cf. below.

In the Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) we find twice α-(prep.) 375, 766 and once ανεν 3627; α, αφα- occurs six times on the dialectical page (139-140) of the Bruce Codex; in the Sah. Elias we find α-(prep) 13, 21, 31, etc., αφα- 921, 1130, ανεν- 19, 15; αφα- 615; the semi-Achmimic St. Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) has α- 138, ανεν- 148;

St. John XX, 29 (Bodleian Ms. Copt. e 150) ασαλα.

B ασαλ (also εσαλ) V.C.492.

C α-(prep.) BMO.6201B271, probably sixth century, written en antinooy; αςον Yrl.316; αφα for εφα BMO.6201B4710.

D α-(prep.) P.Lond.IV 149811, 16, 15042, 150831, 1553Vo.16, 157211, 34, 155317, 1593, 159915, 1630; Grohmann, Ar.Pap.Egyptian Library III, 16719, 21; P.Jkow Cairo; Brunton, Qau and Badari III pl.IV, 511, 18; Murray, The Osireion at Abydos pl.XXVII, Bouriant in Miss.I, 352ff. numbers 3, 4, 13, 15, 17.

ασαλ P.Lond.IV 15536, 16, Vo.9; Ann.Serv. XI, 243.

ατοα P.Lond.IV 155332, 33, 1595.

αφα P.Lond.IV 149812; P.Mich.593ας, 14 (Ora.IV, 192ff.).

ανεν, αφανέ P.Lond.IV 149814, 14998, 15538, 18, 15614; Bal.2474; P.Mich. 593ας (Ora.IV, 192ff.); Rec.XI, 147.

Cf. αματε BMO.6201B46, αφα αφετογ P.Mich.593ας (Ora.IV, 192ff.).

E Very common, see Ep.I p.236 and CO p.116 (index); many more could be cited.

d) οκερ χερ οκερ in Br. 407, 438.
e) Not due to Achm. or Subachm. influence. A few early examples:

Achm. Exodus II, 9 &e &e , IV, 23 &ak (both Sahidicisms); Achm. II Macc. VI, 4 & & (both Sahidicisms; P. Mich. 136 (Or. IV, 22) & & (place-name).

C &c& (poss.adj.) Krall, Mitt. F. E. R., V p. 35; & & (pl. &e) BMOr. 6201A90.

D & & (pl. &e) Bal. 332, this spelling also I Sam. VI, 7 (Morgan);

&c& (poss.adj.) P. Lond. IV 1500; cf. & & Bal. 119; & & Bal. 116.

E & & & & 82.

22) \(H = e\); cf. \(e\) expressed by \(H\) (2).

A few early examples: \(\pi\) (nn) Achm. Genesis (BKU 164) I, 26, II, 4 (bis);

\(\pi\) Sah. Elias 1 (also \(\pi\) 10\(\sub 28,14\)), \(\pi\) Luke (BIFAo VIII, 76ff.) I, 49; \(\pi\) (circumst.) BM 1047; \(\pi\) (def.art.; BM 1043, 1053, BMOr. 6201B22, 267; \(\pi\) Ryl. 193, Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 5 (twice), 6 (5 times); \(\pi\) c &u, \(\pi\), \(\pi\), \(\pi\) ib. 6; & & \(\pi\) (4 times), \(\pi\) \(\pi\) (3 times), \(\pi\) (twice), \(\pi\) (twice), \(\pi\) \(\pi\), \(\pi\) \(\pi\), \(\pi\) \(\pi\); \(\pi\) Bal. 61, 21614, 2186; \(\pi\) (rel.) \(\pi\) 6201A24b; \(\pi\) Ryl. 139, BMOr. 6201A296; \(\pi\) Ryl. 162, 282, Kropp 19; \(\pi\) (vb.) Ryl. 133; \(\pi\) VC 46, 6; \(\pi\) Ryl. 139; \(\pi\) BMOr. 6201B 13; \(\pi\) Kropp 116; \(\pi\) Ryl. 296; \(\pi\) MIF LIX 448; \(\pi\) Kr. 125; \(\pi\) Ryl. 277; \(\pi\) Ann. Serv. XV, 120.

D \(\pi\) (poss.adj.) P. Lond. IV 1513, Bal. 216, 218, \(\pi\) (rel.)

Bal. 114, 210, \(\pi\) (circumst.) Bal. 276; \(\pi\) (def.art.) WS 117; \(\pi\) Bal. 188, 11; \(\pi\) (vb.) P. Lond. IV 1554; \(\pi\) ib. 1574 (twice); \(\pi\) P. Mich. 1190 (Or. IV, 7); \(\pi\) WS 65; \(\pi\) P. Lond. IV 1520, 1535, 1585; \(\pi\) ib. 1598; \(\pi\) ib. 1631, WS 140; \(\pi\) Bal. 395; \(\pi\) Bal. 114; \(\pi\) Bal. 154; cf. \(\pi\) (N. Pr.) Ryl. 218.
E See Ep. I p. 238f., but many more could be cited, e.g.: την- (poss. adj.) J. 24,22,109, 1; επην-ST 9713; ηλιθιν- (= eπε-rel.) Tur 719; εικον Bku 18; εικονικ ΑΖ ΞΧΧΙΧΨ, 85f. (5 times), CO 327; ουραντι Ec. 45810; ουρανικ Bku 280; ουραν ST 42; ουραν Bku 264; τικανι Τι Bku 272; etc.

\[23)(\epsilon) = \epsilon; \] cf. 'expressed by' 1 (3).

a) \& for final e. In a number of early Sahidic, Achmimic and Sub-Achmimic texts we sometimes find \& for finale as in Bohairic, Fayyumic and Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence. For the significance of this see chapter IX, pp. 242f. and elsewhere.

For the evidence of the Paris Magical Papyrus see pp. 243f. below. P. S. 296\(\epsilon i n \); P. Mich. 4932\(\epsilon i n \); Achnimic Psalm-fragment ed. Crum in Miss. LVI (Mel. Maspero II) pp. 73ff. xect and xect for xect; Achnimic Isaiah (Muséon LIX, 452ff.) xect F. 6, 7; Achnimic Genesis (Bku 164) xect I, 26, 28, κεκε I, 18; Schmidt, Acta Pauli (Sub-Achmimic) xect 916, 2125, xect 2224, xect 3115, xect 3319, 658; Achnimic II Macc. VI, 1, 6 xect; cf. Middle Egyptian χιν, see p. 222.

From non-literary texts only a few examples are known:

A ωτυρπι Revillout, Actes et Contrats, papyri du Louvre V - VIII.

B xeru, γενουτ, κατι, τωι, ομηρι, ωτυρπι Kr. 116, 117.

C πεγη BM Or. 6201 B 47.14.

D κατι, λαμτ (ψωμε, χανη) P. Lond. IV 156l 16, 17; ειπη Bmtal. 1159; γυν Bmtal. 2796.


b) χιν- for χει- (indef. art.). This occurs frequently in the Hamburg Old Fayyumic texts, see p. 227 below, also in the Achnimic Isaiah (Muséon LIX, 452ff.) B 10, and the Sah. Elias 534, 61.

B BM 544.

C Kr. 48.

D P. Lond. IV 15135.

c) Varia. Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) 3717, 7010; Acts (Budge) XXXI, 37 ετραχιογυμα; PS 211 απνας ειπηκυκτηριον; λεκνε γι για μενεγι for μενεγι in Subachmimic St. John XX, 4.
C eι- (prep.) BM 1019; eιγαω ηε BM Or.6201B37; eικε ηε BM 1063; eικε BM Or.6201B262; eικε BM 1119; eικε BM 1154; eικε BM 1165; eικε BM 1365; eικε BM 1061.

D eιγαω ηε P.Lond. IV 1640; eιγαω ηε ib.1646; eιγαω ηε Bal.118.

E See Ep.I p.239, but many more could be added, e.g.: eι- (prep.) J.346-48; eικε BM XXXIV,85ff.; eικε ( = κεικα) VC 39; κεικα BM J.5.

24) ο = ε; cf. ο expressed by ο (4)(rare); cf. chapter IX pp.213ff.

C ογ-, οσ-, BM Or.6201B47,170; ογ- οοο ηε BM Or.6201A79b (Arab period); cf. ονο-, ον- Le Muséon LXV,p.160 (ca.1000 A.D.).

D μανπνοι ηε eοa Bal.271.

E A few examples in Ep.I p.240.

25) γ = ε; cf. γ expressed by γ (5). This is found a few times in late literary texts, e.g.John IV,36 (Horner's 91) Βυκν.

C γγ Ryl.284 (twice); γγ Ryl.159; Worrell, Coptic Texts III,21; γγ B Mor.6201B273; ευ- (rel.) BM Or.6201A107, B273; πιντερα ( = πιντερα ) Νυτετεμ P. Černý (ined); γγοοοο (circumst.) Ryl.353; γγοοοο ηε Ann.Serv. XV,120; γγ πρι ηε P. Černý (ined); πγβαγγ MIF LIX,300; γγοοοο ηε BM 1018; cf. γγοοοοοο (Megalonymus) J&C 1921; often in Greek words, e.g.: γρατιν Ryl.180.

D γγ P.Lond. IV 1639; γγ WS 112; γγ Bal.152; cf. γγ Bal.152.

E See CO p.122 (index) citing γ- (prep.) 119 and γγ (60)Ad 54, also a few examples in Greek words; also ἀντ- TurO 18.

26) Δι = ε; cf. ε = Δι (16).

In the Subachminic St.John and the Manichaean Psalmbook we frequently find και for κε and I have also found it once in the Pistis Sophia 347. In non-literary texts και is common in regions D and C but very rare at Thebes. This is of some significance for the early spread of Subachminic, see chapter IXp.216.

A και: Krall, Rec.Tr.,VI,63ff., papyr.15; ευνα- (rel.) Revillout, Actes et Contrats, papyrus du Louvre VII.
VIII, 26, 26A, 27

C καὶ Κρ. 1124, BM 1104, 11139, 11156, 11385, 11157, Ryl. 153, 171, 188, 319, BM Or. 6201B60, 69, 84; εἰς ταῖς ΒΜ 11284.


Ε Βρ. I p. 237 citing καὶ (perhaps) ST 979 and υἱὸν (vb.) Ep. 53115; also μαθητής (= μεταμοGreek text here) Ep. 10216; εταιρίας J. 1245; καὶ (= καὶ 'το θεό') MH 69.

26A) εὖ = ε; cf. paragraph 28.

Key for καὶ is found in three fourth century literary texts: Deut. (Budge) XIII, 13, XXVIII, 36, 64, XXIX, 26 al. (always γενεκληνοτε). Le- forte, Les Manuscrits Coptes de l'Université de Louvain no. 12, (once); Berlin Ms. Or. 408, I John II, 17, ed. Delaporte, Rev. Biblique 1905, pp. 377ff. Cf. Pro. (Worrell) XXVIII, 4 εὐχτὸ εὐροος.

27) Ν = ε; cf. ε = Ν (82).

a) Νταθε for εταθε. This is confined to region D: Bal. 1526, 2574, P. Lond. IV 149415, 15066, 15098, 15605, 157412, 24, 15964, 6, 1634 (3 times), 16383, 16423.

b) Ν for ε or εταθε meaning 'concerning', cf. last. Perhaps this is a remnant of the Demotic usage, cf. Spiegelberg, Demotische Grammatik par. 273. It occurs once in the Pistas Sophia 3524 an γενεκληνοτε, ανον παρά ρωμεν νώμ ΝΕΣΙΔΕΤΝΟΒ εντακολούθων ναν επολ. C BM 10374 Ντακσίν ουασφάλεια χωλοι τεσσαρών αυτού ΝΤΡΙΤΗΝ ΧΩΛΙΥ, BM 104330. Τασφάλεια ΝΚΥΡΑ ΜΑΡΟΥ ΝΕΣΤΟΥ ΝΕΤΙΟΒ; ΚΡ. 624 εις ταναμε ενεπάντατο μααυ (ν)ταυρίνη. D WS 174 νεμειοτο πετειαί ΝΚΥΡΑ ΝΕΣΤΟΥ ΝΕΝΝΟΥ ΝΥΜΑΧΡΙΣΟΣ, similarly Aegyptus XXXI (1951) pp. 332 ff., numbers b and c; cf. note there.

c) Varia. Cf. Pro. (Worrell) XV, 21 υψε υνητ ΝΕΣΙΤΑΙΟΣ ΑΝ.


B ΝΥΜΑ Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 125.

C ΝΥΜΑ BM 11458.

D ΝΥΜΑ Bal. 1402, WS 26; ΧΝ WS 111; προς θεο ΝΥΜΑ ΕΝΔΟΥ Bal. 10222.
VIII, 27 - 32

28) oy = e; cf. e = oy (55).

For coy = cē (1st. pres.) and (η)cow = nce (conj.) see par. 138, 139.
This is common only at Thebes; for κο - (κε-) cf. also par. 26A.
C κου - BM 1032, 15, 112911 (?).
E See Ep.I p. 238; κου is particularly common.

28A) κου = e.

In the Sah. Elias we find ρνεε = 627, 72 and κου = 1212, both due
to Achmimic; a few non-literary examples from Thebes are cited

29) H = εε.

Michah I, 8(Achmimic) ωμφε for χεεε.
C χμφε Ryl. 155.
D ετετωναγμεσ P. Lond. IV 155432; cf. χανιθ Bal. 1143.
E ωμφε for χεεε J.24, 26, 27, 123, 124, 1234, 1263, 1642, 54, 1813, al. .

30) ε = εεε; cf. o = ooy (53).
C πεε (πεεεε) MIF LIX, 10, 232, 389.
D πεε (πεεεε) P. Lond. IV 1641.

31) ε = εγ; cf. ey = e (26A).

Hos. III, 4(Achmimic) εμμεττε προ μμο; Br. 1103 χιντεμιντ κου, 1192
cεναθ νηθν ννε εφραγο μπλεμα. 
C εγμεληγαλ ετικ ευράπακ BM 10317; αρι πεεεε MIF LIX, 232; cf.
πεπελρ Ann. Serv. XV p. 124.

32) oy = ey; cf. ey = e (52).

In the Sah. Elias we find ηου - 1220, του - 1117, 19, νου - 427, 828, 31
for Sah. νευ-, τευ-, νευ; the same is also found in the Berlin
Gnostic, e.g.: Schmidt, Alte Petrusakten 14015. The forms ηου-,
tου-, νου- are proper to all Coptic dialects except Sahidic, though
the Sah. forms are sometimes found, e.g. Schmidt, Acta Pauli p. 16,
Joel I, 3(Achmimic), al. .
C μν τουμεσ Ryl. 192.

22A) ω = νοοι

E τετσω for τετσον νοο 327, Ad 50.

23) α = ά; cf. ά = α (8).

E A few examples from Thebes, see Ep.I p.237.

24) ε = e; cf. H = ε (22).

In early texts we frequently find μείτα for μηίτα, e.g.Deut.(Budge) VI,11, FS 117 18, Pro.(Worrell)VI,34.

C ε μείτα MIF LIX 265; μείται BM 1028 9; BMOx6201B30(4 times); μείτας BM 1041 3; υμείται BMOx.6201B175; υμείτα MIF LIX 307(twice); μείται BMOx.6201B30; υμείται AJSL XLVI,248.

D εμείται Bal.242 5, WS 90,91,92(twice),186; μείτα(10)Bal.127 2; άντε(15) WS 133; μείται BMOx.6201B58; υμείτα Brunton,Matmar p.95; ριμείται Bal.245 5; μείται, μείτα(τω.), τετσού, εαστεκ P.Lond.IV 1639; cf. εμείται WS 92,186; cf. also τεθίσειται Bal.103 6; ακατέ ρε Bal.228 6; εκλείπει Bal.312 9.

E No example in Ep.I, but occurs frequently, e.g.: μταδόντευται BKU 92 νο.7,10; δετ BKU 151 6; μείτα(15)FS 35; ρετ J.7 25, Tur0 7 22; τετσέευ, τερη BKU 280; υμείται ST 42; εμείται BKU 264, JAOS XLVII,148; μείται ST.42.

35) I = ά.

ουρήτε for ουριτε is found in the Subachmimic St.John(14 times).


B υφή BM 545 2.

C υφή MIF LIX 366; Χούτ (-=ΧούτΗ) Ryl.298.

D μνττί(15) P.Lond.IV 1561 17,1563 22; cf. Διογενείς Bal.301 1.

σημούμενος Bal.235 10; Δεσφίς (=τεσσάρμες) Bal.116 10.

35A) ο = ά.

E Three examples in Greek words Ep.I p.240; cf.FS 209 21 μνττπονος.
36) \( Y = H \); cf. \( H = Y \) (59).

A. *Reviouk, Actes et Contrats, papyrus du Louvre V, VI.*

C. 320 Ryl. 207; \( H = Y \) (59). 

D. Very frequently in Greek words.

36A) \( \omega = H \).

36B) \( \epsilon e = H \).

36C) \( \eta \eta = H \).

Br. 105 17, 232 \( \omega \eta \eta \); Pro. (Worrell) XVII, 17, XXV, 8 \( \omega \eta \eta \); Crum, Dict. p. 66 cites \( \eta \eta \) in same document.

C. *Ryl. 144.*

37) \( \mu = H \); cf. \( H = N \) (83), \( Y = N \) (86), al.

D. \( \epsilon m e (for \, \epsilon m e ) \) Bal. 235 2.

37A) \( \omicron = H \).

C. \( \omicron \) (for \( \omicron \)) in BM 1063 13, 14.

38) \( H = H \); cf. \( \alpha = \alpha \alpha \) (13), \( \epsilon = \epsilon \epsilon \) (20), \( \circ = \circ \circ \) (48).

a) Sahidic is the only dialect which doubles \( H \) in \( \epsilon \tau \epsilon \eta \mu \eta \), but in a
number of early manuscripts we sometimes find ετεμτες; Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) p. 33 (twice), the Turin Wisdoms (ed. Lagarde) Sap. VI, 16 (16), VII, 10, 13, XVI, 7, XVIII, 18, 19, Sir. XXII, 26 (28), XXV, 27, XXX, 3, 28 (29), XXXV, 2, XLIII, 28, XLVII, 16, LI, 18; Sah. Elias 135, 141, 4; Br. 232, 245, 259, 266; P.S. 126.

C Ryl. 269, 292, 301, 312 (all fourth or fifth century), BM Or. 6201 A 81, Ryl. 281, BM 1177.

D Bal. 1803.


b) We also find single ἡ in είς ενετε; Br. 801, 927; Wessely, Sah. Gr. Ps-Fragmente p. 11; Semi-Achm. Luke (BFAO VII, 76ff) I, 38 (είς ενετε).

Cf. also Pro. (Worrell) XXIV, 66 μμοε.

38A) ἡ = ʼυγγ

C. εἰνη τ. Jern. 511, but 510 εκμυ.

E γνηγηθη ST 454, 6.

38B) I omitted; cf. λ = λ1 (15), λ1 = λ (12), and especially par. 6D.

a) In a number of literary and non-literary texts of a late period we find κοιλ used as a construct form of κοιλ, see Crum, Dictionary p. 93b, and add Bal. 284, Ryl. p. 117 note 18, Kropp, MIF LIX, 194.

Most of the instances are from the Fayyum.


E γινε γινε BM 597.


D γινε and γινε for γινε Bal. 2732, 6.

E γινε for γινε CO 651, BKU 111B4; πευτ for πευτειωτ CO 866.

38C) δ = ε


39) ε = (ε); cf. I expressed by δ (6D).

A few early examples: Achm. Amos VI, 7 ετεμες; Sah. Elias 421.
VIII, 39 - 40.

evovoç, e\textsuperscript{24} \textit{maen}; cf. also the Achmimic practice of writing \textit{te} for + (verb) when followed by the preposition \textit{N-} with pronominal suffix. In non-literary texts this is common only at Thebes, though not unknown elsewhere.

C \textit{te-} (1st. present) Kr. 113\textsuperscript{2} (twice), BM 1045\textsuperscript{2},\textsuperscript{6}; \textit{ne-} (1st perf. neg.) Kr. 113\textsuperscript{6}; n\textit{te-} BM Cr. 6201A2; \textit{ntepomne} Τι BM 1043\textsuperscript{7}, cf. 1015\textsuperscript{7}, 1016\textsuperscript{4}; \textit{Xenta} \textit{niwt} ... \textit{mey BM Cr. 6201A108d}; \textit{Xene-} Krall, Mitt. P. E. R. V, p. 32; etc. Ryl. 121, 124, 298, al.

D \textit{ap-}, \textit{ale-} WS 50, Ann. Serv. XV, p. 114; \textit{te-} (1st. present) P. Lond. IV 1497\textsuperscript{2} 20, 1554\textsuperscript{6}, 1559\textsuperscript{11}, 1573\textsuperscript{23}; \textit{ne-} (for \textit{mai-}, 1st perf. neg.) P. Lond. IV 1563\textsuperscript{21}; \textit{ntepomne} Τι P. Lond. IV 1519\textsuperscript{2}, 1521\textsuperscript{10}, 1525\textsuperscript{4}, 1530\textsuperscript{8}; te\textit{npe-} \textit{taicen} (for te\textit{npe-} \textit{taicen}) Bal. 132\textsuperscript{6}; \textit{ne-} \textit{niaicen} P. Lond. IV 1553 vo. 34; \textit{ex-} P. Lond. IV 1588; \textit{zeten} (for \textit{eitn}) VC 60\textsuperscript{5}; \textit{Xene-} (AA\textsuperscript{2} 1) P. Lond. IV 1565\textsuperscript{34}.

E Very common, see Ep. I p. 238; many more could be cited.

39A) \textit{H} = e\textsuperscript{4}.

Subachmimic St. John XVII, 5 εές\v{y}ιν\v{H}ην\v{y}ην.

C \textit{tume} (for \textit{tume} 'village') Kr. 93\textsuperscript{2},\textsuperscript{5}.

D Cf. \textit{amvth} Bal. 325\textsuperscript{2}.

E \textit{év-} \textit{topik} BKU 280.

40) e\textsuperscript{1} = \textit{e}; cf. \textit{i} = e\textsuperscript{1} (40A); cf. also paragraph 60.

a) A considerable number of early Sahidic texts write frequently e\textsuperscript{1} for normal Sahidic \textit{i} when this follows another vowel, e.g.:


These spellings are probably due to Subachmimic influence since they occur regularly in the Subachmimic St. John and the Acta Pauli, though not the Manichaean texts which invariably write \textit{i}, cf. paragraph 40A below and chapter IX p. 210. Manuscripts in which this occurs particularly frequently are the following:
BMOr.7594 (ed. Budge, Biblical Texts, both hands), the Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs), the Turin Wisdoms (ed. Lagarde, Aegyptiaca), the two old Vienna Psalters (ed. Wessely, Sah.-Gr. Ps.-Fragmente, pp. 11ff. and 65ff.), the Berlin Gnostic (see Schmidt, Die Alten Petrusakten), Lefort, Les Manuscrits Coptes de l’Universite de Louvain numbers 9 and 12, the Sah. Elias, the Semi-achmimic St. Luke (BIFAO VIII, pp. 76ff.), the Pistis Sophia, Ryl.16, LMisc.L, BM 1224, and number 18 in the present collection. It is to be noted that all these manuscripts are from the fourth or early fifth century.

In non-literary texts these spellings occur only rarely, except in a few early texts.

C J&C 1920: αεικοο (twice), cαει (twice), ουκαι, ουκοι, κοει, εκων;
Ryl.271: αειει, εειαει, εκειει; 273: ηεινθνονωυν, ηεινθνον, κοει, εκων;
292: cαει (twice), εεινθνον, μοιει, εποιει; 301: cειαιαει, εειαζοι, εποιει; 313: εειποιυ; P.Amh. (Greek) II, 145 ηει; (all of the 4th-5th cent.). Also κει EP 10589; εκων MIF LIX, 207, 259.

D ετηκαιειBal.1211; ηταειταιι, οειει WS 140.

E See Ep.I p. 239.

C New ST 185; γειει BMOr.6201B27,171.
D New Bal.10312; γειει Bal.19211; γειει Bal.23612.

40A) w = ei; cf. ei = w (40).

In a number of early Sahidic manuscripts we frequently find w for normal Sahidic ei, e.g.: ωτε, ποιε, ταιο, ουοιν, ουοιγς, ουοιτ, ζοιτ, ζοιε; especially in the Pistis Sophia, the Turin Wisdoms (ed. Lagarde), the Berlin Gnostic (Schmidt, Die Alten Petrusakten), the Old Vienna Psalter (ed. Wessely, Sah.-Gr. Ps.-Fragmente pp.11ff.), and others. It is to be noted that all these manuscripts also confuse ei with w where normal Sahidic has w, see above par. 40. The Manichaean manuscripts (Subachmimic) invariably write w, cf. chapter IX p. 210 below.
In non-literary texts this occurs in all regions, though perhaps less commonly at Thebes than further north. It is so common in many texts that it did not seem necessary to collect material for this.

\[41\text{ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν} = \text{ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν} \]


C νταιςεαει Ryl. 196; Χοιει Peremans-Vergote, Papyrologisch Handboek, pl. XI (Louv. 18b); εἰς εἰς, εἰς εἰς αἰκη BM 1124²,³; νοτος BMOr. 6201All0a; εἰς εἰς BMOr. 6201B52; εἰς εἰς BMOr. 6201B26²; εἰς εἰς BM 1124³.

D εἰς εἰς Bal. 216²; cf. εἰς εἰς (place-name) Bal. 155¹.

\[42\text{ὁ} = \text{ὁ} \]

Acts (Budge) XXIII, 12 ὀδοὶ.

C τοιτοιεῖ Ryl. 191.

D τοιτοιολογία P. Lond. IV 1509²²; cf. αἰμφοπολία Bal. 117⁸, 163⁴.

\[42A\text{ ἐι} = \text{ἐι} \]

B At Thebes we sometimes find ειτ as construct form of ειωτ; see Ep. I p. 248.

\[43\text{ὁ} = \text{ὁ} \]

This is one of the fundamental differences which divides Sahidic (and Bohairic) from the Upper Egyptian sub-dialects (Achmimic, Subachmimic, Middle Egyptian and Fayyumic), cf. chapter IX p. 230. Examples from early literary Sahidic texts are extremely rare, but the non-literary texts have preserved very substantial evidence for this in the whole of Upper Egypt. It is notable, however, that at Ashmunein we only rarely meet with this, whereas it is common both further south, especially at Thebes, and further north in the Fayyum. In some localities it persisted practically throughout the Coptic period and we still find it on steleae and graffiti from the 11th century at Abydos (see Murray, The

Deut. (Budge) XII, 26 ητακ; Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) ταιχ; Br. 263 μνακ; BG p. 10 ταματηνν; Sah. Elias 133 αξε; Semi-Achm. Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76 ff.) Ι, 43 Ανακ, I, 56 [αφεντενεδαι, I, 65 ουαν νυμ; P. Mich. 13690 (Ora. IV, 21) ηκαις.

A seen in Rec. Tr. VI, pp. 63 ff., papyrus III.

B Very common due to Fayyumic influence.

C Ανακ Ryl. 270 (ter); Νακ, επαρχ ΒΜ 1123, 27, 29 (both 4th cent.); Ανακ, Ανακ Ryl. 352; Ανακ Κκ 4; Ανακ Κκ 77, 11; εματ ΒΜ 6201A104; 
 γομα ib. 114; εγαλ B 30; Ανακ 63, 65; Ανακ 195; Νακ (Nake) 265; εκπορικός 272; Νακ 281, 286; cf. ουγηνάκη 10; εκνατανέκατανακ, πυγμαμός, ουμενεν, ποτούατεν P. Mich. 593, 599 (AJSL XLVI, pp. 242-245).

D εγαλ P. Iond. IV 1531; Ανακ (= μοοιοι) ib. 1554; επαρχ ib. 1536; εγαλ Bal. 309; 
 γακ εΚ ΙΧVIII, pp. 60ff. line 28; Ανακ, Ανακ, ουμενεν, 
 ομενεν, ομενεν, ομενεν, ομενεν, εκπορικός, εκπορικός, εκπορικός, εκπορικός, εκπορικός, εκπορικός, εκπορικός, εκπορικός, 
 Brueton, Qau and Badari III, pl. LIII right (=pl. IV no. 5) lines 7, 11; Ανακ, Ανακ, Ανακ, Ανακ, επαρχ, επαρχ, επαρχ, επαρχ, επαρχ, επαρχ, επαρχ, επαρχ, 
 Brunton, Matmar p. 95; γακ Ανακ Ann. Serv. XVI p. 99; cf. names: 
 γουματικός Bal. 3594, κολλούθως Bal. 21413; in Greek words: καλωθικός 
 Bal. 1561, γακ εκ εκ Bal. 2919, καλοκουτε Bal. 1144, 
 1876, 10.

E Very common, see Ep. I p. 237; many more could be cited.

43A) ε = ω.

Deut. (Budge) XIII, 13 πειστενεν.

B τε ης μετρόν Κκ 64.

C ης (but ib. ειον) Cramer, Die Totenklage bei den Kopten 12 (A.D. 750) 1).

E See Ep. I p. 236, a few examples.
43B) \( H = 0 \)

E A few examples, see Ep.I p.238.

44) \( \omega = 0 \); cf. \( \sigma = \omega (61) \).

In early literary texts this is comparatively rare: Achm. Amos IX,3 ἡμιάνωμ, Achm. II Macc. VI,4 ἄμω, VI,9 ἲνω, VI,18 ἵω, VI,19 ἐοιω; Sah. Elias 95 ἅμοιω, 85 εὐαγγειλω, 93 κενδέσωκοι, 92 εὐαγγειλόω; Br.1411 ἐνεῖω; Pro. (Worrell) XXII, 20 εἰπά.

In the non-literary texts this is common in all districts.
The following are examples from region D.

D \( \omega \) (qual.of εἰπε) Bal.1159, P.Lond. IV 1512\(^{40}, 1515^{18}, 1521^{28}, 1537^{6}, 1565^{54} \); ἁμω P.Lond. IV 1552\(^{5}, 1561^{4}, 1563^{21} \); ἄμω (= ἄμως) P.Lond. IV 1565\(^{50} \); ἐοιω P.Lond. IV 1642; ἐοιω Bal. 228\(^{12} \); εἰπά WS 48; εἰπάτε Bal. 192\(^{14} \); κατώ P.Lond. IV 1622; κατώς (=κατομ) P.Lond. IV 1560\(^{7} \); νακ- P.Lond. IV 1561\(^{8} \); νακ- WS 113, P.Lond. IV 1642; ὁν P.Lond. IV 1640, 1642; ὁμμέ P.Lond. IV 1591\(^{17} \); ταμω P.Lond. IV 1642; ταμω P.Lond. IV 1591\(^{6} \), 1519\(^{5}, 1521^{10}, 1525^{4} \); ἡμε Gloss. 91, 92; ἡμέ P.Lond. IV 1642 al.; Κεισ P.Lond. IV 1560\(^{20} \); ξαι P.Lond. IV 1521\(^{28} \); ταμω τι P.Lond. IV 1640; ζταμωτ P.Lond. IV 1596\(^{17} \); ταμωτ P.Lond. IV 1560\(^{30} \); ετοττ P.Lond. IV 1504; κατωτ P.Lond. IV 1515\(^{14} \); νταττ P.Lond. IV 133\(^{1} \); ηνοτ P.Lond. IV 1512\(^{32}, 1552^{27} \); νταττ Brunton, Matmar pl.LXVIII, 14.

45) \( \omega = 0 \); cf. Δα = Δ (11), ε added (19), ὁω = ὀ (63A).

A few early examples: Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) 42\(^{3} \) ταμωτ[α], 44\(^{7} \) ἄμοιων[ν], 48\(^{15} \) κόοιες, 73\(^{17} \) τοοτ; Sah. Elias 625 κνοοτ, 928 κλωομ, 12\(^{20} \) εποομ (= επωμ), 61\(^{5} \) μὸομ, 11\(^{9} \) γοο (1000); Br. 39\(^{12} \) μοος, 250 τοοτ; Pro. (Worrell) 26\(^{13} \) κνοοτ, 15\(^{22} \) κνοοτ, 23\(^{16} \) κνοοτ, 21\(^{6} \) κνοοτ; cf. Deut. (Budge) 13\(^{15} \) κνοοττωττοτ; Crum, Dictionary p. 253a notes that this is common in the Esne-Edfu texts. In non-literary texts this is common only at Thebes.

C τουτ WZKM XLVIII (1941) p. 46 no. 2\(^{2} \).

D μοοτ P.Lond. IV 1521\(^{29} \); κατωτ P.Lond. IV 1565\(^{11} \), 1566\(^{11} \); τουτ Bal. 344\(^{5} \).
E Frequent; see Ep.I p.242.

46) **ογ = ο** ; cf. **ο = ογ** (56).

**ογ**. In non-literary texts this is frequent at Thebes, but extremely rare elsewhere, except in Greek words.

C μοι (μμοι) P.Černy (ind.); ετελαχαγ εθολ BM 10164; cf. απο-λλω
Baouit p.44(XV,2).

D **ογ**. P.Lond.IV 15363; cf. απο-λλω Bal.3196; καιφηκονία Bal.1178;
επικτούλη Bal.18711; κατούς Bal.1164,11; μουναχος Bal.1143; ζαλα-
κουτε Bal.1144; παντογκρατον Bal.11411; προς P.Lond.IV 153633.

E Frequent; see Ep.I p.240.

46A) **ογο** , **ογο = ο** ; cf. **ογο = ο** (63B).

a) In Achmimic texts we twice find ογο for the interrogative particle ο (Sah. ομο); Zach.I,9 and Μουσέωn III p.2 lines 4,6,8(side by side with 3 lines 5,17); this is also found once at Thebes in a non-literary text cited Ep.I p.241 (MMA.24.6.13): Ξε ογο εργασιο; cf. chapter IX p.238.

b) ογο and **ογο** are sometimes found for ο , qualitative of επε ; all the examples are from Thebes; one early example: Br.229.


47) **ει = οει** .

D ξειρ Bal.20216; cf. Φ ελς Bal.1872; Κοιμηντ P.Mich.1190 II23
(Cra.IV,9).

47A) **α = οο** ; cf. **α = ο** (43), **ο = οο** (48).

a) Due to Achmimic influence. In five texts from Thebes.

E μαε (for μαου ε) ST 2136,22822,2312,VC 6ro.5,7, MH 617.

b) Not due to Achmimic influence. These forms are Fayyumic, their presence at Thebes is remarkable.

E ξας (for ξοο-ος) ST 607,VC 808; ντατκ (?) BKU 125.

48) **ο = οο** ; cf. **α = αλ** (13), **ε = εε** (20), **ο = οο** (38).

A considerable number of examples can be cited from early literary texts: Acts (Budge)VII,57 θοου ,Χ,11 τοου ; PS 1922 εγνον,
VIII, 48, 49

110\textsuperscript{10} \textit{εντακχοσ} ; Old Vienna Psalter (ed. Wessely, Sah.-Gr.Ps.-Fragmente pp. 11ff.) CIV, 39 \textit{εγκλακε}, CIII, 20, CXIV, 4 \textit{μογε}, CV, 41 \textit{ετοσο}, CV, 1, CXI, 3, 9, CXX, 2, CXXI, 6, CXXIII, 1, 2 \textit{γον}, CIX, 1, CXXI, 5 \textit{μοκ}, CIV, 31, 34, CV, 23 \textit{αχχος}, CV, 27 \textit{εχοσογ}, CIV, 37 \textit{πετσοσ}, CIV, 29 \textit{κτησοσογ} ; BG (ed. Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten) \textsuperscript{131} \textit{μοκ}, many more could be cited from the unpublished part, e.g. 216, 18 \textit{γον}; Br. 139\textsuperscript{2}, 6, 10, 16, 1406, 14 \textit{ετοσο} (pp. 139-140 are more dialectical than the rest of the codex); P. (Worrell) p. XIV citing: \textit{Χοσ}, \textit{γον}, \textit{μογε} (bis), \textit{ογρογ}, add 1724 \textit{κοσ}, 11\textsuperscript{2} \textit{τοσογ}, 161, 22\textsuperscript{13} \textit{εσογ} ; LMisc. I \textit{γον}; BM 1224 \textit{χοσ}; P. Mich. 138\textsuperscript{68} (Ora. IV, 20) \textit{ντοπ}; P. Mich. 356\textsuperscript{4}, \textsuperscript{9} (Ora. IV, 14f.) \textit{τοσο}.

A \textit{πτοσκ} Revillout, Actes et Contrats, papyrus du Louvre IV\textsuperscript{4}.

C \textit{χοσ} (bis) JEA XIII, 19f.; \textit{τοτγ}, \textit{ντοτβ} BM 1123\textsuperscript{8}, MG (both 4th cent.); \textit{τοτσ} Ryl. 132, BM 1103\textsuperscript{13}; \textit{γον} Kr. 77; εφογ BM 1118\textsuperscript{12}; τηνογ Ryl. 356, P. Černý (ined.); \textit{πετ-θογ} MR V, 28; \textit{γτογ} BMOx. 6201B272.

D \textit{τοτβ} Bal. 119\textsuperscript{17}, P. Lond. IV 1528\textsuperscript{4}, 1529\textsuperscript{5}, 1595; \textit{γτογ} Bal. 331\textsuperscript{4}; εφογ P. Lond. IV 1552\textsuperscript{27}; θογne WS 22.

E Crum in Ep. I p. 242 only cites \textit{χογ} for \textit{χοσσ}, but quite a number of examples are known from Thebes, e.g.: \textit{τοτε} CO 48\textsuperscript{5}, 66, 206\textsuperscript{9}, Ad. 43\textsuperscript{5}; \textit{ετοτβ} BKU 163, 280; \textit{χοσ} CO 81, BKU 92, VC 112\textsuperscript{3}; \textit{μογε}, \textit{μοσε} VC 35\textsuperscript{4}, ST 359\textsuperscript{1}; \textit{μογογ} J. 16\textsuperscript{61}; \textit{τηνογγ}, \textit{τηνογγου} BKU 139, 299\textsuperscript{8}; \textit{γτογ} J. 15\textsuperscript{46}; etc..

49) \textit{ωωω} = \textit{ωωω}; cf. \textit{οοο} = \textit{οοο} (48), etc.

In the Old Coptic Horoscope we find three times \textit{τατγ} for \textit{τοσγ} and Theban texts showing this peculiarity have evidently preserved an ancient tradition. Other early examples are: Achm. Hosea IV, 9 \textit{τατωβογ}, IV, 14 \textit{πετσωγ}, Sah. Elias 73\textsuperscript{4} \textit{εσωγ} (vb.).

C \textit{μογε} BM 1123\textsuperscript{4} (4th cent.).

D \textit{ετωτβ} Bal. 242\textsuperscript{3}, P. Lond. IV 1642 (3 times).

E Not listed in Ep. I, but a number of examples can be cited: \textit{ετωτβ} COAd 9\textsuperscript{4}; \textit{ετωτβ} Ep. 287\textsuperscript{9}; \textit{ετωτβ} J. 74\textsuperscript{5}, BKU 80, Ep. 291\textsuperscript{4}; al.
Due to Achmimic, Subachmimic or Fayyumic influence.

C XAY, XAY = Jern.1² and note, Ryl.315; ΠΑΧΑΥ ΝΑΣ ΜΙΝΗΣΟΥ ΒΜΟΡ.6201B22.
D ΔΑΧΑΥ ΝΟΥΟΥ, Worrell, Coptic Texts III,8(this region?); cayse
Bal.333; 6AAYE Bal.320⁵.
E XAY Ep.280,295,317,336,Tor.39,al.; cf.εκαταγαγε (= εκαταγοο)AZ
XXXIV,85ff.,vo.6; ηιαυ MH 534.

51) ηγ = οογ; cf.last..
C Xηγ τεθμαυ Ryl.310(4th century).
D ηγ- WS 92,93,1863; ⁸.

52) ο = οογ; cf. ο = ογ (56).
C ΝΗΓΟ ΤΗΡΟΥ Krall,MW V p.28(late).
D ΟΥΒΟΝΕ ΝΟΥΟΥ WS 138.
E See Ep.I p.240 citing ΚΝΟΟ, ΚΟΤΝ, ΤΝΝΟΥ.

53) ογ omitted.

a) Sometimes we find the indefinite article omitted, but often it is
difficult to decide whether it is the indefinite or definite ar-
ticle, cf.par.94. A few early examples: Achm.Hosea XIV,8 μνας
- ΝΟΥΟΥ ΝΜΑΪΑ, XIV,9 ΑΥΜΑΡΟ ΑΝ ΝΕΙΔΑΛΟΝ, Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)
72² ΠΑΡΑΔΟΚΟΥ Π.Μιχ.1366⁷(Ora.IV,20) ειταλημεν εστογατ; al..

b) Α, ο, ο, ο,., = ονα, ονο, ονω. A number of early examples: Achm.Ho-
sea IX,3 σεναμμε, Achm.II Macc.VI,1 ναισι, Achm.Elias 6³ ΣΗΔΗΔΕ,
ΝΟΝ ΝΗΜ, Br.241 ΝΕΤΟΤΑ, Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)79¹³ ΝΗΙΝ ΝΗΜ,
PS 8511 ευοου. In non-literary texts this occurs sometimes at
Thebes, but is very rare elsewhere.

C ΟΝ ΝΗΜ BM 1123⁸,²⁰(4th. century); ηιθ ΒΜΟΡ.6201A43; ηεταγη ΤΗΡΟΥ
ΜΙΦ LIX,238.

54) β = ογ; cf.ογ = β (65B); cf. also Crum,Dictionary p.467a.

Achmimic Psalmfragment(ed.Crum,Miss.LXVI,pp.73ff.) εταβαβ.
C &p for oy, P. Černý (ined.).

55) e = oy; cf. oy = e (28).

In a few early manuscripts we sometimes find the 2nd. fem. sing. of the possessive adjective as ne-, e.g. BG 130\textsuperscript{3}, 131\textsuperscript{2} (Schmidt, Alte Petrusakten); Luke semi-Achm. I, 36 (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.), but τοῦ- ib. I, 61; ne- is the form found in all dialects except Sahidic which has noy.

C &p for μνήμ Ryl. 270 (4th century).

D μανξούς ιε Bal. 277\textsuperscript{11}.

E A few examples in Ep. I p. 238.

56) o = oy; cf. oy = o (46).

This is found a few times in the Achm. Minor Prophets: o (indef. art.) Hos. IX, 16; αο for αου (Sah.: αεο) Soph. I, 10, Joel II, 23; ουν ου Mic. II, 4; ξουν ιαι Hos. VI, 10; in the semi-Achm. BM 1223 we find twice o (indef. art.), but four times oy; ManiK 59\textsuperscript{9} ουνογ; Sir. (Lag. Aegeptiaca) XXIII, 10 ηνο; o for oy (indef. art.) is also found four times in Proverbs (Worrell) XVI, 14, XVIII, 4, XXIV, 48, XXIX, 35, cf. ib. XV, 2, 15 ηνάναογ. In non-literary texts it is found in all regions, but perhaps more common at Thebes than elsewhere.

C ούον BM 1127\textsuperscript{19}; πνοτι MIF LIX 542; ητνάνογ BM Or. 6201B29; σαχωτ BM Or. 6201A64a; ουου MIF LIX 238, 477; υναλαβ ib. 477; τνογ ΒΜ 1109\textsuperscript{3}; ουογ κροππ\textsuperscript{72}; δτοο Ryl. 205 (late); ξοτ (+ξοθ) Ryl. 298; ξικοο Kr. 98.

D o for oy (indef. art.) WS 173; εζων Bal. 152\textsuperscript{6}; νοκ, ου (= ουνκ, νου) Bal. 57\textsuperscript{2}, 239\textsuperscript{2}; πανοτι κοι Ann. Serv. XVI p. 99; νανογ Bal. 30\textsuperscript{31}, 57\textsuperscript{3}, P. Lond. IV 1641; ηνανογ Bal. 260\textsuperscript{4}; πνοτι Bal. 202\textsuperscript{15}; σαχωτ Petrie, Memphis I pl. LIV; τνογ ST 265\textsuperscript{5}; ξονε (= σονε) Bal. 330\textsuperscript{4}; ξοτ (= κοτ) Bal. 132\textsuperscript{5}; cf. ον = ουν (?) Bal. 114\textsuperscript{9}.

E See Ep. I p. 240; many more could be cited.
56A) ωυω = ωυ; cf. ωυ omitted (53); cf. also paragraphs 18A, 46A, 63B.

A few early examples: Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) XVII, 36 ηονυωγητε, XXI, 9 αποσομακη, XLII, 1 οπορωμε, cf. XXXVI, 17 οποσομακη (= ηονυωγητε)
Deut. (Budge) V, 25 τηναμουογ; Le Muséeon LII pp. 2f. ηονυωγ.

C ηονυωμε BM 1064.

D Nενηουογ P. Lond. IV 1565 17; cf. ηουοκογ Bal. 2277.

56B) ω = ωυ; cf. ο = ωυ (56); ωυ = ω (62); ου = ο (46).

Br. 97 13, Sah. Elias 12 22 ω for ωυ (question particle).

C κωος (= κοους) BM 1147 4; κοουκ αταη Ann. Serv. XV p. 120; κωκομε BM 1126 6; κοωτ (= κοουτ) BMOr. 6201A64a; ακωκητω, ηακουνωυω, εναυ οοοτ (bis) BM 1103 8, 21 31 32; ακεωνα, κακωκατ Ann. Serv. XV p. 114.

D οουε Gloss. 22, 24 (Achm. is οουε).

E Frequent, see Ep. I p. 241; many more could be cited.

57) ου = ουυ; cf. next; also ου omitted (53).

A number of early examples: PS 20 8, 111 18 ωειυ, 5 18, 263 20 ουειν; Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) XLII, 3; Br. 32 21 ουειν; Pro. (Worrell) XIII, 9, XV, 23 ουειυ; cf. BM 1124 ηεούμε ( = ηεούμε).

C ηακαουν (twice) BM or. 6201A28a.

57A) ωυ = ουυ; cf. last.

A few early examples: Acts (Budge) XXII, 8 ουωφε, VII, 43, VIII, 27 σωτ; Tu 43, 35 3 αυηογυδη; Rec. Champollion p. 539 σωτ; Pro. (Worrell) XVI, 4 σωφε, XVII, 11, XVIII, 18 σωμ.


E ωυ Ep. 299 18, M.H. 72 13; σωτ CO 140 2.

58) ωυ = ωυυ, ευ = ευυ υ, ου = ουυ; cf. ωυ omitted (53); ουυυ = ου (56A).

This peculiarity is frequent in early texts, but seems to be remarkably rare in texts later than the fifth century. Achm. I Clem. (Schmidt) 66 17 ηαρουηγη; Achm. II Macc. VI, 8 ηουασκανας, V, 27 σωμ; Achm. Minor Prophets, Mic. IV, 3 αυυ μερμε, Hos. IV, 4 ηους, Joel II, 26 ηουωμε, II, 10, I, 15, cf. Hos. X, 12 ηουανε, Joel II, 14 ιουωμε, Hos. IX, 4 ιουωμε, Hos. IX, 3 ιουως, Zach. VIII, 8 ιουως.
This occurs only in Greek words; from region D the following may be cited:

D μισθωρον Bal.234<i>2</i> (also BHom.1); προπηνερος Petrie, Memphis I pl. LIII; προκανε Bal.189<i>31</i>; εικονια P.Lond.IV 1588; εικονια P.Lond. IV 1555vo.<i>36</i>; εικονια P.Lond.1639; ψυχος Petrie, Memphis I, LIII.

E cf. CO index p.118.

59A) i = y; cf. last.

D Cf. αναρητε Bal.102<i>3</i>; τιτροετε Bal.242.<i>1</i>.

E Cf. προκανε CO 99,195.

60) αυ = αυ, ευ = ευ; ιμι = ιυ; cf. ει = ί (40); cf. also next.

When γ follows α, ε, and in particular η, it is often in early manuscripts written as ωγ, e.g. Deut. (Budge) I, 40, 44, VI, 14, VIII, 1, IX, 8, 16, 19 etc. -τουτων, χ, 9 ειμαυ, χ, 17, XI, 2, 18 τακρου, al. pl., this peculiarity is very frequent in Deut. but extremely rare in Acts written by a different hand, one example is Acts XXIII, 30 αιταγου; Wessely, Sah.-Gr.Ps.-Fragm. p.12 citing ημαιου and ουμαι; ib.p.106 ουμαιου, νεξμαι; Sap. (Lagarde) XIV, 8 τακρου,
In non-literary texts this is comparatively rare, though a more systematic search would probably reveal further examples.

C **μνηου** in JEA XIII, 61; **μνηους** J&C 19205; **μνηους**, **μνηους**, **μνηους** Ryl. 273; **μνηους** Ryl. 292; **μνηους** Ryl. 314; **μνηους**, **μνηους**, **μνηους** Pernmans-Vergote, *Papyrologisch Handboek* pl. XI; **μνηους** P. Col. 47; all these texts are from the fourth or fifth century; also: **μνηους**, **μνηους**, BM Or. 6201B160; **μνηους**, **μνηους**, BM Or. 6201A20b; **μνηους**, **μνηους**, BM Or. 6201A64a; **μνηους**, **μνηους** (n.pr.) MIF LIX, 484; **μνηους** Cramer, *Totenklage* 14 (A. D. 750); **μνηους** BM Or. 6201B279; **μνηους** BM Or. 6201B267; **μνηους** BM Or. 6201A79; **μνηους** MIF LIX, 60; **μνηους** BM Or. 6201B206.

D **μνηους** Bal. 241911; **μνηους** WS 48; cf. also spellings like **μνηους**, **μνηους** see above par. 13b.

60A) **αγ = αγ**, **εγ = εγ**; cf. last, also, **α = ε** (40A).
This peculiarity occurs in Sahidic manuscripts of all periods, in some more marked than in others; early manuscripts where this is particularly frequent are the Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs, see list on p. 31) and the Achimimic II Maccabees.

60B) **γ = γ**.
This is found in the verbal auxiliaries a number of times in early manuscripts, e.g. *Acts* (Budge) IV, 11, Achm. Hos. X, 5, Ps 19521, 2174, 2239, rarely otherwise, e.g. *Achm. Elias* 204 ἀγγελομενον ομογινέ. In non-literary texts the two letters are written so alike that it seems wiser not to cite any examples. Cf. also Ep. I p. 242 and an unusual spelling in MIF LIX, 149 ταφίνε (n.pr. = ταφίνε).

60C) **α = ω**; cf. **ω = α** (10A).

*Acts* (Budge) VII, 46 οναδύαντι; cf. Br. 4017 Μηλαμ (Sah. 6ωλα).

D ἑτέρα Gloss. 384.

This peculiarity is of some interest as it is one of the most marked features of Middle Egyptian, see below chapter IX pp.221f.

A few early examples; Achm. Amos I,3,9,11 ταιοτ, VI,9 θού; Achm. Hos. VI,9 θον; Sah. Elias 818 κοτε, 932 θοκ; Semi-Achm. Luke (BIFAO VIII,76ff.) I,57 θοκ; Br.1165 ουν,έσωλ; BM 1223 εγώσαγ; Lemm, Misc.I θογτ, θοντ, ρογογου; BM 1224 θητονογ, τρογν. In non-literary texts this occurs frequently in all regions; from region D the following may be cited:

D ερον P.Lond.IV 150912; μετον Bal.18814,15, P.Lond.IV 15098, 153018,1579,1589; εκον P.Lond.IV 149433,151810,151911,152118, 152815,155910,1560,159310; χηοις P.Lond.IV 1565; θες Bal.513; θηκ Bal.2407, P.Lond.IV 1636,1646, Brunton, Matmar p.95; κοτ Bal.2416; ξον P.Lond.IV 152812; ηολ Bal.2407; ηος P.Lond.IV 155310.8,9, 156116,1646; ηος P.Lond.IV 1610 θραμ.211,1633; ζέκ P.Lond.IV 149413,32; κοου P.Lond.IV 149438,151235; ους P.Lond.IV 155411,15619, 158725,159724; ζέκ P.Lond.IV 158714,25,16347,1636,1646; ξο P. Lond.IV 1646; ξοκ Bal.5129; εωτ P.Lond.IV 155227,161044; ζωοι P.Lond.IV 161042; ζηρ οφε Gloss.81; ροκ P.Lond.IV 156535,1638; εηοτ P.Lond.IV 152129,153625; ζοογ P.Lond.IV 1634.

62) ον = ω; cf. ον = ον (568); ον = ο (46).

Sahidic doubled ω and final ω generally become ον in Achmimic, see Till, Achm.-Kopt. Gr. par.11b; in Subachmimic doubled ω is never, final ω rarely, changed to ον, see chapter IX pp.204,209. I have not been able to find any examples for ον = ω in early Sahidic literary texts, but in the Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM I,IV) we find ονοτ for ομοτ lines 99,100,104,105 and μοι:2οτ (sic !) in line 95. In non-literary texts this is frequent only at Thebes.

A Cf. προσονοπον RAC papyrus du Louvre 2.

B ουμε BM 5455,7,9.

C Cf. φοντηρ Kropp50.
D cf. ?L<KYfi^e P. Lond. IV 1553.18.

Cf. ?(18).

Cf. the next paragraph.


For the doubling of ου in Subachimimic see below chapter IX p.212.


A few examples from early literary manuscripts may be cited, but this seems extraordinarily rare in later texts, both literary and non-literary, though in the case of some words the correct spelling is not certain throughout the Coptic period, e.g. χαφωμε, cf. Crum, Dictionary p.770b. Wessely, Sah. Gr. Ps. Fragm. pp.11f. citing τωβε, εβαν, ωον, ιων, ρω, γρατ, χαφ; Pro. (Worrell) p. XIV 2ωκ, χαφ; Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) XXXVI, 5 τωβε (but τωβε 3 times); Br. 857, 13323 ιων, 8818, 9322 πωνε; BG 1297 (Schmidt, Alte Petrusakten) 2ωκ (but 2ωκ ib. 1375); Si. (Lagarde) XXIX, 24(27) πωνε; P. Mich. 13676 (Ora. IV, 21) τωβε, ib. 89 πωνε.
This is sometimes found at the end of Greek words and names. Closely allied to this is the abbreviation πιακον and παιακον (cf. 248\textsuperscript{16} note, adding πειακον (twice)) MIF LIX, 152 (Bawit).

64) Unusual insertion of vowels: cf. above paragraphs 1 – 6.

Polotsky in ΑΖ ΙΧΙΧ, 1933, pp. 126–7 collected a number of similar examples from literary texts, early and late.

a) in both cases due to the presence of ε.

b) ε .

c) H .

B Cf. χεριά Kr. 65\textsuperscript{2}, BM 591.

C ωντερε πεκάνε ευτον BM 1137\textsuperscript{10f.}; νταντέκτον υμενου Ann. Serv. XV, p. 124 no. 13; ετέθε (= ετέθε) Kr. 78, BM 1124\textsuperscript{2}, 1138\textsuperscript{3}, 1145\textsuperscript{5}, BMO 6201B72, 161, 178, cf. Achm. II Macc. VI, 20 ετέθες μπειειε; μιντερ BM 1044\textsuperscript{8}, 9; αντεμη BM 78; αντεμης μπειειε BM 710; πολυεκ ST 172\textsuperscript{12}; μιντεροους BM 461, Kropp\textsuperscript{D} 69, 119; εσούο BM 1031\textsuperscript{5}, 6; εσεγς BM 1031 V. 2; εσεγγς Ryl. 368; εξην πκκεμα Kripp\textsuperscript{D} 151; cf. χεριά P. Řerný (ined.).

D ετετερείνε P. Lond. IV 1512\textsuperscript{35}; μιντεροους WS 100; ζοβεκ WS 88; ηκτερε[κ][φ] τίμ P. Mich. 1190\textsuperscript{10} (Cor. IV, 5ff.); εσεραί ib. vo. 10; εσιμ[ε] ib. vo. 12; εκτετερες ib. 26.

B ετετερε (= ετετέρε) Ep. 256\textsuperscript{8}.

F κετέτερο BM 448\textsuperscript{17}

c) H .

C αιθηρε βικτορ ευν Ryl. 409; κορνατ BM 1044\textsuperscript{11}; παγερε (= παγρε) Le Museon LXV, 160 (Ca. A. D. 1000); αντεκλημ Ryl. 284; ακελείνε, αντεκλημίς Ryl. 277\textsuperscript{6}, 13 (but ib. 11 nεντακελείς).

d) H .

B Cf. χεριά (= χεριά) BM 592.
C Χίνου Ρυλ. 282, Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 16, BMOr. 6201A77, 128; Χίνου Ρυλ. 1195; Χίνου BM 1122^13, BMOr. 6201B175^3.

D Χίνου Ρ. Lond. IV 1644; cf. Νυμ (= Νυμ) Ρ. Lond. IV 1646.

e) Ο

C Cf. τολόμα BMOr. 6201A109a.

C (?) εκέλεος Ζ.ου Ρ. Mich. 3565^16 (Ορα. IV, 15).


f) Υ

C Κορύωτ Ρυλ. 1033^8; ξυμν- Ρυλ. 178; Χυνού Ρυλ. 353 (late).

D μντυνουνού Brunton, Qau and Badari III pl.IIII (= pl.IV, 5)^9; neyncynny Bal. 248^20.

E (?) Χυνο Ρυλ. BM 1224.

65) Μ = Β_; cf. paragraphs 76A etc..


65A) Ν = Β_

Cf. BHom 3 ἀκέλαντει.

A Cf. παβλών KR. 228^9vo.

B Cf. παβλών, παβλών, παβλών, παβλών (= παβλών) MSS 22^12, BM 459, 2^9, 546^6, 593^4, 691.

C τεπε (= τεπε) BM 1114^10 (note); cf. παβελ, παδελων Ryl. 258, 380.

D [Νου] ΡΥ Ρυλ. 135^5; cf. παβλών Bal. 185^11, 187^6, 13.

65B) ΟΥ = Β_; cf. par. 54.

For this see Crum, Dictionary p. 467a and references there; cf. also ManiK 72 εταγμονωρι, 120 ουρανφρ, but ib. 109 2ας άπροφου.

65C) Η = Β_; cf. paragraphs 74B, 74C, 82, 83, 86, 99, 102.

D γηηε (= = Νονε) Bal. 335^2.

66) Λ = Β_; cf. paragraph 121; cf. also Crum, Dictionary p. 619.

A few early examples from literary and magical texts: TU 43, 19^3 [άξογουρυ; Le Museon III, 21 εγκοσυν (A εγκοσυν, SBA^2 εγκοσυν); Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) 83^1^1 Νονε (corr. to νονε); Acts (Budge) XXII, 10 Νονευ; Pro. (Worrell) XIII, 24 Νονευ, XXIII Νονευ (= Νονευ; P. Goll. 47.
In non-literary texts this is extremely common at Ashmunen, less common, except for $\omega = \omega$, in region D, but it is remarkable that no examples are forthcoming from Thebes; this is one of the few instances where there is a marked difference between texts from Thebes and further north; cf. also paragraph 121 & $\gamma$.

A $\gamma$ $\text{RAC}$ pap.du Louvre 6 (cf. facsimile); $\omega$ ib. pap.du Louvre 5, 6, Krall, Rec. VI, 63 ff. pap. II.

$\text{B}$ $\epsilon_\gamma\nu\nu\gamma\nu\nu\theta\nu\kappa\tau\rho\alpha\omicron\nu\kappa\nu\mu\iota\nu\rho\o\delta\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$.$\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$.$\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$.$\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$

$\text{C}$ $\epsilon_\gamma\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$.$\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$.$\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$

$\text{D}$ $\epsilon_\gamma\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$.$\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$.$\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$

$\text{E}$

$\text{67)} \ K = \tau_{\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa\nu\kappa}\text{cf. paragraph 71.}$

In literary and non-literary texts we sometimes find $\nu k$ and $\nu k a$ for $\nu r$ and $\nu r a$, e.g. Wessely, Sah.-Gr.-Ps.-Fragm. p. 68, BKU 126, but it is frequent in Greek words in all districts, cf. Ep. I p. 243 for Thebes, and the following may be cited from this collection:

$\text{D}$ $\epsilon_\gamma\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$.$\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$.$\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$

$\text{E}$

$\epsilon_\gamma\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$.$\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$.$\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$.$\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$
67A) $X = \tau$; cf. paragraph 123G.

E A few instances in Greek words, see Ep.I p.245.

67B) $\phi = \tau$; cf. paragraphs 125,75,67, etc.; also Crum, Dictionary p.49.

C $\nu$-e, WZKM XLIX, 1942, p.2 line 17; cf. $\nu$γκοοκ Ryl.282.

E See Ep.I p.243 citing $\nu$- (once) and many instances in Greek words; $\nu$- also TurO 721, CO 79,206, RE 9,164, Ep.144, 2067,12, MH 1855,1868, Till, Schutzbr. 43(bis), 765,822,3; cf. also CO Index p.125.

68) $\tau = \lambda$; cf. paragraph 111.

Frequent in Greek words; the following are from region D:

D emith Bal.1143,1616; katoyc Bal.1164,11; παραδυογ Bal.2343;

τατμων Bal.2397; τεκατες Bal.11610; τευκολο (and sim.) Bal.1036,

1322,1332,1343,1362,1516,2397, al.; +akomi Bal.1641; +akon Bal.

11416; +ακαταλλε P.Lond.IV 1495; +ακεο WS 29,30; al.

69) $\epsilon = \zeta$; cf. paragraphs 104,106.

This is sometimes found in Greek words and names.

C Frequent, e.g. apologice Kr.92; cyph BM 110313; al.

D Cf. P.Lond.IV p.XLVII κομψίον, gope, etc.

E See Ep.I p.244.

70) $\tau\phi = \phi$; cf. paragraphs 117,118.

C petθου MIF LIX,283, Krall, MR V p.28.

D harie Brunton, Matmar p.95; +θουτ (month) WS 3113.

71) $\tau = \kappa$; cf. paragraph 67.

An early example: Achm.Elias 142 $\alpha$-γρο. This peculiarity is frequent in Greek words and names in all regions, but only rarely occurs in Coptic words; cf. also Crum, Dictionary p.48f.

A zentepοροοτον RAC pap. du Louvre V; often in Greek words.

C $\mu$-co ματ επι ΜΙF LIX,455; often in Greek words.

D epepovna Ann.Serv.XVI p.66; επερεοντοy Bal.10226; ζενταπογηεσ εφηβο Brunton, Gau and Badari III pl.IV no.26; cf. Διαγείςιε Bal.3011;

Διγεις Bal.1021; re (και) Bal.1521; πορος ηε Bal.2421; γνη P.Lond.

IV 15013; and τηνε Bal.1023.
E \(
\text{\textgreek{\epsilon\tau\lambda\alpha}} \) (= \(\text{\textgreek{\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma}}\)) V.C.106; often in Greek words and names, see Ep.I p.243 and CO Index p.116.

71A) \(\text{\textgreek{\tau}}\) = \(\text{\textgreek{\kappa}}\); cf. paragraphs 111B, 126A.

Cf. Crum, Dict. p.90a, adding Pr. (Worrell) XXVIII, 3 πετωτρ.  
D Cf. τε for \(\kappa\alpha\) Bal. 116.  
E Twice in names, see Ep.I p.244.

72) \(\text{\textgreek{\chi}}\) = \(\text{\textgreek{\kappa}}\); cf. paragraph 117B, also 117A.

In Achmimic, Subachmimic and Middle Egyptian \(\text{\textgreek{\kappa}}\) often becomes \(\text{\textgreek{\chi}}\) when followed by \(\varepsilon\), cf. Till, Achm.-Kopt. Grammatik p.9, chapter IX p.215 below and Crum, Dictionary p.90a. This is also found in early Sahidic manuscripts and to the instances cited by Crum (i.c.) the following may be added: Sah. Elias 826, 1017 παξί; BG (Schmidt, Alte Petrusakten) 139 17 μετάξι; Si. (Lagarde) XLIII, 23 μπωξί; P. Mich. 136 189, 196, 206 (Ora. IV, 17ff.) ποξί, ποξίς, μποξί; Acts (Budge, corr. H. T.) XI, 24 εψκεκ; cf. Le Muséon LII, 2. χαχκς (= \(\text{\textgreek{\alpha\alpha}}\) μακε); cf. also PS 273 8, 17, 274 120 χιμάζε (= δοκιμάζε).

D Cf. \(\pi\chi\chi\chi\chi\chi\) WS 104.


73) \(\text{\textgreek{\delta}}\) = \(\text{\textgreek{\kappa}}\); cf. paragraphs 126, 67B.

A. Rahlfs, Griechische Wörter im Koptischen (Sitzungsber. k. preuss. Ak. Wiss. 1912, pp.1036ff.) has collected a considerable number of examples where this is found in Greek words and names, and as he pointed out, it is only found before following \(\varepsilon\), e.g. \(\kappa\alpha\varepsilon\). Many more examples could be cited, in particular one where it is found before following \(\epsilon\): Sah. Elias 1014 δελε\(\varepsilon\). \(\delta\) for \(\kappa\) is also found a few times in Coptic words: Bruce Codex 39 11, 44 16 \(\epsilon\), 40 13 (bis), 14 10, 41 15 21, 26 6\(\varepsilon\), 247 \(\pi\delta\)\(\mu\); Sah. Elias 110 6\(\lambda\varepsilon\), 11 13 6\(\mu\), 14 23 6\(\omega\)\(\epsilon\), 15 30 \(\tau\kappa\delta\); Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 41, 44 6\(\mu\); P. Mich. 136 97 (Ora. IV, 17ff.) επηδ\(\epsilon\) (= \(\tau\chi\kappa\) ib. 100); see also the examples cited in Crum, Dictionary pp.90, 801.

B Cf. CMS Index p.92.
E Very common, cf.00 Index p.125; it may be noted that most of the literary examples cited above are from Theban or semi-Achmimic manuscripts.

73) KK = K ; cf.paragraphs 75A,77,90,96,114,105.

C KKKL J&C 19225.

E σκκο μνμλεκς V.C.994.

74) K = KK ; cf.paragraphs 80,92,103,106,107.

The 2nd.masc.sing. suffix is sometimes omitted when preceded by κ, e.g. Achm.Minor Prophets Hos.IV,6 +κακεκ Abdias 4 +κακεκ, Zachar.IX, 13 αικακ.

D μελεκτ Bal.2416; cf. τεκλεσε Bal.3129.

74A) X = K  ; cf.paragraph 72.

A few early examples: Deut.VII,25, XII,3 εκερκογ, ετεκερκογ, IX,13 μακ; Si.(Lagarde)XXIII,14(13), XXV,14(16), XXX,35 μοκc; al..

74B) ε = λ ; cf.paragraphs 65C,74A,82,83,86,99,102.

P.Mich.136163 (Ora.IV,25) γνμ νακ νακω; ΑΚ XXXIV,85ff., vo.1 μν- 

74C) N = λ ; cf.last etc..

ΑΚ XXXIV,85ff. μντβαλε ε (= μντβαλε).

74D) N = λ.

E In Greek words, see Ep.I p.243.

75) p = λ ; cf. paragraph 100.

This peculiarity is found in all regions, though mostly in Greek words, cf. Crum, Dictionary p.134a.

C BM 1119,1120 passim; also ταροτ Kr.91; παργγ Yrl.353; cf. πραγγ (

D μερες (?) Bal.1184; παμαντ P.Lond.IV 149427; ταρο P.Lond.IV 15535,

15548,15632,14; εντες ριμ P.Lond.IV 15547; cf. τιμταρας P.Lond.IV 1554 vo.3; επιτεταρμ P.Lond.IV 156548; μαρετα P.Lond.IV 163410;
Coptic literary texts in all dialects usually assimilate the preposition, genitive, object, plural particle Ν to Μ before following Μ, Ρ, Φ, Ψ, also in the verbal prefixes με, μηρ, ματ-, and (except Bohairic) in ιν, υμ, εξ, etc. cf. Stern, Kopt. Grammatik paragraphs 65ff. There is, however, considerable evidence that this assimilation was only gradually introduced and systematised, and many of our earliest manuscripts either do not assimilate at all or show marked inconsistencies in this. Of the Old Coptic texts the Horoscope (ΧΞ XXXVIII, 71ff.) makes use of a line for the Ν in question and ιν, αξν, etc. do not occur before a Ρ. The Oxyrhynchus text (JEA XXVIII, 20ff.) of about the same period does not assimilate except twice (5, 21, 25) but the text obviously reflects a different background which is also apparent in forms like μαν, μηνος, etc. The papyrus Mimaut (PGM III) apparently does not assimilate, and the Paris Magical papyrus (PGM IV) only twice (17, 22, 24, otherwise Νος, etc.). Of the four Melitian letters two (J&C 1920 Sahidic, 1921 Subachminic) always assimilate and two (J&C 1922 Middle Egyptian, JEA XIII, 19f. Sah. with Mid. Eg. influence) never assimilate. Early Coptic texts before the end of the fourth century fall into five main categories in this respect:

1) Texts which never assimilate, e.g. the second old Vienna
2) Texts which usually have \(\mu\mu\mu\), but otherwise assimilate rarely, e.g. the old Vienna Psalter (Wessely, Sah.Gr.Ps.Fragm.p.12), the Sahidic Elias, Achm.Gespräche Jesu (frequently has \(\mu\mu\mu\)), also one of the new Gnostic manuscripts from Nag Hammadi, see the photograph in *The Manchester Guardian* 24th June 1949.

3) Texts which generally assimilate, but not \(\epsilon\epsilon\nu\), \(\epsilon\epsilon\nu\), \(\epsilon\epsilon\nu\) etc.; this is particularly true of the Subachmimic St. John and the Manichaean Psalmbook, cf. for the latter the note by Allberry p. XIX: '...The second scribe has an idiom which is to be found in the Homilies and the Kephalaia: he writes not \(\epsilon\epsilon\nu\), as the first scribe invariably does, but \(\epsilon\epsilon\nu\); and I conclude from this that the Psalmbook is the earliest written of the three ...'(cf. also chapter IX below, p.219). Similarly Lefort, *Les Manuscrits coptes de Louvain* no.9; Bal.22 assimilates also \(\epsilon\epsilon\nu\) but not \(\epsilon\epsilon\nu\), \(\epsilon\epsilon\nu\).

4) Texts which are more or less inconsistent in this, though assimilation is normal; the Achmimic texts generally fall into this category, cf. Till, *Achm.Kopt.Grammatik* par.34b, also the British Museum manuscript of Deuteronomy, Jonah and Acts (ed. Budge), the Turin manuscript of the two Wisdoms (ed. Lagarde) and Ryl.273, BM 1223,1224 al..

5) Texts which normally assimilate with very few exceptions, e.g. Bal.7,17,18,21,52, WS 17, Achm.Minor Prophets, Bruce Codex, Pistis Sophia, Berlin Psalter, Ryl.16, also BM 1102, Ryl.268-272,274 275,276,292,396 al..

The non-literary texts show a remarkable inconsistency in this, though in general Theban texts normally assimilate, texts from Ashmunein mostly do not assimilate except \(\mu\mu\mu\), and texts from the rest of Egypt vary between the two extremes. Texts which do not assimilate at all and even preserve \(\mu\mu\mu\) are compa-
ratively rare though examples can be cited from all regions except Thebes:

A Kr.228.
B V.C.49(from this region ?).
C Kr.6(A.D.596), Ryl.165,158,323,324,325,al..
D Bal.116,154,187,244(but once ωμν-), P.Lond.IV 1619,1641,1644.
E A rare example of νυος J.364, a systematic search would probably reveal further examples.

b) Other instances, rare.

Acts(Budge)III,19 μτον; Sah.Elias 823 μνου; Br.268 ιμντεντ; Manik 395 μπλας.
C ριν (= νιμω)Ryl.314; μνος BM 1057.
E πονέ J 39; μνοσυ BKU 79; conc ΑΖ XXXIV,85ff.line 1.

76A) μ = μμ; cf.paragraphs 65,77A,76B,79,94B,96A.

77) μμ = μμ; cf.paragraph 90, also paragraphs 73A etc.

PS 167 μελμπλυτουτ; Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)p.33 σταμπουτ,Participant.
D επμπαις Bal.192.9.
E ειμμες ΜΗ 587; πελλιμιές ΜΗ 595; cf. νυος J.366,60 307.
F ειμμπελλος BM 44817.

77A) μμ = μμ; cf.paragraphs 65,76A,78B,79,94B,96A, also 79A.

PS 1292 πον μπερείτ; 22721 πονα μποπτ ιμπερείτ ιμπατπαίε εποι; Berl.Psalter (ed.Rahlfs)p.37 στουτ; three further examples Crum,Dict,p.258a.
C ειμπαις Bal Kropp 99; cf. ναμερείτ ιμπω ιμπερησαι ST 172.
E ραμπελπερος μπλουξ RE 334.

78) μμ = μμμ; cf.especially paragraph 80, also paragraphs 74,103,106,107.

a) The pronominal suffix of the accusative particle μ ,μμμ,μμμ is sometimes in early manuscripts spelt με,με,με: Achm.Exodus II,
17, Achm. II Macc. VI, 16, 18 (all 骃,骃,骃, note the superlineation) Sah. Elias 12\textsuperscript{27}, Subachm. St. John XVII, 1, cf. III, 3, 5, VIII, 21, several times in the Didache (ed. Schmidt ZNTW XXIV, cf. note on p. 83), PS 90\textsuperscript{1}, 153\textsuperscript{2} (骃,骃), Pro. (Worrell) XXII, 7, XIV, 18. In the non-literary texts this is extremely common in all regions except Thebes:

A RAC papyrus du Louvre V, VI, VII, VIII.

B Kr. 1\textsuperscript{17}, 25, 116\textsuperscript{9}, BM Or. 6201 B 106 al.

C BM 462, 1032, 1041 (bis), 1053\textsuperscript{6}, Ry1. 122\textsuperscript{11}, 127 (ter), 151, 186\textsuperscript{6}, 203, 205, 283 (bis), 298, 314 (early), 333, 383 (bis), 393, 409, Kr. 5\textsuperscript{20}, 7\textsuperscript{10}, 50\textsuperscript{21}, al.

D Bal. 156\textsuperscript{4}, 186\textsuperscript{26}, 259\textsuperscript{5}, WS 29\textsuperscript{14}, 38\textsuperscript{7}, 43, P. Lond. IV 1553\textsuperscript{vo.10}, 1554\textsuperscript{11}, 31, 1554\textsuperscript{vo. 6}, 1561\textsuperscript{10}, 1571\textsuperscript{15}, 1579, 1619\textsuperscript{4}, 6, 1574\textsuperscript{25}, Brunton, Notmar p. 95, Cramer, Kopt. Inschr. K. F. Museum 9691\textsuperscript{42}, P. Mich. 1190 (Ora. IV, 5ff. early) passim.

E BKU 126, 60 65\textsuperscript{10}, 138\textsuperscript{5}, J. 3\textsuperscript{4}, Ep. 260\textsuperscript{9}, Tor. 12\textsuperscript{12}, al.

b) Other instances, not including the omission of the particle 몇 (assimilated to .schedulers) for which see paragraph 80.

Some early examples: Achm. Elias 4\textsuperscript{15}输卵 输卵 输卵 vell; Subachm. St. John IX, 40, XII, 17 etnuye; IV, 44 메 등의 |min นาม ; XVIII, 18 ถนน and ถนน; Manik 131\textsuperscript{3} etnuye; Sah. Elias 8\textsuperscript{17}, 10\textsuperscript{2}, 14\textsuperscript{14}นาม, 1330 นาม, 14\textsuperscript{17}นาม.

C etnuye Ry1. 269 (early); นาม, นาม MIF LIX, 58, 59; นาม (= นาม) Ry1. 277; 메 등의 EM Or. 6201 B 153\textsuperscript{17}; 메 등의 Ry1. 281.

DsetEnabled _voice P. Lond. IV 1565\textsuperscript{50}; cf. _voice (= _voice) P. Lond. IV 1568\textsuperscript{2}.

Vienna Psalter (Wessely, Sah., Gr. Ps.-Fragm. pp. 65ff., e.g. Ps. XLVIII 2)

BM 24 (on the date of this manuscript see below p. 235 note 3); BM 132-135-137; BM 932; Ryl. 6; also the Turin Wisdoms (ed. Lagarde) e.g. Sir. XXVIII, 25 (27). The Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV) has μη in three times, but twice it is corrected to ΝηΜ (lines 101, 125). For the significance of this see below chapter IX pp. 243ff.

E άνοικ κομος ημ ταινία ζΩ Αδ 18.

78B) μι = μη ; cf. paragraphs 65, 76A, 77A, 79, 94B, 94C, 96A.


C μετ- for μπι- BM 1118 νο. 2.

D Bal. 138 μιμε corrected to ρομε (= ρομπε).

E εμπιγ (= εμπγ) BKU 354; ρομε (= ρομπε) VC 2910; εμκειτ CO 4013.

79) μ = μη ; cf. last, etc.

PS 15 επεδραμ ; 229 σεναφετε εμπγο νι61 παραλημπημε ; 343 μιαςμαβε περεου; cf. Br. 102 μαλημπημε (= παραλημπημε).

C ρομε, ρομε (= ρομπε) BM 1031 16, Ann. Serv. X p. 274.

D Bal. 138 μιμε corrected to ρομε Bal. 332 3; ρομε Bal. 132 5, cf. 138 4.

79A) Ν added.

Ν is sometimes added in Coptic MSS, often to mark a sonant pronunciation, cf. Crum, Dict. p. 48b, 215; cf. Δζ XIV, 79f.

a) Perhaps to indicate a sonant pronunciation it is added before ραμ and Αζ in a number of early manuscripts (all from Middle Egypt): Both μραμ and μαμ occur frequently in the Subachmimic Acta Pauli (ed. Schmidt) and Ryl. 292; μραμ also occurs four times in the British Museum Ms. of Deuteronomy, Jonah and Acts (ed. Budge) Deut. II, V, 11, 26, XXXI, 23 (cf. Thompson, The New Biblical Papyrus p. 13), and
Similarly we find ΝΞ for ΞΕ in the Achm. Gespräche Jesu (TU 43) VIII, 4; PS 260; Gri. Stu. 163 (twice) and BM 1227 (= Crum, Copt. Doc. in Greek Script IV and note 92), CMSS 5vo. 7, cf. Crum, Dict. p. 746a.


b) Ν is sometimes added before Έ to mark a sonant pronunciation; in Νοντό, Νοντό, Νοντό, etc. this has become part of the language proper, especially in Sahidic, though many examples can be cited where it is omitted, see paragraph 80 below. There are, however, a few instances where a similar insertion is confined to a few early manuscripts: Νοντό, Νοντό for Μοντό, Νοντό is always found in the Achm. I Clem. (Berlin), the Achm. Shepherd of Hermes (ed. Lefort, Les Pères Apostoliques etc. pp. Illff., 1ff.), and the Achm. Exodus (ed. Lefort in Museum LXVI, Illf. Μοντό does not occur). In the Achm. Proverbs Νοντό occurs three times and Μοντό only once (cf. Böhlig, Unters. Ü. d. kopt. Proverbientexte p. 49); in the Strasbourg I Clem. Μοντό occurs a few times side by side with Μοντό, but never Νοντό. All the other Achmimic texts invariably have Μοντό, Νοντό. But Νοντό also occurs once in LMisc. L and four times in BM 1224, and perhaps in MIF LIX, 145. We also find Νοντό and Νοντό in the Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV) lines 19, 121, and Νοντό once in BM 1224; similarly Νοντό occurs once in Worrell, Proverbs (see p. 7). In the Subachmimic St. John once (XII, 13) and in the Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs, see p. 37) twice we find Μοντό, Νοντό for Μοντό (qual. of Μοντό).

Closely related are a few instances cited by Crum, Dict. p.
215a, as κραντε, μονονταρε-BG 62,67al., also in Bohairic μονετε-; Crum also cites a number of examples of this in Greek words, to which might be added Acts(Budge)XV,22,25,33 acra6. In this connection one might also compare the verbal prefix ταπε- which is sometimes spelt πυτα-ε-, cf.Crum,Dictionary p.424b and see below paragraph 143A.

c) N is also added sometimes before Coptic(rarely) and Greek adverbs and Stern,Kopt.Grammatik par.513 already noted Νακαλωκ and Νηνοουεω; cf.Ep.I p.251 and Crum,Dictionary p.485a citing Νηνοονυ which also occurs BG 15.

C Νηνοονυ, Νηνοονυ (e = N, see par.82 below) BM 11534,10614.

D Νακαλωκ Bal.2542; Νηνοουε Bal.18816.

E Νηνοονυ, Νηνοονυ see Ep.I p.251 (six examples); Ναροπ,Ep.392; Νακαλακ BKU 259; Νηνοονυ Ep.229;all cited Ep.I 251.

d) Similarly N is also found with prepositions. Crum,Ep.I p.251 has cited a few examples for Coptic prepositions: Νιο-Achm.Haggai I,1, II,11; Νιοθο-PS 355; Ναν- (=καν-)CO 170 and Ναρα Ryl.314 (twice). With Greek prepositions, especially κατα and παρα this is much more common. In headings and subscriptions of the gospels we usually find ευαγγελιον Νικατα Μαθαιος etc., but apart from this Νικατα is rare, cf.ManIK 22310 and one example from Thebes,cf.below. Μπαρα is sometimes found in literary manuscripts of a late period, e.g.J.Drescher,Apa Mena pp.186,14f.1962,20a8, etc.. From the non-literary texts the following may be cited:

A ταιειε Νηνοονυ ετς ετς RAC papyrus du Louvre II.

B Νηναρα, Νηναρεπα, Νηναλεπα, etc. CMSS 24,BM 53023,58319,5868,VC 1005.

C Διακαταργου Νηνοονυ RAC 4611.

D Χε Νηνοονυ Φρονιμοι μιο μηναρα μιο...Bal.1527; Τερντανακ Νηνοονυ... μπαρε εμου Νηνοονυ... Bal.10218.

E Ευαγγελιον ετουαλε Νικατα... CO 2911,3012,3121,Ad.79, etc.; also Μπατατου+ Ουτερινου Νικατα Νενταξου BKU 262.
e) In a few cases N seems irregularly added, but probably stands for 
νή: ΡS 3314 ἀσεκ ἐςπάτι νινθηαούχαλ, 29224 εςτατ ντεψυχη ντήμη, 
3602 νεξακ υνίφηαι corrected to νήή, μαρία; Achm.II Macc.VI,16 εςτα 
νεξακ μονηι νηιψαε安宁; in the following two instances, as 
in the two examples from non-literary texts, it seems to cor­ 
respond to the irregular use of νή; mentioned by Crum,Dictionary p. 
252a-b; Br.242 εςτε παι νε ντεψυμκρς; P.Gol.47 ντογ ημακαφε 
ΜΙ ουκείς ητεψυκαφ.

f) In the following instances it is probably added by mistake: Achm. 
Zecl.VII,12 μνήθον νοιειροήν μνήβου νελάκαλο ηαμ ηνπαρπος(1. ηνε 
+80γ ?); Pro.(Worrell)XXII,15 πομρέ νινμα.

80) N omitted; cf.especially paragraphs 78,79,82,83.

a) N is omitted in certain verbal prefixes: τα- = τι-να (par.128), εινα- 
= είνα- (129), ητα- = ητα- (130), τα- = ητα- (131), πε- = μπε- (133), 
πτε- = μπτε (135), η[ε]- = μπ[ε (136), τε- = ητε- (138), τετ- = τετν- 
(141); also in the possessive adjective μετ- = πετν (141).

b) N is regularly added in Sahidic before τ in the following words: 
τωντ-, γοιντ-, γοιντ-, μντ-, μντρε , cf. also paragraph 79A above; in 
the other dialects it is often omitted and the following table 
gives a survey of the evidence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S,A² (AP-BM leaf)</th>
<th>τωνττ</th>
<th>A,A² (Jo.),F,B</th>
<th>τωνττ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S,A² (AP)</td>
<td>γοινττ, γοιντ</td>
<td>A,A² (Jo.,Mani),F,B</td>
<td>γοινττ, γοιντ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S,A² (AP)</td>
<td>γοινττ, γοιντ</td>
<td>A,A² (Jo.,Mani),F,B</td>
<td>γοινττ, γοιντ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S,A,A²</td>
<td>μντ-</td>
<td>B,F</td>
<td>μετ-, μεθ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S,A,A²</td>
<td>μντρε</td>
<td>B,F</td>
<td>μετρε, μεθρε</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are, however, a number of Sahidic and semi-Sahidic 
manuscripts, both early and late, where the Ν is frequently om­ 
it in τωνττ, γοινττ, γοινττ, and sometimes even in μντ-; some­ 
times we find an ι in its place(see par.82) or even an Η (par.
215a, as κράντε, μονάντρε-BG 62,67al., also in Bohairic μονάντε-. Crum also cites a number of examples of this in Greek words, to which might be added Acts (Budge) XV, 22, 25, 33 ανάστος.

In this connection one might also compare the verbal prefix ταφ-, which is sometimes spelt ταφ-, cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 424b and see below paragraph 143A.

c) Ν is also added sometimes before Coptic (rarely) and Greek adverbs and Stern, Kopt. Grammatik par. 513 already noted Νκάλως and Νονώς; cf. Ep. I p. 251 and Crum, Dictionary p. 485a citing Ντανού which also occurs BG 15.

C Ντίνου, ετίνου (ε = Ν, see par. 82 below) BM 11534, 10614.

D Νκάλως Bal. 2542; Νελούς Bal. 18816.

E Ντανού, Ντανού see Ep. I p. 251 (six examples); Ναφύ Ep. 392; Νκάλως BkU 259; Νταχή Ep. 229; all cited Ep. I 251.

d) Similarly Ν is also found with prepositions. Crum, Ep. I p. 251 has cited a few examples for Coptic prepositions: Νει- Achm. Haggai I, 1, II, 11; Νειθ- FS 355; Ναχν (= εκν-) CO 170 and Ναχλ Ryl. 314 (twice). With Greek prepositions, especially κατά and μέτα, this is much more common. In headings and subscriptions of the gospels we usually find ευαγγελιον Νκάτα Μαθαϊος etc., but apart from this Νκάτα is rare, cf. Mani K 22310 and one example from Thebes, cf. below. Νπαρά is sometimes found in literary manuscripts of a late period, e.g. J. Drescher, Apa Mena pp. 18a6, 14f, 19b2, 20a8, etc. From the non-literary texts the following may be cited:

A ταξίντε νποςότε ετεχμι RAC papyrus du Louvre II.

B νπάρα, νπάρεκακ, νπαλελάκ, etc. CMSS 24, BM 53023, 58319, 5868, VC 1005.

C αικαμντου νποςουτον VC 4811.

D Χε Νπακαταφρόνι μιο Νπάρα μπ... Bal. 1527; ταρτάδιν νακ ναρούν ... Μπρος υμούν Νερτού... Bal. 10218.

E ευαγγελιον ετούλαβ Νκάτα... CO 2911, 3012, 3121, Ad. 79, etc.; also μπατάτουφ ευτερμινσού Νκάτα νεπαναξού BkU 262.
e) In a few cases $n$ seems irregularly added, but probably stands for
$\dot{n}$; Br. 324 $\dot{n}$e$\backslash$al $\dot{n}$erai $\dot{n}$netna$\omega y$Xai, 292 $\dot{n}$ jac$\dot{n}$ net$\dot{n}$p$\dot{u}$$\chi n \ddot{e} \ddot{t} i$ $m$; 360 $\dot{n}$exac $\ddot{\omega}$mlaria corrected to $\dot{n}$mlaria; Achm. II Macc. VI, 16 etbe
$\dot{n}$$\ddot{e}$f$\ddot{p}$f$\ddot{e}$ $\dot{n}$pr$\ddot{e}$$\ddot{a}$ $\dot{n}$$\ddot{p}$n$\ddot{a}$ $\dot{n}$$\ddot{p}$n$\ddot{a}$ $\ddot{a}$$\ddot{m}$he$\ddot{a}$; in the following two instances, as
in the two examples from non-literary texts, it seems to corre­
pond to the irregular use of $\dot{n}$ mentioned by Crum, Dictionary p.
252 a-b; Br. 242 ete nai pe $\dot{n}$ te$\ddot{m}$an$\chi$ $\ddot{a}$ $\ddot{r}$ $\ddot{e}$; $\dot{n}$Gol. 47 $\dot{n}$to$\ddot{u}$ $\dot{n}$m$\ddot{a}$ $\ddot{a}$ $\ddot{r}$
pe $\ddot{m}$ lo$\ddot{u}$$\ddot{c}$ie $\ddot{m}$te$\ddot{u}$$\ddot{g}$ $\ddot{e}$.

B an$\ddot{a}$k $\ddot{n}$n$\ddot{p}$a$\ddot{a}$ $\ddot{e}$ic$\ddot{i}$ $\ddot{t}$ $\ddot{o}$ $\ddot{u}$, an$\ddot{a}$k $\ddot{n}$k$\ddot{a}$c$\ddot{i}$ $\ddot{m}$ $\ddot{e}$ $\ddot{l}$ $\ddot{e}$ $\ddot{m}$.$

E n$\ddot{t}$ $\ddot{o}$ $\ddot{u}$ $\ddot{n}$ $\ddot{p}$ $\ddot{a}$ $\ddot{c}$ $\ddot{u}$ $\ddot{m}$ J. 15 $\ddot{3}$ $\ddot{b}$ (this and the last cited Crum, Dict. p. 215 b).

f) In the following instances it is probably added by mistake: Achm.
Zehn. VIII, 12 $\ddot{t}$nat no$\ddot{v}$e$\ddot{e}$phm$\ddot{h}$ $\ddot{n}$t$\ddot{b}$$\ddot{h}$$\ddot{o}$ $\ddot{u}$ $\ddot{n}$ $\ddot{e}$l$\ddot{a}$la$\ddot{l}$ $\ddot{n}$$\ddot{a}$ $\ddot{t}$ $\ddot{a}$ $\ddot{a}$ $\ddot{p}$a$\ddot{r}$ $\ddot{p}$ $\ddot{o}$ $\ddot{c}$ $\ddot{(}$. $\ddot{n}$ $\ddot{t}$ $\ddot{e}$ $\ddot{t}$ $\ddot{b}$ $\ddot{o}$ $\ddot{y}$?); Pro. (Worrell) XXII, 15 $\ddot{p}$$\ddot{u}$ $\ddot{m}$ $\ddot{h}$ $\ddot{p}$ $\ddot{e}$ $\ddot{n}$ $\ddot{h}$ $\ddot{m}$ $\ddot{n}$ $\ddot{u}$.

80) $n$ omitted; cf. especially paragraphs 78, 79, 82, 83.

a) $n$ is omitted in certain verbal prefixes: $\ddot{t}$a$\ddot{e}$ = $\ddot{t}$na (par. 128), $\ddot{e}$in$\ddot{a}$ = $\ddot{e}$in$\ddot{a}$ (129), $\ddot{e}$ta$\ddot{e}$ = $\ddot{e}$t$\ddot{n}$a (130), $\ddot{t}$a$\ddot{e}$ = $\ddot{t}$na (131), $\ddot{n}$e$\ddot{e}$ = $\ddot{m}$$\ddot{n}$e (133),
$\ddot{n}$ate$\ddot{e}$ = $\ddot{m}$$\ddot{n}$ate$\ddot{e}$ (135), $\ddot{n}$be$\ddot{e}$ = $\ddot{m}$$\ddot{n}$be$\ddot{e}$ (136), $\ddot{t}$e$\ddot{e}$ = $\ddot{t}$ne$\ddot{e}$ (138), $\ddot{t}$e$\ddot{e}$ = $\ddot{t}$ $\ddot{e}$ $\ddot{t}$ $\ddot{n}$ (141); also in the possessive adjective $\ddot{n}$te$\ddot{e}$ = $\ddot{n}$ $\ddot{t}$ $\ddot{e}$ $\ddot{n}$ (141).

b) $n$ is regularly added in Sahidic before $\tau$ in the following words:
$\ddot{t}$wunt, $\ddot{y}$ma$\ddot{u}$nt, $\ddot{u}$ma$\ddot{n}$nt, $\ddot{u}$nt$\ddot{p}$ $\ddot{e}$, cf. also paragraph 79A above; in
the other dialects it is often omitted and the following table
gives a survey of the evidence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S, A (AP-BM leaf)</th>
<th>T w m n T</th>
<th>A, A (Jo.), F, B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>S, A (AP)</td>
<td>$\ddot{y}$ma$\ddot{u}$nt, $\ddot{y}$ma$\ddot{u}$nt</td>
<td>A, A (Jo, Mani), F, B</td>
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<td>A, A (Jo, Mani), F, B</td>
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<td>$\ddot{m}$nt$\ddot{p}$</td>
<td>B, F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S, A, A (AP)</td>
<td>$\ddot{m}$nt$\ddot{p}$ $\ddot{e}$</td>
<td>B, F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are, however, a number of Sahidic and semi-Sahidic
manuscripts, both early and late, where the $n$ is frequently om­
mitted in $\ddot{t}$wunt, $\ddot{y}$ma$\ddot{u}$nt, $\ddot{u}$ma$\ddot{n}$nt, and sometimes even in $\ddot{m}$nt$\ddot{p}$; some­
times we find an $e$ in its place (see par. 82) or even an $\ddot{H}$ (par.
83) and rarely an υ (par. 86). The following is the evidence of early manuscripts: In the British Museum Ms. of Deuteronomy, Jonah and Acts (ed. Budge) υομι is found once: Acts XI, 11, elsewhere it is τωματ Acts XXVIII, 15, υομιν Deut. XVI, 16, XVII, 6, XIX, 15, Jonah II, 1, III, 3, 4, Acts VII, 20, X, 19, 40, XVII, 2, XIX, 8, XXVIII, 7, 11, 12, 17 (Thompson, The New Biblical Papyrus p. 13 is incorrect), ζωμι Deut. XXIV, 10, XXVIII, 23, XXXIII, 25. In the Pistis Sophia we find τωματ, υομι, ζωμι, and τωματ, υομι, ζωμι side by side (cf. Index) and three times we even find τυραμε 18717 (see A/C), 18823, 18915. The Berlin-London Ms. of the Apocalypse, I John and Philemon (ed. Goussen, Studia Theologica I and Delaporte, Rev. Bibl. 1905, 577ff.) seems to read always υομι e.g. Apoc. IV, 7, VIII, 7-13 (passim), IX, 18, XI, 9, 11, XVI, 13 and ζωμι e.g. Apoc. IX, 20. Other instances are the following: Si. (Lagarde) XXVIII, 21, I, 3 ζωμι (but ib. XXIX, 13, II, 32 ζωμι); Berl. Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) p. 37: ζωμι XVII, 35, cf. ib. VII, 13, LXVII, 3 ζωμι; Br. 230 υομι (but ib. 233 ζωμι); Sah. Elias 729 υομι, Semi-Achm. Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76f.) I, 56 υομι; BG e.g. 2113 υομι; Bal. 17, Heb. VII, 1 τωματ. In the Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV) 109 we have ζωμι; in the Glossary to Hosea and Amos (ed. Thompson and Bell, JEA XI, 241ff.) Hos. VII, 16 τωματακβο. In late manuscripts we often find υομι e.g. Matth. XVII, 16, 20, 23, XII, 40, XVI, 21, ζωμι Matth. X, 9, and τωματ Matth. VIII, 34, al. pl. (all in Horner's edition).

From non-literary texts examples can be cited for all regions, but it may be noted that υομι, ζωμι are far more frequent at Thebes than elsewhere:

B υομι e.g. BM 5291; ζωμι Stern, A2 XXIII (1885) p. 39.

C υομι Ryl. 1.129vo, 139, 207, BM 11692, MIF LIX, 100, BMOr. 6201E1; ζωμι Ryl. 1.153, BM 11572,4; μτνουτε KroppD72; μτον Jern. 1, BMOr. 6201B 2272; μτκοει Ryl. 2801,2, BM 473, 11452, 8, 11, BMOr. 6201B 1302; μτρε Ryl. 1.157.
c) The genitive particle Ν is sometimes omitted; some early examples: Glossary to Hosea and Amos (ed. Bell-Thompson, JEA XI, 24ff.)

Hos. VII, 16 προφήτων τοιουτον; TU 43, VII, 7 μεταποθεσε μαθημα; Achm. Ex. VI, 25 μεταποθεσε μαθημα; Achm. Sir. XXIII, 5 μεταποθεσε μαθημα; Achm. Elias 14

Μ. Δασ. (ib. 17, 15, Μ. Δασ.); Achm. Minor Prophets: Hos. IV, 11 μεταποθεσε, Ναυμ II, 3 ποιµεν, 6, ST 11614, 16. 14 ονορίον θεοτοκος, Hag. II, 19 τοιούτου, Zech. XII, 1 παρακαλεστε, XII, 6 ης κυριωτερι; Subachm. St. John V, 21 τοιούτου, VII, 42 πεπεραστη, Δαυιδ; Sah. Elias 127

λίντον τετραγμόν; Br. 129, 10 αλατο τετραγμόν, 159 ουράριον; Pro. (Worrell) XVII, 8 ουράριον τεττεραγμόν, XXVI, 14 τατι Φε ουράριον; P. Gol. 47 ουράριον σοι μο良好; in the Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) Ν is frequently omitted before ου, e.g. μετατεμετέρω ουδέν ουδέν, etc., see list ib. p. 36.

The non-literary texts provide examples for this from all regions, but it is frequent only at Ashmunein, where it is also often replaced by ε, see paragraph 82.

A πάντες μονοτο Καρλ, Rec. VI, 63ff., papyrus III 12.

B E.g. ποιµεν, γενοιτε Καρλ, Rec. VI, 117.

C Very common, e.g. Ryl. 127, 134, 20148, 205, 17, 1041, 1044, 8, 1063, 16, Kr. 62, etc., cf. especially Ryl. 320 as an example of the confusion: να ανάταξεν lines 4, 13, 22, 25, 31, να ανάταξαν line 39, να ανάταξαν line 21, να ανάταξαν lines 8, 9, 12, 24, 36, να ανάταξαν line 10.

D τω νεμετρε τισακάζομεν, Bal. 115, 9; πιστωκατο, τοιούτο, καν αλλα αληθε, Bal. 119; αληθε, εκφάν, τοιούτο, Bal. 202, 4; αληθε, τοιούτο, Bal. 251, 1; πνου, αντι, φοου,
VIII, 80

Bal. 2913; λάκτυρ ψαλίζε Bal. 32211; αριστερον_παρεπείπτε WS 41; ἀπεν- 
γένθυκότωs WS 112; προστόμιο_παρεπείπτε P. Lond. IV 1553vo.7; πλαγι_πυκκου 
P. Lond. IV 157217.

After υμρε J. 257, 367, 75, 76, 487, 68, 1991, 97, VC 21, 60 1682 al.; τομ 
_νελε_εγγραφωn J. 1122; τοπος_ενεργά_πλησμός απα_φοράλματαn J. 7438, si-

milarly J. 6544, 52, 53, 82, 91, 96, 7710, al., ἔμε_καμολυ J. 5vo.16; 
στωτ κας MH 6114; after ἦλθεις J. 20, 119, 121, 129, 132, al.; πνοικε-

μάρμελ Ἄξω XXXIV, 85ff..

d) The particle ἃ which connects adjectives is sometimes omitted.

Crum, Dictionary p. 494a already noted that in early texts ὀυτωτ is

often connected with the preceding noun without ἃ; to the ex-

amples cited there add: PS 9616, Sa(Lagarde)73, Berlin Psalter(ed. 
Rahlfs) see p. 36, Wessely, Sah. Gr. Ps. Fragmenta p. 76(XXIV, 16), 106 
(XLVII, 4), Berlin Or. 406(ed. Delaporte, Rev. Bibl. 1905, 377ff.) I John 
I, 5, IV, 9. Cf. also Br. 5226 τομη_προβαλ. In non-literary 
texts ἃ is sometimes omitted with κοιν and νοῆς, rarely otherwise;

C τιμ_ουτ Ryl. 1275; κοιν_κων (et sim.)MIF LIX, 212, Ryl. 287, 386, 
BM 106420, BMOr. 6201A20b, B45; ἡμ_λεικτικες Ryl. 295; πιτα_ουτ 
Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 21; ημε_οτατός ἄνως Ryl. 3214; πιλκτος 
πρεβιτ BM 104410.

D κοιν_κων Bal. 303B10, WS 102; κοιν_κων Bal. 2783; κοιν_γυρε Bal. 2458, 
P. Lond. IV 155410; κοιν_κων Bal. 24911; νοῆς-con P. Lond. IV 1643, WS 
297; κοιν_κων WS 90, 91; εἰς_τυχή_εἰμαι P. Lond. IV 151113.

E νοῆς_κων ST 2253; υμα_ταριχε RE 336; ελαχ_κριτε J. 487, 193, al..

e) With numerals the ἃ is sometimes omitted. In Late Egyptian and 
Demotic it is regularly omitted with the numerals 3-9, but not 
with the others, cf. Sethe, ZDMG LXXIX p. 294f.. Two early exam-

ples: ManiK 2526 πιτα_ουτ, 10118 ματα_ουτ εως; cf. TU 43, IX, 13 ποινων 
νυς_κριτε Κυνωτ.

C κοιν_κων_κων BM 10606; κοιν_κων Ryl. 125; ομοίων_κων Ryl. 124vo. 
κοιν_κων κολάρον BM 10412.
The dative particle  may be sometimes omitted; some early examples:

Achm. Elias 314 πανατBannerlos, sim. Achm. Zach. I, 19; BG 13014 (see Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten) Χε ουσισολ αν περιμοντε; Br. 2501 στασαει πρως. In the non-literary texts this is found a number of times after εγατ., rarely otherwise.

B After εγατ. Kr. 116, 117, al. .

C After εγατ. J & C 1920, BM 1102 (both of the 4th century), Ryl. 117, BM 10567, Kr. 7, 91, BMEA 10135, 10460, 10462, al.; τι γομετ στασαει τιναξικ Αίτ. 7.

D After εγατ. Bal. 1341, P. Lond. IV 157216.

E ταε_πανατ BKU 127.

g) The negative particle  is regularly omitted in Achmimic, cf. Till, Achm. Kopt. Grammatik par. 205 and note. In the Subachm. St. John it is sometimes omitted, e.g. XVI, 9, 10, 26 (but η—ον) XVIII, 39, XIX, 6, XX, 25; it is also omitted in BG 12912, 13014 (Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten), Sir. (Lagarde) XXIII, 18 (23), BHom. 7, al.

C Χε_ενοιοιζει και Ryl. 165; Τιλαντικι Ryl. 332.

h) The preposition  in its instrumental, temporal and adverbial use is sometimes omitted; some early examples: In the Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) ουςατυν ειμι occurs regularly for νοσογείν ειομ (p. 36), similarly in Wessely, Sah. Gr. Ps. Fragm. p. 100 (XXXVI, 17) and p. 114 (L, 3); cf. also Achm. Hosea IV, 8, IX, 7, XIV, 3 ουςατυν ειομ; Achm. Elias 224 ευςατυν γειμμευει; της varies with ντε in Achmimic, cf. Till, Achm. Kopt. Grammatik par. 33g; τυ(= ντε) Achm. Ex. IV, 24; similarly P. Gol. 47 ΔΑΚ = ΝΤΑΚ.


B τε (= ντε) Kr. 11615.

C τε (= ντε) Ryl. 203, BM 10417, 10536; τοτ = Ryl. 1228, P. Černý (ined.).
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\[\text{nooy} (= \text{nooy}) \text{KroppD}^{1,9,66} \text{(but nooy ib.} \text{94); anovic num MIF LIX,} 232; \]

\[\text{metoexic} \_ \text{wt Ryl.} 332 \text{(4 times); einwre} \_ \text{nomte BM} 10446; \text{thyno} \_ \text{lete-}
\]

moc Kr. 7\(^7\); te. (= nte) JEA XIII, 19f. (4th cent.); cf. tok (= ntok) Ryl.

\[1226; \text{P. Zerny (ined.), Kropp} 72,74,77 \text{(but ntok ib.} 76,105-110). \]

\[\text{D einwre} \_ \text{plam nomte P. Lond. IV 1518}^{17}; \text{nthe} \_ \text{thymoth emoc Bal.} 1183. \]

\[\text{E nco} \_ \text{yoyou thymay J.} 16^{62}; \text{pektan naxume-} \text{nomno nntolis J.} 5^{4}; \]

\[\text{ncka} \_ \text{teixaxe tabix (et sim.) ST} 52, \text{Tor.} 12^{12}, J. 20^{129}, \text{al.; nnaol-} \text{kallare}
\]

\[J. 4^{54f}; \text{yo} \_ \text{gmm} \_ J. 12^{40},13^{55}; \text{megnoi} \_ \text{cma} \_ J. 36^{9},14^{93}, \text{al.; Toot=}
\]

\[\text{CO} 11^{32}; \text{thi} (= nthi) V.C.21. \]

\[\text{i) ca} = \text{nca}. \text{In Achmimic we regularly find ce for nce, cf. Till, Achm.}
\]

\[\text{Kopt. Grammatik par.} 172, \text{though nce is sometimes found as in the}
\]

\[\text{Achm. Minor Prophets (Index). In Subachmimic we find ca in the}
\]

\[\text{Manichaean texts and the Gospel of St. John (usually), and nca twice}
\]

\[\text{in the Gospel of St. John and regularly in the Acta Pauli. ca is}
\]

\[\text{also found in BM 1223, BG 129}^{4} \text{(Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten) and}
\]

\[\text{a few times elsewhere, e.g. EHom.3; cf. also Crum, Dictionary p.} 314 \]

\[\text{a and references there.} \]

\[\text{B Kr.} 11^{6}^{10}. \]

\[\text{C Ryl.} 271 \text{(4th cent.);} 316,320,361. \]

\[\text{D Gloss. 248, Bal. 263}^{1}, \text{P. Lond. IV 1639, P. Mich. 1190II,} 3 \text{(Cra. IV,} 6). \]

\[\text{E See Ep. I p.} 244 \text{citing ST} 101,442. \]

\[\text{F VC 5 passim.} \]

\[\text{j) The n indicating the object after verbs is sometimes omitted. In}
\]

\[\text{Achmimic and Subachmimic the absolute form is often used instead}
\]

\[\text{of the construct in certain classes of verbs and Till (Aegyptus}
\]

\[\text{VIII, 255f.) already pointed out that in these cases there could}
\]

\[\text{be no question of an omission of the 'nota accusativi'; cf. also}
\]

\[\text{Till, Achmimisch-Kopt. Grammatik par.} 99b \text{and in particular chapter}
\]

\[\text{IX pp.} 202f. \text{and} 214 \text{below. Certain early Sahidic texts which}
\]

\[\text{are influenced by Achmimic or Subachmimic sometimes show the same}
\]

\[\text{phenomenon: Sah. Elias} 4^{30} \text{ba} \_ \text{na} \_ \text{ca} \_ \text{beo} \_ \text{v,} 9^{9} \text{yun n} \_ \text{n} \_ \text{ma} \_ 10^{15} \text{movr n} \_ \text{n} \_ \text{v}-} \]
There are, however, a number of instances where it is clearly the 'nota accusativi' which is omitted: Achm.Hosea II,18 ἡμιονή νευ οὐδιάκοντι ,VI,7 εὐπαραβα οὐδακον; Achm.I Clem.(Schmidt) 7731 κτε νέων οὐγομονοία. Similarly in non-literary texts:

C λιμαράκαλει παίζων BMGR.6201B4712; ταπροκυνεὶ ναξοσίικ BMGR.6201B 163.

E ταπλαστος βικυ EK 301; δικρατος τεπακις J.381, similarly ST 527.


E Cf.Crum,Dictionary p.215a (seven examples, all final η omitted).

1) τνόιοι for τνοιού. In the Pistis Sophia τνοιού occurs side by side with τνοιοῦ, and τνοιοῦ occurs once in P.Mich.136185 (Ora.IV,25) and as θναχι once in ManiP 391. In the non-literary texts this marks a fundamental difference between texts from Thebes and those from Achmim to Ashmunein. At Thebes the word is almost inva-
riably spelt correctly ΤΝΜΟΟΥ, whereas in the texts further north it occurs usually as ΤΝΟΟΥ:

C ΤΝΜΟΟΥ J&C 19227,10,18, Ryl.313 (both of the 4th century), Ryl.289, BM 11396.


ΤΝΟΟΥ Bal. cf. Index, 30 examples from non-literary texts.

E ΤΝΜΟΟΥ Ep. cf. index 95 out of 104 examples, al.pl.

ΤΝΟΟΥ Ep.149,242,28311,3204,3306,3335,7524,54412, J.4211,1155, RE 337, Tur0 15, BKU 30010.

m) N = NN, M = MM. Apart from ΤΝΟΟΥ there are numerous examples where N is omitted when preceded or followed by another N (M). In many cases it is the genitive N, but examples in all categories listed above occur. The following is a list of examples which I have collected from literary and non-literary texts:

Achm.I Clem. (Schmidt) 43,28; Achm.Elias 1416,1717,3017,3617; Achm. II Macc.VI,1; Achm. Ex.VI,29; Achmimic Minor Prophets (34 examples) Hos.IV,8,19, V,10, VI,4, VII,2, VIII,13, IX,4(bis),9, XI,4, XIII, 7, XIV,4, Joel I,14, II,7,8, Amos II,2, VI,7, IX,4, Mich.I,14, II, 9, IV,5, V,6, VII,18,19,20, Naum I,7, III,18, Hab.III,8, Soph.III, 18,20, Zech.II,6, VIII,6,11, XII,4, XIII,2, XIV,12; Subachm.St. John XII,19, XVII,28,36; ManiK 22320; Sah.Elias 42,18,27(bis), 520,831,1122,136; Si.(Lagarde)XXIV,23(24), XXXI,21(19), al.; Br. 5616,667,10818,11626,13419,267; PS 105,357,3621,3816,4812,6516, 11817,1668,18811,19224,19313,257124; Pro. (Worrell)IV,18, V,16, IX,13, XIV,8,24, XVIII,22, XXI,4,19, XXVI,7, XXVIII,28.

C JEA XIII,19ff. lines 5,6; BM 10327,10356,103510,10412,6,104313, 10448,9,10; Ryl.157,202,273,288,319,320, KruppD84, Kr.79, al.pl.

D bal.1024,11411,11911,1343,1526,1883,18924(bis),1937,1995,2015, 2069,21614,2186,2201,22811,2644,2732,2918,3039(bis), WS 297,106,

E CO 7115, ST 41, J. 255, 374, 76, 77, 78, 429, 87, 90, 92, 93, 8136, al.pl.

(mostly +ω μετρε ).

81) ἄν = Ν ; cf. next and par. 21.

D ἄναγραμμε P.Lond.IV 1553 5, 15.

82) ε = Ν ; cf. especially paragraphs 80, 81, 83, 86, 91, 93.

Ν is frequently omitted, cf. par. 80, but much more common is its substitution by ε, especially in texts from Ashmunein, yet it is practically unknown at Thebes. Examples for this from early literary texts are extremely rare; Crum in JRAS 1925 p. 759 has drawn attention to a few instances in the Pistis Sophia: 55 14 παν ἐρρυτή, 88 19 ὅ λο γε τ ἄναντη, 118 15 ἔλλεγερ εὐ θοῦ, 200 11 εἰσαγων -

ζήτημένε τὸν ποιός εὐφαντάσκει (ib. line 12 Εφανέει!), 279 16 πέτων 

Ἀλεξάποστιον, add 47 20 εἰρρέπελας κακά 

εὐθυδούς; only a few other examples are known to me: Sah.Elias 10 10 οτόκ, 12 17 μού γεθαλάκα, 

ManiK 117 22 ὅμικος ζε τῆρειχ.

a) ε for Ν is found in certain verbal prefixes: ἐπαρ = ἐπαρ (par. 132), ἐνε = ἐνε- (134), ἐνερ = ἐνερ- (137), ἐμνερ = ἐμνε - (142), cf. also the possessive adjective τέτερα = τετερα - (142).


D βενε WS 106, ST 329 (this region ?); γεμε P.Lond.IV 1565 35.

c) ε for Ν in γεμετ, μετε, μετ-, cf. paragraphs 80b and 83.

A μετε RAC pap.du Louvre 4 - 7, 10.

B Frequent, cf. CMSS index p. 89 (μετ-) etc..

C γεμετ Ryl.116, 164, 279, MIF LIX, 34 2, Kr. 712, etc.; μετε Ryl.137, 144 14, 146, 203, BM 1035 9, 1047 12, etc.; μετ- e.g. μετέκοιτο, JEA XIII, 19ff. (μεταναίον), Ryl.1283, 332, etc.; γεμετ Kr.75.

D γεμετ Bal.138 3, 159 4, 309 3, P.Lond.IV 1514 7, WS 138; γεμετ Bal.322 22;
VIII, 82

metrical Bal. 115, 124, 175, 24, 248, 17, P. Lond. IV 159, 24, 25, 1511, 15, 1513, 152, 37, 40, 1512, 16, 17, 18, 20, 1513, 30, 32, 1519, 22, 23, 1521, 39, 31, 33, 1565, 10, 1565, 56, 1573, 30, 1591, 17, 1592; met-, e.g. metaxoeic, Bal. 202, 205, 4, 216, 2, WS 109, P. Lond. IV 1554, 1578, 1638 (ter), 1643.

E gamma CO 48, 13.

d) e for n in the genitive particle.

A empan emnoyt RAC papyrus du Louvre 2, 7.

B Frequent, e.g. mcanoeit etkataphy Kr. 3.

C Very frequent, e.g. emnoy emnoyt BM 1041, Ryl. 384, al.; empan emnoyt Ryl. 285, 384, Kr. 2, al.; foun emsme Ryl. 329; epon ecoso Kr. 77, Ryl. 267; neoun emn Kr. 1064, 20, 25, lexon ems (et sim.) Ryl. 115, 122, 13, 129, 130, 181, 206, 267, 279, 291, 316, BM 1045, al.; neuxi enet- dike Ryl. 144, al.; ritoot ephiemoun (et sim.) Ryl. 123, 299, 315, 358; etc.

D emnoy emnoyt Bal. 216, 11, P. Lond. IV 1639; epon emnoy Bal. 1889, logos emnoyt Bal. 188, 10; neuxi ektiati Bal. 216, 12, epon ecosy Bal. 240, 7; pxoil xal etoidoieic Bal. 301, 1; eftoun ecoso P. Lond. IV 1631; episkalma emnoyeic P. Lond. IV 1496, 13, 15675.

e) e for the n connecting adjectives.

C toto ty eftone Ryl. 277, 7; tobo eftone Kr. 92, 9; neymo emise KroppD; nolakos eftone Ryl. 123, 123; al.pl.


E metoit ekon Ep. 290.

f) e for the n connecting numerals.

C te eftone Ryl. 277, 7; te eftone Kr. 2, 6; enox etromeon Ryl. 181; xon eftone Ryl. 1279; al.

D unto eftone P. Lond. IV 1563, 22.

g) e for n dative.

C After eftone Ryl. 115, 123, BM 1046, 1048, al.
D After 215; τακ τοστοσ WS 96.

h) e for instrumental, temporal and adverbial (etc.)

A εφκ ιενννοτε RAC papyrus du Louvre 24.

C εφκ ιενννοτε Ryl.128,144,191,196,205; BM 1036,1043,1060; ένννοτε
Ryl.339; ιενννοτε εδομος BMOr.6201B67; ιενννοτε εθοκ ιενννοτε
Ryl.285; ιενννοτε εθοκ (= ιενννοτε) Ryl.1285; al.

D tentały εσφα ετεμοκ ειον Bal.103 (= νακοκ ειον Bal.102).

i) ετοκ for κτοκ etc.

C οτοκ Ryl.282, BM 1065; οτοκ Ryl.324; εκο- Ryl.153,385; εκαθ-
Ryl.144; μι Cramer, Totenklage 10; μι ΕM 1055; εκο- Ryl.356;
τοκ ΕM KroppD 99; al.

D οτοκ P.Lond.IV 1519; εκο- Bal.179,251; εκο- P.Lond.IV
1565,1566,1594; τοκ ΕM P.Lond.IV 161.
This peculiarity is really an extension of paragraph 82 with \( \mathfrak{m} \) substituted for \( \varepsilon \), cf. paragraph 22; again the absence of examples from Theban texts may be noted (one exception).

a) \( \text{burne} \) for \( \text{burne} \); cf. paragraphs 65a, 74b, 74c, 82(b), 86, 99, 102.

b) \( \text{yourn} \) for \( \text{yourn} \), etc.

c) Varia.
non-literary texts cf. Jern. 6 and note, cf. also Junker, Koptische Poesie p. 89; the following examples may be cited:

B Kr. 61, BM 585, 592, 604, 630, Ryl. 374 (late).

C Jern. 6, Jernstedt in Aegyptus III, 282ff. line 6, Ryl. 329, 382 (late).


b) Varia.

B *Antoy, Antoy (for *nt* oy) BM 585, 597.

C 6. η (for 6nt* e) BM 1123 (4th cent.); 6ηαιν (for 6nta* H) BM 1124; ημητρι BM 1046, 14, 16.

E 6νεα (for 6νον) V. C. 10; cf. Min. 126.

85) μ = N; cf. paragraph 76.

Some early examples: Achm. I Clem. (Schmidt) II 10 2μνονος; Achm. Amos II, 10 2μνημος μνεμ ης ρλνης; Achm. James V, 7 ημμεμε; Br. 83 22 στριφων; Sah. Elias 7 19 νυκιον; Crum's fragment of St. John (see p. 241 below) XX, 19, 25 2μνημον, 2μ νημι; Berl. Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) p. 37 πεμμακαζ (77, 95), ημμεμε (927), ημμεμε (ήμμεμε 832); BG (Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten) 138 13 πνημανονον, 140 5 άνον ευους εμνεευε; I John III, 21 (in Berl. Or. 408, ed. Delaporte, Rev. Bibl. 1905, 377ff.) σμαρίκε (= 6ννις ικικε), so also LAp. II, 11 100.

B εκκοκ μα εκαλ ΒΜ 589 8.

C δμνονος ΒΜ 1065 10; εμονοτε (n.pr.) Ryl. 134 18; μον Βαουιτ p. 6; μει Μορρεί MIF LIX, 466; ιμον Cramer, Totenklage 112.

D νουμνοτν (n en-nouyote) Bal. 107; μη (n em) Bal. 278 1; νούο το ημ-Τακτος Bal. 312 8; πνημακε ημεμεμελακειτος Brunton, Matmar p. 95; nητεμοουμ ιμον Cramer, Kopt. Inschr. K.P.Museum Berlin 969 31.

E Cf. Ep. I p. 244, also εμονον (n.pr.) J. 20 64; ον (e on) J. 20 109; εμονο- τοτε μνανον 50 9; ιμμομον MH 59.

86) υ = N; cf. paragraphs 65C etc., 80-84, 36, al.

B εκκοκ μα εκαλ ΒΜ 113, 5 (cf. εκκοκ μα ib. 4).

C Αννε (e Αννε) Ryl. 353, BM 1087; εγυ μουν (e γυμουμ) Ryl. 305.

D Αννε Bal. 310; Αννε (e Αννε) Bal. 291; γουμ Ρ. Lond. IV 1588.
This peculiarity occurs only in the construct of \( \varepsilon \chi \nu \sigma \) and \( \varepsilon \chi \nu \mu \), and is found only in late texts, eighth century or later, cf. Crum, Dictionary pp. 757b and 759a, also Ermann, Bruchstücke kopt. Volksliteratur p. 58. Except for BM 1115\(^2\), Kr. 32, Kr. 8, it always occurs before a consonant, cf. Ryl. 106, 12f, 58, \( \varepsilon \chi \omega \) before a consonant, but ib. 41, 43, \( \varepsilon \chi \eta \) before a vowel. Cf. also \( \varepsilon \chi \omega - \) in P. Gol. 47 (5th century 1), cited Crum, Dictionary p. 757b.

87) \( \omega = \eta \)

B \( \varepsilon \chi \omega - \) Ryl. 1.374 (late), Kr. 32; \( \varepsilon \chi \omega - \) Ryl. 1.374, BM 661, Kr. 8, 18, 225\(^{15}\), 233\(^{29}\), V. C. 49, BKO 126, CMS XVIII note, XXIII 19 (\( \varepsilon \chi \sigma \).

C \( \varepsilon \chi \omega - \) BM 1115\(^2\), 1117\(^14\), Ryl. 282, 346, 353 (late), BMOr. 6201A168 (bis), B41, BEEA 10579 (this region ?); \( \varepsilon \chi \omega - \) Ryl. 1.377 (late), 464 (A.D. 1006-7), Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 16, Ryl. 1.106, 12f, 58 (this region ?).

D \( \varepsilon \chi \omega - \) Bal. 189\(^{30}\), P. Lond. IV 1639\(^{3}\); \( \varepsilon \chi \omega - \) Bal. 1887, 1899, Grohmann, Ar. Pap. in the Eg. Library III, 167\(^{5}\) (read \( \varepsilon \chi \omega - \) wam \( \eta \) cf. para. 90 below).

87A) \( \eta \alpha = \eta \)

This occurs only in the dative preposition \( \eta \); it is extremely common at Thebes, but only two examples can be cited from elsewhere, probably both due to scribal errors.

B \( \eta \alpha \alpha \alpha \) BM 529, P. Mich. 606 (cited Crum, Dictionary p. 216b).


88) \( \nu \epsilon = \eta \); cf. paragraphs 93, 95, al. .

The definite plural article \( \nu \) is sometimes written \( \nu \epsilon \) not only before a double consonant (cf. Stern para. 228), but before a single consonant and even a vowel. This is very common in late literary texts, e.g. J. Drescher, Apa Mena.

B Frequent, e.g. \( \nu \epsilon \kappa \kappa \kappa \kappa \kappa \kappa \) Kr. 3\(^{18}\); \( \nu \epsilon \omega \omega \) BM 661\(^3\).

C Frequent, e.g. \( \nu \epsilon \kappa \kappa \kappa \kappa \kappa \kappa \) BMOr. 6201B136; \( \nu \epsilon \omega \omega \) Ryl. 1.323; \( \nu \epsilon \omega \kappa \kappa \) BM 1064; \( \nu \epsilon \kappa \kappa \kappa \) Kr. 91; \( \nu \epsilon \kappa \kappa \) BMOr. 6201B1.14; \( \nu \epsilon \kappa \kappa \kappa \kappa \kappa \kappa \kappa \kappa \) Ryl. 1.117\(^3\); \( \nu \epsilon \kappa \kappa \) Kropp D\(^{104}\); \( \nu \epsilon \) Ryl. 1.357; \( \nu \epsilon \omega \omega \), \( \nu \epsilon \kappa \kappa \) Ryl. 1.129, 319, 323, Kr. 5, al.;
This peculiarity is found already in our earliest Coptic manuscripts; it occurs mostly in the preposition and particle ἐν, in ἐν and rarely otherwise. In most manuscripts it is found only before a following vowel, but in some it occurs also before consonants; ἐν ἐν occurs only before the indefinite article ὣν. In certain manuscripts, mostly Fayyumic, of a late period it occurs frequently and almost regularly, cf. JKP, Asmus 41,72 and in general Crum, Dictionary p.215a.

VIII,90

Sah.-Gr.Ps.-Fragm.p. 98 (36\textsuperscript{29}), 100 (36\textsuperscript{14}), 115 (50\textsuperscript{7}); Acts (Budge) III, 25, VII, 17, 20, XIX, 8, XXVIII, 10, Didache (ZNTW XXIV, 81ff.) I, 25, II, 22, 31, Bal. 30\textsuperscript{39}, 43, 61, 66.


A NN— RAC papyrus du Louvre III\textsuperscript{2}, 7, 8, 15, 21.

B Frequent, cf. CMSS index p. 90.

C NN— Ryl. 115, 207 (ter), 209, 288, Kr. 6\textsuperscript{1}, 5, 6 (A.D. 596), BM 1031\textsuperscript{1}, 11, 14, vo., 1043\textsuperscript{6}, MIF LIX, 59\textsuperscript{3}, 210, Kropp\textsuperscript{83}, BM Or. 6201A59a, BL 84, 249. ΑΝΝ—BMOr. 6201B105, 126; _ΗΝΝ—BMOr. 6201A110a; ΜΑΝΝ—MIF LIX, 149; cf. EXI ΝΝΖΑΤ _ΜΑΝΝ_ AND _ΚΙΠΕ_ BMOr. 6201A108d.

D NN— Bal. 154\textsuperscript{1}, 260\textsuperscript{12} (bis), P. Jkow (often), P. Lond. IV 1536\textsuperscript{39}, 1634\textsuperscript{12}, 1641; ΗΝΝ— WS 31\textsuperscript{13}, Brunton, Qau and Badari III, pl. IV no. 119; _ΝΕΤΝΟΥ_— P. Jkow.

E NN— CO 48\textsuperscript{5}, 6, 60\textsuperscript{11}, 75\textsuperscript{9}, 15, 93\textsuperscript{8}, 138\textsuperscript{4}, 311\textsuperscript{4}, V. C. 43\textsuperscript{2}, 5, 74 vo., 80\textsuperscript{7}, 99\textsuperscript{4}, BM 458\textsuperscript{5}, MH 51\textsuperscript{7}, 9, 53\textsuperscript{4}, 58\textsuperscript{6}.


C NNΤΖΩΝΙΣ Ryl. 165; _ΕΥΟΝΝΝΤΗΤΡΕΖΙΝΕ_ Ryl. 296; _ΤΝΥΜΠΕ_ BMOr. 6201A160a.

D NNΧΑ P. Jkow.

E _ΝΝΤΝΤΝΑΙΩΝΥΝΧ_ CO 93\textsuperscript{5}; _ΝΝΤΒΑΣ_ CO 129\textsuperscript{11}; _ΝΝΛΗΤΥ_ MH 58\textsuperscript{15}.

c) Varia. Early examples: _ΝΝΑ_, _ΝΝΥΥ_ occurs Achm. Elias 2\textsuperscript{1}, 43\textsuperscript{16}, Subachm. Acta Pauli and John (passim, but _ΝΗΥ_ John IV, 21, cf. _ΝΗΥ_ IV, 25)

C NNbNNM KROPPD95; PETNNEMHE, ANNEMOY,CUNNEY J&C 1922; TNNb(=NTN-conj.)IBM 1118.

D NNm-P.Lond.IV 1564; yANN-Bal.260; cf. NNbANNM, NNb-E Bal.3419, 3435.

E ANN-P CO 257; NNTAYEUSEPHE CO 3213; ENNm (=EN-O)CO Ad.145; NNd-(fut.) CO 128, MH 5815; NNTOY (vb.)Ep.314; ANNbK Ep.86; ANNm CO Ad.4; NNbM CO 27911; TOWNM BMBA 44809; TOWNNOY ST 289; NNbK BKU 2998, MH 586.

91) e = NN; cf.paragraphs 82 etc..

D ARMCO WS 9313.

92) N = NN; see above paragraph 80 l,m.

93) NE = NN; cf.paragraphs 82,88,al..

This peculiarity occurs only in late manuscripts and is evidently a combination of N omitted(par.80), e = N (82) and NE = N (88). It may be noted that in certain literary manuscripts of a late period it becomes almost regular, see JKP p.92('fast ausnahmslos') I have not been able to find any examples of this in Theban texts. In all examples the NN are the particle N followed by the plural definite article.

B Frequent, e.g. before NNbKR.311, cee KR.313.

C Frequent, e.g. before ANMYCION Ryl.1324,PMN- Ryl.1225155,3215; COWO Ryl.1162; OYOOGO Ryl.11272; GMTOMO Ryl.277; EM烧ML Ryl.356; al.

D Before BSX BS 95; ANMYCION Bal.2919,P.Lond.IV 156520,157218, 1575,1576; MYCION Bal.1966; MA WS 95; EMPO Bal.29127; EM烧ML Bal.
a) The article \( \eta \) is sometimes omitted, though in some cases this seems due to preceding or following \( \mu \) (see paragraphs 78B and 96A). In the following examples it is not due to \( \mu \); some early examples: Till, Oster, A. 30 αλλα ένενεμα; Achm. Mich. V, 3 μειονειαγ; Br. 2274 παν επικοπος; PS 169 έφευρεν αναστήμενον έννεμα. Εμοι. (Worrell) XVII, 16 έτελ γούντε αναστήμενον. cf. P. Mich. 3565 (Or. IV, 13ff.) 7, 14 ἐφε καὐτο τοντωτε ναήθει; cf. also TU 43, V 1 ἐναστήμενον έπειθεν αλλα.

C γυμνά κτερείσεια Jern. 14 and note; τιταλισα εννοεύτε BM 1137; ἀποκο- ναλ. ενήαν τηρη τοντ ωτε βαλεντ ΜΙΒ LIX, 131; κούλα δισκίνης Ryl. 116; ουκελ λενάοεις Peremans- Vergote, Ἐπιστολήκας Ημπροφάκλινδος Handboek pl. XI.

D ετελ γυμνα γεων νηθι BM 261; σεργεφες γε ικανοφέελος P. Lond. IV 152 10.

Ε εμπρακκλησι ωτον γωνπρο \( \alpha \) CO 140; μιμυσσες γωνπρο [σ]αλησι CO 311, sim. J. 118; Αξαρισσω εις Worrell, Coptic Texts IV, 6; πωλη ύπεσεν οθον ιαρχήματος J. 3 80; cf. Ποιντάκογκειο ST. 41.

b) \( \eta = \eta \eta \); Some early examples: TU 43, 35 15 ποιναπαλασεως αγαιν 36; ib. 40 1 κατα τε δι \( \eta \) αποκοπος: Achm. Elias 41, 103 παλατεονος παντοκρατορ; Achm. Haggai II, 20 αγγελους προφητης; Achm. Mal. III, 12 παλατεονος παντοκρατορ; Manik 43, 49 23 πεμεα, 61 23 πλαμεα, 135 25 τικον βερευσ ες; PS 4 5 μτον \( \eta \)ας παλατεονος, 215 17 αιαργος γωνπρο; Bal. 475 3, 76, 91 πλαμεα.

C πωλη φαντοκρατορ BM 1067; εις παραζοσκ KroppD 101; απα θεωφερ 

φαντοκρατορ BM 1042, sim. 1031 vo. 11, 1052.

D πωλη παντοκρατορ P. Lond. IV 1596; ποιε ικανος πρεσβυερος Bal. 152 2.

Ε πωλη παντοκρατορ \( \alpha \) CO 48 14, J. 520, al.; ιωπην\nu ες πρεσβυ CO 40 10, 139 3, Ad. 3, 6; \( \varepsilon \) catastrophe παστονει \( \eta \) \( \omega \) CO 48 3.

94A) \( \eta \), \( \varepsilon \) \( \eta \) as definite article.

In certain early Sahidic, Achmimic, as also in Old Coptic texts, the
definite article often appears as in Bohairic, cf. chapter IX p.246. Crum, Dictionary p.258a already mentioned some examples from the Pistis Sophia, the Berlin Gnostic and the Achm. Elias, also from the Old Coptic texts. Further examples may be cited from the following texts, though a more systematic search would probably reveal further texts: Till, Oster, (see p.5), Semi-achm. Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 52; Sah. Elias 132, 89, 91, 12, 18, 13, 27, 13, 28, 32; Deut. (Budge) VII, 19, XXX, 13, al.; Br. 80, 14, 22, 31, 264 (ter), 266, al.; Sa. (Lagarde) VI, 2, Si. (ib.) XXXIX, 1, 3, 5, XI, 15 (17), al.; the two old Vienna Psalters (Wessely, Sah.-Gr. Ps.-Fragm. pp. 13f. and 65ff.); Pro. (Worrell) V, 14 al.; the new Gnostic manuscripts, cf. The Manchester Guardian 24-6-49; Bal. 52, 30, 31; also P. Mich. 3565 (Ora. IV, 13ff.) lines 3, 11. From non-literary texts a number of examples can be cited, but often in, in, in might indicate the demonstrative pronoun and it is difficult to distinguish between the two.

C n-6-6 NNtyxox Ryl. 292 (4th-5th century); in and in in KroppD lines 3, 15, 16, 25, 28, 47, 50, 54, 68, 71, 97, 112, 125.

D inw nychie Brunton, Qau and Badari III pl. III (top left) line 2.

2) Varia. Achm. Hosea VII, 2 aA μεσηγεμεν; PS 46 μα το εβαλ άπλεστομος
μεσηγεμεν ούν, 199 μα με ούνοειν; P. Mich. 3565 (Ora. IV, 15) πασιμος ούνων, 12.
VIII, 94B - 96A

C οθωμεν μεχει περαν εροτα Ryl. 292 (4th–5th cent.); παν νεκτοι ντεμον
πνυμεν MIF LIX, 34 (bis); cf. n = n: πανομο πελαθησθαι; νακ επει
BM 10417, similarly 10432.

94C) μπ = μ; cf. last etc., also paragraph 79A.

a) μπακε occurs four times in the Acta Pauli (ed. Schmidt) for πακε which
also occurs. In LAp. μπακε is used almost invariably for πακε
(see 1.c.p. 512); Crum, Dict. p. 285a also cited μπακε BM 483 (from
Achimim?), and μπακε, μπεκε Mor. 3012, 29, and μπακε Mor. 368. Cf.
μπεκε = πακε etc. (par. 94B).

μπακεις ὥνδαμα δια πνευμα μπακείς ὤμη θυγατέα; Sah. Elias 1030 μπακε,
1129 εγγον ενδικά; Ps 19022 ετο πακ ουγοειν πε μπεκθεαρφος. Cf.
also μπαρα, μπροσ above par. 79A d.

95) πε = π; cf. paragraph 88, etc.

Just as πακε is sometimes found for νε-, the definite article μ- is
sometimes irregularly spelt πε-; Sah. Elias 14 πεες τ; cf. a Sah-
hidicism in Achm. Michah VII, 14 πεαμος. A more systematic
search would probably reveal further examples of this in both li-
terary and non-literary texts.

C άνατκτην– Ryl. 184.
D πακεορ Bal. 2912; πεογκαλ P. Lond. IV 15136.
E πακε ηθοτ CO 758.

96) ππ = π; cf. paragraphs 73A, 75A, 77, 90, 102A, 105, 114.

C ππακε Ryl. 1442; ππακανες BM 10493.
D πππαρακριτικοι ζωμολογια (3 times) P. Lond. IV 1573299.

96A) μμ = μμ; cf. especially paragraph 94, also 65, 77A, B, 79, 94B, C, 96B.

a) The definite article π is sometimes omitted before following μ,
 cf. above par. 94; some early examples: Achm. Zech. XIV, 16 γαρμη
λλα μπακε; Ps 193 μνυμηριον; Sir. (Lagarde) XIV, 3 περαθεσε; cf.
P. Mich. 3565\^16 (Oxa. IV, 15) εκελοσοκου εμα οεκοτεκ.

C ποιε μακαριος πες BM 1031\^17, sim. 1044\^9,\^10; αρισσευ(ε), αρισσευ MIF LIX, 145(bis), 307; κα παρασ(ε) την MIF LIX, 232.

D μη αρχη μοναστηρι[ρι] Bal. 188\^13 (cf. note); τας μεριτ νοον Bal. 242\^10; ταφει εμα ον οευε Brunton, Matmar p. 95; ποιε μακαριος ισολακκε P. Lond. V 1709:\^3.

Ε ιικ εμα ιινις κριλε BUK 38.

96B) \(\pi = \pi\) us; cf. last, etc.

PS 331\^10,\^13 ιαλωνας.

97) \(\psi = \pi\).

D ανοικ \(\psi\) εικο κυρε Bal. 215\^5.

97A) \(\phi = \pi\); cf. paragraph 117.

BM 1223 \(\phi\) (4 times); Br. 234 κοφινευρ.

98) \(\rho\) omitted.

For the omission of \(\rho\) in the verbal prefix \(\tau\)- see par. 146 below.

D \(\epsilon \ \epsilon\) εικ (twice) WS 93.

Ε ντατακοταις, πεντατακοταις J. 730, 59.

99) \(H = \pi\); cf. paragraphs 65C, 74B, 74C, 82(b), 83, 86, 102.

This peculiarity occurs only in \(\epsilon\)ιε for \(\epsilon\)ιε and is confined to texts of the eighth century and later. Two examples from the 10th-11th centuries: ΑΖ LXXVII (1942) p. 106, no. 3, Museson LXV, 161 2\^5.

C Ryl. 207, BM 1031\^7, Kr. 59, Cramer, Totenklage 6\^1, 7 (this region?).

D 

100) \(\lambda = \rho\); cf. paragraph 75.

This is the well-known Fayyumic peculiarity, but the examples listed below demonstrate that it was by no means confined to the Fayyum. Cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 134a. Two early examples: Subach-mimic Acta Pauli (ed. Schmidt) 19\^6 \(\lambda\)-Bal; Sir. (Lagarde) XXXVIII, 28 (33) \(\pi\)-εως; cf. PS 284\^9 παλαιτων.

B Passim.

C \(\lambda\) ακελων BM 1103\^29; εκελωσα Κρ. 106; cf. ακελων (= ακυρεν) BM 1037\^9;
VIII,100 - 103

ađexiçon BM 10258; anίcxyelon BM 10379; παλα BM 110317,19; παλα-
kale BM 11638; πνυλογ BMOr.6201A.107.

D ταξι- (= ταγε-)P.Lond.IV 158721; ελ- Bal.2413, Schmidt,ÄZ LXVIII,604
line 28; αλέ- (= αρι-) Ann.Serv.XV,114; ελλεi,δωμι,δομι, P.Lond.IV
156118,16,17; λοτε P.Lond.IV 1631 Col.17; λοτε P.Lond.IV 161028;
ακέλε (= κυρίον)Kr.12079; πλοος (= προς) P.Lond.IV 152128; παλακεi,
P.Lond.IV 1573,1622.

E See Ep.I p.243, mostly in Greek words; a few more could be cited.


Cf. Crum, Dictionary p.214b; παντοκρατως is also found in PcodMor.
(communicated by J. Drescher).

D παντοκρατως Bal.1149.


101A) ναν = p .

A πονο for πονο (Bohairicism) RAC papyrus du Louvre 5,7, Krall,Rec.
VI,63ff. papyrus III.

102) ι = p ; cf. paragraphs 65C,74C,82(b),83,86,99.

D επιρ for επιρ Bal.33523.

102A) πη = p ; cf. paragraphs 73A,75A,77,90,96,105,114.

In the Subachm. Acta Pauli (ed.Schmidt) (but not in the Manichaean
manuscripts), as also sometimes in Achmimic p is doubled in μπερ
(also once in Sahidic, Crum,Dict.p.267); similarly it is doubled
in μπερ,μπερ in the Subachm. St. John (but not in Acta Pauli and the
Manichaean texts), sometimes in Achmimic and once in the Greek-
Coptic Glossary to Hosea and Amos (ed.Bell and Thompson, JEA XI, pp.

C πεμερριτ nωτ MIF LIX,153; αρι παραογ J&C 1922.

103) p = πη ; cf. paragraphs 74,80,92,106,107.


D Jgu hψpe WS 149.
VIII,104 - 106

104) \( x = c \); cf. paragraphs 69,106.

104A) \( \gamma = c \);

104B) \( \alpha = c \); cf. paragraph 118A.

104C) \( \delta = c \); cf. paragraph 123H.

104D) \( \epsilon = c \); cf. paragraph 123H.

105) \( \zeta = c \); cf. paragraphs 73A,75A,77,90,96,102A,114.

106) \( \zeta = c \); cf. paragraphs 69,104,107 etc.

Cf. Crum, Dictionary p.540b. Some early examples: Bal.22 James III,14 ευθείας; Pro. (Worrell) IX,5 (bis) ευσμή (= ευσμή); XXIII,24 ἀγαθή; RChamp. 539 ευθεῖας, ἀκμής, καμή, καταγείρει.

C Cf. Crum, Dictionary p.540b. Some early examples: Bal.22 James III,14 ευθείας; Pro. (Worrell) IX,5 (bis) ευσμή (= ευσμή); XXIII,24 ἀγαθή; RChamp. 539 ευθεῖας, ἀκμής, καμή, καταγείρει.

E A few examples, see Ep.I p.244.
E See Ep. I p. 244 citing κλειστά (κλάσσειν), απωταίζε, ταρε.

107) c = c
cf. paragraphs 74, 80, 92, 103, 106.

Achm. Amos I, 12 μετάθετε; Prot. (Worrell) VII, 21 νεκροτού, IX, 13 νεκρον, XXIX, 32 εκώνωσε.

C etine εύχεται [Ryl. 199; εύχομαι BM 1065; εκεναγ (=εκένεν κεναγ) Ryl. 123, 124vo.1.

D etine εύχεται μοι BM 1207, P. Lond. IV 16194, 6; cf. εξάρπος Bal. 11610.

108) c = c
cf. especially paragraph 123 (2 omitted), also 109.

A surprising number of examples can be cited from non-literary texts where ζ is omitted after c in εύκαιρος and εύκαιρε. εύκαιρος for εύκαιρε occurs also once in the Paris Magical papyrus (PGM IV) line 100 and three times in the Manichaean Psalmbook (ed. Allberry) index p. 25; cf. PS 2557 &c by. Cf. also Crum, Dict. pp. 381b, 385a, 631b.

A cai RAC papyrus du Louvre 710.

B cai CMSS 413, BM 122718 (= Crum, Copt. Doc. in Gr. Script IV), ce; Kr. 23, BM 584vo., CMSS 2210, cm (= cia) Jern. 153;


C cai Ryl. 268 (4th century, but ib. cia), Jern. 51, MIF LIX, 232, BMO. 6201A68, B655;

cωι ρυλ. 36113, cωι MIF LIX, 245, BMO. 6201A29 (twice).

D cai P. Jkow, BMO. 6201B46, Bal. 1321, 1381, 21612, P. Lond. IV 159317f.;


B cai CO 2072, J. 759, 62, 911;


109) c = c
cf. last.

In Achm., Subachm., Fayy., Sah. manuscripts and in the Old Coptic Horoscope (AZ XXXVIII, 7ff., see p. 80 note) εύκαιρε is often found for εύκαιρος, see Crum, Dictionary p. 385a. In non-literary texts this is comparatively rare; we also find ζ as for εύκαιρος (and ευήθι for ευεήθι?).

B ζήμεν ευεήθι (= τετελεμένα ευεήθη) AZ XXIII, 34 no. 52.
a) A considerable number of examples can be cited where τ is omitted in μντ, usually the nominal prefix μντ, but it occurs also in the construct of the numeral 10 μντ, and rarely in γουμντ, τωμντ, and μντρε. Achm.Amos III,4 μντγικε; Achm.Mich.VII,10 μκθακε; Achm.Zech.XII,12 μμνττ; Till, Oster.II,31 μκκεμνο; Pro. (Worrell) X,4 μκκθκε, XIII,22, XIX,1 μμπμλαδ; Br.124 του ιε μννάκε,124 του ιε μμαθθμε,134 του ιε μαμών; PS 196 εμμεμμεμμοματε; Tah. Elias 1316, μννάκε (=μντακε); Acts (Budge) IX,9 γουμν δε μηκού; cf. (?) P.Mich.1190 II31 (Ora. IV,9) επε τευκ-ίδ μπιμελε...

A το-υεμε RAC papyrus du Louvre 49.
B μεξακει ΑΖ XXIII, 28 no. 2,1,2.
C μαλθακε Ryl.2921,12 (4th cent.); μικθκει Ryl.385, BMOr.6201B41,8; μιρε (=μιτρε-μιτρε) Kr.5929.
D μμνττ WS 112; μακκον Brunton, Matmar p.95; μικθκει P. Lond.IV 1634,1, 1634,14,18; μικθακε (=μικτακε) P. Lond.IV 1554, vo. 4; μιρε Bal.11624.
E μμνττ CO 406, 1295, V.C. 1072; μικκακα CO 2851; μικκομπομε V.C. 713; μικκθκε J,736, RE 18(bis), V.C. 823; εμμ, γουμ (both = γουμτ) Ep. 543, 543, 10, 11, 14; του του μπίμερ Worrell, Coptic Texts IV, 810; γουμ ηλακ ηλακ ST 1252,7.
F μικκακακα V.C. 512.

b) τ omitted in the stat. pron. of τυφε, τοο for τοοτο.

B Frequent: μτακ (=μτακτ) Kr. 223; μτακ Kr. 82, 253, 258, 272, 612, 1514, 1591; μτακ Kr. 333, 702; τακ Kr. 652, 692; μτακε Kr. 225; τακ Kr. 725; κτακ Kr. 194,5, κτακ Kr. 353.
C μτακ Kr. 91.
D μτοο Brunton, Matmar p.95; εμμ Ryl. 124; εμμ Balo.3383.
This peculiarity is comparatively rare except in Greek words, cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 49a. Some early examples: Achm. I Clem. p. 8 (Schmidt) (σαφάς ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ; Achm. Ex. I, 26 ἄρα αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἃ εὐσεβεῖς; Sah. Elias 16, 18 ἡμέρα; cf. 19 εὐκλής; PS 120 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, 140 ἢνεῖ (= ἤνει γένος); P. Gol. 47 ἄκατον ὑπότ. (κατά).
VIII,111 - 115

A άν. ρ & RAC pap.du lOuvre 79,91,13; άνάφε ib.9,10,Krall,Rec. Tr.VI,63ff.pap.2,9,10,11.

C ἀλ (vb.) BM 10327; ἀναφαλλ.& Ryl.137; ἀλε (rel.)BM 462; ἀλάω κ. μν. 

Eκ σικ '& Ryl.6201A29; al., often in Greek words.

D ἄν-(1st.pres.)Bal.1753; ἄναλος Bal.1523; ἄν (vb.)Bal.1035,2178, 

2654; διμε Bal.1271; σήμε (= σαντe)Bal.2607; έταλ ην P.Lond.IV 

1641vo; διμαυτί αλ, διωμοτ.(pass.)Ryl.124; cf. λοι θνου Bal.1521; 

ζήκαπνος (= ινδικτήνος)Bal.10214; σαντe Bal.1333; λεκαρις Bal. 

1166,10; τυχα ειτιν WS 87; παλμρ (π.pr.)Bal.29125.

E ἄλ-(1st.pres.)CO 195,254,V.C.823; ἄλ-(dem.pron.)CO 254; ἄ-ἐξετρα 

V.C.132; ἄλ-, θάν (= ἐτι rel.)CO 254,Tur0 719; σαλτς CO 1398; ἄλ 

(vb.)CO 195; άνρ γ χ.6921; al., often in Greek words.

111A) θ = τ.

L Misc.I συφαρτερ; P.Mich.11902 (Ora.IV,6) εταλεραφη.

B πνευματω, πνευματο Kr.116.

C Cf. προσφατής MIF LIX,452.

111B) θ = τ; cf. paragraph 71A.

E A few examples, see Ep.I p.243.

112) τ = τ.

Acts(Budge)VIII,20 εαν for εαν,XXIV,10 ουμνον for ουμνον; Pro. 
(Worrell)XVIII,4 πιθι_μπρωμε, cf.XVIII,22 ουμνον_

D πεπαλάχε Bal.1333.

113) τ = τ.


114) ττ = τ; cf. paragraphs 73A,75A,77,90,96,102A,105.

Acts(Budge)IV,3 ττασεύ; RChamp.p.539 εττι νει.

C ιττεβοττε JEA XIII,19ff.9 (4th.cent.); μιντρε Ryl.200; ιττεννδελμ Ryl. 

409; εττευτειν MIF,LIX,464,9(note 1).

D μιντρε Bal.28813,14,16,P.Lond.IV 1595; ετβιττ τ Bal.1884.

115) Χ = τε; cf. paragraph 124B.

E See Ep.I p.245.
115A) \( \omega = \tau \omega \) ; cf. paragraphs 110, 119B.

Pro. (Worrell) IX, 7 εγγονη.
C νεπιφης δι ΜΙ 1060⁹.
E νακόλο J. 14¹⁰.

116) \( \chi = \tau \omega \) ; cf. paragraph 124C, also 116A, B, C, 119, 119B, 123K, 124D, al.

For early examples see Crum, Dictionary p. 745a, adding: Achm. Ex. I, 15 χατε corrected to τγατε; Mani K 61⁴₂δηλων; Manih 68¹⁵γωμε; P. Gol. 47 ξη- (9 times).
C Χη- Κτ. 81¹; Χηλιο Kf. LIX, 167; Χηλα Ρυ. L. 361; Χηλωνε ΜΙ 1027³;
Χωντε Κτ. 6³, 40³, 48⁵.
D Χηρωνέ (= ταγονρωνε) Gloss. 25; Μελωτε Ball. 339¹; Χωνωνε Ball. 55¹⁰;
Χηςετ Ball. 59⁶; Χηλωνατε Κραμερ, Κοπτ. Ινσχρ. Κ. Φ. Μυσ. Βερλ. 9694.
E Frequent, see Ep. I p. 245 and references there; more could be cited.
F Χη- Morgensen, La Glyptothèque NY. Καρλσεργ p. 110 (this region ?).

116A) \( \chi = \tau \chi \) ; cf. paragraphs 124D and 110, also 116 etc.

A few examples in Crum, Dictionary p. 745a, adding: Achm. II Macc. VI, 5 Χηλων; BM 1223 ΧηλαΤη Κβονε; P. Gol. 47 ε λη; Pro. (Worrell) XXIV, 40 Χηλωνο; see also paragraph 110 above.
D Χηληπε Ball. 103⁸; cf. Χηλωνο for Τχηλωνο, see P. Lond. IV pp. xlviif.

116B) \( \chi = \tau \kappa \) ; cf. paragraphs 110, 116 etc., 127, al.

E Χηλων for Τχηλωνο Τιλλ, Σηύτζμμπ. 85¹⁰ cited also Ep. I p. 245.

116C) \( \kappa = \tau \kappa \) ; cf. paragraphs 127B, 116B etc.
Sir. (Lagarde) XXIX, 21(24) Ταρκη Νεπιρνωνή Πε; cf. Κραμερ, Τοτερνλαγην 3², 4, 4², 4 _, Νεπιρντη, Νεπιρνε.

116D) \( \theta = \phi \).

116E) \( \mu = \phi \); cf. paragraph 97A.

C ιωνε Πορελ, Coptic Texts III, 6 (early), MIF LIX, 324; πιελε ιβ. 161, twice.
For this phenomenon see in particular the discussions by Sir H. Thompson, The Gospel of St. John p. XIX and note 2, and Crum, Dictionary, pp. 516a and 745b. The following is the full evidence as far as known to me, but further examples will no doubt come to light after a more systematic search.

In Coptic words this occurs three times, all in the Achimemic Minor Prophets: Jon. II, 4, Zech. X, 11 ψψψ (ψψψ - ψψψ) and Hos. III, 1 χχχ, cf. Crum, Dictionary, p. 294a. All other examples are from Greek words, names or place-names.


From early Sahidic manuscripts the following may be cited:


It may be noted that while most of the examples have Χ followed by (ε) or Μ, cf. Thompson l.c. p. XIX note 2, the number of instances where this is not the case is still considerable.

Only two examples are known to me from non-literary texts:

D άνε  ένα νοξ Ann. Serv. XV p. 179.


118) ψ = ϕ ; cf. paragraphs 70, 117.


D ἀνούλων ψ[ψφ] Bal. 363 Ψ.


In Subachmim (except AP), Middle Egyptian and Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence we find c for ω before Χ and ω in the following words σεκε, σακε, σωκε, σγκε agreeing with Bohairic, see chapter IX p. 215, and in general cf. Crum, Dict. pp. 313a, 540. BG (Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten) 1375 ωγε, but ib. 13517 ωγε.

C σεκε JEA XIII, 19ff. (Melitian letter); μαγμαζε (= μαγμαζε) Ryl. 296; ονοι τινα MIF LIX, 232; φαινεται MIF LIX, 149, 150 (= φαινεται ib. 151); καρφε (= καρφυ) EMOC. 6201A79b (Arab period).

E A few examples in Ep. I p. 244.

118B) Χ = ω ; cf. paragraphs 119, 117C, 123J, K.

This peculiarity is almost entirely confined to Thebes and is one of the most important witnesses for the localisation of Achmimic at Thebes. It may be noted that the Achmimic letter ε only occurs in literary documents, the Aberdeen magical papyrus (ed. Crum R. Champ. 539) and in graffiti from the neighbourhood of Achmim (see p. 199 n. 8); cf. paragraph 123C and Chapter IX p. 198.

In most of the examples listed below it corresponds to Egyptian η = Achmimic ε = Subachmimic etc. ψ. Early literary examples for this are extremely rare. In BM 1224 (semi-Achmimic, cf. p. 239 below) η and ε occur side by side, also we find ς in (both in Egyptian η, Achm. ε). Acts (Budge) XX, 7 πωεις πανεικ, XX, 11 ανθες (but πως also occurs, e.g. I, 18; Achm. would be πως); Sap. (Lagarde) XII, 24 ετομα corrected to ετομυ (Achm. would be ετομε). Remarkable, however, is ζον for γωνι in the Hamburg old Fayyumic text (Eccl. II, 7, but γωνι is regular), also νασωγ side by side with νασωγον, cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 541a and Worrell, Coptic Sounds p. 121. It may be noted that in this text also ψ varies with ε.

a) ε for ψ where Egyptian is η, Achmimic ε and Subachm. etc. ψ.

E Cf. Ep. I pp. 244f., J. Index p. 388, ST index p. 146. pote ST 235; pote ST 351, BP 908 (cited Ep. 351 note 2); cos η Ep. 348, 14; cos CO Ad 4910; cos CO 45914, Ep. 532, 538, 53713; omye ST 556, ε (vib.) ST 596, 378, 3956, J. 1957, 77, 561, 39, cf. η Ep. 261; εόροκ J. 956; εόν ST 1342, 1457 (but γονι ib. 9); ψοτον J. 216; ψοτον ST 3645, 543, 10, 11 (γονι = γονιον) ib. 6, 14); CO 3207, MH 196(7); εόν J. 615; εόρο ST 240, BMEA 44806 (cited Ep. I, 245); εόρο Cairo 44674 (cited Ep. I, 245);

b) ε for ψ where Egyptian is η, Achm. and Subachm. ε, Sah. etc. ψ.
E Cf. Ep. I p. 244 etc. more, more ST 228, 231, 359, J. 68, 71, VC 6, 7, NH 61.

c) this for α where Egyptian is Σ, Achmimic etc. α.

E Cf. Ep. I p. 244 etc. ταπεινός CO 4698; τακ VC 807 (but ατακ ib. 11, perhaps from Ashmunein?); νερένες J. 743, 115; εαφί ST 1998; ατη (vb.) CO 3213; ατην J. 731; cf. also ξουμάτε (n.pr.) J. 723, 27, 70.

119) κ = α; cf. paragraphs 119A, 123K, etc.

This is found a few times after τ. Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) LXVIII, 3 νερένες; ManiK 1083, al. μυτέχων; P. Mich. 136174 (Ora. IV, 25) μυτέχων (sic 1.); further examples Crum, Dictionary p. 541a.

C μυτέχων Ryl. 161, 209, BMor. 6201B269; μυτέχων (=μυτέχων) Kr. 102; εντάτε Ryl. 343.

D εντάτε Bal. 55, ημωτάτα ενκλιό P. Lond. IV 1494, 28; εντάτε P. Lond. IV 1565, 50.

119A) κατα = α; cf. paragraphs 118A, 124A.

C ταπεινόμονε BW 10358.

E κατά γνωριμίας ΑΖ XXXIV, 85ff.

119B) τατα = α; cf. paragraphs 115A, 124D, 127B.

C νυτέχων JEA XIII, 19f. (Melitian letter).

119C) της = αε; cf. paragraphs 104B, 118A, 119A.


119D) το = ατ; cf. next.

E ου ους ΜΚΟ BKU 290.

120) ατα = ατα; cf. last, also 110.

D αταμοτηνος εις ατατος εκυδου τετοι διαφόρο P. Lond. IV 1639.

121) α = η; cf. paragraph 66.

This peculiarity is extremely common in texts from Achmim northwards, especially at Ashmunein and in the Fayyum, but hardly known at Thebes except for Μ = η which occurs frequently there as elsewhere. In Subachmimic the Manichaean texts always write Μ, Μ, Μ, Μ, Μ (ManiK 89), but η not Μ, whereas the
Subachmimic John, Acta Pauli like the other literary dialects always write ψ, χαι, etc.. A few early examples for ฿ = ψ can be cited, in particular from the Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV), see below: cf. also Crum, Dictionary pp. 27a, 619a.

a) ฿ for ψ in verbal prefixes, e.g. άθ-, εθ-, ετθ-, εθα- (= εψα-), etc.

Paris Magical papyrus lines 96, 110; BM 1224 (ά-ων).

A RAC papyrus du Louvre 67; Kr. 228 vo. 3, 5; al.

B BM 530 8, 15, 545 (2) 12, 14, 549 4, 583 pass., 584 pass., 651, 653, 661 6, 665 3, Kr. 225 16, 232 5, 236 12, al.

C Ryl. 123, 128, 134, 179, 191, 199, 277 21, 24, 30, 281, 321, 329, 340, 341, 352, 355, 357, 369, BM 1023 6, al., 1013 27, 1036 11, al., 1042 18, 1044 11, 1053, 1072 15, 1122 vo. 3, 1124 4, 6, 1153 4, MIF. LIX, 27 16, 17, 199, 283, al. pl.

D Bal. 134 2, 142 2, 147 3, 202 15, 210 2, 264 1, WS 29 14, P. Lond. IV 1499 9, 1512 32, 1522 31, al., 1554 2, 31, 1561 17, 1593 18, 1643, P. Lond. V 1709 40, 57, al.,

Brunton, Matmar pl. LXVIII, 14 (bis); Cramer, K. Inschr. K. F. Mus. 969 12; al.


b) ฿ for ψ in the possessive adjective ψθ-, ψθ-, ψθ-. Once in the Paris Magical papyrus line 111; also LMisc. L (bis).

B BM 582 10, 653, 658 6, 665 3, al.

C Ryl. 377, 385 vo., BM 1072 10, 1122 4, 1127 4, 1147 9, 10, MIF. LIX, 283 (bis), BMOr. 6201 B53, al.

D Bal. 51 3, 55 5, 292 6, WS 36 8, 71, 74, 103, 174 (bis), P. Lond. IV 1536 3, 1552 24, 1561 15, 1622.

C ฿ for ψ in suffixes, e.g. ψθθ-, εψθ-, ξψθ-, εψθ-, ξψθ-, τψθ-, ξψθ-, εψθ-, καινοψθ-, etc. Paris Magical papyrus line 111 (ψτθ-);

Pro. (Worrell) XVII, 18, XXVIII, 11, XXXVIII, 9 (bis) all Ωαλ- ฿; P. Mich. 1190 8 (Ora. IV, 6); P. Mich. 3565 14 (Ora. IV, 15).

B BM 545 (2) 12, 14, 546 9, 549 5, 580 pass., 582 (2) 12, 13, 647 9, 652, 653 pass., 656 6, 665 3, Kr. 225 pass., al.

C Ryl. 123, 155, 191, 277 19, 203, 281, 299, 352, 385, BM 1013 27, 1014 3, 1023 7, 1028 14, 1036 6, 11, 1079 3, 4, 1127 18, 1145 6, Kr. 80 2, BMOr. 6201 B53 pass., al.
d) &i for η. Once in the Paris Magical papyrus line 126.

A Kr.2286,15,16,vo6.

B BM 5294, 9, 546, CMSS index p.91, al..

C Ryl.165,258,282(bis),288,321,361,Kropp.D34,al..

D Bal.519,2332,2092,2168,21614,3251,WS 93, P.Lond.IV 15001, 15941594,P. Lond.V 17092176,Gloss.223,224(61 and 8M-

E Frequent, see Ep.I p.242 adding: EKU 125,306,ST 56,VC 121,133,324, 364,7013,859,1138, al..

e) δτ(υ)/ου) for ητ(υ)/ου). Once in IMisc.L.

C Ryl.164,185,190,206,207,339,BM 10434,vo10527,al..

D WS 359,68,107,P.Lond.IV 15054,156517,157017,15965

f) Varia. Paris Magical papyrus line 18 ταίτωνν,113 κνοδ8; Br.1185
ετετνωβε; Wessely,Sah.Gr.Ps.Fragm.p.124(LV,5) αγιωδε; Pro.(Worrell)IX,12 ογιωνωβε; BM 1224 δεκκ(but ib. αγγελικον); P.Mich.13690
(Ora.IV,21)Δφε,ib.92 χοσκε.

B ληπνωγυ Kr. index p.222; οιμα BM 5466.

C μιτατε BM 1079a3; καυβε BM 1065,20, KroppD64; &ωτε Ryl.371; οιε
Ryl.299,BM 1110; ουε KroppD87; eκας (=νικας)Ryl.355;ος KroppD58, al..

D καυβε WS 389; οιε WS 104.


121A) π = ι; cf.paragraph 65A.

PS 1952 ετετοπ.

C καυβε BM 1031vo2.

122) γ = ι; cf.paragraph 60B.

A few examples may be cited where this occurs in the verbal auxiliaries in some early texts: Acts(Budge)VIII,39; PS 22023,2213,6,7, 22521; Br.242; Achm.Elias 131; al.. In non-literary texts the

two letters are often so alike that it is difficult to distinguish
between them and it seems wiser not to cite examples; one may however be noted:

C N63 Y BM 1162 10.

D N63 Y P.Lond.IV 1497 5, 15; cf. εἰντι for εἰετί P.Lond.IV 1528 1.

122A) χ = q ; cf. paragraphs 123E, also 118C and 150A.

Roesch, Vorbemerkungen zu einer Grammatik der achm. Mundart p.27 mentioned εφο2 for εφογ in the Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV) line 25 and cited one instance (p.181) where the Achm. ετας was written for εταγ- (I Clem.Berl.14 15). To these the following may be added: Acts (Budge) IV, 36 εγαβαςες 2; Didache (ZNTW XXIV, 81 ff.) col. III last line εινεξιν; cf. also Achm.Amos I,11 ταματοε and ib. I,3,9 ταματοε both for ταματοε . For the Achmimic verbal prefix ετας which in some manuscripts varies with εταγ- see the full discussion in paragraph 150A below.

123) χ omitted; cf. paragraphs 106 and 123A, 127F.

The irregular omission, addition(par.123A) or metathesis(par.127 F) of the letter χ to a greater or lesser extent characterises most of the early Coptic manuscripts, and the final standardisation of the correct use of this letter can hardly have taken place much before the early fourth century. The principal reason for this is probably the fact that the letter was weak, and perhaps in some districts was hardly or irregularly pronounced. On the other hand, it ought to be borne in mind that when Coptic was first used by Christians the use of the additional Demotic letters was disputed at least in some circles; and in particular, as is also shown by parts of the Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV lines 94 - 131, 138 - 143, 147 - 153) the question must have been raised whether, instead of employing the Demotic letter χ , the 'spiritus asper' used in Greek manuscripts should be taken over. This could then be omitted quite regularly on the analogy of those Greek manuscripts which were written without accents. Thus,
the Coptic glosses in the Chester Beatty Isaiah manuscript, probably the earliest example of Coptic used by Christians, are written without any of the Demotic letters and, while ς is represented by ς, ρ by Ρ, and Χ by Χ, the ξ was naturally omitted altogether. For the problems involved see below chapter IX especially p.244 and note 1; cf. also Worrell, Coptic Sounds pp.109f. and Crum, Dictionary p.631.

Manuscripts in which the omission of ξ is particularly frequent, though often the letter was added subsequently, are the Achimimic Minor Prophets (ed. Till and Malinine), the Berlin Psalter, the Chicago manuscript of Proverbs (ed. Worrell), P.Mich. 1190 (ed. Worrell, Ora. IV, 5ff.), also the Berlin Gnostic (a small part published by Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten) and the Hamburg old Fayyumic text (unpublished); to a less extent the ξ is omitted in the Turin Wisdoms (ed. Lagarde, Aegyptiaca) and the semi-Achimimic Luke fragments (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.). Among the examples listed below I have not included references from the Hamburg old Fayyumic text and the unpublished part of the Berlin Gnostic.

a) η for ξιν. This occurs frequently in early manuscripts, but often it is impossible to distinguish between the correct use of either preposition. The following are examples where instead of η we should clearly expect ξιν, or where the ξ has subsequently been added: Achm. I Clem. (Schmidt) omitted: 776, added: 6918; TU 43 added: v14; Achm. Minor Prophets, omitted: Naum III, 4, added: Joel III, 18, Mich. I, 4, Jon. II, 3, Hab. I, 8, Soph. II, 7, Hag. II, 3, II, 18, Zech. VI, 15 (bis), X, 2, XII, 11; semi-Achm. Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.), omitted: I, 15, 39 (?), 41, 67, added: I, 39; Sah. Elias, omitted: 812; Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs), omitted: 374, 434, 749, 763 (2), 15, 8914, added: 166, 226, 255, 273, 938, 1054; Sap. (Lagarde), omitted: 25, 722, 813, 93, 107 (bis), 125, etc., added: Sir. 2721; Deut. (Budge) IX, 10, omitted; PS omitted: 11221, 18016, added: 36, 41; Worrell, Proverbs see p.XIV;

b) $\alpha$ for $\varepsilon$. In some early Sahidic manuscripts we frequently find $\alpha$ for $\varepsilon$, perhaps due to influence of the sub-dialects (Achm., Subachm., Mid. Eg., Fayy., Boh.) all of which omit the $\varepsilon$. Sep. (Lagarde)\textsuperscript{64} 10\textsuperscript{1}, 14\textsuperscript{16}, 17\textsuperscript{16}(15), 19\textsuperscript{6}, Sir. (ib.) 17\textsuperscript{11}, 22\textsuperscript{26}(29), 27\textsuperscript{30}, 28\textsuperscript{26}, 29\textsuperscript{2}, 32\textsuperscript{1}, 39\textsuperscript{3}, 41\textsuperscript{14}, 42\textsuperscript{14}, 44\textsuperscript{20}; Berlin Psalter 70\textsuperscript{10}, 78\textsuperscript{1}, added in 77\textsuperscript{10} (elsewhere in the manuscript $\varepsilon$ is $\alpha$); Berlin Ms. Or.408 (Rev. Bibl.1905, 377ff.) Jn. II, 4; BG (in Schmidt) 13\textsuperscript{9} ($\varepsilon$); Ryl.6 (bis).

c) $\varepsilon$ is sometimes omitted in $\varepsilon\varphi\alpha\iota$ ($\varepsilon\varphi\alpha\iota$, $\varepsilon\varphi\alpha\iota$, $\varepsilon\varphi\alpha\iota$). Achm. Psalm-Fragment (ed. Crum, Miss. LXVI, 73ff.; 3rd century) $\varphi\alpha\iota$; Muséon III, 2 (line 7) $\varphi\alpha\iota$; Achm. Jonah II, 7, Zech. II, 3 $\varphi\alpha\iota$, $\rho\mu\iota$ ($\varepsilon$ added in both); Berlin Psalter 21\textsuperscript{6}, 29\textsuperscript{3}, 30\textsuperscript{18} $\epsilon\varphi\alpha\iota$ (\varepsilon added in all three); Worrell. Proverbs, see p. XIV; P. Mich. 3565\textsuperscript{10}, 14 (Ora.IV, 15) $\varphi\alpha\iota$.

BM 583\textsuperscript{18}, $\epsilon\varphi\alpha\iota$ AZ XXIII (1885), 42 (no. XII) lines 1, 10 (ib. 2 $\epsilon\varphi\alpha\iota$).

C $\varphi\alpha\iota$ Ryl. 409, BM 1125\textsuperscript{2}, 4, 6, 9.

d) For $\chi:\mu \varepsilon \nu e = \chi:\mu \varepsilon \nu e$ see paragraph 108 above.

e) $\varepsilon$ omitted at the beginning of words: TU 43 iii\textsuperscript{11}, p. 5.0.; Achm. II Macc. VI, 9 $\eta$ $\varphi\alpha\gamma$; Achm. Minor Prophets, Hos. VI, 8 $\epsilon\varphi\alpha\iota$, IX, 4 $\nu\varphi\alpha\varepsilon$, Naum I, 7 $\eta$ $\eta\tau\gamma$, Zeph. I, 17 $\tau$ $\varphi\alpha\iota$, Hag. II, 2 $\varphi\alpha\iota$ for $\chi:\mu \varphi\alpha\iota$ (I), Zech. VI, 13 $\varphi\alpha\iota$, etc., cf. $\sigma\eta\varphi\alpha\nu\mu$ Naum III, 2, Hag. II, 22, and $\gamma \varphi\alpha \varphi\alpha \tau \gamma$ Naum III, 3; Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.), I, 38, 48 $\tau$ $\varphi\alpha\iota$; Berlin Psalter 104\textsuperscript{17} $\epsilon\mu\varepsilon\nu\alpha\lambda$; PS 55\textsuperscript{12} $\nu\mu\iota\kappa\epsilon$; Berlin-Lond. Apocalypse X, 10 $\nu\mu\iota\kappa\epsilon$; P. Gol. 47 $\epsilon\iota$ (5 times); BM 1224 $\omega$; P. Mich. 1190\textsuperscript{27} (Ora.IV,7) $\nu\tau \varepsilon \eta \mu \varphi\alpha\iota$; subsequently added: Achm. I Clem. (Schmidt)\textsuperscript{12} $\alpha$ $\varphi\alpha\gamma$; Achm. Minor Prophets, Hos. III, 3 $\varphi\alpha\iota$, XI, 12, Joel II, 8 $\sigma\nu\gamma$, Jonah II, 6, Hab. I, 3 $\sigma\nu\gamma$ (indef. pi. art.), Naum II, 5 $\alpha$ $\varphi\alpha\nu\mu\kappa$; II, 11, Hab. I, 15, III, 2 $\sigma\nu\gamma$, Zeph. I, 13 $\eta$ $\varphi\alpha\gamma$, II, 7 $\chi\kappa\omega\varepsilon$, Zech. I, 6 $\epsilon$ $\eta$ $\varphi\alpha\iota$, II, 5 $\varphi\alpha\iota$, III, 9 $\eta$ $\varphi\alpha\gamma$; VI, 3 $\tau$ $\varphi\alpha\iota$, XII, 6, 13 $\epsilon$ $\varphi\alpha\iota$, XII, 12 $\epsilon$ $\varphi\alpha\iota$, cf. Hos. X, 13, Naum II, 5 $\varphi\alpha\iota$, Naum II, 4 $\eta$ $\varphi\alpha\iota$, III, 3 $\eta$ $\varphi\alpha\iota$, Hab. II, 8 $\eta$ $\eta$ $\varphi\alpha\iota$; Subachm. John III, 3 $\sigma\eta\mu\iota\kappa$; Berlin Psalter 4\textsuperscript{3} $\alpha$ $\varphi\alpha\gamma$, 14\textsuperscript{4} $\epsilon$ $\varphi\alpha\iota$, 35\textsuperscript{10} $\alpha$ $\mu\kappa$, 43\textsuperscript{25} $\kappa\epsilon$, $\nu\mu\iota\kappa$, PS 42\textsuperscript{18} $\nu\mu\iota\kappa$.
C W. Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 63.

D An WS 48; tekēr ap o xwv P. Lond. IV 1639.


f) 2 omitted at the end of words: Achm. Psalms Fragment (ed. Crum, Miss. LXVI, 73ff.) ka_; Achm. Minor Prophets, Joel I, 19 ouya _ xepo, Am. I, 3, 9 tma_yron, IX, 5 petxw apkaq, Jon. II, 11 aqora caqne, Hab. II, 16 mvp, Soph. II, 11 ovan, Zech. XII, 7 nptovn en filhm; Manik 76 avnanc; Acts (Budge) VII, 8 petxwmon (= nptv-evmon); PS 17915 mouv entmp; Wessely, Sah.-Gr. Ps. Fragmenta p. 114 (Ps. I, 6) ncpov ouv edol; Worrell, Proverbs ka, mouy, ouw cited p. XIV, cf. xap ep s (= xap ep s) IV, 13;

C pa _ xoy BM0r. 6201A68.

D pros _ de _ xepn m_ m_ m. P. Lond. IV 151827.

E See Ep. I p. 245 (ouw).

g) 2 omitted within words: Achm. Minor Prophets, Jonas II, 5 naf_ nka2, Soph. II, 7 xpay _; Sir. (Lagarde) XXXIV, 14 (15) eXX; Worrell, Proverbs p. XIV amate, so also Lap. II, 8vo; subsequently added: Achm. Minor Prophets, Hos. VI, 1 ra_n_k; Mich. VI, 15 ra_k, Naum II, 2 petxwmae, II, 4, Zech. II, 5 ko_t, Naum III, 5 petxi naqy, Hab. I, 7 ouvqv a_ e, Zech. I, 12 e be (= caqbe), Hag. II, 9 te o; Subachm. John XII, 25 amne, Luke (BIFA VIII, 76ff.) I, 48 xic_nkte; Berlin Psalter 36 xcak _ [694 nna_ rak, cf. 864 raa_b; Sir. (Lagarde) X, 26 (27) xoXX, XLVII, 24 neke_te.

E A few examples Ep. I p. 245, add: temtovan thymy BKU 318; naf_ n MH 7724.
For this peculiarity see in particular Crum, Dictionary p. 632a, also JEA XIII, 21 note 6 and Till, Achmimisch-kopt. Grammatik par. 27; for the problem in general see par. 123 above, cf. also the verbal prefix za- which probably belongs here, see par. 150 below.

a) Just as z- is often found for ùn-, so ūn- is sometimes written for ù-: Achm. I Clem. (Schmidt) 3111, 6522; TU 43, vi 10; Achm. Sir. XXXIII, 4; Achm. Zech. VI, 13, IX, 11, XII, 1, 10; Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) 464; PS 721, 422, 561; Deut. (Budge) XXXIII, 14. Cf. Piehl, Sphinx V, 89ff.

b) Varia: Achm. Pro. VIII, 28 naşāwpa; Achm. I Clem. (Schmidt) 5417 naštāep- nicteyeæ; Achm. Sir. XXII, 29 na-za-peiæ (Sahidicism); Achm. Elias 818

n2926, 1572 ηουελκοφ; Achm. Hos. VI, 5 μεωσε; Achm. Zech. III, 1 καγο- neæ, III, 3 εἰςωμη; Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 48 οἰκίσμην ἅτε, I, 52 na- Φ821, 40, I, 65 αὐτοτε λέετε ἐκ εκ ακόαν (Sah. is εκ-); Lagarde, Egyptiaca p. 208 (Ps. CI, 28) na-γονεμ; Acts (Budge) II, 5 γενοψμε; PS 26914

z3677, 36711 ουκαιμορ (both deleted in Ms.); Wessely, Sah.-Gr. Ps. Fragm. p. 13 εφικρισι.

C B ταζειαντιφωνηςει, ενεκαζει, πονθαζει Kr. 116; εικαζει Kr. 117.

C ικαζει ΒΜ 11232, 18, 23, vo. 6; εμμουη, ευρηκ-, εμτον, ουκονε, βολευηκ (βοςεσ) εμμακ (εμμοη) ib. (4th century).

D Ανοκ εξαιδονοβογ, ετνα-26η-νεικαί, εκαζει2, νεικαί P. Jkow (Cairo).

B See Ep. I p. 245.

c) For oυαζετε= ουαζετο see Crum, Dictionary p. 740; ουαζετο also ManiK 9819, 1262, 1475 (but ουαζετο ib. 967, 9820, 10024, al.).

123B) Z = 2.

A ιαζαζεν (ιωξαννης) Quibbell, Saggara III, 1589.

123C) X = 2; cf. paragraphs 123F, 1170, etc.

This peculiarity is found in a number of texts, early and late, usually representing the Egyptian letter ρ = Achm. ε = Boh. β.
In the Paris Magical Papyrus it varies a number of times with the 'spiritus asper', sometimes supplementing it, sometimes replacing it: line 95 χέωμ (but 1.97 χέωμ, δέωμ) line 97 χέωοι, lines 121, 122 εχέν (cf. 87 εξν, 153 εέν = Copt. ζεν), line 97 χέει, line 120 πετενχεί εχέτ, line 150 πεηχουν, line 1235 καχοῦν, line 118 ηνν corrected to ντχη, cf. line 123 μαχαδεην. In this papyrus it evidently represents an attempt to differentiate between Egyptian δ and λ at a time when the letter ζ was no longer known in the south and the Achmimic ζ had not yet been invented or was still not generally known; in this connection it is of unusual interest that in the Aberdeen magical papyrus (ed. Crum in R. Champ. p. 539) we find αχρη (twice) side by side with αζρη (twice), a document of only 11 lines(!).

Crum, Coptic Documents in Greek Script has drawn attention to a number of semi-Bohairic-Fayyumic texts where the Bohairic letter δ is represented by χ; all these texts are eighth century or later. The following are the texts where this occurs: Crum, l.c. numbers I and II, CMSS 43, MR V, 42, Rec. VII, 195, BM 1237, Ryl. 460, always χεω- and χααι. In Ryl. 460 it also occurs once for δ in χεητεν, similarly Ζ· XXIII (1885) p. 42 no. XII5 χξωογ (a Fayyumic text, magical); in BM 1237 also χεεικ, χιίι (both = δ).

Attention may also be drawn to the title καχο which is clearly related to καχι (καει, κααι), cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 384a.

A few examples for χ = δ from Thebes are listed in Ep. I p. 245, again mostly representing χ = δ = ζ.

123D) ω = δ; cf. paragraph 118D, al.

Cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 541a which cites also one example from the old Fayyumic Hamburg text; cf. also the practice of certain Achmimic manuscripts which in certain cases write ωη or δη for δ, see chapter IX pp. 203f. below. Achm. II Macc. VI, 3 ωηαη corrected to δηαη.
E A few examples in Ep.I p.244

123E) η = ζ; cf. paragraphs 122A, etc.
Achm.Elias 129 Αυτους ζυγους ζυγους ζυγους; Br.234 ἐπεγραυμον.

123F) ζ = ε; cf. paragraphs 123L(ζ = ζ), 117C(ξ = ζ), 123C(ζ = ε).
TU 43 xxii τριταξαμε corrected to τριταξαμε.

123G) Κ = Χ; cf. paragraph 67A, also 126, al.
Wessely, Sah.-Gr. Ps.-Fragm. p.78 (Ps.XXV,3) κε πεκνα.

123H) ζ = Χ; cf. paragraphs 104D, al.
E See Ep.I p.244 citing ζε for ζε Ep.338, CO 244, BCU 42.

123I) Ψ = Ξ; cf. paragraph 126A.
Cf. Crum, Dictionary p.745a and references, especially ἄρης Deut.
(Budge)XXX,13, note ib.XXII,19.

123J) Χ = Ω; cf. paragraph 117C.
This peculiarity is found in the three earliest Coptic texts so far known: Chester Beatty Isaiah Glosses (Fayyumic) άνχ[42, εκω 31, χαιν ι, 36, χαίτ 14, χαϊτ 40,].ξ 38; Bell and Thompson, A Greek Coptic Glossary to Hosea and Amos, JEA XI, 241f. ρεξαγ Hos.XI,2, καξε Hos.VII,2; Achm. Psalm Fragment (ed. Crum, Miss. LXVI, 73ff.) Ps. XLVI,9 ξεν, 10 χωρε , 3 καιε , 10 ξεφαι (ζεφει ), but ib.ζε, εκεν, ξεν, εκεν, ξεν, εκεν, ξεν. These texts are still from the 3rd. century;

123K) Ω = Χ; cf. paragraphs 119, al.
Acts (Budge) VII, 57 μαιαγε , XXVII, 12 αγγελε , II, 15, XXIII, 24 αγγελοντε ,
cf.Thompson, The New Biblical Papyrus p.13; Sir. (Lagarde) XLIX, 10
ΜΑΥΑΣέ; Sah. Elias 9 15 ζερη γενετον; Cant.VI,5 (Hamburg old Fayy.) ωμα; cf. Crum, Dictionary pp.541a, 745a.


\[124\) \beta = \chi; \text{ cf. paragraph 127.}

Achm. Elias 12\textsuperscript{13}, 37\textsuperscript{10} \chi\rho (but \chi\rho ib.13\textsuperscript{19}); ManiK 31\textsuperscript{18} \epsilon \epsilon\epsilon; Acts (Budge) IV, 14 \delta \omega; Worrell, Proverbs p.22 \kappa \delta \epsilon, p.89 \delta\delta\epsilon\epsilon, XXIV, 58 \nu\epsilon\epsilon; \text{ cf. Crum, Dictionary pp.745a, 801a.}

A \chi\epsilon (= \delta \chi) RAC papyrus du Louvre 2\textsuperscript{12}.

B \delta\nu\nu (= \chi\nu\nu) Kr.158\textsuperscript{3}; \delta\nu\nu (= \chi\nu\nu) Kr.116\textsuperscript{13}; al.

C \epsilon\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu Ryl.122\textsuperscript{15}; \epsilon\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu BMOr. 6201B44; \delta\nu\nu, \delta\nu\nu KroppD\textsuperscript{4,5}, 82\textsuperscript{8},

Cramer, Totenklage 6\textsuperscript{11} (this region ?); \delta\nu J & C 1922\textsuperscript{19}; \chi\nu (= \delta \chi)

Baouit p.25 no.III; \text{ cf. } \alpha\nu\nu\alpha\nu\nu\nu\nu BMOr. 6201A76; \alpha\nu\nu Kr. 62\textsuperscript{10}.

D \nu\delta\nu\nu Bal.188\textsuperscript{15}; \delta\nu\nu Bal.155\textsuperscript{6}; \delta\nu, \delta\nu Bal.249\textsuperscript{5}, 396\textsuperscript{5,14}; \delta\nu

Bal.189\textsuperscript{16}, \chi\nu Bal.138\textsuperscript{8}; \text{ cf. } P. Mich.1190 (Ora. IV, 5ff.)7 ΜΤΕΤΕΝΒΩΙΚ

ε\δ\omega, 21 \nu\nu\nu, 31, II, 32 \chi\nu; \text{ conv. Ann. Serv. XXII, 50ff. no.415.}

E A few examples in Ep.I p.245, add: \nu\nu\nu Worrell, Coptic Texts IV, 8.

\[124A\) \chi = \chi; \text{ cf. paragraph 119A.}

E \nu\nu\nu \nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu CO 71\textsuperscript{24}.

\[124B\) \chi\gamma = \chi; \text{ cf. paragraph 115.}

E \mu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu ST 116; \text{ cf. } \kappa\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu Ep.624; both cited Ep.I p.244.

\[124C\) \gamma\nu = \chi; \text{ cf. paragraph 116.}

\text{ Cf. Crum, Dictionary p.745a citing } \pi\epsilon\sigma\delta\lambda\gamma \text{ for } \pi\epsilon\delta\lambda\gamma \text{ Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV) line 106 (cf. ? ib.104), and:}

E \\tau\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu CO 165.

\[124D\) \chi = \chi; \text{ cf. paragraphs 116A, etc..}

Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) IX, 27, XLIII, 13 \alpha\nu\nu\nu \text{ for } \alpha\nu\nu\nu; \text{ ManiP 42}\textsuperscript{18},

83\textsuperscript{33} \pi\eta\tau\nu\nu\nu; PCodMor 17 \pi\nu\nu\nu; \text{ cf. Crum, Dictionary p.745a.}

D \text{ Cf. } \tau\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu varying with \chi\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu see P. Lond. IV p. xlviiif.

E \\tau\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu BUK 45; \text{ cf. } \tau\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu Ep.169\textsuperscript{6}, 236\textsuperscript{6}, 270\textsuperscript{5}, J.13\textsuperscript{81}, 82\textsuperscript{8},

MH 134\textsuperscript{20}, al., \text{ cf. Ep.I p.245, Ep.236 note 2, 270 note 2.}
125) \( \gamma = \delta \); cf. paragraphs 67B, etc.

E A number of examples in Ep. I p. 243, adding ρεγγραφ BKU 267; οιριν κ
VC 417.

126) \( \kappa = \delta \); cf. paragraphs 73, 67B, etc.

Some early examples, it may be noted that all these examples are
from Achmimic, semi-Achmimic or Theban manuscripts; nearly all
the non-literary examples are likewise from Thebes. Achm. Psalm
Fragment (ed. Crum, Miss IXVI, 73ff.) Ps. XLVI, 3 αμι; Achm. Elias 2315
άηκι κει; Sah. Elias 512 τλκο, 722 τωκε (711 τωκε ), cf. 527 ποηκ; se-
mi-Achm. Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 32 ηκ, I, 48 λεκαγή; Berlin Psalter
(ed. Rahlfs) LXXIII, 14 εκοσύ; Br. 4017 αλόω υου καλμ ( = έκαμ ) ; se-
veral examples could be cited from the unpublished part of the Ber-
lin Gnostic text. Cf. also Crum, Dictionary pp. 90a, 801a.

C παρκ ( = παρκ ) Rvl. 284, cf. παρκέ BK 1116; κινδωλ P. Mich. 601 (this re-
gion ?).

E Numerous examples in CO index p. 118, many more could be cited, cf.
Crum, Dictionary p. 601.

126A) \( \tau = \delta \); cf. paragraphs 71A, 111B, 123I.

See the examples cited Crum, Dictionary pp. 389, 801.

126B) \( \omega = \delta \); cf. paragraph 123K, al.

Cf. Crum, Dictionary pp. 541a, 801b; of special interest are Deut.
(Budge) XXVIII, 22 Νογις, Acts (Budge) I, 16 ομέ ( = ωμ ) ; also Pro.
(Worrell) XXI, 6 ονλης ογιλα.

126C) \( \epsilon = \delta \); cf. paragraphs 123, 123F, etc.

Pro. (Worrell) XXII, 16 περιφερε; cf. also Crum, Dictionary p. 801b.

127) \( \chi = \delta \); cf. paragraph 124.

Achm. Elias 1416 ηνκαμ corrected to ηνκαμ; Acts (Budge) XIX, 22 Ακκαμ;
Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) XVII, 47, XXXIX, 13 Νκ (elsewhere Νκ );
Wessely, Sah.-Gr. Ps.-Fragm. p. 12 citing Ps. CVII, 2 ράγη ρακ; Pro. (Wor-
rell) VI, 5 ξεκ; cf. Crum, Dictionary pp. 745a, 801a.

A χιά, χιά (= δία) RAC papyri du Louvre 212, 710.
127A) τζ = κ; cf. paragraph 115.

D τζινζορα[ετ]|ζινζερεκ (= ?) Bal. 398; cf. τζινζοι = Δάμοιλ (n.pr.) in P. Lond. IV (passim), also Crum, Coptic Documents in Greek Script p.4, etc.

127B) τζ = κ; cf. paragraph 116C, al.


127C) κ = κ; cf. paragraph 119c.

Pro. (Worrell) XI, 9 ουβοφοί ημ.

127D) κ = κ.

Pro. (Worrell) VI, 15 ουβοφοκ.

127E) The letter ὤ.

Crum in JEA XXVIII, p.20 note 5 already noted: 'the syllabic ὤ seems to have been devised in the Coptic period, whether it be a monogram of τ and i, or dem. τι 'give', stylized; hence added last to alphabet. Found in no O text; even omitted occasionally from the Coptic alphabet (Hall, pl.29).' It may be noted that already the earliest Coptic manuscripts, notably the Greek-Coptic Glossary to Hosea and Amos (ed. Bell-Thompson, JEA XI, 241ff.) of the late third century and the Hamburg Old Fayyumic text make use of this letter, and it must have been introduced at an early period; even P. Mich 136 (cf. p.254 note 5 below) uses this letter normally. Similarly it is found regularly used in the Melitian archive (J&C 1920-1922, JEA XIII, 19ff.) and in most of the fourth-fifth century
letters and magical texts, e.g. BM 1102, 1123, 1223, 1224, Ryl. 268, 269-274, 292, 311, 396, IMisc.1, P.Cal.47, notably also the Bohairic letter ed.Worrell,Coptic Texts III,3; exceptions are the Achmimic magical text ed.Crum in RChamp.539 and Peremans-Vergote,Papyrologisch Handboek pl.XI(Louvain inv.18b, probably 4th century, see p.235 note 3). After the fifth century the letter is used normally and frequently only at Thebes and, to a less extent, in the Fayyum. In non-literary texts written north of Thebes and south of the Fayyum from the sixth century onwards the letter + is so rare that its occurrence in these texts almost justifies a 'sic !' in each case.

a) In some early literary texts + is sometimes found for ð-ει, cf. Till,Achimisch-Koptische Grammatik p.10 and Sethe,ÄZ LXIV,p.65, where also one late example is cited. The following early examples may be noted: εφε for ερεπε Achm.Amos IX,12, ManiK 1082, Sir.(Lagarde)XXVII,10,27, L,24,al.,I John II,17,29, III,4(Delaporte,Rev.Bibl.1905,377ff.),al.; εφε Achm.Zech.IV,12, Sir.(Lagarde)XXVII,9, XLIV,10, XLVI,5, al.; cf.also γενεθνή for γε-γενεθνή.

b) + for τ. Greek-Coptic Glossary to Hosea and Amos(JEA XI,pp. 241ff.)Hos.II,13 + τεσσερες εμει; Achm.II Macc.VI,16 εφει εγον.

B Χε ιετην+ι λαγ νασ VC 4910.

D τωνε,+τωνι (=τωνε)Bal.2792,6.

Ε Χε τειεπενενε CO 1385; τ-των J.167; εταπουμε VC 289; ιου VC 84.

127F Metathesis.

For this phenomenon in Coptic texts generally cf.Stern,Grammatik par.61, Till,Achm.Kopt.Grammatik par.41, Plumley,Introductory Coptic Grammar par.13, Worrell,Coptic Sounds pp.109f., Steindorff, Lehrbuch der Koptischen Grammatik par.35 and Crum,Dictionary passim. A few examples which I have collected may serve to illustrate this phenomenon, but many more could be cited.

Magical Papyrus (PGM IV) line 18 στιμε = στιμε; Achm.Elias 16\textsuperscript{14} κατά τετε = κατα τετε; Achm.II Macc.VI,8 ουαςκεν = ουαςκεν, 10 στιμε = στιμε, 16 ερυ = ερυ; Achm.Minor Prophets, Hos.IV,1,3 νετουν = νετουν, IX,15 ουρα = ουρα, XIII,4 ουασκ = ουασκ, IV,2 κουσκ = κουσκ, IX,16 ανωτερο = ανωτερο, Joel.I,17 βασιλ = βασιλ, II,4 στιμε = στιμε; Mich.III,11 εστ = εστ, Hagg.II,16 ηε ηε = ηε ηε, Zechar.IX,3, XII,3 κουσκ = κουσκ; Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I,39 νετουν = νετουν, 1,44 ηνοτελα = ηνοτελα, I,65 ετούν = ετούν; BM 1223 ηνομ = ηνομ; Wessely, Sah.-Gr. Ps.-Fragm. p.13 (Ps.CXX,6) ηνομμεν = ηνομμεν; Worrell, Proverbs pp.89,90 ηναρα = ηναρα (twice); cf. JKP II,46, 48 κουσκ = κουσκ.

C τούλην = πετούσει KroppD\textsuperscript{104}; ηνομ = ηνομ; BM 6201BL55; κεαείν = κεαείν P. Mich. 594 (AJSL XLVI, 247).


Ε καλ = καλ CO 294\textsuperscript{20}; πετολίν = πετολίν BKU 119; ενούλ = ενούλ JAOS XLVIII, p.149 no.1 vo.10.

b) Not involving the letter ζ. Achm.Minor Prophets, Mich I,13 ζέγη = ζέγη, Jon.IV,10 ζαξ = ζαξ, IV,11 μεντνάς = μεντνάς, Naum III, 14 αυτώθε = αυτώθε, Zech.II,4 τωτά = τωτά; ManiP 63\textsuperscript{4} γατ = γατ, 167\textsuperscript{5} ξέγη = ξέγη; BM 1223\textsuperscript{9} σμαρως = σμαρως; Sah.Elias 97'ενανκσυ = ενανκσυ; BG (in Schmidt, Die Alten Petrusakten) 136\textsuperscript{10} κνατ = κνατ; Br.277 (=Baynes p.X) ετηπηρ = ετηπηρ; Acts (Budge) III, 19 κετ = κετ, III,26, VIII,28, XV,36, XX,3 κοτή, κατ = κατ, κτον.

127G) Change in gender.

a) To express the neuter, Coptic, with certain exceptions, makes use of the feminine, cf. Stern, Kopt. Grammatik paragraphs 487,497 and elsewhere. Crum, however, drew attention in Ep.I p.252 to the
frequent Theban usage to substitute the masc. suffix -η for the fem. suffix -ε when the verb χω is used, e.g. αιξοομη and even κατα
φς νταιξοομη. I have not been able to find any examples for this in non-Theban texts, but there are a few literary examples: Crum in Ep.I p.252 note 3 mentioned already PS 1467, to this may be added PS 5217 (corrected), Achm.Zech.III,4, IV,12, VI,4, VIII,18 (VI,4 corrected, cf. Malinine's note), Subachmimic St.John XI,42; cf. also similar examples in Achm.Elias, e.g. II.49 διαντη ευλογε, also ib. II.14,16,12.

b) Varia. BR.8220 μωτερο,226 πυριμ οινηγη,227 πυριμ ,232 πυρκυρ, 262 πυργη ; PS 4310 πιοταντε μπροβελι.

D ταυκ Ann.Serv.XI,243; ουτριμειν ... αγει εστοτ εχονειγι. P.Lond.IV 150914; ραποστειμον ... γοριε εμοι P.Lond.IV 151911.

E See Ep.I p.250 (Bod.I.Copt.Ostr.433 was published by Crum as VC 102).

128) Omission of η in the first future; cf. paragraphs 80,129,130.

In some Subachmimic manuscripts and a few non-literary texts the η of the first future is sometimes omitted, e.g. τα- for τα-να-, etc. The same phenomenon may be observed in the relative future prefix (ετα- for ετα-να), and particularly in the second future (ετα- for ετα-να, etc.) where this occurs very frequently; for the significance of this see the following paragraph (129).

Already from the Subachmimic St.John one example may be cited: XIX,10 ταξιν οινηγε; in the Manichaean manuscripts this is quite common, cf. Polotsky, Manichaïsche Homilien p.XIX, and many examples could be cited from the Psalmbook and the Kephalaia. Cf. also Achm.Asc.Isaiah (Muséon LIX,452ff.) X.11 κα-; Achm. Minor Prophets, Zech.XI,8 τα-; Mich.III,2 ηα-, Hab.I,12, Zech.VIII,23 τα-.

In non-literary texts it is found a few times in the sixth century Aphrodito papyri, but not in those of the eighth century, it also occurs a number of times at Ashmunein, here even at a later period:
When the first two Subachmimic texts, the Acta Pauli and the Gospel of St. John, were published, they were found to use a verbal prefix εκα-, εκα-, εκα-, εκα-, side by side with εκα-, εκα-, etc., and in the Gospel of St. John also εκα-, side by side with εκα-.

The editors Schmidt and Thompson, like the subsequent grammars of Till and Chaîne, identified this with the third future, Sah. εκα-, εκα-, etc., Achm. εκα-, εκα-, etc., which was otherwise not present in these texts. But Schmidt (AP p.19) and Thompson (John p.XVIII, esp. note 1) already noted that in Subachmimic the second future was frequently used where Sahidic would have the third future. Polotsky, however, in his Manichäische Homilien p.XIX drew attention to the fact that in the Manichaean manuscripts the prefix εκα-, εκα-, etc., was, at least in a few instances, used for the second future.

On the evidence now available it seems probable that already in the Gospel of St. John, as in the other Subachmimic manuscripts, there was no real distinction between the forms εκα-, εκα-, etc., and εκα-, εκα-, etc. and that in Subachmimic the second and third futures had no separate forms. It is possible, and perhaps even probable, that originally Subachmimic used εκα-, εκα-, etc. only for the third future, but by the omission of the n, as in the first future and the relative future (see paragraphs 128, 130), the forms of the second and third futures became identical.

As will be noted below, we can still trace some slight difference...
in the use of the two prefixes in the Gospel of St. John, but there can be no doubt that even in this manuscript the two prefixes had largely become interchangeable.

(1) For Sahidic proper L. Th. Lefort, "Xe\(\kappa\alpha\) in le N.T. Sahidique" (Museon LXI, 65ff.) pointed out that in the New Testament Xe was final and Xe\(\kappa\alpha\)k were followed by the third future except where Xe\(\kappa\alpha\)k was separated from the verbal prefix, in which case the conjunctive would be used. Only in a few cases some manuscripts used the second future after Xe\(\kappa\alpha\)k.

For Achmimic, however, it can be demonstrated that Xe and Xe\(\kappa\alpha\)k ought properly to be followed by the second future, although some cases can be cited where the third future is used, presumably due to Sahidic influence. This will be obvious when we compare its use in the Achmimic St. John (ed. Rösch, Bruchstücke des ersten Clemensbriefes) which was clearly translated from a Sahidic original:

**Achm. John:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Achm.John</th>
<th>Sahidic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X,10</td>
<td>Xe(\kappa\alpha)(\nu)na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI,19</td>
<td>Xe(\kappa\alpha)(\kappa)a(\nu)na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI,55</td>
<td>Xe(\kappa\alpha)(\nu)na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI,57</td>
<td>Xe(\kappa\alpha)(\nu)na- , ka(\nu)a(\nu)na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII,7</td>
<td>Xe(\kappa\alpha)(\nu)na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII,9,10</td>
<td>Xe(\kappa\alpha)(\nu)na-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Achm. Sirach**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Achm.Sirach</th>
<th>Sah. Sirach (Lagarde)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XXII,25,26</td>
<td>Xe(\kappa\alpha)(\nu)na-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Achm. Elias 19**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Achm.Elias 19</th>
<th>Sahidic in Budge, Biblical Texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p.270</td>
<td>Xe(\kappa\alpha)k (\epsilon)(\nu)e-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further examples in Achmimic where Xe\(\kappa\alpha\)k is followed by the second future are e.g. Ex. I, 11, IV, 5, Achm. Elias 4\(^{10}\), 17\(^{12}\), also 20\(^{5}\), 10 (both ka\(\kappa\alpha\)k Xe\(\kappa\alpha\)\(\nu\)na-), I Clem. (Schmidt) 56\(^{27}\), 69\(^{24}\), TU 43, 4\(^{3}\), 13\(^{12}\), 28\(^{10}\), al.; Xe with second future: II Macc. VI, 9, I Clem. (Schmidt) 16\(^{20}\), 17\(^{25}\), 26,
2420, al.; χεκακ with the third future, e.g. Ex.VI, 11, I Clem. (Schmidt)2515 (= Ps.I, 41), Mich.VI, 5, Shepherd Hermas IX, 5, al.; χε with the third future, e.g. Ex.IV, 23, al. A systematic search for examples would probably reveal this difference between Sahidic and Achmimic much more clearly.

From the Subachmimic St. John we obtain the following picture: (a) After ΧΕΚΑ(ΚΑ)

434, 536, 617, 617, 1837, 39
639, 1111
1715
315, 16
447, 640, 856, 1010, 1157, 1223, 1329, 1416,
152, 13, 16, 25, 189, 1938
1131, 127, 1726
628, 30, 1116
629, 1236, 1319, 34, 158, 164, 32, 33
520, 34, 40, 1038, 1334, 1429, 1512, 1935 (?).
615, 1153, 57, 173, 19, 1828
436, 92, 39, 1010, 31, 1142 (?), 1155, 129, 10,
1713, 21 (bis), 1832
321, 93 (both ουνών)
317, 57, 23, 114, 50, 1238, 1318, 1413, 1516,
1624, 30, 171, 1924, 36.

(b) After ΧΕ.

1715
922, 1119, 131, 2
859
66

In the Acta Pauli the position is very similar. After ΧΕ-κακακ we find eel419, ena- 1427, 292, eya- 3415, 4825, ena- 75, 301, 3321, 502, 555, eina- 2118, 2213, 20, 4717, ena- 4622, eina- 3719, 4111, 809,
similarly με εια- BM leaf (ed. Schmidt, Sitz. Preuss. Ak. Wiss. Berlin 1909, 216ff.). The same is found also in the Manichaean manuscripts, e.g. ManiK 10512, 11227, 11726 μεκακε εινα-, 11917 μεκακε εικα-, etc., cf. μεκακε· ib. 36, 101, etc. I think that, especially in view of the fact that in the Gospel of St. John in nominal sentences all but two cases have μεκακε ειε...να-, we may safely conclude that in Subachmimic, like in Acmimic, μεκακε(ε) and με final are normally followed by future II; also, there seems no reason why in some cases the forms ειεια-, εκα-, etc., in others ειεια-, εκα-, etc., are used. It also seems probable in view of the evidence available, that if some Sahidic manuscripts use future II after με final and μεκακε, this is probably due to Achmimic or Subachmimic influence, cf. e.g. BG (in Schmidt, Die alten Petrusakten, a manuscript well known for its achmimicisms) 12917 μεκακε· με ειε
τεκψυχη μνημιψε. The non-literary texts, especially those from Thebes, provide numerous examples where με and μεκακε are followed by future II, but I hope to deal with these in a later study.

(2) In the Gospel of St. John there is still some evidence that the forms ειεια-, εκα-, etc., originally were distinct from εινα-, εκα-, etc.; thus in questions, where all dialects require the use of the second future, the forms ειεια-, εκα-, are mostly used: 34, 9, 6, 9, 5, 7, 35, 8, 22, 12, 33, 1, 32, 132, 18, 32, but we find εκα- once 1924 and εκα- twice 6, 68; it is interesting to note that 544, 47 επετυμα- not επετυμα is used, cf. also 421. In the Acta Pauli εκα- occurs once 296 where Sahidic would have εκα-. In the Manichaean texts, however, the forms ειεια-, εκα-, etc. are frequently used where Sahidic would require εινα-, εκα-, etc., cf. Polotsky, Manichäische Homilien p.XIX, but perhaps even in these a complete analysis would show that in the majority of cases the forms ειεια-, εκα- occur in final clauses.

(3) Further evidence, that in Subachmimic the prefix εια-,
eκα-, etc. represents, at least in some instances, the second future by omission of the η is provided by the fact that most of the manuscripts omit the future η also in the first future and in the future relative (see paragraphs 128, 130), although this is comparatively rare in the Gospel of St. John and does not seem to occur in the Acta Pauli.

Turning to non-literary texts we find the forms eκα-, eκα-, εκα-, εκα-, ετελα-, εκα- occurring throughout Egypt, but there is an important distinction: At Thebes these forms represent the third future, corresponding to the Achmimic forms aκα-, aκα-, etc., but elsewhere they almost invariably indicate the second future, corresponding to the forms in Subachmimic as noted above; this is of considerable interest for the localisation of Achmimic and Subachmimic, cf. chapter IX below.

a) Representing the third future. In a number of early semi-Achmimic magical texts, BM 1223, 1224, I.Misc.L, P.Mich.1523 (Cra.IV,3f.) the Achmimic form of the prefix (aκα-, aκα-, ετελα-, aγα-) is still found, as also once in CO 168 aκα-, an instance cited Ep.I p.249. The same prefix occurs as eκα- in two later magical texts which still show many Achmimicisms, the Carnarvon Papyrus (ed. KroppK), and Bodl.Ms.Copt.c.4 (ed. Crum, ÄZ XXXIV, 85ff.) (19 times). Presumably all these texts come from Thebes, and in fact the Carnarvon papyrus was found in a jar at Deir el-Bakhit. Crum already in ÄZ XXXIV p.86 note 2 commented on the frequent occurrence of this prefix in Bodl.Ms.Copt.c.4, and noted that this also occurred several times in the Bruce Codex pp.39ff. and 139ff. (the pages notable for their peculiar dialect). From non-literary texts the following examples may be cited:


D eκα- Brunton, Qau and Badari III, pL.III9, Murray, The Osireion at Abydos pl.XXVII (twice, numbers 6,8).
E en- BKU 66$^7$, 142$^1$, BIFAO III, 208 (this region?); perhaps also en-MH 97$^3$, en- CO 482$^2$, en- RE 10$^{vo}$.

b) Following χε final or χε αλλαγ, representing the second or third futures, cf. above. Sah. Elias 12$^{28}$ en- (cf. also 3$^{13}$, 5$^{26}$); P. Gol. 47 en- (passim).

C ST 184$^{12}$ (4th cent.), Ryl. 127, BM 1113$^3$, BMOr. 6201B159, VC 52$^3$.

D WS 111 (κενωνας).

E BKU 262$^{10}$, 299$^8$.

c) Representing the second future. Doubtful is P. Mich. 136$^{86}$, 88 (Ora. IV, 21) ἀνωτέρω τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπρέπει ἐβολεῖ ἐμονὶ ἐγγύς ἐνωτέρω τῷ τρόπῳ ἐγγύς ἐβολὲ ἐμονικ.

Doubtful is also in BHom. 2 on yap ne petēta-υ-λλαγ, and often in late manuscripts, e.g. JKP p. 90, BM 8, 19, 954. From non-literate texts the following may be cited; an interesting example is Bal. 152$^9$:

152$^8$ εγγυανωνυμεν ἐκόμεν (ἐγγυανως) ἐβολει εἰνατι . . .

152$^9$ εγγυανωνυμεν ἐβολει νε γαρ γαριαρο ἐπατι . . .

A en- , ena- = erga- RAC pap. du Louvre 4, 5.

B ena- = erga- Kr. 116$^{10}$, BM 531 (not fut. III as Crum supposed).

C (ē)n- = ena- Ryl. 353, 361, BM 1046$^4$, 1103$^{24}$, ST 172$^6$, 10, 11.

ena- = ena- Ryl. 200, 277, 352, 359, 385$^{vo}$ (bis), BM 1022$^7$, 1036$^5$, 1073$^4$, 1163$^1$, KR. 153$^6$, VC 46$^{15}$, BMOr. 6201A111, B74.

ena- = erga- VC 52$^1$, BMOr. 6201A27$^2$.

ena- , ena- = ena- Ryl. 130$^5$, 158$^{34}$, 201, 277$^{24}$, 357, BM 1145$^6$, 1156$^1$, BMOr. 6201B14, 44, 126, 170.

ena- = ena- Frequent, e.g. Ryl. 291, etc..

ena- = erga- BM 1022$^8$, 1060$^2$, KR. 50$^{11}$, BMOr. 6201A27$^4$.

D en- = ena- P. Lond. IV 1592 fr. 4.

ena- = ena- P. Jkow Cairo, Bal. 214$^7$, WS 103.

ena- = erga- Bal. 152$^9$.


ena- = erga- Bal. 245$^4$. 

VIII, 129
130) Omission of \( n \) in the future relative; cf. paragraphs 80, 129, etc.

This is found a few times in the Subachmimic manuscripts: John XIII, 6, XVI, 26 etacemewn-(both cited by Thompson, l.c.p. XIX), Acta Pauli 914 etakpine, ManiH(cited by Polotsky l.c.p.XIX) 5327 metagynšt, 3111 etalemaste, 3110 etkašnc, Mani e.g. 8613, 204 etya-, cf.ib. llo3, 4 neka=neknα, and in particular J&C 192126(Subachmimic !)eneqα=eneqa; see paragraph 129 above. From non-literary texts the following examples may be noted:

C pete=petna Ryl.1353(bis), 361; eteia- BM 10164, peteia- BM 10178.

D ete= eteia-Bal.10224, 1995(?), P.Lond.IV 1640;[petepaxnoq Bal.4634.

E pete=petna Ep.10216, pete=petna ST 309; peteia-BM 488; (e)tei-

CO 181; all cited in Ep.I p.249.

131) Omission of \( n \) in the second perfect; cf. paragraph 80.

C Allα ταυξο JEA XIII, 19ff.(4th century), Ryl.205,BM 10335; ταυξο

Ryl.320.

D ταύ- P.Lond.IV 1553vo.10; ταυ- Bal.2773f; ταυ- Brunton, Qau and Badari III pl.IV no.25; ταυ- P.Lond.IV 149434.

E ταυ- J.1648.

131A) Omission of \( n \) in the past relative; cf. paragraphs 80, 131, etc.

C Achm. Elias 2118 neί ταυείρε ...
132) e for n in the past relative; cf. paragraph 82 etc.

In Achimic, Subachmimic (Mani only), Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Bohairic the past relative is eta for the Sahidic (êonta-); in the Subachmimic St. John and Acta Pauli the use of the Sahidic Ñta- is probably secondary and due to Sahidic, cf. chapter IX p. 215 below. In the Subachm. St. John Ñta- is found only once: III, 11 petañney; cf. also Sah. Elias 104 Ñta-, 1222 Òata-, 1232 Òata-; Luke (BIFAO VIII, 76ff.) I, 55 kata Òetañfâxe; Sap. (Lagarde) IV, 16 Ñtaçios Òetañçou; PS 10321 neiçuxê Òetaçcoç Ñçaçalwish.

C kata Òetañçoc (cata) J.C 19227, Òetañçkw J.EA XIII, 19ff. 3, 4 (both Melitico-ian letters, 4th century); Òetaantomos KropD 101; Ñtoç Òetaantorcoç BM 107317; cf. Òoçou Òetaçcoçu Ry1.375.

D Ñetaññixû (cata) Òetaññixû P. Lond. IV 1640; Ñetañçkok Ba1.2331 (?)
E kata Òetañçoc VÌ 844.
F pai Òetaçcí BM 4477.

133) Omission of n in the first perfect negative; cf. paragraph 80, etc.

Achm. Mich. II, 1 xe Ñoyçí; PS 4516 any Ñe Ñeîëse Ñe xe, 1413 any Ñoyçlxáçy, cf. 14511 xe Ñeîëse Ñipîcic Ñofîac Ñipîçote.

B ne- BM 59211; ni- BM 593, 626; Ñek- BM 5957; Ñeñ- VC 49; al...

C ne- Ry1.344; ni- Jern. 85; Ñek- Ry1.1274; Ñi- Ry1.320; al...

D ne-, ni- ST 26545; ne-(=nî-)-P. Lond. IV 156321; Ñek- Bal. 18656, P. Lond. IV 1641; Ñen-P. Lond. IV 15536, Vo. 9, 15615, 156547; Ñóç-P. Lond. IV 1599.

E neç- CO 136, cited Ep I p. 249.

134) e for n in the first perfect negative; cf. paragraph 82, etc.

C Ñeñêctançy Ry1.358.

D Ñençn-(=ûøenç)-P. Lond. IV 15543132.

135) Omission of n in Ñetañç;

D Ñata- P. Lond. IV 1646.

E Ñata- BKU 308; Ñata- Ep. 23613; both cited Ep I p. 249.
Unusual forms of the conjunctive.

For the conjunctive in the literary dialects and its equivalent in Egyptian we have the following forms, cf. the grammars of Till, Chaîne, and especially Steindorff, *Lehrbuch der Koptischen Grammatik* par. 366, and for the Egyptian origin A.H. Gardiner in JEA XIV, 86ff.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Late Eg., Bohairic</th>
<th>Sahidic</th>
<th>Fayyumic</th>
<th>Subachm.</th>
<th>Achmimic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom. mt(ω)</td>
<td>nτε-</td>
<td>nτε-</td>
<td>nτε-</td>
<td>nτε-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lasing. mt(ω)-i</td>
<td>nτα-</td>
<td>(nτα-</td>
<td>nτα-</td>
<td>nτα-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m. mt(ω)-k</td>
<td>nτεκ-</td>
<td>nτε-</td>
<td>nτε-</td>
<td>nτε-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f. mt(ω)-t</td>
<td>nτε-</td>
<td>nτε-</td>
<td>nτε-</td>
<td>nτε-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m. mt(ω)-l</td>
<td>nτεγ-</td>
<td>nγ-</td>
<td>n(ε)γ-</td>
<td>nγ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f. mt(ω)-s</td>
<td>nτεσ-</td>
<td>nσ-</td>
<td>n(ε)σ-</td>
<td>nσ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl. mt(ω)-n</td>
<td>nτεν-</td>
<td>nτεν-</td>
<td>nτεν(ε)n-</td>
<td>nτεν-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mt(ω)-tn</td>
<td>nτετεν-</td>
<td>nτετεν-</td>
<td>nτετεν(ε)n-</td>
<td>nτετεν-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(mt(ω)-sa</td>
<td>(nτού-</td>
<td>nσνε-</td>
<td>nσε-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bohairic is the only Coptic literary dialect which has preserved not only the ancient τ in nτεκ-, nτεγ-, nτεσ-, but also the two alternative forms for the third plural, cf. Polotsky, *Études de Syntaxe Copte* pp. 10ff. and others. In Achmimic this has gone further and even the n is lost, though it is rarely preserved, cf. Till, *Achm.-Kopt. Grammatik* par. 139a. In Subachmimic the forms normally are the same as in Sahidic, but in the Gospel of St. John the Achmimic forms are found occasionally: κ- V, 8, IX, 7, cf. V, 11
similarly VIII, 50 η- corrected to ηκ-. The Achmimic form ας for ηκ- occurs also once in the Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) LXXXIX, 30, cf. PS 1421 (preceded by AN). In VC 93 9, ἀκ seems to stand for ηκ-.

Non-literary texts, however, have preserved important evidence that even in Upper Egypt the original forms with τ and the alternative form of the third plural ητογ- were still known and used in the daily language of the people. At Thebes the full forms ητςκ-, etc. are sometimes found, but elsewhere they occur with the η omitted as in Achmimic. These forms, with or without the η, are also sometimes found in literary manuscripts of a late period, cf. Till, Heil.-u. Hört.-legenden I p. 39, Crum in JEA XXVII, 180 note 6, Till in ÄZ LXXVIII (1942), 110ff., and JKP p. 93. In addition the η is also frequently omitted in the other forms of the conjunctive and ητογ- is often found for ηκ-.

The following is the non-literary evidence:

A τκ- Krall Rec. VI, 63ff., papyrus II.

B τε- = ητε- BM 5873, 58811
τεκ- = ητ- BM 545 II7,
τεσ- = ητ- BM 545 II13, 53016,
τεν- = ηττ- BM 58611, Kr. 116,
τογ- = ηκε- BM 54420, 28
ητογ- = ηκε- KR. 34, 389.

τοκ- = ητ- BM 10245, 15, 11556, BM0r. 6201A59a.
τος- = ητ- BM 11634, 4.
τον- = ηττ- Ryl. 1.1447, 207, 316 (bis), 320 (τττ-), 323, Kr. 516.
τετογ- = ητττ- Ryl. 287, 319, 334, BM0r. 6201B52.
τογ- = ηκε- Ryl. 1.331, 340, 369, BM 11743, VC 5235 (this region ?).
ητογ- = ηκε- Ryl. 1.136, 285, 319 (ter), 323, 381, BM0r. 6201B67, ST 17211,
KroppD7, 59, 84.

toy- = Nce- Ryl.316, 349, Kr.2414, P. Černý (ined.) line 8.

toy- = Nce- Ryl.370 (9th - 11th century).

D te- = Nte- Bal.24111, 2593.

t(3)k = Nger- Bal.1004, 2394, P. Lond. IV 1637, 1639.

t(3)k = Nger- Bal.18711, 20214, 2395, 246310, 24918, P. Lond. IV 152812, 163410, 1639, 1644.

t(3)k = Ntn- Bal.10223, 1036, 15412, 20211, 22310, 2262, WS 161, P. Lond. IV 149419, 14956, 150920, 151812, 1618, 152113, 15115, 21, 153112, 15329, 15334 (ter), 157315, 1641, 1646, Brunton, Matmax p. 95, also Bal.4518.

\begin{equation}
\text{t(3)k} = Ntn- Bal.2238, 22956.
\end{equation}

coy- = Nce- P. Lond. V 170983, P. Jkow Cairo (4 times), P. Lond. IV 1495, 157315, 1578, 159312, 1633, 16349.

\begin{equation}
\text{t(3)k} = Ntn- Bal.18811, 18911(?), 13, 20222, WS 174.
\end{equation}

toy- = Nce- P. Jkow Cairo (twice), Bal.18712, 13, 21418, P. Lond. IV 1494, 1639, 1640.


ntek = Nger- ST 174, 22725, Louvre R 49.

tk- = Nger- Hall p. 127 inf.

ntek = Nger- ST 17819, BMor. 6943 (12), VC 829.

tk- = Nger- CO 18516, Ad 27 (?).

\begin{equation}
tn- = Ntn- BKU 26214.
\end{equation}

coy- = Nce- CO 2848, BKU 733, Worrell, Coptic Texts IV, 6 (bis), BP 5182.

coy- = Nce- ST 5511.

toy- = Nce- CO 48411, Hall p. 127 inf.

\begin{equation}
\text{nt(3)k} = Nce- RE 5.
\end{equation}

Further examples could be cited for regions B and C. A remarkable form of the conjunctive occurs three times in VC 80 10,11,18, presumably from Thebes, tta- for nta-; very remarkable, too, is enek for nger- in RAC papyrus du Louvre 8, a text from Saqqara, sug-
gesting a pronunciation for the forms Νν-, Νχ-, Νλ- which has been put forward by Till in his review of Plumley, An introdutory Coptic Grammar in Orientalia XXI,125; on the other hand, the forms Νν-, Νχ-, Νλ- often occur as Ννκ-, Ννχ-, Ννλ- in non-literary texts, and in early literary texts like number 17 in the present collection the superlinear stroke Νν-, not Νν-, would seem to indicate a similar pronunciation.

139) oy for ε in verbal prefixes; cf. paragraphs 28 etc.

a) In the conjunctive Ννον- is frequently found for Νεν-, see paragraph 138.

b) It occurs a few times in the 1st. present: Ννον- = Νεν-.

C Ryl. 129, 136, 137, 321, BM 11071, 11581, Kr. 528, 13912, VC 4618, al.
D Bal. 2396.

c) Sah. Elias 330 Ννονα- = Νενα-, ib. 1131 Τρν- = Τρεν-.

d) Closely allied to Ννον- = Ννον- = Νεν- (par. 138), and perhaps by false analogy are certain forms Ννον- and Ννονά- for Νεν-, Νενα- to which Crum has drawn attention in JEA XXVII, 180 note 6 in a few Boharic, Fayumic and Sahidic texts. To these may be added:

B Ννον- BM 5917, 11.
D Ννονά- Bal. 21410.

140) Unusual forms of the 2nd. plural in verbal prefixes and the possessive adjective, showing metathesis of the second vowel, e.g. Ατ(ετ)νε- for Ατετνε-; cf. paragraph 19.

This is very common in texts from Ashmunein. It is probably related to the Achmimic practice of transferring the vowel in final closed syllables ending with Β, Λ, Μ, Ν, Τ, e.g. Κωρικε- for Κωρικε-, though in Achmimic the 2nd. plural of verbal prefixes and the possessive adjective is normal as in the other literary dialects, e.g. Ατετνε-. Only a few examples can be cited from the Fayyum, but
this may be due to the fact that non-literary texts from the Fay-
yum normally employ the 2nd singular even when addressing superi-
ors, where texts from Ashmunein and elsewhere would prefer the
2nd plural, e.g. ἔγω ἑτερονταξία for ἔγω ἑτερονταξία. I have
not been able to find any examples for this in early literary
texts, except Br.1276 ἑτερονταξία.

a) Verbal prefixes.

B ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.3,17,20.

C  ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.3,11,14,19.

D  ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.128,132,135,174,331,334,128,129,132,141,150,

BM 1014,1046,1104,10146,1046,110410,BMOr.6201A76,1014,1046,1104,10146,1046,110410.

E  ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.166,185,287(bis),321,al.

F  ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.166,185,287(bis),321,al.

G  ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.319,320,331,334,1014,1046,1104,10146,1046,110410.

H  ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.196,320,319,321,334,1014,10146,1046,1104,10146,1046,110410.

I  ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.196,320,319,321,334,1014,10146,1046,1104,10146,1046,110410.

J  ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.196,320,319,321,334,1014,10146,1046,1104,10146,1046,110410.

K  ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.196,320,319,321,334,1014,10146,1046,1104,10146,1046,110410.

L  ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.196,320,319,321,334,1014,10146,1046,1104,10146,1046,110410.

M  ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.196,320,319,321,334,1014,10146,1046,1104,10146,1046,110410.

N  ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.196,320,319,321,334,1014,10146,1046,1104,10146,1046,110410.

O  ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.196,320,319,321,334,1014,10146,1046,1104,10146,1046,110410.

P  ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.196,320,319,321,334,1014,10146,1046,1104,10146,1046,110410.

Q  ἑτερονταξία = ἑτερονταξία ἱλ.196,320,319,321,334,1014,10146,1046,1104,10146,1046,110410.
The possessive adjective: "etetne-, tetne-, Netne-, for net-, tetn-, Netn-".

B Kr.39, BM 661, al...

C Very common, e.g. Ryl.129,196(bis),280(ter),283,287,303,305,308,319(ter),321(bis),327,325(bis),334,Kr.1143,1185,BM 10289,106811,1079a4,6,110417,11336,115112,KroppD15,BMOr.6201A80,B2,14(ter),30,41,67(bis),etc..

D Bal.1917,2602,2667,P.Lond.IV 1592 fr.5.


netne-, tettn-, Netnh for netn-, tetn-, Netn-:

C BM 483(passim),1124vo,1138vo,114610.
Omission of final *n* in the 2nd.plural of verbal auxiliaries and the possessive adjective; cf.paragraphs 80,143, etc.

a) Verbal auxiliaries, cf. JKP p.90.

B *ntet-* = *ntetn-* BM 5297.

*a) Omission of final *n* in the 2nd.plural of verbal auxiliaries and the possessive adjective; cf.paragraphs 80,143, etc.*

C *tet-* = *tetn- Ryl.385,BM 11182 (*tett-).*

*ntet-* = *ntetn-* BMor.6201B80,105 (bis).

*tet-* = *ntetn-* P.Černý (ined.), BMor.6201B52.

*etetne-* = *etetnne-* MIF LIX, 1962.

D *tet-* = *tetn-* Bal.18816.

*nnet-* = *nnen-* Bal.18814.

b) Possessive adjective, cf. JKP p.90, Jern.1 note.

B *petmouy* Kr. 22713; *petzub* Kr. 23611; *petzafion* BM 599 (late).

C *tetmuntent BMor.6201B61; tetmuntcon Jern.1; tetmuntferit Ryl.376 (late); *petna* BMor.6201B230; *petmouy* BMor.6201B86; *petouw, petgine* BM 114314; *petymepe* BMor.6201A38c; *petzo* P.Černý (ined.), BM 11325.

D *tetmuntot* WS 11223; *tetmuntcon* Brunton, Matmar p.95; *petzo* Bal.24817.

E *petouwa* BKU 26215 (but ib. 10 *petmouwa* !).

141) & for final *n* in the 2nd.plural; cf.paragraphs 82,141,143.

C *tete-* = *tetn-, *ntete-* = *ntetn- (ter), *gantete-* = *gantetn- BP 10589; *nnete-* = *nnetn-* BM 101410; *peteoyoi P.Černý (ined.); *tetemetyseic* BM 473, Krall, MR V p.31; *netepwae* BMor.6201A28a.

142) Remarkable forms of the 2nd plural in verbal auxiliaries; cf.paragraphs 140,141,142.

The forms cited below are probably due to the same phenomena already noted in paragraphs 140,141,142, but here the process of shortening the 2nd.plural forms has gone even further. It may be noted, however, that most of the examples are confined to a few texts, Bal.188 – 190, all by the same scribe, BP 10589 from Ashmunein and ST 48 from Thebes; nevertheless, a few examples
from other texts are known. The dialect of Bal.188-190 and that of BP 10589 are early examples of a dialect which became current in the tenth century Coptic poetical texts and the remarkable \( \text{at-} \) for \( \text{at-\( \text{n} \)} \) is found once in these texts, cf. JKF p.90. Further points of contact with these later texts are \( e = \text{\(N\)} \), \( \text{\(e\text{\(x\)}} = \text{\(e\text{\(x\)}} \), \( \text{\(nt\)} = \text{\(nt\)} \) in Bal.188-190, and \( e = \text{\(N\)} \), \( e \) omitted, in BP 10589.

Two early examples: PS 84\(^6\), Achm.Hab.I,5 \( \text{et\(\text{\(e\)}} = \text{\(e\text{\(t\)}} \).

\begin{itemize}
  \item a) \( \text{\(\text{nt\)}} = \text{\(\text{nt\)}} \), BMOr.6201B133.
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \( \text{\(et\)}} = \text{\(et\)}} \), Ryl.326,366, Kr.113\(^5\),138\(^6\), 152\(^8\), 153\(^9\), VC 46\(^4\).
    \item \( \text{\(dt\)}} = \text{\(dt\)}} \), Bal.188\(^5\),262\(^6\)(?).
    \item \( \text{\(nt\)}} = \text{\(nt\)}} \), Bal.188\(^4\).
    \item \( \text{\(nt\)}} = \text{\(nt\)}} \), Bal.188\(^15\),189\(^3\).
    \item \( \text{\(et\)}} = \text{\(et\)}} \), Bal.190\(^3\).
    \item \( \text{\(et\)}} = \text{\(et\)}} \), P.Lond.IV 1553\(^{vo.21}\).
  \end{itemize}

  \item b) \( \text{\(\text{nt\)}} = \text{\(\text{nt\)}} \), Ryl.269(4th-5th cent.), BM 1014\(^8\).
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \( \text{\(nt\)}} = \text{\(nt\)}} \), Bal.192\(^20f\).
    \item \( \text{\(et\)}} = \text{\(et\)}} \), P.Lond.IV 1640\(^3\).
    \item \( \text{\(et\)}} = \text{\(et\)}} \), Bal.189\(^15\),18(?).
  \end{itemize}

  \item c) \( \text{\(\text{at\)}} \), \( \text{\(\text{at\)}} \), BP 10589.
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \( \text{\(et\)}} = \text{\(et\)}} \), BP 10589(bis).
    \item \( \text{\(et\)}} = \text{\(et\)}} \), Bal.199\(^5\)(? reading \( \text{\(et\)}} \), but doubtful).
    \item \( \text{\(et\)}} = \text{\(et\)}} \), Grohmann, Ar.Pap.Eg.Libr.III,167\(^{12}\).
  \end{itemize}

\end{itemize}

143A) \( \text{\(\text{tap\)}} \), \( \text{\(\text{nt\)}} \).

a) Temporalis. For the origin of this tense see Steindorff, Lehrbuch d.Kopt.Grammatik par.447 and references there. In Achmimic the forms of the temporalis vary between \( \text{\(\text{tap\)}} \) and \( \text{\(\text{nt\)}} \), cf. Till, Achm. Kopt.Grammatik par.138a. The omission of \( \text{\(N\)} \), found particularly in the Berlin I Clement is clearly a secondary development, and in fact the earliest Achmimic text proper, the Achmimic Proverbs, has \( \text{\(\text{nt\)}} \), VIII,31 and \( \text{\(\text{nt\)}} \), I,22 — against Boehlig's assumption
in his Untersuchungen über die koptischen Proverbientexte p.49.
For the omission of n in Coptic texts cf. paragraph 80 above.

The Achmimic (and Subachmimic) form ᵃᵗᵃᵖᵉ- for Sahidic ᵃᵗᵃᵖᵉ- is sometimes found in Sahidic manuscripts, especially the Berlin Gnostic text, also Sah.Elias I,15 and Wessely,Sah.-Gr.Ps.-Fragm. pp.69,113.

b) Finalis. In Sahidic and Fayumic texts ᵃᵗᵃᵖᵉ- sometimes occurs as ᵃᵗᵃᵖᵉ-, cf. Crum,Dictionary p.424b and in particular Polotsky,Études de Syntaxe Copte pp.9ff. For the addition of the n which is probably secondary (Polotsky) cf. paragraph 79A above.

In view of the fact that in Achmimic ᵃᵗᵃᵖᵉ- and ᵃᵗᵃᵖᵉ- were also used for the temporalis, it seems probable that this influenced the ᵃᵗᵃᵖᵉ- of the Bruce Codex (cf. Polotsky, l.c.p.10) which was found at Thebes and has many Achmimic forms, and also the ᵃᵗᵃᵖᵉ- which occurs in a number of non-literary texts from Thebes.

ⁿᵗᵃᵖᵉ- occurs in Br.40₁₁,2₁₁,4₁₁,5₁₁ note,108₂₄, also Worrell, Proverbs VII,2, and a number of times in manuscripts from the Fayum, especially in the Hamouli manuscripts, e.g. J. Drescher, Apa Mena p.16a₁₁, James IV,10(in Horner), etc. Further examples in literary texts are cited in Crum,Dictionary p.424b.

C ᵃᵗᵃᵖᵣⁿ- BM 1102(4th century); cf. ᵃᵗᵃᵖᵣ⁻ Ryl.277₂₃.


(1₄₄) ᵃᵗᵃᵖ⁻ for ᵃᵗᵃᵖ⁻.

This occurs twice in the semi-Achmimic BM 1₂₂₄, also in a number of literary texts, cf. Crum,Dictionary p.1₇₈b and Jern,5¹ note. From non-literary texts the following examples may be cited:

C Ryl.3₅₂(early), Jern.₅¹, BM 1₁₀₃₁₆,₂₁,₂₄,₃₁,₁₁₅₇₄, Worrell, Coptic Texts III,₅¹₄.

D Bal.2₂₃₈,₂₂₉⁸,₂₆₇⁴,₂₇₁⁵.

145) Unusual verbal prefixes.

The forms cited below are undoubtedly due mostly to scribal errors; cf. also paragraphs 148, 148A, 148B.

A pepe- for nere- RAC papyri du Louvre 5, 7, 8.


D eparoeic for eparoeic Bal. 135; xe nimenka[ for xe nimenka[ P. Lond. IV 1559.

E nentazuce for nentazuce ST 39; neoiteke for tetoixe J. 117, sim. ib. 124; etpar- for etpe- BKU 259.

146) Omission of p in the causative verbal prefix.

The p of the causative verbal prefix is omitted regularly in Achmimic, cf. Till, Achm. - Kopt. Grammatik par. 145a, usually in the Subachmimic Manichaean manuscripts, cf. Schmidt - Polotsky, Ein Manifund p. 11, and sometimes in Fayyomic, e.g. Gal. VI, 13, 17, Eph. I, 18, 22 (BSAC VI), Acts XVI, 14 (Museon XLII, 193ff.), further references in Crum, Dictionary p. 430a. On the other hand there can be no question that the omission of the p is secondary, since it is present not only in its Egyptian equivalent, cf. Spiegelberg, Dem. Grammatik par. 187, al., but also in the pre-Achmimic texts, the Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah and the Berlin Genesis, see chapter IX pp. 203 ff., the earliest Subachmimic manuscripts, the Gospel of St. John and the Acta Pauli, see chapter IX pp. 206f., though notably not J&C 192125, and the earliest Fayyomic manuscripts, e.g. Acts VII, 19. The p is also omitted four times in the semi-Achmimic BM 1223 and a number of times in non-literary texts:

B matenwouy BM 583.

C tepte- Ryl. 281; mppte- Ryl. 293; etpte- BM 1110; tupte- BMGr. 6201B 271; mpitepwer enny atoxouycoy BMGr. 6201B 47; ntepteytoy VC 47(4th century); cf. ateteybolploy eply (= ? ateteybolploy ebol) VC 4610.
170 VIII,146 - 148A

D antagoynne Schmidt, AZ LXVII,50ff.line 28; etatekapole, mptek-
uyet xowpre p.jkov (cairo); nantoxyinoy p.lond. IV 1644.

E etate J.122 56; antapole ntoy CO 180 16; nanto stylokoce ep.339(?); 
all cited ep.I p.249.

147) e = epe-, ma = maep-, etc.; cf.paragraph 20a.

In Achmimic, according to Till, Achm.-Kopt. Grammatik we find side 
by side a- and ape-(par.123b), ma- and maep-(125), a- na- and ape-
na- (127a), na- and maep-(136a), e- and epe-(141a); similarly in 
the Subachmimic St.John we find e- and epe-, e- na- and epe- na-, 
ere- and epepe-, cf.Thompson p.XVIII. Similarly we find e- for epe-
in Luke(BIFA0 VIII,76ff.)1,43, P.Mich.356511,12,13 (Ora.IV,15) and 
ma for maep Pro.(Worrell)X,16. In non-literary texts this is 
frequent only at Thebes. The omission of pe- is clearly a late 
and secondary development.

C e .. na- Ryl.332; @nu = eupape- Kr.29.


E e = epe- Ep.232, CO 129 8, 224 6, ST 50 5; e .. na = epe .. na- CO 57 16, 58 5, 
63 2, Turo 14 13; ma = maep- CO 61 18, 300 4, 342 10, 381 13, RE 3, BKU 260, 

148) ca- as verbal prefix.

This remarkable verbal prefix occurs in four texts from Ashmunein 
where it seems to correspond to the first perfect, and these four 
instances can hardly be regarded as mere scribal errors. In BM 
604 a prefix ca- is used, again for a past tense, but there it is 
clearly not the first perfect.

B BM 604: keiru epe epe epoyni epe+ nek ak en 28 agi pi anpoyni eptinek 50 
nek man .... petiya epe epoyni eptinek 50 xalx naxel xalx teixizathk ....

C epe eptinek xalx ray BM 1144 4; alla eptinek Ryl.229; em epteit 
enko Ryl.331; anw cakoye neko... BMO 6201A168.

148A) ak- , ntakei , ekei for ake, nta- , ek- ; diei- for al-.

These remarkable forms occur in three texts, all from region D.
The  in the conditional particle  is regularly omitted in Achenchic and Subachenchic (Jo. Mani), and sometimes in certain early Sahidic manuscripts: Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs)  3624, 4617, 10213, 2214 (against  263(bis), 3834, 4916, 93518, 947), Deut. (Budge) XXXII, 30  , V, 25  , Acts (Budge) XV, 29  , I John (Berlin Or. 408) I, 7  , sim. IV, 12, V, 2; also in Fayumic:  32 (BM 500), Mark XIII, 21, 28 (Morgan), Heb. X, 28 (Museum XLIX, 204).

The verbal prefix  has been the subject of much discussion, see Crum in AZ XXXVI, 140, JEA XII, 21, Dictionary p. 635; Spiegelberg, Dem. Grammatik par. 188f.; Edgerton, JAS LV, 257ff., and references there; Volten, AZ LXXIX, 142ff.; Polotsky, Études de Syntaxe Copte p. 47 par. 14; Steindorff, Lehrbuch der Kopt. Grammatik par. 313.

The prefix  is already found in the Oxyrhynchus Old Coptitic text (ed. Crum, JEA XXVIII, 20ff.) lines 14, 43  , 29, and once in the Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV) line 96  , cf. Edgerton, JAS LV, 258.

This verbal prefix occurs regularly only in a number of
texts from Middle Egypt showing an unusual dialect, here called Middle Egyptian, which will be found discussed fully in chapter IX, pp.220ff. below. In the texts of this dialect we find a definite standardised system employed to distinguish the Perfect I, Perfect II, Past Relative, Present II and the Circumstantial; and these forms differ in certain particulars from the other literary dialects. These differences will be obvious from the diagram on the opposite page. The various manuscripts will be found discussed in Chapter IX pp.220ff. and 224ff. JEA XIII,19ff. is a Sahidic letter from the Melitian archive, but in it many forms and in particular the verbal system have been taken over from the Middle Egyptian dialect, cf. chapter IX p.241.

If to the diagram on the opposite page the evidence of the important P.Mich.3520,3521 were added, the distinction would be even clearer, but we must await the eventual publication of these two codices.

To these manuscripts must be added the evidence of the Subachmimic Acta Pauli (ed.Schmidt) where the 1st.Perfect nominal prefix is always 2A-, whereas the other forms are normal, e.g. A2-, AY-, etc.; we also find 2Ea- for 2A-, and 2E2A- 4511 for (?) NTA- or 2Ae-, cf. NEA- 4218,542. In the Subachmimic Manil (the first unpublished part of the Psalmbook) the prefix 2A- occurs a number of times side by side with the normal forms of the first Perfect. Of considerable interest is the fact that in the recently published Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah (see pp.203ff. below) we find the prefix 2A- used side by side with the normal forms, thus:

<p>| 2A(2A) | VII,14,29, XI,36,37 | A(2A) | VIII,17, IX,11, XI,16 |
| 2A | IX,28 | A | I,2, VI,10, VII,12,13, IX,28,30, X,27, XI,36. |
| 2A- | | A- | VIII,17 |
| 2A- | VI,10, IX,28 (bis ?) | A- | VIII,16, IX,11,29. |</p>
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<td>a&lt;sup&gt;nt&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;sup&gt;-&lt;/sup&gt;, a&lt;n/u&gt;&lt;sup&gt;nt&lt;/sup&gt;-, etc.</td>
<td>enta&lt;sup&gt;-&lt;/sup&gt;, en&lt;sup&gt;nt&lt;/sup&gt;n&lt;sup&gt;-&lt;/sup&gt;, etc.</td>
<td>a&lt;sub&gt;epe&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;er&lt;/sub&gt;-, etc.</td>
<td>e&lt;sub&gt;epe&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;er&lt;/sub&gt;-, etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Achmimic</td>
<td>a-, a1-, etc.</td>
<td>na&lt;sup&gt;-&lt;/sup&gt;, na&lt;n/u&gt;&lt;sup&gt;n&lt;/sup&gt;-, etc.</td>
<td>eta&lt;sup&gt;-&lt;/sup&gt;, eta&lt;sup&gt;n&lt;/sup&gt;-, etc.</td>
<td>a&lt;sub&gt;ep&lt;/sub&gt;-, a1&lt;sub&gt;er&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;e&lt;/sub&gt;-, etc.</td>
<td>e&lt;sub&gt;epe&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;er&lt;/sub&gt;-, etc.</td>
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<td>Subachmimic</td>
<td>a-, a1&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;-, etc.</td>
<td>nta&lt;sup&gt;-&lt;/sup&gt;, nta&lt;sup&gt;n&lt;/sup&gt;-, etc.</td>
<td>eta&lt;sup&gt;-&lt;/sup&gt;, eta&lt;sup&gt;n&lt;/sup&gt;-, etc.</td>
<td>e&lt;sub&gt;epe&lt;/sub&gt;-, a&lt;sub&gt;er&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;e&lt;/sub&gt;-, etc.</td>
<td>a&lt;sub&gt;epe&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;er&lt;/sub&gt;-, etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fayyumic</td>
<td>a-, a1-, etc.</td>
<td>eta&lt;sup&gt;-&lt;/sup&gt;, eta&lt;sup&gt;n&lt;/sup&gt;-, etc.</td>
<td>eta&lt;sup&gt;-&lt;/sup&gt;, eta&lt;sup&gt;n&lt;/sup&gt;-, etc.</td>
<td>e&lt;sub&gt;epe&lt;/sub&gt;-, a&lt;sub&gt;er&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;e&lt;/sub&gt;-, etc.</td>
<td>e&lt;sub&gt;epe&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;er&lt;/sub&gt;-, etc.</td>
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<td>Bohairic</td>
<td>a-, a1-, etc.</td>
<td>eta&lt;sup&gt;-&lt;/sup&gt;, eta&lt;sup&gt;n&lt;/sup&gt;-, etc.</td>
<td>eta&lt;sup&gt;-&lt;/sup&gt;, eta&lt;sup&gt;n&lt;/sup&gt;-, etc.</td>
<td>e&lt;sub&gt;epe&lt;/sub&gt;-, a&lt;sub&gt;er&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;e&lt;/sub&gt;-, etc.</td>
<td>e&lt;sub&gt;epe&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;er&lt;/sub&gt;-, etc.</td>
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<td>e&lt;sub&gt;eta&lt;/sub&gt;- 3</td>
<td>a&lt;sub&gt;1&lt;/sub&gt;- 5</td>
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<td>a&lt;sub&gt;1&lt;/sub&gt;-</td>
<td>e&lt;sub&gt;nu&lt;/sub&gt;-</td>
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<tr>
<td>pp. 139f.</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;al&lt;/sup&gt;-</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Past &lt;sub&gt;nu&lt;/sub&gt; II)</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
In addition, the prefix is found in four non-literary texts, three in Fayyumic and one in Sahidic, all of the Arab period:

BM 580\(^5\), \(^6\), \(^7\), \(^{nfr}\), but cf.ib. \(^{\aleph}\), \(^{\aleph\aleph}\) - Perfect I.

Ryl.415 \(^{\aleph\aleph}\) (three times).

VC 115\(^6\), \(^{14}\), \(^{\aleph\aleph}\), \(^{\aleph\aleph\aleph}\), but cf.ib. \(^6\), \(^{10}\), \(^{11}\), \(^{\aleph}\), \(^{\aleph\aleph}\), \(^{\aleph\aleph\aleph}\).

BM 1111\(^{20}\), \(^{\aleph\aleph}\), but cf.ib. \(^{\aleph}\), \(^{\aleph\aleph}\), \(^{\aleph\aleph\aleph}\), etc.

It seems extremely probable that the forms \(^{\aleph}\), \(^{\aleph\aleph}\), \(^{\aleph\aleph\aleph}\), etc. are identical with those of the first Perfect in other dialects. Crum, citing Sethe, thought that \(^{\aleph\aleph}\), \(^{\aleph\aleph\aleph}\) in Job XXX,9 (WS 1) were present, cf.JEA XIII, 21 note 4, but Edgerton, JAOS IV, 260 note 14 demonstrated that these two instances like the others were probably past.

Further, as Edgerton, l.c. already pointed out, it seems highly unlikely that these forms \(^{\aleph}\), \(^{\aleph\aleph}\), etc. go back to Egyptian antecedents different from those of the Perfect I, whether the Egyptian antecedent of the Perfect I was \(^{\omega\aleph\aleph}\) as suggested by Edgerton, or \(^{(\aleph)}\) which is the more generally accepted view, cf.Edgerton, l.c. and references there. The insertion or omission of \(^{\aleph}\) in early Coptic texts is so uncertain, that no real weight can be attached to its presence in the prefix \(^{\aleph\aleph}\), see paragraphs 108,123,123A,127F above. It seems probable that when the Middle Egyptian dialects were standardised, an attempt was made to distinguish between the Perfect I and Present II by the insertion of \(^{\aleph}\) in the Perfect I, though the earliest text in this dialect, the Glossary to Hosea and Amos, ed.Bell and Thompson in JEA XI,241ff., knows only the forms without \(^{\aleph}\), e.g. \(^{\omega\aleph}\), \(^{\aleph\aleph}\), \(^{\aleph\aleph\aleph}\), etc.. On the other hand, there can be no question that there must have been a strong tradition to pronounce the Perfect I with an aspirate, as is witnessed not only by the two Old Coptic texts, but also by the Achmimic and Subachmimic texts in which the prefix \(^{\aleph\aleph}\), \(^{\aleph\aleph\aleph}\), etc., occurs side by side with the normal
forms, and in particular those late non-literary texts which have clearly no connection with the earlier literary texts.

It may be noted that the prefix als- and the Achmimic prefix etα2-, discussed in the following paragraph, differ considerably in their usage, though etymologically they may be related.

The verbal prefix etα2-


As Roesch and others pointed out, this prefix is used instead of the normal etα- , etav- , but only to connect relative sentences where the subject is identical with the antecedent, e.g. I Clem. (Berlin) VI, 17 ηια του κατειςτα υπ' αυτω, and it corresponds exactly with those instances where present and future relative is ετ-, ετηα- instead of ετα-, ετημα- ; and Sethe and Till have compared the use of a similar past prefix ερ- found occasionally in the Subachmimic St. John and the Pistis Sophia which is used exactly like ετα2-.

The only Achmimic manuscript in which the prefix is used more or less consistently is the Berlin I Clement (ed. Schmidt), and to a less extent the 'Gespräche Jesu' (TU 43). It is found occasionally in the Achmimic Elias (91, 1911, 3416, 4610), Till, Osterbrief (II, 2, 4, III, 30), John (XI, 4, XII, 1, 12), Exodus (II, 14, IV, 11 bis), and once in the Achmimic Proverbs (XII, 2, v. Bühlig, Untersuchungen A. d. kopt. Proverbientexte p. 48); it is not found in the Minor Prophets, the Strassbourg I Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Ascension of Isaiah, etc.

The Berlin I Clement is of considerable interest for the use of this prefix, because in this manuscript can be seen an
attempt to use ἐταζ- consistently where it can be used, but in fact the scribe frequently writes ἐταζ- and rarely ἐταζ- where he could have used ἐταζ-. Once also he has ἐταζ- correctly where other manuscripts would have written ἐταζ-(3526); but once, as Rösch(l.c.p.188) already pointed out, we find ἐταζ- where only ἐταζ- is admissible: 1415 ἀγαλαγ αἰρη ἐκουσ αἰν ου η ἐταζ-ἐταζ ἀγαγ, cf.paragraph 122A above. Thus we have the following picture:

**Singular**

| ἐταζ- correctly for ἐταζ- | 128, 612, 17, 24, 927, 1129, 198, 211, 3723, 4026, 594, 6126, 637, 771, 782, 8219. |
| ἐταζ- correctly for ἐταζ- | 3526. |
| ἐταζ- incorrectly for ἐταζ- | 1415. |
| ἐταζ- incorrectly for ἐταζ- | 1721, 3012, 7614. |
| ἐταζ- correctly | 2817, 3319, 3615, 557, 6120, 762, 14. |

**Plural**

| ἐταζ- correctly | 37, 923, 1214, 2314, 2627, 275, 22, 28, 286, 2816, 3916, 4012, 5426, 30, 551, 4, 5626, 571, 17, 28, 583, 9, 6015, 6510, 26, 27, 6621, 26, 758, 21. |

It will be obvious at once, that the tendency to use ἐταζ in the singular was much stronger than in the plural, which is also apparent in the 'Gespräche Jesu' where ἐταζ- is used for the singular 18 times, but for the plural only 5 times.

The frequency of the prefix ἐταζ- and its particular usage rules out the possibility that it arose from a misspelling of ἐταζ-, though in one instance this is undoubtedly the case, and
other instances are known where υ and α interchanged, see above paragraphs (118C), 122A, 123E. Under the circumstances the identification of αη- in eηηα with the Egyptian prefix αηει as suggested by Sethe and others seems probable. The fact that the old υ of υιιιη has disappeared can be paralleled from Theban texts where we often find α for υιιιη, see above paragraph 53b and references there.

In non-literary texts this prefix occurs a number of times at Thebes, but never elsewhere, and this is of considerable importance for the localisation of Achmimic at Thebes, see chapter IX pp. 198f. Crum in Ep. 544 note 3 collected all Theban instances known, but his statement there that 'both forms are employed unchanged in all numbers and persons (1st.sing.pl. and 2nd.pl. chance to be wanting) requires some rectification. As has been noted above, the Achmimic prefix eηαη can only be used in particular instances where other texts would have ηαυ-, eηηα and eηεη-, but not for any other persons, and in fact the same can with some certainty be demonstrated to apply to all the Theban instances. The Theban forms of this prefix vary between ηαηη-, ηαυ-, ηνηει-, ηνεη-, ημηη-, ηηει-, ηηεη-, we also find αη-, αυη; for υ = η see paragraph 123D, for ηνηα- ηεια- par. 132, for ηηα- ηεια- par. 131A, for αη-, αυη- see below.

(1) In most of the instances there is no question that it is used like the Achmimic eηαη:

a) Used for the third person masc.singular.

ST 130(4 times) ηνατ ηπαητ ηοιακ [ηηαη eηει] η α (the second line is repeated 3 times).

BKU 22 11 ητοικ πε απαζαθ παγιοικ ηειμοικ εικ απακ καταποικ ηηαηη ητκιτ ηκ αν ημειεθ.

CO 174 4 εικ πρωη ηεια μειεθ εμεθ ειει .

ST 101 4 εικ ειακ ποιη μειεθικ εμεθ ειει μπα ειεθικ επολ .
Hall p.78 (probably) ἡ ΤΑΣΚΥΛΑ ΜΝΗΜΗ.

Hall p.97 ὁ ΝΤΟΚ γὰρ ΜΑΚΑΝ ἩΝ ΠΕΝΤΑΖΕΙΣ ΧΑΜΑ ΝΗΣΒΑ ΟΤΜΑΛΛΥ.

ST 356 ἩΝ ΠΕΝΤΑΖΕΙΣ ΕΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝ.

RE 32 (probably) ἩΝ ΠΕΝΤΑΖΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΗ ΑΓΙΕΙΝΣ ΧΕ ΟΥ.

Ep.100 ὁ ΚΑΡΟΥΡ ΤΑΣΚΥΛΑ ἩΝ, cf. ib. 3 ΝΤΑΚΥΛΩ.

Ep.99 (probably) + c. ΡΑΒΕΤ ... ζεε ΤΑΣΚΥΛΑ ΤΑΝΩ, cf. ib. ἩΝ ΣΤΑΝΟ, 100.

b) Used for the third person fem. singular, cf. I Clem. (Berlin) 3526.

ST 356 ὁ ΤΑΣΚΥΛΑ ΣΤΑΡΤΟΛΙΔΑ ... ΧΩΤΕ ΕΥΩΝ ΕΝΑΛΑ.

ST 191 (Edfu 1) τίταλ μεν ΘΕΚΛΑ ΤΑΣΚΥΛΑ ΝΑΙ Ν [ , cf. ib. τασκύλα Ναί.

c) Used for the third person plural.

J.73 (probably) ΤΑΣΚΥΛΑ ΕΞΩΝ ΕΝΝΑΣ ΜΝΗΜΗΝ [ΝΕ.

ST 60 ἩΝ ΕΞΩΝ ΕΝΝΑΣ ΕΞΩΝ ΕΝΝΑΣ ΕΝΝΑΣ.

J.68 ἩΝ ΕΝΝΑΣ ΕΝΝΑΣ ΕΝΝΑΣ ΕΝΝΑΣ ΝΤΑΚΥΛΩ.

J.68 ἩΝ ΕΝΝΑΣ ΕΝΝΑΣ ΕΝΝΑΣ ΕΝΝΑΣ ΝΤΑΚΥΛΩ.

Ep.275 ἩΝΝΟΥ ΠΡΑΣΕΙΕΝ ΕΥΩΝ ΕΝΤΟΟΥ ΤΑΣΚΥΛΑ ΠΕΒΒΥ ΕΡΟΙ.

(2) In two instances ΝΤΑΚΥΛΑ, ΤΑΣΚΥΛΑ following ΝΤΟΚ appear to stand for ΝΤΑΚΥΛΑ, but in both cases we ought probably to read ΝΤΑΚΥΛΑ which is actually found in a similar passage cited above, Hall p.97.

C0 381 ὁ ΤΑΣΚΥΛΑ ΧΕ ΜΝΗΜΟΥΧ ΧΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΝΤΑΚΥΛΑ ( 'thou art he who ...').

Ep.308 διακριτος διακριτός ΝΕΧΑΙ ΧΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΤΑΣΚΥΛΑ ΦΕΒΒΥ ΕΡΟΥ (Crum translates: 'Thou it was didst take away the solidus (worth) of corn').

(3) In the following four instances ΝΕΧΑΙ and ΝΕΧΑΙ ΝΕΧΑΙ seem to stand for ΝΕΧΑΙ, but the context in each case makes it clear that we ought probably to read ΝΕΧΑΙ -

Ep.544 ΝΕΧΑΙ ΧΕ ΚΑΘΑΡΩΝ ΔΣΧΝΟΥΝ ΝΕΧΑΙ ( ' ... Katharon was he who sent me ...').

ib. 20 ΕΥΧΩΜΟΥΧ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΝΕΧΑΙ ΔΣΧΝΟΥΝ ( '... my father was he who sent me ...').

Ep.490 ΜΜΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΣΧΝΟΥΝ ( 'for indeed himself it was that said to me').
It may be noted that all the non-literary texts in which τασσομεν, ετεταιγ, etc. occur are strongly marked by dialectical spellings (or misspellings!).

150B) Unusual verbal prefixes at Thebes.

Attention may here be drawn to a number of prefixes or unusual forms of known prefixes which only occur at Thebes:

a) A prefix ουα-, ουατ-, etc. occurs a number of times, cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 470a.

b) ηα- seems to be used a few times as a verbal prefix: VC 6521/ευενομοχ ηε βανάταραβοι πάνων, 1077 ουογον ηαίταμακ ηενωμε}, cf. ST 549/εγουσει εβσε εροκ αροκ ειτε ημενενθι ηαον ονάβιο ηολοβ...


d) A number of forms are mentioned in Ep. I. p. 249, but most of these have been dealt with in previous paragraphs. Cf. also the unusual syntactical usage of the verb ηνθηεφ, cf. Ep. I. p. 251.

151) Omission of ε in Χε.

In Achmimic the ε of Χε is often omitted if followed by a verbal prefix beginning with a vowel, in particular Present II and Future II, or the Future Neg. ανε-, cf. Till, Achm.-Kopt. Grammatik par. 190. The same occurs in Subachmimic, e.g. Χεφ. John X, 6, Χεφ. Manik 863, 1015, but it is not as frequent as in Achmimic. I am unable to find any examples of this in early Sahidic manuscripts, but many examples can be cited from non-literary texts of a late period. I can only cite one example from Thebes, which is rather surprising, but a systematic search would probably reveal further instances from there.

β Χανανιτι κω ΒΜ 586; Χεφ. CMSS 282; Χηντωκ CMSS 2910; al.
152) *ene = *enne; cf. paragraphs 151, 152A,B.

A few early examples: Deut.(Judge)VI,21 *ene(ny)oone; Sir.(Lagarde) XXX,10,28,36, XXXI,14, al.; BHom.(passim) e.g.3,5,7,etc.. For Achmimic and Subachminic see par.152A.

C Ryl.127,154, Kr.520, BM 10605, al.pl..

D Bal.1567,18617,34,2297,2714, WS 167,168,169, P.Lond.IV 149713,15032, 150914,152810,156536,15974.

E ST 56, J.1329, VC 105, al..

152A) ne- = nne-; cf. paragraphs 80,152,152B.

In Achmimic and the Subachminic St. John the third future negative is written with one * only. A few examples can be cited from early Sahidic texts: Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)p.33 *ne-, *na-, *nej-; Sir.(Lagarde)XXIX,24(27), cf.par.152; Pro.(Worrell)XXIV,20; BM 1223. In non-literary texts this is extremely rare, but cf. paragraph 152.


152B) ene- = nne-; cf. paragraphs 82,152,152A.

In the Subachminic Acta Pauli the third future negative is usually ene-, eney-, etc.(cf.Schmidt,p.18). In non-literary texts this seems very frequent at Thebes, but not elsewhere, cf.however par.152.

C KroppD15.

E CO 1084,1105,1115,9,2846, Ad 719, J.959, VC 8210, al..

F VC 5(passim).
153) *Xin* = *Xn*; cf. paragraph 82.

*Xin* for *Xn* is almost invariably found in texts from Ashmunein, it also occurs sometimes further south, but is extremely rare at Thebes where we find *xin(ŋ)* or *Xn(ŋ)*. *Xin* occurs also sometimes in literary texts, usually of a late period, cf. Crum, *Dict.* p. 772b.

B *Xinepypon BM 589*; al.

C *Xinepypon Ryl. 1443, 146, 174, 177, 191, BM 1032, 1059, 1064, 1065*; al.; *Xinepyypt BM 1079a, Xinepyypt Ryl. 277*; *Xinepyypt BM 1074*; *Xinepyynt BM 1052*; *Xinepyynt Ryl. 1324*; *Xinepyypt Krall, MRV, 32*;

D *Xinepyynt Ryl. 1173*; *Xinepyypt Ryl. 1321*; *Xinepyypt Ryl. 145, BM 1046*;

154) The normal construct form of *pmw*.

The normal construct form of *pmw* in Sahidic an other dialects is *pm*, *pmn*, *pmn*; and this construct is almost invariably found at Thebes, other construct forms being extremely rare there. On the other hand, at Ashmunein we almost invariably find *pm* and *pmw* when combined with *ymw*; cf. below. In the region from Assiout to Achmim the two forms *pm* and *pmw* occur side by side, as also in the Fayyum. Cf. Ep. 302 note 1.

A *pm* Kr. 104, RAC pap. du Louvre 3, Saq. 325 al.; *pm* Saq. 334; *pm* 307.

B *pm* Kr. 116, CMSS 23, 45, also *pm* ib. 28, Ap.

C *pm* rare, Ryl. 132, 156, 174, 319, BMOr. 6201B67, 191, BSAC III, 6f., and a few others.

*pmw* (ib. *pmw nefm*) Ryl. 173.

*pmw* very common, e.g. Ryl. 116, 117, 122, 125, 147, 189, 203, 277, 284,

302, 318, 321, 323, 328, Kr. 5, 6, 7, 29, 79, 98, 112, 114, 118, 133, BM 1025,
This is mostly found with ejmuyn and Crum, Dictionary p. 295b already queried whether this should be read pem-ejmuyn, cf. the Arabic 'Al-Ashmunein', and in fact in many documents we find pem of some place and pem-ejmuyn side by side. On the other hand ejmuyn outside the phrase pem-ejmuyn never occurs as ejmuyn, e.g. Ryl.115,267, Kr.5⁹,6²,29⁹,34¹,57¹,123²,124, etc., and cf. BMOr.6201A72 where we find in the same document pem-pem, pem-ejmuyn, pem-pem ejmuyn. It may also be noted that pem-ejmuyn occurs only three times, and pem-pem ejmuyn twice.

pem-ejmuyn ejg. Ryl.118,120,126,127,129,144,149,157,162,164,166,167, 170,171,182,183,185,190,191,192,195,197,209,210,etc., BM 1033, 1037,1047,1050,1059,1060,1061,etc., Kr.29,79,etc., al.pl..

pem ejmuyn Kr.86,92(collated), BMOr.6201B188.

pem-ejmuyn BM 461²,1045².

pem-ejmuyn and pem of another place in the same document: Ryl.134, 158,188,204,205,208,214,215, Kr.48,55,113, BM 1032,1039, al.

pem-e of places other than ejmuyn:

pem-e ejmuyn Ryl.119, BMOr.6201A30(in same document pem-e ejmuyn), cf. Ryl.137 pem-e ejmuyn.

pem-e ejmuyn (?) Ryl.185.

pem-e ejmuyn BM 1041⁸, cf. pem-e ejmuyn Ryl.147, BM 1059.

pem-e ejmuyn BM 1042², cf. pem-e ejmuyn BM 1040⁹.

pem-e ejmuyn BM 1040⁹.

pem-e ejmuyn Kr.57,58.

pem-e ejmuyn Ryl.320⁷.


pem-e ejmuyn J&C 1920.

pem-e ejmuyn Ryl.137(ca.A.D.600).

pem-e ejmuyn BMOr.6201A24b.
There are certain differences in the opening form of letters with \( \text{case} \) in the different parts of Egypt. In the New Testament we only find the formula: "Name (e.g. \( \pi\alpha\nu\gamma\lambda\sigma\varepsilon \))... \( \epsilon\gamma\zeta\varepsilon\alpha\)" or its plural equivalent, I Cor., II Cor., Col., Eph., I Thess., II Thess., Philemon,
This formula is frequently found at Thebes, but rarely elsewhere. Similarly "\(\text{Ἀνέκ}(\text{name}) \ldots \epsilon\gamma\zeta\zeta\alpha\)" is very common at Thebes, but again only few examples can be cited from the rest of Egypt. Yet another formula "\(\text{Ἀνέκ}(\text{name}) \ldots \epsilon\tau\zeta\zeta\lambda\)" occurs frequently at Thebes but is not found elsewhere.

Frequent in 'region D' is "\(\text{name} \ldots \eta\epsilon\tau\zeta\zeta\lambda\)" which is the usual formula found in Shenoute, e.g. CSCO 42, pp. 13, 14, 15(bis), 21, 23, Amelineau I pp. 221, 223(bis), al.. Outside 'region D' it occurs a few times in certain early letters, notably the Melitian archive, but only rarely in letters of a late period.

Frequent north of Thebes is "\(\text{name} \ldots \eta\epsilon\tau\zeta\zeta\lambda\)" which occurs in only two documents from Thebes, both financial, though one was written by the famous Theban scribe Aristophanes son of John (BMOr. 4664, see Bal. 130 Appendix).

It should be noted, however, that except at Thebes and in a few early texts the opening formula with \(\epsilon\zeta\zeta\lambda\) was reserved almost invariably for official purposes, such as legal documents or letters on financial matters from the government. Personal and informal letters would normally begin with \(\tau\iota\omega\iota\nu\epsilon \nu \mu\omega \mu\alpha\nu\alpha\zeta\). At Thebes this opening is comparatively rare and the formula with \(\epsilon\zeta\zeta\lambda\) continued to be used throughout the Coptic period.

A \(\text{Ἀνέκ} \ldots \epsilon\zeta\zeta\alpha\) RAC papyrus du Louvre 2, 4.

\(\text{Ἀνέκ}\varphi\iota\zeta\zeta\zeta\alpha\varphi\iota\zeta\zeta\alpha\) Kr. 228.

B \(\text{Ἀνέκ}(\text{name}) \cdot \epsilon\zeta\zeta\alpha\) Kr. 11, 53, 72.

\(\text{Ἀνέκ}\varphi\iota\zeta\zeta\zeta\alpha\varphi\zeta\zeta\iota\) BM 530, 580, Kr. 8, 10, 15, 16, 21, 25, 36, 41, 45, 90, 129, 134, 233, 237.

\(\text{name} \ldots \epsilon\zeta\zeta\alpha\) Kr. 235.

\(\text{Ἀνέκ} \ldots \eta\epsilon\tau\zeta\zeta\lambda\) Ryl. 1413.

C \(\text{Ἀνέκ}(\text{name}) \cdot \{\epsilon\zeta\zeta\alpha\} \) Ryl. 115, 116, 121, 122, 129, 139, 144, 207, 208, 216, etc., BM 458, 1031, 1035-1037, 1039, 1043, etc., Kr. 6, 62, 104, 106, etc.
VIII,155

(name/s) B1102(4th century), Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 6,
EMOr.6201A123.

πέτενβαυον... eycelai (et sim.) Ryl.308,321, cf. Kr.238.

(name)... ουτολμα 68celai BM 1108.

πέτενβαυον ευτολμα eycelai Ryl.281, Krall MR V, p.31.

πετενβαυον... neutolma eycelai Kr.232, cf. BM 1134.

Ryl.320, BM 1024, VC 46, Krall MR V p.33, Sphinx vol. X pap. I, VI,
Jern.11, EMOr.6201A65,132,163, BMEA 10135.

Ryl.117-119,123,180,193,278,285,319,325,327,378,
VC 48, Kr.60,95, EMOr.6201B22, BMEA 10136.

πέτενβαυον... πευτολμα eycelai (et sim.) Ryl.296(?),305(?),355,BM
479,1109, EMOr.6201A80, B41.

πενειωτ πευτεα Aeg. XXXI(1951)pp.332ff. nos. b, c, EMOr.6201B146,
179,211.

ανοκ (name) πυςεαι Ryl.200.

παίκαιον... γιτοτ ΑΝΟΚ (name)... eycelai BM 1049,1055, EMOr.6201A22b;
68,103a, B273.

παίκαιον... γιτοτν ΑΝΟΚ (names)... eycelai Ryl.127, TurM 6, EMOr.6201A33.

παίκαιον... άν (name)... eycelai EMOr.6201A43, B277.

παίκαιον... γιτοτ ΑΝΟΚ... πυςεαι EMOr.6201A26.

D ΑΝΟΚ (name)... eycelai Bal.119,135,142,143,161,P.Lond.IV 1494,1520, and passim, Grohmann, Ar. Pap. Eg.
Lib.III,164.

(name)... eycelai WS 99,185.

μεννημ ΜΠΟΤΙΟΥ... eycelai WS 111.

(name/s)... eycelai Bal.132,133,134,135,145,146,157, WS 86,186,
ST 329,330, Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 8(this region ?), EMOr.
6201B46 (6th century).

\( \text{πκιακός} \text{ πέτρος} \) \( \text{WS} 174 \).

(name) \( \text{παρατηρούσα} \) \( \text{Bal.135}^7,141,144,\text{WS} 87,89,97,100,107,161,182,184,187,\text{Ryl.124} \).

παίκαιον \( \text{πίστις} \) \( \text{αυκός} \) (name) \( \text{πέτρος} \) \( \text{Bal.100,103,}\ ΑΖ \text{IXVII,102ff.}, \text{IXVIII,60ff} \).

παίκαιον \( \text{πίστις} \) \( \text{πέτρος} \) \( \text{Bal.107} \).

παίκαιον \( \text{πίστις} \) \( \text{πέτρος} \) \( \text{Bal.100,103,}\ ΑΖ \text{IXVII,102ff.}, \text{IXVIII,60ff} \).

B \( \text{αύκος} \) (name) \( \text{πέτρος} \) \( \text{CO} 31,33,37,40,41,44,45,294,297,307,\text{Ad.9,12,}\text{BKU} 67,78,277,\text{ST} 41,45,54,\text{al.},\text{Tor.1,2,4,12,J.(passim)},\text{Ep.84, 85,93,181,287,308,351,368,403,al.pl.}; \text{ST} 470, \text{αύκος} \text{πέτρος} \text{αύκος} \text{πέτρος} \), vo.

αύκος (name) \( \text{πέτρος} \) \( \text{ST} 378 \).

(name) \( \text{πέτρος} \) \( \text{MH} 84 \).

αύκος (name) \( \text{πέτρος} \) \( \text{CO} 32,35,39,47,48,92,138,139,206,295,308,\text{Ad.15,}\text{BKU} 36,38,45,48,79,99,131,264,267,272,311,\text{ST} 50,\text{al.},\text{TurM} 14,24,\text{TurO} 4,5,6,\text{VC} 17,19,87,\text{J.59,Ep.86,95,179,194,290,303,316,333,386,al.},\text{MH} 51,53,54,58,59,60,\text{al.pl.} \).

(name) \( \text{πέτρος} \) \( \text{Ep.350} \).

αύκος (name) \( \text{πέτρος} \) \( \text{CO} 43,30,43,\text{BKU} 70,162,263,286,\text{ST} 46,48,281,\text{TurM} 15,\text{VC} 27,\text{J.115},\text{Jsch.4,Worrell,Coptic Texts IV,12,Ep.107,259,280,294,325,376,BM} 458 \).

(name) \( \text{πέτρος} \) \( \text{CO} 43,\text{BKU} 66,115,306,308,\text{VC} 8,9,81,\text{Ep.167,173,178,198,203,209,223,363,367,385,407,408,459,\text{MH} 50,52,\text{al.pl.}} \).

αύκος (name) \( \text{πέτρος} \) \( \text{BKU} 277 \).

(name) \( \text{πέτρος} \) \( \text{BKU} 80,119 \).

(name) \( \text{πέτρος} \) \( \text{BMOr.4664A(see Bal.130 Appendix).} \)

cf. \( \text{πίστις} \) \( \text{πέτρος} \) \( \text{Jsch.3,} \).

156) \( \text{αύκος} \) \( \text{πέτρος} \) etc. in Legal documents.

The word used to express 'ask', 'request' in the subscriptions to
legal documents, e.g. 'I Aristophanes, he asked me and I wrote for him', differs in the various regions of Egypt. At Thebes αίτη is used almost invariably, but it rarely occurs elsewhere; παρακαλεῖ is sometimes found at Thebes and Aphroditus, but only once at Ashmunein. At Aphroditus ματαυξοος εροί is peculiar to those texts At Ashmunein and further north we find κωπυ almost invariably used, but this word occurs only once in region D in a different context (Bal. 268) and never at Thebes.

The word ξνογ at Thebes in legal language was reserved for the 'Stipulationsklausel' at the end of legal documents, cf. Till Orientalia XIX (1950) 81ff. and references there. The word αίτη never occurs in that legal context and Crum's notes in J. index (pp. 396, 399) after ξνογ 'vgl. αίτη' and after αίτη 'vgl. ξνογ' should be deleted as these two words are used in quite distinct senses. At Aphroditus the word ξνογ is also found in the same clause as at Thebes, e.g. P. Lond. IV 1494²1, 1498⁹, 1508²⁸, 1509²¹, etc., but its occurrence three times in the subscriptions to legal documents at Bala'izah and Aphroditus is noteworthy.

C αίτη Ryl. 151, BM 1028¹⁵, ¹⁶, cf. also BM 636.

παρακαλεῖ Ryl. 137, 201, 202, Kr. 34, 50, 108.

αξιον Ryl. 165, BM 1019⁵.

κωπυ passim, e.g. Ryl. 144, 147, 184, 188, 196, 200, Kr. 5, 48, 113, 132, BM 461², 1031⁶, ¹⁷, vo. ⁵, 1035, 1036¹¹, 1042¹⁸, 1043¹³, 1044¹¹, 1048⁷, al.

D αίτη P. Lond. IV 1495¹³, 1536¹⁴, 1554².

παρακαλεῖ P. Lond. IV 1494³³, 1521²⁹, 1553¹⁸, 1554 vo. ³⁵, 1560²⁹, 1562¹⁴, 1610, 1622.

αξιον Ryl. 115⁸, 167⁵.

αξιον Ryl. 117¹², P. Lond. IV 1536²⁳, cf. 1507²³, 1538².

ξνογ Ryl. 138⁸, P. Lond. IV 1533², ³⁴.

ματαυξοος εροί P. Lond. IV 1499⁹, 1512³², 1552³⁵, 1553 vo. ³⁷, 1565⁵¹, 1573, ²⁷.
The phrase 'as it is written' in signatures to legal documents, e.g. 'I assent to this document as it is written', was differently expressed in the various regions of Egypt. At Thebes we find the grammatically correct form ἀπὸ η ἔτεις μινοῦ, ἡ ἔτεις μινοῦ, and only rarely the incorrect η ἔτεις μινοῦ. Outside Thebes the incorrect form is almost invariably found, and only twice the correct form is used.

It may also be noted that at Thebes we find ἀπὸ ης and less frequently ἡς, and the same is true of the texts from Aphroditos at Bala'izah and further north we only find ἡς with one exception.

κατὰ τα ἐκείνου μινοῦ, κατὰ τα ἐκείνου μινοῦ Sphinx X no.5, 22, 25.


ἡς ἐκείνου μινοῦ (et sim.)Ryl.134,Kr.153,BM 1055,1061,1063,22, 1066,20,Till,Orientalia XVI,525ff.no.1,18.

ἡς ἐκείνου μινοῦ BM 1033.

ἡς ἐκείνου μινοῦ BM 1065,30.

D ἀπὸ ης ἔτεις μινοῦ (et sim.)P.Lond.IV 1518,1519,1548,1572,13,cf.1629.
ἡς ἔτεις μινοῦ Bal.102,30,114,15,116,20,118,120,7,124,6,126,10,P. 1619,4,6,AZ LXVIII,60ff. lines 25,29.

cf. τὴν ἐκείνου μινοῦ (sic 1)Bal.138,6.

E ἀπὸ ης ἔτεις μινοῦ (et sim.)J.2,51,364,3975,5075,71,60,80,55,57,58,

C Ryl. 361, BM Or. 6201 B 270, al.
D Bal. 119 14, 124 5, AZ LXVII, 102 ff. line 7.
E BKU 79, 281 5, J. 65 70, al.

157B) Greek nouns used as verbs.

In a number of texts of the eighth century or later we find the remarkable use of Greek nouns as verbs. This seems to have been common at Ashmunein, but rare elsewhere except for χρησι in the Fayyum. An early example is Bal. 15, Joh. II, 25 ΝΕΕΕΧΡΙΑ; cf. Ryl. 20 σωκράτεια and Wor. p. 177 20 καταφρών (both late manuscripts).

C ΑΜΠΕΒΑΛῐ Ryl. 3166, cf. 366.

ΑΝΤΙΦΩΝΙ Ryl. 129.

ΒΩΦΕΙΑ Ryl. 340 90 6.


ΕΝΓΗ Ryl. 133, ΤΗΝΙΑ BM 1107 2, 3, ΥΓΥΜ BM 1039 90.
158) A note on τατε-.

I had hoped to be able to include in the present chapter a detailed discussion of the syntax of non-literary texts, but for a number of reasons it has seemed advisable to leave this over for a later publication.

One point may, however, be touched briefly here: τατε- in non-literary texts is generally used in final clauses and it is found side by side with εττε-, ντε- and the negative χη πνε- , e.g.

τεπτετσεν οδικ ιν τετεκκο πενερος ST 38, 39, CO Ad. 26.
τεπτετσεν οδικ τατεκκο ποιαν μνερος ST 37, cf. BM 1015.

Cf. also par. 159 below. In this respect τατε- differs considerably from its use in the standardised biblical Sahidic, cf. Polotsky, Études de Syntaxe Copte pp. 1ff., also in Coptic Studies in Honor of W. E. Crum, Bull. Byz. Inst. II, pp. 73ff., and Lefort in Muséon IX, 7ff. It may also be noted that in non-literary texts τατε- occurs frequently, as also ματε-, and other forms not found in biblical Sahidic. I propose to return to this subject elsewhere.

159) A clause following the oath-formula in legal documents.

The oath-formula in Coptic legal documents, e.g. 'and I swear by Almighty God etc.', is usually followed by the clause '... that I (we) shall adhere for you to the validity of this agreement(sale, etc.)', or 'that I shall not be able to transgress this agreement (sale, etc.)'. For this clause certain fixed formulae were used which show certain interesting differences; it may be noted that τατε- is usually found with ποςει and φυλακε, but εττε- with τατε.
VIII,159

a) ταρειοεις, ταρανοεις.

C Ryl. 144, 191, 196, 203, 205, Kr. 2054, BM 10417, 104311, 10446, BM Or. 6201A 64b, B262.
D Bal. 1118, 11412, 1682, 1702.

b) ταρηφυλακε, ταρηφυλακε.

C Ryl. 128, 182, 209, 210, Kr. 1628, BM 10369, 10608, BM Or. 6201A2, 25, 62a.

c) ταρειωμε ειροεις.

C BM 10358, TurM 67.
D Bal. 11616.

d) ταρηνοεις τησαρεις.

C BM Or. 6202, 6203, 6204 (all same hand, dated A.D. 850, 833, 843).

e) ταρειαρεις, ταρηναρεις.

A RAC papyrus du Louvre 3.
D Bal. 11921, 1725.

f) τετρααρεις, τετρηαρεις.

A RAC papyrus du Louvre 2.
D Bal. 1185f.
F BM 44716.

g) τετρηαρεις τηροεις, τετρααρεις ταροεις.

D P. Lond. IV 149420, 149719, 150920, 151819, 1586, 1593, cf. 150827, 152121, 153111f., 156527, 157315, 15879, 15897.

h) τετρηνοεις.

D Bal. 1712, cf. 1385.

i) ξενηνευπαραβα, ξενενευπαραβα.

C Ryl. 127, 157, 169, 173, 463Vo, Kr. 520, 4811, 567, 1846, BM Or. 6201A24b.

j) ξενηνπαραβα, ξενενπαραβα.

C Kr. 1147.
F Vo 522, ΑΖ IX (1925), 106ff. lines 29-30.

k) ξενενπαραβα.

C Kr. 66f. (A.D. 596).
1) Xενενεν ει 6βολ εροκ.
   C BMOr,6201A29.

m) Xενενενενεν ουκ ενεευδυμον Ῥεναγε.
   E J.9839.

n) ξε εεε παραβαςις επιτυχη συμε μμος.
   E J.75123.

o) ετυπλανα.
   D Bal,1672.
   E J.20107,2180,4243.

p) ετυπαραβαςις πλανα νευμ.
   D ΑΥ LXVIII,60ff.,line 21.

q) ετυπεραμανυ παραβαςις συμε.
   E J.3574,3852,6619,7613.

r) ταρφεις.
   C Ryl,141,198.

s) ταφυλαςε, τταφυλαςε.
   C Ryl,167,185,195, Kr,29.

Cf. also Worrell, Coptic Manuscripts pp.166f. (from Edfu) ευωρ ἂν
πινοτε επιστοκράτωρ ταφυλαςε γάρ ἀπὸ άυραμενονα.
Chapter IX: The Coptic Literary Dialects

Their Origin, Development and Interrelationship

Until about the 80s of last century only three Coptic dialects were known: Sahidic, Bohairic and Fayyumic, and it has been the accepted theory that Sahidic was the language of the Thebaid, Bohairic that of the Delta, and Fayyumic, at first wrongly identified with Bashmuric, that of the Fayyum. When the first Achmimic texts came to light towards the end of last century, they caused no little surprise and it was at first assumed that the dialect was much older than Sahidic. All indications seemed to point to Achmim as the finding-place of these manuscripts and the matter was clinched by the fact that some Achmimic graffiti were discovered in the neighbourhood of Achmim; hence the dialect was called Achmimic and it has retained this name until the present day.

In 1904 C. Schmidt published the Heidelberg manuscript of the Acta Pauli, the first text in the dialect now known under the title of Subachmimic, and since then many texts in this and other dialects have become known. It was assumed by the first scholars who studied Subachmimic that it represented a later form of the ancient Achmimic and was an intermediate stage between this and Sahidic; but when the Gospel of St. John in Subachmimic was discovered at Qau, it was found to contain a number of references...

1) The first were published in 1884 by Bouriant in Miss.I pp.243ff..
2) The graffiti were discovered by Bouriant in Wadi Bir el-Ain near Achmim and were published by him in Recueil XI,145f..
of archaisms not present in any other dialect and Till\(^1\) pointed out that the theory of a gradual development from Achmimic via Subachmimic to Sahidic was quite untenable, and that these dialects must have existed side by side. When the Manichaean texts in Subachmimic were discovered in 1930 C.Schmidt\(^2\) proposed that Subachmimic was the dialect spoken near Assiut, firstly because of the close relationship to Achmimic, and secondly because both the Gospel of St. John and the Acta Pauli(probably\(^3\)) had come from the neighbourhood of Assiut. Sahidic was now located north of Assiut as the dialect of Ashmunein and Antinoe, supported by the fact that one of the earliest Sahidic manuscripts, the British Museum Ms. of Deuteronomy, Jonah and Acts\(^4\), had undoubtedly come from Ashmunein or its neighbourhood. This is the position we find stated in Steindorff's Lehrbuch\(^5\), the latest work on the subject. W.H.Worrell\(^6\) came to much the same conclusion, though he was inclined to place Sahidic a little further north at Oxyrhynchus. Fr.M.Châne, however, writing at the same time as Worrell\(^7\), pointed to the close relationship between Subachmimic and Fayyumic and proposed the following distribution of dialects:

| Delta: Bohairic | Assiut: Subachmimic proper (Mani, John) |
| Fayyum: Fayyumic | Achmim: Achmimic |
| Ashmunein: Subachmimic(type of Acta Pauli) | Thebes: Sahidic |

\(^1\) W.Till, *Die Stellung des Achmimischen in Aegyptus* VIII, 1927, 249ff.
The question was further complicated by the fact that some scholars have queried whether Bohairic existed as a literary dialect before the Arab period\(^1\), and Lefort\(^2\) indeed has suggested that Sahidic was the official literary dialect of the Delta as well as of the rest of Egypt\(^3\).

Dr. W. E. Crum, however, pointed out on various occasions\(^4\)(a) that it was by no means certain that any or most of the Achmimic manuscripts were actually found at the White Monastery or even the neighbourhood of Achmim, and that the only Achmimic manuscript unearthed by a scientific excavation was found in the Fayyum\(^5\); (b) that Fayyumic manuscripts had been found as far south as Wadi Sarga and the White Monastery, and that Fayyumic ostraca had been discovered at Thebes; (c) that Subachmimic was the idiom found in one of the Melitian letters which almost certainly were written near Cynopolis and that semi-Subachmimic letters had been found near Ashmunein. But Crum never attempted to solve the difficulties involved\(^6\).

A serious obstacle so far has been the fact that, while Fayyumic

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2) Muséon XLIV (1931) p.120 note 1; see below pp.248ff..

3) Cf.also in general S.Morenz, Die koptische Literatur in E.Spuler, Handbuch der Orientalistik, vol.I, Aegyptologie, pp.207ff..


5) Cf.however C.Schmidt in DLZ 1928, p.1707.

6) I have not been able to find any notes relating to this in the unpublished Crum Material in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.
and Subachmimic have much in common, nevertheless the differences have seemed so considerable that scholars on the whole have preferred to assume parallel development without necessarily involving interrelationship. There are, however, a number of texts designated here as Middle Egyptian (M)$^2$, which, falling into at least two classes of dialects, supply the missing link. In fact, we can now trace almost without a break a gradual relationship from Achmimic to Bohairic. In order to demonstrate this close relationship I shall discuss the sub-dialects in the following order:

I Achmimic (A)  
1) Achmimic proper.  
2) Achmimic with Subachmimic influence.  

II Subachmimic (A$^2$)  
Two or three main groups.  

III Middle Egyptian (M)  
1) Middle Egyptian proper.  
2) Mid. Egyptian with Fayyumic influence.  

IV Fayyumic (F)  
Old Fayyumic and Fayyumic proper.  

V Bohairic (B)  
1) Semi-Bohairic.  
2) Bohairic proper.  

For all the main five sub-dialects we have manuscripts of the fourth century or earlier; all the sub-dialects and in some cases even individual manuscripts have peculiarities of their own which sometimes have spread to neighbouring dialects. Finally, all of them can be demonstrated to have existed long before the Coptic period, though, of course, not necessarily in the precise form to which they attained in the 3rd-4th centuries, and there can be no question of a gradual development from one dialect to another. The difficulties connected with the Sahidic dialect its origin and development, and texts written in a mixture of Sahidic and

1) Worrell, *Coptic Sounds* pp.63ff.(passim) especially pp.74,76; Till, *Die Vokalisation des Fayyumischen* in BIFAO XXX,361ff.; al..  
2) I use the sigla 'M' to avoid confusion with the ancient Middle Egyptian; so also Edgerton in *JAOS* LV p.257.
the sub-dialects will be discussed separately. For the present study I
have on the whole confined myself to manuscripts written prior to the
sixth century with the obvious exception of Bohairic where early manu-
scripts are extremely rare. For a list of early manuscripts on which
this study is based see the Appendix I to the present chapter.

I.1 Achmimic proper.

For Achmimic we are very fortunate in having a considerable number
of texts showing a more or less uniform dialect, and it has been stu-
died carefully by Rösch, Till and others. Already the earliest manus-
script in this dialect, the Achmimic Proverbs, shows a high degree of
standardisation which must have been effected late in the third century.
Apart from a number of misspellings in some of the manuscripts, especial-
ly that of II Maccabees, dialectical differences are few and on the
whole confined to the following points:

(a) $\Delta \pi$- (Achmimic only) and $\Delta \mu \pi$, the latter mostly in texts translated

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1) For Achmimic texts in general and a bibliography of discussions con-
cerning this dialect see J. Simon, *Note sur le dossier des textes akh-

Fragments of the Shepherd of Hermas in Achmimic were published recen-
tly from a papyrus-codex at Louvain by L. Th. Lefort, *Les Pères Aposto-
liques en Copte* (CSCO 135) pp. Iff. and Iff. The dialect is normal
Achmimic; of special interest is $\pi \nu \omicron \nu \nu \tau \nu$, $\nu \omicron \nu \nu \tau \nu$ as in the Berlin I
Clement, but not $\varepsilon \tau \theta$, cf. $\varepsilon \tau \theta$- Simil. IX, 10, 2 and $\varepsilon \tau \theta$- passim.

2) F. Rösch, *Vorbemerkungen zu einer Grammatik der achmimischen Mundart*.

3) W. Till, *Achmimisch-Koptische Grammatik*.

4) This manuscript, said to be of the 3rd...4th. centuries, is still unpub-
lished, but see the full discussion of the dialect in A. Böhlig, *Unter-
suchungen über die koptischen Proverbientexte*.

5) Published by P. Lacau in *BIFAO* VIII, 68ff.

from Sahidic and later Achmimic texts.

(b) έταζ- (Achmimic only) and έτατ-, έτατ-, έτατ-; see chapter VIII par. 150A.

(c) ητατ- and τατ-; see chapter VIII par. 143A.

(d) πνούντε, μνούντε (Achmimic only) and πνούντε, μνούντε; see chapter VIII par. 79A b.

(e) ταν- (Achmimic only) and ταν-; cf. Till, l.c. par. 206.

(f) Single or double vowels, e.g. ούατ and ούατ, άνωθε and άνωθε (this word only in Achmimic), etc.

(g) Qualitatives of verbs ending ο in- ρητ or -κητ, cf. p. 214 below.

(h) The omission of ζ especially in the Achmimic Minor Prophets (more than 80 times) see chapter VIII par. 123.

(i) The omission and variant spellings of Νέι, see p. 266 and note 1.

The principal features of Achmimic, peculiar to this dialect, are the use of the letter ι; ω for ου; (g) for ι με, μενεκ, ομέθε, οπε, οπες, καλι; ου for ω e.g. κου, ξού (sometimes also in ΚΣ), τογούθε, ξογούμε; οθιρ for ω χούρ; the qualitative ειε, ε of είπε and τειε, τε of τε; ε for οι in είε, τείε, κεκείε, κοιείε; ε for ου in έταζ (nn.); the future III άκά, άκα; the conjunctive η-, η- 1); and in particular also μη-, έταζ-, ταν- cited above.

If we regard dialectical spellings in non-literary texts as conclusive evidence for the localisation of literary dialects, there can be no question that Thebes was the real home of Achmimic, as already suggested by Crum 2). This will be abundantly clear from the evidence brought in chapter VIII, when the dialectical spellings in Theban non-literary texts are compared with those from other parts of Egypt. Only at Thebes we find ζ for ω reflecting the Achmimic ι for ου 3), έταζ- for έτατ-, έτατ-

1) Also rarely in Subachmimic, cf. chapter VIII par. 138.
2) In Ep. I p. 234f..
3) See chapter VIII par. 118D, cf. par. 123C.
and ὑγιατικα, and many others. This evidence is further supported by the fact that the Old Coptic Horoscope found at Thebes essentially has the same dialect, e.g. ἤμας, ὁμιλί, and this must have been current in the Theban area for centuries. On the other hand it may legitimately be questioned whether Achmimic in its fully developed form was ever a spoken as well as a literary dialect; and it seems probable that during the early Coptic period Sahidic had already so far influenced the language of Thebes, that the spoken dialect was a mixture of Achmimic and Sahidic, which we find not only in many letters, but also in some of the earliest literary documents. It is interesting in this connection to note that no non-literary text has so far come to light showing the fully standardised Achmimic and the nearest approach is the badly misspelt Aberdeen magical papyrus.

If Achmimic originated at Thebes, there are nevertheless many indications that this dialect spread north in early times. Sufficient evidence for this are the graffiti discovered near Achmim and the fact

1) See chapter VIII paragraph 150A.
3) First published by Goodwin in ÆZ VI, 18ff., Griffith ÆZ XXXVIII, 71ff., cf. ÆZ XXXIX, 76ff., Crum in JEA XXVIII, 23.
4) Cf. however pp. 252ff. and 267 below.
5) See pp. 237ff. below.
6) An exception are perhaps the graffiti from Achmim, see note 8 below.
8) See above p. 193 note 2; cf. Worrell, Coptic Sounds p. 74, who already noted: 'The graffiti found near by are inconclusive, especially as they are associated with non-Achmimic scribblings'. Important is the presence of the distinctive Achmimic α in ἅλ and ἀλλα, also α- for αε- in ἐαμοντε Ναρόπναε Νεμά. Some of the graffiti are in
that one text was actually found in the Fayyum\(^1\)). Also, as will be noted later\(^2\), it seems probable that during the latter part of the fourth century Achmimic influenced the Subachmimic dialects to a considerable extent. It has been assumed by Schmidt, Steindorff, Leipoldt and others that many of the Achmimic manuscripts had actually come from the library of the White Monastery, but as Crum has pointed out there is no certain evidence for this\(^3\). In fact, as long ago as 1904 Crum\(^4\) pointed out that 'the greater part of the volumes (from the White Monastery) was written in the tenth to twelfth centuries; a smaller number in the seventh to ninth; still fewer in perhaps the sixth'.\(^5\) It seems somewhat improbable that Achmimic manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries should have formed part of the library of the White Monastery when no Sahidic manuscripts of the same period have survived. On the other hand

pure Sahidic, another is in Sahidic, but shows εωυι, νεξκ, and in particular ευκρυιε for ευκρυε, which again points to Achmimic influence, cf. chapter VIII par. 129. It seems to the present writer that Achmimic manuscripts found near Achmim are much more likely to have come from this locality than from the White Monastery. Bouriant could not see all the cells; it is a pity that this important site was never investigated properly.

1) CMSS II; a further leaf from Vienna published by Till, Muséon LI, 69f..
2) See pp. 218f. below.
4) JTS V 129ff..
5) Lefort, indeed, would date Zoëga 245 (Hyvernat, Album plate IV) as early as the fourth/fifth centuries, see Muséon XL (1927) p. 252 and by the same Les Pères Apostoliques en Copte (CSCO 135) p. XV, but I should hesitate to date this manuscript earlier than the sixth century, cf. especially the late forms of the letters ε and ς.
it can hardly be denied in view of the strong evidence that at least a few of the Achmimic manuscripts were found near Achmim; this seems particularly probable in the case of the Achmimic Minor Prophets, since this and the Achmimic manuscript found in the Fayyum are among the four Achmimic manuscripts written on parchment\(^1\)). Of some interest also is the report\(^2\) that apparently the Achmimic I Clement (Berlin) and the Achmimic Proverbs were found near Achmim together with a paschal letter of the eighth century in Greek; are we to assume that Achmimic texts were still in use near Achmim at so late a period?

Finally it may be emphasised that again and again the fully standardised Achmimic dialect can be demonstrated to be a rather late development from a mixture of early Sahidic and certain local dialects, and preserving comparatively little of the ancient Theban dialect\(^3\)). The early Achmimic Psalm-fragment\(^4\)) and the texts in the dialect here called Achmimic with Subachmimic influence, like the earliest Subachmimic manuscripts (John, EM 522, J&C 1921) represent much more truly the ancient dialects of the people of the Thebaid. K. Sethe came to much the same conclusion when he wrote in 1928\(^5\):

"...Tatsächlich ist für einen Koptiker ... das Achmimische von ganz untergeordneter Bedeutung, da sich das spärlich erhaltene Schrifttum dieses Dialektes als grossenteils von dem sahidischen abhängig, d.h. daraus übersetzt erweist. Das ist z.B. gerade bei den von Till un längst neu herausgegebenen Kleinen Propheten ganz evident und soll, wie ich höre, auch bei den Proverbia ... der Fall sein. Diese Abhängigkeit tritt auch in der Schrift zutage, indem das Achmimische den ihm

1) For the significance of this see below Appendix I.
4) See p. 237f..
5) DLZ XXXVII, 1800ff. especially p. 1802f. (review of Till, Achm.-Kopt. Gr.)
"eigentümlichen alten ch-Laut durch das h des Sahidischen mit diakritischem Strich bezeichnet, anstatt sich des alten demotischen Zeichens, das das Bohairische dafür noch verwendet, zu bedienen.\(^1\) Sie zeigt, dass diejenigen irren, die wie Rösch um der lautlichen Altertümlichkeiten willen das Achmimische für älter als das Sahidische und wohl gar für dessen Vorstufe halten wollen.

Auch für den Ägyptologen wird das Sahidische mit seiner reineren Grammatik, mit seinem so viel reicheren Schrifttum und demzufolge auch grösserem Wortschatz und mit seinen z.T. doch auch älteren Formen immer die Grundlage und der Ausgangspunkt seiner Studien bleiben. Als Punkte, in denen sich die Überlegenheit des Sahidischen in diesen Hinsichten zeigt, sind zu nennen: auf lexikalischem Gebiet das Fehlen eines Equivalentes so alter Wörter wie sōse 'Feld', tōwte 'sammeln', gōrēn 'Nacht', jōm 'Meer', hiē 'Weg'(S.276ff.\(^2\)); in der Lautlehre der im Achmimischen 'Sprossvokal'ē in Formen wie sōtme (§ 8g a); in der Formen- und Satzlehre die Verstümmelung des Kausativinfinitivs trē zu tē (§ 145a), der Wegfall des alten organischen n im Konditionalis ef-šan-sōtem (§ 221) und im Konjunktiv (§ 139a), der Negation ḫn- der mit an negierten Sätze (§ 205), des Genitivexponenten ḫn-, wo er unbedingt erforderlich war (§ 83), und ebenso der gleichlautenden 'Nota accusativi' nach dem Infinitiv (§ 147). In den letzteren Fällen handelt es sich offenbar um eine Verwahrlosung der Sprache, wie sie auch bei den andern Dialekten gelegentlich in schlechteren Texten zu beobachten ist. Zum Teil erstreckt sich diese Verwahrlosung auch auf den Gebrauch der Infinitivformen. Gerade die von Till (§ 147b) zur Stütze seiner entgegengesetzten Meinung, nach der darin Zeichen von Altertümlichkeit zu sehen waren, ins Feld geführten Erscheinungen der Wortstellung (besonders bei jē) zeigen m.E. klar, dass das Achmimische

---

1) Cf. in this connection chapter VIII par.123c.
2) Pages and paragraphs refer to Till, Achmimisch-Koptische Grammatik.
"die voll vokalisierten Grundformen der Infinitive per nefas statt der verkürzten Status constructi gebraucht, die doch gewiss nichts Junges, sondern etwas recht Altes sind."

1.2 Achmimic with Subachmimic influence.

Apart from the closed group of Achmimic manuscripts showing a more or less uniform dialect, there are three further manuscripts which for several reasons should still be classed as Achmimic, though, partly in agreement with some Subachmimic manuscripts, they differ in certain essentials from the other Achmimic group. These three manuscripts fall into two groups, each representing a more or less fixed and standardised dialect of its own. The first group consists of the Ascension of Isaiah and the Berlin Genesis; the second is represented by a manuscript of psalms or hymns which have been attributed to Hieracas. The manuscript of the Ascension of Isaiah and that of the hymns are amongst the earliest Coptic manuscripts known and can hardly be later than the first half of the fourth century. Indeed, the dialect of both in some ways is more primitive than Achmimic proper, and that of the hymn-manuscript in particular is perhaps the nearest approach we have to the dialect actually spoken at Thebes at the beginning of the Coptic period.

Both these groups agree in certain particulars against Achmimic proper as will be obvious from the diagram on p. 204. Apart from the differences given on this diagram, the first group (Asc.Isa. and Berl.Gen.) agrees on the whole with Achmimic proper; but the Asc.Isaiah has two further peculiarities, pointing to Subachmimic and Middle Egyptian influence.

1) Ed. Lefort in Muséon LII, 7ff. and Lacau in Muséon LIX, 452ff.
2) Ed. Leipoldt in BKU 164; cf. ZDMG LVIII, 922.
3) Ed. Lefort in Muséon LII, 1ff.
4) E. Peterson in Muséon LX, 257ff.
5) Both MSS are written on rolls, see Appendix I below.
ence: κα- for καν- X,11, a clear Subachmicism\(^3\), and in particular the verbal prefix εαγ-ε\(^1\), εαυ\(^2\), εαυ\(^4\), side by side with the normal forms αν\(^2\)-, αν\(^2\), αν\(^6\)-, αυ\(^4\)-; the Berlin Genesis has three times final accented ι for ε in ην 'heaven', which is of some interest\(^5\).

1) See chapter VIII par.23 and below p.247 note 4
2) See chapter VIII par.146.
3) See chapter VIII par.128.
4) See chapter VIII par.150.
5) See below p.223; the Asc.Is. however has πι , e.g.X,9.
Lacau\(^1\) had already drawn attention to the extraordinary \(\text{א}^\prime\) in the Ascension of Isaiah to represent the Achmimic \(\text{א}^\prime\) (ancient \(\text{נ}\) which occurs side by side with the normal \(\text{נ}\). Except for this peculiarity, his conclusions are true also for the other manuscripts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{כ}) (e.g.) (\text{כ})</td>
<td>(\text{כ}) (e.g.) (\text{כ})</td>
<td>(\text{כ}) (e.g.) (\text{כ})</td>
<td>(\text{כ}) (e.g.) (\text{כ}, \text{כ}^\prime)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{כ}) (e.g.) (\text{כ})</td>
<td>(\text{כ}) (e.g.) (\text{כ})</td>
<td>(\text{כ}) (e.g.) (\text{כ})</td>
<td>(\text{כ}) (e.g.) (\text{כ})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{כ}) (e.g.) (\text{כ})</td>
<td>(\text{כ}) (e.g.) (\text{כ})</td>
<td>(\text{כ}) (e.g.) (\text{כ})</td>
<td>(\text{כ}) (e.g.) (\text{כ})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Spiegelberg\(^2\) has drawn attention to the fact that already in Demotic there existed two values for the ancient letter \(\text{נ}\), and thus we have the following diagram:\(^3\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ancient (\text{א}^\prime) ((\text{נ}))</th>
<th>Demotic (\text{כ}) ((\text{נ}))</th>
<th>Coptic (\text{כ}), (\text{כ}), (\text{כ})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ancient (\text{א}^\prime) ((\text{נ}))</td>
<td>Demotic (\text{כ}) ((\text{נ}))</td>
<td>Coptic (\text{כ}), (\text{כ}), (\text{כ})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second group represented by the manuscript of Hymns\(^4\) has a number of further peculiarities, mostly in agreement with Sahidic, which

1) *Muséon* LIX, 460.

2) *Demotische Grammatik* par. 16f.

3) In the Old Coptic Horoscope (see *AK* XXXVIII, 3ff.) these two letters \(\text{כ}\) and \(\text{כ}\) are already (or still ?) confused and we find \(\text{כ}\) \(\text{כ}\) (six times).

4) Cf. above p. 203 and note 3.
will be discussed later in this chapter.  

II Subachmimic.

The Subachmimic dialects stand between Achmimic and Middle Egyptian with a number of features peculiar to this dialect. Unlike Achmimic we do not find a uniform dialect, but two main groups and apparently the new Gnostic find at Deir Chenoboskion provides yet a third group. The first group consists mainly of the Gospel of St. John (Jo.), one of the Melitian letters (J&C 1921), the Acta Pauli (AP) and BM 522; the second group is formed by the Manichaean manuscripts (ManiP, ManiK and ManiH), and belonging probably to the same group a fragment from

1) See p.236f.
5) H. I. Bell and W. E. Crum, Jews and Christians in Egypt no.1921.
6) See above p.193 note 3.
7) It is hard to understand why this manuscript has not been classed as Subachmimic before; all features seem typical of the dialect.
8) Cf. Schmidt-Polotsky, Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten.
9) C. R. C. Allberry, A Manichaean Psalm-book part II.
10) H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, Kephalaia, part I.
11) H. J. Polotsky, Manichäische Homilien.
Vienna\(^1\) and another at Florence found at Antinoë\(^2\). But even within these main groups there are considerable dialectical variations, an exception being only some of the Manichaean manuscripts. The Subachmimic dialect was first studied by Schmidt\(^3\), Thompson\(^4\) and Till\(^5\); Polotsky\(^6\) drew attention to the principal differences between the two main groups; the most detailed study is by Châine\(^7\), but this was published at a time when the Manichaean manuscripts had only just become known and only a few extracts had been published. Since then one complete text (Mani\(H\)) and considerable portions of two others (Mani\(K\), Mani\(P\)) have been published, and a general survey of the principal differences and agreements, in so far as it affects the present study may be useful.\(^8\) A more detailed investigation will have to await the publication of further portions of the Manichaean manuscripts and in particular of the new Gnostic texts.

(a) All the manuscripts agree with Achmimic, but not with any other dialect, in a number of points, the most notable being \(\alpha\) for \(\epsilon\).\(^9\)

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2) See Simon in Muséeon LIX, 506; the manuscript, a palimpsest, was discovered by A. van Lantschoot; still unpublished.
5) Achimisch-Koptische Grammatik (passim).
6) Schmidt-Polotsky, Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten pp. 10ff.
7) M. Châine, Les Dialectes Coptes Assioutiques \(A\) (passim).
8) For this study I have had to rely largely on the indices to the Subachmimic volumes. It is to be greatly regretted that no index was published with the Kephalaia, which causes serious inconvenience to readers. My own citations of the Kephalaia in the present chapter are based on my own grammatical slips, supplemented by the Dictionary slips collected by W. E. Crum, now in the Griffith Institute, Oxford.
9) Cf. chapter VIII paragraph 21.
(b) In a number of instances the manuscripts agree with Achmimic and also Middle Egyptian and Fayyumic, sometimes even Bohairic, or with Achmimic and Sahidic; these instances will be discussed under separate headings below.

(c) Together with most other dialects, the Subachmimic manuscripts differ from Achmimic where this has peculiarities of its own\(^1\); it is interesting to note that in some of these the Subachmimic texts are supported also by certain Achmimic manuscripts\(^2\).

(d) Two instances may be quoted where all the Subachmimic manuscripts agree with Middle Egyptian (and Fayyumic) against Achmimic, Sahidic and Bohairic:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{A2M} & \text{ kekaye } F \text{ kekayi } A \text{ kekeye } S \text{ kekouye } B \text{ kekouni}. \\
\text{A2M} & \text{ tanaye } F \text{ t(e)banayi } A \text{ taneye } S \text{ tanouye } B \text{ tebnowyi}. 
\end{align*}
\]

(e) There are some cases where Subachmimic has peculiarities only found in these manuscripts, though in most instances one or other of the manuscripts has the form or word common in other dialects. The more notable instances found in most or all of the manuscripts are the following:

**Words:** ζις, ζρτέ\(^3\), δις, μευτε, καλτ (qual. of κω, κου).

**Spellings:** εμντε, καλ (= κε).

**Verbal:** The omission of Ν in Future I and II and the merging of the

---

1) See above p. 198.

2) See above pp. 203f., especially the Diagram on p. 204.

3) Apparently also in a fragment(Heb.V,7) in Subachmimic, once the property of Sir Herbert Thompson, see his Gospel of St.John p.XX, presumably now in the Cambridge University Library with the rest of his manuscripts. On ζρτέ see also AZ LXIII,154f.
future II and III into one; this is fully discussed in Chapter VIII par.129. As noted above\(^1\) this also occurs in the Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah(once).

Other instances confined to one group or even one manuscript, and individual agreements with Achmimic, Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic, Bohairic and Sahidic, or some of these combined, may be discussed separately:

(f) The Subachmimic manuscripts in agreement with other dialects and certain Achmimic manuscripts\(^2\) write \(\omega\) for Achmimic \(\omega\); but in a few cases final \(\omega\) is found:\(^4\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\kappa \omega & \quad \text{Jo}(5), \text{ManiP}(\text{pl.}), \text{ManiH}, K (\text{passim}). \\
\kappa \omega \varepsilon & \quad \text{AP} (\text{passim}). \\
\varepsilon \omega & \quad \text{Jo}(9), \text{ManiP}(7), \text{ManiH}, K (\text{pass.}). \\
\varepsilon \omega & \quad \text{Jo}(4), \text{AP} (\text{pass.}), \text{ManiH}, P, K (\text{passim}). \\
\chi \omega & \quad \text{Jo}(2), \text{AP} (\text{pass.}), \text{ManiP}(1) (\text{passim}). \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(\varepsilon \omega\) and \(\varepsilon \omega\) also in \(\text{ManiP}, H, K\). In one case \(\omega\) for Achmimic \(\omega\) in \(\varepsilon \omega\), \(\text{ManiP}\), \(\varepsilon \omega\) and \(\text{ManiH}\) (and A, S, F, B)\(\varepsilon \omega\).

(g) The Subachmimic manuscripts in agreement with Middle Egyptian and Fayyumic generally write \(\varepsilon \gamma\) for Sahidic-Bohairic \(\varepsilon \gamma\) and Achmimic \(\varepsilon \omega\); but ManiH always writes \(\omega\) and one or two instances can also be cited from ManiP and ManiK. Thus \(\varepsilon \gamma\), \(\varepsilon \gamma\) (\(\text{vb. and nn.}\)), \(\varepsilon \gamma\), \(\mu \varepsilon \gamma\) in \(\text{Jo}, \text{AP}, \text{ManiP}, K (\text{pl.});\) but \(\omega\) (\(\text{vb. and nn.}\)), \(\omega\), \(\mu \omega\) in \(\text{ManiH}, \omega\) (\(\text{vb.}\)) also once in \(\text{ManiP}\) and once in \(\text{ManiK}\), and notably it occurs also once in \(P\).

---

1) See above p.204.
2) Cf. the Diagram on p.204.
3) Cf. chapter VIII paragraph 62.
4) The numerals, e.g.(5) indicate the number of occurrences.
5) Cf. chapter VIII paragraphs 14,18.
IX

Gol. 47\(^1\). Cf. also εγ ('what') Jo, ManiP, K; o ManiH and twice ManiP.

(h) Where i precedes or follows another vowel, Jo, AP, BM 522, and J&C 1921 generally write ει, e.g. αει-, εει-, etc., exceptions being comparatively rare, e.g. ιαι (= κει); the Manichaean texts and the Vienna fragment always have simply i, e.g. αικ, χας, etc. In certain early Sahidic manuscripts we sometimes find ει for normal i, and i for normal ει, presumably partly due to Subachmimic influence, particularly in the former case\(^2\).

(i) One of the most marked differences between the two Subachmimic groups is the addition or omission of a final ε:\(^3\)

i) In agreement with Achmimic, but differing from the other dialects all Subachmimic manuscripts have ανιε, κανιε, and ονωυε is found in AP, ManiH, K, P, though not in Jo which has ονωυ.

ii) In agreement with Achmimic all Subachmimic manuscripts have ε after the final vowel where Fayyumic and Bohairic have i: βαι, λαιε, μαιε, ιαιε, ηαιε (or βαιε), also καιε (not in Achmimic); the Sahidic forms are βαι, λαςε, μαι, ιαι, ηαι, και.

iii) Jo (and AP) add ε after the final vowel where Fayyumic and Bohairic have i, but where it is omitted by ManiH, K, ManiP (one exception), Achmimic and Sahidic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ουε</th>
<th>Jo</th>
<th>ασι</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>ασι</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>ειω</th>
<th>(ειω)</th>
<th>A, S, ManiH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ιαιε</td>
<td>ManiP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pεγαυε</td>
<td>AP</td>
<td>λεκςι</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>pαγαυι</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>pεγαυ</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>pαγαυ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pαγαυε</td>
<td>Jo</td>
<td>(A rare)</td>
<td>ςεγςι</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>pαγαυι</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>pαγαυ</td>
<td>A(pl.), S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pεηει</td>
<td>Jo</td>
<td>(pεηει)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>επεηει</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>pεηει</td>
<td>S, ManiH, K, P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pεηει</td>
<td>A(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cf. \(ουε\), ουει, ουε Jo; \(ουε\) AP; \(ουε\) (al.) F; ουα B; ουε A, Mani; ουα S.

---

1) Cf. Schmidt-Polotsky, Ein Mani-Fund p.11; for P.Gol.47 see pp.240f.
2) Cf. chapter VIII paragraphs 40, 40A.
3) Cf. chapter VIII paragraph 19.
iv) Peculiar to Subachmimic is ἕκαστος; Jo has ἕκαστος, AP ἕκαστος, but the Manichaean texts usually have ἕκαστος ManiP (pl.) and ἕκαστες ManiK; only four times in ManiP we still find ἕκαστος.

v) The Manichaean manuscripts, but not Jo-AP, add in agreement with Achmimic, but against all other dialects, an e at the end of final closed syllables which end with θ, χ, μ, η, ι, e.g. ὁμωμή®, ὁμωμή®, ὁμωμή®, ὁμωμή®, ὁμωμή®, ὁμωμή®, ὁμωμή®, ὁμωμή®, ὁμωμή®, also ὑψιτή, ὑψιτή, ὑψιτή; on the other hand the e is not added in the case of 4- or 5-literal words, showing reduplication, e.g. ἄλλαξ, κακία, κραυμα, ἄνδρα, ἀγαθροφ, ἀφαπ, also ὁματάμ, one exception being τάξισ occurring twice in ManiP side by side with τάξιν ManiP once; even in Achmimic this e is sometimes omitted in such cases¹. ManiP, however, in agreement with the other group Jo-AP, frequently has the forms without the e, e.g. ἀνιτάμ, ἀπίταμ, ἀγιάμ, ἀγιάμ, showing both forms side by side.

vi) The Manichaean manuscripts, but not Jo-AP, also add e in agreement with Achmimic in the following instances:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sahidic</th>
<th>Bohairic</th>
<th>Fayyumic</th>
<th>Jo-AP</th>
<th>Mani</th>
<th>Achmimic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>μαειν</td>
<td>μανιν</td>
<td>μαν(ε)ν</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>μαιν</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>καειν</td>
<td>κανιν</td>
<td>καν(ε)ν</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>καιν</td>
<td>καιν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>νοειν</td>
<td>ναειν</td>
<td>ναειν</td>
<td>ναιν</td>
<td>ναιν</td>
<td>ναιν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ωειν</td>
<td>ωειν</td>
<td>ωειν</td>
<td>ωαιν</td>
<td>ωαιν</td>
<td>ωαιν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χοειν</td>
<td>χοειν</td>
<td>χοειν</td>
<td>χαιν</td>
<td>χαιν</td>
<td>χαιν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ροειν</td>
<td>ροειν</td>
<td>ροειν</td>
<td>ραιν</td>
<td>ραιν</td>
<td>ραιν</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vii) In the following cases Jo-AP add e with the Manichaean texts and Achmimic, where Bohairic and Fayyumic add i:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sahidic</th>
<th>Bohairic</th>
<th>Fayyumic</th>
<th>Jo-AP</th>
<th>Mani</th>
<th>Achmimic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>λε</td>
<td>μλι, λει</td>
<td>μλι, μ(ε)ι</td>
<td>λαει</td>
<td>λαι</td>
<td>λαι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ωε(ι)</td>
<td>ωει</td>
<td>ωει</td>
<td>ωαιε</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ωαιε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζε</td>
<td>ρζι, ζει</td>
<td>ρζι, ρ(ε)ι</td>
<td>ζαιε</td>
<td>ζαιε</td>
<td>ζαιε</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹) Cf. Till, Achimisch-Koptische Grammatik par. 8g.
viii) In a few other instances the Manichaean texts, in particular ManiP, sometimes omit ɛ with Jo-AP and the other dialects, where it is added by Achmimic, e.g. τα(γέ)γιον Jo, ManiP,H; ζοογ and ζοογε, μποογ and μποογε, τοογ, etc.

ix) ManiP sometimes omits final ɛ where it is added by all dialects: Μεσεγ (μεσεγε), ογεσε (ογεσε); cf. chapter VIII par. 20c.

(j) Jo and AP generally, but not consistently, double vowels where these are doubled in Achmimic and Sahidic, e.g. τοοτε, λαλε, μαλε, πανε, χαλωτ, ογον; but there are a number of notable exceptions, e.g. ετάνε (ετάνε only Sahidic), ελαλε, Μεσεγ (once μεσεγε), Σανογ, δραμε. The Manichaean texts are much less accurate in the doubling of vowels and on the whole, particularly ManiH, tend to omit them, e.g. μαλε, λαλε, μεσε, πανε, χαλω, ογον; except normally in internal plurals and qualitatives, e.g. εμοοτ, μκοος, μκοος, ογοον, ωσάτ, κάατ (Subachmimic only); the same uncertainty in the doubling of vowels is found in Achmimic texts, but not to the same extent.

On the other hand we find a number of cases where vowels are double differing from all other dialects, and, as Lacau pointed out, all these instances are probably due to the following N:

ωνεις AP; ωνεις AP, Jo; ωνεις, ωνεις ManiH, K, P, Sahidic, Achmimic, etc.

ωνογις, ωνογις AP; ωνογις, ωνογις ManiH, P, etc.

ωνοντις AP, ManiP (1); ManiK (1+); ωνοντις Jo, ManiP (pl.), ManiK (1+), etc.

των Jo, AP (1), ManiP (pl.), ManiH (1); των ManiP (pl.), τωνε ManiP (2), H (2), ManiK (2); τωνον AP (1), Sahidic, etc.

---

1) For single or double vowels see below p. 245 note 2.
2) AZ XLVIII, 80; cf. Polotsky, Manichaïsche Homilien p. XVIII, note 2.
3) The numerals, e.g. (9) indicate the number of occurrences.
Also e.g. Manik, Μονόκχος, Manik, cf. γάλοι: ManiP, K.

(k) The Subachmimic manuscripts normally double λ, μ, ν, π, where these are doubled in Achmimic, Fayyumic and Sahidic, e.g. ελο, αλε, ριμο, ομο, βονε, ρε; but, as in Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic (early) and Bohairic, δ is not doubled in πτο, τογο (= Bohairic).

An unusual doubling of τ is found in πστέ AP, also in Achmimic, Mani has πστε, and μπα, μπριτ Jo (Mani: μερε, μεριτ), cf. Achmimic and Middle Egyptian, see chapter VIII par.102A.

(1) The construct forms of certain classes of verbs show considerable differences, not only in the two groups of Subachmimic manuscripts, but even in the individual manuscripts:

i) In the causative verbs ending with ο the Achmimic forms vary between ο-(the absolute form) and ε-(as in Sahidic). ManiH usually has ο, e.g. ταηο-, τεκε-, τνλεο-; and once ε in τεκε-; ManiP, K generally have ο-, e.g. ταηο-, τευεο-, τνλεο-, but a few times ε-, e.g. τακτε-, τνλεε-, and rarely Δ-: τελα-, τρα- ManiP, χλα- ManiK. 9628; AP only has the Sahidic ε-, e.g. κτε-, τεκε-, ταηε-; Jo generally has Δ- which is the Fayyumic form, e.g. ταεια-, τεκα-, ταηε-, but twice ε-: ξεε-, ξερε.ε.

ii) In the two-radical verbs Achmimic generally has the absolute form or, as in Sahidic, a short έ, except before ω and ε, where this becomes Δ, e.g. αηε-, εηε-, οηε-. ManiH, like Achmimic, usually has the absolute form, e.g. θαλε-, μογε-, ογάε-, but twice αηε-, and once χατ- (sic!); ManiP, K and Jo, like Fayyumic, usually have Δ, e.g. νακ- , σακ-, ζαη-, ταγ-, and rarely a short έ, e.g. ογαγ-, ογεγ- Jo, ζκ- ManiP. ManiP, K, but not Jo also rarely have the absolute form, e.g. ογάε-, εομ- ManiP, ζομ-, ζοη- ManiK. AP shows μαη-, σεκ-, ζη-, also ογαε- ζαηε.

iii) In the verbs with (ancient) final η, ζ, η, η, η ManiH again has usually the absolute form as in Achmimic, e.g. κωθε-, ηουκ-, ζογε-, τοκ-, χλε-, but twice Δ which is also rarely found in Achmimic: καθ-, λαη-.

ManiP has usually the form in Δ, e.g. νομκ-, τοη-, δαη-, rarely the absolute form, e.g. νομκ-, τωη-, δωη-, κωθ-, Jo has λαη-. The form in Δ
is again the normal Fayyumic form, Sahidic being πέχ-, πέν-, etc. .

iv) In the triliteral verbs ManiH again follows Achmimic in using the absolute form, e.g. νυγμέ-, πορφυ-, ςώπμε-, δωλη-; ManiP,K with Jo and AP generally used the Fayyumic form in \( \)e, e.g. καλη-, μακτ-, παρκ-, σαμ-; In addition Jo twice has the Sahidic form: \( \text{cX} \), \( \text{cX} \), \( \text{cX} \), \( \text{cX} \), and ManiP once the Achmimic form: δωλη-. Peculiar to these manuscripts, though rarely also found in Achmimic, is \( \text{cX} \) in Jo,AP,ManiP, for which ManiH,K and sometimes also ManiP have the remarkable \( \text{cX} \); cf. also \( \text{cX} \), \( \text{cX} \), \( \text{cX} \), \( \text{cX} \), \( \text{cX} \). Till\(^1\) has already pointed out that the use of the absolute form as construct was not a mere omission of the 'nota accusativi', though in a number of instances this is undoubtedly the case\(^2\); the former is demonstrated in the case of the Subachmimic manuscripts by the fact that in verbs with a construct form different from the absolute is always used, e.g. καιν-, κερ-, κερ-, κερ- (from \( \text{cX} \)). On the other hand, as Sethe\(^3\) has rightly pointed out, the fact that certain classes of verbs have not preserved a construct in Achmimic and Subachmimic, and have to use the absolute form instead, is clearly a sign of a later development.

m) The qualitatives of verbs with final -o in all Subachmimic manuscripts usually end in -\( \alpha e \) of, e.g. τογματ, τεσματ, ταξαγετ; exceptions are τογματ AP(once),ManiP(once) and ταξαη ManiH(once). In Achmimic these qualitatives in -\( \alpha e \) of occur regularly side by side with those in -\( \eta o \) of, perhaps due to Sahidic influence; the corresponding forms in Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Bohairic are in -\( \text{hoy} \). The Manichaean texts also by analogy have the remarkable καταη, καη, χιψητ from κα-20, κα-20, χι-20; in this connection it is of interest to note that χιψητ occurs once in Shenoute(cited Crum,Dictionary p.648a).

1) Aegyptus VIII,255f.
2) See chapter VIII par.80j and the discussion there.
(n) The Manichaean texts and Jo, but not AP, in agreement with Middle Egyptian, Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence and Bohairic write c for ω before Χ and ω : ceΧe, cαΧe, cωΧn, cοςe. This is one of the most marked agreements with dialects further north.

(o) In agreement with Achmimic and Middle Egyptian Κ often becomes Χ before ζ. The forms are: ΧεΧε ΜαΠ, μαυε ΜαΠ, cf. μαυ Jo, ρωμε ΜαΠ, ΜαΗ, Κ, μαυ(τ) ΜαΠ, Η, Jo, ωμ(τ) ΜαΠ, Κ, ωμε ΜαΠ(116); but sometimes Κ remains, e.g. ρωκε Jo, AP.

(p) The particle Ν€ is spelt Ν€ in AP, ΝΧ in Mani, ΝΧ in Jo, ΝΧe (as in Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Bohairic) in BM 522, cf. p. 266 note 1.

(q) The verbal prefix ζα, proper to Middle Egyptian3, occurs in AP (only before nominal subject) and very rarely in the first part of the Manichaean Psalm-book (unpublished). It is of interest to note that in this respect, as in others, AP agrees with the Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah4.

(r) The past relative in the Manichaean texts is ετα as in Achmimic, Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Bohairic; Jo and AP have the Sahidic ητα, though not ετα-, and once in Jo we find ετα-; see chapter VIII par. 132.

(s) Many other points could be cited, mostly peculiar to one or other of the manuscripts, but a few may be singled out for special interest:

Jo has many archaic features, e.g. εφ- as verbal prefix, occurring also in the Pistis Sophia5; μεμ- for με in the Achmimic Elias; nκεεn for nκε (Sah. nκα) with a Fayyumic text (BM 651); κανε with ManiK6; μεγε- with ManiP (six times) for μεγικε ManiP (twice), ManiH and Achmimic and Fayyumic, μακε Sahidic, μαυΧ Bohairic, and μεγε in the Achmimic Hymn-

1) See chapter VIII par. 118A, and cf. below.
2) See chapter VIII paragraphs 72, 74A and the discussion there.
3) See chapter VIII paragraph 150.
4) Cf. above p. 204, and p. 217 note 7 below.
6) κανε e.g. ManiK 9734, 981-28, 114-20, but κανε e.g. ib. 1165, 24.
fragment\(^1\); also εμεμυατι for εμεμυατι Μανι., Η., Κ., and ΑΡ.
AP with some Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Sahidic texts sometimes writes
ναε, ναφ, and μμακε, see chapter VIII par.79A; also αμαντ, ταμαντ (BM
leaf) and εμαντ with Sahidic for αμαντ, ταμαντ, εμαντ in Jo, Μανι, and the
other dialects, see chapter VIII par.80b.
Jo and AP only have the peculiar spelling αυριτε for αυρίτε Μανι, Αχμι-
mic, αυριτ Fayyumic, Bohairic, and αυράτε Sahidic.
The Manichæan manuscripts have numerous words which are new in Coptic,
though some are known in Egyptian, e.g. ματεστε, ολαμνοπε\(^2\); of some in-
terest are also a number of words which previously were only attested in
Shenoute, or otherwise rare, e.g. ραυρεγευ, κασε 'pluck', σωγε, τρομε,
σωματε, ενκτε, λωμε. Other words occur in hitherto unknown forms, e.g.
εμεμε, καπογον, οητη, ιντι ομαλ\(^3\); others show forms only known from the
non-literary texts, e.g. ιτ, ιωε, ιωτε for ιτ, ισε, ισοτε\(^4\). We also
find the peculiar Αχμικικτε in αυτε, αυτιτε.
Non-literary evidence for the localisation of Subachmimic is compa-
ratively small. The principal points of contact are the forms of the
first and second future ηα-, κα-, εια-, εκα-, etc\(^5\) και for ιε\(^6\), and a
few others\(^7\); to these might be added a number of instances found in the
Upper Valley, where Αχμικικ and Subachmimic agree against all other dia-
lects, in particular οι for ι\(^8\), for which examples can be cited from
Aphrodito and as far north as Ashmunein, also ινιτε, κογονε, and a few

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1) See p.238 below and cf. p.203f. above.
2) See Polotsky, Manichäische Homilien, index pp.9a and 20b.
3) For ατο ιοιαλ; this also in Middle Egyptian, see p.222 below.
4) See chapter VIII par.121.
5) See chapter VIII par.128 - 130.
7) Chapter VIII par.14,20c, e, 40, 121, cf.18,35,76,102A,118A.
8) Chapter VIII par.21.
others\(^1\); of considerable interest is the fact that the glossary of Dioscorus\(^2\) has \(\text{μετρ} (= \text{μετρ} : \text{πολύ} )\), not \(\text{μετρ} , \text{μετρ} \); one might also mention \(\epsilon\) for \(\iota\) in early Sahidic texts from Middle Egypt\(^3\). On the basis of this evidence we are probably justified in placing Subachmimic originally in the region from Abydos to Ashmunein, perhaps extending even further north. In the north it evidently disappeared comparatively early in the Coptic period as a spoken dialect\(^4\), though perhaps not as a literary dialect, but in the south at Aphrodito and Achmim it lingered on for centuries, like Achmimic at Thebes. The Gospel of St. John was actually found in a pot at Qau, and an inscription from the same site shows a Sahidic evidently influenced by Subachmimic\(^5\). The finding-place of the Acta Pauli is much disputed\(^6\), but the arguments that it was found near Achmim seem much supported by the dialect\(^7\). One Subachmimic

1) Chapter VIII par.19,20f,62,80i,j,149,151,152,152A,B.
2) H.I.Bell and W.E.Crum, A Greek-Coptic Glossary in Aegyptus VI,177ff.
3) See chapter VIII par.40.
4) Cf.however Ryl.352, dated by Crum in the early sixth century, still showing forms like \(\text{εν} \), \(\text{ευέ}\).
5) G.Brunton, Qau and Badari III plates IIIff., especially pl.IV no.5, see the citations from this text in chapter VIII par.7a,8,21c,43,62.
6) See p.194 note 3 above.
7) In many ways the dialect of the Acta Pauli is nearer Achmimic or Sahidic than the other Subachmimic texts, e.g. \(\text{οῦ} \) for \(\text{ει} \), \(\text{οῦ} \), or, in particular, nearer the Achmimic group of the Ascension of Isaiah and the Berlin Genesis, cf.the Diagram p.204, and p.215'q'. If it were not for certain definite agreements with the dialect of the Gospel of St. John, e.g. \(\text{ε} = \circ\) (p.210), \(\text{εκλασ} \) (p.211), \(\text{οιμε} \) (p.211) \(\text{ουμε} \), \(\text{λαν} \) (p.212), \(\text{ογιτε} \) (p.216), one might have thought that this manuscript had in fact come from another region such as Edfu, as Crum suggested, see p.194 note 3 and references there.
text was actually unearthed at Antinoe, and a letter in the Melitian archive from the Cynopolite nome is in this dialect. A most difficult problem is presented by the Manichaean texts. These are reputed to have been found at Medînet Mâdi in the Fayyum, though this evidence, resting purely on statements of local dealers, may reasonably be questioned. The real difficulty is the fact that the dialect of these, in particular that of ManiH, is so much closer to Achmimic than the other group of Jo-AP. There seem to be two possibilities: one is that the Manichaean texts originated in a region between Qau and Thebes, which would place them geographically between Achmimic (Thebes) and the group Jo-AP (Qau and further north); the other is that the Achmimicisms in the Manichaean texts were a later intrusion into the dialect. Of the two possibilities the second seems much more probable for a number of reasons: (1) I have noted above that it is extremely probable that Achmimic spread north in the early fourth century, that it was used almost certainly as a literary dialect late in the fourth century near Achmim and that one text had actually been found in the Fayyum. It would thus be easy to suppose that Achmimic influenced the Subachmimic dialects in the second half of the fourth century, particularly as the two dialects have so much in common. (2) The Melitian letter from the Cynopolite nome, written about A.D. 330-340 and thus the earliest document in Subachmimic, shows a dialect of the type of Jo-AP, and Jo itself is much earlier than any of the Manichaean texts; the same applies also to BM 522 belonging also to the Jo-AP group. (3) The non-literary evidence seems fairly clear that the particular Achmimicisms found in the Manichaean texts were not part of the spoken language outside Thebes and its neighbourhood; a few isolated instances can in

1) See above p. 207 note 2.
2) See above p. 206 note 5.
4) See above pp. 199ff.
fact be cited, as οὐντεῖ, καὶ ἐνε 1), but these are often doubtful. On the whole it would be true to say that whatever evidence is found in Sahidic non-literary texts from Achmim to Ashmunein points mainly to the type of Jo-AP. (4) There can be no question, however, that Subachmimic of the type of the Manichaean texts was current north of Assiut late in the 4th century: not only were the Manichaean texts almost certainly found in the Fayyum or the far north, but the Subachmimic fragment actually found at Antinoe is of this type of dialect 2). Further evidence is provided by a papyrus fragment of the gospel of St. John in a mixed Sahidic-Subachmimic dialect from Ashmunein 3) in which οὐντεῖ occurs. (5) Allberry already noted 4) that the earliest of the Manichean texts was probably the Psalm-book; now it is notable that it is precisely this manuscript which still shows considerable knowledge of the non-Achmimic forms found in Jo-AP which are absent in the later texts, particularly ManiP 5).

We may conclude, then, that the Achmimic influence became so strong in the latter part of the fourth century that it had a marked effect on the Subachmimic texts of a later period, an exception being to some extent the Acta Pauli. As regards the inter-relationship of Achmimic, Subachmimic, Middle Egyptian and Fayyumic, we may safely leave out of consideration the strong Achmimicisms in the Manichaean texts, and regard the type of Jo-AP as representing much more truly the ancient Subachmimic. The new Gnostic find may help to shed further light on these questions.

1) See chapter VIII paragraph 19.
2) See above p.207 note 2.
3) See below p.241.
4) C.R.C. Allberry, A Manichaean Psalmbook p.XIX, cf. chapter VIII par.76.
5) Early forms still found in ManiP have been noted above: cn ev , μυλ  (p.209), έγ  = ο (p.210), ὡ τ ϖ (p.210), ζεκάς (p.211), ἀπίτω , ωμ, etc. (p.211), σώματς , των (p.212), κακ , τα (p.213), τα , δαν (p.213), ἁ  - (verbal)(p.215), and especially μεγας (p.215).
In this dialect very few documents have so far become known, and these have generally been regarded as a Sahidicised Fayyumic, or as Fayyumic before the dialect had become stabilised, although there are considerable differences from Fayyumic. This dialect falls into two groups: one, here called Middle Egyptian proper, is much nearer Subachmimic, the other, Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence, is half way to Fayyumic proper, though still retaining a distinct Middle Egyptian character.

Of the six manuscripts in this dialect three have been published by Crum, a fourth, perhaps the most important, by Thompson and Bell, and two are still unpublished. In order to demonstrate plainly the unity of this dialect, especially in view of the fact that most of the documents are very fragmentary, I am publishing the dialectical affinities in full on the opposite page; I have excluded however, from this diagram certain verbal prefixes with which I have already dealt in chapter VIII paragraph 150, especially the diagram on p.173.

A few points may be singled out for special notice: the dialect agrees with Achmimic, Subachmimic and Sahidic in writing final e for the

1) Cf. the introductory remarks on p.196 above.
2) These three manuscripts are: W.S.1 (Job), Bell and Crum, Jews and Christians in Egypt (J&C) no.1922, and Romans IV,15-24 a fragment from Oxyrhynchus published in JEA XIII,26.
4) One, a homiletic fragment in the Hoskins Collection, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is cited here from Notebook 87 of the Crum Material, Griffith Institute, Oxford; the other text, Genesis VI,8-18, is from the unpublished Wadi Sarga material in the British Museum (Ms.Or.9035) which I discovered myself and pieced together from five small fragments. I am hoping to publish this text shortly.
| S | EB | E (B) | (A) (B) | (C) | (D) | (E) | (F) | (G) | (H) | (I) | (J) | (K) | (L) | (M) | (N) | (O) | (P) | (Q) | (R) | (S) | (T) | (U) | (V) | (W) | (X) | (Y) | (Z) |
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in Fayyumic and Bohairic, e.g. γυμε, caret; also νει for Fayyumic ναι, Bohairic ναιν. It also agrees with all dialects against Fayyumic in preserving ω, e.g. ερω, γυμε. It forms a link between Subachmimic (not AP)\(^1\), Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence and Bohairic in writing c for ω before ζ in κεζε, καζε. Remarkable agreements with Subachmimic are in particular μαην εβαλ for μαηα εβαλ (twice) in the Wadi Sarga Genesis, the spelling μαην being otherwise only known from the Manichaean manuscripts\(^2\); also ροχε in WS Job, and μετατε, ερας, νει, δει, κατ- in the Greek-Coptic Glossary. Peculiar and proper to Middle Egyptian and Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence is the remarkable verbal system in having Perfect I εκ-, εκε-, εκ-, etc., Perfect II perhaps κεκ-, κεκα-, etc., Past Relative ετ(ε)κε-, ετεκ-, κετεκ-, etc., also Present II κε-, κε-, κεκ-, etc. with Achmimic, Fayyumic and Bohairic\(^3\); an exception in this respect is the Glossary which has κατ- for the Perfect I. Peculiar to Middle Egyptian is the short ο for long ω in closed syllables, e.g. νοτ, τοβ, and within words, e.g. ρομε, ροκε, though long ω is regular in final accented vowels, e.g. νοκω, νοκω. Peculiar also to Middle Egyptian is the abbreviation of the sacred name Νωτ for Νοτ, this, incidentally, being the only case where this dialect has final 1 with Fayyumic and Bohairic. Differing from Achmimic and Subachmimic and agreeing with Sahidic, Fayyumic and Bohairic it has ε for ι in e.g. ει-, ερας, εβαλ, εξωκ; differing from Achmimic, Subachmimic and Sahidic, but agreeing with Fayyumic (early)\(^4\) and Bohairic it has no double vowels, e.g. τατ-, αγατ-, κεσκ,\(^5\) In agreement with Fayyumic (and Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence) only it has the future νει for να, e.g. ταντ-, a for ο in τατ-, τακ-, τατ-.

1) Cf. above p.215 'ν'.
2) Cf. above p.216.
3) For these tenses see chapter VIII par.150, esp. p.173.
4) See below p.229.
5) But perhaps κεσκ Oxyrh. Romans.
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ψ &ν, ατά, ράγ, and Μ for ε in θή, εθ. Final accented Μ for ε in θή, εθ, is of some interest; these texts have short ε within words and long ω as final accented vowels, similarly short ε within words and long Μ as final accented vowels. There is strong evidence, supported by the Old Coptic Horoscope¹ which has Μ for ε in ψή (verb), that originally long final accented Μ for ε was proper also to Achmimic and Subachmimic, and that this long Μ was changed to short ε under Sahidic influence. Thus the Paris Magical Papyrus, probably from Thebes, has ΜΗ (1.118), and the Achmimic Berlin Genesis (BKU 164) writes Μ for Με three times (I,26, II,4 bis)², and many examples for Μ = ε could be cited from the Theban area³.

The close agreement of the Glossary with the other five texts is evidence that this dialect must have been standardised at an unusually early period, since the Glossary can be dated with reasonable certainty in the second half of the third century⁴. It seems probable that the dialect was current at Oxyrhynchus and its neighbourhood: two of the manuscripts (Romans,Hoskyns) were actually found at Oxyrhynchus, the Melitian letter in this dialect (J&C 1922) comes from the neighbourhood (Cynopolite nome), and yet another of the Melitian letters⁵ shows a Sahidic strongly influenced by Middle Egyptian⁶. Further evidence are some unpublished documents from Oxyrhynchus which demonstrate that the dialect lingered on in this locality for some centuries, e.g. ιςε in one document.

It is of great interest, though hardly surprising, that the Old Coptic text found at Oxyrhynchus and published by Crum in JEA XXVIII,20ff.

¹) See p.199 and note 3 there.
²) Cf. p.204 above.
³) Cf. chapter VIII par.22.
⁴) See JEA XI,241f... 
⁶) See below p.241 and cf. chapter VIII par.150, esp. pp.172f...
shows in the recognisable forms a dialect very similar to Middle Egyptian; in particular we may note the verbal prefix χαγ-(twice); ρ not λ in ρωμ; short o within words ροςμ, ρωμ, εγομ; ζοτή; a for o in χαγ (for χοογ); single vowels for double vowels in Ντοτή. On the other hand the dialect of this text is closer to Subachmimic in Ντοτή, not υτατή, ματή, al.; and it is closer to Fayyumic in final i for e in ρωμ, εγομ, but κεκι and κεκε side by side. Final i is proper also to the texts in Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence, and it seems probable that in this respect the final e for i in the texts in Middle Egyptian proper is due to Subachmimic or Sahidic influence. The knowledge of the dialect current at Oxyrhynchus during the early Coptic period should facilitate a better understanding of the Old Coptic text.

The Middle Egyptian dialect must have spread south during the early Coptic period as is witnessed by the presence of two texts, both of the fourth or early fifth century, at Wadi Sarga, and an inscription at Bawit is in this dialect: MIF LIX 341 Ντότ, εράγ, αμφε. An ostracon found at Deir el-Matmar and number 258 in the present collection may perhaps be evidence that this dialect lingered on in the south for several centuries. During the fourth and early fifth centuries Subachmimic and Middle Egyptian must have existed side by side with also Sahidic in the whole region from Wadi Sarga to Oxyrhynchus as literary dialects; perhaps the fact that in the Manichaean texts we frequently find single for double vowels may be attributed to influence of this dialect.

III.2 Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence.

Of the next stage towards Fayyumic, Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence, the two most important texts are still unpublished (P.Mich.3520, 3521).

1) Cf. however below p.267.

2) Ed. Crum in G. Brunton, Matmar p.95; I have collated the text in the British Museum (BMEA 63719) and am proposing to republish it shortly.

It is frequently cited in chapter VIII.
A third text in this dialect, the British Museum manuscript of the Didache shows signs of being already somewhat influenced by other dialects. BM 508 is also written in the same dialect. It may reasonably be questioned whether this dialect was ever original with peculiarities of its own, and in fact it seems much more probable that it was merely a later development of Middle Egyptian proper under Fayyumic or Bohairic influence, and was superseded by Fayyumic in the second half of the fifth century; on the other hand it is possible that in a few instances it has preserved certain features, as final i for $\varepsilon$, which are no longer to be found in Middle Egyptian proper. But this question will have to remain open until the two Michigan manuscripts have been published and can be studied properly.

The dialect agrees with Middle Egyptian and Bohairic in preserving $\gamma$ for Fayyumic $\lambda$, e.g. $\varepsilon \gamma \rho \mu \iota$, $\alpha \Pi \mu \iota$, although a few times $\lambda$ is found, e.g. $\varepsilon \lambda \alpha \tau \varepsilon \gamma \nu$, $\varepsilon \lambda \alpha \tau \varepsilon \gamma \alpha \nu$. The vowels are generally not doubled, agreeing with Middle Egyptian, early Fayyumic and Bohairic, e.g. $\varepsilon \tau \nu \gamma \varepsilon \delta$.

1) These two manuscripts are frequently cited in Crum, Dictionary, e.g. pp.613a,617a,635a,b,667b,688b,689a,736a,754a,786b,787b. The dialect is clear from $\varepsilon \alpha$- (verbal), $\varepsilon \alpha \varepsilon$, $\varepsilon \omega \chi \nu$, $\varepsilon \varepsilon \chi$. I have copied a few pages from photostats in the Crum Material, but have not made use of them for the present study; cf. also Worrell, Coptic Texts pp.7f.

2) First published by Horner in JTS XXV,225ff., a revised and much better text was published by C.Schmidt in ZNTW XXIV,81ff.; a new edition, but hardly differing from Schmidt's, is by L.Th.Lefort, Les Péres Apostoliques en Copte (CSCO 135) pp.XIXff. and 32ff.; cf. also the remarks by Lefort on the dialect, ib.pp.XIIff.

3) The dialect is obvious from $\mu \lambda \iota$, $\alpha \Pi \mu \iota$, $\tau \rho \iota \gamma$, $\varepsilon \rho \alpha \gamma$, $\mu \iota \kappa \iota$, $\mu \alpha \gamma \iota \varepsilon$, $\phi \tau$.

4) Cf.p.224 above.

5) This estimate is based purely on the dialect of the Didache. A further discussion will have to wait until the Michigan MSS are published.
et & HAH, KES, though we find ΔΙΩΝ and ΤΑΚΤΑ, the latter perhaps already due to Sahidic influence. The verbal forms for perfect I, perfect II, past relative, and present II are the same as those in Middle Egyptian. The short o within words of Middle Egyptian has become long o, agreeing with the other dialects, e.g. ΡΩΝ , ΟΥΝ , ΕΥΝ . The abbreviation αν has given way to the Bohairic and Fayyumic ττ, but we find αυ and even αυτ; unfortunately αυ does not occur in the extant portions of the texts in Middle Egyptian proper, but the fact that the abbreviation αυ occurs in certain Achmimic texts and the Berlin Gnostic. codex, makes it probable that αυ was the proper Middle Egyptian form. As noted above, final ε has become  as in Fayyumic and Bohairic. αε and αν occur side by side, but αε has given way to ααε. The mute ε is sometimes written with ε as in Fayyumic and Bohairic when labials are present, but this is not consistent: ωτεμ and ωτεμ , αμ and αμ , αματεμ and αματεμ (1), etc. Numerals are not written in full, but as in Fayyumic and Bohairic the Greek figures are used, e.g. \\, \\ . In two respects the Didache shows leanings towards Subachmimic: ααι (and ΑΕ ) occurs as in the Acta Pauli and some early Sahidic texts, and αε , side by side with ααι and αε , occurs as in Subachmimic texts generally (but AP ααι , BM 522 ααι). In agreement with Bohairic we find ϖινεν.

This dialect is of great interest as in some forms, e.g. εκοι , κωυ and p for λ, it is closer to Bohairic than Fayyumic proper. The manuscript of the Didache is probably the latest text in this dialect being written about the beginning of the fifth century. If the dialect existed originally as a separate dialect, we should expect it to have

1) See chapter VIII par.150 and cf.above p.222.
3) See chapter VIII par.79A.
4) Cf.above p.222.
5) Cf.below pp.248f..
been current outside the Fayyum in the Nile valley north of Oxyrhynchus. It certainly must have been the spoken language in that neighbourhood during the early Coptic period before it was superseded by Fayyumic.

A remarkable early Middle Egyptian text of this type is BM 711, datable about the middle of the fourth century\(^1\); of special interest is the presence of the letter ḫ in ḫywn\(^2\), presumably the Bohairic Ϝ, though the word in Bohairic is spelt with ṣ.

Before passing on to Fayyumic I may mention the dialect of two small parchment fragments, probably of the early fifth century, in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford\(^3\); unfortunately I have not yet been able to identify the text which is probably from the Old Testament. The dialect is a strange mixture of Middle Egyptian proper and Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence; we find final ᵇ for i in ᵅẖḏḏ, ᵇערב, but long ω in ᵇ这个游戏, ᵇ lok; common to both are ᵇ-ḏḏ, ᵇḏḏ, ᵇxeb, but remarkable is ᵇ for p in ᵇ.generic, apparently for ᵇ.generic (= Sah.ḏḏ-ḏḏ). ᵇ and ᵇ have the form usual in early Fayyumic manuscripts (ڡ and ᵇ-ῥ\(^4\)).

IV Fayyumic.

I can only touch briefly on the Fayyumic dialect, since the most important text, the Ms.1 of the Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek is still unpublished. This manuscript contains the Acta Pauli and Ecclesiastes in Greek, and the Song of Songs, Lamentations and Ecclesiastes in an Old Fayyumic translation\(^5\). A short note on the dialect

2) See the facsimile in BM pl.11; a similar form of this letter is to be found in the Old Coptic Horoscope, cf. JEA XXVIII p.21.
3) These were in a box of Coptic fragments given to F. I. Griffith by Fanous.
4) The fragments are hardly an early example of a Sahidicised Fayyumic as we have ᵇ-ḏḏ (not ᵇ-ḏḏ), ᵇxeb, and ᵇ-(not ᵇ-), ᵇḏḏ (not ᵇḏḏ), etc.
5) The Acta Pauli and a note on the manuscript were published by C.
of the Old Fayyumic portions of this manuscript was published by Worrell, and it is frequently cited in Crum, Dictionary. I am much indebted to Dr. Voigt of the Hamburg Library for enabling me to study the dialect of this invaluable papyrus. From a linguistic, dialectical and biblical point of view this is undoubtedly one of the most interesting Coptic manuscripts that have been found in Egypt. It is the only Coptic biblical text in which the use of Greek verbs and particles is still largely unknown, even Greek nouns being rare, and the language is probably closer to the ancient Egyptian than that of any Coptic text with the exception of the Old Coptic texts only. Judging from the dialect of this papyrus and that of the glosses in the Chester Beatty papyrus of Isaiah, which are also in Old Fayyumic, it can be stated with fair confidence that the dialect of the earliest manuscripts in Fayyumic proper was standardised under the influence of Bohairic, presumably when the Bohairic Version of parts of the Bible was transposed into Fayyumic. On the other hand, however, a close relationship between Fayyumic and Bohairic is apparent even in Old Fayyumic; but a detailed discussion of this must wait until the text has been published. The most distinctive mark of Fayyumic, not shared with any other dialect, is the change of p to x, which is also found in Old Fayyumic (Hamburg and Isaiah glosses) and the Old Coptic text published by Worrell.

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1) Coptic Sounds pp. 120f.
2) F. G. Kenyon, The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, fasc. VI, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ecclesiasticus, pp. ixff. The Coptic glosses by W. E. Crum. Cf. Bell and Roberts, Merton Papyri vol. I pp. 6ff. (included in Kenyon's publication); an additional leaf with two further glosses is PSI XII (1951) 1273 (Professor Kilpatrick kindly drew my attention to this leaf).
3) See below Appendix II.
4) P. Michigan 6131 ed. Worrell in AJSL LVIII, 84.

Schmidt, Ἄ'action Acta Pauli (1936).
If the Fayyumic dialect is investigated purely on the basis of the earliest manuscripts, it is perhaps surprising that many of the features commonly ascribed to Fayyumic in the grammars are not found in these early texts. Thus early Fayyumic manuscripts, as also the texts in Old Fayyumic, agree with Middle Egyptian and Bohairic in showing no doubling of vowels with rare exceptions, e.g. plural of $\gamma\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$ Jer.XXIII,1$^{1)}$ and $\varepsilon\rho\alpha\lambda\epsilon\varepsilon\nu\gamma\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$ but doubtful) in the Isaiah glosses. The doubling of vowels, so common in Fayyumic manuscripts of the sixth century and later, is undoubtedly due to Sahidic influence$^{2)}$. The status pronominalis of the preposition $\nu$- and of $\mu\nu\mu$ is not $\mu\nu\mu\nu$, $\nu\mu\mu\mu\mu$ but $\nu\varepsilon$, $\nu\varepsilon\varepsilon$, except in $\nu\nu\nu$, $\nu\nu\nu\nu$ and $\nu\nu\nu\nu$, $\nu\nu\nu\nu$; this is also true of the Hamburg text and the Isaiah glosses. In this respect Fayyumic agrees with Achmimic, Subachmimic and Middle Egyptian against Sahidic and Bohairic. Fayyumic proper is closer to Achmimic and Sahidic than Middle Egyptian in writing $\gamma\nu$ before $\chi$ ($\omega\chi\nu\nu$, $\omega\chi\nu\nu\nu$, $\omega\chi\nu\nu$) which is also found in the Hamburg papyrus; the Isaiah glosses, being written without any of the Demotic letters$^{3)}$, naturally write $\epsilon$. On the other hand $\epsilon$ becomes $\epsilon\nu$ in $\epsilon\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\n
important exception is \( \varepsilon N , \varepsilon \mu \) which are written with a superlinear dot between the two letters(\( \varepsilon N , \varepsilon \mu \)). As in Bohairic the definite article is generally \( \pi N , \pi \). In addition, Fayyumic shares many words with Bohairic against the other dialects, e.g. \( \kappa \omega \lambda \mu \mu , \lambda \mu \gamma , \) etc. All the texts write \( \alpha \gamma \omega \), the specific Fayyumic \( \alpha \lambda \alpha \) being only found in the Hamburg papyrus and Fayyumic non-literary texts of a later period\(^1\). An early Fayyumic text with Middle Egyptian influence is the fragmentary BM 521 which shows normal Fayyumic, but has the Middle Egyptian verbal prefix \( \varepsilon \alpha \gamma \), \( \varepsilon \alpha \gamma \). An interesting early Fayyumic non-Biblical text is BM 523, an astrological papyrus, we may note especially \( \varepsilon \alpha \nu e \)- (Fut.II), \( \pi \varepsilon \lambda \pi \mu , \pi \varepsilon \lambda \) side by side with \( \pi \alpha \lambda \).

That Fayyumic was the language of the Fayyum is demonstrated beyond all doubt by the large number of non-literary texts in this dialect from the nome of Piam(Arsinoe) and the numerous Fayyumic texts which have actually been found in the Fayyum 3). The various types of Fayyumic current during the sixth century and later\(^4\) need not detain us here, since they all show a marked influence of Sahidic to a greater or lesser extent and have preserved little if any original material not already found in the earlier texts. I hope to return to the dialect of these later texts and in particular the dialect of Fayyumic non-literary texts in a later study.

Before passing on to Bohairic attention may be drawn to two general agreements of Fayyumic with all other Upper Egyptian dialects against Sahidic and Bohairic: one is \( \alpha \) for \( \circ \) in a large number of instances, e.g. \( \varepsilon \delta \lambda \lambda , \varepsilon \rho \alpha \kappa , \mu \mu \lambda \gamma , \lambda \alpha \nu \nu , \lambda \alpha \nu \lambda \), etc., the other is \( \varepsilon \) for \( \alpha \), e.g. \( \kappa \varepsilon \kappa , \varepsilon \lambda \),

\( \varepsilon \lambda \lambda \).

1) The most extensive early Fayyumic manuscript of the type described above is the BM Ms. of Acts which is republished in Appendix II below.

2) Ed. Crum in AZ XXXVI,139f..  

3) So already Worrell, Coptic Sounds p.68 and others.

4) Cf. H. Asmus, Über Fragmente im Mittelägyptischen Dialekte, al..
V.1 Semi-Bohairic.

While Fayyumic and Middle Egyptian show many features in common with Bohairic against the other dialects, nevertheless the difference between the fully developed Bohairic and Fayyumic is still considerable, especially in so far as Bohairic agrees with Sahidic. On the other hand, a very interesting biblical text in the present collection (no. 19) which I have published previously is evidence that at an early period Bohairic dialects were current which in many ways were much closer to Fayyumic and Sahidic than Bohairic proper. This will be obvious from the following table of dialectical affinities which I repeat here with certain modifications:

Bohairic only: φαι, φυ, ΝΙΣΕΝ (6 times), υμωγ, εςφε-, μενράτ, πανογ, σον, ωὺς, ὅνεκιος, (Φεβίο, ἀρετ).

Bohairic and Fayyumic or Middle Egyptian with F. influence: μ-, τ-, ποι-(also πευ-), νη-, αν- (Present II), μαρε-, μαρυ-, μερ-, μετα- (also μετ-), μεδυι, νεμ, νουτ, φυ-, παμι, σμογ, ωου, τατυ, αμμονυγι.

Bohairic and Sahidic: άνον, εβολ, μμος, καμι, σμοτ, υμοτ, cf. ραγι.

Fayyumic or Middle Egyptian and Sahidic: αυω (4 times), πευ-(also ποι-), ετυει and ετνα, ἐτνα (4 times), ιωντ-, μντ- (also μετ-).

A few points may be singled out: the text agrees with all other dialects in the absence of the letter υ, in preserving τ before νμ (ετυει-, ετυει) 2, though not before π (εςφε-), and in using αυω for ουω with Sahidic, Subachmimic, Middle Egyptian and Fayyumic. On the other hand the Bohairic features clearly predominate, e.g. φυ, ΝΙΣΕΝ, and words

1) Le Muséeon LXIII, 147ff.
2) Forms like ετνα- are sometimes found in Bohairic texts, e.g. the Bohairic life of St. Pachomius cited by Lefort in Muséeon XLIV (1931), 124ff.; also in a Vienna fragment published by Till, Koptische Pergamente Theologischen Inhalts, I p.30.
occur which are attested only in Bohairic, e.g. μήθε, οὔως; also in its vowel-system it agrees with Bohairic in so far as that differs from Sahidic, e.g. μεμωγ. The text was found at Deir el-Bala'izah, but there is some evidence that it came from the Delta\(^1\).

V.2 Bohairic.

There is no need to discuss Bohairic proper here specially, as it is sufficiently well known, and many of the points of contact with other dialects have already been mentioned. The two most notable features in which it differs from all other dialects, even the semi-Bohairic Bala'izah fragment, are the use of the letter ḫ and χογ for χαο. In a few points it agrees with all or most of the sub-dialects against Sahidic, e.g. εἰρήν (ΑΑ\(^2\) εἰρήν) for S ἐρήν, ηνό (Α νό) for S νό, ὄργο (ΑΑ\(^2\) ὄργον) for S οὐρήτε, and in particular the use of ρ with Greek verbs.

I shall return later\(^2\) in this chapter to the question whether Bohairic existed as a literary dialect before the Arab period, where it was spoken and the probable date of the Bohairic Version of the New Testament.

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1) In the present collection there is a Bohairic tax-receipt from the nome of Busiris(151), and one Sahidic tax-receipt(132) written later than A.D.740 also mentions the nome of Busiris. It is true that more than one Busiris is known in Upper Egypt, especially one near Ashmunein, but only the Busiris in the Delta was a nome-capital, and presumably the Sahidic tax-receipt like the one in Bohairic came from the Delta. The present leaf from a semi-Bohairic biblical text was re-used in the eighth century for a Sahidic tax-receipt(146) and in this connection it seems extremely probable that like the other tax-receipt it also came from Busiris in the Delta, which would explain the presence of a semi-Bohairic literary text at Bala'izah. Cf. chapter VI p.45 and p. 250 below.

2) See below pp.248ff.
When we come to consider the Sahidic dialect we are faced with very serious difficulties:

I) I have attempted to point out that the sub-dialects from Achmimic to Bohairic form a close interrelationship and Sahidic as we know it in its developed form cannot be made to fit into this scheme. In some ways it agrees with the Achmimic-Subachmimic group, as in the doubling of vowels which is not present in Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic(early) and Bohairic. With Achmimic, Subachmimic and Middle Egyptian it agrees in the final € for Fayyumic and Bohairic, e.g. ρωμ€. With Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Bohairic it agrees in the fundamental € for €, e.g. €ωλ, €φοκ, etc. But most marked are the agreements with Bohairic in the vowels € for €, e.g. €νωκ, €ωλ, €μοτ, and € for €, e.g. €αλ, €πξδας, €απ. Much the same could be demonstrated for the Sahidic vocabulary which is – at any rate as far as the Bible is concerned – mainly northern e.g. ταμιο (AA2 ταμιο, ταμο), μαγδας (AA2 σαδιες), etc.

II) The difficulties are further increased by the fact that we find Sahidic well established throughout Upper Egypt and the Fayyum by the beginning of the fourth century or soon afterwards:

At Assuan it was well established in the sixth century as is demonstrated by a number of documents from there published by Crum1) and Krall2). At Thebes it is attested by a number of early Sahidic manuscripts which on dialectical grounds can be shown to have been written there. Worrall3) already pointed to the Berlin Psalter4) of the fourth century, but the same is true also of a number of other manuscripts, in particular the

2) Recueil de Travaux VI, 70 no. vi and WZKM XIV, 233ff.
4) A. Rahlfs, Die Berliner Handschrift des Sahidischen Psalters.
Turin manuscript of the two Wisdoms\(^1\), the Berlin Gnostic codex\(^2\) and the Bruce codex\(^3\), some of which were actually found or bought at Thebes. For the full dialectical evidence see chapter VIII\(^4\).

At Deir Chenoboskion its presence is well attested by eleven Gnostic manuscripts in Sahidic side by side with only two in Subachmimic, and in fact some of these manuscripts are reputed to be as early as the third century\(^5\).

2) See *Sitzungsb.Preuss.Ak.Wiss.XXXVI*(1896)p.839. Apparently bought from a dealer at Cairo, said to have been found at Achmim. The few pages published in C.Schmidt, *Die alten Petrusakten* give a fair idea of the dialect, and these have been cited frequently in chapter VIII. Professor Till is at present preparing an edition of this invaluable manuscript. This is one of the very rare Sahidic texts which make use of \(p\) before Greek verbs; see p.256 note 4.

3) The principal edition of this manuscript is by C.Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften in koptischer Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus*, cf. C.A. Baynes, *A Coptic Gnostic Treatise contained in the Codex Brucianus*. Crum in a note in his copy of Schmidt's edition(in the Griffith Institute, Oxford) mentions that according to Woide, Ms.Clarendon Press c 2,97 Bruce acquired it at Thebes. When found, the manuscript was divided among some 20 other persons, but nothing appears to be known of these other parts. I collated a few passages in the Codex; unfortunately the deterioration of the Codex has continued and much that was legible when Mrs.Baynes collated it is no longer visible.

4) Especially paragraphs 9,10,19,20f,45,53,73,80j,126,143A,149, also 7, 8,17,20d,21,32,38,46A,48,55,56,56B,138,152A; cf.6A,6D,15,40A,78A,80, 85,110,123.

5) For a general survey of these texts see J.Doresse and Togo Mina, *Nouveaux textes Gnostiques Coptes découverts en Haute-Égypte* in *Vigiliae*
At Achmim Shenoute's writings are sufficient witness that Sahidic was regarded as the official dialect already in the second half of the fourth century, when Achmimic and Subachmimic manuscripts were still being written.

At Wadi Sarga and Deir el-Bala'izah a considerable number of early Sahidic texts were found, dating from the fourth and fifth centuries, and these show the dialect in an almost unrivalled purity.

From Hermopolis we have the important manuscript of Deuteronomy, Jonah and Acts, dating from the first half of the fourth century, and the fourth century manuscript of the Psalter BM 24 was found in a jar near Christianae III (1949) pp.129ff. with two plates, and C.H. Puech, Les Nouveaux Écrits Gnostiques in Coptic Studies in Honour of W.E. Crum (Bull. Byz. Inst. II) (1950) pp. 91ff. For a discussion of the date of these manuscripts see also below p.263 and note 1. Only one legible photo of these manuscripts has so far been published, in the Manchester Guardian 24th June 1949 (Professor Černý kindly drew my attention to this and lent me his copy of the page). This page, ascribed to the middle of the fourth century, shows normal early Sahidic (against Vigiliae Christianae III p.131) with Greek verbs, nouns and particles, also ἄν, and it distinguishes between ἀν and ἂν, cf. chapter VIII par.1A; of interest are the use of ἄ as definite article, see chapter VIII par.94A, and a Subachmimic in the spelling ἔμωρε for ἐμωρί, cf. chapter VIII par.7. For the two Subachmimic texts cf. above pp.206 and note 3,219.

1) I may draw special attention to number 17 in the present collection, which probably shows Sahidic standardisation at its best, even in superlineation.


3) There can really be no question that this manuscript should be dated in the fourth century and Mr. C. H. Roberts, whom I consulted, fully
Deir Abu Hennes. In addition a number of fourth century letters in Sahidic were found in the neighbourhood\(^1\).

From Oxyrhynchus we have a few early unpublished fragments\(^2\), and from the neighbouring Cynopolite nome the Melitian archive\(^3\) supplies one letter agreed with me, cf. the photo in Crum's BM Catalogue pl.10. Of special interest are the forms of the Demotic letters \(\zet\), \(\varepsilon\), and in particular \(\zet\). This form of the \(\zet\) made in two strokes (\(\varepsilon\)) occurs outside Fayyumic manuscripts only in a few fourth century texts: BM 964 (early 4th century), J&C 1921, 1922 (Melitian archive, ca. A.D. 330), BM 1123 (4th century), CMSS 4 (found in the Fayyum), Lefort, Les Manuscrits Coptes ... Louvain no.9 (early 4th century), Peremans-Vergote, Papyrologisch Handboek pl.XI, Louv.copt.inv.18b (probably 4th century), P. Mich 136 (4th century, see below p.254 note 5), cf. also the Manichaean Psalm-book which writes \(\zet\) in a peculiar shape (\(\zet\)); perhaps a late example is BM 1109. It seems highly unlikely, if only for this reason, that the manuscript is a modern copy as Crum thought when he published the BM Catalogue (p.9a), and even Crum seems to have doubted it. In Crum's copy of the BM Catalogue (in the Griffith Institute, Oxford) there is a letter from Blackden of Nov. 3 1894 stating that the manuscript was found in a jar hidden in a quarry at Deir Abu Hennes. Despite many obvious faults in orthography, especially in Greek words, the dialect of this manuscript is of considerable interest; I hope to return to this elsewhere.

1) Ryl.268 - 276, al.

2) A number of documents and literary texts, all very fragmentary, were found by Grenfell and Hunt and are now at the Queen's College, Oxford. I have knowledge of these texts from Crum's copies which are in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

3) Bell and Crum, Jews and Christians in Egypt no.1920. I have collated this text and three corrections may be made: line 5 read \(\phi\), line
in good early Sahidic before the middle of the fourth century.

From the Fayyum we have BM 269 (= CMSS IV), actually found there, and P. Mich. 136, both of the fourth century.

At Saqqara Sahidic is well established by the sixth century and probably earlier as is demonstrated by inscriptions and manuscripts from there.

III) Further and important evidence for the early spread of Sahidic is provided by the fact that it is found mixed with nearly all the sub-dialects, and manuscripts of this type are among the earliest Coptic manuscripts which have so far come to light.

(A) From Thebes and actually found or bought at Thebes we have the Achmimic Psalm-fragment edited by Crum which can be dated as early as the second half of the third century on the basis of Greek texts on the same tablets. This is almost the first Christian Coptic text and certainly the earliest witness of the standard Sahidic Version of any part of the Bible; it is earlier than any Achmimic text known. The dialect of the text is in the main Achmimic: τὴν αὐτήν, ἔν, (ΑΑ₂) ὁριμέ, ἀ(ΑΠΑ), ΜΑΚ (= ΜΑΣ); but has λυά with Α²MFS and semi-Bohairic; εὐθαυς (= εὐθομαθ) with Α²(not Mani)S; and some of the dialectical features are only found

22 read Νελώνε (ut vid.), line 25 read εωωτ (f).

1) See below p.254 note 5.


3) Miss. IXVI (= Mélanges Maspero vol. II) pp.73-76 and plate.

4) Cf. above chapter II Appendix, especially p.11.
in Sahidic: \(\lambda(i)p\), or in Sahidic, Bohairic: \(\tau\tau\tau\tau\), or in Sahidic, Fayyumic and Bohairic: \(\epsilon\) (passim), \(\epsilon\epsilon\). One might also note a few peculiarities as \(\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\) and \(\chi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\) for \(\Lambda^2\chi\tau\epsilon\), \(\chi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\), cf. \(\Lambda^2(\text{AP})\chi\tau\epsilon\) \(^1\), also \(\epsilon\tau\) found in Achmimic Clement and \(\Lambda^2(\text{Jo,AP})\).

Another text published by Lefort containing some Hymns or Psalms, perhaps by Hieracais \(^2\), is almost as early and has some similar peculiarities, though it is closer to Achmimic. I have already drawn attention to some of the peculiarities on pp.203ff. above; others are as follows:

(a) Peculiar to this manuscript: \(\lambda\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\) (? = A \(\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\), S \(\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\), B \(\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\)) \(\lambda\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\lambda\epsilon = \Lambda^2\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\), F \(\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\); \(\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\) = \(\Lambda^2(\text{Mani})\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\), \(\Lambda^2(\text{Jo,ManiP})\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\)

\(\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\) = B \(\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\); \(\gamma\gamma\gamma\gamma\) = A \(\gamma\gamma\gamma\gamma\), \(\Lambda^2\gamma\gamma\gamma\gamma\), B \(\gamma\gamma\gamma\gamma\).

(b) Not found in any standardised dialect, but occasionally met with in literary and non-literary manuscripts:

i) o and oyo side by side, for A o, o, \(\Lambda^2\) o, F oyn, SB oy; oyo is found once in the Achmimic Minor Prophets and once at Thebes, see chapter VIII par.46A.

ii) \(\mu\nu\nu\) for A e\(\epsilon\epsilon\)\(\epsilon\epsilon\) (Clem.), \(\Lambda^2\) e\(\epsilon\epsilon\)\(\epsilon\epsilon\) (al.), F e\(\epsilon\epsilon\)\(\epsilon\epsilon\), e\(\epsilon\epsilon\), B e\(\epsilon\epsilon\)\(\epsilon\epsilon\), S e\(\epsilon\epsilon\); cf. chapter VIII paragraphs 8,22.

iii) \(\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\) for A p\(\epsilon\epsilon\), e\(\epsilon\epsilon\), \(\Lambda^2\) p\(\epsilon\epsilon\), F e\(\epsilon\epsilon\); \(\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\) is also found in the Achmimic I Clement, \(\Lambda^2(\text{Jo,AP})\) and the Achmimic Psalm-fragment, cf. above.

(c) Agreeing with Sahidic (and others) against Achmimic:

i) \(\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\) with Sahidic only; it is interesting to note that this occurs also in the Achmimic Psalm-fragment, cf. above.

ii) c\(\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\) with Sahidic only; \(\Lambda^2\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\), FB \(\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\).

iii) The final e added in certain cases in Achmimic and the Subachmi-

\(^1\) See chapter VIII par.23, and cf. above p.204 Diagram, and below p.247.
\(^2\) See above p.203 notes 3,4.
\(^3\) Cf. above pp.215,217.
\(^4\) Cf. perhaps also Paris Magical Papyrus line 76 \(\mu\mu\mu\mu\); on the etymology of \(\mu\mu\mu\mu\) etc. see Černý in Copt.Stud.in Hon.of W.B.Crum pp.35f.
mic Manichaean texts is omitted with Sahidic, Subachmimic (Jo, AP), Fayyumic and Bohairic: ἀνθρ., ἐστίν, ἐκεῖ, ἔστε.

(d) Agreeing with Bohairic in τοι (qual. of + ) for S τοι, A τε, τε, A² τοι, τοι, F τοι, al.

(e) It is interesting to find the verb τάμα occurring; it occurs only once in Achmimic and never in Subachmimic, the usual word in these two dialects being ταμο, ταμο.

It is to be noted that no distinctive Subachmimic features occur, although it agrees with Subachmimic in a few cases against Achmimic, but in all these instances the same is also found in Sahidic. In fact the dialect may best be described as a mixture of Achmimic and early Sahidic with some peculiarities of its own.

A number of early magical texts fall into the same category in showing a mixture of Achmimic and early Sahidic, sometimes with peculiarities of their own; these texts are: BM 1223, 1224, Lemm, Misc. L², P. Mich. 1523³, and from a later period with more Sahidicisms the Carnarvon Papyrus 4 actually found at Deir el Bahit near Thebes and Bodleian Ms. Copt. c 4(p) edited by Crum⁵. That these texts are not to be regarded as a type of Subachmimic is shown not merely by the absence of any distinctive Subachmimicisms, but especially by the Future III ἀκα-, ἀμα-, ἀμαιν-, ἀμα-, (ἐκα-, ἐμα-, ἐμα- in the later texts)⁶ which occurs in all of the texts, and the Present II in ἀμ-, ἀμαιν-, which is found in some of them. All the texts show distinct Sahidic (-Bohairic) features such as ἀνοκε, μικοειο,

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1) See above p. 211.
2) Papyrus Lichačevo, previously edited by Turaiev.
3) Ed. Worrell in Orientalia IV, 3ff.
5) In AZ XXXIV, 85ff.
6) Cf. chapter VIII par. 129, especially p. 156.
Two texts which are in the main Sahidic, but show marked Achmimicisms, were found with Achmimic texts, the Sahidic Elias and the fragment of the Gospel of St. Luke\(^2\). Together with these, though not to the same extent, should be classed the two pages in the Bruce Codex\(^3\) and perhaps also the Berlin Gnostic text\(^4\).

(B) For a mixture of Subachmimic and Sahidic two texts may be cited, both unpublished: one is P. Gol. 47\(^5\) which has mainly Achmimic or Subachmimic forms, e.g. $\alpha\nu\eta\zeta$, $\mu\mu\varepsilon$, $\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron$; of some interest is $\epsilon\varsigma\alpha\upsilon$ for $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\upsilon$\(^(!)\) (four times)\(^6\); here again we find Sahidicisms like $\epsilon\varsigma\alpha\lambda\omicron$, $\nu\tau\omicron\gamma$, $\epsilon\xi\omega\nu\gamma$, and a large number of dialectical spellings\(^7\). On the other hand, forms like $\nu\tau\omicron$ (verb and noun) and $\varsigma\alpha\omicron\nu\gamma$ (not $\varsigma\alpha\omicron\upsilon\nu\gamma$) link it up with a dialect

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1) Cf. chapter VIII paragraphs 10, 13, 15, 22, 23, 32, 48, 79a, 118d, 127e, 144, cf. however also 2, 66.

2) Both form part of the find made in the '80s of last century which was bought by Bouriant and the Berlin Museum. The Sahidic Elias was edited by Steindorff, *Die Apokalypse des Elias* with an analysis of the dialectical forms. The Sahidic fragment of St. Luke with numerous Achmimic forms was published by Lacau in *BIFAO* VIII, 76ff. It may be noted that this fragment is not cited in Horner's edition of the Sahidic Version of St. Luke.

3) Pp. 139, 140 (pp. 153-4 in the manuscript), as noted by Schmidt p. 11; cf. Crum in *AZ* XXXIV, 86 note 2 and Ep. I p. 239 note 1.

4) See above p. 234 note 2.

5) I have made use of a photograph of this valuable papyrus in the Crum Material, Griffith Institute, Oxford (C/Group I, 88).

6) See chapter VIII par. 129b.

7) Cf. chapter VIII paragraphs 2, 15, 20g, 22, 66, 127e.
of the type of the Manichaean Homilies\(^1\). The second is a fragment of St. John XX given by Crum in 1939 to the Bodleian Library\(^2\); apparently it was found at Hermopolis\(^3\). This text, probably of the late fourth century (Bell), is mainly Sahidic, but shows forms like Ḍāl, Ṣeṣe, Ṣāe, Ṣeṣe, Ṣan corrected to Ṣa, Ṣeṣa followed by Future II\(^4\), and in particular Ṣeṣe which links it up with the Manichaean texts\(^5\). Two forms are Bohairic: Ṣhê (not Ṣhê) and Ṣeṣa once for Ṣeṣa which also occurs.

(C) For a mixture of Middle Egyptian and Sahidic I can only cite one of the Melitian letters published by Crum in JEA XIII, 19ff. which is mainly Sahidic, but has several Middle Egyptian forms: Ṣeṣe, Ṣeṣe, Ṣaṣe, Ṣeṣa corrected to Ṣaṣe, and of particular interest is its verbal system which is fully Middle Egyptian\(^6\). The text like the rest of the Melitian archive can be dated as early as the first half of the fourth century.

(D) I am unable to cite any early Fayyumic text showing a mixture of Sahidic and Fayyumic, but texts from a later period are abundant.

(E) For Bohairic we have the fourth century letter published by Worrell\(^7\) which has some Sahidic forms: Ṣeṣa, Ṣeṣa, Ṣeṣa, and perhaps the semi-Bohairic Bala'izah text\(^8\) could also be mentioned.

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1) On reflection there is very little to distinguish the dialect of P. Gol.47 from that of BM 1223,1224,LMisc.L and P.Mich.1523, and perhaps it should be classed with these.

2) This papyrus, Bodleian Ms.Copt.e 150(p), is of considerable interest from many points of view; I am hoping to publish it shortly.

3) According to a note in the Crum Material, Griffith Institute, Oxford (C/Group II,2).

4) See chapter VIII par.129 and references there.

5) See above p.211 and in particular p.219.

6) See chapter VIII par.150, especially the Diagram on p.173.

7) Last published in Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 3(pp.175f.).

8) See above pp.231f..
Conclusions.

The evidence brought so far seems to justify the following conclusions:

1) Sahidic is a neutral dialect with peculiarities found in, or drawn from, all the sub-dialects (so already Worrell).  
2) Sahidic was the principal dialect in the whole of Upper Egypt and the Fayyum already at the beginning of the Coptic period (so partly already Crum).  
3) Any attempt to find the home of Sahidic, at any rate in its developed form, whether at Thebes (Chaîne), Ashmunein (Steindorff and others), or Oxyrhynchus (Worrell) is bound to fail for obvious reasons.

The Origin of Sahidic.

The answer to these difficult problems evidently lies long before the Coptic period, and it is unfortunate that we have so little evidence for this. On the other hand, a number of considerations seem to confirm the view that in origin Sahidic was much closer to Bohairic than would appear at first sight. The most obvious example for this is the dialect of the Paris Magical Papyrus. Erman, writing at a time (1883) when texts in Achmimic and Subachmimic were still unknown, pointed out that, while the first part of the Old Coptic sections was in more or less normal Sahidic, the second part showed many archaisms. F. I. L. Griffith,

3) For references see above pp. 193ff.  
4) Here cited from the last edition by Möller in Preisendanz, Papyri Graecae Magicae vol. I no. IV. A number of corrections may be made from the facsimile in Erman's edition in Az XXI, 89ff.  
6) Az XXXIX (1901) p. 79; see also his important comments in his Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library vol. III pp. 181ff.
writing some twenty years later, drew attention to the strong Bohairic influence in some of the Old Coptic sections. Now that so many dialects are known, it may be of interest to reconsider the estimates of Erman and Griffith; a number of points are of great importance for the present study:

1) Lines 11-25, 75-77, 81-84. These lines, as Erman and Griffith rightly observed, are in the main Sahidic, but there are a number of important dialectical variations: αι in (17) with BA2 for αί S; pen (21, 22, 84) with AA2M(F) for pen SB; και (11) this word during the Coptic period only in B; α- (25) with AA2 for ε- SMFB; μντ Old Coptic only; δοιντ and δοιντ again later, see chapter VIII par. 79A p. 103.

2) Lines 94-112. In these lines we have a mixture of mainly Sahidic and Bohairic with a few AA2 and F forms:

S e.g. κυρίε, χυμαί, μετη-, βοομε, ψωμ, τοιτο, τοιτο.
B e.g. κατέ (vb.), σερί, ουσερί, κει, δμτ, δελτι, επι, μελη, αιτζογ, ινι.
AA2(F) e.g. φεσεκ, Νκατκε (Α2 Jo. only), μεογ (Α2MF), οτε, κατε (ΑΑ2), αξωί, αρϊ, θε (ΑΑ2MF), ενι.
M, F e.g. Νιβί (F), Λβ- (Μ, verbal prefix, see chapter VIII par. 150).

Most interesting are the corrections in these lines:
S corrected to B: ε to i in κει, κιμέ, κεί 2), μεν to Νεμ.
Semi-B corrected to F: νιβί to Νιβί (twice) 3).
AA2MF corrected to SB: νιβε to νιβακ, νεκο to μεκ, εωμ to αμμ (αεωμ).
A2MF corrected to SB: μεογ to Μεογ.
Incorrect corrected: κοινοθ to κωοθ.
Correct made incorrect: ωμ to οντω, ω to ο in πωί, ερωί, αξωί.

1) A=Achmimic; A2=Subachm.; M=Middle Egyptian; F=Fayy.; B=Boh.; S=Sah.
2) For Möller's κει (94) read κεί, similarly for κεί (121) read κεί, cf. the facsimile.
3) In line 115 for Möller's second Νιβί read Νιβί like the first Νιβί, cf. the facsimile.
3) Lines 123-131. A Mixture of Sahidic and Bohairic with Bohairic predominating:
S e.g. NIM, MEN, (NMOY).
B e.g. EPWOU, EMPI, NOYI, NELC, OYCI, WOY (1).
AA^2 MF (once) OYENDRPE.
One correction is from S to B: MEN to NEM.

4) Lines 139-143. A mixture of Sahidic and Bohairic:
S e.g. NELC, OYON, NIM.
B e.g. NELC, OYCI.

5) Lines 147-153. A mixture of Sahidic and Bohairic, e.g. CAMTE, CANTECI,
NI with one F form: API, and one AA^2 F: OVE.

6) Lines 1231-1239. Mainly Bohairic with some Sahidic forms:
B e.g. PHNOVT, CACFI, COFI, NI-, EFCAPFI.
S e.g. NNOVT, CACFE.

This part is of great interest as it is written without the additional Demotic letters with one exception, and it is also the only part of the Old Coptic sections in this papyrus which shows Christian influence.¹

¹ It is remarkable that in the absence of the Demotic additional letters this Christian section in the Paris Magical Papyrus agrees with the earliest Christian Coptic text known, the Old Fayyumic glosses in the Chester Beatty Isaiah manuscript (cf. p.228 note 2). It almost suggests that the first Christian attempts to write the native Egyptian language was independant of the pagan attempts, and that at first the Christians did not make use of the additional letters. In time this would have proved unsatisfactory and a number of Demotic letters were taken over; but it should be emphasised that all the Old Coptic texts show more than the usual 5 or 6 Demotic letters (excluding  for which see chapter VIII par.127E), see p.253 below. This might explain the extraordinary uncertainty over the precise use of the additional Demotic letters in practically all early texts, in
The considerable Bohairic influence both in spellings and in words can hardly be denied, and this is of particular significance in view of the fact that the papyrus apparently came from Thebes\(^1\).

The evidence of the Paris Magical papyrus is further borne out by a considerable number of Bohairicisms in early Sahidic texts. Among the more obvious examples are single vowels for double vowels\(^2\), the use of particular the frequent omission of the letter ζ, see chapter VIII paragraphs 65 - 127F(passim) especially 123. Perhaps the Bashmuric practice not to use the additional Demotic letters as late as the eighth century is an ancient survival, though obviously the exact system used then was standardised much later. For these texts see Crum, Coptic Documents in Greek Script(Proceedings of the British Academy vol.XXX).

1) If it can be established that the Paris Magical Papyrus was also written at Thebes, we would have to admit that the fusion of dialects before the Coptic period was even greater than has been assumed in the present chapter. In particular the Fayyumic forms nis₂, Ṽw₁, and the Subachmimic-Fayyumic υετυ (A mω, S mατυ), as also ȧ for Ḥ (see chapter VIII par.121), are difficult to parallel at Thebes; on the other hand, as has been pointed out in chapter VIII par.123C, there has been an attempt in at least a part of the papyrus to distinguish between the Egyptian letters h and Ḥ, and this would clearly point to Thebes. There are no definite Achmimicisms in the papyrus, though many of the forms are only found in Achmimic and Subachmimic, in particular Ḡ₁o่วย₁, Ḡₓw₁, and one agreement with the Subachm.St.John only (γκατκε) is very significant. If the papyrus was not written at Thebes, it can hardly have been written north of Assiut.

2) The doubled vowels in Sahidic present a most difficult problem. As has been noted above, there were no doubled vowels in Bohairic, early Fayyumic or Middle Egyptian(above pp.222,225f.,229), and in Achmimic
m-, +-, ð- as definite article\(^1\), η(ε)μ for άν \(^2\), and a few times final i for ε \(^3\); one might also note the use of ιω as demonstrative adjective in Acts (Budge) \(^4\) and many others. \(^5\) Further evidence is the vocabulary in early Sahidic texts, where we sometimes find words which are otherwise only known from Bohairic, e.g. κρωμ., κωμ., τωρπ., τορτρ., ηλυκέ. \(^6\) The frequent confusion of the additional Demotic letters suggests that the precise distinction between the Sahidic and Bohairic use of these letters was a later development. \(^7\) Further early evidence is brought by the

and Subachmimic single for double vowels are so frequent (above pp. 198, 212f., 224) that it seems probable that the double vowels in these dialects were due to Sahidic influence. On the other hand, many of the early Sahidic texts write frequently single for double vowels, see chapter VIII paragraphs 13, 20, 29, 38, 47A, 48, 49, 630, and while some of these occur in manuscripts clearly influenced by local dialects, their presence in others, like the Old Vienna Psalter, is difficult to explain; furthermore, of all the Old Coptic texts double vowels appear only in the Paris Magical Papyrus. In view of the evidence it seems probable that even in Sahidic double vowels were a secondary development, but one which must have been introduced at a very early period, presumably before Coptic was used by Christians, since they occur in the Paris Magical Papyrus. On the question of double vowels in general see P. Lacau in ΑΖ XLVIII (1910) pp. 77ff.

1) See chapter VIII par. 94A.
2) See chapter VIII par. 78A.
3) See chapter VIII par. 23 and elsewhere.
5) E.g. εφεγγα in a few early texts, see Crum, Dictionary p. 59; cf. also the forms of the conjunctive in non-literary texts, chapter VIII, 138.
7) See p. 244 note 1 and cf. Dévaud in ΑΖ LXI, 109f.
semi-Sahidic-Achmimic texts\(^1\), especially the magical texts which show many Bohairicisms such as short vowels, e.g. BM1224 Χογε, Καρε, IMisc L ωντ, Καντ, P.Mich.1523 Χογογ; also final ı for ε in the Achmimic Psalm-fragment\(^2\) Ξεε and Χεεα (sic !). Indeed, it seems probable that the final ı for ε which occurs also in the Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah, the Berlin Genesis and the Acta Pauli\(^3\) is due, not so much to Fayyumic, but to the pre-Coptic Sahidic dialect\(^4\). The Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah shows in fact an almost certain Bohairicism in Χογο for Χογο (B νογο)\(^5\).

On the basis of this evidence there would seem to be considerable justification in assuming that the majority of the specific Achmimic and Subachmimic features in Sahidic were either a later intrusion into the original Sahidic dialect, as presumably in the case of final ε for ı, or were proper to the original Sahidic dialect and influenced the Achmimic and Subachmimic dialects, as in the case of final accented ε for Ἔ in e.g. Ἐ-νε\(^6\) and perhaps double vowels\(^7\).

If in addition to this it is borne in mind that the vocabulary of the Sahidic Version of the Bible is mainly northern or peculiar to Sahidic\(^8\), there can be little question that originally Sahidic came from the north, presumably the Delta, and that long before the Coptic period it

\(^1\) See above pp.237ff., especially 239f.
\(^2\) See above pp.237f.
\(^3\) For the first two texts see above pp.203ff., for the third 193 note3.
\(^6\) See above p.223.
\(^7\) See above p.245 note 2.
\(^8\) Cf. above p.233.
had spread to the south and had become assimilated to the dialects spoken there to a considerable extent. Before dealing with this question fully it is essential to investigate what evidence can be produced that Bohairic was the language of the Delta, and whether it was the official dialect in the Delta during the early Coptic period.

**The date and localisation of Bohairic.**

I have attempted to point out above that both Middle Egyptian and Fayyumic have much in common with Bohairic and that in some ways Fayyumic, in others Middle Egyptian, is closer to Bohairic, the Fayyumic dependance being much more prominant\(^1\). This is further borne out by the fact that not only Fayyumic was standardised under the influence of Bohairic\(^2\), but the Fayyumic Version of the New Testament can be demonstrated to have been taken over in part from the Bohairic Version before the end of the fourth century\(^3\), and perhaps much earlier as is shown by the use of the abbreviation "\(\text{\S}\)" in the Old Fayyumic Hamburg text\(^4\). This is of some significance, because of the two published Middle Egyptian texts of the New Testament one (Romans) shows the Sahidic Version, the other (BM 508) apparently an independent version. In view of the evidence it seems probable that a type of Bohairic, presumably not unlike that of the Bala'izah semi-Bohairic fragment\(^5\), was the spoken dialect of Memphis and its neighbourhood in early times, perhaps extending as far south as Heracleopolis. Some such dialect must have been the link between Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Bohairic proper. To explain the disappearance of such a dialect by the sixth century is not difficult in view of the parallel early

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1) See above pp.220ff.
2) See above pp.227ff.
3) See below Appendix II to the present chapter.
4) Cf. p.229 above and in particular see Worrell, *Coptic Sounds* p.120 and references.
5) See above pp.231f.
disappearance of Subachmun at Hermopolis by the sixth century. In fact Stern\(^1\) already pointed to a number of Bohairicisms in the texts from Saqqara, but these might have come into the dialect later.

The Coptic grammarian Athanasius bishop of Kus\(^2\), writing in the eleventh century, noted that at his time the Coptic language was divided into three dialects: The dialect of Misr (Cairo) which was the same as the Sahidic, the Bohairic which took its name from the province of Bahirra, and the Bashmuric used in the country of Bashmur\(^3\). This statement is of considerable interest for many reasons: it demonstrates that as late as the eleventh century Sahidic was still the principal dialect of the whole of Upper Egypt and in particular of Cairo, the capital of Egypt since the time of the Arab conquest; that Bohairic was the main, but not the sole dialect of the Delta, and that Fayyumic had already disappeared by this time.

Crum\(^4\) has pointed to a number of colophons and readers' notes written in various parts of the Delta which are found in Bohairic manuscripts from Nitria. Some of these are in more or less normal Bohairic, others

\(^1\) See ÄZ XXIII (1885) pp. 152 ff. and the full discussion there. The inscriptions from Saqqara (see above p. 237 note 2) are in the main correct Sahidic, but we find \(\phi\) a few times (317, 365, 399) and in particular the dialect of 317 shows strong Bohairic influence: \(\chi_\omega\) (= \(\omega\chi\)), \(\chi_\in\) (= \(\in\chi\)), \(\chi\phi\) \(\in\), cf. 317 note 3. One might also mention some Fayyumicisms which occur, especially in number 41.


\(^3\) Near Mansurah in the Delta; see Crum, Coptic Documents in Greek Script p. 16 note 14 and references there.

\(^4\) In his important review of Hebbelynck-Lantschoot, Codices Coptici Vatican in JEA XXVII (1941), 179 ff.
are in a dialect found in a number of documents from the Fayyum which are perhaps Bashmuric\(^1\). In the eighth century a number of Bohairic and Bashmuric(?) texts appear in the Fayyum\(^2\) and at Touho\(^3\), and a number of Bohairic inscriptions found at Baouit\(^4\) demonstrate the gradual spread of Bohairic southwards. In the present collection, as already noted\(^5\), there are two texts from Buisiris in the Delta, one in Bohairic(151), the other in Sahidic(132), being written later than A.D.740; and perhaps a third tax-receipt in Sahidic(146) also came from the same locality.

There can be no question that the Bohairic Version of the New Testament was made not later than the fourth century, since it appears not only in the semi-Bohairic text in the present collection\(^6\), but also in a number of early Fayyumic manuscripts of the late fourth or early fifth century\(^7\). As has been pointed out above\(^8\), the Bala'izah fragment\(^9\) brings us very near to Bohairic and the principal differences which distinguish it from Bohairic proper are very significant: \(\gamma\) for \(\phi\), and \(\lambda\gamma\omega\) for \(\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\gamma\omega\). Both \(\phi\) and \(\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\gamma\omega\) go back to the ancient Egyptian language, and in particular \(\phi\) must have been taken over either from Demotic direct, as suggested by Till\(^9\) and Worrell\(^10\), or, perhaps more likely,

1) See Crum, Coptic Documents in Greek Script.
2) Cf. the last note, especially pp.14f.
3) Kr.116,117; these two documents are in a remarkable dialect, e.g. \(\nu\gamma\upsilon\delta\alpha\varepsilon\upsilon\) and \(\tau\alpha\varepsilon\upsilon\) for \(\nu\gamma\nu\varsigma\mu\nu\) and \(\tau\alpha\omega\varsigma\); clear Bohairic forms are \(\phi\gamma\omega\), \(\alpha\nu\beta\omicron\lambda\tau\iota\), \(\nu\tau\iota\iota\iota\), \(\omega\tau\omicron\upsilon\iota\), \(\nu\iota\gamma\epsilon\nu\), \(\nu\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\), etc.; cf. also p.249 note 1.
4) Pure Bohairic are MIF LIX,102,103(\(\chi\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\iota\iota\iota\nu\epsilon\nu\rho\epsilon\kappa\omicron\kappa\omicron\kappa\kappa\kappa\)).
6) Cf.pp.231f.
7) See Appendix II to the present chapter.
8) See above pp.231f.
10) Worrell, Coptic Texts pp.175f.
from texts in Old Coptic which contained this letter. In this connec-
tion I should like to withdraw the statement I published concerning the
Michigan Bohairic school-book edited by Dr. E.M. Husselman\(^1\)). Since then
I have had the opportunity to study some photostats of this papyrus which
Dr. Husselman very kindly sent to me, and I now feel that the arguments
for a late date are insufficient against the united opinion of Greek pa-
pyrologists who would date the papyrus in the early fourth century (Bell,
Youtie, Roberts\(^2\)). We may regard the Michigan papyrus as an important
early witness, both for the dialect and for the Version, which is in fact
fully borne out by other considerations.

The question only remains whether Bohairic was the sole dialect
(apart from the closely related Bashmuric) or even the principal dialect
in the Delta before the eighth century. There are strong arguments a-
gainst such an assumption: Lefort\(^3\) and others have rightly emphasised
that the almost complete absence of any Bohairic texts prior to the eighth
century is difficult, if not impossible to explain if in fact Bohairic
had been the principal dialect in the Delta before the Arab conquest.
On the other hand if Bohairic was merely a local sub-dialect somewhere in
the Delta, we cannot expect Bohairic texts in Upper Egypt, just as only
one Achmimic manuscript has been found in the Fayyum. Also, as has been
noted already, Sahidic continued to be the principal dialect of the whole
of Upper Egypt and of Cairo until the eleventh century\(^4\), and as the

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1) The text was published with a discussion of its date in JNES VI (1947)
2) Mr. C. H. Roberts whom I consulted thought a date later than the fourth
century most unlikely; he, like Bell, would place the fragments a-
bout the beginning of the fourth century.
3) Especially in Le Museon XLIV (1931) pp. 115ff.; cf. also Crum in JEA
XXVII, pp. 179ff.
4) See above p. 249.
official dialect of the administrative centre of Egypt under the Arabs it is more than likely to have been the official dialect of the Delta as well as the rest of Egypt; I may compare the use of Fayyumic side by side with the official Sahidic in the Fayyum throughout the Coptic period. This is also supported strongly by the Sahidic tax-receipt from Busiris in the Delta\textsuperscript{1)} which was written after A.D. 740.

\textbf{The Old Coptic Texts}\textsuperscript{2)}

Towards the end of the first century A.D. there appear the first Egyptian texts which are written with Greek letters supplemented by a number of Demotic letters\textsuperscript{3)}; and from the third century we have a group of Demotic texts with glosses, again written with Greek and supplementary Demotic letters\textsuperscript{4)}. All of these texts are magical and reflect as background a period when Demotic had ceased to be an official business language, its place being wholly taken by Greek, and the Demotic script disappeared finally in the fifth century\textsuperscript{5)}. The so-called Old Coptic texts being written with Greek letters evidently met an urgent desire, particu-

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1) See above p.232 note 1.

2) I can only deal with the Old Coptic texts briefly here, but I hope to return to this subject elsewhere.

3) For the texts involved see Crum in JEA XXVIII, 20ff. and cf. above pp. 199 n.3, 223f., 228 n.4, 242-245 and notes. See also P. Lacau in Études de Papyrologie II, 229-246 and Bilabel in Actes Ve Cong. Papyrologie 1938 pp. 79f. (P. Heidelberg 414).

4) See the list of manuscripts cited in Bell-Nock-Thompson, Magical texts from a bilingual papyrus (Proceedings Brit. Ac. vol. XVII) p. 5.

5) The last inscription is A.D. 470, see Spiegelberg, Demotische Grammatik p.1 and elsewhere. In this connection it is of considerable interest that Clement of Alexandria (Strom. V 237) mentions Hieratic as still taught in the schools (ca. A.D. 160-220), cf. Griffith-Thompson, Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leyden vol. I p. 13.
larly in the case of spells, to lay down exactly the pronunciation of words or to clarify obscure passages in Demotic. We even find definite systems to transcribe words, native and foreign, with full vowels by means of a cipher in Demotic documents\(^1\). The system of transcription which we find in the Old Coptic texts is sufficiently developed and uniform to rule out the possibility of individual attempts\(^2\), and the Coptic script is undoubtedly based to a considerable extent on the Old Coptic practice\(^3\). All the Old Coptic texts agree in using more Demotic letters\(^4\) than Coptic, but the transcriptions of the ancient letters \(\overline{h}, \overline{h}, \overline{h}, \overline{h}, \overline{h}\); \(\overline{h}, \overline{h}\); in the Coptic dialects and in some cases their omission clearly demonstrate that the precise distinction between some or all of them had largely been lost by the beginning of the Coptic period\(^5\). The retention of these letters, particularly in the later Old Coptic texts, can hardly have signified a distinction in pronunciation, but was probably due to a conservatism to which Christian Coptic was obviously not bound. If we investigate the dialect and language of these texts, we find that the earlier ones correspond roughly to Achmimic (Horoscope)\(^6\); Middle Egyptian

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1) See Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus* vol. I pp. 8ff.

2) It would go beyond the space available to deal with this here, and my estimate is partly based on unpublished material; I hope to return to this elsewhere.

3) Cf. however also p. 244 note 1 above.

4) See Crum in JEA XXVIII, 21.

5) Already in Demotic during the Roman period \(\overline{h}, \overline{h}\) and \(\overline{h}\) were confused, and sometimes even earlier, see Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* pp. 8f. and Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenaug* pp. 375f. See also H. Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte* pp. 23ff., noting a confusion of \(\overline{h}\) and \(\overline{h}\), \(\overline{h}\) and \(\overline{h}\), \(\overline{h}\) and \(\overline{h}\).

6) See above p. 199; cf. however Griffith in ÄZ XXXIX (1901) p. 80, but his estimate now requires some modification.
(Oxyrhynchus\textsuperscript{1}), Fayyumic\textsuperscript{(Worrell)\textsuperscript{2}} and Sahidic\textsuperscript{(Schmidt)\textsuperscript{3}}. The glosses in the Demotic Magical Papyrus are in a mixture of Sahidic and Achmimic\textsuperscript{4}. The latest of the texts, the Paris Magical Papyrus and the Papyrus Mimaut are partly in Sahidic, partly in a mixture of Sahidic and Bohairic with a few Achmimic, Subachmimic and Fayyumic forms. From the Coptic period we have a number of texts which are still Egyptian in religion and thought, and which, presumably, were either copied from Demotic direct or were based on copies of such texts. By far the most important of these is a part of P.Michigan 136\textsuperscript{5}, and of the others the more inter-

1) See above pp.223f.
2) Cf.above p.228 and note 4.
3) I have been able to make use of a photo of this invaluable papyrus in the Griffith Institute, Oxford(C/G XII,10).
5) This manuscript, published by Worrell in \textit{Orientalia} IV,17ff., is a text of unusual interest and importance. It contains miscellaneous medical and magical texts, some of these in Greek, of clearly varying date and origin. Most interesting are lines 53 - 110 which are perhaps the only example of an intermediate stage between the Old Coptic texts and the non-Christian texts from the Coptic period. Many of the spellings can be paralleled only from the Old Coptic texts and in particular ΛΣΩΤΩΜ(line 72) is otherwise only known from these(see Crum,\textit{Dictionary} p.62b) and even in the same papyrus the equivalent ΧΑΡΞ\textsuperscript{e} occurs in lines 116ff.. The old Gods Isis, Thoth and Amoun are invoked and in these particular lines nothing points to Christian influence; also, again as in the Old Coptic texts, no Greek words appear in this long passage of over fifty lines. There can hardly be a question of 'misspellings'; the manuscript was clearly written at a time when the language was not yet fully standardised. The date of the text is probably the middle of the fourth century, and
estating are Kropp A and B\(^1\)). We would hardly expect Greek verbs or particles in these texts, and in fact these are absent in the texts, even Greek nouns being rare, but it is remarkable that all of them are written in Sahidic. This is of some significance in view of the fact that nearly all of the early magical texts influenced by Christianity are written in a mixture of Sahidic and Achmimic or Subachmimic\(^2\). We may, therefore, with considerable justification conclude that before Christianity spread to Egypt proper about the middle of the third century, Sahidic was already essentially developed\(^3\), and that, as far as the evidence goes, it had become the principal, if not the sole, written and spoken dialect of the more educated pagan Egyptian\(^4\). Further, the Schmidt papyrus, this was also the opinion of Mr. C.H. Roberts, to whom I showed a photograph of the manuscript; cf. also above p.235 note 3.

1) A.Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* vol.1 numbers A(lines 1-18) and B, both texts are probably of the sixth century. Further early texts are P. Mich.3565,4932(ed.Worrell,Ora.IV pp.13ff.,184ff.); later texts are BKU 1 col.II and Verso, and to a less extent BKU 4,5,11 and BMOr. 1013A ed.Erman in ÄZ XXXIII,132ff..

2) See above pp.239f.(BM 1223,1224,LMisc.L,P.Mich.1523,P.Gol.47,Kropp K). An exception is an amulet in almost pure Sahidic published by J.Drescher in *Coptic Studies in Honour of W.B.Crum* (Bul.Byz.Inst.II) pp.265ff. and plate III. The date of this text is probably fourth or fifth century. Remarkable and, as far as I know, unique is the abbreviation of the 'nomen sacrum' \(\text{\textit{ctw}}\gamma\rho\o\) which is written \(\text{c}\varpi\) with the ancient \(\text{\textit{nh}}\) sign \(\varphi\) instead of the usual \(\text{c}\varphi\o\) with \(\varphi\) (v.plate). For the use of the ancient \(\text{\textit{nh}}\) sign in Christian times see M.Cramer, *Das alt-ägyptische Lebenszeichen \(\varphi\) im koptischen(christlichen) Ägypten.*

3) Cf.below p.265ff..

4) Cf. also Sethe's estimate of the importance of Sahidic in *ZDMG* LXXVII (1923),162 and in DLZ XXXVII,1800ff. cited in full on pp.201ff.above;
being written about A.D.100 is already in the main Sahidic\textsuperscript{1)}, and Sahidic
(-Bohairic) forms intruded into other Old Coptic texts at about the same period; thus in the Horoscope we find εψε-(Fut.III) twice for ἀψι- which occurs regularly, and Crum\textsuperscript{2}) drew attention to the Bohairic features ἕπαρτ, ὦ
τη and ἦ
τοι.\textsuperscript{3})

Summary: Sahidic the dialect of Alexandria(?)

Arguments have been advanced that Sahidic almost certainly spread from the Delta; that it is unlikely to have been the language of Memphis; that it was the principal dialect before the advent of Christianity; that it probably was the principal dialect of the Delta as well as Upper Egypt until the eighth or ninth century. To these arguments may be added that the frequent use of Greek words and particles and in particular the use of Greek verbs without \(\rho\)-\textsuperscript{4}) are strong evidence that Sahidic must have been in contact with Greek more closely than any of the other dialects. The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from all this evidence is that, at least in origin, Sahidic was the dialect of Alexandria, the most impor-

\begin{itemize}
\item cf. also Spiegelberg, Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenaugpp. 379ff.
\item 1) It is Sahidic except for επαυ, επαυ, ναυ(Crum).
\item 2) JEA XXVIII p.23 note 2.
\item 3) Cf. also chapter VIII par.138.
\item 4) A few early Sahidic manuscripts can be cited where \(\rho\)- is used with Greek verbs, but all these texts can be proved on other grounds to have been influenced by Achmimic, Subachmimic or Middle Egyptian. The most important text is the Berlin Gnostic Codex, see above p.234 note 2; other texts known to me are Ryl.270,274,314 and P.Lond.(J&C)1921. It also occurs once in the Berlin Psalter(ed.Rahlfs)XXIV,13 \(\rho\)-καθορισθει (cf.p.45). All of these texts are of the fourth century. In some of the later Achmimic(e.g.the Minor Prophets) and Subachmimic(e.g.the Manichaean texts) manuscripts the \(\rho\)- before Greek words is often omitted, but this is clearly due to Sahidic influence.
\end{itemize}
tant centre in Egypt until the Arab conquest\(^1\). That Sahidic was the
official dialect of Alexandria during most of the Coptic period can hard-
ly be in doubt\(^2\), but it may reasonably be questioned whether the spoken
dialect there had assimilated the Upper Egyptian features in Sahidic as
final \(e\) for \(\epsilon\), e.g. \(\text{f\text{w}e}\)\(^3\), cf. below.

**Christianity in Egypt.**

The evidence from Greek literary and non-literary papyri for early
Christianity in Egypt has been discussed fully by H.I. Bell\(^4\); he conclu-
ded that there were probably a few communities of Greek-speaking Chris-
tians in Middle Egypt before the third century, but it is not until the
middle of the third century that we have evidence for any considerable
number of Christians in Upper Egypt. A. Harnack\(^5\), C. Schmidt\(^6\) and
for the early Coptic church in particular J. Maspero\(^7\) and G. Bardy\(^8\) have in-
vastigated the early Christian sources, especially the Ecclesiastical
History of Eusebius and the writings of Origen, Clement of Alexandria and
Epiphanius. We find that there is practically no evidence at all for

\(^1\) This conclusion is offered with some reserve and hesitation. A more
detailed study and new texts might yet offer a different solution.

\(^2\) See above pp.251f.

\(^3\) Cf. above p.247 and elsewhere.

\(^4\) Evidence for Christianity in Egypt during the Roman period in Harvard
Theological Review XXXVII,185ff..

\(^5\) Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhun-
dernten, two vols., fourth edition, especially vol.II pp.705ff.; this
is the most detailed study of the problem.

\(^6\) Die Urschrift der Pistis Sophia in ZNTW XXIV,218ff..

\(^7\) Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie, chapter II: Le peuple égyptien
aux VIe et VIIe siècles.

\(^8\) Les premiers temps du christianisme de langue copte en Égypte in Mé-
morial Lagrange, Paris 1940, pp.203ff..
Christianity in Egypt before the time of Demetrius (patriarch A.D. 188/9 - 231), and Clement of Alexandria (died A.D. 217). We hear that in the persecution under Septimius Severus (A.D. 202) Christians were brought to Alexandria and were martyred there. Of Demetrius we hear that he ordained three bishops, but his successor Heraclas (patriarch A.D. 231 - 247) ordained already twenty; by the middle of the third century during the time of Dionysius (patriarch A.D. 247-264) a considerable Christian community existed in the Arsinoite nome.

The first reference to Αρχοντικασ as Christians - as opposed to the Greeks - is found in Origen (ca. A.D. 185 - 255), but it is not until the time of the Decian persecution (A.D. 250) that we hear of them in any number. This was the time of the patriarch Dionysius and he is the first of whom we hear that he was interested in the conversion of the native Egyptians. Bardy refers to an interesting passage in Eusebius which mentions that in A.D. 250 some peasants, presumably native Egyptians, near Alexandria took the part of the bishop and his adherents against the soldiers of the governor. Delehaye significantly noted that three-quarters of the names of the Egyptian martyrs are Greek and probably many of the Christians who bore Egyptian names belonged like Origen to the Greek communities.

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1) See Harnack, l.c.p. 713 citing Eusebius H.E. VI, l.
2) Eutychius I, 332.
3) See Harnack l.c. p. 712 and note 2 there.
5) Harnack l.c. pp. 725f.
6) Harnack l.c. p. 725 note 1 and references there.
8) l.c. p. 208f.
9) H.E. VI, 49, 5f.
10) Les Martyrs d'Egypte, see Bardy l.c. pp. 208f.
The first native Egyptian Christian writer of whom it is reported that he wrote in Coptic (§νερεψάτο Ἰρ Ελπικωττο ρέενι) is Hieracas, an Egyptian by birth, who was born about A.D. 270 or a little earlier in Leontopolis in the nome of Heliopolis in the Delta and lived to be over 90 years of age\(^1\). Towards the end of the third century we have the beginnings of monasticism in Egypt commencing with St. Antony (ca. A.D. 251 – 353/4)\(^2\). It is reported that he knew no Greek at all, and Bardy has pointed to a reference in St. Jerome that St. Antony wrote some letters in Coptic which were accompanied by Greek translations\(^3\). Here again it is not until the fourth century that any Coptic writers of importance appear, like Pachomius and Shenoute. The end of the third century must also have witnessed the first translations of Gnostic\(^4\) and

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1) Cf. C. Schmidt in ZNTW XXIV, 221ff. and references there. E. Peterson, Ein Fragment des Hieracas(?) in Muséon LX, 257ff. makes it probable that the Achmimic hymn-fragment (see above pp. 203ff., 238f., also 203 note 3) was written by Hieracas. In that case his writings must have been translated into Achmimic in the far south very early in the Coptic period, since the manuscript clearly dates from the first half of the fourth century. It would be difficult to establish whether Hieracas wrote in Bohairic or Sahidic, though the latter seems more probable. It seems likely that learned men like Hieracas who presumably had a knowledge of Demotic were responsible for the introduction of the additional Demotic letters into Christian Coptic, cf. p. 244 n.1.

2) I cannot deal here with the question whether Paul of Thebes was earlier than St. Antony, etc.; for a full bibliography on the beginnings of monasticism see B. Altaner, *Patrologie*, 2nd edition, especially pp. 222ff.; cf. also K. Heussi, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums* p. 81, also Bardy l.c. and *Muséon* LIII, 1ff.

3) See Bardy l.c. p. 212.

4) For Gnosticism in Egypt and the translation of Gnostic works into
Manichaean writings into Coptic.

On the evidence it seems that the first serious attempts to convert the native Egyptians to Christianity were not made until the time of Di­onysius, about the middle of the third century. There probably were a number of conversions before that date, but these cannot have been many. It is not until the end of the third century that native Egyptian Chris­tians appear in any considerable number and Bardy significantly remarks: S'il est assuré qu'au début du IVe siècle l'élément copte est représenté dans les Églises d'Égypte, il semble bien qu'il reste une faible minorité et que, dans l'ensemble, le Christianisme en Égypte demeure attaché à l' Héllénisme.

The time of standardisation of the Coptic dialects.

It would seem that the evidence of the earliest Coptic manuscripts is hardly such as to suggest a different conclusion. It is of course possible, and perhaps even probable, that at Alexandria a semi-Sahidic version of parts of the Bible was current a little earlier than the mid­dle of the third century, but it can hardly have spread south much before the second half of the century. It is very notable that texts which can be dated either on external evidence as the Melitian archive, or on the basis of Greek texts in the same manuscripts as the Hamburg manuscript of the Acta Pauli, reveal a rather different picture from that which we ob­tain from early Coptic manuscripts which have been dated purely on the

Coptic see in particular C.Schmidt, Die Urschrift der Pistis Sophia in ZNTW XXIV, 218ff. and cf.P.Ryl.Greek III number 463; for the new Gnostic manuscripts see above p.234 note 5.

1) For Manichaean texts in general and their translation into Coptic see Allberry, A Manichaean Psalm-book part II p.XIX and references there, cf.P.Ryl.Greek III number 469 and note there; see also W.Seston in Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud vol.I pp.227ff.

basis of Coptic supported by Greek palaeography. Our earliest manuscripts in the former group are: the Old Fayyumic glosses in the Chester Beatty Isaiah manuscript (mid. 3rd)\(^1\), the Sahidic glosses in the Washington manuscript of the Minor Prophets (late 3rd)\(^2\), the Achmimic Psalm-fragment edited by Crum (late 3rd)\(^3\), the Greek-Coptic glossary to Hosea and Amos edited by Bell and Thompson (late 3rd)\(^4\), the Old Coptic portions in the Papyrus Mimaut (late 3rd)\(^5\), the Hamburg manuscript of the Acta Pauli in Greek with certain books of the Old Testament in an Old Fayyumic translation (3rd-4th)\(^6\), the Old Coptic portions in the Paris Magical Papyrus (early 4th)\(^7\), the Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah (early 4th)\(^8\), the Achmimic manuscript of Hymns (early 4th)\(^9\), the Melitian archive (ca. 330 A.D.)\(^10\), the British Museum manuscript of Deuteronomy, Jonah and Acts which can be dated on the basis of Greek texts found in the binding and the non-literary hand on the last folios (ca. 330-350 A.D.)\(^11\), the Achmimic manuscript of Exodus and Sirach (mid. 4th ?; Wilcken would date the manuscript as late as the fifth century)\(^12\).

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1) See above p. 228 and note 2 there.
3) See above p. 237 and note 3.
4) See above pp. 220f. and 220 note 3.
6) See above pp. 227ff. and 227 note 5.
7) See above pp. 242ff. and elsewhere.
8) See above pp. 203ff. and 203 note 1.
Judging from these texts alone it could be stated quite confidently that Achmimic and Subachmimic were not standardised until the early fourth century, Middle Egyptian late in the third century\(^1\) and Fayyumic not until the middle of the fourth century. Sahidic is obviously earlier, but it may legitimately be questioned whether before the fourth century it was more standardised than we find it in the first part of the Old Coptic portions in the Paris Magical Papyrus and in the Papyrus Mimaut. This also would explain the uncertainty in spelling and orthography in the Sahidic letter from the Melitian archive\(^2\) and the British Museum manuscript of Deuteronomy, Jonah and Acts, though both show already a considerable degree of standardisation. The evidence would in fact bear out fully the estimate of Professor F.J.J. Griffith which he wrote as early as 1901:\(^3\)

'Can the theory of the early date of the Coptic Versions be reconciled with the overlapping date of the Old Coptic texts? The Old Coptic texts in the Paris Papyrus, dating from the end of the third century or probably later, were evidently written by a 'good scribe' if not a 'learned man', yet the alphabet and orthography are still clumsy. It seems somewhat improbable that the Coptic alphabet and the Versions of the Bible should already have been perfected, though rougher and ill-spelt versions were current at the time'.

On the other hand a number of Coptic manuscripts have been dated before the fourth century, on the basis of Coptic supported by Greek palaeography, as the Achmimic Proverbs\(^4\), the Subachmimic St. John\(^5\) and in par-

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1) Middle Egyptian was earlier, perhaps because at Oxyrhynchus (see pp. 223ff.) a Greek Christian community is known to have existed already in the early third century.

2) See above p. 236 note 3, cf. also the other letter, see p. 241.

3) In ÄZ XXXIX, 78ff.

4) Cf. the references in Simon's article in Mémorial Lagrange pp. 197ff.

5) Stegemann, Kopt. Palaeographie pp. 8b, 12b, cf. Simon, Muséon LIX, 501 n. 16.
ticular the recent Gnostic find\(^1\)). If we were to judge from these, it
would have to be admitted that a fully standardised Sahidic with a few
archaisms had been current in Egypt already during the middle of the
third century\(^1\) and Achmimic and Subachmimic a little later. It should
be obvious on all considerations that it is extremely dangerous to date
fully standardised Coptic texts earlier than the fourth century. In
fact, the photo of one of the Gnostic manuscripts which has been dated in
the middle of the third century\(^2\) shows considerable likeness to the Ber­
lin Achmimic I Clement which Schmidt dated in the second half of the
fourth century\(^3\). It would be difficult to cite any extensive Sahidic
manuscript earlier than the end of the fourth century which does not show
at least some archaisms or misspellings. It was not until the end of
that century or early in the fifth century that full standardisation was
reached as we find it in some manuscripts of the present collection\(e.g.
number 17\). C.Schmidt arrived at much the same conclusions in 1925\(^4\).

The influence of Christianity on the Coptic language.

As regards the translation of the Bible into Coptic\(^5\), it must be

\(^1\) See above p.234 note 5.

104 and note 2 and references there. On the photo Δε is clearly visi­
ble, also other Greek words, hence Greek particles were freely used.
The dialect as far as visible is pure early Sahidic and would hardly
justify a date before the fourth century.

\(^3\) C.Schmidt,Der Erste Clemensbrief p.10.

\(^4\) ZNTW XXIV,221ff.

\(^5\) I find it difficult to accept the arguments tentatively suggested by
Lefort(Muséon LXI,168f.,LXII,19f.) that the Old Testament was transla­
ted into Coptic earlier than the New Testament, and that it was made
by Jews. If the translation and syntax of the Coptic Old Testament
are more primitive than those of the New Testament, this is merely a
remembered that until the Council of Chalcedon in A.D.451 Greek was the principal language of the Church in Egypt and obviously served for all

sign that the Coptic Version of the Old Testament was not considered sufficiently important to be revised as thoroughly as that of the New Testament. The dangers involved in arguments of this kind are clearly demonstrated if we compare the Sahidic, Subachmimic and Achmimic versions of the Gospel of St. John. All of them essentially have the same version, yet the variants are considerable (cf. above pp.11ff.).

The Subachmimic St. John shows us the Sahidic Version in a form which must have been current in Sahidic during the latter half of the third century. Whether certain archaisms, as the participle ep- (cf. p.215 and n.5), were taken over from the Sahidic original, or are due to the original Subachmimic dialect, is difficult to establish, though the former seems more probable since ep- occurs also in the Pistis Sophia. At any rate, this example, like others, e.g. chapter VIII par.129, demonstrate clearly that the syntax of the Sahidic Version could be, and in fact was, frequently revised in early times, just as phrases and words were altered. The New Testament, being far more important for missionary purposes than the Old Testament, was consequently more liable to be revised and corrected at an early period.

In any case it is difficult to understand what would have led the Jews in Egypt to translate the Bible into a language which few of them can have spoken, and at a period - the third century - when Judaism was little interested in proselytism. At Adiabene and elsewhere where a Jewish translation of the Old Testament was made before a Christian translation of the New Testament into Syriac, the position was quite different and can hardly be compared, cf. P. Kahle, The Cairo Genizah pp.179ff.. In places like Adiabene there were large Aramaic-speaking Jewish communities, but it would be difficult to cite any evidence for Coptic-speaking Jewish communities in Egypt.
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official purposes). Until the middle of the fourth century the Coptic scriptures can hardly have been more than a useful means of interpreting the Bible for native Egyptians and in particular for the use of the rapidly growing number of hermits and communities who, coming mostly from the poorer classes, would be ignorant of Greek, like St. Antony and even St. Pachomius who had to learn Greek late in life.

I have attempted to point out above that Sahidic or a form of Sahidic was already the official language of the more educated native Egyptian long before the advent of Christianity; obviously Sahidic would be the first dialect into which the Bible was translated, and in fact this is borne out by textual considerations. As Sahidic was already essentially developed, the Christian influence on the dialect was comparatively small and gradual. We may point to the strong influx of Greek words and in particular Greek particles, though many of the earliest texts still have native for Greek words and show a reluctance to use Greek particles.


3) In particular the Hamburg Old Fayyumic Papyrus, see above pp.227ff.; cf. also p.254 note 5 and p.255. See also Thompson, The Gospel of St. John p.XX where he lists 9 examples of native words in that manuscript where the Sahidic Version has Greek words, and only two examples for the converse, and he concludes: 'The above list hardly gives support to the suggestion that the use of Greek words is a sign of a primitive text'. See also Thompson, The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles pp.XXIIIff. and the list published by J. Ziegler, Beiträge zur koptischen Dodekapropheten-Übersetzung in Biblica XXV p.126. Many
We may also point to the use of the particle Nει which, though of rare occurrence in Demotic, was used to ensure a literal translation from the Greek. It can actually be demonstrated from our earliest texts that this particle was regarded as an innovation¹. The principal influence of Christianity on Sahidic is to be seen in the gradual standardisation of the dialect, and the effect of this even on the non-Christian native Egyptians will be obvious if we compare the dialect of the Papyrus Mimaut and the Paris Magical Papyrus with that of P.Michigan 136 and later Kropp

more examples could be cited, e.g. Sap.XIV(Lagarde)c0ynn (=Thompson Νει), Achm.Sir.XXII,25 ςρατ (=Sah. etρανε), ib.XXIII,2 ςνε (=Sah. ματιας), etc..

1) There are perhaps few Coptic words concerning which there is so much uncertainty and variety of spelling as Νει. In Achmimic it occurs as Νεε, ει, εε, εε, cf. Crum,Dictionary p.252a; in Subachmimic we find ει in John, Νει in Mani, Νεε in BM 522 and Νει in AP; in the Middle Egyptian Didache it occurs in no less than three spellings: Νει, Νεε, εε, see above p.226; in early Fayyumic it is Νεε as in Bohairic, but it does not occur at all in the Old Fayyumic Hamburg papyrus and in later Fayyumic texts it also occurs as Νει, Νεε, Νεθ, Νει, εε, see Crum,Dict.p.252a. In addition it is often omitted in Achmimic, see Stern in ΖΖ XXIV,133 and Malinine in Coptic Studies in Honour of W.E.Crum p.369; and in some early texts it seems to be replaced by ι, see chapter VIII par.79A(e). For the origin of Νει see also Griffith,Stories of the High Priests of Memphis p.145 note, cf. also ΖΖ XXXVIII p.76 and Rec.XXX pp.149ff..

In non-literary texts Νει is extremely rare and in many of the instances it is in quotations from the Bible or biblical phrases, e.g. γονες Νει πνουτε Bal.187¹² and note 16 there, cf. Crum in Ep.I p.251. It is obvious that Νει never became part of the spoken language of the people.
On the other hand, the influence of Christianity on the local dialects is very much more marked and decisive. This will be obvious at once if we compare on the one hand the dialect of the Old Coptic Horoscope with Achmimic, the Old Coptic Oxyrhynchus text with Middle Egyptian, and on the other hand the dialect of the Schmidt Papyrus (ca. A.D. 100), the Papyrus Mimaut and the Paris Magical Papyrus with Sahidic. Despite the fact that many lines are complete and often the reading is not in doubt, the Horoscope and the Oxyrhynchus text are largely incomprehensible to us, whereas the Paris Magical Papyrus, the Papyrus Mimaut and even the Schmidt Papyrus can be understood and translated with some certainty. 

The influence of Sahidic or an early form of it must have been so strong that already, long before Christianity spread to the south, these local dialects, except Fayyumic and Bohairic, had largely disappeared and probably continued in some form only among the poorer classes. When Christianity spread to the south there was obviously a desire to convert these poorer classes and the first attempts must soon have been made to standardise the local dialects to make a translation of the Bible possible. This would obviously be done under the influence of Sahidic, and in fact it was almost invariably the Sahidic Version which was transposed into the dialects current south of the Fayyum. Thus it is not surprising that the first attempts were in a mixture of Sahidic(-Bohairic) and Achmimic (or Subachmimic, Middle Egyptian). In time the dialects were fully standardised, but there is abundant evidence to show that these fully standardised dialects(Achmimic, Subachmimic, Middle Egyptian) only partly represented the ancient dialects spoken in those regions, and certainly did not represent properly the language of the people which was presumably the main reason for their early disappearance. In the Fayyum the


2) For the manuscripts etc. cf. above pp. 252ff. and elsewhere.
position was somewhat different, because the local dialect was much stronger. But even in Fayyumic the dialect of the Hamburg Old Fayyumic Papyrus and Fayyumic letters of a later period\(^1\) are sufficient evidence that the dialect standardised under the influence of Bohairic, and later Sahidic, did not properly represent the language of the people\(^2\). We may assume that much the same happened with Bohairic in the Delta. In both regions a local version of the Bible in Fayyumic and Bohairic existed side by side with the official Sahidic Version, though part of the Fayyumic Version was taken over from the Bohairic and later the Sahidic Version\(^3\). In both regions the local dialects were so strong that Sahidic was never more than the official dialect; and although in origin Sahidic was probably very close to Bohairic, it must have departed more and more from the spoken idiom of the people in the Delta, probably even at Alexandria. But the question how and when Bohairic superseded the official Sahidic in the Delta and later the whole of Egypt raises very serious difficulties. At any rate it seems certain that this cannot have taken place before the tenth or eleventh century when Arabic had become well established as the official language of Egypt.

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1) Cf. Crum in the Preface of his *Varia Coptica*: 'Coptic documents, whether contracts or letters, even when flawlessly preserved, seem fated to remain here and there obscure. If that is true of Sahidic texts, far more it is so of those in Fayyumic, whereof nos.114,115,116,128 are fine examples. I have failed to interpret satisfactorily any one of these; indeed I am often uncertain still how the words are to be divided'.

2) Cf. especially ḫr (and ḫ) in literary texts, but ṭnwhi in documents.

3) See below Appendix II.
Appendix I: A List of early Coptic Manuscripts

On the suggestion of Mr. C.H. Roberts I have been collecting material for a list of Coptic manuscripts prior to the sixth century. I feel that a publication of this list will be useful, but, while I have attempted to collect at least all published material, it cannot claim to be complete. I have attempted to date all manuscripts of which I have seen either the original or a photo, but the methods of my dating may well be open to criticism; in most of the doubtful cases I have consulted Mr. Roberts. For my dating of these manuscripts I have used five criteria:

1) Paleography, based on Greek paleography.
3) The systems of superlineation used in the manuscripts.
4) The dialect of the manuscripts.

It may be added that for the fifth century more Sahidic manuscripts can probably be cited, but I have included only those manuscripts about which I felt reasonably certain that they should be assigned to the fifth rather than the fifth-sixth century.

A) Sahidic Manuscripts.

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<tr>
<th>Texts</th>
<th>Century</th>
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<th>Parchment</th>
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<th>II Columns</th>
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<td>Acts (Vienna, ed. Wessely)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul. Eps. (Bal. 17)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul. Eps. (Bal. 18)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul. Eps. (BM Or. 6695)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul. Eps. (Lefort, Louvain 18)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul. Eps. (Lefort, Louvain 21)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul. Eps. (BM 130, 133)</td>
<td>V</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul. Eps. (BM 962)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul. Eps. (BM 965)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul. Eps. (Morgan XVIII, p. 201)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Cor. (Till 53, Biblica XX, 379)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheph. Hermas (Lefort, Louvain 26)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemm. Apok. Apostelakten II</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martyrdom (BM 1002)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homily, Gr. - Copt. (BM 285)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin Gnostic (see p. 234 n. 2)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruce Codex, 1 Ms. (see p. 234 n. 3)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job (see Worrell, Copt. Texts p. 6)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts (Till, Ryl. Suppl. 13)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>(3 Columns)</td>
<td>Roll ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cf. P. Mich. 1190 (Cra. IV, 5ff.) Magical</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Roll</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B) Achimimic Manuscripts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Texts</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Papyrus</th>
<th>Roll</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hymns, Hieracas ? (see p. 203 n. 3, 4)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Roll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascension of Isaiah (see p. 203 n. 1)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Roll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maccabees (see p. 197 n. 5)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Roll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genesis (see p. 203 n. 2)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus (Muséon LXVI, 1ff.)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texts</td>
<td>Century</td>
<td>Papyrus</td>
<td>Parchment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exod. Sir. (BIFAO VIII, 45ff.)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalms (cf. Mémoire de Lagrange p. 199)</td>
<td>IV(?)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proverbs (see p. 197 n.4)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matth. Gr.-Copt. (Symb. Oe. XXIV, 121ff.)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke (Muséon LXII, 199ff., LXVI, 16ff.)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James (see p. 200 n.1)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Clement (Schmidt, Berlin)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acta Pauli (ined. Rylands)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheph. Hermas (see p. 197 n.1)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apoc. Elias (ed. Steindorff)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragm. (Wessely, Sa. Gr. Ps. Fr. p. 64)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Till, Osternbrief</td>
<td>IV-V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Roll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Prophets (Till, Malinine)</td>
<td>IV-V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galatians (Worrell, Copt. Texts p. 8)</td>
<td>IV-V(?)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schmidt, Gespräche Jesu (TU 43)</td>
<td>IV-V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Clem., James, John (ed. Rüsch)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C) Subachimic Manuscripts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Texts</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Papyrus</th>
<th>Parchment</th>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Columns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John (see p. 206 n.4)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragment (Vienna, see p. 207 n.1)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X(?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragment (Florence, see p. 207 n.2)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Gnostic MSS (see p. 206 n.3)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnostic (BM 522, cf. p. 206 n.7)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrews (see p. 208 n.3)</td>
<td>IV(?)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manich. Kephalaias (ed. Polotsky, Böhlí) IV-V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Manichaean MSS (see p. 194 n.2)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acta Pauli (see p. 193 n.3)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D) Middle Egyptian Manuscripts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Texts</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Papyrus</th>
<th>Parchment</th>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Columns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cf. Gloss. to Hosea, Amos (see p. 220 n.2)</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Roll</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## IX Appendix I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Texts</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Papyrus</th>
<th>Parchment</th>
<th>I Column</th>
<th>II Columns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homily (Hoskyns, see p.220 n.4)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genesis (ined., see p.220 n.4)</td>
<td>IV-V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eccl. (P. Mich. 3520, see p.225 n.1)</td>
<td>IV-V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John (P. Mich. 3521, see p.225 n.1)</td>
<td>IV-V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romans (see p.220 n.2)</td>
<td>IV-V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephesians (BM 508, see p.225 n.3)</td>
<td>IV-V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragm. (Wadi Sarga, ined., see Addenda)</td>
<td>IV-V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didache (see p.225 n.2)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Roll(?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job (WS 1, see p.220 n.2)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragment (see p.227 n.3)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### E) Fayyumic Manuscripts.

- Hamburg Papyrus (see p.227 n.5)        | III-IV  | X       | X         |          |            |
- Astrological (BM 523)                   | IV      | X       | Roll(?)   |          |            |
- I Samuel (ined. Bodleian)               | IV-V    | X       | X         |          |            |
- Acts (see Appendix II below)            | IV-V    | X       | X         |          |            |
- Homily (BM 521, see p.230 n.2)          | IV-V    | X       | X         |          |            |
- Jeremiah (see p.229 n.1)                | V       | X       | X         |          |            |
- Romans (Muséon XLIX, 197f., no. K)      | V       | X       | X(?)      |          |            |
- Romans (BM 506)                         | V       | X       | X         |          |            |
- Romans (Till, Ryl. Suppl. 16)           | V       | X       | X         |          |            |
- Romans (ined. Bodleian)                 | V       | X       | X         |          |            |

### F) Bohairic Manuscripts.

- Cf. Boh. School-book (see p.251 n.1)      | IV      | X       | X         |          |            |
- Philippians, semi-Boh. (see p.231)        | IV-V    | X       | X         |          |            |

## Conclusions and Summaries.

Perhaps the most revealing feature of this list of early Coptic manuscripts is the preponderance of manuscripts in Sahidic over those in
other dialects; and this demonstrates even further the universal importance of the Sahidic dialect already at the beginning of the Coptic period (cf. above pp. 256f. and elsewhere). In the list published above even the smallest scraps in the local dialects have been cited, and if the same were done with the numerous small early Sahidic fragments scattered in various museums, the relative proportion would be considerably higher.

The following is a summary of the number of manuscripts in the Coptic dialects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialects</th>
<th>Century:</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>III-IV</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>IV-V</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sahidic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achmimic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subachmimic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Egyptian</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayyumic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohairic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Roll or Codex.**

Rolls are extremely rare in Coptic and only eight out of 162 manuscripts can perhaps be described as such. Out of these two are magical, and are hardly rolls in the proper sense (P. Mich. 1190 ed. Worrell in Ora. IV pp. 5ff. and BM 523); two others are written on the back of earlier Greek texts (Glossary to Hosea and Amos, see p. 220 n. 2, and the Achmimic Ascension of Isaiah, see p. 203 n. 1). Of the other four one was probably a writing exercise (Till, Osterbrief) and two are merely short extracts and were never meant to be complete (Achm. Maccabees, see p. 197 n. 5, and the Didache, see p. 225 n. 2); there only remains the Achmimic manuscript of Hymns (see p. 203 notes 3, 4) of which only one complete column and parts of another column are preserved.

It may be noted that, with the possible exception of P. Mich. 1190, none of these texts is in Sahidic, and no less than four of them are in Achmimic and were presumably written in the far south.
We may conclude that by the beginning of the Coptic period the codex had become universally used by Christians in Egypt, and this is in fact fully borne out by the evidence of the Greek papyri, see C. H. Roberts in *JTS* L(1949)pp.155ff.

### Papyrus or Parchment.

The following is a summary of the evidence in the Coptic dialects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialects</th>
<th>Century:</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>III-IV</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>IV-V</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sahidic</td>
<td>papyrus</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parchment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achmimic</td>
<td>papyrus</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parchment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subachm.</td>
<td>papyrus</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parchment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid. Egypt.</td>
<td>papyrus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>parchment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayyumic</td>
<td>papyrus</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parchment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohairic</td>
<td>papyrus</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parchment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>papyrus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parchment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This summary yields some very interesting results. Except for the fourth century parchment was mostly used for manuscripts in Sahidic, the official dialect; an exception in this is only Thebes where the use of parchment seems to have been practically unknown until long after the Arab conquest. The only early parchment manuscripts known to me from Thebes are the Berlin Psalter (ed. Rahlfs) and the Turin manuscript of the two Wisdoms (ed. Lagarde), cf. pp. 233ff. Further north parchment became commonly used by the end of the fourth century and most of the manuscripts of the fourth to sixth centuries found at Bala'izah and Wadi Sarga were written on parchment.
This evidence receives important confirmation by the fact that most of the Achmimic manuscripts were written on papyrus and this is of some significance as Achmimic was probably the literary dialect of Thebes, cf. above pp.198ff.. In fact, of the four parchment manuscripts in Achmimic one was found in the Fayyum (see p.200 and n.1), another was probably found near Achmim (the Minor Prophets, cf. p.200) and a third shows Subachmimic influence (Genesis, cf. pp.203ff.); the provenance of the fourth (Acta Pauli, Rylands ined.) does not seem to be known. The Subachmimic manuscripts are all written on papyrus with only one exception (the fragment found at Antinoe, see p.207 n.2); on the other hand, parchment seems mostly used for Middle Egyptian and Fayyumic manuscripts, except the earliest texts.

I Column or II Columns.

The following is a summary of the evidence in the Coptic dialects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialects</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>III-IV</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>IV-V</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sahidic</td>
<td>I column</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II columns</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achmimic</td>
<td>I column</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II columns</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subachm.</td>
<td>I column</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II columns</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid.Egypt.</td>
<td>I column</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II columns</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayyumic</td>
<td>I column</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II columns</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohairic</td>
<td>I column</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II columns</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>I column</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II columns</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be noted that all papyrus manuscripts are written in one column with only one exception (BM 1002, a fifth century manuscript). Also
all early Sahidic manuscripts from Thebes (see pp. 233f.), the Gnostic manuscripts from Naγ Hammadi, all Achmimic manuscripts and all except one of the Subachmimic manuscripts are written in one column. The practice of writing Coptic manuscripts in two columns seems to have spread from the north and did not become commonly used until after the fifth century. Here again the evidence is fully supported by the Greek papyri, see C.H. Roberts in JTS L (1949) pp. 155ff., especially pp. 162f.

Contents.

The relative proportion of manuscripts containing books of the Old or New Testaments, and of manuscripts containing biblical or non-biblical texts is of some interest, and the following is a summary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents:</th>
<th>Century:</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>III-IV</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>IV-V</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Testament (excl. Psalms, incl. LXX Apocrypha)</td>
<td>III-IV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Testament</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OT Apocrypha (excluding LXX)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT Apocrypha, Apostolic Fathers</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homilies, Martyrdoms, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnostic</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manichaean</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragments, contents uncertain</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here again it is of some interest to compare the result with the evidence of the Greek papyri, see C.H. Roberts in JTS L (1949) pp. 155ff.
Appendix II: The Bohairic Version in early Fayyumic Manuscripts.

I have already drawn attention to the fact that an important witness for the Bohairic Version is to be found in certain early Fayyumic manuscripts\(^1\). The most extensive and important of these is the British Museum manuscript of Acts. This manuscript, Ms.Or.6948(3-4), consists of two leaves written in one column on parchment, each measuring 6\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 4\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches. It is written in a very fine small uncial hand of the late fourth or early fifth century, resembling many other early Coptic hands\(^2\). The text was first published in 1910 by Sir Stephen Gaselee\(^3\) and independently a few years later by L.Th.Lefort and H.Coppitiers\(^4\). The hair-sides of the two pages are well preserved and present little difficulty, but the flesh-sides are extremely difficult to read and the two editions differ very considerably in their readings\(^5\). This attracted my attention and during repeated visits to the British Museum I collated and re-collated the manuscript, and I am now publishing below a revised edition of this important text.

When I first read the text of this manuscript in the published

\(^{1}\) Muséon LXIII p.153 note 23, cf.JTS NS II(1951)p.57 note 1, and see above pp.228,250ff..

\(^{2}\) See below plate III,8 in the present edition; Lefort compares Hyvernat, Album pl.IIb..

\(^{3}\) In JTS XI,514ff..

\(^{4}\) Muséon XV,49ff.. The editors do not seem to have been aware of the fact that the manuscript had already been published. Part of the text was re-published by Till, Koptische Chrestomathie für den Fayyumischen Dialekt pp.21f., cf.Gaselee in BSOAS VI,257ff..

\(^{5}\) Cf.Lefort in Muséon XV,50 '...cependant il est probable qu'une nouvelle collation avec l'original permettrait de préciser encore certaines lectures considérées comme douteuses'.
editions I was struck by the close similarity to the Bohairic Version, and when I had collated the manuscript, it became clear that this text preserves almost literally the text of the Bohairic Version: in fact, in the 27 verses which are extant there are no more than 12 variants for which there is no support from any Bohairic manuscript. This is all the more surprising in view of the fact that for this part of the Bible the earliest extant Bohairic manuscripts were written 900 and 1000 years later. There are naturally a few variants which are due to differences in dialect\textsuperscript{1)}, but these can hardly be regarded as true variants. I am publishing side by side with the text of one page of the Fayyumic manuscript that of the Bohairic Version which will make the close agreement of the two clear beyond all possible doubt. I have chosen for comparison one of the well preserved pages where the Fayyumic text is certain. For the text of the Bohairic Version I have not chosen the printed text of Horner's edition\textsuperscript{2)}, but, where there are variants among the Bohairic manuscripts, I have always chosen the text which is closest to the Fayyumic manuscript, even if, as in a few cases, this is attested by only one Bohairic manuscript. I feel that no useful purpose would be served in publishing a full \textit{apparatus criticus} in the present study, since this can easily be supplied from Horner's edition. The principal interest of this manuscript lies in the fact that it represents the Bohairic Version already in the fourth/fifth century and its text will have to be studied in close connection with the text of the Bohairic manuscripts. A few points of interest may be mentioned here: Sir Herbert Thompson fully investigated the Sahidic and Bohairic Versions of the Acts, and on the

\textsuperscript{1)} E.g. ὀψος for ὅψος (passim), ἀν for ἰν (passim), ὁθαγ for ὁθαγ VII, 17, 20, 23, and especially τῷ for ὁμῷ IX, 30, 38, cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 453a, this word τῷ occurs only in the present text.

Bohairic Version he writes\(^1\)(p. 357):

'\(1^2\)The manuscripts fall by date into two groups:

(1) \(ABFGK\) 12th - 14th century
(2) \(NOPST\) 17th - 18th century

None, therefore, is very early.

As regards their text they fall even more distinctly into two main groups:

(1) \(ABP\) and \(FS\)
(2) \(ΠΝΟΣ\)

\(SK\) lie between these two groups.

\(ABP\) are closely associated; but \(B\) is a very close follower of the Greek Codex Vaticanus, while \(A\) is an eccentric Ms. with many peculiar, often corrupt, readings. \(A\) was unfortunately adopted by Horner for his text and translation, which therefore do not correspond to the average Bohairic Version. Practically \(A, B,\) and \(Γ\) are the only manuscripts of any importance.\(^1\)

Also on p.cxliv: 'The digest of the collation ... will show the extraordinary fidelity of this version to the text of the old Greek Uncials, which extends in some cases to the Codex Vaticanus in particular'.

This statement is fully supported by the evidence of the present Fayyumic manuscript. For the 27 verses extant in the manuscript the Bohairic manuscripts show 81 variants. None of the manuscripts seem to agree more closely than any other with the Fayyumic text, and the agreements with the Fayyumic text are between 51 and 60, the disagreements between 21 and 30. On the other hand, the Bohairic manuscript \(A\) has for this passage no less than 24 peculiar readings unsupported by any other Bohairic manuscript, and it is remarkable that in 7 of these it agrees

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with the Fayyumic manuscript\(^1\). Other interesting agreements with the Fayyumic text are: FS twice (but in 10 peculiar readings they differ from the Fayyumic); AFS once; BP and Hunt 18 once. Two lectionaries are extant for part of the text: Hunt 18 which agrees once in a peculiar reading with the Fayyumic\(^2\), and the 'Consecration manuscript'\(^3\) which in two out of eight peculiar readings agrees with the Fayyumic.

Of the twelve variants where the Fayyumic manuscript is not supported by any Bohairic manuscript only one is of importance, but this one is peculiarly significant: In Acts VII, 24 the manuscript adds \(\gamma\nu\alpha\kappa\alpha\nu\gamma \varepsilon\nu \pi\varepsilon\omega\) with the Greek manuscript \(\Delta\) \(\varepsilon\kappa\varepsilon\upsilon\phi\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\kappa\tau\nu\varepsilon \nu\tau\alpha\nu\varepsilon \gamma\mu\mu\omega\) and the Latin Vulgate manuscript \(\nu\)\(^4\).

The conclusions which I was able to draw from this Fayyumic manuscript led me to investigate all Fayyumic fragments of the New Testament, and the result is of some significance. I am proposing to publish some detailed studies on the Fayyumic Version of the Bible, but for the present study it is perhaps not without interest to give a brief survey of some of the results\(^5\):

1) Ms. A, the British Museum Ms. Or. 424, dated A.D. 1307, is a copy of a manuscript written by a priest in A.D. 1250 who later became patriarch (Gabriel III, 1268-1271). The Bohairic manuscript \(\mathcal{A}\) of A.D. 1794 is a second copy of Gabriel's manuscript, and in a few instances seems to have copied the original more faithfully. It is obvious that Gabriel's text is based on some very ancient manuscripts. For the life of this patriarch see H. G. Evelyn White, The Monasteries of Wadi 'N Natrun p. 391.

2) Written in A.D. 1298 and thus the earliest Bohairic Ms. extant here.

3) G. Horner, The Consecration of Church and Altar, the manuscript is dated A.D. 1307.

4) This was already noted by Gaselee l.c.

5) This survey does not include the manuscripts in Middle Egyptian.
For the Gospels we have 22 manuscripts dating from the sixth to the ninth century; of these 19) present a version largely independent of both the Sahidic and Bohairic Versions; two manuscripts, BM 498 and 500, of the sixth and eighth centuries show the Bohairic Version with hardly any variants, and one manuscript, BM 501, probably of the seventh century has the Sahidic Version without any variants2).


(b) Morgan XXX pp.1,2 of the sixth century, from a lectionary.

(c) Morgan XXXI pp.3,4,141,142 of the sixth or seventh century.

(d) Morgan XLVI pp.63,64 of the sixth or seventh century.

(e) Lemm in *Études Leemans* pp.95-102, cf.JTS NS II(1951)pp.49ff.

(f) Crum CMSS number 1 of the ninth century.

(g) BM 502 of the sixth or seventh century.

(h) BM 503 of the sixth or seventh century.

(i) BM 499 perhaps of the ninth century.

(j) BKU 168 perhaps of the seventh century.

(k) Till in MR(neue Folge)number 3 of the sixth or seventh century.

(l) ib. number 4, perhaps of the sixth century.

(m) Muséon XLIX, 187f. (F) of the eighth or ninth century.

(n) ib. (G) perhaps of the eighth century.

(o) Muséon LI, 232 (date ?).

(p) ib.pp.227f. (date ?).

(q) ib.pp.236f. probably of the sixth century; the recto is Matth. I,10-12 not I,15-17.


(s) Muséon LIII,3ff.

2) On the recto line 6 read γ1μαα for γεαα (collated).
For the Acts we have two manuscripts; one is the text re-edited below of the fourth/fifth century, the other is a manuscript at Vienna, a late manuscript. Both show the Bohairic Version, but the Vienna manuscript has a number of variants.

For the Pauline epistles we have fourteen manuscripts. Of these one of the fifth century has a text independent of both the Sahidic and Bohairic Versions; another two, probably both of the sixth/seventh century, have a version which is largely independent, but with some leanings towards the Bohairic Version; ten manuscripts, among these three of the fourth/fifth century, and the rest not later than the seventh century, have the text of the Bohairic Version; the three earlier ones have hardly any variants, and in this respect they are very like the manuscript of Acts re-edited below. One manuscript of the ninth century

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1) Ed. Till in Muséon XLII, 193ff.
2) An unpublished fragment of Romans in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
3) Muséon XLIX, 169ff. numbers L and O.
5) The manuscripts are:
   (a) Muséon XLIX, 169ff. number N.
   (b) Morgan XXXVIII pp. 3, 4, 103, 104.
   (c) Morgan XLIII pp. 2, 299, 300.
   (d) BM 505.
   (e) BM 507.
   (f) Muséon XLIX, 169ff. number M.
   (g) Worrell in BSAC VI, 127ff., a Michigan manuscript; considerable portions of this manuscript, still unpublished, are in the Pierpont Morgan Collection (M. 660).
6) The White Monastery manuscript published by Zoëga, Catalogus pp. 151ff., Chassinat in BIFAO II, 201ff., Wessely, Sitzungsbl., Vienna Acad. 158 (1906)
is based on the text of the Sahidic Version, but a number of variants point to influence from the Fayyumic-Bohairic text.

For the Catholic Epistles we have three manuscripts\textsuperscript{1} of the fifth to seventh centuries showing a version independent of the Sahidic and Bohairic Versions, and one manuscript\textsuperscript{2}, probably of the eighth century, has the Bohairic Version with a few variants.

It is particularly significant that, where Fayyumic manuscripts follow the Bohairic Version, the agreements with that Version are much closer in the earlier than in the later manuscripts.

Something may be said about the Fayyumic dialect in which these manuscripts are written. As is only to be expected, the manuscripts which follow the Sahidic Version have Sahidicisms to a greater or lesser extent, and in particular the White Monastery manuscript of the Pauline Epistles is only half-Fayyumic. The manuscripts which have an independent version are written in a much more pure Fayyumic, and this is especially noteworthy in the case of the White Monastery manuscript of the Gospels\textsuperscript{3}. The manuscripts which follow the Bohairic Version are written in a very pure Fayyumic with hardly any Sahidicisms, and this is particularly true of the earlier manuscripts.

\textsuperscript{1} BM 509 and \textit{Muséon} XLIX,169ff. numbers I and J. The fragment of number I, published on pp.195ff., contains James I,21-23,24-26.

\textsuperscript{2} Two wooden tablets in the Cairo Museum, unpublished.

\textsuperscript{3} Hebbelyn\textsuperscript{k} in \textit{Muséon} XXXV,3ff. demonstrated convincingly that the manuscript of the Gospels and that of the Pauline Epistles came from the White Monastery; presumably they were written in the Fayyum like so many of the Sahidic manuscripts from the White Monastery, cf.A.van Lantschoot, \textit{Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte} vol.I fasc.2 pp.16f.(XII note 3) and references there.
Text:

BMOr.6948(4) Recto: (hair-side) Acts VII,14 - 22.

(margin)

[...]

VII,14 μὴ τεκνεύοντες θαλ. αὐω [ἐνάχ] ἔν
15 τὸ μῦχην ἀγιν ἥν ἐκ Ἰακοβ ζαλίς εἰκ[ν][ι]
16 ἀγω αὐμοι ἐνάχ μὴ νεια[δ] ἀγω αὐ ὑφασμίοι εὐχεμ. ἀγκευ ἐμ πιὶ

5 γεού εταχουάνυ ἥν ἄβραμ ἑκ ούτι

κὶ ἦ ἄβραμ ἄνθιαν λεμ.ρ.

17 ἐν σύχεμε κατὰ τιν ἰε ἐταχουάνυ ἦ


πλαος αὐσειει γαμή ἐν Κκακι χαλτευ

18 τοιν ἦε κερα ἐγκαὶ εἱζε κεκ εν

κασούν καὶ Νίους ὑφο νειομε δυ μετεμβ εγούν επενγενος αὐτὲμ

κὲ νειοδ髡 etρουγίοι άνύχκοιν

19 ναλανι εβαλ εὐστεμουςασε γαμαί

ἐυ μποϊαν εττεμυ αυμίει ἄμωυς[ε] κ[ν]

20 ἀγω νεοταςιος πελαφα πει αὐ

γανούοες θὸ ναβατ εμ πνὴι άμπει ω[

21 εταχουάνυ δὲ εβαλ ασχοτὺ ἥν τοι[ν]

μφαραω αὐσανούουες νες εού[ν]η[λί]


(margin)

1.[ἐνάχ]μν.; definitely not γαμή in as in the Bohairic manuscripts.

13. μετεμβ; a αο seems to have been written over the c.

21. άνυχκοιν; definitely not άνυχκοιν.

N.B. 2. not μῦχην, αγι; 6. not ἰνακιλ ἄνωρ; 15. not ναλανι; 18. not άμω; 20. not μφαραω.
Text of the Bohairic Version:

As noted on p. 280 above I have not chosen here the printed text of Horner's edition, but, where there are variants among the Bohairic manuscripts I have chosen the text which is closest to the Fayyumic.

VII, 14

VII, 15

VII, 16

VII, 17

VII, 18

VII, 19

VII, 20

VII, 21

VII, 22
IX Appendix II

16. ἁνάνς; — is a space-filler, it recurs later.
N.B. 1. not ἕλαμκήμι (as also in Bohairic) seems required by the space.
16. ἁνάνς; — is a space-filler, it recurs later.
N.B. 1. not ἕλαμκήμι (so again line 8); 3. not ἁναίγητι ἁναίγητι (sic)
16. ἁνάνς; — is a space-filler, it recurs later.
IX Appendix II

IX, 28-29 Εμ πλεν ὁμός ναγγεξι ΔΕ
ΑΥΩ ΝΑΓΓΕΣΙ ΜΙΝΝΙΟΥΕΙΝ[Π]
ΝΤΑΥΔΕ ΝΑΓΓΟΥΟΥ ΕΙΝΙ ΝΕΠΟΙΧ]
30 εγλίν εξων εγαντβεγ εταγίνι ΔΕ
ΝΣΕ ΝΗΣΝΗΟΥ ΑΥΕΝΤΥ ΕΓΛΗΙ ΕΚΕ
ΣΑΡΙΑΔ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤΤΟΥΕΓ ΕΓΛΗΙ ΕΤΑΡΣΟ
31 τεκτακεία μεν ούν ηντε ηνωίδεα]
ΤΗΛΕ ΜΗ ΤΡΑΛΙΕΔ ΜΗ ΤΣΑΜΑΡΙΑ
ΝΕΟΥΑΝΤΕΥ ΕΝΟΥΣΙΡΝΗ ΕΥΚΗΤ]
ΕΥΜΑΓΗ ΕΙΝ ΤΕΑΤ ΝΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΑΓ
ΝΗΟΥ ΝΑΓΓΕΙ ΕΙΝ ΤΜΕΤΑΤΑΓΗΤ ΝΗ]
32 τε πεπνά ετονεβ ΑΣΥ[ΛΝΠΙ]
ΔΕ ΕΛΕ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΝΕΩΝΙ Ε[ΒΑ]Λ ΕΝ]
ΧΩΟΥ ΤΗΛΟΥ ΑΗΙ ΑΥΛ ΝΙΣΑΠΟΣ
33 ετγαν ΕΙΝ ΛΥΔΑΑ ΑΥΧΕΜ ΟΥΛΩΜΙ[Π]
ΜΕΕΥ ΕΝΕΚΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΝΕΑ ΑΥΧΕΑ]
ΑΗ ΝΛΑΜΠΙ ΕΥΧΘΝΟΥΤ ΕΞΕΝ ΟΥ
ΜΑ ΝΙΚΑΤ ΠΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΑΥΝΟΤ ΠΕ
34 πετρος ΔΕ ΠΕΖΕΝ ΝΕΥ ΔΕ ΕΝΕΑ
ΠΤΕΛΟΝ ΑΙΜΑΚ ΝΣΕ ΙΗΣ ΠΧΡΣ ΤΩ[Ν]
ΠΩΛΗΓ ΖΑΛΛΑΚ ΑΥΝ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΥΝ[ΟΝ]
(margin)

6. αυττογε; see above p.280 note 1.

17. άν; the line is over both letters (sic!).

ἐγχθνουτ; definitely not ἐγχθνουτ.

N.B. 1.apparently not ζμ; 11. η— not certain, but probable.
IX Appendix II

IX, 35

\[\text{\[αυ\]νευ \ έλαγ \ τηλού \ άξε \ νετύαω \ είν} \]

\[\text{\[λυ\]δα \ μί \ σαρων \ άξω \ αυκατου \ επος} \]

36

\[\text{\[Νελή\]δε \ εγ \ ιομπ\]ν \ νευα\]ν \ ουλα\]θήν} \]

\[\text{\[της \ ή\]γιμι \ \[μ\]\[ε\]\[μ\]\[ε\]\[υ\]\[ε\] \ \[ε\]\[μ\]\[ε\]\[λ\]\[ε\] \ \[ε\]\[μ\]\[ε\]\[λ\]\[ε\] \ \[ε\]\[μ\]\[ε\]\[λ\]\[ε\]} \]

\[\text{\[τ\]α\[β\]ι\[θ\]α \ \[τ\]\[τ\]\[ε\]\[κ\]\[α\]\[γ\]\[ο\]\[κ\]\[ε\]\[μ\]\[ε\] \ \[ν\]\[ν\]\[ς\] \ \[μ\]\[ι\]} \]

37

\[\text{\[ε\]\[ν\]\[α\]\[κ\]\[ί\]\[λ\]\[ι\] \ \[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ\]\[\[μ}\]

38

\[\text{\[ε\]τ\[σ\]\[α\]\[ν\]\[γ\]\[ου\]\[ς\] \ \[ν\]\[α\]\[λ\]ε \ \[λυ\]δα \ \[δε \ \[ν\]\[α\]\[γ\]\[ι\]\[ν\]\[τ\]\[ν\] \ \[ε\]\[ο\]\[ι\]\[ο\]\[π\]\[π\]\[π\]\[π\] \ \[ν\]\[ι\]\[μ\]\[α\]\[μ\]\[α] \ \[ν\]\[ι\]\[μ\]\[α\] \ \[ν\]\[ι\]\[μ\]\[α\]} \]

\[\text{\[ν\]\[α\]\[γ\]\[ι\]\[ν\]\[τ\] \ \[ε\]\[ι\]\[ο\]\[ι\]\[ο\]\[π\]\[π\] \ \[ν\]\[ι\]\[μ\]\[α\] \ \[ν\]\[ι\]\[μ\]\[α\] \ \[ν\]\[ι\]\[μ\]\[α\]} \]

39

\[\text{\[ε\]\[ι\]\[ο\]\[ι\] \ \[ν\]\[α\]\[λ\]\[α\] \ \[ν\]\[ι\]\[μ\]\[α\] \ \[ν\]\[ι\]\[μ\]\[α\] \ \[ν\]\[ι\]\[μ\]\[α\]} \]

\[\text{\[κ\]\[ά\]\[ρ\]\[α\] \ \[θ\]\[λ\]\[ο\]\[υ\] \ \[ε\]\[υ\]\[ι\]\[μ\] \ \[ε\]\[υ\]\[ι\] \ \[α\] \ \[μ\]\[ι\]\[μ\]\[α\]} \]

\[\text{\[έ\]\[ν\]\[ι\]\[γ\]\[υ\]\[θ\]\[μ\] \ \[μ\]\[ι\]\[μ\]\[ι\] \ \[μ\]\[ι\]\[μ\]\[ι\] \ \[μ\]\[ι\]\[μ\]\[ι\]} \]

1.  ανευ; not room for αυ ανευ.

3.  Νεληδε seems certain.

20. ευταιμα(tri) for ευταιμα μαχ.

N.B. 1. not έν; 5.apparently ηςε- for ηςε-; 6. τοςας(tri); 7 not ηαρα-

θον.
PART II

TEXTS

(A) Literary Texts.

1 - 10  Old Testament.
26 - 63  Literary Texts.
GENESIS
(c 20) 7 by 6 in. complete. Lines ruled. Written in square uncial script of the VIth century, see Plate II,1. The scribe sometimes at the end of lines writes the Є as Є; a small sign (†) used as space-filler is also sometimes found. Parchment.

4 Fragments, containing (a) Gen.XXI,28 - XXII,6; (b) XXIX,11 - 16; (c) and (d) unidentified. Chapter XXI,28 - 30 (to ουμε) and 32 (μεγημα) - 34 (end) is also preserved in some fragments at Louvain, edited by L.Th.Lefort in Le Museon vol.I (1937). Chapter XXII,1 - 6 is also preserved in a manuscript of the Borgian Collection, edited by A.Ciasca: Sacrorum Bibliorum Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica Musei Borgiani vol.I (Rome 1885). Most of the text of chapter XXIX,11 - 16 is also found in a fragment in the British Museum, edited by J.Schleifer: Sahidische Bibelfragmente aus dem British Museum zu London vol.II in Sitzungsberichte d.k.Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien (Wien 1911). The Bala'izah fragment agrees closely with the fragments at Louvain and in the British Museum, but differs considerably from the fragment in the Borgian Collection.

Text:
(a) Genesis XXI,28 - XXII,6 Recto.

(margin)

XXI,28  ἀλλαξ[ει]μα ταξιον επατον  XXI,32  ἡμῖν το[υς]με ἐμ[
ἐπατον]  ἁκομη  ἐκατον  ἐμ[
νεξε ἀβειμ[ε]
λεχ ναβρασαμ
ζε ου πε τεικα
ου[ης] ηςεεβε η
εκοου εντακ
τα[γοο][ερατον]  

29  οι[ν] ωινο[ης] ἐτοξον

30  μελεξ ζε [? ]

34  ἀνω οχο[ζεθ]

33  πεγημα[ε][αω

32  γος μην φιχολ

31  παρχιστραθ

30  γος ντηςομ

29  αυκτοου ερα[η]

28  επκας ηςεφ[η]

[Handwritten text]
XXI, 30
νεκον νεκον 
τεταγμο 
εβε νεκον ν

XXI, 32

λιστιειμ.

ααβρααμ τωσκε

νουςτειωσε ε

εγα εκν τωσ

XXII, 1

νεκον νεκον 

ααβρααμ [αε ώ]ν

ος εινκ[ε]εν

FN: [φιλιστιει][μ]

νεκον νουοιον

ααβρααμ

Variants: verse 29.αεεεε, Λουβαν:αδεεε; verse 32. Λουβαν omits εραι; φιλιστιειμ, Λουβαν: φυλη
eπερ.

(a) Verso:

(margin)

XXII, 1

[πεξ]αυξ. αε αβρα
[θαμ] αβρααμ:
[ντον] αε πεχαυ
[αε ε]σεννετε

XXII, 3

τε θοοκτανυ

[πεξ]αυξομ[ν]

[λαον] ααβρα

εραι αυναυ ε

5 περακοκ ερακε

(margin)

εραι ανακοκ ε

περακεν οκανοκ ερακε
xxii,2  [8]ωκ εγραί ένκας  xxii,5  μήν τεω· ανόκ
[να]ϊ ετξοει ητ  
[τ]αλοχ εγραί η  
μαυ νούταλο  
[ε]ξ[ν] ογρα νντο  
[ων ε]ν[να]λογογ  

3  [εροκ] αλβαγαμ  6  αλβαγαμ [ει]
[δε τα]ουν εστο  
[εοε α]γρωκ η  
[τεγέ]τω· αγξι  
δε ημμαγ' νεμ  
[ελ α]ναγ ανω  
[ε]σλακ πενυ

(margin)

Variants: verse 1. Πεξαχ, Ciasca: Πεξαχ ναχ; [ντογ] οε πεξαχ, Ciasca: πεξαχ; verse 2. Πεξαχ οε Χι, Ciasca: πξοεις πεξαχ ναχ ηε ταουν ηφξι; 
ηφωκ εγραί ένκας, Ciasca: μητητη εγραί επκας; ταλοχ, Ciasca: ταλοχ ναι; μαμα νουταλο, Ciasca: νουταλο επκας ταταλο; ταταλο [εροκ , 
Ciasca: τςαβακ εροχ; verse 3. Αγξι [δε νημμαγημαλ φιαν, Ciasca: αγξι νημμαλ ενας νυμαχ; 
αοω, Ciasca: άω; ανπος, Ciasca: αγξι; οε επταλο, Ciasca: άοω ηπταλο; 
αγρωκ αοει εγραί εκα πημ, Ciasca: άοοουε επημ; Χοοξ· αοω, Ciasca: 
Χοος ναχ ετβητης; πμεριουμην ηρου, Ciasca: μμης άολμητ ηρου 
ανπος επημ ετμαλ; verse 5. Πεξαχ αλβαγαμ, Ciasca: Πεξαχ; ήμοος, Ciasca: εζμοος ηντην; 
ανοκ δε μη ημνηρε ογρα [ειναπως ομαμα ηντνουμυτ, Ciasca: τςαβακ
(b) Genesis XXIX,11 - 16.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto: (broken)</th>
<th>Verso: (broken)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XXIX,11</td>
<td>XXIX,14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐλμενεν αὐων ἀντα</td>
<td>[ἐλμενεν ἀγν]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>με ἐπὶ αἰχθλα</td>
<td>[ἐπὶ ἀγγεὶ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>καὶ πεν ὀ[πωτ]</td>
<td>[καὶ πε]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐς οὐρα ἁλαν</td>
<td>[ἐς ὁλ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θεο[πο]οι[γ]ε</td>
<td>[θεο]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κατα θεο[πο]οι[γ]ε</td>
<td>[Κατα θεο]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Unidentified, apparently from the same manuscript.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto ?: (margin)</th>
<th>Verso ?: (broken)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἐβηρ[?]</td>
<td>ἡμα[?][λ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αὐω[?]</td>
<td>[λ]υ[?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[εμπ]νο[?]</td>
<td>[ο]ο[?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[υν]ο[?]</td>
<td>[ο]οουοο[?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πηρεεεε[?]</td>
<td>[φα]ρ ου[?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ουε ετ[?]</td>
<td>[ω]ει[?]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(d) Unidentified, apparently from the same manuscript.

Recto ?:  (broken)  

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(broken)

EXODUS GREEK

(Ms. Greek Bibl. g 2) 3 ¼ by 2 ¼ in. complete. Parchment. Written in square uncial script of the IVth or (more probably) Vth century, see Plate 1,5.

Fragment of one leaf containing Exodus IV, 4-6 in Greek. The text
of the fragment agrees with Codex B except for two variants:

IV,5. ἐὰν ἔστε B, with AM etc. against ἐὰν ἔστε B only and ἔστε MS w only.
IV,6. τὴν χειρα (3°) B, with MSS b and w; A and B al. read τὴν χειρα ἀπότην.
FM al.pl. read τὴν χειρα αὐτήν.

Text:

Recto: (margin) Verso: (margin)

IV,4 Kαι ἐπιλαμβάνω τὸν και
κερκοῦν εκκεναι出境
οὖν τὴν χειρά
ἐπισλαβεςτο?

IV,5 [και ἔκ] ἱκακ και
ἐπισλαβεςτο?

The Δ above the text of the recto is a quire-number; the page-number is lost on both the recto and verso.

3

DEUTERONOMY

(d 53) 7 by 5¼ in. complete. Parchment. Columns ruled, lines not ruled. Written in square uncial of the Vth or VIth century, see Plate I,7. The ω is once written ω.

One complete leaf containing Deuteronomy VIII,1-8. The text is also found in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript number I (M.566) fol.116. Except for some orthographic variants the Bala'izah manuscript agrees
remarkably closely with that manuscript.

Text:

Recto:

VIII, 1  ρες εροου ε  VIII, 2  Χι ΞΝΠΤ Μ[ΜΟΚ]
   αλυ θεκας ε  ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤ[ΣΜ]
   τετνωνη  ΝΕΚΕΝΤ [ΟΛ]
   ΝΤΕΤΝΑΥ[Δ]  ΟΜΗ ΕΒΟΛ [ΧΕ]
   εματε' αγιοι  [ΕΚ]ΝΑΛΕΡ[Σ]
   ΝΤΕΤΝΒΩ[Σ]  ΕΝΕΓΕΝΤ[Ο]
   εγουν ΝΤΕ  ΛΗ ΖΙΝ Μ[ΜΟΝ]
   ΤΝΚΛΗΡΟΝ[Ο]  3  ΑΥΩ ΑΓΙΟΜ[ΚΟΚ]
   μι μπκασ- παϊ  ΑΥΚΟΛΑΚ ΕΚ[ΒΩ]
   ενταπζοεις  κρ' αυω ον αγ
   αυκ ηνετη  ΤΙΜΟΚ ΜΠΙΜΑ
   ειοτε ετβη  ΝΑ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΕ Ν
   2  ΧΤΗ ΑΥΩ ΕΚΕ  ΚΕΣΟΟΥΝ Μ
   ΡΠΛΕΕΕΥΕ Ν  ΜΟΥ ΑΝ ΝΕ!
   ΤΕΓΙΝ ΤΗΡ[ ].(ρ)  ΝΕΚΕΙΟΤΕ'
   ΕΝΤΑΠΖΟΟΙΣ  ΘΕΚΑΣ ΕΚΕΤΑ
   ΠΕΚΝΟΥΤΕ  ΜΟΚ ΖΕ ΝΝΕ
   ΤΡΕΚΛΟΟΤΕ  ΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑ
   ΝΕΝΤΣΕΤΜΕΣ  ΟΜΗ ΑΝ ΕΟΙΚ
   ΕΜΕ ΝΠΟΜΠΕ  ΑΙΜΑΤΕ' ΑΛΛΑ
   ΤΕ ΤΑΙ ΑΝ ΤΕ  ΕΥΑΖΕ ΝΙΜ
   ΡΗΜΟΣ ΖΕ  ΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ[Σ]
   ΚΑΣ ΕΓΕΛΟ  [ΜΠΡΩΜΗ ΜΠ[ΝΟΥ]
   ΚΕΙΚ ΑΥΩ ΝΗ  4  ΤΕ [ΕΡΕΠ[ΩΜΗ]

(margin)

verse 1. ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΤΝΒΩΚ, Morgan; ΝΤΕΤΝΒΩΚ; ΚΛΗΡΟΝΩΛΙ, Morgan; ΚΛΗΡΟΝΩΛΙ;
         ΕΝΤΑ, Morgan; ΝΤΑ.

verse 2. ΕΝΤΑ, Morgan; ΝΤΑ; ΑΥΩ ΝΥΧΙ, Morgan; ΝΥΧΙ; ΠΕΚΕΝΤ, Morgan; ΠΚΕΝΤ.
Xin μμον, Morgan: ξινε μμον.

verse 3. Δατμωκ, Morgan: Δατμωκ; παὶ ἐπενεκεοογν, Morgan: παὶ νεε-

κεοογν; ζε Νηρε, Morgan: ζε Νηρε; οἰκ ἀματε, Morgan: οἰκ μαβαλγ.

Verse: VIII, 4

(margin) VIII, 7

νέε· αυω εκε
ειμε εὖν πεκ
αντ ςε νεε
ουρμε ευ
ναςεω μ
πεγυμπρ.
ται τε ςε ετε
ρε παεοεις πεκ

(margin)

νουτε νατ
ςω νακ.

νεως εκεαρες.

(margin) VIII, 8

ενετνολη

νεκοεις πεκ

νουτε ετρεκ

νουσε ειν
['νεκειοονε]
[αυω Νι[κ]σο]

(margin)

verse 4. ουγερντε, Morgan: ουρντε.
3 (continued)

verse 7. Ναξιτκ, Morgan: ηναξιτκ; χειμαρρος, Morgan: χειμαρρος; ηςιν, Morgan: ηςιν.

verse 8. εικατ, Morgan: εικατ; εικανμα, Morgan: εικανμα; ενειτει, Morgan: ενειτει.

4

I SAMUEL

(c 16 etc.) 12\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. complete. Papyrus. Columns and lines not ruled. Written in rounded uncialis of the seventh century. The manuscript is in a very fragmentary state and there are a large number of small detached fragments. About 40 of these I have been able to join to existing pieces, and in particular the first fragment (4a) I pieced together from 17 fragments which are mounted separately under 6 different sheets of glass.

There are fragments of seven leaves containing I Samuel (Kings) II,24 - 30; III,6 - 9; VI,14 - 21; XIV,3,5,7,10,11; XV,13,15,17,19, 20; XXI,13 - XXII,6; XXIV,12,15,17,18,19,20. The complete text of I Samuel is preserved in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript II (M.567) from which all the lacunae here have been supplied with obvious exceptions. Professor J.Drescher is editing the Morgan manuscript and in the textual apparatus will give the variant readings from other manuscripts including the Bala'izah manuscript which I have put at his disposal. He will also publish a photo of one page of the Bala'izah manuscript. He kindly sent me a copy of I Samuel II,16 - 30 from the Morgan manuscript based on some infra-red photographs, as that page is almost illegible and this was of great help to me in piecing the first fragment of the Bala'izah manuscript together. The Bala'izah manuscript agrees closely with the Morgan manuscript; there would however be no point in publishing the variants from the Morgan manuscript here as these will be published by Drescher.

Text:
Recto: I Samuel II, 24 - 27. (broken)

II, 24

II, 25

II, 26

(broken)
I Samuel 11,28 - 30.

(a) Verso:  

II,28  

λη τήρου   

II,29  

χήμου] ε  

II,30  

ψινα είπεν  

σαί [αγω η]  

θεολογού μ  

πεφον δι  

αυ[αί]τ] ω  

πιε[ι] επεκ  

εισώτ ηνυκα  

νιλι εσώρε  

[ησομηρη [μ]]  

[π]ηλ [ταλο]  

[π]εγουμέου  

[αυ]ω ετβε] ου  

[κακσω]υτ   

(broken)
(b) (c $\frac{16}{2}$; d 189; e; f 28; g 19; h 189; i 190a)

**Recto:** (2nd column)  
I Samuel III, 6 - 9.

**Verso:** (1st column)

---

III, 6  
[α]γη[ς]ώτ ον [ε]  
[πατ]ή Να[ρ]λ  
[ει] Ἁπλες  
[κε][π]σανυ  
[ε]γ[ξ]ω μμ[ο]ς  
[ν][α]γ[ε] εἰ[ς]  
[Σ][Η][Θ]ε [ε][ι]  
[Χ][ε] Ακμου  
[τ]ε [ε]ρο[ι]: πε  
[Χ][ε] ΣΗ[Λ]ει  
[Ν][α]γ[ε] [Χ][ε] Μή  
[Π][π][μ][ο][ύ][τ][ε]  
[Ε]ρ[ο][κ][Β][ω][κ]  
[Ν][ν][κ][ν][κ][ό][τ][κ].

7  
[α]γ[ω] σαμου  
[ν][α]γ[ε][π][ι][τ][υ]  
[Σ][Ω][Γ] ΠΝΟ[ς]  
[Π]ε πυμα[κε]  
(margin)

---

III, 8  
[μ][ο][υ][ν][[Η]λ Αγ]  
[τ][ω][ο][υ][[ν] [ο]  
[ν][η][π][ω][τ] ε[ρ]α  
[Τ][η] Νήθλε[ς]  
[ε]γ[ξ]ω μμ[ο]ς  
[ν][α]γ[ε] εἰ[ς]  
[Σ][Η][Θ]ε [α][ε]  
[Χ][ε] Ακμου  
[Τ]ε ἐρο[ι]: ἂν  
[ω] Ἐλει! [α]γ  
[ε][ι][μ][ε] [Χ][ε] πΧο  
[Ε]ι[ς] πεντα[υ]  
[Μ][Ο][Υ][Τ][Ε] Ε  
[Π]Ο[Η][Ρ][Ε] ΑΥ[Μ]  
[Ν][ε][ζ][ε] ΣΗ[Λ]ε!  
[Ν][α]γ[ε] Κο  
[Σ][Κ][ν] [Σ][Κ]ο  
[Τ]κ ΠΑ[Η][Ρ][Ε]  
[Α][Υ][Ω] Ε[Υ][Α]Ν  
[Μ][Ο][Υ][Τ][Ε] ΕΡ[Α]  
[Ε][Κ][Ε][Χ][Ο][Ο][Σ] Χ[ε]  
(margin)

(c) (c $\frac{16}{1}$; d $\frac{16}{4}$; b; c 18d, e; f 28; g 19; h 189; i 190a)

**Recto:** I Samuel VI, 14 - 18.

(margin)

---

VI, 14  
ΣΤΗΣ ΝΟΥ  
VI, 16  
[Ν][Ν][Α][Λ][Λ][Ο][Υ][Φ]
(c) Verso: I Samuel VI,18 - 21.

(margin)

VI,18

\(\lambda p\)

VI,19

\(\omega h\) Νηριμε

αυw ηνήμε

αυw τον Ν

Τβα Νηριμε

πλακος η ην

ρεθεξε ζε η

πξοεις εινε

νούνοβ [η]

πλανη ε[μα]

[τε] εξη πλα

[ος] αυw ην

\(ρωλε Νήνης\)

σα[μ]υς ηε

[χα] η ηνε[τε]

[πν ζε] Ν[ημ]

πετ[ηαμο]

ου[ε] ε[ηε η]

πξοεις [η]

αυw [κερε] τκι

βατος [η]

πξοεις ηα

βακ ε[αρι]

Ννημ [ελο]

εαθη[ν]

[συ] Αυξο[σ] ζε

[φη] βατος

[μ] πξοεις

[αυw] πξοεις

\(\etaη) ηε Ν

ιε[χονιας η]

ποπ[ηαου]

εκ[η] Νηριμε

Νη[νες] σαμυς

ζε [αυν] έν η

[γκη] βατος

[μ] πξοεις

[αυw] πξοεις

\(\etaη) καρια[θα]
(d) (c ½¢, d; c 18f; c 28e,f,g,h; d 181a,b,c)

**Recto:** I Samuel XIV,3 and 5.

**Verso:** I Samuel XIV,7,10,11.
(e) (c 16, e, f; c 28i) Three fragments.

Recto: I Samuel XV, 13 and 15.

XV, 13
[αμαλ]νκ.
[αγω σα]μου
[νλ αγ]εί επε
[γυ νκα]ουλ

XV, 15

spotify [σαουλ]

ναγ [χε νται]

ε[ντον εβ]

[ολ σαι αμ]

[αλικ] νε

[ου πνιονε] νε

[συν μαν] νε

(margin)


XV, 17
[νε]κο

[βεκ αν ντ]οκ

[μπεμτ]ο ε

[βολ λμμ]η

[τιε[ε ννεφυλ]

ν [πιεν]

αγω [πικο εις]

αγ [τασκ]

XV, 19

εβολ [μπνρ]

εις [πεξε]

σαουλ [νκα]

μουν [χε]

(margin)
XXI, 13

Νεντ μηνε
ζωού ετέλα
μαγ. αυω
νεφήλα η

πιά μην παϊ

ΑΝΕΥΙΤΟ
εβολ. εγ

ΣΗΝ ΕΣΧΑΙ ΕΙ

ΠΗΝ ΝΡΩ ΝΤΠΥ

ΛΗ. ΕΡΕ ΝΕΥ

ΧΙΕ ΜΑΛΟΥ [Ε]

ΔΗΝ ΤΕΧΜΕ[Ε]

14

ΡΤ. ΠΕΖΕ

ΑΡΧΟΥΣ ΝΝΕΥ

ΣΜΕΛΑ ΖΕ

ΒΟΥΓΤ ΕΤΕ

ΤΗΝ ΝΑΥ ΕΝΕΙ

ΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕ

ΠΟΨ ΝΕΝΤ

ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΤΕ

ΤΗΝΤΥ ΝΑΙ

ΕΣΟΥΝ [, ,]

(ΜΑΡΓΙΝ)

(ΜΑΡΓΙΝ)
(f) Verso: I Samuel XXII, 2 - 6

(broken)

XXII, 2

[ ] ...

[ ου]ον ΝΙΠ

ενη[λωτήν ΑΝ

ΝΕΜΗ] ΑΥΩ

ΕΥΟ [ΝΑΠΕ

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

XXII, 5

ΑΥΩ γαδ πε

προφητής

ΠΕΧΑΠ Ν

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

3

ειδ δε ΑΥ[ΨΩ]

ωνε εβο[ξ ΥΜ]

[Λ]ΜΑ ΕΤ[ΚΛΜ]

[ΑΥ ΕΕΡΑΙ Ε]

[ΜΑΣΚΗ ΠΑ]

ΠΚΑ[Ζ ΜΜΩ]

ΑΒ. ΠΕΧΑΠ]

[Μ]ΠΡΟ [ΜΜΩ]

[ΑΡ] ΖΕ ΜΑΡΕ

[ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ]

[ΤΑΜΑΔΑ] 6Ω

[ΣΑΣΤΗ] ΚΥΑΝ

[ΝΑΥ ΖΕ ΕΡΕ]

[ΝΟΥΤ ΤΕ ΝΑ

[ΡΟΥ ΝΑ] ΑΥ

[Ω ΠΕΩ] Μ-ΠΡ

ΡΟ ΜΜΑΩ[Α]

4

(margin)
(g) (c ½a; c 181, j, k)

Recto: I Samuel XXIV, 12 and 15.

XXIV, 12

[ε] λεγεν ει

[ΝΓΝΑΥ] λαπο
[ον ΧΕ] λιν κα
[κι μα] ν η

tοτ ενων
[ε]ροκ’ ουτε

καταγαντε

ουτε νεια

ερνοβε [ε]ροκ’

XXIV, 15

[Ν]
tοε πνρο μ

ποηλ εκκω

τε νεα [νιω]

Εννυ εκπη’[τ]

Νιοκ νεαο[η]

αυ μμι[ε]

εκπη ν

τοκ νεαο[η]

ουσορ εμα[θ]

ουτ’ αυω[?]

(margin)

Verso: I Samuel XXIV, 17, 18, 19, 20.

XXIV, 17

[πε] χε σαυλ ναη

χε τεκσμη

το η ται παγιν

[πε] δαυειδ

XXIV, 19

αυω [μπεκ]

τωσμην ε]

μο[ουτ ]

αυω χε ηρ

ουαν ουλ γε

επεκ ηαζ[ε]

ην ουλικ

18 [πε] καη η

δαυειδ χε

(margin)
I SAMUEL

(e 14; d 188a,b) 8 by 5½ inches, complete. Parchment, columns and lines are ruled. Written in square uncial script of the fifth or sixth century, see Plate I,6. The n is once assimilated to p before p as in other early Coptic manuscripts, see Crum,Dict. p.215a, here in numbers 7, 17, 18, 21, 22. Remarkable is the system of superlineation in this manuscript in that it distinguishes between the single letter stroke and the two or three-letter stroke, e.g. نيuent, نيكرثلو; the same phenomenon is found in number 14 below.

One leaf containing I Samuel XXIX,3 - 9. The text agrees closely with that of the Morgan manuscript, cf. number 4, introduction, above. The only real variant is XXIX,4 نيانت نيانت, Morgan omits نيانت.

Text:

Recto: I Samuel XXIX,3 - 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XXIX,3</th>
<th>XXIX,4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Ν]δατρανής</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ν]αλλοφυλο[ς]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[πεξα]υ: ΧΕ ΝΙΜ</td>
<td>[Επαρτή: ΑΥ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ΝΕ ΝΑ]ΙΕ ΕΤΙΜΩ</td>
<td>[ΟΣ ΜΑΡ]ΕΥΚΤΟΥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ΒΩ]Ε ΕΤΙΝΗΥ</td>
<td>[ΝΙΣΜΑ]Ε ΕΥΡΑΪ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Α]ΙΧΟΥΣ ΝΗ</td>
<td>ΕΝΤ[Α]ΚΚΑΛΗ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ΝΑ]ΙΟ ΝΙΑΛΛΟ</td>
<td>ΝΗΜΑΤ[Α] ΝΙΜΑ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ΦΥΛΟΣ: ΧΕ ΝΑΙ]</td>
<td>ΕΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΗ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ν]ΕΔΕΙΔ ΠΕΛ</td>
<td>ΜΑΝ [Ε]ΠΟΛΕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ΕΛ]ΙΝΟΥΛ</td>
<td>ΜΟΣ [ΝΗΜΑ]ΟΥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ΠΡΟ]ΜΠΙΝΗ</td>
<td>ΠΕ Ν[Ε]ΠΙΒΟΥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ΕΛΥΓ]ΙΩ: ΝΙΛΜΑ</td>
<td>ΛΟΣ [ΝΗ]ΝΙΚΡΟΥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ΕΝΓΕΝΟΥ]ΟΥ ΤΗ</td>
<td>ΝΤΕ[Λ]ΠΑΡΕΜ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ΡΟΥ ΤΜΗ]ΕΙΞ</td>
<td>ΒΟΛ[Η]ΕΡΕ ΝΑΙ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ΝΕ ΕΝΤΕ ΤΕ ΤΑΙ]</td>
<td>ΓΑΡ ΝΗΛΑΞΩΤΗ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(margin)
Verse:  I Samuel XXIX, 5 - 9

xxix,3 [ayw ἀπ]ε e
[εωβ ερ]γυν e
[γοι ν]ξιν περο
[οῦ ε]ντάβεi?
[ε]βολα] nαi[γυ]
[ε]ν [πο]
ο] ν'2ο0υ αυ
ο] αυμκας ι
ε]ντ [ε]τβήνη]

xxix,4 [επει]χ[ν]ειc έν
[ου ε]ιμ]ητι έν
[ναλ]νυ ε ιν

5 (continued)
I (III) KINGS

(d 11a; d 188c) 6 by 4½ inches, complete. Parchment. Columns and lines perhaps ruled, but not certain. Written in square uncial of the fifth or sixth century. The manuscript is extremely difficult to read and the superlinear strokes are mostly illegible. At first it seemed as though it was part of number 6B(Crum), but a close investigation showed that this was not the case; some of the letters are written quite differently, and it is fairly certain that the manuscript was written about two centuries before 6B.

One leaf containing I (III) Kings I,51 - II,5. The text of this is not known in any published Sahidic manuscripts, but I found a small fragment in the Bodleian Library which contains part of the text. In view of the interest of that text I am publishing it here as an appendix to this manuscript. It is one of a number of fragments given to the Bodleian Library in 1889 by the Rev. Greville J. Chester and is mentioned in the summary catalogue of western manuscripts under number 30122o. It is now numbered Ms.Copt.e 162(p).
ch. II, 1. ΑΥΣΩΝ ΔΕ ΝΕΩΝ OR ΑΥΣΩΝ ΝΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΝ; THE CHESTER FRAGMENT READS ΑΥΣΩΝ ΔΕ ΕΡΩΝ ΝΕΙ ΝΕΑΟΥ.
verse 3. πνοούτε μισράμλ, the Chester fragment has πλοεις πεκνούτε; cf. the Greek manuscripts and Versions.
Appendix.

Oxford, Bodleian Ms. Copt. e. 162(p).

Parchment, 4\frac{3}{8} by 5\frac{3}{8} in. Written in late rounded uncial script of the ninth or tenth century. From a lectionary containing I (III) Kings XXI,4 and II,1 - 4. Except for two verses which are also extant in the Bala'izah manuscript, the text is not known in any other published Sahidic manuscript.

Text:


II,3. επεντά πνεοικις πεκ

II,3. τούτε ταύτη ετοοτκ

ετερκλοογε εινεκεινο

ουε ογερες ενειντ[ ]

αμ μεν νεγδιαωμα

μεν νεγιαν μαν ετεχα

εμ πνεομος μμων

II,1. ἀγων

δε ερουμ λαι νεγοου

μανειδ ετρεγμον

ανυαζε μεν κολο.

μον ενχω μμοσ

2. [ξε] πανυρπ ειςεν

[η]τε

(broken)

II,3. επενταπνεοις, perhaps + πνεοικις is to be read here.

εκακευμε for εκνακευμε, this is frequently found in non-literary texts, see above chapter 8 par. 129.
Parchment. Columns and lines are not ruled. Written in square uncial script of the seventh or eighth century, see Plate III, 1.

Two pages forming single leaf containing I (III) Kings XXII,39 – end, followed by a colophon or reader's note. The text is not otherwise known in the Sahidic Version in any other manuscript. In parts this manuscript is almost illegible.

Text:

(a) Recto: I (III) Kings XXII,39 – 44.

(margin)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XXII,39</th>
<th>XXII,42</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>εὐάρρυο ἕγεμνη</td>
<td>ἀπὸ πέ ἐγκέν μυ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(a) **Verso:** I (III) Kings XXII,44 - 53

(margin)

XXII,44  
ετι νερε π  
λαος βοτεῖα

45  
ἀναγ νοήσει  
νε ἐραί εἰ  
δι και ἐρά

52  
[οξ]]αις δε πη
  
[ΗΡΕ Ν]ΑΧΑΛΒ [ΛΥ]

46  
[Α]ΘΝ ονεεπε  
[η][ν]ΔΙΔΕ ΝΙΩ  
[ΣΑ]ΦΑΤ ΜΝ Ν  
[Ε]ΙΜΗΝΤΧΕΩ  
[ΡΕ] ΕΝΤΑΚΑΛΛ  
[Ε]ΙΣ ΝΑΙ ΝΙΕΣΕ  
[ΣΗ]ΟΥΤ ΑΝ ΕΠ  
[Σ]ΙΩΜΕ ΝΝ  
[Π]ΑΛΕ ΝΗΕΡ  
[ΡΟΟΥ] ΝΙΟΥΔΑ

51  
[Α]ΥΝ ΝΩ ΣΑΙΦΑΤ  
[ΑΥΝ ΚΟΤ]Κ ΜΝ

(margin)
The manuscript omits verses 47 - 51 with B and the majority of the Greek manuscripts against A, the Syriac and Armenian Versions.

(b) Recto: I (III) Kings XXII,53 - end.
verse 54. Αὐλατινὰ καὶ Αὐλάνος, Professor Drescher pointed out to me the interesting use here of translating a particularly difficult Greek word kept in the Coptic text by adding ᾧ followed by the Coptic equivalent. This use is common in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript of I and II Samuel.

(c) Verso: Reader's note or colophon. Unfortunately the script is badly faded and much of the text has remained obscure.

Text:

(broken)

1. δο[  ]
2. Α[  ]
3. ΤΗΣ ΝΤΕ[Κ]Τ[ ]
4. ΑΝΟΣ ΝΤΜΕΣ
5. ΜΝΤ[  ] ΝΗ ΜΕ
6. ΠΣ Μ[  ]
7. ΕΥΦΕΝ ΜΗ[Ν] ΜΕ
8. ΧΙ[  ]

(margin)

2. ΔΕΚΑ||ΤΗΣ ή ΕΝΔΕΚΑ||ΤΗΣ, ΔΩΔΕΚΑ||ΤΗΣ etc.
3. ΝΤΕ[Κ]Τ[ ] ΑΝΟΣ for ἡνδίκτονος see 102:14 note.
4. ΝΤΜΕΣ; Crum read ητε[κογ] here, but I think ΝΤΜΕΣ is almost cer-
tain.

5 and 6. These lines present considerable difficulties. Perhaps line 6 contained the name of some important person in which case trans-
late: "....? tenth(?) indiction in the tenth(? or eleventh etc) year of[........]"
II (IV) KINGS

(d = \frac{15}{12}-2) 7\frac{1}{2} by 6\frac{1}{2} in. originally about 8\frac{1}{2} by 6\frac{1}{2} in. Parchment. Columns and lines ruled. Written in square uncial script of the fourth century, see Plate I,2. The manuscript is one of the earliest in this collection and the script is rather similar to the second hand of the Pistis Sophia (see Hyvernat: Album II). Compare also Crum and Bell: Wadi Sarga number 17 (Plate I) and here numbers 22 and 25, see Plate I,3. The n is once (XIV,21) assimilated to ρ before ρομενε as in a few other manuscripts of this collection, see above chapter X.

Two fragments forming single leaf containing II (IV) Kings XIV, 17 - 22,24,25,27 - 29, XVII,13 - 23, and four small unidentified fragments. The text of XVII,13 - 23 is not otherwise known in Sahidic; the text of XIV is also known from a White Monastery manuscript published by G. Maspero, Fragments de la version thébaine de l'Ancien Testament (Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française du Caire vol.VI)

On the whole the Bala'izah manuscript agrees closely with that manuscript.

Text:

(a) Recto: II (IV) Kings XIV,17 - 22. (flesh-side)

Text:

XIV,17  

XIV,20  

21  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[N\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\mu\nu\tau\eta\theta\tilde{N}]} \\
\text{[P\omega\nu\mu\nu\pi\kappa\acute{e}\eta]} \\
\text{[E\upsilon\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\mu\nu\nu\kappa\prime]} \\
\text{[\kappa\epsilon\nu\mu\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\iota\iota]} \\
\text{[\mu\nu\kappa\epsilon\varepsilon\beta\kappa\eta]} \\
\text{[\tau\chi\rho\nu\pi\nu\varepsilon\tau\alpha\varepsilon]} \\
\text{[\alpha\nu\kappa]} \\
\text{[\epsilon\zeta\nu\gamma\gamma\nu\omega]} \\
\text{[\kappa\nu\mu\nu\nu]} \\
\text{[N\kappa\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\omicron]} \\
\text{[\kappa\omega\tau]} \\
\text{[N\kappa\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\omicron]} \\
\end{array}
\]
verse 18. ένταχατί, Maspero: ΝΤΑΧΑΑΥ.
verse 20. έσετεν, Maspero: έσετεν.
ΜΠΛΕΝΕ, Maspero: ΝΡΩΜΕ.

(a) Verso: II (IV) Kings XIV, 24, 25, 27 - 29. (hair-side)
(1 line missing)
verse 24. τηροῦ ἀπειραῖον, Maspero: τηροῦ νειρετόβολον;
ενταυτρε, Maspero: ενεβαυλετρε.
verse 25. Νεμαθ, Maspero: ενεβαυλετρε.
verse 27. ζαροῦ, Maspero: ζαρος.
verse 28. Νειρετόβολον μὴν νενταυλάδυ, Maspero: Νειρετόβολον ποιμνὶ νηών νενταυλάδυ.

(b) Recto: II (IV) Kings XVII,13 - 17. (hair-side)

(broken)

[ ] XVII,15 [ ] ἐνθητοῦ

XVII,13 [ἐ κατὰ Νευαがある
[κατὰ ἐνταὐξοῦ 16 κατὰ ροῦν διὰ
XVII, 13 [ἐφε] ΝΑΥ ἝΝΤΟΟ XVII, 16 [α]ΥΚΩ ΝΕΝΩΟΥ Ν
[Π]ΟΥ ἩΝΕΗΕΑΛ ΝΕ

14 προφήτης ΑΥ
ω μοποιστή
ναυ ἅλλα ΑΥ

ΝΥΟΤ ΜΠΕΥΣΟ
εἰ εὔοιε πανεύ

15 εἰοτε ΑΥΜ ΜΠΟΥ
gαρις ένευμώ
τπαττρε ενταγ
[N]ΤΑΡ[P]Ε ΝΑΥ Ν

17 [ ]ΑΛ. ΑΥ

[ ]ΟΥ ΝΝΕΥ
[ΕΝΤΩΛΗ] ΜΕΝ ΝΕΥ

[ ]

(οα.7 lines lost)
eιτ[ ]

αζου[

(b) Verso: II (IV) Kings XVII, 18 - 23. (flesh-side)

XVII, 18 [ ]Κ[ ] XVII, 22 [ ]

ονυ[ ]

τεφυλα [ΝΙΟΥΔΑΣ]

19 μαγας. πκε[ΙΟΥ
δας ΜΠΥΖΑΡΕ[ΣΕ]

ΝΕΝΤΩΛΗ ΜΠ[ΧΟ]
ειε πευνουτε

αυίοουε εσωου

23 ἐν ΝΠΙΚΑΙΩΜΑ

23 [ο]ΠΙΚΡΑΛΑ [ΜΟ]

ουε ΕΝ ΝΝΟ[ΒΕ]

θρου ΝΣΙΕΡ[ΟΒΟ]

αυ ΝΑΙ ΕΝΤΑ[ΥΑ]

αυ ΕΜΠΥΓΑΖΟΥ
εβολ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΟΥΑΝ

τε ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΝΩΩ
XVII, 19

καὶ πισταὶ Ναὶ εἰς

ταύτας αὐναynthesis
καὶ Νωνοῦ γίνεσθαι
εἰς ἐὰν πεστερέα

τηρῆ τις πισταὶ

καὶ μικτοῦ δεί αὐνα

τοῦ χθενοῦ σου

μοσοῦ εὐρα[τ]ι εὐτοο

τοῦ χθενοῦ σου

τα[κ] της [αὐων πισταὶ]

τα[κ] της [αὐων πισταὶ]

(τα[κ] της [αὐων πισταὶ]

(τα[κ] της [αὐων πισταὶ]

(τα[κ] της [αὐων πισταὶ]

(τα[κ] της [αὐων πισταὶ]

(c) Unidentified.

Hair-side (col. 2)

(broken)

(τα[κ] της [αὐων πισταὶ]

(broken)

Flesh-side (col. 1)

(broken)

(broken)
\( \chi \\alpha \mu \), a proper name, occurs in II(IV) Kings XXII, 12, 14, XXV, 22 but none of these passages fit the text here.

The paragraph-marks are remarkable; for similar paragraph-marks cf. Budge, Biblical Texts plate III, also in particular the Greek Codex Vaticanus, cf. the facsimile edition.

(d) Unidentified. Hair-side (col. 2) Flesh-side (col. 1)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{(broken)} & \text{(broken)} \\
\beta[ & ] \\
\gamma[ & ] \\
\omega[ & ] \\
\pi[ & ] \\
\delta[ & ] \\
\rho[ & ] \\
\tau[ & ] \\
\end{array}
\]

(e) Unidentified. Hair-side (col. 2) Flesh-side (col. 1)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{(broken)} & \text{(broken)} \\
\gamma[ & ] \\
\sigma[ & ] \\
\epsilon[ & ] \\
\rho[ & ] \\
\delta[ & ] \\
\end{array}
\]

(f) Unidentified. Hair-side: \[ \text{NT[ | ]} \epsilon \text{[ | ]} \nu[ | ] \chi \text{[ | ]} \]

Flesh-side: \[ \epsilon[ | ] \alpha[ | ] \mu[ | ] \tau[ | ] \eta[ | ] \]
PSALMS

Two fragments, both incomplete; the larger 7½ by 3½ inches. Written in rounded uncialis of probably the seventh century.

Two fragments containing Psalms LXXXVII,5 - 12, 16 - LXXXVIII,4 and CX,9,10, CXI,6,7. The lacunae are supplied from Budge, Coptic Psalter; There are no variants. Papyrus.

(a) Recto: Psalm LXXXVII,5 - 12. (margin)

(a) Verso: Psalms LXXXVII,16 - LXXXVIII,4. (margin) →

(broken)
Psalm CX, 9, 10 (broken)
Psalm CXI, 6, 7 (broken) —>

(b) Verso: Psalm CXI, 6, 7 (broken) —>

6 [Ν]ΝΑΚΙΑΙΟς ΝΑ[Α]Ν ΟΑ[ΕΝΕΣ]
παίκιος ΝΑ[Α]Ν ΟΑ[ΕΝΕΣ]
ev ΟΑ[ΕΝΕΣ]

7 ΝΥΝΑΦ[Σ]ΟΤΕ ΑΝ ΣΗΤΥ ΝΟΥ]
κοει[τ] ε[Ν]ΩΩ[ΠΟΥ]
πευ[Σ]ΗΤ[Σ]ΒΩΤΩΣ ΕΣΕΛΝΗΖ]
επι[Α]Ε[Ι]C
(broken)

9

PSALMS

(f 4) 5¼ by 4 inches, almost complete. Parchment. Written in square uncials of the fifth or sixth century, see Plate I, 8.

One page containing Psalms CXLVII, 6 — CXLVIII, 4.

Recto: Psalm CXLVII, 6 — 13 (margin)

6 [Ν]ΤΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΕ[ΩΝ] Α[ΥΩ]

AΣΩΝΤ]

ΑΣΤΑΣΩΥ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΟΑ[ΕΝΕΣ]
[Α]ΥΩ ΟΑ[ΕΝΕΣ] ΝΕΝΕΣ]
[Α]ΗΚΑΛΥ ΝΟΥΠΡΟΣΤΑΥ[Α]
εννεγούγειν ΡΗΚΑΣ

7 [Σ]ΤΟΥ ΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΩ
[Ν]Ε[ΔΡΑΚΩΝ ΛΩΝ ΝΝΟΥΝ ΤΠΡΟΥ]

8 [Π]ΚΩΣΤ· ΤΕΧΑΛΑΖΑ· ΠΧ[Θ]ΩΝ ΛΩΝ]

ΝΕΚΡΥΣΑΛΟΣ· ΠΕΠΝΑ

ΝΕΘΑΝΥ ΕΤΕΙΡΕ ΛΠΕΥ

WAXE.
9 (continued)

9  
[N]ΤΟΥΕΙΝ ΜὴΝ ΝΕΙΒΤ ΤΗ[ΡΟΥ]  
[N]ΤΗΝ ΕΠΤΗΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΜὴΝ [N]  
ΚΕΔΡΟΣ  

10  
[N]ΕΦΗΡΙΟΝ ΜὴΝ ΝΤΑΝΟ[ΔΥΕ]  
ΝΧΑΤΗΕ ΜὴΝ ΝΣΑΛΑΤΕ/Δ[Μ]  

11  
ΝΕΡΡΨΟΥ ΜΠΚΑΣ ΜὴΝ Χ[ΑΟΣ]  
ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΜὴΝ ΝΡΕΥ+ΓΑΠ [ΤΗ]  
ΡΟΥ ΜΠΚΑΣ;  

12  
ΝΕΡΡΨΙΡΕ ΜΗΝ ΝΑΡΦΕΝΟΣ]  
ΝΣΛΛΟ ΜΗΝ ΝΟΗΡΕ ΩΥΜ.  

13  
ΜΑΡΟΥΣΜΟΥ ΕΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΧΘΕΙΣ]  
(margin)

Verso: Psalms CXLVII,13 - CXLVIII,4 (margin)

13  
[XΕ] ΑΝΕΡΑΝ ΧΙΣΕ ΜΑΥΑ[ΑΗ]  
ΑΥΘ ΠΕΡΟΥΨΗ ΕΒΟΛ [Ε]  
ΣΜ ΠΚΑΣ ΜΗΝ ΤΝΕ;  

14  
ΤΝΑΧΙΣΕ ΛΠΤΑΝ ΑΝΕΥ[ΧΑΟΣ]  
ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΠΕΣΜΟΥ ΝΝΕΥΠ[ΕΤ]  
ΟΥΑΛΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ;  
[ΝΟΥΗΡΕ ΜΠΙΣΡΑΝΛ ΠΛΑΟΣ]  
ΕΤΣΗΝ ΕΡΟΥ:  

CXLVIII,1  
[A]ΛΗΝΟΥΙΑ:  
[XΩ] ΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΟΥΧΩ Ν[ΣΠΗΣ]  
[ΠΕΧΣΜΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΕΚΚΛ[ΣΩΝ]  
ΝΕΤΟΥΛΑΔ.  

2  
[ΜΑ]ΡΕ ΜΠΙΣΡΑΝΛ ΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ [ΕΧ]  
[Μ]ΠΕΝΤΑΧΤΑΜΙΟΥ;  
[ΜΑ]ΡΕ ΝΟΥΗΡΕ ΝΣΙΩΝ Τ[ΑΗΛ]  
[ΕΧΗΜ] ΜΕΨΡΟ;  
[ΜΑΡ]ΟΥ ΦΑΛΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΝΟΥ  
ΤΥΜΠΑΝΟΝ ΜΗΝ ΟΥΨΑΛ
(g 9) 3 1/2 by 3 1/2 inches, width complete. Parchment. Written in small square uncials of the fifth century. The script is badly faded in places and the manuscript is extremely difficult to read.

Fragment of one page containing Isaiah LIII,14 - LIII,4. The text agrees very closely with the Pierpont Morgan manuscript III(M 568); other manuscripts extant for this text were published by Ciasca, *Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica* and Maspero (Miss.VI), the latter is only extant for LIII,3,4. LIII,1 - 12 is also found in the Achmimic I Clement chapter XVI, but the version there differs considerably from the Sahidic Version.

**Recto:** (margin)  
**Verso:** (margin)
verse 14. ματωγ with Morgan; ματωγ Ciasca.

verse 15. εκσωμ; Morgan and Ciasca εξαλ εκσωμ.

verse 1. πενταγυνιετενσυμ with Morgan; πενταγυνιετενσυμ ορου Ciasca.

verse 2. ανεκαξε with Morgan; ανεκαξε Ciasca(error).

verse 3. παραγωμε with Morgan and Maspero; παραγωμε Ciasca(error).

νηγειαλοξτεκ with Morgan(αλοξτεκ); νηγειαλοξτεκ ομ. Maspero; νηγειαλοξτεκ Ciasca.

αυσογγ with Maspero and Morgan; αυσογγ Ciasca.

II
ST. MATTHEW


Text:

Recto: St. Matthew X, 14—17.

(margin)

verse 14. \( \text{NHTN}\), definitely not \( \text{XHTYTN} \) which is found in all other MSS.

(margin)

X,17 [ὁφιλον]
[ἔγναφωρ[η]
18 [μωσίν]

[ἐναγκῶν μὴν νέορωγ]

ἐπέβαντες [ἐγνατιν] τινάν ἔνεκα γενής ἑώρων]

19 μὴν [ἐξετάσαντος ποτέ περί ἐφύγεως] παρεδέχετο ἡ[μωσίν] μηρ]

ἡ[ποια] μέ[ξε] [ἔγναφωρ[η] οὐ[κ ἔν] τε[ταξο] [ἐξέαυ[η]


20 οὐ [περὶ τοὺς ταξιμόμον. ὅ[μω]

το[ν] γαρ ἄν ο[ξ] [περί ἔνεκα περ]

πε[ρί] μη[τρ][τι ζε] περ[πι]

21 κε[νή] ἕλθον [τι] ὄν [ὑπο] [κον]

δε [ναφα] [δε] πνε[υμο] [ν]

ἐπιμο[κ ὑπερὶ] [ὑπε]

ομπε[ρ. ἄτε ὑμπερ] τοῦ[το]

ἐκ[ν] νέ[α] ἀρε ἐκείμο[ν] 

(margin)

12

GOSPELS

(δ 58) 8½ by 5 inches, originally ca.9½ by 8 inches. Papyrus.

Written in rounded uncial of probably the seventh century, see plate II,6.

One large fragment containing St. Matthew X,23 - 41, and two small fragments containing St. Matthew XXI,41,42,45,46 and St. Matthew XXVIII,20 and the title of St. Mark's gospel. Horner lists this manuscript as 'm'.
in his register of the fragments but it is not cited at all in his critical apparatus.

Text:

(a) Recto: St. Matthew X, 23 - 31

X, 23

John the Baptist: [e]Boa ἀν[υ]νοπάλι[ε]
[μ]ῆνα ἔπει
[παύχε]ρε ἄνπρω

X, 27

ο[κ]ε[ι][ω] ὑμο[υ]ς ο[ι]

X, 28

Ὑποστε[ρ]τε ἄντον

X, 29

[μν[υ]] στ[ε] ἀν[ω]

X, 30

[ἀν[ε] θε[ν] ἔνα]
verse 24. έξηρέω [ειρηνομ] with the Morgan manuscript against three manuscripts cited by Horner, reading έξηρέω [ειρηνομ].

verse 29. The manuscript omits ητε ηηνημε after ηετε ηιωι with the majority of the Greek manuscripts against the Morgan manuscript, one manuscript cited by Horner and the Bohairic Version with a few Greek minuscules, some Old Latin manuscripts and the Ethiopic Version.


        [εινωτ]  ηΤΕΝ  λλ  38  αυξηρέω [ειρηνο]  [ΜΗΝΗ]  λπομ
       [ΠΗΝΗ]  λητελα  [ΑΗΑΡΝΑ]  δε  λλ  [ΛΟΙ ΜΗΝ]  λτό
       [ΕΒΟΛ]  ον]  πωμε  39  μμοι  λλ  πεν
       [ΜΗΝΗ]  λγε  [ΤΕΝ  τελα]  [ΕΝ  ΜΗΝ]  λγε
       [ΩΡΑΡ]  ζης  ης  34  ηναζη περικ·]
       [ΤΑΣΤ]  ηνην  [ΝΟΥΕΙΡΗ]  ΦΗ  
       [Π]  ηναζη περικ·]
       [ΤΑΣΤ]  ηνην  [ΝΟΥΕΙΡΗ]  ΦΗ  
       [Π]  ηναζη περικ·]
verse 41. The manuscript omits ἐποίησεν νοοϕήθες after νοοϕήθες by haplography against all the other manuscripts.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.

(b) St. Matthew XXI, 41, 42, 45, 46.
(d 187c) 2 by 3 inches, incomplete. Parchment. Written in large square uncials of the eighth century.

One small fragment containing St. Matthew XVII,20,24,25. (Not in Horner).

Text:

Recto: (broken)Verso: (broken)

[[η]ετ[N]κοιν] [εν]
πι[τ]ίς [εα] [ε]
μ[ν]ν Γαρ + Χ[ν]
[τητ]ι ΝΙΕ[τις]
(broken)

verse 24. [α]υ[π][ενθυοθεν ενεπτροκ] η[ν Νετεξικτετε with Horner's 52, (65), 119
against α[μετεξικτε] + πενθυοθεν ενεπτροκ read by the Morgan manuscript and Horner's 8, 70, and 111.

14

ST. LUKE

(d 13½) Two pages forming single leaf, together 7 by 11 inches, each page 7 by 5¾ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in square uncials of the fifth or sixth century. The ω and ϯ are sometimes shaped ω and Ϯ at the end of lines. As one page shows the page-number Τηθ (368) it is probable that this manuscript contained all the four gospels. Lines and columns are ruled. Like number 5 above, this manuscript makes a distinction in its superlineation between the single letter stroke and the two- or three-letter stroke, e.g. Ναορ, αυργαρ, τμητερο.


Text:
verse 16. Apparently not ἀγωνίαστ as read by Horner; ἀγωνίαστ with Horner’s 15, 64, 85, against ἀγωνίαστ read by the Morgan manuscript and Horner’s 70, 91, 114.

verse 21. Ἰδιοί; Morgan: ἱδιοί, Horner’s 85: εἰδιοί, Horner’s 15, 64, 70, 89,
91 and 114: ἦν ἄν, Horner's ὑ' omits the passage.


(margin)

verse 23. ῥαπεμα ἡμαδι: so only this manuscript, for variants see Horner.

verse 25. Ἡσετετου, not Ἡσετετου.
verse 27. The manuscript omits \( \text{κατάλληλος} \) (propter spati um) with the majority of the Greek manuscripts, being the only Coptic manuscript to do so; it also omits \( \text{μετά} \) after \( \text{μοιος} \) (propter spati um) against all other Sahidic manuscripts.


XIX, 30  

ερου ἐνερ. θε  


XIX, 35  

ἀγαφνάς ὅτε ἐκαθήνει

31  

ερου ὁλα. θε ἀνα 

τῷ θε. ἐπὶ ἔστην ὁ τῷ θε. ἐπὶ ἔστην ὁ

τετελμα. ὁμιλ. ἀνά 


XIX, 36  


35  


38  


(margin)

33  

οὔτων ὁ θε. εὐθα 

δε ἐβολ. ὁμιλ. 

πεζε. ἀνακ 

οὔ. θε. ἀν ἢ

ἐρωτ. τοῦ τοῦ 


(margin)
verse 31. φυλάξεις φονᾶς; πέμψεις μόνον τις Μ., τῆς ἤκουσε Horner's 11,90,91,114.
verse 34. φυλάξεις μόνον τις Μ., τῆς ἤκουσε Morgan and Horner's 11,53,91,

(b) Verse: St. Luke XIX, 38 - 46.

XIX, 38  [ἐγώ πέσομ] ἐν XIX, 42  ΝΗ· ΤΕΝΟΥ ΧΕ
39  [ὁ πόρος τοῦ ἐν] 43  ἀγιόμην ἔνοι
[ὁ πόρος τοῦ ἐν] 44  οὐκηθα μέρειν ἐν
[ὁ πόρος τοῦ ἐν] 45  ἅπα πεθανόν θαυμάζειν
[ὁ πόρος τοῦ ἐν] 46  θαυμάζειν

XIX, 39  [ὁ πόρος τοῦ ἐν] 43  ἀγιόμην ἔνοι
[ὁ πόρος τοῦ ἐν] 44  οὐκηθα μέρειν ἐν
[ὁ πόρος τοῦ ἐν] 45  ἅπα πεθανόν θαυμάζειν
[ὁ πόρος τοῦ ἐν] 46  θαυμάζειν

verse 42. ἐνεντατέομεν with Horner's 91, Horner's 11 reads ἐνεντατέομεν.
the Morgan manuscript and Horner's 90 read enentaeiome, Horner's
114 reads nentaeiome and Horner's 53 taepume.
verse 44, paxe em nkae only this manuscript, the other manuscripts read
paxe ekae.

15
ST.JOHN

(e 15) 7 by 5½ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in square un-
cials of the fifth century. Columns are ruled, lines are apparently not
ruled.

One page containing St.John II,24 - III,15. On the Verso we find
in addition to the page-number also the quire-number Ν (8), which means
that some other book must have preceded the Gospel of St.John, cf. Sir
Herbert Thompson: The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the

Text:


(margin)
15 (continued)


verse 24. ΝΤΟΥ(6) only this manuscript against W.S.4, Chester Beatty A and B, the Morgan manuscript and 6 manuscripts cited by Horner.

Συν μαζί with W.S.4, Ch.Beatty A and B, Morgan, Horner's 91, 97, 99, 109, 133, the Sub-Achm. St.John and the Greek manuscripts EFGH, fam13 and a few minuscules; against ούν ΝΙΜ Horner's 32, 41, 43, 57, the Bohairic Version and the majority of the Greek manuscripts.


ΝΤΟΥ ΛΕ so only this manuscript against ΝΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ read by all the other manuscripts.

verse 2. ΕΑΧΕ with Sub-Achm.St.John against all other Sah. manuscripts,
reading εὐκεῖα.

οὐχ with Horner's 4 (IVth cent.), omitted by all other Sah. manuscripts, also the Sub-Achm.St.John.

verse 3. ἠνωμεν ἰομή περί only this manuscript, against α π οὐμενι Horner's 4,a,41,43,57,46; ανω α π οὐμενι Ch.Beatty A,B,Morgan, Horner's 91, 97,99,109,133; α ἦμεν οὐμενι Sub-Achm.St.John, cf. Bohairic.

verse 4. εὐναγές-only this manuscript, cf. εὐναγες- Sub-Achm.St.John; all other Sah. manuscripts read εὐναγές.


verse 5. Χρεωμονεκον only this manuscript; all other Sah. manuscripts and the Sub-Achm.St.John omit ονεκον.

[ἐναγεταντροσ; it is not possible to read εεν εουν εταντροσ which all the other Sah. manuscripts and the Sub-Achm.St.John read here. The manuscript reads εναγεταντροσ with the Greek manuscripts Δ, M, 1093, 1241, the old Latin manuscript ə and the Bohairic manuscript υ.

**Verso:** St.John III,6 - 15.

(margin)

```
III,6 ουκαιρε πε ανω
πενταχικου ε
βολ εν πεπω ....
.... ουγη πε

7 μηνρεξυνρε μ
παι χε αικος
νακ χε εαπε ε
τρεξαντη

8 Την ονεκον πε
ηπαι νην επωμ.

III,11 μετηνοουν μν
μοι μετηνω μν
μοι ανω μετην

12 ναγ ερου μετην
ρ μντου μνοι
ανω μετηνα και αν
μετηναμντουτρε
ειγειαικο αν

15 Την πηναμπκα αν
ω μετηνας
```
col. I lines 3 and 4. After μεπνά and before ουνά a few letters have been rubbed out. Since the text, as it now stands, is the same as that found in the other Sah. manuscripts, the scribe had evidently added something by mistake which he later deleted.

verse 8. H with the Morgan manuscript, Horner's 41, 43, 57, 91, 96¹, the Greek manuscripts A, X, ψ, 472, the Latin manuscripts a, b, c, f, ff², q, the Syriac hi² and the Armenian version; against αυνω Ch. Beatty A and B, Horner's a, 32, 133, Boh. Fayy. and the majority of the Greek manuscripts, also the Sub-Achm. St. John.

verse 9. Μ with Ch. Beatty A, Horner's a, 41, 43, 57, 91; against Μ Morgan,


verse 14. εἰκόνετ with most Sah. manuscripts, against εἰκόνετ read by Horner's 4 and Sub-Achm. St. John.

16

ST. JOHN

(f 6) 5 by 3½ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in square uncialis of the fifth or sixth century. Lines are ruled, columns are not ruled. Very fragmentary; the verso is in some places completely illegible.


Recto: St. John XV, 14 - 19.

(margin)

XV, 14

οὐανεὶπε ὥνε[τ]

†ειον μιμοο[υ]

ετεθυτν

15

ν[ναμούτε]

δε αν [ερωτύ]

ἐξ λα[εμαλ χε]

ἀπεμ[παλ σο]

οῦν α[ν χε ού]

πετ[ερε πεχ]

XV, 16

πος ὥν[νο ντε]

πετίκαρ[πος]

μο[γ]ν εβολ ε[γ]

ων[ις ωανε[ς]

ζεκας πε[τε]

τνααν[ει μμον]

πετ[μαν ενετσ]

εμ τ[μαν ενεταθ]

XV, 17

ὑ[μ]ν[ντην]

ε[ε]

μο[ν][ντη][ν]

δε [ντα][μο]

[πε] ερωτ[ε]

[σε] χε

[να][υ][κε][ρ][χε]
16 (continued)

verse 16. ετετενε βοκ with Ch. Beatty A, B, Morgan, against ετετενε βοκ Horner's 20, 73, 85, m¹, and ετετενε βοκ Horner's 95.

εγώνα γλανεζ with Ch. Beatty A, B, Morgan, Horner's g, 20, 73*, 85, m¹, against γλανεζ Horner's 73°, 95 and Sub-Achm. St. John; the passage is omitted by all Greek manuscripts and all other versions.


(margin)

(illegible) XV, 22 

(9 lines broken and illegible)
XV, 21  

[ον ευνάγε]γρα[νη]  

ΧΝ ετε ΝΑΠΑΝ  

[κε δε]  

?[ης]  

[αν ων] νεν[ταγ]  

ΧΥ ζοταν ΑΕ  

22  

[ταγ]ζειν ηνε  

[μπε]ι ημαγ  

[κε ναιλαγ αε]  

[ωμον Νομε ε}ροον  

(.margin)  

verse 22. τενον ΑΕ with Morgan, Horner's g and 85; against τενον Ε Ch. Beatty A, B, Horner's 20, 73, m1, and Sub-Achm. St. John.  


verse 26. ζοταν ΑΕ with Ch. Beatty A, B, Morgan, Horner's g, 73, 77, 85, m1; against ζοταν Horner's 20, 101, a1, and Sub-Achm. St. John.  

17

PAULINE EPISTLES

(4 1/5) 7 1/2 by 6 inches, complete. Parchment. A facsimile of one page of this manuscript was published in W.M. Fl. Petrie; Gizeh and Rifeh plate XXXVIII A. This is one of the most interesting manuscripts of the collection. It is written in square uncial style of an early type and at the end of lines certain letters are written smaller than the rest, and in many ways it resembles closely the Codex Sinaiticus. On the other hand there are several features which seem to point to a somewhat later date and I would place the manuscript in the fifth century and probably in the early part of that century. It is written very carefully in a beautiful even hand. Of special interest is the consistency with which the superlinear strokes are inserted according to the system found in a number of early manuscripts. The Ν is generally assimilated.
to a and ḫ before ̀a and ḫ as is common in early Coptic manuscripts, cf. Crum: Dictionary p.215a, here again in numbers 5, 7, 18, 21, 22. At the end of lines we sometimes find ḫ for ḫ and ḫ for ḫ. Twice the scribe makes use of a space-filler( ), in I Cor. VII,11 and Col. I,25.

The sacred name χριστος is generally abbreviated χ as is usual in Sahidic manuscripts, but twice(II Cor.IV,5 and Heb.IX,24) we find χρι.

Two contractions may be noted: τς contracted to ὥ in ἔκτη Ἱβ. IX,26, ἀνέφιλλον Ἰβ. IX,23(twice), ἀδικορήσαντος Καλ. Col.II,1; τς contracted to ϕ in ἀλφο μνησωρι Ἰβ. IX,24. Attention may also be drawn to the letters which are written smaller at the end of lines.

A remarkable feature in this manuscript is the fact that the sacred names are sometimes overlined in red, and in the case of the abbreviated names(e.g. ἐνα, ἐκ) these have always the usual abbreviation line over them and in addition a red line, cf. the published facsimile. The chapter-marks( ) are also written in the same red ink and presumably both were inserted by the scribe of the manuscript. BM 105 shows the same phenomena, cf. the facsimile in Horner, The Coptic Version ... Sahidic, vol.III pl.II, and two further manuscripts, BM 124 and 934 have paragraph marks in red. It may be noted that all four manuscripts are from the fourth or early fifth century.

There appears to be no system whereby sometimes the sacred names are not overlined, and I can only suggest that the scribe overlooked some of the names. The following is a diagram showing where the names are overlined in red and where they are not.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overlined in red</th>
<th>Not overlined in red</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἐκοῦτε</td>
<td>I Cor.VII,40;VIII,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II Cor.IV,2;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heb.VII,1,3;IX,20;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heb.IX,24; Col.I,25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(twice);Col.II,2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ἐκ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heb.VI,19,20;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heb.VI,18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heb.VI,20.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(overlined in red)

| ic neXc | Col. I, 27. |
| neXc ne | Col. I, 28; II, 2. |
| Xc, Xf | Heb. IX, 24; |

(continued in red)

|         | I Cor. V, 7; VII, 22; |
|         | Phil. I, 29; Heb. IX, 28. |

(not overlined in red)

|         | II Cor. IV, 5; |
|         | Col. VII, 6. |
|         | I Cor. VII, 10; |
|         | II Cor. III, 17. |

|         | I Cor. VII, 12, 22, 39. |
|         | I Cor. VI, 19. |

Cf. also I Cor. VII, 40 πνευματος where πνευματος is overlined while πνευμα is not; similarly Heb. VII, 3 πνευματος where only πνευμα is overlined.

One complete page and fragments of eight pages containing the Pauline Epistles:

| Recto: | I Cor. V, 6 - 8 | Recto: | Heb. VI, 17 - VII, 2 |
| Verso: | VI, 3 - 5 | Verso: | VII, 3 - 9 |
| Recto: | I Cor. VI, 19 - VII, 6 | Recto: | Heb. IX, 19 - 24 |
| Verso: | VII, 7 - 13 | Verso: | IX, 25 - X, 1 |
| Recto: | I Cor. VII, 17 - 19 | Recto: | Phil. I, 29 - 30 |
| Verso: | VII, 22 - 23 | Verso: | II, 12 |
| Recto: | I Cor. VII, 38 - VIII, 5 | Recto: | Col. I, 24 - 29 |
| Verso: | VIII, 6 - 11 | Verso: | II, 1 - 7 |
| Recto: | II Cor. III, 16, 17; IV, 2 | |
| Verso: | IV, 5, 8 |

Pages (b) and (d), also (h) and (i) form two single leaves. Pages (a) to (d) follow closely on one another; there is one page missing between (a) and (b) and another between (c) and (d). The arrangement of the parchment leaves is as usual in parchment codices and fleshside faces.
fleshside, and hairside faces hairside. Horner's number 4.

Text:

(a) (d - a) Recto: I Cor.V,6 - 8 (a) Verso: I Cor.VI,3 - 5
(hairside) (fleshside)

(2nd.column missing) (lsth.column missing)

(margin) (margin)

V,6  

VI,3  


verse 7. ｑｉ６ with Horner's d and the Greek manuscripts &abar AL.p.l.; against ｑｉ Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 23 and the Greek manuscripts P46 &ABDEFG etc..

(b) (d - b) Recto: I Corinthians VI,19 - VII,6. (hairside)

VI,19  

VII,3  


VI,19  ἧπε ὑπενά ἐτού
ἀπ ἐνέατε τὴν παῖ ἐντατε τὴν ἡτή ἐβολ.[2]
τὸ ὅνουτ οὐ ὠ ὧ ἡτή ἑννω

VII,1  ἔτει ἦ [θεν] ἡτή [ς]  
καὶ [ὑ] ὅνουτ οὗ ὠ [κ] 
νανούς ἡ προ [ω] 
με ἐτή ἑκσ [κ]

2  δια ἐτε ἡ προ [φ]
νοῦν τοὶ ὑ ἐ ὅ ὡ ὑ ὠ
τῇ [σ] ἦ ἡμε: ἰ ὑ ὡ

3  [κ] ἐ τοῦ ὕ ὅντ ἐ μ. 

verse 19, πενά, not πενα.

verse 20. ἐνοῦν αὐτού only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan, and Horner's 39 also the Fayyumic Version (Zoega) read σαν νοῦν αὐτού; cf. also Thompson, The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles etc. p.127 note.

verse 4. ἰ with Beatty, Fayyumic, against on of Morgan and Wessely.

(b) Verse: I Corinthians VII,7 - 13. (fleshside)
verse 9. `nce
αγκρατευε with Beatty, Morgan and Fayumic, against `nce
αγκρατευε read by Horner's 39.

verse 12. εκοινος only this manuscript, against εκοινος εδω Beatty, Morgan, Wessely, Horner's 39 and Fayumic.
verse 13. άγω εγώμε on only this manuscript; άγω εγώμε Beatty and Horner's 39, and άγω Morgan and Fayyumic.

(c) (d 14/4 c) I Corinthians VII,17 - 19,22 - 23.

Recto: (fleshside, 1st. col. missing, broken.)  
Verse: (hairside, 2nd. col. missing, broken.)

VII,17  
18 [ ἐσμ  
19 [τρεχεσθήτις] 
20 [εσ] 
23 [πε θαγενθύ]  
(margin)

verse 17. ἐςμ [sic!], not ἀνέκκαληκά ἀνίμ Beatty, Morgan, cf. Fayyumic.

(d) (d 14/3 b and d 14/4 d) Recto: I Cor. VII,38 - VIII,1,3 - 5. (fleshside)

(margin)
(d) **Verso:** I Corinthians VIII, 6 - 11. (hairside)

**VIII, 6**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VII, 40</th>
<th>VIII, 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[e]c̣ογιάνδω ν[τε]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēke kata ta[γνω]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>μν. ἔκοραρ Ἐ</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>μος ἔκα ον[κ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τ[αι] Μμαυ Ἐρ[ε]</td>
<td>[Μ]N N[(E Νσα]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[η]NA  ΜΝΠΟΥΤΕ</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII, 1</td>
<td>XE ΟΥΝ ΖΩΙΝ[E E]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ε]Ν[Ω]ΟΥΝ</td>
<td>ΧΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΙ[Τ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ε]Ν[Ω]ΟΥΝ</td>
<td>ΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΕΑ[Ε Ε] ΝΝΟΥ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**VIII, 8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VII, 40</th>
<th>VIII, 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ΝΑΝΑΡ]ΣΙΣΤΑ Μ</td>
<td>[ΝΑΝΑΡ]ΣΙΣΤΑ Μ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ΜΟΝ] ΜΜΠΟΥΤΕ</td>
<td>ΟΥ[ΔΕ] ΕΝΟΥΑΝΤΜ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΟΥΩΜ ΝΤΝΝΑ</td>
<td>ΟΥΩΜ ΝΤΝΝΑ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΟΥΩΜ ΑΝ: ΟΥ</td>
<td>ΔΕ ΕΝΟΥΑΝΟΥΜ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΝΤΝΝΑΡΩΟΔ</td>
<td>ΝΤΝΝΑΡΩΟΔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**VIII, 6**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VII, 40</th>
<th>VIII, 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ουξοειε]c ΝΟΥ</td>
<td>[ουξοειε]c ΝΟΥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ωτ ε γε]xe ΤΕ</td>
<td>[ωτ ε γε]xe ΤΕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[γερε πτηθ[η]]αυ</td>
<td>[γερε πτηθ[η]]αυ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


verse 5, ΝΠΕ ΡΑΡ with Horner's 22 against ΝΠE Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 40 and Fayyumic.

(margin)
verse 8. ηαρ with Fayyumic, against δε Beatty, Morgan, Horner's d,40, and the Greek.

verse 9. δωρίδεδω without addition only this manuscript; the Greek, Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 40 and Fayyumic add δε; Horner's d and 22 add 6ε.

(e) (d 6t e and f, two fragments) Recto: II Cor.III,16,17 and IV,2 (hairside)

III,16
[επικαλύμματα]
17 (edd.)
[πα εις δε]
[περίστερες]
(broken)

(e) Verso: II Corinthians IV,5 and 8. (fleshside)
verse 5. ΝΕΗΤΝ, (sic !), only this manuscript.

(f) (d \( \frac{\text{iv}}{\text{iv}} \)) Recto: Hebrews VI,17 - VII,2. (fleshside)
VI, 19

NTENΨΥΧΗ EC

οΡκ ΔΥΨ ΕΣΤΑ
ΧΡΗΥ ΕΣΒΗΚΕ
GOUN EPCΑ ΝΗΓΟΓ
ΜΠΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑΣ

20

ΜΑ ΝΜΑ ΕΝΤΑ ΠΕ
ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜ[ΟΣ Ε]ΘΟΚ

(margin)

verse 1, τωμήν for τωμήν, see chapter VIII par. 80b.

(f) Verse: Hebrews VII, 3 - 9. (hairsid)

(margin)

VII, 3

[\text{broken}]

(margin)

VII, 5

\text{broken}
verse 3. This verse is of great interest from a textual point of view. For it we have two other manuscripts: the Chester Beatty (sixth century) and the Morgan (9th century) manuscripts; and in addition the verse is quoted in another Bala'izah manuscript, number 51, of the fourth century. It is interesting to note, that, against all expectations, Bal.51 agrees three times with Beatty and four times with Morgan against the present manuscript. 

*Evarteiow*, only this manuscript, against *evarteiow* Beatty and Morgan. Bal.51 is not extant here.

*Etrenea*, only this manuscript, against *etereina* Beatty, Morgan and Bal.51.

*Emnaphkh*, only this manuscript, against *enmnapakh* Beatty, Morgan and Bal.51.

*Etntnon* Δε, with Beatty, against *etntnon* Morgan and Bal.51.

*Qyoum*, only this manuscript, against *qyoum* Beatty, Morgan and Bal.51.

*Qasol*, with Beatty and Bal.51, against *nayakex* Morgan.

verse 6. *nai* Δε, with Beatty, against *nai* Morgan.

verse 7. *easol* ειτν; *easol* 21 was accidentally omitted by the original scribe and was added by an early corrector. Beatty and Morgan omit *easol*.
verse 23. necmōt with Horner’s 21; Beatty and Horner’s 13 add men;

Morgan omits necmōt, sic!

nephēn̄nyē(a), only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan and Horner’s 21
read ομηνοιες; Horner's 13 only has ομην and omits also η ντουν following.

(g) Verso: Hebrews IX,25 - X,1. (fleshside)

(margin)
verse 25. Κέκατ, only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's m¹ read ἀνω Κέκατ.

eneteoalaβ with Horner's m¹; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 21 read eneteoalaβ.

verse 1. ἔγορον, only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 21 omit this word.

(h) (d ½) Recto: Philippians I,29,30. Verso: Philippians II,12.

(2nd. column missing) (1st. column missing)

(hairside) (fleshs are)

I,29 ze Ν[ντήν ελευ] II,12 [ευκτε τα μέρα
κε επ[ικτευε Μ]
μάτε Α[ν ηροή]
αλλα ε[ψηφισε]
30 ον εξ[ψη έθ]巨
ΤΗΤΗΝ [ΜΜΑΓ Μ]
πιαργον [Νορωτ]
νηο Μ[εντατε]
ΤΗΝ [Νον]
(broken)

(fleshside)

I,27 ωυ εταμοσι
ζε ού [τε] ΤΗΝ
τρμμαο Μνεσι
Μνείμυσθι

The text of part of the recto is also preserved in another manuscript from this collection, 18; there are no variants.

(i) (d ½) Recto: Colossians I,24 - 29. (fleshside)

(margin)

I,24 ΝΑΜΚΟΟΖ ζαρω
ΤΗΝ · ΑΨΟ [Ε] ΧΑΚ
εβολ Μπεζενε
Μνεθλίφι Μ
I,27 ωυ εταμοσι
ζε ού [τε] ΤΗΝ
τρμμαο Μνεσι
Μνείμυσθι
17 (continued)

verse 24. *ετε ταί τε*, only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 13 and 19 read *ετε ταί πε*. 

verse 27. *εν μο", only this manuscript, against Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 1, 13, 19(?) the Greek manuscripts and versions reading *μο"* only.

(i) Verso: Colossians II, 1 - 7. (hairside)  

(margin)
verse 2. ἐμνητάμμασο with Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 1, against ἐμνητάμμασο read by Horner's 13 and 19.

ἐμνητάτι εἰκέτατε ἡπεῖ, on this see Sir H. Thompson; The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles etc., p.217 note.

PAULINE EPISTLES

(1 - 15 ) 6 by 5 inches, complete. Parchment. Written in square uncial script of the late fourth or, more probably, the early fifth century, see Plate 1,4. Superlineations have been correctly inserted, and the system employed is that of many other early Sahidic manuscripts. The Ν is assimilated to Ρ before Ρ, as is common in other early Coptic texts,
cf. Crum, Dictionary p. 215a, here again in numbers 5, 7, 17, 21, 22. At the end of lines certain letters are sometimes written smaller. The scribe has frequently made use of a space-filler (>) at the end of lines. This is one of the few manuscripts in the present collection where we find some dialectical variations, as εει for εει, also εςι for εςι, but note ξοις Philippians III, 8 and Μαϊν Philippians I, 28; this peculiarity is also found in a few other early Sahidic manuscripts, cf. Chapter VIII paragraphs 40, 40A, 60, 60A.

A remarkable feature of this manuscript is the fact that the page-numbers are written above the middle margin between the two columns, instead of the usual place at the top right-hand or left-hand corner, or over the first half of the first column, or the second half of the second column, whichever is on the outside of the page. Among Coptic manuscripts only one late parallel is known to me: BMOr. 6802, see BMisc.pl. XVI, XVIII of the eleventh century. Among Greek manuscripts I can only find two of the Chester Beatty papyri: Numbers and Deuteronomy of the second century and Genesis (IV) of the fourth century. There are, however, a few Coptic and Greek manuscripts written in one column where the page-number is written over the middle of the column. Among Coptic manuscripts the following may be cited: Berlin I Clement (ed. Schmidt), the Berlin Gnostic text (BP. 8502), Wessely, Sah.-Gr. Psalmenfragmente (the Old Vienna Psalter), all of the fourth or early fifth century, also BMOr. 6804 ed. Budge, Coptic Apocrypha, see pl. XLV, XLVI of the eleventh-twelfth century. Among Greek manuscripts one may note in particular the Chester Beatty papyri of the third and fourth centuries, all of which, whether written in one or two columns, exhibit this feature; also the Berlin Genesis ed. Sanders and Schmidt of the third century and P. Ryl. 53, P. Oxy. 2, 656, 657, 697, 1010 (?), 1173, 1229, 1356, all of the third or fourth centuries, and many others of the same period.

As the page-number on the first page extant is '5' in Phil. I, 27, the manuscript apparently began with Philippians and did not contain the
earlier Pauline Epistles. It is true that in some Coptic manuscripts we find more than one set of page-numbers in the same volume, but if this had been the case in the present manuscript we should have expected a new pagination in Colossians, but in fact the pagination is carried on from Philippians, pp.17,18,31,31(sic!).

Fragments of four pages containing parts of Philippians and Colossians:

(a) Recto: Philippians I,27 - II,2 (page 5)
Verso: Philippians II,2 - 10 (page 6)

(b) Recto: Philippians III,7 - 13 (page 11)
Verso: Philippians III,13 - 20 (page 12)

(c) Recto: Colossians I,1 - 6 (page 17)
Verso: Colossians I,6 - 12 (page 18)

(d) Recto: Colossians IV,1 - 3, 5 - 7 (page 31)
Verso: Colossians IV,8 - 9, 11 - 12 (page 31, sic!)

Pages (a) and (b) form a single leaf. The manuscript is Horner's number 3.

Text:

(a) Recto: Philippians I,27 - II,2
(margin)

I,27 εατετθυτν τα I,30 εκωψι έουν
σωτυ επετνουω θυν άμαγ
τε τεταθεραθ τν έν ου πλα
νουωt μην οψυ ηη
χη άνουω t ετε
τηθωνιζε ετο
πιστικ άνευατ
28 γελιων ετετην II,1 σωτυ ερη άγιτ
[2]οτε λαλω ν ει

18 (continued)
Part of the text of this page is also extant in a manuscript of the fifth century at Louvain, see Lefort, Les Manuscrits Coptes de l'Université de Louvain, number 21; there are no variants, but I,30 εούνθυτνLouvain for εούνθυτν here may be noted. Part of I,29,30 are also extant in number 17 here; there are no variants.

verse 27. εατεθυτν, only this manuscript (sic!); Beatty, Morgan and Horner's e,1,19,25 add "\n.  

verse 28. εετεθυτνετε, only this manuscript, against εετεθυτνετε Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 1,19, and εετεθυτνετε Horner's 25. Similarly in II,3.

verse 2. ηταραγην εουνκον, only this manuscript and Horner's 1, against ητε(ε)ιαραγην ηουνωτ Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 19,24,25, and Wessely.

(a) Verso: Philippians II,2 - 10.

(margin)
verse 3. ἐτενῷ - only this manuscript, against ἐτενῷ-Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 19,24, and ἐτενῷ - Horner's 1. Similarly above in 1,28.

verse 4. τακέων, only this manuscript and Horner's 1, against τακέων Beatty, Morgan, and Horner's 19,24,25.

verse 5. ἐτενένεξεν ὀν ἢ, perhaps ὑπετενένεξεν ὀν ἢ, the η being added by a later hand. ἐτενένεξεν ὀν ἢ is also read by Horner's 1 and 19; Horner's 24 has ἐτενένεξεν ὀν ἢ; Horner's 25, ἐτενένεξεν ὀν ἢ - Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 25 read οἱ on ἐτενένεξεν ὀν ἢ.

(b) Recto: Philippians III,7 - 13.
verse 8. μέθανς ἡμῶν only this manuscript; ἡμᾶς is Πανκοίστι Horner's e, 1, 13, 19; ἡμᾶς is Πανκοίστι Beatty; Πανκοίστι is Πανκοίστι Horner's 39; Πανκοίστι is Πανκοίστι Morgan. A comparison with the Greek manuscripts is of some interest here: Χριστίου ἡγομ. Beatty, Horner's e, 1, 13, 19 and the Greek manuscripts P46, Ν BDFG5; ἡγομ. Χριστίου Bala­izah, Morgan and Horner's 39 with the Greek manuscripts AKP and a few minuscules. τοῦ Κυρίου μοῦ Bal. and Horner's e, 1, 13, 19 and
the Greek WBDG's, τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Βεαττυ, Morgan and Horner's 39
with the Greek AP and a few minuscules.

verse 11. εἰς τὸν ἐντωούν, mistake for εἰς εἰς εντωούν which is read by the other
manuscripts here.

(b) Verso: Philippians III,13 - 20.

(margin)

III,13 μματε εἰς πνεύμα
мен. ναπαγούς ε
εἰσωρού δέ ενα
14 θν. εἰς θνῆτα καθά
πεσκονος ἀπε
κλαμ. ἀπτωεῖν
ἰπτε. ἀπνοῦτε
15 εἰς πεξεῖ τε· τε
λείος βε νιμ Μω·
πίπμεεε επάι
ἀυω ἐω β νιμ· ε
τετήμεεε ε
16 ποι ὄβεσμοτ
ναὶ πνοῦτε

(margin)

III,17 ενετμοούε ν
τεείξε κατάθε
εττύοοον' νν·
18 τὴν ονομοτ' ούν
ἐας γαρ μοούε
ναὶ ενεειξω λυ·
μοου νητὴν ἑκε
19 νοπ' τενού δε
ἐξω ων ἐμοου
εἰρίμε. νκακε
ἀπεκφος δ[πε]
20 ἔσ. ναϊ ε[τε]υ
ἐας πε [πτάκο]
ναϊ επ[ενούτε]

verse 13. ναπαγού for κκαναπαγού read by the other manuscripts.
verse 13. εἴσηπτο αὐτῷ ἐναντίον with Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 1, 13, 39; Horner's e and 19 read εἰς αὐτὸν ἐναντίον.

verse 15. ετετημωμενε γιὰ only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's e, 1, 13, 19, 39 read ετετημωμενε.

verse 16. πεντατετχαν ἐπού with Horner's e(?) 1, 13, 19, and the Greek manuscripts; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 39 read πεντα- τετχαν ἐπού on ἐποῦ.

verse 18. ἐφῳ with Horner's 1, 13, 19; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 39 read on ἐφῳ.

(c) Recto: Colossians I,1 - 6.

(margin)

I.1

τε πρὸς κολοσσαῖς

I.1

παῦλος παῦλος

εις ἐπάθεις ἐκ

τολοκ ἐπεξε ἐκ

εἰς τὴν ποιων ἡ

αὐτοῦτε ἥν

τιμοθεὸς πειν애

5

εὐσεβὴς ἡν

και ἐποιαὶ ἡμῖν

ἐκ κολοσσα ἡ

[π]ιστὸς ἐπὶ πε

[κε] τεχαρίαν ἡ

[τον] ἡν ἀρν

[ἐβολ ἐτιμα]ν ποιο

[τε πενειωτʰ]

3

[τοῦ]νπομμοντον ἡτού

[ποιοτε] πειωτοτο

[ἀπενθάλιον] τε

[ἐνακληλα] ἔφαρτο

373
verse 2. ἐν κολοσσα only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 1, 13, 19 read ἐτεν κολοσσα.

ἐμπεξά with Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 13, 19, also the Greek ἄβδοκιφ etc.; Horner's 1 and the Greek Ἀδτή 33, 104, 467, 1838 lat. read εμ ἐμπεξά ἐν.

verse 3. After ἐν this manuscript omits ἐμπεξά (propter spatium) with the Greek B 1739 only, against Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 1, 13, 19 and Greek rel..

verse 4. εμπεξά only this manuscript with the Greek 241; Beatty, Morgan Horner's 1, 13, 19 and Greek rel. read εμπεξά ἐν.

verse 5. ἀν with Horner's 1, against ἀντὶ Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 13, 19 and the Greek.

verse 6. πκοςμος only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 1, 13, 19 and the Greek read πκοςμοςτηρή.

(c) Verso: Colossians 1, 6 - 12.

(margin)
verse 7. παρερείπτε ἐναρξάμενα only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan read παρερείπτε πεπερασμένα, Horner's 1 reads αὐτὸ πεπερασμένα, Horner's 13,19 read πεπερασμένα, the Greek is τοῦ ἐγκατασκευασμένου ἑμῶν.

εὐπρεπεῖς only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 13,19 read εὐπρεπεῖς, Horner's 1 reads εὐπρεπεῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ.

εὐπρεπεῖς only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 1,13,19 read ἐνεχθεὶς with the Greek τοῦ χειστοῦ; Horner's 1 adds τῇ.

verse 10. This manuscript (accidentally ?) omits εὐπρεπεῖς before ἐνεχθεὶς which is read by Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 1,13,19 and the Greek. πΧαοείς with Horner's 1.13,19 and the Greek; Beatty, Morgan read πνευμάτω, see Thompson's note p.215.

(d) Recto: Colossians IV,1 - 3, 5 - 7.

(margin)

IV,1,2 ἐντενεῖον προσ κατερει epe IV,5,6 πετείνων μά[σ]

18 (continued)
(d) Verso: * Colossians IV,8 - 9, 11 - 12.

verse 8. (xekaac eeieieie e) petaono with Horner’s 1 and the Greek P^CD^ etc.; Beatty, Morgan, Horner’s 14,21 read xekac etetneiee epenooy with the Greek ^YABB^FG etc..
verse 11. This manuscript only omits ΝΑΙ ετεπονούτι πε[ before ΝΑΙ.

MAYBE by haplography (ΝΑΙ—ΝΑΙ).

19

PHILIPPIANS

(f 7) 4½ by 3 inches, originally about 6½ by 4 inches. Parchment.

Written in square uncial letters of the late fourth or early fifth century. I published this manuscript with a facsimile and a detailed discussion in *Le Museon* LXIII (1950) pp. 147 - 157. It was re-used to write a tax-receipt (146).

This is probably the most interesting Coptic text found at Deir el-Bala'izah. It is written in a dialect very close to Bohairic and is three or four centuries earlier than the earliest Bohairic literary text known. For a full discussion of the dialect of this fragment see chapter IX pp. 231f., 241, 248, 250.

In republishing the text of this fragment I have been able to make a few minor corrections. As in my article I am publishing the text of the Bohairic Version as printed by Horner: The Coptic Version (Bohairic) vol. III side by side with the text of the fragment; from this the lacunae can easily be supplied.

Text:

Recto:  Philippians III, 19 - IV, 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Fragment</th>
<th>The Bohairic Version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΝΑΙ ετεπονούτι πε[</td>
<td>ΝΑΙ ετεπονούτι πε τούνεξι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>λως πεναγούς γίξε[</td>
<td>όυς πούσσος δύβεν σούφιν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NH ετεμευί εναπκας[</td>
<td>ΝΑΙ εσμευί εναπκας τενεττεξ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μπολίς Αονός λογος[</td>
<td>Μβακί γαρ αονός λογος ηπειφυνυι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>λως εβολ γενομαι τενομας</td>
<td>όυς εβολ ημας τενοματι μα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τεν ομεναωτη πεντε[</td>
<td>τεν ομεναωτη πεντε ης πύς</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>φη ετναγιβτ ομαωμα</td>
<td>φη εναγιβτ μαωμα μνη πεν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θεβιο ετεμοτ ομαωμα</td>
<td>θεβιο καιφηρ μιροφη μνη πεν</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. The manuscript omits γαρ with some Bohairic manuscripts (ΗΡΟε18).
5. εἰσόλ γενοφά, Bohairic εἰσόλ μαν, Greek εἰσόδ.
8. ετεκοτ ἀποειμα, Bohairic ἄπυφρ αἱμορφή ἄπειμα, Greek σύμμορφον τῶν σώματος.
9. The manuscript probably omitted οὖς.
10. εὗρε εἰςβ νίβεν ἰνεξωγ, Bohairic (more correctly) εὗρεν εἰςβ νίβεν ἰνεξωγ, Greek καὶ ὑποτάξας αὐτῷ τῷ πόντῳ.
11-13. Perhaps supply with the Sahidic Version thus: (Barns)

11 [σωκτε γάκενου ναμεν[πα+ αυω οεν]]
12 [ογαγη]- γο παραοι αυω[πακλομ οει]
13 [ερατενφνου ηταϊ[εν γεμ οε] ]

The agreement here with the Sahidic Version, if certain, is probably accidental; elsewhere the text of the fragment differs widely from the Sahidic Version.

14-15. Perhaps supply:

14 [ναμεναπ+ οο ενεγκολαια νεμ ςυν]
15 [τυχη+ τωβ εμμον[εφρουμενι]]

cf. the Greek ἐνδούν παρακαλῶ καὶ Συντυχον παρακαλῶ etc.
16. ἐνε, probably the Sahidic ἡλ, ἡλο, etc., which is read here by the Sahidic Version; this word is otherwise not known in Bohairic.

Verso: Philippians IV, 4 - 9.

The Fragment

The Bohairic Version

19 (continued) 379

3. A recollection shows that there is sufficient room for [ΝΙΒΕΝ ΠΤΩ].

4. Probably read [σάκλ: σάκλ] with the Bohairic manuscripts Αφδ; ΔΓΗΚΛΜΝΟΡ and 26; σάκλ is omitted by the Bohairic manuscripts ΑΕ.

6. τάβ, Bohairic, Sahidic and Greek have ἡτήματσ; τάβ is evidently the same word as the Sahidic τάβ (Crumb: Dictionary p. 401b) 'pricking (of conscience), admonition, compunction'; the word does not
occur otherwise in Bohairic.

8. ἐς τὰ, Bohairic ὑπὲρ, Sahidic μετε, Greek νῦν.

9. εὐγένε[πῦτε ἤπε], Bohairic (more correctly) ἐγν ὑπὲ, the Greek is τὰ νοηματικα ὕπερ ἔν Χριστῷ θεοῦ.

11-17. These lines vary considerably from the text of the Bohairic Version; the Sahidic Version too is different here.

PAULINE EPISTLES

(g 5) ¾ by ¾ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in small square uncials of the sixth or early seventh century.

One page containing II Timothy IV,20-22 and Titus I,1-6. This is part of Horner’s 11; the rest of Horner’s 11 is part of number 21 here.

Text:


(margin)

II Tim. IV, 20 [ἀ]ικα τρῳβιμο[α ἐν ἑν]
21 μ[τ]οκς ἐγγυ[ωνε ἁπ] [οιυ] [οι] [οι] [οι]
[α]ρόι[ν ὑπερο· ὑβοτά]
[ος] σύνε εροκ μ[ν νο] [ν]
ἀ[ε]μ[ν] λικο: [μιν κλαυ]
ἀ[ε]μ[ν] νεκνυ [θρού]

Titus I, 1 [π]υλος πεμς [κ] ι ὑ[ν]
verse 22. The manuscript does not add ῥεχαρικ κακωμακ as indicated by Horner.
verse 3. \(\textit{\epsilon\nu\mu\nu}\) with Morgan and Horner's 13; Beatty reads \(\textit{\epsilon\nu\eta\gamma\nu\omega\gamma}\).

verse 6. \(\textit{\mu\nu\\nu}\) with Beatty and Morgan; Horner's 9 apparently reads \(\textit{\mu\nu\eta}\), but this may be a mistake.

21

PAULINE EPISTLES

(d 16) Two pages forming single leaf; each page 7½ by 6 inches, complete. 27 lines, 2 columns, the lines and columns are ruled. This is one of the earliest manuscripts of the collection; it is written in small square uncialis of the late fourth or early fifth centuries. The hand has much in common with the second hand of the Pistis Sophia (see Hyvernat: Album pl.II), but the script is heavier and very uniform. Unfortunately the script is very badly faded and partly illegible and the manuscript could not be photographed.

The page-numbers on one page \(\textit{\omega\chi\xi}, \textit{\omega\chi\zeta}\), i.e.836,837 are very remarkable, and presumably the manuscript originally contained the whole of the New Testament. I know of no other Coptic manuscript earlier than the ninth century which was so extensive. The nearest approach to it are the Subachmimic Manichaean texts of which the Kephalaia shows page-numbers up to 514, and the Psalm-book must have been of similar extent, cf. Schmidt-Polotsky, Ein Mani-Fund p.81 and Allberry, A Manichaean Psalm-book, Introduction.

The \(\eta\) is assimilated to \(\rho\) before \(\rho\) five times; this occurs also in other manuscripts of this collection, numbers 5,7,17,18,22. The super-lineations, where legible, seem to have been inserted consistently.

Two pages containing I Timothy IV,12 - V,2,4,10,11,13 - 18, and
Titus I,9 - II,14. This is Horner's number 10 and part of number 11; the rest of Horner's 11 is number 20 here.

Text:
(a) Recto: I Timothy IV,12 - V,2,4.

(margin)

IV,12

IV,13

IV,14

IV,15

V,1

V,2
verse 12. ἐν ταύταις with Horner's 1,24,32(?) and the Greek manuscripts; it is omitted by Beatty, Morgan and Horner's m¹.

verse 4. τιν ρα̃ς [πενταγή] (propter spatium) with Horner's 1 and the Greek manuscripts ΝΑΩΔ etc.; Beatty, Morgan, and Horner's φ, 24, 32, m¹ read τιν ρα̃ς (πενταγήν) with a few Greek minuscules and the Bohairic Version.

(a) Verso: I Timothy V,10,11,13 - 18.

V,10

[enēν]υ
[οὐ χε Νακανταγ]υ
[νεσχωρε χε νε]μ[α]ς 16
[αμηπομμο] ε[ρος χε]
[νεσεια ννου]ερθτε
[ννετοου]ήβ· χε νε
[αρωυε εν]ετθαι
[βέ χε Νεαλωμ]ε [ο]ν
[κα εωθ νιμ ετα]ν[υ]ν 17

V,13 [μονον] ἄε ευ[φ]ναργος
[άλα νκεω]ουμο
[άω νρεττα] ευχδο
[ννετεμεσυε] Π
[οιυμυ δε ετ]πε νωεν
[ρε[υ]μνι χ[α] εκνε αη
[ρε ερξοεις εν]ημνη
[ετ[ε]λλαλλ [να]φορμη
cαγου μμον αε[ην]ε]

V,21 (continued)

NCelfu.6 2,0Jc[xk[ij<VYj

(margin)

verse 12. ἐν ταύταις with Horner's 1,24,32(?) and the Greek manuscripts; it is omitted by Beatty, Morgan and Horner's m¹.
verse 16. δε with Horner's 1,9 and the Greek manuscripts P,1827; it is
omitted by Beatty, Morgan, Horner's 17,24 and the majority of the
Greek manuscripts.

γενεκρα... εροογ with Horner's 1,17(?),24 and the Greek manuscripts;
Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 9 read ουχήρα... εροει.

(b) Recto: Titus I,9 - II,4.

(margin)
verse 10. δειχνιάζει with Horner's 1; Beatty, Morgan read δειχνιάζαρε.
verse 2. ενεπινομονν with Beatty and the Greek manuscripts; Morgan reads ενεπιπνομονην and Horner's 1 omits it.

(b) Verse: Titus II, 4 - 14. 

(margin)

verse 8. αξν φονιν Δ· ουτάβο, Δ· (sic !) is difficult; Beatty and Morgan read αξν φονιν ΝουτΛβο, Horner's 1 αξν φονει (ουματςαμο ακ) (omitting (ν)ουτάβο); perhaps supply ΑΥΩΟ ουτάβο.

verse 10. ένανων, see Thompson's note ad loc..

Μεσονές έτνανονος, only this manuscript; Beatty, Morgan and Horner's 1 omit it with the Greek manuscripts.

verse 13. πες with Horner's 1 and the Greek manuscripts Ν*Τ; Beatty Morgan and Horner's β read ις πες with the Greek manuscripts Ν*ΑΚ Δ, etc.; Horner's ι reads πες only.
The dating of this manuscript presents some difficulties. Mr. C. H. Roberts with whom I discussed the date of this manuscript was inclined to place it as early as the third-fourth century; judging from the dialect and in particular the system of superlineation a date earlier than the middle of the fourth century seems unlikely; on the other hand, the shape of the letters ε, ω, ω, also ἄντε on the small unidentified fragment (e), make it probable that the manuscript should not be dated later than the fourth century; cf. however ἄντε I John II,7. Superlineations have been inserted consistently except for James IV,6 c but ib. ὄψω; note also ὄψιν (verb), not ὄψι (I Pet.II,18, III,1, Ja.III,14).

Fragments of five pages containing:

(a) Ephesians II,11 and 13
(b) I Peter II,15 - III,1,3,4
(c) I John II,4 - 15.
(d) James III,14,15,17,18, IV,3,5,6
(e) Unidentified.

On page (b) verso a page-number ἄν (450 ?) is visible which shows that the manuscript must have been unusually large, and presumably it contained originally more than the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, cf. also number 21 above. This is Horner's number 1 for the Catholic Epistles, Horner knew only pages (c) and (d).

Text:

(a) Recto: Eph.II,11
(2nd.column, broken)

II,11

[ ]

μοῦντες
[b]οῦν χερὶ τῷ ἀντὶ [α]τσεβαίε [ε]ν τοῖς χερίς
[σᾶλα 21]tau πε

(a) Verso: Eph.II,13
(1st.column, broken)

II,13

ετε[μοῦνε] ἁτε[ταινων] [τ]αινοιν

ς ονης ἐλογία[α] (ρ)

ὁμ ὅντος ὅτα [μ]ενε [νο]ύ λο [α]
II, 11

(b)


II, 13

(margin)

Ex. [broken]

II, 15

(broken and illegible)

11,18,19

(broken and illegible)

14

II, 16

(broken and illegible)

(broken and illegible)
verse 19. oun oyi na/yi eal αναλυμη; the Morgan manuscript more correctly with the Greek reads oun oyi na/yi eal α̉ẻnλυμη 'there is one who will bear griefs ...'; there can be no doubt that the scribe of the present manuscript (wrongly) intended to write eal αναλυμη 'there is one who shall bear many griefs ...', otherwise he would have written α̉ẻν, not eal α̉ẻν. On the other hand, α̉ẻν and α̉ẻn are frequently confused in certain early manuscripts, see chapter VIII paragraph 1A(p.53), and a mistake like this could easily arise; Horner's 14,1 also have α̉ẻν, but both manuscripts are late and often have α̉ẻn for α̉ẻn, e.g. II Peter I,16, II,1.

diyghisce only this manuscript; Morgan and Horner's 14,1 read diyghisce.

verse 21. τακαμαθυτη[η]; Crum: Dictionary p.458b cites only ταμα for the status pronominalis of ταμα, but the other four manuscripts here have τακαμαθυτη (Morgan, Horner's a,14,1).

(b) Verso: I Peter II,21 - III,1,3,4.

verse 19. oun oyi na/yi eal αναλυμη; the Morgan manuscript more correctly with the Greek reads oun oyi na/yi eal α̉ẻnλυμη 'there is one who will bear griefs ...'; there can be no doubt that the scribe of the present manuscript (wrongly) intended to write eal α̉ẻnλυμη 'there is one who shall bear many griefs ...', otherwise he would have written α̉ẻν, not eal α̉ẻν. On the other hand, α̉ẻν and α̉ẻn are frequently confused in certain early manuscripts, see chapter VIII paragraph 1A(p.53), and a mistake like this could easily arise; Horner's 14,1 also have α̉ẻν, but both manuscripts are late and often have α̉ẻn for α̉ẻn, e.g. II Peter I,16, II,1.

diyghisce only this manuscript; Morgan and Horner's 14,1 read diyghisce.

verse 21. τακαμαθυτη[η]; Crum: Dictionary p.458b cites only ταμα for the status pronominalis of ταμα, but the other four manuscripts here have τακαμαθυτη (Morgan, Horner's a,14,1).

(b) Verso: I Peter II,21 - III,1,3,4.
verse 23. Αν Αν with Horner's a, 15, f1 and the Greek; Morgan, Horner's 14 and one Greek minuscule (614) omit it.

verse 24. ἡμετεράωμα only this manuscript, cf. (?) τὸ σάματος τούτων Ν; Morgan and Horner's a, 14, 15 ἐγαί ἡμετεράωμα, Horner's f1 ἡμετεράωμα, cf. the Greek ἐν τῷ σάματος τούτων.

ἐανῆμω ἐφαννομένα, cf. Horner's 14 εανημω ἐφαννομένα; Morgan and Horner's a, 15, f1 εανημω (Ν)ναρμον ημνομένα.

ἤτοι οὖν ἑν τὰ καίδαικος υἱὸν τούτον .. θεοῖ only this manuscript; Morgan and Horner's a, 15 merely have (with the Greek) ητοι οὖν ἑν τὰ καίδαικος υἱὸν τούτον.

similarly Horner's 14 ἐν τῷ ἑν τὰ καίδαικος υἱὸν τούτον.

(c) Recto: I John II, 4 - 10.

(margin)
There would be no point in citing on this and the following page all the peculiar readings of Horner's 7. Horner's 7 is the very interesting fourth century manuscript of the Apocalypse, I John and Philemon partly in Berlin (or. oct. 408) and partly in the British Museum (B. M. 142). For I John and Philemon, not the Apocalypse, it is one of the very rare Sahidic manuscripts which differ consistently from the other Sahidic manuscripts and practically present a separate version. It is unfortunate that Horner in his edition partly, but not consistently adopted the readings of this manuscript which by no means represents the standard Sahidic Version, see above chapter

verse 4. An επαινετὴν only this manuscript; Morgan and Horner’s 4, 6, 15, a read ἄν ἔμαθεν. (Horner’s 7 (NTM) εμαθεν ἄν).

verse 5. μεταναπες only this manuscript; Morgan and Horner’s 4, (7 ?), 15, a read μεταναπες.

verse 6. οὐκ ἐπεσ with Horner’s 7; Morgan, Horner’s 4, 6, 15, a add ἐσσώ.

(c) Verse: I John II, 11 - 15.

(margin)

II, 13

[† σεαὶ ἄντ ἄνερ]

[ὑπὲ χε ἀ|τετῆ]

[ὑπὸ εἰπονήπη]ος]

[α]ε[σεαὶ ἄν ἄν]

[ὑπὲ χε ἄν]

[α]τετῆ[ο]φιν νειω[τ]

[α]ε[σεαὶ ἄν ἄν]

εἰ[ο]τε χε ἀ|τετῆ

[ο]φιν πετ]ουν

[χιν ἄντεσα]γειτε

/αε[σεαὶ ἄν ἄν]

οὑπὲ [χε τ]ητη

[χοορ] [ἀγω] πουλ

[χε χοοπ] ἄντη


[τ]η[τ]η[ν] [χρ] ε[π]ομνρος

οὐδε [ν]ετουνο

έμ [κ]οςμος

eω[ω]ν εφε ω[ω]ν

ουδ [μ]ερε [π]οςμος

II, 11

[ταύν χε[γανκα]

[κε] ταμ ἄν[ε]υ]

12

βαλ· +σεαὶ NH


[χε αγκω] ἄντη

[εβολ ἄν[ε]τη]

15

[π]ρμ[ε]φε πκοςмος

νοβε ετβε πεγ

13

[ραβν· +σεαὶ NH

[τ]η[τ]η[ν] νειοτε χε [α]

τετηρυμν πετ

ουδε [κ]οςμος

εω[ω]ν εφε ω[ω]ν

ουδ [μ]ερε [π]οςμος
verse 13. ἔτειςοὐείτε only this manuscript, cf. verse 14; Morgan and Horner's 4,7,a, f

verse 15. συάς ἦν τοῦ γονοῦ ἐμὸν πάσης only this manuscript; Morgan and Horner's 4,7,16,a, f ὁδὲ μὲν πᾶσης.

εὐσώει with Morgan and Horner's 7,a, also the Greek; Horner's 4,16 εὐσώει λε, Horner's f ὁδὲ εὐσώει.

(d) Two fragments; the exact position of the two fragments on the page is uncertain.

Recto: James III, 14, 15, 17, 18.

III, 14

ἔε ἐγὼ λαγέ [N]

ἡττὴν ἤτο Ἀγω

οὐν ἦ των Ἕν

προαναγγέλ [Ε]

μωτὴν ἔτετεν

κι βολ ἐν τω

15

ητὰι ἀν τε τ[co]

φιλ ἐτνη [επε]

χήτ ἐβολ ἐν τ[νε]

[α]λ[α] ὡ[εβολ]

(broken)

(broken)

III, 17

ἐμὲ[ε] ἐγγόνακρινε

[καρ]νος ἦν Ἀδὲ

[καρ]νος ἦν ἐγνη

[Λε]

[μι]ν ἔν [διν]

[ν]ὲ 

[τε]πε

(broken)

(broken)
The only other Sahidic manuscript extant for the text of these two fragments (Recto and Verso) are the fragmentary Cairo leaves of the Pierpont Morgan number X (M 572). Horner for his edition of the Catholic Epistles only cites the Cairo leaves as his number 20, but his citation of these leaves is not always correct.

Verse 14. εγγέξε; this is of some interest as the qualitative of εγκέ in Sahidic is usually εγκέ and Crum: Dictionary p. 376b only cites εγκέ which is also read by the Morgan manuscript here; it may be noted, however, that in Bohairic and Fayyumic the verb occurs in the qualitative as εγκέ, εγκέ and εγκέ.

νεμήθην; Morgan emendens.

αὐντίων; Morgan αὐντίων.

Verse 18. The Morgan manuscript breaks off at εύνοι μω ὦ and for the rest of the verse this manuscript is the only extant Sahidic manuscript.

(d) Verso: James IV, 3, 5, 6.

(broken)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV, 5</th>
<th>εγκένα νεμίνας [ε]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ταχυνέως γραί</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>νεμήθην: γε ἄνα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>νούνος Νομίτως</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ετέβεναι ἐκαπώ ἦν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>κοπάσα καὶ κοψάτε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[η] ὡδέ Νακάσις</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[η] ἄν Νούσιος</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[η] Νέςτος Φιλίου</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ΣΠΠ] ετέθη ὁ ἄν 6[ε]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(broken)

IV, 3

[ἈΝ ΤΕ]

[ἀνῶν ΤΕ]

[ἀνῶν ΝΤ[ε]]

[ἀνῶν Χ]ς[ε]
(broken)

verse 3. etetne[kooy]; Morgan etetnnakhoy.


verse 6. The Morgan manuscript is fragmentary, but cf. the Achimimic Version ed. Rösch, Bruchstücke des ersten Clemensbriefes.

χακίμην, not χακίμην (Horner).

[μ+][μ] with Morgan([μ][μ]); there is no room for Horner's [μμα][μ].


(e) (d 187b) This fragment seems to be part of the present manuscript, but I have not been able to identify it. It is, of course, possible that it is part of a non-biblical manuscript written by the same scribe.

(broken)

1  2[λω] [6
2  71[μ']
3  81τ[ως]κ[γ]
4  9[τ]ε[τεσον]
5  10[ε]ε[ε]ε[ε]
(broken)  11[γε]
(broken)

23

CATHOLIC EPISTLES

(g 86) 2½ by 2¼ inches, incomplete. Parchment, one column. Written in sloping uncials of the fourth century; the hand is similar to no.25.

Fragment of one page containing I John II,8–10; most of this text is also preserved in number 22. The Verso is illegible. Not in
24

APOTHEGMA OF ST. JOHN

(e 64) About 7 by 5½ inches, complete; one column. Parchment. Written in square uncials of probably the sixth century.

Two fragments of a page containing the Apocalypse I,3 - 5, 8 - 13. The page-number on the Recto ΝΔ (54) or Λ (14) shows that the manuscript must have contained other books apart from the Apocalypse.

Horner had for his edition only two fragmentary manuscripts for the Apocalypse I,1-12; one was the present manuscript (Horner's number 2) the other was B.M.6803, a twelfth century manuscript on paper containing the whole Apocalypse except I,1 - 8 and XXII,15 - 21, published by Budge: Biblical Texts pp. lxiv-lxvii and 272-330 (Horner's number a). Since Horner's edition L.T.Lefort published two fragments containing parts of the first chapter: Le Muséon XLIII(1930) pp.1-6, containing I,1-6,10-II,1; Le Muséon LIV(1941) pp.107-110, containing I,1-8; in the notes below I am referring to these manuscripts as Lefort a and Lefort b.
verse 4. πεταγόων; Lefort a and b πεταγόων.

[μ]πεμτό εβολ (propter spatium) with Lefort a; Lefort b ετσιν πεμτο εβολ with the Greek (cf. Hoskier: Concerning the text of the Apocalypse).

verse 5. πενταχμερίτων αὐων with Lefort b; it is omitted by Lefort a.
verse 9. την πετον (1ο) with the Greek; Horner's a πετοντας την πετον
verse 10. λογος σωμενε , cf. similarly verse 9; Lefort a and Horner's a
read λογος σωμενε.

ευνοαναμεν with Lefort a and the majority of the Greek manuscripts;
Horner's a and a few Greek minuscules omit νοαν-(cf. Hoskier).

verse 11. The manuscript probably read τον κενττανααν εφοου μιν κεντταε εφοου ,
cf. Horner's a τον κενττααν εφοου μιν κενττααν εφοου , but neither
of these readings is found in any Greek manuscript; Lefort a has
only τον κενττααν εφοου (with the Greek).

25

GREEK-COPTIC LECTIONARY

(5 5½) 5½ by 5 inches, neither complete. Parchment. Columns (not
lines) are ruled. Written in sloping uncials of the fourth century, see
plate 1,3; for a discussion of the date of this manuscript see the in­
troduction to number 22 (p.388) which was written by the same scribe.

One page of a Greek-Coptic lectionary containing St.Math.V,17-19
in Coptic and VII,28, VIII,3,4,7-9 in Greek. For this type of lectionary, its arrangement and parallels, see the full discussion by J.M.Heer: Neue Griechisch-Saidische Evangelienfragmente, separately and in Oriens Christianus, Neue Serie, vol.II,pp.1ff.(Leipzig,1912). This is Horner’s Γ, Gregory-Dobschütz 1.1604.

The Coptic text is not in any way unusual, but the Greek text is remarkable. Although there are only parts of some six verses extant, the manuscript shows no less than three variants found in no other Greek manuscript and three other important variants. For the collation given below I have used S.C.E.Legg: Novum Testamentum Graece.

VIII,3 η λέξις only this ms.
VIII,7 κκιν with ΛC etc.
κοιοσύνε with Greek pl., Sah., Boh.(pauc.).
VIII,8 κτοκεφαλείς only this ms.
εὐτεν with ΛC 33 only
κυτω with a b g h vg(4 MSS) SySc
υπο τὴν στεγὴν μου with Θ only
εἰς προστάτευμα with fam 1 1582 a k
Sah., Boh.(pauc.)
VIII,9 εξοστειλεν with Greek pl.

add κυτω ΝΒ etc..
omit κκιν B 700 1.47 b g h k q vg SySc.
omit εὐτεν ΝΒ 892 1200 1375 k SySc Boh.(pl.).
κτοκεφαλείς de ΛC 33 272
κκιν κτοκεφαλείς Uncs. rel. etc..
εφι Uncs.rel. etc..
omit κυτω ΝΒ etc..
omit υπο τὴν στεγὴν ΝΒ etc..
add κκιν μου ΝΒ etc..
add τεσσομενος ΝΒ al. pauci.

Text:

Recto: St.Matthew V,17 - 19 in Coptic and VII,28 in Greek.

(margin)

V,17 (ομιλούς) Εξε ἱνα
ταξιείς εκαταλαυμ ο
πνεομοσ η λεπρό
φθιμος νταξιείς ἀπ
εκαταλαυμ αὐτοῦ

V,19 σεναλατοῦτε εὐφοῖ

ΤΕ ΠΝΟΕ ΕΝ ΤΩΝΤΕ

φο ΝΥΜΠΕ ΥΕ

κκιν εφέν(ετο οτε ε)
verse 17. μηπονονυ (sic!); Horner's 8, 37, 51, 70, 108, 134 μηπονυ, Horner's 1 μηπονυ.

verse 18. γαρ with Horner's 37, 51, 134 and the majority of the Greek manuscripts; it is omitted by Horner's 106, 108 and a few Greek minuscules (565 al.), also a few old Latin manuscripts and Aeth. Arm. Geo².

μηπονυ μη πκας with Horner's 108, 134; Horner's 37, 51, (106 ?) read μη πκας μηπονυ.

Verse: St. Matthew VIII, 3, 4, 7-9 in Greek.

(margin)
VIII, 4 [καὶ λέγει] αὐτῷ
[ο ησούς] ὃς ἐα̣
VIII, 8 αὐτῷ, κέ ὅκ ἐι
μή ἤκανος ἐν
υπὸ τὴν στέγην
μοι εἰσέλθῃς.
καλὰ μόνον εἰ[πε]]
λόγῳ καὶ ἴκθησε[τι]
καὶ ἐκ ἔγῳ ἀνό[ι]
εἰμὶ ὑπὸ εζου[σιν]
ἔχων ὑπὸ εμα[υτὸν]
στρατιωτὰς [καὶ]
[κα] ἔγῳ τοῦ[τῳ πορεύ]
[ἀπὶ καὶ] πορεῦ[ετι]
[καὶ α]λὼν ἔχου ἐ[κ]
[εἴρεται] καὶ τῷ δ[οι]
[λῶ] μοι πῆλησον ]

(broken)
(g 42; d 172a) Papyrus. Written in square uncials of the seventh century.

I have not been able to identify this fragment; it is probably part of some biblical or apocryphal poetical work.

Recto: (margin) Verso: (margin)

1 [ae (!)] Ἱοῦ πεσεντερεζι 13 μος ἐν Θυ Ν

[margin] /ΠΣε– /ΠΣε–

5 ἴστην ἡμ. [ ] Ἰσω[ ] Ἰε Χ[ ]

[], ε[ ] 20 μν[ ]

10 [αιεν] ἵ[ ] 22 ἰ[ ] (broken)

(broken)

27

APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL?

(g 8) 3½ by 3½ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in square uncials of the sixth century, see plate II,2.

Perhaps from an Apocryphal Gospel; Christ addresses his angels on the devil's fall; cf. Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh p.39.

Recto: (margin) Verso: (margin)

1 [εἰς] ητε βε 16 ἄπολοκ εβ[ολ]

[margin] [ε] /Εένοιετε[ ] /Εένοιετε[ ]

[margin] εντε η[ε] χ[ ] εντε η[ε] χ[ ]

[ου] άνομον[ ] άνομον[ ]

[ςθ] άογω[ ] άογω[ ]

[margin] εφκακε ε[ε] [ε] [ε]

Dd
Translation:

Behold, then, o holy angels (ἠγγέλια), I have chosen you, I have revealed to you all my mysteries (μυστήρια) from the beginning of the creation (κτίσις) until now. You know (or: have known), therefore, from that which I have revealed unto you, that it is (the) arrogance which has cast the devil (διάβολος) - verso - forth out of his office (ἀξίη) (1). He was cast forth into the outer darkness (2) because of his arrogance. You see (or: have seen), then, that (the) arrogance is the mother of every sin. He, therefore, who will not humiliate himself among you is a devil (διάβολος) (3)[...]. (broken).

(1) This translation of ἀξίη was suggested by Dr. Barns; alternatively translate: 'in his beginning', but this seems less likely.

(2) Cf. St. Matth. VIII, 12, XXII, 13, XXV, 30.

(3) Cf. I Tim. III, 6 (Crum).
script is of unusual interest; it is very like that of the famous Greek liturgical papyrus, also found at Bala'izah, which was recently re-edited by C.H. Roberts and Dom B. Capelle: *An Early Euchologium, The Der Balizeh Papyrus enlarged and re-edited* (Bibliothèque du Muséon XXIII, Louvain, 1949). If the two manuscripts were not written by the same scribe, they must at any rate have come from the same scriptorium.

One fragment from a page containing the Liturgy of St. Basil; the text corresponds closely to Renaudot: *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio* (Frankfurt, 1847) vol. I, p. 64 (Crum). The variants are insignificant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto:</th>
<th>Margin</th>
<th>Verso:</th>
<th>Margin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>[ne]=θοαοοον πνοεις πνοεις</td>
<td>8.</td>
<td>[μυ]=νεφρονος μυ)=μ[μντ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| | [η]ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΑΣΜΕ πετοθοοοοον | | Χοεις μυ)=ντσους εις ανα[...]
| | [ζα]=θο ΝΝΑΙΩΝ ετο Νπνοο | 10. | τοκ γαρ πετερε νεχερυβιμ |
| | [νυ]=δεηςε πετονθειςενενετ | | ετο Νσας Νσαλ Αερατου |
| | [ή] | | [φιμ]ερ[ ] |
| (broken) | | (broken) | |

**Translation:**

.....] who is the Lord, the Lord(1), the God of the truth; He who is before the ages(κιόν) who is king for ever; He who dwells in the highest[ .....

**Verso:** .....] and the thrones(θρόνος) and the dominions and the powers. ...

For Thou art He around whom stand the Cherubim who are of many eyes [and the] Seraphim[ .....(broken).

(1) ΠΝΟΕΙΣ ΠΝΟΕΙΣ, in Greek ΔΕΣΤΟΤΑ ΚΟΣΙΕ.
(2) ΕΙΣ ΑΝΑ[...], presumably some rubric.
PRAYERS

(Ms. Greek Class. f 12) Papyrus. Written in square uncials of the seventh or eighth century. The script is badly faded and extremely difficult to read. Mr. C. H. Roberts and Professor P. Maas very kindly collated the fragment for me.

Prayers in Greek.

Recto: (?) (broken)

1 [\ldots]...περια του προσεβαλαμενού
2 [\ldots]κατα πνεύμονα ημίν κατα [\ldots]
3 [\ldots]τεξελευ...εκτιμα της [ΧΑ]
4 [\ldots]τι και φιλανθρωπία του [ΜΟ]
5 [\ldots]ογενους <\ldots>ου παιδος

(Margin)

Verso: (?) (broken)

7 [\ldots]φυλαζω χι
8 [\ldots]ιν τον στεφάνον του αινή
9 [\ldots]της χριστοντος θεο

(Margin)

9. Perhaps nothing lost at the beginning of this line.

30

PRAYERS

(f 8; f 9; d 187a) Two double pages forming single leaves, 3 by 6 inches, each page 3 by 3 inches, complete. Parchment; one column. Written in small square uncials of the seventh century, see plate II, 3.

Various prayers for the church, the bishop, the community and the Christians in general.

(a) (f 8a) Recto: (margin) Verso: (margin)

1 [\ldots]
2 [\ldots]κυ
19 [\ldots]νωπον εις άλη οιν
20 [\ldots]οιν άλη οιν
30 (continued)

4. NTE ΝΤΠΕ, probably dittography for ΝΤΠΕ.
31. ΝΑΝΟΥ for ΝΑΝΟΥ, cf. chapter VIII par. 56.
32. ΝΓΖΜΟΤ, mistake for ΝΓΡΖΜΟΤ since ΕΜΟΤ never occurs as a verb.

(b) (f 8b; d 187a) **Recto**: (margin) **Verso**: (margin)

37
39
40
41
42
39. Ννεζ for Νεζ, cf. 43 Ννογον, 61 Ννατωββα, 66 Ννεζ; see chap­
ter VIII par.90.

(c) (f 9a) Recto: (margin) Verso: (margin)

70 ἐνεμο[γ]τῇ ἐν [ἐν η] η
μενογον νρὲ[γ +]
καρπος : έκε ά[γα]
νε μμοου : έν[ςα]
θυου : ένσκανογ[χου]
75 αίτνταντραμα[ο ν]
τεκσιξ έτούα[ς]
ἐτπορου εβολ εξ[ο]
ου : έγαρε[ά] ενεζ
80 λας νιςουμ : έχε τακ
τε τῆομ μιν οποου
83 μμον... 100 [ɲέμπλ] 
84 [ɲέμπλ] 

30 (continued)
96. ebol is redundant here as χωκ (line 97) is already followed by ebol.

100. μμοὶ ἐπικομοκομεῖ, cf. note on line 39 above.
Translation:

(lines 1 - 35) .......and bless them all with the blessing of heaven, Thy holy dwelling-place; and take away from them every disease and every sickness. Ordain for them that for which they wait during their life, for Thou art their saviour (σωτήρ), the helper (βοήθης) of those who have no helper (βοήθης). Bless them and increase (αὔξεται) the work of their hands. Guard their going out and their coming in. Those who are in virginity (φόρματος) and those who are in a community (κοινωνία), mayest Thou preserve them in peace (εἰρήνη) and contentedness; those who are in (a state of) continency (ἐνεργεία) (1), mayest Thou preserve them in purity; the little children who are among Thy people (λαός) (2), mayest Thou increase (αὔξεται) them and bring them up to the (full) measure of their age (3); be unto them a fellow-worker in every good thing and give them favour in Thy presence and in the presence of Thy Christ, Jesus, our Lord, He from whom (lines 37 - 69) .....(?), holy, for ever and ever, Amen.

The Prayer of .....(5) concerning the brethren.

Lord, Lord, who knowest the heart of every one, bless Thy servant who is NN (6), and place Thy hand upon him and send upon him the grace (χάρις) of the Holy Spirit; the garment of his soul (ψυχή), preserve it holy and undefiled (.....) strength (.....) that he may struggle (ζωὴν ἐνεργεία) and [bring to naught] every force (ἐνεργεία) of the adversary (ὁ ἐχθρός); and grant (χάρις) unto him the unfading crown (7) of (the) righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) in Christ Jesus, He to whom be glory and power from now for ever and ever, Amen.

The Prayer for Sunday

Glory be to Thee, Lord of the resurrection (αὐτοκειμένος) ..... (lines 70 - 130) ..... Those who rest [in (?) the] groves giving fruit (κερασι), mayest Thou increase (αὔξεται) them and advance them and nourish them with the riches of Thy holy hand which is spread out over them, and preserve the works of their hands from any defilement; for Thine is
the power and the glory for ever and ever, Amen.

The Prayer for the bishop (ἐπισκόπωσις)

Again (εὐς) we beseech (παρευρέσθης) Thee, Lord God Almighty (παντοκράτορ), the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for our father the bishop (ἐπίσκοπος), that guarding Thou mayest guard him, Lord; and may he continue many years in a time of peace (εἰς ἡνίαν), and may he bring to perfection his priesthood which Thou hast entrusted to him together with every bishop (ἐπισκόπωσις) and the priests (προσβάπτισμα) and the deacons (διάκονος) and every one who is in the holy church (ἐκκλησία), and mayest Thou grant (χάις) peace (εἰς ἡνίαν) to every one through Jesus Christ our Lord, for Thine is the glory and the power for ever and ever, Amen.

[The Prayer for the church] (8)

...

for we (?), beseech (παρευρέσθης) the Almighty (παντοκράτορ) God, who is and is to come (?), that he may send (ἐρώτησις) his peace (εἰς ἡνίαν) upon us and upon his church (ἐκκλησία), and may He grant (χάις) his peace (εἰς ἡνίαν) in every place (?), that he may destroy him who has the power of death, which is the devil (Διάκονος) and all his dishonesties may He destroy; the forces (ἐν) ...

(1) 'those who are in ἐστιν' refers to persons who were in a particular state of life, like the ἀρχοντες, cf. Const. Apost. VIII, 10 (Sophocles: Greek Lexicon) cf. also C.S.C.0.73, 178 And 219.

(2) Cf. above chapter V j.

(3) 'age' is here spiritual rather than physical.

(4) Perhaps lines 37ff. follow immediately after line 36.

(5) Perhaps +[.]γιμω[.] is some name, but doubtful.


(7) Cf. I Peter V, 4.

(8) Suggested by the following lines.

(9) Heb. II, 14.
CANONS OF ST. BASIL

(b 10; d 178a) 5 and 5½ by 9 inches, originally about 13 by 9 inches. Two columns of about 30 lines each. Papyrus, the pages are unusually large for a papyrus book. Written in semi-rounded uncial of the seventh or eighth century; see plate III, 3.

Fragments of two pages from a manuscript containing the canons of St. Basil. A complete copy of these canons exists in Arabic and a translation of these was published by Riedel: *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien* (Leipzig, 1900) pp. 231-283. All the fragments here come from canon 36; the Coptic differs considerably from the Arabic text. Further fragments of these canons in Sahidic were published by Crum in *P.S.B.A.* vol. XXVI, pp. 57ff. and recently J. Drescher published a Coptic lectionary fragment containing part of one of the canons (*Ann. Serv.* vol. LI, pp. 247ff.).

(a) = Riedel p. 255 infra. **Recto:**

| 16 | NA | ]xe | 216n | Πειραματικα | 26 | e |

**Verso:**

1 6 ΠΤ[ | ΝΕΠ | κωτε | δε | ΡΗ | ουμα | ευμα |

2 10 Νεκενα | Ρολ | Αν | επισωματ | Νεκαλ | Αν | επ |

3 14 Κε | Νημαδ | Νημα | Μα | μηλακ |
31 (continued)  

19  may ἐνευ  27  ὥ[  
20  ἀγωνε ἥναρ  [pete[  
    ὅς ἁδεινε  μὴ e  
    τάμ[αν] ἄγ  30  οὐ[  
    ἔο[ος δὲ εἰς]'θε ϊ[  31  [,μ]  

(b) = Riedel p. 256.  Recto:  

(margin)  

[ ]  47  [πο]νάλα[ε] ᾽ω  
[ ]  2μ ἀμοιον  
[ ]  καὶ ζηοι  
[ ]  50  κατάλαλια  
[ ]  καὶ ζηοικα  
[ ]  [τ]η[γο]ρια·  
[ ]  κα]ν ἐν ἐν  
[ ]  κα]ν ἐν ἐν  
[ ]  55  [ἐβολ]. ἀνερ  
[ ]  [ ]τε  
[ ]  [ ]τει  
[ ]  [ X]ηρα  
[ ]  [ ]  

32  λ.ακ  
34  ]ς  

(gap)  

36  [ ]ριον[. ἀν  60  οὐ[πα]ρ[ἀβολὴ]  
  ἦσομεν ὅ  
  γανταφοτε·  
  ἂν[ο]υτε ὦ  
  ὧς ἀνατ  
  ἄ[ω] ἐμπεκ  
  στ[. σε]ναν  

65  ἀκαὶ ἄνως  
  ἀν[. ἐνευ  

67  [ ]  

413
32 - 34. This fragment belongs somewhere in this column, but the exact position is uncertain; similarly lines 93 - 95.
Translation:

(lines 6 - 14) ... those who run from one place to another shall not escape the seeing of the eyes or the hearing of the ears or the tongue.

(lines 16 - 24) ... through the dissoluteness of those persons. Those shall not be idle; it has been said concerning the idle.

(lines 37 - 55) ... If the fear of God does not dwell in you and in your heart, you shall surely be brought down. A widow or a virgin, whose tongues defile them, whether in a slander or in an accusation or in some words of dissoluteness, do not.

(lines 60 - 79) ... a parable because of these, thus, they being like to a man who has received a garment on loan on a feast day or on a marriage-feast or on a marriage, so that it should be thought concerning it, that these coverings which they wear are their own. But when the days of the marriage or of the feast end ...

(lines 82 - 91) ... first; this is the manner of these, thus, who bear the empty name of 'Christian' or 'continent' surely he shall be stripped together with.

(lines 97 - 106) ... it is fitting to renounce the things which are of it (the world). (As regards) the virgin it is not fitting that she should become a servant of any (person); she who is a servant of God, is not wont to do ...
(1) Cf. Riedel's translation: '... kommt nicht heraus aus dem Sehen der Augen, dem Hören der Ohren, der Geschäftigkeit der Zunge welche Lust in das Herz bringen....'.


(3) σον often refers to a marriage-feast, but it may also denote any ordinary feast, cf. Riedel's translation: '... an einem Festtage oder an einem Brautmahle ...'. Cf. Crum: Dictionary p.695a.

(4) I am unable to find the word φογιφμα elsewhere; its meaning, however, is obvious here.

(5) That the name is 'Christian' is of some interest here, as it supplies a lacuna in Riedel's text.

(6) Cf. 30 note 1.

32

APOPHTHEGMATA

(c 23; c 24 fragment) 4½ by 4 inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in uncials of the seventh century. Number 33 here is written by the same hand and except for the chapter-marks the arrangement etc. of the two manuscripts seems identical; it is quite possible that both texts were originally included in the same manuscript. See plate II,4.

Two main fragments and a large number of small fragments from a manuscript of the Apophthegmata. For the intricate problems connected with the transmission of the text of the Apophthegmata I may refer especially to W. Bousset: Apophthegmata. For the Coptic translation of the Apophthegmata see Th. Hopfner: Über die koptisch sa'idischen Apophthegmata Patrum aegyptiorum and P. M. Chaîne: Le texte original des Apophthegmes des Pères (Mélanges d.l.Fac.Or.Beyrouth, vol. V2 pp. 541 - 569) and Trois nouveaux feuillets du recueil sahidique des Apophthegmes des Pères (B.I.F.A.O vol.XXXXVII,1937,49 - 61).

The arrangement of the Apophthegmata in the present manuscript is the same as that of the other two Sahidic manuscripts (Zoega etc. and
Crum, Coptic Monuments 8095) and follows that of the Verba Seniorum translated by Pelagius and Johannes from a Greek original in about A.D. 500; the Latin text is printed by Migne: Patrologia Latina vol. LXXIII from Rosweyde's edition. The Sahidic translation was made from the same Greek redaction and Bousset cites (pp. 3ff.) a number of manuscripts of this Greek text, but so far it has not been printed. None of the Apophthegmata in the present manuscript occur in the other two Sahidic manuscripts, but there can be little doubt that all three represent the same version which must have been made before the sixth century.

In the present edition I am only noting the Latin and Greek parallels extant in Migne: Patrologia Latina vol. LXXIII (= P. L.) and Migne: Patrologia Graece vol. LXV (= P. G.), also for lines 25 - 39 Ms. Coislin 126 edited by Nau in Rev. Or. Chr. 1907 - 1912; for further parallels in other collections see Bousset's tables.

I am much indebted to Dr. Barns who has collated the fragments and has made a number of valuable corrections.

(a) lines 1-6 = P. L. p. 859D, (II, 12) and P. G. p. 336C (Poimen 43, 59).
lines 6-20 = P. L. p. 859D (II, 13) and P. G. p. 392D (Sisoes 3).
lines 33-39 = P. L. p. 860A (II, 16) and Ms. Coislin 126 number 134.

Recto: → (broken) Verso: ↑ (broken)

1 [ .. ] ΝΟΥΧι επεςθ [ .. ] [ .. ] ΝΟΥΧι επεςθ' ωφεν
[ΕΝΣ]ΟΝΩΝ γιςωκ ωμ [ .. ]
[ΜΟ]Υαξασ ενο [ .. ]
[X]Υ επεςθ' ωφεν 22 γιναμι εγυπ[ε ε]
[Ω]ΣΒΕΡΕΤ εμπ[ευ]
[ΓΗ]: ΑΥΧΟος[ .. ]

25 [ .. ] Νει ουλο ΝΝΕΝΑΛυο [Χε]
[ .. ] ΝΟΥΧι νει [ .. ]
[ .. ] ΑΥΧΟος[ .. ]
[ .. ] [ .. ] ΝΟΥΧι Νει απα
418 32 (continued)

8 [α... παραγνιστε] 29 [ἱποθετε εν [κα]

10 [πως ειπτι οκρελλο' [ταθροι ερω[αν]

15 [ου]ςε ημα τε [ενος τε η[κομος]

20 (broken)

(b) lines 41 - 97 = F.I.pp.874D - 875B; cf. also Cassian: Collationes II,13 (Migne: Patrologia Latina vol.XLIX, pp.545f.); (V,4).

Recto:

(b) lines 41 - 97 = F.I.pp.874D - 875B; cf. also Cassian: Collationes II,13 (Migne: Patrologia Latina vol.XLIX, pp.545f.); (V,4).

Recto:

41 [ἔγγει] 54 [δη][ε] [τα] η[μ]

45 [ἀγγειον] 55 [άνα][α] [σε] [υ]

49 [τρι] 60 [αυ][ε] [ηδο][η][ε]

51 [μα] 61 [δε] [με] [η]

(b) lines 41 - 97 = F.I.pp.874D - 875B; cf. also Cassian: Collationes II,13 (Migne: Patrologia Latina vol.XLIX, pp.545f.); (V,4).
41-49. Cf. the Latin: '... Domine, qui tentationes utiliter infers, converta bellum quod patitur frater ille in hoc sene, ut per experimentum in senectute sua discat quod tempore longe non didicit, quatenus compatiatur his qui huius modi tentationibus perturbantur. Qui cum orationem complesset vidit Aethiopem stantem juxta cellam et sagittas mittentem contra illum senem ...'

51. Crum read M, a fragment must have broken off since Crum saw it.

_Ec_
67-79. Cf. the Latin: '... Hoc autem tibi contigit, quia juvenem illum a communi adversario impugnatum suscipiens, cum debuisses eum contra diabolicum certamen consolatorisis verbis ungere, etiam in desperationem misisti, non cogitans illud sapientissimum praeceptum quo jubeamus ...'.

86-97. Cf. the Latin: '... nisi gratia Dei conservaret infirmitatem humam, quem in nobis salutari dispensatione omnibus orationibus Dominum deprecemur, ut et adversum te dimissum flagellum avertat, quoniam ipse et dolere facit, et iterum saluti restituit ...'.

(c) lines 99 - 101 = P.L.p.916A (X,20) (?).

lines 102 - 110 = P.L.p.916A-B (X,21) and P.G.p.168C-D (Ephraem 3).

(d)
Translation:

(lines 1 - 20) ..... even if he drags him to]cast him down, in as much as he drags him with force to cast him down, God is wont to help(βοηθεί) [him].

Apa ...(1) the disciple(μαθητής) of Apa Jijōi once said: [Ky] father, thou hast become old, let us go to the world(οἰκουμένη) a little. Apa Jijōi said: To the place where there is no woman, go
there. [His] disciple said to him: And what is the place where there is no woman, unless it is the desert? ...

(lines 22 - 39) ......]opinion(if he has peace in his heart(2).

One of the elders said: The monk is obliged to buy[3) [for himself] peace; it is necessary that he should be disdainful (καραφονεφονεφο) if some troubles of the world(κόσμος) should befall him.

Someone said: Three studious persons(5) being became monks(μοναχος); one of them made it his choice to[......

(lines 44 - 49) ..... But when he had finished his prayer, he saw[...]7 the Ethiopian [standing] by [the cell of the] elder, throwing [arrows against him ......

(lines 53 - 65) .....]because the holy one, Apa Apollo, knew what had happened to him and he was ashamed to say anything to him. And[...] Apollo said to him: Return to thy cell and recognize thy weakness from to-day and keep thyself in hand(?)[......

(lines 69 - 84) .....]that you should encourage for the struggle(πολεμος), and you have cast him into ......(?)[and you did not place yourself(?)] into that wisdom(σοφία) and the commandments of prudence according to that which is written(8): Save those who are taken to death and forbear[not] to rescue those who are being killed[......

(lines 102 - 103) .....]Apa Ephraem passed by[once .....

(lines 105 - 110) ..... But he said to]her: [If before] men[we are] ashamed [how much] more before God[who]seeth[the hidden things ......

(1) The Latin has Apa Abraham, but Abraham cannot be read here; the Greek merely has: Ἐλεφεν ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Ἀδαμ Σωσθεν.

(2) Cf. the Latin: '....Melius est enim ut cum multis sis et solitariam vitam agas, quam cum solus sis esse cum multitudine proposito mente.'
(3) 'buy', so also the Greek (ἀγορασθῶν) and the Latin (emere).

(4) Cf. the Greek ἀν καὶ σοματικῶς ἄμυθη, and the Latin 'etiam si corporale contingat evenire dispendium'.

(5) Ἐκκομμάτως seems the most obvious word for the Latin 'studiosi'; the Greek merely has τε εἰς φίλοπονοι.

(6) 'The φίλοπονοι are held to have been a body of laymen who served and assisted the clergy' Crum in B.M.p.422b note 4 and references there; cf. also R.O.C. vol.X(1905) p.47.

(7) It is not easy to suggest anything for the lacuna in line 47, the Latin merely has: 'vidit Aethiopem'.

(8) Proverbs XXIV,11.

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33
SERMON AGAINST NESTORIUS

(c 24) 4¼ by 6 inches, incomplete. Papyrus. For script etc. see 32, introduction.

Fragment of one page from a sermon against Nestorius; perhaps this is one of the sermons of Proclus bishop of Cysicus.

Recto: (?) (broken)

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(lines 13 - 23) ... and turn them away from God and lead them into the temples of our idols (εἶδωξον) (1). Except the Lord had raised up the holy one Cyril (2) and Celestine (3). 

(lines 26 - 34) ... Behold, (as regards) one who shall sin against the Lord, who shall pray for him? (4)

Tell me, o Nestorius, at the time when you were appointed (χειρόσω - νέω) to the episcopacy (-επίσκοπος), did God, Jesus Christ [ ... 

(1) Perhaps words of Satan (Barns).
(2) Cyril, archbishop of Alexandria A.D.412 - 444; he was the chief advocate of orthodoxy in the controversy with Nestorius, especially at the council of Ephesus in A.D.431.
(3) Celestine, (the first), 42nd bishop of Rome, from A.D.422 - 432; he
also took a leading part in the controversy against Nestorius.

(4) Cf. I Kings (Samuel) II, 25.

34

LIFE OF PROCLUS

(e 30; d 177a, b, c; further fragments in d 179, 180, 182, 189) 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in rounded uncial script of the seventh or eighth century.

Fragments of one page, perhaps from a life of Proclus. Proclus was bishop of Cycicus and took a leading part in the controversy against Nestorius; after the council of Ephesus in A.D. 431 at which Nestorius was deposed, he succeeded him as patriarch of Constantinople. For the history of Proclus and his writings see Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, vol. XIII (1935-7) pp. 662ff.

Recto: (?) (1st column missing) Verso: (?) (2nd column missing)

1  
\begin{align*}
\tau \alpha \varepsilon \varepsilon \iota \varepsilon [\delta] \\
\chi \varepsilon \alpha \gamma \delta \omega k \varepsilon \\
\kappa \varsigma \iota \kappa \varsigma \iota \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \\
\delta i \ \pi \rho \iota \kappa \kappa \iota \varsigma \\
\eta \pi \iota \kappa \kappa \iota \nu [\iota] \\
\end{align*}

19  
\begin{align*}
\iota \nu \eta \\
y \delta \iota \varsigma [\nu] \\
o \gamma \nu \alpha \omega [\varepsilon] \\
\end{align*}

20  
\begin{align*}
\gamma \omega \sigma [\iota] \varsigma \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \\
o \gamma \nu \alpha \omega \iota \varepsilon \kappa \\
\end{align*}

24  
\begin{align*}
\nu \nu \nu \nu [\nu] \rho \omega \mu [\nu] \\
\end{align*}

26  
\begin{align*}
\gamma \iota \gamma \nu \chi [\iota] \\
\gamma \omega \iota \varsigma [\iota] \mu \varepsilon \gamma \varsigma \\
\end{align*}

30  
\begin{align*}
\mu \nu \nu [\nu] \\
\mu \nu \nu \nu [\nu] \\
\end{align*}

33 \text{(continued)}
19. ἀνη for νεη, similarly line 35 ἄνεε for νεη, cf. chapter VIII, par. 90.

**Translation:**

(lines 1 - 17) ....... especially; for Proclus the bishop (ἐπισκόπος) went to Cycicus [... (gap) ...] the holy mysteries (μυστήρια) and he went with the [...] .

And the king and the whole council (συνάσκοιτος) (1) sought in every place [... for him .....]

(lines 19 - 36) ...... he was in separation (2) more than even the rest of men [... (gap) ...] ... (?) participation (μετάςκοιτος) of the holy mysteries (μυστήρια) except this thing only, [he being (?)] unworthy; and a great [.....]

(1) Presumably this is the council of Ephesus of A.D. 431.

(2) Lines 19 - 36 are somewhat difficult to interpret. The more likely explanation seems that the words are complementary to Proclus, i.e. that he was more detached from worldly things than the rest of men and that he felt himself unworthy of the participation of the holy mysteries; on the other hand one might interpret them in the sense of excommunication referring to Nestorius, i.e. that he was excommunicated more than the rest of men (suggested by Dr. Barns), but κώμος ἐξορθία does not seem to occur elsewhere in the sense of 'excommunication', the normal word in Coptic being κω ἐξορθία.

**STORY OF ST. ATHANASIUS AND ST. ANTONY**

(c 21 and three fragments in e 2/3) The main fragment 5 1/2 by 6 1/2 inches,
incomplete. Papyrus. Written in rounded uncial script of the seventh or eighth centuries. Two columns, ca. 33 lines.

Fragments of one page from the story of St. Athanasius and St. Antony. The text corresponds to that published by Rossi: *I Papiri Copti del Museo Egizio di Torino*, vol. I, part II, pp. 33f. The lacunae have been supplied from Rossi's text.

Recto:

| 1 | Τοτε ηλ [μαθαριος] | 25 | Ν[200υ πετε] |
|  | [αιν][τω][νιος αχ] |  | ουν [αινου] |
|  | [νεν][τυ][ρα][κι][ν] |  | [εμ][π][ω][κ] |
|  | ομμ [ε][ν][ον][καρικ] |  |  |
| 5 | [πεκαγ ηαπα] |  | [εμπ][κ][κο][μος] |
|  | αφ[κα][νιος] |  | εραθυ [μ][π][ν][υ][τ][ε] |
|  | [η][π][η][η][η] | 30 | π[αρα'][κ][α][λ][ε][ι][ε][ν] |
|  | [ν][τ][ε][κ][β][ν][ε][λ] |  | μ[μ][ο][κ][ε][τ][υ][τ][α] |
|  | [ζ][ο][ν][κ][α][ρ][ι][ν][ω] |  | μ[ε][ρ][μ][ε][ε][τ][α] |
| 10 | [π][μ][α][ρ][τ][υ][ρ][ο][ς][ν][ε][θ][η][π] |  | α[π][κ][κ][ν][η][ε][τ][ν] |
|  | [ε][ε][θ][ε][ν][τ][ε][ρ][ε] |  | [τ][ε][π][α][ν] |
|  | [ι][γ][ι][ν][ε][η][ν][ε][θ] | 35 | ζιον[κ][ο][ψ][ω][λ][α] |
|  | [ω][θ][λ][α][π][α][τ] |  | β[ω][κ][ε][δ][α][τ][υ][τ] |
|  | μ[μ][ο][κ][ε][τ][ε][π][α][ι] |  | μ[π][κ][ο][ε][ε][ι][ε][ς][ε][ν] |
| 15 | [π][ε][θ][ο][κ][λ][π][α][τ][κα] |  | ο[γ][ι][ς][υ][ξ][ι][α] |
|  | [ε][ο][μ][α][θ][ε][ρ][α][ε][θ] | 40 | [Ν][αι][δ][ε][ε][ρ][ε][θ][ε][ς][ε][ι][α] |
|  | [Υ][ρ][ν][ι][ν][ν][κ][α][κ][ο][λ][μ][α][ν][π][ε][ν] |  | λο[ε][το][γ][α][β] |
| 20 | [φ][α][γ][κ][ο][ρ][τ][ι] |  | ιμ[ε][ω][λ][μ][ο][ο][υ][α][ι] |
|  | [π][η][ι][ι][π][ν][κ][α][κ][ο] |  | [κ][αι][ς][κ][α][ι][ο][ς][υ][α][ι] |
|  | [ε][ε][ι][ε][ς][π][ρ][ν] | 45 | [μ][π][κ][α][λ][α][υ][ε][ς][ε][υ] |
| 23 | [ν][ν] |  | τ[ν][υ][ι][μ][π][ν][τ][ε][ι] |
5. [πεχα] (propter spatium); R(ossi): αυμ πεχα.


16. Μπαγκα; R.: αυμ + θηνη ιντεκκλαισι εμπαγκα.

18. σολομων; R.: ζοροβαβελ, but after line 23 R. continues: + θηνη ινακ σολομων πρηγκομει ιμπερη μπνοειθ; the Bala'izah Ms.probably read (more correctly) σολομων — ζοροβαβελ against R.'s ζοροβαβελ — σολομων.

25ff. πετεοουνταικον εμπικοκοκς εμπικοκοκς (propter spatium); R.: πετεοουνταικον εμπικοκοκς εμπικοκοκς.

37. πνοειθ; R.: πνουτε.

39. δε; R.: δε.

40. R. omits ετομαμ.

45. μπνεκαδη εβω ελεθη; R.: μπνεκαδη εβω ελεθη.

Verse: (broken)
Then the blessed Antonios [loosened his] face [in smiles with grace, and he said to Apa] Athanasios: [Peace be to thy] coming [into us], [o] chosen martyr [who seek me]; [behold, that which] I am seeking I have obtained, which is this, that I have seen thee before I lay down my body (σῶμα). Peace (εἰρήνη) be to thee, Solomon who built the house of [the] Lord; peace (εἰρήνη) be to thee, Zorobabel who embellished the temple of the Lord. Behold, God has granted thee this through the peace of the
church, according as I have told thee through the grace of God before thou goest to God. For it is yet another three (line 25) days which I have before I go from this world to God. But I beseech thee not to tell any man concerning the covenant which is between us together until I go to the Lord in peace.

And while the holy elder was saying these things, the blessed Athanasios wept, because he did not let him (remain) with him until he departed from the body. Then they rose and prayed and embraced each other; and he (Athanasios) gave him peace and departed from him.

And it came to pass, after we had departed from the blessed Antonios, that we came into Alexandria and the blessed Antonios died (?) on the day which he had mentioned (?) and rested in peace; and his disciples told us his life and we wrote it down in a book by itself alone, he having departed in peace. And he went to God in glory, having left behind him an immovable monument in the land of Egypt, which is his life which is shining through Christ ...

(1) Rossi's text ends as follows: '..... which is shining through Christ, God, who had established him from his childhood. Through him be glory to God for ever and ever. Amen.'

36

(a) LIFE OF APA JACOB THE ANCHORITE

(b) RULES, PERHAPS BY PACHOMIUS

(c 22) 6½ by 3 inches, complete(?). Papyrus. Written in one column in small square uncial s of the seventh or eighth centuries, see plate II, 7. Attention may be drawn to the peculiar system of superlineation.

One page and a large number of small fragments containing:

(a) the end of the Life of Apa Jacob the anchorite. This is pro-
bably Apa Jacob of the mount of Köm Isfaḥt (about six miles south of Ba-
la'izah), but hardly anything is known of him, see J. Muyser in E.S.A.C.
IX, 1943, p. 222-3 note 1. Probably the same Apa Jacob occurs on a wooden
cross in a list of saints including St. Pachomius and his successors, Shen-
oute, bishop Pisenthius and Apa Paul the anchorite published by M. Cramer:
Koptische Inschriften im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum zu Berlin, p. 40, as
'the holy Apa Jacob the anchorite and prior'. Fragment (b) here (lines
39-48) is probably part of this life.

(b) the title of some monastic rules (ἐντολάς) probably by Pachomius
(Crum). For the Rules of St. Pachomius in Coptic see L. Th. Lefort in Le
Fragment (c) here (lines 50-65) is probably part of this. Crum in his
notebook 82 notes that the Apollo in Miss. IV, 760 (Paul of Tamnah) taught
his children 'ἐντολάς of life'; cf. also the 'ἐντολάς of God' in Mun.
9261.

(a) Recto: (margin)  Verso: (margin)

1  ὅω γάστην 17  Θύ Χαριτίς
        ὅτι ἐνκρατήσαν ΜῊΝΝ
        [ὁ] ἧτομὲ ἴθα [Α]
        ἐγκαὶ εὐσμοὺς ἐ
5  [πνεύματε ἅν
        [πνεύματος ἐνοῦ]
        [εἰρήνην ἄντε π
8  [πνεύματε ἐσμὴ ὁ[Ν]
        […]… ……
9  [ὁ] πε πνίος ὑπερ
10  [κε]πίτῃ ἐνοῦ ἐτού
        [καὶ] ἀνὴ ἀγαθὸν πανα
        [καὶ]ρίθμῳ ἐναθαξομ[η]

[...]
Most of the lacunae have been supplied by Crum.

(b) 

| Margin | 39 | τήμας εἰτὴν ἑνηγαμία | → | Margin | 44 | τήμας ἀνηγαμίας |
| Margin | 40 | ὑλήλευσεν ἑγερτερ [εἰς] | → | Margin | 45 | ἀνηγαμίας ἑνηγαμίας |
| Margin | 43 | κούον Εἰτὶν τῷ | → | Margin | 48 | [η[.].]πλακός |

(c) 

| Margin | 50 | ενετέρπ. | → | Margin | 59 | [Α]νήτετον |
| Margin | 60 | μοούν ἑνηγαμίας | → | Margin | 65 | [Τ]οῦν ἑνηγαμίας |

(d) Three fragments containing the page-numbers: 3, Ν; [Τ]; ΛΖ, ΧΡ.
Translation:

(lines 1 - 16) ....] remain with [him(?)] also in the other world (εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν) with the great children of Adam (?) (1), blessing God with them together in peace (εἰς τὸ ζῆν) of God; Amen.

This] is the life (βίος) of our dear holy father Apa Jacob the anchorite (ἀρχισήμων) who completed on the twenty-fifth day of Thoth may his holy blessing remain with us; Amen.

(lines 17 - 37) God Grace (χάρις).

The commandments (τὰ ἔθνη) of [our] dear holy father Apa Pachom (?) the man of [God] who received them from God to teach them to his people when he was about to die (2) in peace (εἰς τὸ ζῆν) according to the destiny of every man, and to [rest] with his [fathers] for ever, the house of his inheritance (κληρονομία) the place in which his treasure is (3) which he gathered for himself through [.....](broken).

(1) Cf. 598 and chapter V,1.
(2) [ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ] suggested by Dr. Barns.
(3) Cf. St. Matth. VI,21; IX,21; etc.

37

LIFE OF APA HAMOI

(g 6,7) 3½ by 3½ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in one column in small square uncialis of probably the seventh century, see Plate II,5.

Two pages from the life of Apa Hamoi. For Apa Hamoi see Crum in The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, part I p.206 and note 3 and the references there; cf. also BIF II(1902)p.59.

(a) (g 6) Recto: (margin)  [μκ]  Verso: (margin)  [μκ]

1 ναούνων.  17 [μα]οβ ηπελαχ
μπεοκ [ειε]υμε  μ[αχ] ιχ ιφο λι
εβολ  νι[τ]τνγ.  μοκ ανοκ πε

(b) (8 7) Recto: (margin)  

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<td>ρο Ἡβι παμακα</td>
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<td>πε μιχαλ παρ</td>
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<td>ριος απα γαμοι</td>
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<td>χασρελος</td>
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<td>εκμοουε δε</td>
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<td>μπαεις τω</td>
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<td>ουν ιναμοο</td>
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<td>ει μα νιμ</td>
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<td>Ταπατη ιν[τε]υ</td>
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<td>[ε]τκνα βασκ</td>
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<td>ηνου εσραɨ ε[κμ]</td>
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<td>εροɨ: διπναυ</td>
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<td>πκαν: αμιχ[α]</td>
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<td>εσραɨ εροɨ τ</td>
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<td>ηλ: ουον[η]</td>
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<td>νααομ ατ ε</td>
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</table>
Translation:

(lines 1 - 32) .....

about an hour; not one of them has known, because they do not know his village.

Gabriel the angel went out from heaven[...], and he stood over above Apa Hamoi; he said to him: Be strong, I am Gabriel the bringer of good tidings to the[children] of the light(1). The Lord has sent me to [thee] that I should speak [with thee] today[...]. I go to the [...] of thy village that I bring to [thee] the water(2)[...].

(lines 34 - 65) .....

namely the blessed(ακρότορ) Apa Hamoi.

And as he went forward a little, he looked behind him and he did not see the ship and the sailors (any more)(3).

Immediately he threw himself down upon his face on the ground and Michael appeared to him and said to him: Do not be afraid, I am Michael the archangel of the Lord. Arise and go up to the town (πόλις). I am with thee in every place to which thou shalt go. (Any) time when thou shalt cry up to me I shall hear thee quickly; I shall not forget thee.[......]

(1) Cf.Luk.XVI,8; Jn.XII,36; I Thess.V,5; Eph.V,8.

(2) Perhaps supply the lacunae in lines 27ff. as follows: ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγίου ἀνόκη αὐτὸν ἐν οἷς[eτωτε]ἀ..., and translate: ' [and] I am he who shall go to [the well] of thy town and bring to [thee] the water.'

(3) Apa Hamoi had evidently been travelling in some miraculous boat supplied by Michael the archangel.
LIFE OF PAUL THE ANCHORITE?

(e 24 and ?; there are many small fragments in d 173, 177, 178, 180, 181, 190, 191). I have been unable to find a fragment which Crum copied in his notebook 82 as number 63,1 and it is certainly not in the Bodleian Library among the rest of the Bala'izah collection. Crum has a note that this fragment is possibly from the same manuscript as his number 57 (= e 24) and I am publishing the text below from Crum's copy. The fragment e 24 is 3¼ by 6¼ inches. Written in square uncial script of the sixth or seventh centuries, see Plate II,8. Papyrus. The fragments are of special interest as they are written in Fayyumic; the υγ has the form common in Fayyumic manuscripts, cf. CMSSS number 1, introduction.

Two fragments perhaps from the Life of Paul the Anchorite. Crum compares Paul the Anchorite in ROC X(1905)p*47 or Paul the Shepherd in Munich Ms. CXXXII; the martyrdom of Paul the Shepherd is mentioned in Lant. CV, 20. Ep. I p. 200 n. 4 mentions a Life of Paul the Hermit attributed to St. Athanasius, cited in the Synaxarium, 2nd Amshir (Po XI, 780); Sozomen VI, 4 and I, 13 mentions two Pauls, one a disciple of St. Antony, the other from Nitria; Mun. 9261 is a sermon by an Apa Paule; cf. no 39.

(a) (e 24) ↓ (broken) ——> (broken)
1 pος [μνε]ου [αιω (?)]
ετομευ [μ (?)]
χεινι ονη
4 ουεβ μης νεκ
(margin)

(b) (?) (from Crum's copy)
↓ (broken ?) ——> (broken ?)
11 ηειν [πακά]
pος [αινη]
αυλε [αγε \[εωθ]
εις [εν \[ει

18 [ ] μιξομ
[ ] εκω
20 [ ] υγ εν ανη
cεμεζελ [αμα]
(lines 11 - 16) .....] but the blessed (μακκέος) Apa Paule did [work]
being in the cave, thinking that it was a workman (τευχατς) .[.....
(lines 20 - 23) (1) .....] his servants; and he went after the footsteps
of the saint [,.....

(1) Perhaps this was the recto of the fragment relating how the person
went to find Apa Paule; lines 11ff. then continue how after his
arrival Apa Paule thought that he was a workman.

39

LIFE OF PAUL THE ANCHORITE ?

(g 26) 2 by 2½ inches. Papyrus. Written in rounded uncialls of the
seventh or eighth centuries.

A fragment, perhaps from the Life of Apa Paul the Anchorite, see
number 38 above.

The verso is illegible.

40

ENCOMIUM ON AN ARCHPRIEST

(c 17, and fragments in c 14, c 18, c 28, d 181). 7½ by 4 inches, neither
complete. Written by the same hand as number 4 in rounded uncial of probably the seventh century.

One large fragment and a number of small fragments from an encomium on an archpriest, citing St. Gregory Nazianzen.

(a) (c 17; c ¼ g) Recto(?); Verso(?):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>23</th>
<th>μπελ[άγ]υ ν</th>
<th>25</th>
<th>νεγράφην ετ</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>ούε εμμύυ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>άμνα-γραυ</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>α πενταχού</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>σν σκατά θ[ε]</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>ετσις δ[ά]ν η</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>άμαξε ν[με] ε</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>τνες μνημ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>ο β ρ νου ου</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>τικος τα</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>νομα τ[ι]</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>εραϊ εξη</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>αγερατόυ</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>μος εθην</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) (c 17, two fragments; c 18?)
46 \begin{align*}
\text{Recto(?): (1st.col., broken)} & \quad \text{Verso(?): (2nd.col., broken)} \\
\text{[\text{broken}]} & \quad \text{[\text{broken}]} \\
\end{align*}

50 \begin{align*}
\text{[\text{broken}]} & \quad \text{\text{[\text{broken}]} [\text{\text{[\text{broken}]}}]
\end{align*}

(c) (c 17; c 28j) \begin{align*}
\text{Recto(?): (broken)} & \quad \text{Verso(?): (broken)} \\
61 & \quad [\text{\text{[\text{broken}]}} [\text{\text{[\text{broken}]}}] [\text{\text{[\text{broken}]}}] [\text{\text{[\text{broken}]}}] [\text{\text{[\text{broken}]}}] [\text{\text{[\text{broken}]}}] [\text{\text{[\text{broken}]}}]
\end{align*}

(c) \begin{align*}
\text{Verso(?): (broken)} & \quad [\text{\text{[\text{broken}]}} [\text{\text{[\text{broken}]}}] [\text{\text{[\text{broken}]}}] [\text{\text{[\text{broken}]}}] [\text{\text{[\text{broken}]}}] [\text{\text{[\text{broken}]}}]
\end{align*}
Translation:

(lines 1 - 21) '......] defeat; and I acknowledge (ὁμολογήσω ἐγώ) my defeat according to the saying of the wise man (σοφὸς) in the things of God, the great Gregorios (1).

[Who] is he who shall be able to speak of the sort of knowledge which God granted (χειρέσεις) to the archpriest (ἀρχιερέας) whose (feast) we celebrate today; and before they raise up upon the lamp-stand (φως).....

(lines 23 - 44) .....] not has any inquiry (ὑπογραμμή) into the holy scriptures (Ἑβραίος) been powerless with him. He who revealed his ways to Moses, as it is written (3), has [pointed out] to him the words of [truth (?)] with ease, together with the crookedness (εἰρήνη) of the heretics (ἀπόκτησει), the puzzle (φυσικῆς) of those loving instruction and the thoughts (γνώμης), the opposition against the hidden reasonings (λόγως).....

(lines 46 - 51) .....] I shall give occasion to this thy encomium (ἰερά ἐγκομίου) which I shall deliver in our presence[.....

(lines 53 - 59) .....] not only [..] but all those who are below the sky.
A man[.....]

(lines 61 - 73) (4) ..... ]and some psalms (ψαλμος) and many fastings (νηστεία), there being many charities which [she(?)] is performing[.....(gap).....]
she was living in a pious (σεμυνός) life (βίος), in a great[.....]

(lines 89 - 101) ..... ]holy ...(?) , she saying: Do not, my daughter[.....(gap).....] she being [like a grass which withers (5) and[.....]

(1) The 'great' Gregorius at this period always referred to Gregory of Naziansen (Professor Maas).
(3) Psalm CII,7.
(4) Lines 61 - 95 refer to a woman; if it were not for the fact that lines 97 - 101 refer to a man, it might have been questioned whether this page was part of the same encomium as the rest.
(5) Cf.I Peter 1,24; Isaiah XI,7 - 8.

41

ENCOMIUM ON A BISHOP

(e 28 1/2; two fragments in c 21) 7 1/2 by 6 1/2 inches, complete. Papyrus.
Written in rounded uncialis of probably the eighth century, see Plate III,6.

One page and a fragment from an encomium on a bishop; the complete page tells the story how the bishop had to go into a public bath; cf. Crum's note in W.F.M.Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh (double volume) p.41.

(a) Recto: ↑ (margin) Verso: ——> (margin)

1 οουά χε ρετ[ ]

5 προσελθε δημοσία άλλων

16 [ει δε εκμοούσε έσοντ εν θίμη]

[ορρωμε α]ε αγυπερνει 

μου αγν αγνετ μου ε 

κοντ εμογεναλα ιεαν αι 

προσελθε δημοσία άλλων

ετσοουν οπλα[υ]οιοιον

20 τχε ι εβολ εκμοούσε δε εβολ 


(4) Lines 61 - 73 refer to a woman; if it were not for the fact that lines 97 - 101 refer to a man, it might have been questioned whether this page was part of the same encomium as the rest.
(5) Cf.I Peter 1,24; Isaiah XI,7 - 8.
Translation:

(lines 1 - 29) ..... (public) bath(?) that he should [follow(?)] the word of the rulers(Εχων) who were the doctors. And when he was unable to grieve(λυθην) them, he went forth to the public buildings(περι -
and went to the public bath that he should wash. When he was inside the vapour-bath, he commanded that no man should come in with him; for he was sixty years old and he had not washed with water, nor, indeed, had he suffered himself to behold his own nakedness. And as he came, walking in the heat, a man served him and poured water on him with a silver jar until he came out. And as the bishop was going away, the man prostrated himself to him, saying: I entreat thee, my father, that if I come to thee, I will show myself to thee, so that I may receive a consolation from thee. And he arranged for him thus. When the man had gone away, the bishop said: Before the day this letter I wrote to you with my own hand. And now I said:...

(1) the construction is unusual, and the scribe evidently found it difficult to express this in Coptic; it seems very probable that the following is merely a gloss to explain the . There can be little question that the text was translated from a Greek original.

(2) Crum translates: 'for indeed it was sixty years since he had washed with water.' (Gizeh and Rifeh p.41).

(3) The man evidently considered it very wrong to have seen the bishop naked, however necessary this might have been.
Fragment of one page from the Martyrdom of Theodore the Oriental. The complete text of this martyrdom in Sahidic is found in three of the Pierpont Morgan manuscripts, volumes 39, 40 and 41; a Bohairic text is printed in Balestri-Hyvernat: *Acta Martyrum*, C.S.C.0.43, pp.34 - 62. For further Sahidic fragments see O.v.Lemm: Bruchstücke Koptischer Martyrer-akten pp.Iff.. The text of the Bala'izah fragment corresponds to Morgan 39 pp.10ff., M.40 pp.7ff., M.41 pp.12ff, C.S.C.0.43 pp.37ff.. The-p text of the three Morgan manuscripts is by no means uniform; the Bala'izah fragment seems closer to M.40 than to M.41 and 39. The dialect of M.40 and 41 is Sahidic, but that of M.39 shows many Fayyumic forms, particularly towards the end of the manuscript.

**Recto:** 1 (1st. column, margin) **Verse:** ▲ (2nd. column, margin)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>μοι χε παγγ</td>
<td>em ni☆[η]a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ρε αρρηπιτος</td>
<td>τειρηκει</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 25 | ακναυ επεκι | oφειντις[
| 26 | μι] | χαρακτη
| 27 | oφειντις[
| 28 | χαρακτη | |
| 29 | μι] | |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>μοι χε παγγ</td>
<td>em ni☆[η]a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ρε αρρηπιτος</td>
<td>τειρηκει</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 25 | ακναυ επεκι | oφειντις[
| 26 | μι] | χαρακτη
| 27 | oφειντις[
| 28 | χαρακτη | |
| 29 | μι] | |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>17</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>μοι χε παγγ</td>
<td>em ni☆[η]a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ρε αρρηπιτος</td>
<td>τειρηκει</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 30 | ακναυ επεκι | oφειντις[
| 31 | μι] | χαρακτη
| 32 | oφειντις[
| 33 | χαρακτη | |
| 34 | μι] | |

(broken)
and he became invisible from him. [But] on the morrow he saw the horses raising a riot (ἐκ τοῦ ἐν τῇ εἴν) against each other again; for [he was] playing the lyre (κιθαρῆς ἐν τῇ εἴν) in some [melodies] for musical instruments (στήνος) (1) of the Thebaid. And the elder daughter of the king was delighted (ἡδόμενος) with his singing; [and she] hastened and looked down on the stable (στηπτόμενος) [..... (Verso) ..... And the devil appeared to him
at night and told him, saying: My son Agripitos, thou hast seen thy father that he has made thee king; do my will, therefore, in that which I shall command thee and thou wilt see the things which shall be done to these. The king said: Everything which thou shalt say, thy son is prepared to do ....

(1) It may be questioned whether ὑποκρυφόν really indicates 'a musical instrument; M.41 renders: 'in some melodies of sweet songs'.

43

MARTYRDOM

(e 17) Two pages forming a single leaf, 3⅓ by 3⅔ inches, each page 3⅔ by 1⅔ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in small square uncial letters of the sixth or seventh centuries. Of the two pages only one side of one page is legible, the rest is mostly obscure; I have tried to read the pages with the help of infra-red rays, but with little success.

Two pages from a martyrdom of a number of soldiers before Arianos.

(a) Recto: (margin)  

| 1 | στονεν εν την καιρον | 15 | και τυγχανον [..] |  
| 5 | και ενεχθη αυτοι | 20 | δικαιωματι μηρρο |  
| 10 | [..] ιανος πατερα | 25 | τα[..] εναγωνισα |  

Verso: (margin)  

| 1 | ηγενται | 15 | ηγενται |  
| 5 | [..] αυτοι | 20 | [..] εναγωνισα |  
| 10 | [..] ιανος πατερα | 25 | [..] εναγωνισα |
13 [ci:] πεξε ἀριάνς 27 [.....] μακαν ε[.....]
14 [να]μ Χ’ [ε Νατατερν 28 [.....] τ. Νρω[ ]
(margin) (margin)


(b) Recto: (margin) Verso: (illegible)

29 μοοῦε γιω.[.....] ΕΤ
30 πολεις αριάς α
πνούτε δε γω[ωγ]
εξίσιοβε.....
34 [.....] παι
(rest obscure)

Translation:

.....] into his heart another time, and they believed (πιστεύειν) in God forthwith, and put down at the judgement-seat (βῆμα) their military cloaks (χλαμύς) and cut off their girdles (ἐπὶ γυνηκ) and threw them[to] Arianos; and they cried out, saying: We are Christians openly (σ全体员工) (1). And Arianos said[to them]: You have seen[.....] do not let us despise (κατακεφαλειψαν [.....] nor the ordinances (οἷς ἡμῖν) of the emperor. Tell me, what is[.....] The two soldiers (2) said to them with one[voice.....](rest obscure).

(1) Cf. similar passages in other martyrdoms of soldiers, e.g. B.Misc.p. 237.

(2) Perhaps the martyrdom only related to two soldiers, but the passage is not quite certain.

SERMON BY ST. ATHANASIUS

(δ 26; there are many small fragments of this manuscript in δ 172,177,
185, 190, f. 40) 5 1/2 by 8 1/2 inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in rounded uncial script of the seventh or eighth centuries.

Fragment of a page from a sermon by St. Athanasius. Apparently this sermon is not otherwise known. For the lacunae in lines 1-12 cf. Rossi: *I Papiri Copti del Museo Egizio di Torino*, vol. II, part I, p. 5, and Ep. 51 (Crum). As the page-number here is 105 [- 106], this sermon probably formed part of a collection of sermons.

**Recto:**

1  
27

20  
25

14  
15  

10  
12

(margin)

27  

25

14  
15

10  
12

(margin)

27  

25

14  
15

10  
12

(margin)

27  

25

14  
15

10  
12

(margin)

27  

25

14  
15

10  
12

(margin)

27  

25

14  
15

10  
12

(margin)

27  

25

14  
15

10  
12

(margin)

27  

25

14  
15

10  
12

(margin)

27  

25

14  
15

10  
12

(margin)

27  

25

14  
15

10  
12

(margin)
A sermon of our God-bearing father and great apostle the holy Athanasios the archbishop of Alexandria when he returned from the first exile when he returned to teach man to repent and to be saved from punishment.

When a man dies, he has walked upon the earth. What, then, is the remembrance which a man has left behind him? Great sources of riches you have gathered in that you should do your will with them; you have kept for yourself some female companions that you should eat and drink with them; all these you have left for yourself in the......

(1) The first exile of St. Athanasius ended in A.D. 338 (or 337?).

(2) Evidently the eternal punishment is meant, cf. Matth. XXV, 46 al.

EUSTATHIUS OF THRACE ON THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL

(c 25) 6 3\(^\text{\textfrac{3}{4}}\) by 5 1\(^{1/4}\) inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in rounded uncial letters of probably the eighth century.

Fragments of four pages from the sermon of Eustathius bishop of Thrace on the Archangel Michael. The complete Sahidic text is preserved in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript XXII (M. 592) fol. 50ff. Other Sahidic fragments are BM 308, Berlin Or. 1611 fol. 1 and Paris 132\(^{1/2}\) (Crum).
A Bohairic Version was published by Budge, St. Michael the Archangel pp. 93ff., who also published an Arabic Version, ib. pp. 170ff. The lacunae have generally been supplied from the Morgan manuscript.

(a) Recto: (Morgan fol. 50; Budge p. 93)

(broken)

1. ημιάκιριος; omitted by M(organ) and B(udge).
2. NTAYKHUK; M.: ημιάκιριος ον NTAYKHUK.
3. Perhaps there was a space left blank between ημιάκιριος and NTAYKHUK.
4. Eyeipe; M.: eyeipe; similarly line 10 NTAYKHUKY; M.: NTAYKHUKY.
5. 2στραγ/αν; M.: επάραν.
45 (continued)

(a) Verso: (Morgan fol. 50, Budge p. 93) (margin)

(1st. column missing)  

18 [NTNTNTA]  
[OYNOY] TMON  
20 [NETHY ENOY]  
[SYMFOINIA]  
[AMAT]E AN:  
[ALIA ENOY]  
[NOY NRA]Y]  

25 EU ΜΠΕΤΠΕΝ  
PAIE NIM:  
ΕΝΝΑΥ ΕΠΑΥ  
ΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ Μ  
ΠΤΗΡΙΕ ΕΥΣΟΟΥΣ  
30 ΝΜΑΝ ΜΜΟ  
oy ΕΙΙ[τ]ΑΡΙΣΣΟΝ  
[MP]ΕΧΝ]Ο6 N  
33 [ΑΡΧΑΡΓΕΛΟΣ  
(b) Recto: (Morgan fol. 59r.; Budge pp. 105f.)

(broken)


20f. [ΝΕΗΤΥ ΕΝΟΥ[ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ (with B.); M.: ΝΕΗΤΥ ΕΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΤΝΝΑΣ ΩΟΥΕ ΕΣΟΥΝ  
ΝΤΝΠΕΛΛΑ ΕΝΟΥΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ.

(broken)
42 ταρχο[τ]ς κε μ [ ]
ον ου[γο]υτ  [ ]
νο[υ]ςτ ει' ε  54 Μ[ν π]κολλατωρ

45 γον ε[πε]ιμα  55 Ν[ουγο]ουτ άνι
κινταναδι  πε ειν ουμ
μωυ: λιπερ  τα[ν]γουτ κολ
ωρκ ηςααυ  λατωρ ενεζ  ']

καναγι:  

50 τενου δε εις  60 ου[ν ειςη]
βιντε αφ'νο  ητ[ε ουν 2οουτ]

52 βε: αυω[ ]  63 κότον τενου]
[ ]

(broken)

40. πεξαγ νας]; Μ.(and B.): πεξαγ νευφυμια τσυγκαντικη.

43. ουγοουτ νουςτ; Μ.: 2οουτ.

45. επειμα; Μ.: επακοιτον.

47. λαπερωρκ ηςααυ καναγι; Μ.: αιν λααυ καναγι.

59f.. difficult; Μ.: ουνμεευε ουν; Balaizah evidently different.

(b) Verso: (Morgan fol.59; Budge p.106) ——→

(broken)
45 (continued)

[ ] 82 ἁι: ἡμνε

65 [ἐγνωκωβε] ἔχρημα ἐτάγο
[ἀπενίκθων] ὀπὶ ἔλανκος
[πεξαματία] 85 μοσ τῷρῆ: ἂ
[ἀλοκο εὐφ] ἄμε
[πεσμοτ] ἂ
70 [τιμωνάχθη] ἄμοι ετρήπα
[ ] 89 [φηκ] ἄμῖταϊ

(broken)

73. Ναμάε; Μ.: οὐντως (Β. ἐγνωκωβεμεθα). 
78. ὧνν̧ρο, read ὧν̧ρο with Μ..

(c) Recto: (Μ. fol. 61; B.p. 110) Verso: (Μ. fol. 61; B.p. 111)

↑ (1st. column, broken) —→ (2nd. column, broken)

91 [ἂν] ὦτευνοὺ [ ] 98 νε ὦ ἐγ[φθ] 
[ἀλ]ἀλοκο ἄμε [ ] μιὰ: ἂς[ει] ἐνοὺ
[ἀβω] ἐβολ μᾶν [ ] 100 ὦς ἐρ[σά] τᾶ
[νεὐ]ενεργία [ ] μω: τὰ[cόκε]
95 ὦ[τῃρο] ὦπες [ ] ἐνεχτ[εῖ]
[ἀτο] ἐβολ [ ] 103 τακό: α[ρφο]

(margin) (margin)

99. άιε: Μ. adds ἑσωμ ὑ̧ρ̧ρο.
103. α[ρφο]; Μ.: εἰςηνήτε α[ρφο].

(d) ↑ (unidentified, broken) —→ (broken)

105 [ἡγελεφ οὐν] 110 [ ] ἦτα[ ]
[ὁ] ὀμ θανηνε: 
[.] θαρπωτ.[ ] ἁυων παγ̧ρε [μ]
108 [ ] Ἰα[[πι̧ς] [ ] πρ̧ρ̧ρ̧ο σβτω̧τ
[ ] (broken) 114 [ ] π[ ] (broken)
Translation:

(lines 1 - 16) An encomium (ἐνομιον) of which the bishop (ὁ ἐπίσκοπος) of Thrace the island, the place to which the blessed [Johannes] Chrysostomos was banished, in which he died. 

(And he told this encomium on) the feast of the archangel (ἡμερα τοῦ ἅγιου αρχάγγελου Μιχαήλ) the feast being celebrated in his oratory (ὁ ναός) which had been rebuilt in that island in the name of the holy archangel (ἡμερα τοῦ ἅγιου αρχάγγελου Μιχαήλ) Michael, of which the blessed (ὁ ἄγιος) Johannes laid the foundation with the sermon before he laid down the body (καταφυγία). And (Eustathios) having said also some few words at the end of this encomium concerning the blessed Johannes the archbishop and the Chrysostomos for the glory of the Holy Trinity in the peace of God, Amen.

(lines 18 - 33) ..... the day which the Lord created, let us assemble and rejoice and be joyful on it, not only in harmony (σύναρμονος), but in full joy which is above every joy.

We see the creator (ὁ θεὸς) of all, being assembled with us today on the feast (ἡμερα τοῦ ἅγιου αρχάγγελου Μιχαήλ) of his great archangel (ἡμερα τοῦ ἅγιου αρχάγγελου Μιχαήλ) Michael ...

(lines 35 - 52) ..... so that they should not look into my face at all.

The devil (ὁ διάβολος), being in the form of a nun (ἡ μονὴ), answered and said to her: First you said: Not a single male (person) has come into this place since my husband died - do not swear any oath! But now, behold, you have sinned and ...

(lines 54 - 63) ..... Is not the guardian (ὁ ἱερέας) a male person? Surely, 'the guardian' will never be believed [...think...] then (2). Behold [there is a male (person) in your bed (καταφυγία)] now! ..... 

(lines 65 - 70) ..... Euphemia ... relaxed her face in smiles in a spiritual (ἐπίστασις) smile, and she said to the devil (ὁ διάβολος) being in the form of the nun ..... 

(lines 72 - 89) ..... because of this matter. Truly, [if there were]
given to me all the riches (χρημάτα) which are in the palace (παλάτιον) of the pious (ευσεβῆς) emperor Honorios, and the ornaments (κοσμία) which belong to him, and the riches (χρημάτα) which are in the whole world (κόσμος); may it not happen to me that I transgress (παραβαίνω) the compacts (συνθήκη) which I laid down with my late husband Aristarchos

(lines 91 - 96) ..... and immediately the devil (διάβολος) and all his stratagems (στρατηγεία) vanished in her presence[......

(lines 98 - 103) ..... What shall I do to you, o Euphemia? I came desiring to make you a servant, that I might drag you down to destruction, but you have prevailed against me.....

(1) κολλατωρ is probably the Latin 'courator' (Budge).
(2) Morgan: 'What do you think, then?'.

46

HOMILY ON THE VIRGIN

(c f 90) 12 by 8½ inches, complete. Papyrus. Written in large rounded uncials of the seventh or eighth centuries, see Plate III, 4. Of this manuscript there are more than a hundred fragments; there is one complete page, a few large fragments and a great mass of smaller fragments. If this work became known in another manuscript, it might be possible to piece together many of the fragments. Unfortunately only a few fragments have at least some lines of continuous text. The manuscript must have been large and among the fragments I found page-numbers up to 177.

The complete page appears to be from a homily on the Virgin; the other fragments might have come from different works included in the same volume. Cf. Crum's note in W.F.M. Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh (double volume) p.40.

(a) (f 90) Perhaps the title of the work.
46 (continued)

Verso: (illegible)

(b) Recto: \( \text{παϊ \ πε \ χε \ ιε} \)
π[...]ουτε νας 50  χαὶ πρὸ
[...]τταπρὸ  μηποοου· αυ[ω]
[...]αγγελος  ἡτοι ἁγ
[...]ουπνα  ναουατι χ
[...]ουλαβ υετ  ουο[ε]ίκ
ε[υ]ω α[υ]ω  ρεμ [πχοεις]
χ[σ]ε τετ[τ]  βσκ εσ[γ]ν
[...]νε[εις]  ετπαφε
er[α] α[υ]ω  60  νο[ς] ποεικ
[...]ετερακπου  νταχουαμχ
[...]ουελε υετ  νεατε πε η
(margin)

Verso:  ———>  (margin)

κατασφράζ   90  γαρ ἰ[βί] η[ω]
νταχίτης     σικ[ε] α[χεί]ρε
cεντεσσφράζ  κατάθε ν
καταθε ετ  ταπαγγελος
σκι γάμπκα  ξοος να[χ]
ta μαθαιος  95  α[χ]ι μαραία
tεπιζίμη     τεπ[εζε]με
κεν [α]ρεξι    μ[ε]πεχοου[
κε [γ]αντες
xελην η[ω]    [χ]πο μ[ε]ε]
σικ[ε] χε τιω  100  σουρ[ε] ευ
ουμ [κκ]ζι μμ  μουτε ε[πε]γ
μαρια τεκ  παν χε [ε]
σιμε· πε  [θερμήν]
77 [γονάτης ηπογ] 
79 [γαρ εβόλ N] 
80 [εν ουτπα] 
81 [επομένως τις] 
82 [τις εμπότε] 
83 [επηφαν ζε] 
84 [τον γαρ] 
85 [περιγνατού] 
86 [κρ ημελα] 
87 [ος εβόλ ζη] 
88 [νεμωκε] 
89 [αντώον] 
104 [νικ πε ζ[ν]] 
105 [σω μην[ε]] 
110 [αιω[ Μ]] 
115 [ος ζε μην[ε]] 

(margin)

82. Matth.I, 21 has ημογυτε, but there is room for four letters and ηιε -

μογυτε is perhaps more likely; cf. line 100 ημογυτε where Matth.I, 

25 has ημογυτε.

(c) (c 12/3; 12/3) ↑ (broken) → (broken) 

118 [εη[Νοκ:κιω[ε]] 
119 [μενεφοου] 
120 [ημογυτου] 
121 [εβόλ ηικω] 
122 [κε εγκαται] 
123 [νικα νετνα] 

(broken) 

125 [πκοσις] 
126 [π ερινν] 
127 [μή νευερη] 
128 [νούοειν η] 
129 [κερκακε ο[.]] 
130 [ν[...νευε[.]]] 
131 [αν[ ] ]

(broken) 

(d) (c 12/3) ↑ (broken) 

133 [μπεκθη[ρ]] 
134 [κια νηε η] 
135 [σαμουηα[ ζ]] 

141 [[..]εε[..]μη[ ..]] 
142 [ωσε εβόλ ε[μ]] 
143 [νούοειν η[ν]]
46 (continued)

(f) (c $\frac{12}{7}$)  
\[ \gamma \delta \kappa \lambda \mu \nu \omega \rho \sigma \tau \upsilon \zeta \] 
(broken; $\longrightarrow$ fragmentary)

(g) (c $\frac{19}{7}$; \(\frac{10}{14}\))  
\[ \eta \iota \kappa \lambda \mu \nu \omega \rho \sigma \tau \upsilon \zeta \] 
(broken)

(h) (c $\frac{29}{7}$)  
\[ \iota \kappa \lambda \mu \nu \omega \rho \sigma \tau \upsilon \zeta \] 
(broken)

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
136 & \text{πετναγευς[βολ]} \\
 & \text{νεφ[ ]} \\
139 & \text{τα[ ]} \\
 & \text{νο[ ]} \\
 & \text{(broken; $\longrightarrow$ fragmentary)}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
144 & \text{δαμονιο[ν]} \\
145 & \text{ζητευομαι[ν]} \\
 & \text{ναυ[.] προτε[.]} \\
 & \text{ψυχ[.] τ[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
148 & \text{ε[ ]} \\
 & \text{(broken; $\longrightarrow$ fragmentary)}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
150 & \text{[η]μακελο} \\
 & \text{ολε[.] πα[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
152 & \text{ος[.] τη[.]} \\
 & \text{(broken; $\longrightarrow$ fragmentary)}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
154 & \text{με[.] κα[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
155 & \text{ησ[.] Φή [νταχκοος]} \\
 & \text{αι[.] ου[.] ατ[.] θο[.] [μ]} \\
 & \text{νικαρ[.]} \\
 & \text{ρωμε[.] πε[.] πο[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
160 & \text{τε[.] κε[.] μ[.] μ[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
161 & \text{λαγ κατ[.] θολ[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
163 & \text{[.] εουε[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
165 & \text{[.] εγερε[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
166 & \text{[.] εφο[.] ομο[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
169 & \text{[.] πο[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
171 & \text{οιομ[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
174 & \text{ε[.] θολ[.] η[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
175 & \text{ει[.] ο[.] η[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
177 & \text{[.] η[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
179 & \text{[.] νομη[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
180 & \text{[.] οιμε[.] μν[.]}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
185 & \text{εουε[.]}
\end{array} \]
Translation:

(lines 1 - 5) [These are the words ...... which our dear] holy father Apa [..... in (the) peace] of God; Amen.

(lines 9 - 116) .....] as Isaiah said(1): Behold the virgin(πυλη) shall conceive and bear a son and his name shall be called Emmanouel which is this, being interpreted: God with us. And God spoke to her[by] the mouth[of the] angel(τὸ ἀγγέλου), [saying](2): A holy spirit(πνεῦμα) shall [come] upon [thee] and the power[of him] who is high shall [overshadow] thee and [he] whom thou shalt bear is holy, which is this(3): I am pure from being defiled like all women. According as it is written in Ezechiel the prophet(4): This gate(πύλη) shall be shut; no one shall enter it except the ruler(τῆς κυρίας) the king of glory. And that(5): He who shall eat bread in[it (or: her)] in the presence of [the Lord], is he who went into the virgin(πυλη). The bread which he ate in her is that according to (the)flesh(κατά σῶμα, σῶμα) which he took in her flesh (πρόσωπον), according as it is written in the gospel(ἐν κυρία) according
to Matthew while the angel spoke with Joseph, saying: Arise and take Maria thy wife; for he who shall be born from her is one from a holy spirit and his name shall be called Jesus; for it is he who shall save his people from their sins. For Joseph arose and did according as the angel had told him. And he took Maria his wife, and did not know her until she bore her son, and his name was called Jesus. The interpretation of Jesus is 'Zesou' to all who believe on him.

Know, then, the regulation and the ... of God, namely: he took her and did not know her, according as it has been said: He did not know her ...

(lines 118 - 123) ... he shall fight with the wicked and cast them out from me, for he shall pursue after those who shall ... 

(lines 125 - 131) ... the world shall be at peace with one another and they shall not be at enmity ... 

(lines 133 - 136) ... thy sacrifice like Samuel the seer ... 

(lines 141 - 145) ... the revelation in the light of the demons at night ... 

(lines 150 - 152) ... the vineyard is the whole people according as it has been said: With men this is impossible, but with God nothing is impossible ... 

(lines 154 - 161) ... he told him this parable, saying: Pay attention, my son, concerning the fig-tree at the time when a branch is to be cut off from it, and they say ... 

(2) Luke I, 35. 
(3) Perhaps a quotation, unidentified. 
(4) Ezechiel XLIV, 2; Ezechiel XLIV, 1 - 3 is frequently connected with the Virgin in Coptic literature, cf. especially Mun. 9284; see also
B.Horn.p.405; B.Misc.p.79; DeV.vol.II,p.105; Clédat: Baouit(Memoires XII),pp.54f.. Crum in Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh (double volume) p. 40 has already drawn attention to the remarkable form in which Eze­
chiel is quoted here; cf. also how Matth.I,20 - 25 is quoted in
lines 73ff., the writer is evidently not concerned to give an accu­
rate quotation.

(5) Ezechiel XLIV,3.
(9) See Crum's discussion on this in Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh (double vol.)
p.40.
(11) Reading: η[ογ]θάνας ἑκνλλ, but doubtful.
(14) A translation of these lines is given with extreme reserve.

47

HOMILY ON THE DEVIL AND MAN'S FALL

(e 65) 6¼ by 6 inches, incomplete. Parchment. Written in square uncials of the fifth or sixth centuries. In parts this manuscript is badly faded and extremely difficult to read; some letters I was able to read with the help of infra-red rays.

One page from a homily relating to the devil and man's fall.

Recto(?):                          (margin)

  1  [                     ]         27  [ε[ε]νατε ...ε[ ...]
    [                     ]              [τα]ν ἔνεργε[ ...]
    [ η[ ]                ]            [τ]η ἑωμοτ[ ...]ε ...  
ζε νευρ νο 30  [                     ]
5  

\[\begin{align*}
\text{μος ἀναλαφ} & \quad \text{31} \\
\text{π ε ἀνω ξε νη} & \\
\text{[. .]ος εροου} & \\
\text{[. .]ει ειτη ναί α} & \\
\text{[. .]αννοη} & \quad \text{35} \\
\text{[ . .]ει ειτη} & \\
\text{[ . .]ρη} & \\
\text{[ . .]οη} & \\
\text{μενω νειελοταρες} & \\
\text{ανν[. .]} & \quad \text{40} \\
\text{νε [. .]ε} & \\
\text{νηρ [. .]} & \\
\text{παια[. .]ος ε} & \\
\text{βολ ἂν ουπο[. .]} & \\
\text{βοcil νε [. .]ενε[. .]} & \quad \text{45} \\
\text{των νε [. .]ενε[. .]} & \\
\text{[ . .]οη} & \\
\text{[ . .]οη} & \\
\text{μαγος ετρευ} & \\
\text{ειρε [ . .]ειαπαν} & \\
\text{τασια ουβε} & \quad \text{50} \\
\text{[ . .]} & \quad \text{51} \\
\text{τω: [ . .] ανω ετρε[. .]} & \quad \text{(broken)}
\end{align*}\]

38. \(\phi\)φοικι; the \(\gamma\) was probably added later.

\textit{Verso(?)}:  

\textit{(margin)}

\[\begin{align*}
\text{[. .]} & \\
\text{[ . .]} & \quad \text{80} \\
\text{[ . .]} & \\
\text{[ . .]} & \quad \text{55} \\
\text{[ . .]} & \\
\text{[ . .]} & \\
\text{κρο επ[. .]α[. .]} & \quad \text{ουπε ειτη}
\end{align*}\]
53. πλασμα for π-πλασμα, similarly lines 76 and 91.

Translation:

(lines 17 - 23) .....]the devil (διέβολος), because he was very wicked (πονηρός), cursed greatly and was cast out from the order (τῆς ἡμῶν) of the angels (αἱ ἄγγει) [.....

(lines 32 - 51) .....]men, they shall inherit (κληρονομεῖν) him; he is wont to[...] and to gnaw (?) at his heart. Because of this he is jealous (φονεῖν) at any time and is envious and acts wickedly (πονηρεῖν),
for this wickedness(πονηρία) is faithlessness(?) and ignorance. Because of [this] he works(ἐνεχθείν) with magic(μάγιον), that they should do these phantasies(φάντασίαι) against the truth and [...].

(lines 53 - 77) [...] for the devil(διάβολος) was thinking that perhaps he might have power to prevail against the creature(πλησίον) before law(νόμος) was given to [it]; but God, loving man, (and) what is more, being pitiful, and being wont to have pity on his creature(πλησίον) was [...] and long-suffering to take away the afflictions(πλήπωρά) as a sign of his power, especially because ... (?) so that, since the creature(πλησίον) was without sin [...].

(lines 83 - 101) [...] even if a ... (2) happened through God, that they might believe(πιστεύειν) on God on the second day (3) [...] creature(πλησίον) because of the Egyptians [...] who walk in ignorance, (that) they might repent(μεταμόρφωσι) themselves seeing these great wonders which happened to [them], and they never saw them [...].

(1) φάντασίαι in Coptic often refers to dreams or thoughts etc. suggested by the devil; cf. B.Misc.p.475; Till, HM II, 5322; B.Misc.p.134 etc.
(2) Perhaps: 'calamity' reading ὁμέροις.
(3) In view of the reference to the Egyptians in line 92 this presumably refers to the story in Exodus chapter VII.

48
HOMILY ON FASTING

(10) Two pages forming single leaf, 3 by 5 inches, complete. Parchment. Written in small square uncials of probably the sixth century.

Two pages from a homily on fasting.

(a) Recto: (margin) Verso: (margin)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>Verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>σοφισματα τεταρτα</td>
<td>ΤΙΝΗ ΝΕΙΡΑ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 εὑρε:· αντρετα
τις κοουτὴς εις ου
5 επαγων γνατε·
tις ἄνεκλομ·
νεῖφροτε ὅπα πὲ
ξε εἰναὶ ἔπειθήμε
εῦξε γῆνοι, ἦ νὴνω
τὴν ἐξ ἐτετήνα
οὐεί ἄδεραγ νῶν
νησὶ· εἰς ἐμναὶς
13 αἰνετήσις· οἶκν
(margin)
(b) Recto: (margin) Verso: (margin)
27 ἀλλὰ ἄπειγοιοιογ
ἄπεικλα· χπος
νητὸν ἄφοβια
30 νὸς τὸν εὗπτα
μελία· καὶ ποτὲ ε
ζούν ερωτῇ σκα
35 θυτῆν· αἰνής
τίκα γνωπε· ἴναυ
καλὸς τῶβε νὴντ
50 αἰνεία ἰμαγικος· εὔων
εὐπορόμεν· εὔων
52 τρένσωτε εὐπορ
εὐπορόμεν· εὔων
(margin) (margin)
Translation:

...]peace(&'et l /yv)  ), you are released(1) from your sickness. He has caused you to be prepared for the contest(\xi\phi\alpha\nu) until you receive the crown(2). I was afraid in what I should make your remembrance, or, as regards you, how you should be able to come into His presence, nothing being in your hands, until I brought this ...(?) fasting(\nu\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\alpha\kappa), that she may cause you to find ease(\pi\omega\varepsilon\xi\sigma\omega\kappa)(4) in the presence of God.

O fasting(\nu\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\alpha) which does not delay to give its fruit(\kappa\xi\varphi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron) ; it is she(i.e. fasting) which has been fixed within you. I would take her in(?) and I found her fruit(\kappa\xi\varphi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron) before I came out. She put forth and took(?) their time with her oil(7). Acquire her for yourselves as aid(\beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\alpha\kappa) every time when negligence(\dot{\mu}\dot{e}\dot{\epsilon}\alpha\kappa) enters you, she will cast it(i.e.negligence) out and will not permit it to be fixed within you. Fasting(\nu\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\alpha) has become for you forgiveness of sins. The time of forgiveness has happened to you through repentance(\mu\epsilon\tau\nu\omicron\omega\alpha\kappa), but not in the manner of some heretics(\xi\epsilon\tau\xi\kappa\sigma\tau\omicron) who tell this saying; Forgiveness of their sins is given yearly; they telling this saying in servitude. Let us not be defeated and perish; let us not be taken in her toils(8) and forget[.....

(1) Perhaps \tau\epsilon\tau\nu\kappa\nu\ is dialectical for \nu\tau\epsilon\tau\nu\kappa\nu, cf. chapter VIII par.138, in that case translate: 'that you may find(?) peace and be released from your sickness'.

(2) Cf. I Pet.V,4; Jam.I,12; etc..

(3) e\i\nu\varepsilon \chi\omicron\alpha\lambda\ - clearly not in the sense of 'bring against, accuse' (Crum: Dictionary p.79a); the exact meaning here is obscure.

(4) On \pi\omega\varepsilon\xi\sigma\omega\kappa cf. E.Peterson: Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von \pi\omicron\pi\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron\lambda\alpha, Reinhold-Seeberg-Festschrift, 1929, pp.283ff..

(5) e\i\nu\alpha\mu\omega\varepsilon\omicron\nu\nu\ here is difficult. Crum: Dictionary p.521b only cites one example where it is used, as here, intransitively.

(6) \kappa\chi\omicron\dot{\omega} is difficult, but the reading is not certain.
(7) κλα is a very rare word, cf. Crum: Dictionary p.115a.

(8) ὑπαρτενηλ ἐναντίον is difficult; the exact meaning is uncertain; cf. εἰνανε ἐγοῦν in line 23 and ἄκωλ in lines 26f., and above notes 5 and 6.

49

(a) HOMILY ON THE PASSION
(b) HOMILY ADDRESSED TO THE SOUL

(f 11) Two pages forming single leaf; 2½ by 5½ inches, complete. Parchment. Written in late rounded uncial of the eighth century, see plate III,5. The manuscript is partly faded and lines 1 - 8 I was only able to read with the help of infra-red rays.

Two pages containing (a) part of a homily on the Passion, (b) part of a homily addressed to the soul.

(a) Recto: (margin) Verso: (margin)

I ἐντεταπρό τὸν

νοῦτε ετούσα

ενεβάνυε ετευγαυε

εράλα εβολ ζη ῶου

5 ὠο αν ἐναὐ ἐπν

ο[δ]η μπρουμε ἐκε

πρὸτὴν νέστανον

ἐκν νενεβαύε

ἀνον ἄρειρνοβε

10 ἀλλα ἀυπαυρὸν ἄν

ἐβολ ἀπεχούσην ἐκ

(margin)

12 εβολ εκὴ πκας τήρη

ἀγω ανευτή ἐγυμ (27)

ἐστος ἀγιουγχν

15 τεγανε ηνογκαι

ἀνεξ πιέσε εγοῦν

ἐμ πες ἃς αὐτσον

νοὺς ἠμ ωνοςινη

ἐμ οὐχολιν οὐ ἄμ

20 οὐ ουοξ ὀλοχχ επη

σπρ ἀνεξ κληρος

ἐκν τεγακω ἄμ

23 εγοῦν εμπεγα ἄμ

(margin)

(b) Recto: (margin) Verso: (margin)

25 ἵνα ὑτερροῦν ἂν

ἀπναν εριναλπαν

35 ἔρο ἁπλανη ἂν

τούτα ἀναιρκῆτε
27 Ta enpoxte ònh
37 Noth ke mpirtaute
Tý òteanologuxe
[en]poinh ze nh
29 Kàmenurapav
[u]nejgupane nevihn
30 throu notn [uxh]
[um]n nomaer
The ò in lines 1 and 35 is a quire-number.
le1 eur o [g]ap[ape]

Translation:

(lines 1 - 23) .....]with his divine holy mouth concerning the works which it is fitting to do, because he does not desire to see the sin of man; not that he is satisfied with the works of us sinners, but he poured out for us his blood, out upon the whole earth, and he was hung upon a wooden cross, and was struck upon his head with a reed, they spat in his face, they gave him to drink vinegar and gall and gall (xolhy'), they struck him in his side with a spear, they cast lots (kolhoys) for his garment, they buffeted his face, they.....

(lines 25 - 45) .....]for thou(i.e.the soul) doest not know the time when thou shalt meet (davxovtav) God and render an account (dnavoloxi'evi) of all the things which thou hast done. Soul, soul (psox'v), do not be careless (dnavolesi'v) concerning thine own self and .....(1) to thee at the time of the one need (dnav'xexi). But now do not give thyself [to] sleep, that thou dost not become miserable [and] estranged to the coming (olov-ous'w) of [our] Lord Jesus [Christ in] the other world (dnavov) [which is to come]. Do not give [thyself to] sleep[.....

(1) Perhaps supply: mpirta [e]pexi [um]net [oouon] epo.... 'and exalt thyself with that which [belongs(?)] to thee at the time of the one need'.
**Hortatory Sermon or Epistle**

(e 31) 4½ by 3½ inches, complete. Papyrus. Written in small sloping uncials of perhaps the sixth century; the hand is not unlike that of P. Cairo Masp. vol. II, plate XVIII. The text is partly faded and difficult to read.

One page from a hortatory sermon or epistle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto:</th>
<th>Verso:</th>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Translation:**

... and virgins, old men and young children, those who recite (μελετάται) his spiritual (πνευματικός) songs (φῶτα) first (1). But now his songs (φῶτα)
have been changed to mourning. But let us bless God, [my] beloved, do not let us give [... to them?] but let us grieve thus, weeping for the living as though he were dead; for the righteous has not died, but he is asleep; and also Jesus shall cut off in the hour of the resurrection; men who are evil in their life, when they die, it is fitting to mourn for them, for they are coming to the judgement; but the good, when they die, it is fitting to bless them, because they shall escape the wrath as it is written: The death of the saints of the Lord is precious in his presence. So that, my brethren, as far as their place let us rest ourselves in their rest, for a good fame is the remembrance of the righteous. The continuing of that one belongs to him because of you, but the dissolution (i.e. death) of that one, so as to be with Christ, is a (good) fame for that one. By no means let us be disheartened because of him whom God has honoured beyond our [...], but let us think more especially, my beloved, concerning that day on which we shall arise, if we are worthy to see him (i.e. God) with our sins.

(1) Cf. Eph.V,19; Col.III,16.
(3) Psalms 1156.
(5) Proverbs X,7.
(6) Clearly the continuation of life, contrasted with παθωμενοι [death]; for this passage cf. Phil.I,23f. παθωμενοι μεν μετα την ζωην ημερον ουκ ετωμαμεν ἀλλ′ ἀληθινως καθιστημεν ἐν τω καιρω της αναστασεως των ὑποτεταγμένων της καθημερινης και της πασχαλινης και της ἐπυπερθησεως της ἡμερας. Ἔρχεται και ἀληθινος και πνευματικος ἁγιατης της ἐπωνυμησεως της ἡμερας." (7) Phil.I,23; cf. the last note.
(8) Probably supply τράπεζα 'rest'; it is not possible to read ἄγαλμα here.

ADVICE TO A MONK

(e 27) 5 by 6½ inches, complete, but the text is written on only one
half of the page. Papyrus. Written in non-literary uncial script of probably the 8th century. The dialect of the text shows many spellings found in the non-literary texts.

One page containing advice to a monk. It is possible that this was never part of a proper manuscript, but it must be noted that the text begins and ends in the middle of sentences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto:</th>
<th>Verso:</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ NIM ΝΚΟΓΕΝΕΜΟΤ</td>
<td>+ ΧΕ ΝΕΚΕΚΟΥ' ΠΕ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ΝΤΟ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΟΟΥ</td>
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<td>ΝΟΒ ΝΟΥΣΙΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ΒΙ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΠ ΝΕΚΕΝ[Γ]</td>
<td>ΑΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΥΓΑΛΕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΔΥΩ ΚΝΑΕΡΒΟΛ[?]</td>
<td>θΥ ΓΑΡΟΚ + ΣΣΣΣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΖΑ ΡΑΟΥΕ ΝΚΤΕΛ[ΝΑ]</td>
<td>+ΒΩΚ ΝΚΤΙ Ν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΝΚΤΙ ΕΟΟΥ ΕΠΝΟΥ[ΤΕ]</td>
<td>ΝΕΚΕΡΗΤ ΠΕΝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΕΧΝ ΠΝΙΝΤΑΥ[ΧΝΩ]</td>
<td>[Θ]ΑΝΑΚΩΜΟΛΟΓΙΝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΝΕ ΕΝΕΡΩΜΕ [? ]</td>
<td>[Θ]ΜΟΥΝ ΝΠΑΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(margin)</td>
<td>[Θ]ΜΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΚΧΩΚ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>[Θ]ΒΟΛ ΝΚΤΕΛΕ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. ΤΕΒΔΙΧ for ΤΕΓΔΙΧ, similarly line 9 ΒΙ for ΨΙ; see chapter VIII par. 121b and 121d.

5. ΡΟΚ for ΡΡΟΚ, similarly line 29 ΧΩΚ for ΧΩΚ; see chapter VIII par.61.

6. ΕΝΝΕΒΟΧΙΝΕ for ΕΝΝΕΒΟΧΙΝΕ, similarly line 7 ΝΕΡΩΜΕ for ΝΡΩΜΕ; see chapter VIII par.88.

7. ΕΝΕΡΩΜΕ for ΝΕΡΩΜΕ; see chapter VIII par.82d.
Translation:

...and give thanks that God may send (out) his hand and it touch thy mouth. Do not be at variance in thy heart, and (do not) walk in the counsels of men and their vain life. Endure in thy heart and thou shalt escape[...]. Rejoice and be glad and give glory to God concerning that which has happened to thee. (verso) For it would be even a small matter that you would be far from thy cell and afterwards suffer loss and be under a great burden and a danger and wouldst not escape for a long time, but God has been pitiful to thee.

Go and give thy vow which thou hast promised in the presence of God and be perfected and do not[....]


(2) The meaning clearly is: 'How easily wouldst thou be far from thy cell and suffer loss (if it were not for God's grace)'.

(3) Cf. Mk. VIII,36.

(4) For this meaning of χωκ εολα cf. I John IV,12,17,18 al.

52

GNOSTIC TREATISE

(d 54) 6 by 4 inches, complete. Parchment. Written in square uncials of the fourth century, see Plate I,1; lines and columns probably ruled. The dialect shows some archaisms as πι, τ, cf. chapter VIII par.94A. Of great interest, and probably unparalleled, are the superlinear marks. Unusual is the division of words at the end of lines; the doubling of letters in δμαι(29-30), χνοι(50-51)and λεξη(53-54)is clearly intentional.

One complete page and fragments of two further pages from a Gnostic
Treatise. This text was published by Crum in *J.T.S.* XLIV (1943) pp. 176-179; but I have been able to make a number of corrections, esp. lines 75-91. For a commentary on this text see Crum’s edition. It is possible that the whole text may be preserved in one of the Gnostic manuscripts found at Nag-Hammadi, and it seems unnecessary to add to Crum’s commentary before the new Gnostic manuscripts have been published.

(a) Recto(?): (margin) Verso(?): (margin)

| 1 | σιμ[ | 8 | τ]οοτκ
| pσαμαλ | | | 
| καλγυ[ | 10 | [γεμντ
| κοινω[ | | | 
| 5 | ατνο[κε | 12 | [χεκ
| 6 | τα[ | (broken) |

(b) Recto: (margin) Verso: (margin)

| 14 | τσθμ Σιλατίκον εμ | 35 | νοκ ισαλαννίς αίδχο
| 15 | πατσουνσ εβολ | | ος χε αιάρχεισταί ειν
| Ένεμεπραν αν πε | | Νογαρχ ηνανους'
| παϊ Αλλα πεσραν [ε] | [δ]ιασκ εβολ Νογανω
| σιγι επείδη νετ | | ης μη ουμυστηρι
| έμ παραδικος ίτπε | 40 | ον εγαθι άω γεν
| 20 | τρούν νενοοπ ευ | | συμβολον έτε ριευ
| τοοβε ενουκαρωά | | ευπροτρεπε άλλοι
| τρούν ηεταξίβε' | | ιν αλρη ζωιαω
| εβολ ήετηη ζωιαοω | | ης πε Νιλατικον εαυ
| 25 | σογ ηπηριτ ζωιτώ | 45 | Σε ειειεμπημενευε
| άω άω άω άω άω άω | | Ναι εμπεκουω ε[τ]
| κε Χαίν άλλ αβέλ ζε έ | | έτε άταμος ά Καίν
28  ερμηνεύε ὅκι ὃ

30  αἰ: μὴ πιπαραλικος

33  ἱτερικώμεν εναὶ ἄ

55  ἔτειχανα εἰξωμ

56  μοι χε εμν' ανοκ πε πγοῦ(πτ)

56. μοι added by a second hand.

(c) Recto: (margin) Verso: (margin)

58  [. . . ]μα. ε[ ] 75  [. . . ]γκ[ ]
[ ] . μι[ ] [ ] 2δινε[ ]
[ ] +κτι[ ] [ ] [ ] με[ ]
[ ] αερφ[ ] [ ] [ ] αμαυ[ψ[ ]
[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

60  [. . . ]μοι. αγ[ ] 80  [. . . ]και εἰς[ ]μελ[ψίζε]
[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]
[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]
[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

65  [. . . ]εζούην[ε[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]
[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]
[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]
[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

70  νακ ὃ ἵωσαν[ν[ε[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]
[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

73  [. . . ][ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

78f. For the lacunae cf. lines 44f.
52 (continued)

82 - 89. An exact quotation from Hebrews VII,3; see above number 17 and note there on Heb.VII,3. In lines 84 - 85 the manuscript probably read ετερον οηοι διαφοράς προτέρου χρόνου (propter spatium).

Translation:

(lines 1 - 6) ......]the body(σῶμα)[......]naked[......]without sin[......](2)

(lines 14 - 56) ......]the spiritual(? λαῷ κροτία) power, ere it (she) had been revealed, its (her) name was not this, but its (her) name was Σιγή. For(ἐνθάδε τὸ) all they that (were) in the heavenly Paradise (παντελῶν σου) were sealed in silence. But such as shall partake thereof(3) will become spiritual(? λαῷ .), having known all; they shall seal the five powers in silence. Lo, I have explained(ἐξερεύνησεν) unto thee, o Johannes, concerning Adam and Paradise(πάντα) and the Five Trees, in an intelligible allegory(σωμάτων, συμβολή). When I, Johannes, heard these(things), I said: 'I have made a good beginning(ἐπέκεισα ἑαυτόν); I have completed knowledge(γνῶσις σου) and a hidden mystery(μυστήριον) and allegories(σοφίας) of truth, having been encouraged(πεποιήθη) by Thy love.(αγάπη)

Now I desire further to ask Thee that Thou wouldst explain(ἐξηγήση) unto me in Thy will(5) concerning Cain and Abel: according to what fashion(τῶν πατέρων) did Cain slay Abel? And not this only, but he was asked by him (that) spoke with him(7), saying, Where is Abel, thy brother? But Cain denied(ἐγείρας τὸν) saying, Am(I) the keeper(8)

(lines 67 - 72) ......]of the fullness(πληρωμῆς) he (or: it) being completed. Lo, I have explained(ἐξηγήση) unto thee, O Johannes, concerning Noah and[his(?)]ark(καταβαίνων) and[.....]

(lines 78 - 90) .....]Now I desire[further to ask Thee that Thou wouldst explain(ἐξηγήση) unto me] concerning Melchizedek. Is it not(μη) said [concerning him](10) being without[father, being without] mother, his generation(γενεάς) was not mentioned, having no beginning[of days],


having no end of life, like to the Son of God, being a priest for ever. It is also said concerning him: ...

(1) The translation is that published by Crum in J.T.S. XLIV p. 178, except where my text differs from that given by him.

(2) Crum notes that this presumably relates to Adam and Eve and the Fall; but lines 10ff. almost suggest Χε [Χε νόμιμος Περιφέρεια Χε Μνημένη] ife Χε cf. lines 78ff.

(3) 'Paradise, or the tree of knowledge? Either would be masculine.' Crum.

(4) Crum compares Rom. XV, 14; I Cor. XIII, 2.

(5) Crum translates 'in Thy love', but notes 'More literally 'in Thy will' i.e. if Thou wilt; but it can be taken as equivalent to the phrase in line 43'.

(6) Crum notes 'Lit. 'Concerning, because of, what ἡ παραπλησία'. I am not certain of the meaning'.

(7) Crum already noted that νέγαξε was probably a mistake for πεντάγαξε, in fact, it seems that a second hand has added the ραγ in the margin, as indicated above.

(8) Crum notes 'The Sa'idic of Gen. IV, 9 is not preserved. 'Denied' not found in any version.'

(9) Crum notes 'πληρωμα (if not πληρο?) presumably the biblical 'fullness', rather than the gnostic abode of the aeons.'

(10) Hebrews VII, 3; see note on line 82 above.

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**FRAGMENT**

(f 13) 3\(\frac{3}{4}\) by 2\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches, complete. Parchment. Written in square uncial script of the sixth or seventh century. Lines and columns are ruled. The fragment is practically illegible; I have tried infra-red rays with little success. The legible part contains a quotation from Deut. VI, 4:

[\[\text{μάρτυς} \text{αυτών} \text{παραπλησίας} \text{μαθηματικός} \text{παθητής} \text{margin}\]]
(f 41; further fragments are in d 172 and d 183). Papyrus. Written in rounded uncialss of probably the seventh century.

Recto(?): → (broken)

1. \[ \text{\textit{т}аровт} \]
2. \[ \text{\textit{т}επροφιτι[c]} \]
3. \[ \text{\textit{n}επροφιτι[c]} \]
4. \[ \text{\textit{εεε}!} \]
5. \[ \text{\textit{т}ωβε} \]

Verso(?): \[ \uparrow \] (broken)

7. \[ \text{\textit{α}ωω νσονννονν} \]
8. \[ \text{\textit{ταεη πααθε} \]

(broken)

55 - 63 VARIA

55

HISTORICAL CHART

(f 14) 4½ by 4 inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in non-literary uncialss of probably the eighth century, see plate III,7. The dialect shows several features found in the non-literary texts.

Fragment of one page described by Crum in Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh (double volume) p.41: 'Part of a leaf preserves the only example, I believe, in Coptic of those preliminary reckonings, familiar in Byzantine chronicles. They most resemble those in Eutychius (Gelzer: S.J.Africanaus,II p.410) but are generally different or erroneous'. For Eutychius see E.Pocock: Contextio Gemmarum, Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrii Annales (Oxoniae 1658) esp.pp.295-324. The Latin text was reprinted in Migne: P.G. 111, cf. especially p.1159. On the verso of the fragment is a text probably written by the same scribe, but with no apparent connection to the historical chart on the recto.
55 (continued)

(broken)

Recto:

παλεύων τοιν παμπάργ[παλεύων]
ψαντηρ λαθν προμμε [πτολεμεος]
ρος γεμε προμπε [πτολεμεος διονυς χουτ]
ψίτε προμπε [πτολεμεος]
5
κλεοματρα τεβα[τεβα]
πέρο γεμε μιν υομεν ουμ[πραμε]
ποτος γνερπανε ζητα[αλεξανδρος πλακε]
δων μοιοντ μικριος π[παιτ[ης ηουχανον μπ[μπε]
άνην λακοο[τος οπηρος ζ[ουξανο ηομπε]
10
αντιμ[ξοχανο προμπε μαι[ξυστος αυξη φεπ]
ξος[ης πεκς] ημπ[ημερομε χεν η[αλα]
ηλεξομπμ[εμε] ετε ταποτ[ης ζοιχανοπρομη]
λακοοτος ουξερηπο η[ομ] μιν ίου η[ημπε]
δικηρος κεσαρ ηουταμο[τε π[ομπε]
15
τιςα γετον [τιςα γετον]
λακατρ[λακατρ]
17
ετε πιν [ετε πιν]

(broken)

5. τεβα[τεβα] for τεβα[τεβα], see chapter VIII par.121b.
7. προμπε for προμπε, see chapter VIII par.88.
10. ζοιχανο for ζοιχανο, see chapter VIII par.116.
13. ουξερηπο for ουξε[κερηπο], see chapter VIII par.17.
14. αντιμ[αντιμ] for αντιμ[αντιμ], see chapter VIII par.119.

Verso: ——> (broken)

19
τακτ[τακτ]
20
πεττως α[ποκ]ης κολοσν [ποκ]
αν[αν]με [ερω] έφοι [εφοι]
ανομε [α] ναν εμολού[ν]
23
παντοκρατ[παντοκρατ]

24. ἀπὸ ταχανών μονὴν ἴματον

25. εἰς Νκούσι, Νεχτ Ντίζε [continued]

26. ἀργαλεῖον ἄνοικτον θέα τοπος

27. [ ἦτα.....[broken]

28. μὸς εἰς τπαρό ὧν [εἰς ἔκχωμα]

29. μὸς χε όυνταξιδεμανθύ (?)

30. πεπεδώνης ὁ ἐφ όνομα[broken]

31. ἐροούστ· πεπές[broken]

Translation:

(lines 1 - 18)(1) ......] Ptolemeos Philopator[seventeen(? years; Ptolemeos]Psoter fifteen years; [ ...(?)(2)Ptolemeos] Alexandros forty years; [Ptolemeos Dionysios(?) twenty-nine years; Ptolemeos [...] Cleopatra his daughter [...] the king forty-three and a half years[3] ...(?) The whole time(χρόνος) of years since[Alexander the] Macedonian killed Darios the Persian until the twenty-eighth year of Augustos make [...] In the twenty-eighth year[5] of Augustos[our] Lord Jesus Christ[was born.] Now the number of[years from Adam] until the birth of Christ which is the[twenty-eighth year] of Augustos make five thousand and[five hundred(?)](6) years.] Tiberios Cesar twenty-three years[...][... Jesus Christ] was crucified(σταυρωμένηςος) (7)[...][...](?)[.....]

(lines 19 - 31) ......] he that is troubled(?) ... she(8) shall open[...] the child(9) has reconciled for us our[...] God has forgiven us[...] the Almighty(παντοκράτωρ). Be so kind(ἰχθυσία) and ... with me[... ] you being of little heart thus[...] Remember me Theodöros[...]. [...] which God(? spoke) by the mouth of[... saying(10):] Who
is he that standeth(?) he that gathereth or(?) he being glad; he that[.....]

(1) For lines 1 - 11 cf. the summary of Eutychius:

Epocha VIII, ab excessu Alexandri ad Christum natum, annorum 319

Philippus (qui et Ptolomaeus) Aridaeus 7
Ptolomaeus Alexander (Nicanor) 21
Ptolomaeus Lagus 29
Ptolomaeus Philadelphus 26
Ptolomaeus Euergetes I 25
Ptolomaeus Philopator 17
Ptolomaeus Epiphanes 24
Ptolomaeus Philometor 20
Ptolomaeus Euergetes II 23
Ptolomaeus Soter I 20
Ptolomaeus Soter II 15
Ptolomaeus Alexander qui et Jasphis Philopator 12 10
vel Ptolomaeus Phosas dies 18 pro quibus
putatur anni 1
Ptolomaeus Dionysus 29
Cleopatra 22
inde ad Christum 30

(2) Perhaps: 'From ... to Ptolomaeus Alexander ...'.

(3) For lines 4 - 6 cf. Syncell. p. 549, 14: Πτολεμαῖος ὁ φιλομήτωρ πρῶτον Ἀλεξάνδρος τὴν θυγατέρα Κλεοπάτραν δοὺς πρὸς γῆςν ἐπέτυχε διὰ τὴν Ἀμμονίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κωτοῦ ἐκβολὴν συμμετείχη Δημητρίῳ καὶ κότοι ......

(4) Dr. Barns supplied the lacunae in lines 6 and 7. For the time from Alexander to the birth of Christ Eutychius reckons 319 years, cf. note 1 above; the present list is evidently different.

(5) So also Eutychios.
(6) 5500 is the reckoning of Eutychios.
(7) Lines 14 - 16 evidently contained a reference to the year in Tiberius' reign when Christ was crucified.
(8) Perhaps the Virgin.
(9) Evidently the child Jesus.
(10) I am unable to identify this quotation, presumably from the Old Testament.

LIST OF CANONICAL BOOKS

(f 46) 2 by 6 inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in rounded uncial of probably the eighth century.

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \rightarrow \text{(broken)} \\
2 & \text{φανος παύλος} \\
3 & \text{πρὸς ἐραμαλιος ἡναγελος εὖν} \\
4 & \text{πρὸς κορινθίους τὸν προ εναιρεών} \\
5 & \text{τω εκεῖνα ἡναγελος} \\
6 & \text{(broken)}
\end{align*}
\]

Translation:

......the holy(οὐρά) Paulos[... ]to the Romans which he wrote being in [[...]]to the Corinthians, the first one, which he wrote[...]to the Corinthians, the second one, which[he wrote ......

57

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙ

(f 22) Written in heavy square uncial of the eighth century on the verso of 386. Probably a writing-exercise.

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \text{πνωυτε [.]φος λυω} \\
2 & \text{μαίρωμεν υμν ετε ουνε}
\end{align*}
\]
57 (continued)

3 πενανονήνιμμενη

4 ειλιωτάναρκαθαοθις

(margin, sic!)

1. n[αρ]θος is evidently intended, but there is only room for two letters.
2. νοη for νοη; similarly line 3 πενανονή for πενανονή, see chapter VIII par.56.

Translation:

God the good(αηο'oς) and lover of men to whom belongs every good thing together with his good(αη.). Father(1) (sic, expl.).

(1) Description of Christ, (Barnes).

58

PRAYER


(margin)

+pνουτε αρι πνηε συ μανα παι
νουτε πριποιεε επε πνουτε πνηε ε

5 σοου μν νεκοου ετζιοναμ μνου
μν νογρεθυρ ρουμ
μπεειουτ ααμ

9 εαμιν +

(margin)

2. τμεεγ γορ τμεεγε, cf. chapter VIII par.20.

Translation:

+p God, remember Papa Papnoute the man of the Oasis(1), may God reckon
him with the sheep upon the right\(^{(2)}\), him and all the children of our father Adam.

(1) Crum (l.c.) notes: 'presumably the Great Oasis!

(2) Cf. Matth.XXV,33.

59

**Amulet?**

(\(f\) 36) 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in small uncialis of probably the eighth century.

A fragment mentioning the saviour, Maria the Virgin and containing the sign \(\overline{\gamma}\) for 'Amen'. Either an Amulet or a series of prayers.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{üb} & 15 \\
\text{πρ̄} & 20 \\
\text{γαλαφ} & 10 \\
\text{τοι ὢν} & 10 \\
\text{δειλ} & 13 \\
\text{τος ὢν} & 13 \\
\text{καλ} & 13 \\
\text{κελεκ} & 27 \\
\end{array}
\]

HOROSCOPE (?) IN BOHAIRIC

(f 61) 4⅓ by 4⅔ inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Written in a non-literary hand, perhaps of the sixth or seventh centuries, see plate IV,1.

A fragment probably from a Horoscope (Crum). The text is of some interest as it is written in Bohairic and is probably earlier than the eighth century, cf. chapter IX.

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MAGICAL CHARM

(f 12) 4⅓ by 3⅓ inches, incomplete. Parchment. Uncials, probably of the seventh or eighth centuries. On the verso 58, later.

A fragment from a magical charm. The text is mostly obscure.
2. *ναίατι*, perhaps *ναϊατι*.

4. Evidently *φυλακτήριον*.

6. *μαγγραφίον* for *μαγγραφίκον*; this is sometimes found in magical texts, see Archiv für Religionswiss., 24, 176 (Crum).

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62

MAGICAL?

(g 49) 1½ by 2 inches, incomplete. Papyrus. Uncials.

Obscure fragment, probably magical.

---

63

MAGICAL?

(g 79) Papyrus. Obscure fragment, probably magical.

---
(B) Non-Literary Texts.

100 - 179 Legal Documents.
286 - 346 Lists and Accounts.
347 - 357 Fragments showing place-names.
358 - 394 Lists of names.
395 - 399 Varia.
400 - 401 Two Protocols.
402 - 410 Additional Texts.
APPOINTMENT OF A SUPERIOR

(d 24; d 113c,d; d 115a) 4 by 9½ in. Ligatured; same hand as ill. On this and the following document cf. chapter V p.30.

(margin)

1 ἐπίκαιον ἐπιμονακτήτης ἡμᾶς ἀπολαύς ἐπιπολοῦ ἐν θεμελίῳ
2 πόλεως ἐπιτούθην ἀνόν ἐπιμοςματικίας εὐπορίᾳ ἐκφυγα ψήφων ἑντέκομον
3 ἐνεκαί ἡμᾶς ἀκμων ἐμνὲν ἐμνα τούτων ἐνοῦτι θεοὶ ἐπιθαν[ή]
4 ἐπιτουργὸ ἐπιμονακτὴς τεκαίοικεῖ ἐμοὶ ἀνά γεφυροῦ ἐν πτερ.[.] (broken)

Verso: (docket)

6 + ὁμότ γενέτευρ & τῷ μον [space] αῆ ἀκολούθῳ ῥα ἐμμοναίων

4. ἐπιμονακτὴς presumably for ἐπιμονακτὴν, cf. chapter VIII par.82d. 
τεκαίοικεῖ for τεκαίοικεῖ, see ch. VIII par.138. τεκ- is certain; it is not possible to read τακ- (for Ντακ-) here.

6. Τ doubtful (for Τώτε). 
Τ for διά.

Translation:

The διάκονος(1) of the holy monastery (μοναχὴτής) of Apa Apollo in the nome (νομὸς) of the town (πόλις) Sbeht(2) through us who subscribe below this agreement (διαλογία) we are writing to Apa Ammone(3) [in this] same monastery (μονή) saying: Since you were appointed superior(4) of the monastery (μονή) that you should administer (διακεῖν) it for some days(5); when[......(broken).

Docket: (in Greek): Agreement executed concerning the monastery of Apa Apollo through(6) Ammonios.

(1) See chapter V pp.31f.
(2) See chapter III p.15.
(3) This person recurs elsewhere, see Index and cf.p.30 note 2.
(4) Lit.: ‘father’, see chapter V p.33.
(5) It seems remarkable that a person should be appointed to be superior for only a few days, but grammatically this is the only translation possible here. As Apa Ammone recurs elsewhere as superior it is probable that the present document was drawn up to make his appointment permanent; cf. 312 note 18 and chapter V p. 30.

(6) Since this document deals with the appointment of Apa Ammone, it seems strange that he should have executed it.

101
APPOINTMENT OF A SUPERIOR?

(f 84) Perhaps same hand as 102. For this document cf. chapter V p. 30.

(broken)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
1 \text{||} \text{κέως εἰσωτερικὸς}\\
2 \text{||} \text{οὐκ ἔπειραν ἑν}\\
3 \text{||} \text{ἐπειμανοῦσα}\\
4 \text{||} \text{ἐντὰκχόοις ἐδόξα}
\end{array}
\]

(traces of two more lines)

Translation:

.....] as superior\(^{(1)}\), you shall[..... you shall not (?) eat anything[...
.

] this dwellingplace\(^{(2)}\)[.....] which you have spent\(^{(3)}\)[.....].

(1) Lit.: 'father'; see chapter V p. 33 and Index.

(2) For this word see Crum, Dictionary p. 508b.

(3) Alternatively: '.....] which you have sent away[.....'.

102
REPAYMENT OF A DEBT

(d 20; e 13) 16 by 5\(\frac{3}{4}\) in. complete. Ligatured, see Plate IV, 2; perhaps same hand as 101 and 155.
2 Γίος ἀνα ἀπολλω [εἰτοτο ἀνοκ ι] παρίπρο πηρε· αὐ [ω πηρο μν πε] ἔπει ονοβ ἰσν[νυ τηροὺ μμην]
3 κα[κτ]ηριον ἰ[εξαί ναὴν αμροὐ που] θλ[ί]η πετο[ ]
4 ἐκ επι αν[τα]ντα φριδι ινυ[με]υυ[ν]
5 νεολο[κ]ο τίνοι[υ] γαρ τα ἑρᾶι ἵνδυμοιοιο μμηναςτηριον· η
6 ην ἀνπαρακαλη μμοκ· ἀπεκ
7 να ταγον ακταλη ναν μμηνοιυ ν
8 ναν γεται με σαυμητασε μ
9 νεβοτ μηδη· ἄντρωπη τα"ι
10 τριτης νδεδιανος· πδυν δε τν
11 νμου νακ μαστεμος ταρμαιςκ μμηνοιυ· ενενχαριςτα σοου μω νηγοί ταρνταλη νακ ναρωιν γληπικαρ
12 νος ναι· ἄ μπροσ νμουν νερτου νμ
13 στε νοιπε ευξηπαινημεν τουτ εετν
14 προ[τα]ιου νερτου ευξηπαιτ· αυω
15 [πκεσν]αυ φω νηνοί ταμαςκ ολ μμου νον προς θε ινβινντου νον ερων πνουτε ουμεν τνην εχιω ταρμαςκ
16 μμουυ· προς πνεωρ εταςωμεν μνενε
17 κε τε εναμαςκ μμουυ ον ναρωιν κατασε ον ταιτη νακ γαπενοον ετε
18 ναι πε νμουν ευξηπαιτ μω στε νοιπε ευωφακα ουν νακ ανομιν τιασφαλια νακ εκςτοι ερος· + ανοκ απα δακριπε πηρε
19 δαυ πηρο τιςτοιχ· ετιασφαλι νηνε εεαρη
20 μμου + ανοκ ανραγα + δαυ προιενος
21 τιςτοιχ + ανοκ απα φωκα τιςτοιχ + ανοκ
1. Διεον for Δικαίον cf. line 3 αὴρ gίρε, line 26 αντεκτοογ cf. chapter VIII par.71

1 - 4. lacunae supplied from parallel documents (100, 103 - 112).
3. αὴρ gίρε for ἀνακύρε cf. note on line 1.
4. μνος for μνος see chapter VIII par.80m.
5. lacuna supplied from the Verso.

9. this spelling of Διδοκιον recurs in a small fragment d 119b. cf. chapter VIII par.36.

14. ΝΔΕΚΑΙΑΝΟΣ for ἸΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟΣ, similarly number 6, colophon (?) lines 3 - 4 ΝΤΕΚΤΙΟΝΟΣ. This spelling is found elsewhere e.g. Krall XLI, 4 NTGK ΔΑΝΟΣ.

16. ἁδι the Greek μέν.

18. μνός so also in V. C. 46 (Ashmunein) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΝΝΟΣ οὐρτογ... and Revillout: Actes et contrats, Papyrus 2 du Louvre et χελαραυ ταὶρε μνος τε έτσις έπίξαρτον. Cf. also the very common μνατα at this period and later and the archaic μνατ, νατ etc., see Ep. I p.251 esp. note 8, and in particular chapter VIII par.79A.

19, 20, 27. ΧΠΑΙΤ , ΧΠΑΙΤ. Crum: Dictionary p.779a cites this as being the qualitative of ΧΠΟ. For the meaning see below note 14.

20. μφο[μ]τογ. We should have expected some verb here — probably abbreviated — denoting "in all", "total". I cannot recall any such verb beginning with μφο[...]. Perhaps the scribe wrote by
mistake προ[cf. line 18.
ταρμακ. 1 artaba contained 6 oipe-measures, cf. P.Lond.V pp.159 - 165; hence 6 x 8½ artabas = 50 artabas.
21. [πεκον]αν. The lacuna supplied from the context. In all 8 solidi were lent to the monastery. 6 of these are to be repaid in lentils; now the other 2 are discussed.
22. προς ἐπομανυντου for προς ἐπομανυτογ, an unusual example for n = e; see chapter VIII par.27.
23. την for τηνη, see chapter VIII par.138.
ταρμακ for ταρμακ, I cannot parallel this but cf. ch. VIII par.80m.
24. ετακωλη, Crum: Dictionary p. 33la suggests ετακχαλη but ετα- for εταγ- does not seem to occur elsewhere. On the other hand ετα- is frequently found for εταη- which gives excellent sense here; see chapter VIII par.130 esp. P.Lond.IV 1640 αγιν ρετωγ εταγην οι νοτηροπο "and I will send the command which is to be executed...".
μνετεκετε see below note 17.
25. εναμακ for εναμακ see chapter VIII par.129.
26. ηατι for ηατι see chapter VIII par.131A.
ζακεκοογ for ζακεκεοογ see chapter VIII par.71 and cf. note on line 1 above.
29 - 35. All written in the same hand as the rest as the text. It seems likely therefore that the document is not the original but a copy. As lines 1 - 29 are fairly accurately written with only one obvious mistake (?) (line 23 ταρμακ), it is probable that the scribe of this document copied the numerous mistakes in lines 29 - 35 from the original. Cf. however the note on line 36.
29. ανακρηπε for ανα κρη cf. line 3.
30. ακφαι λο for ακφαι λο.
31. αβαρε βε for αβαρελ ανβε.
33. ηιμωγενε dittography for ηιμωνε.
34. τιτιτοιχία dittography for τιτιτοιχία.

35. κολεφετιτοιχία; either κολεφετιτοιχία mistake for τιτιτοιχία or the c is part of κολεφ (κολεφες), but I cannot parallel this; cf. however 21413 and note 3 there.

36. These three letters present some difficulty. Perhaps they are the remains of a signature in a hand different from the rest and stand for λ(ακονος) cf. 29129 and 39621.

Translation:

The λακιστόν (1) of the monastery (μοναστήριον) of the μοναχός Apa Apollo [through me] Apa Kyre (2) the priest (πρεσβύτερος) and [the prior (πρωτοεπίσκοπος)] and the rest of [all] the senior brethren (3) of the monastery (μοναστήριον), we are (4) writing to Apa Amrou (5) who (6) saying:

Since we had need (7) of eight solidi of gold so that we should deliver them up as tax (δημοσίως) of the monastery (μοναστήριον), we came and besought (προσωπικός) you. And your mercy met us (8) and you gave them to us this day which is the sixteenth day of the month Mechir in this year the third indiction.

And the debt (9) we are (10) prepared (έτοιμος) to repay to you, we being thankful (εὐχαριστούμενος) on the one hand (μεν) as regards six solidi we shall (11) give them to you in lentils from this crop (καλαίτης) at the rate of (πτωτός) (12) eight artabas and two oipe-measures (13) they being acquired (?) (14) (per solidus). That is (ποιτικός) 20 - (15) fifty artabas they being acquired (14). And further [as regards the other] two solidi, I shall repay them to you according (πτωτός) as we shall find them. If God wills that we find honey, we shall (16) repay them to you according to (πτωτός) the price which shall be determined (16). Alternatively (17) - 25 - we shall repay them to you in lentils according (καλάτης) as I have (18) given you for the other six (solidi), which is eight (artabas) acquired (?) (14) and two oipe-measures
(per solidus).

As a security, therefore, for you we have drawn up this agreement (αςφαλεια) for you, we assenting to it. +I Apa Kyre(2) the priest(πρεσβυτερος) - 30 - and the prior(πρωτοπρεσβυτερος)(19), I assent to this agreement(αςφαλεια) as it is written. +I Abraham(20) the priest(πρεσβυτερος) and αποστολος(21), I assent to it. +I Apa Phoka(22), I assent to this agreement(αςφαλεια) as it is written. +I Abraham again(25) - 35 - the priest(πρεσβυτερος), I assent to it. +I Apa Kolt-the(26), I assent to it.

Docket: +The agreement(αςφαλεια) of Apa Amrou(4) the αγαλματις(5) (L.S.) through us(?) [......]

(1) On the meaning of Δικαιον see chapter V p.31.
(2) Apa Kyre as priest and prior recurs probably in 1062. He may be the same person who occurs elsewhere, see index, but, of course, this name is common.
(3) On "the senior brethren" see chapter V p.34.
(4) Amrou is an Arabic name γαλος cf. P. Lond. IV 144155 note . This would be a most unusual name for a Christian at this period and Crum: Dictionary p.561a citing this passage suggested αμα might stand for γαλος; this seems plausible but nevertheless unusual. In 1503 there is reference to an αμα κολαμας who evidently is a monk of the monastery, see note there; but κολαμας is a common name for a Christian in later times being the Arabic version of κολαμας. Cf. also note 9 below.
(5) For the title κολαμας see the full discussion below 303B note 9, and cf. Crum, Dictionary p.561a.
(6) δομος originally meant the land-tax, but at this period frequently denotes merely public taxes in general. Cf. chapter VI.
(7) "And your mercy met us" i.e. 'you were kind enough to agree to do so'.
(8) The word translated "debt"(Δαν) is the Arabic كد. I have not
been able to find it elsewhere in Coptic literature. It is remarkable to find an Arabic legal term in Coptic document of this period (before AD 750). It is to be noted that it is written without the Arabic article Δλ- which is generally employed when Arabic words are used in Coptic, except sometimes in lists and accounts.

(9) εδχετε in this context is somewhat rare, see BM 1115; Ryl. 188 and 336; also in an unpublished papyrus from Wadi Sarga (BM Or. 9035(57). Cf. also μετί εδχετε Krall 227 and εδχετε Ryl. 281. A close parallel to our document is found in the homily on the Archangel Gabriel in Worrell; Coptic Manuscripts p. 166. It seems probable that εδχετε in these texts meant more than just "be thankful" and that in fact some interest on the money loaned or some gift was intended. If Apa Amrou indeed stands for 97ος (see note 4 above), this would appear certain, because an Arab - hardly a Christian - would not be likely to give a monastery money on loan without obtaining some interest. Whether six artabas and two oipe-measures of lentils in fact represented more than one solidus in current values, we cannot tell as prices fluctuated considerably at this period. I may compare the use of the word εμογ "blessing" in Shenoute, where it frequently means something very concrete such as a room full of loaves. Cf. also ωτιο, ἡλ and others.

(10) The use of ταφε is interesting in this document, cf. ch. VIII par. 158.

(11) I presume εμπικαρφο to stand for εμπικαρφο see Crum; Dictionary p. 684a. The crop referred to is obviously the one in the same year. For a special meaning of καρφο see Jern. 15 note.

(12) τεσι in this particular sense recurs W.S. 174; Krall 5 and 74.

(13) For "oipe-measure" see the note on line 20 above.

(14) The meaning of Χηνο given by Crum; Dictionary p. 779a "acquire" does not make sense here. Some phrase denoting "fully-measured" is
obviously intended here and εὐκαταθήρητα must mean something like that. Cf. εὐτσκεμον in parallel passages: J.78; BM 1014; Ryl.159; 196; Krall 5^12,14, 56; and the Theban use of the word μούρτες e.g. J.983 - 85 τιον ανερμένην νέον νους ενοδηρίκον ευμετα-μιποι μπακατρόν.

(15) See note on line 20 above.

(16) For this passage compare Ryl.201, 210 of ποσ πεμπάρει εικασμένε (εικασμένε) and Krall 41 of ποσ εις μπακατρόν ίποι; cf. also Krall 39. The meaning of κωλί is discussed in the Appendix below.

(17) "Alternatively" μεντεκέτε; I have found this expression in the same sense in five other passages: Ep.102 (μεντέκε άε); J.66 (μεντέκε άε), 76; 78 (μεντέκε άε), 76; 77 (μεντέκε άε), and 122 (μεντέκε άε). The meaning in each case is "alternatively", "on the other hand" etc. cf. the translation of J.122 in the Appendix below. Crum assumed that this phrase was the Greek μντοιγέτε and noted it as such in his indices. That word is clearly meant in 6 passages I have been able to find: J.48 (μντοιγέ άε), 5815 (μντοιγέ άε), 65 (μντοιγέ), 7585,105 (μντοιγέ άε) and Krall 62 (μεντεκέ). In all these passages it appears to express a strong "but", "howbeit" etc., thus in J.65 the superior is to have complete control and a free hand over everything, but in certain matters he must follow the established custom. Then there are three passages where it seems to mean "and", "further": BM 441 (μεστοιγέ), 442 (μεστοιγέ) and Krall 157 (μεστεκέ). It is remarkable that in the Bala'izah passage and the five parallel texts the word is spelt quite differently from the other passages (perhaps with the exception of Krall 157). This does raise the question whether we have here the Greek μεντοίγέ δέ or some Coptic phrase connected with κε "other".

(18) The writer regards the transaction concerning the six solidi as closed; so he can now say 'I have given you', although that
transaction is still to be executed in the future.

(19) On the title προστάτευση see chapter V p.32.

(20) Perhaps the same person who elsewhere appears as superior; see index.

(21) On the title βοές-κρε brutally see chapter V p.35.

(22) This person probably recurs elsewhere; see index.

(23) Perhaps the later superior; see index.

(24) Perhaps the same person as in 142,3, 3589. (cf. note 26 below)

(25) The use of the word on "again" is remarkable here. It would seem to imply that this is the same person who has already assented in line 31, but it is not clear why he should assent a second time; I am unable to find any parallel.

(26) Perhaps the same person as in 39616 and 35814. (cf. note 24 above)

Appendix:

The meaning of the word κατάλημα in line 24.

Crum: Dictionary p.331a gives the normal meaning of κατάλημα as: "intransitive) break, burst; (trans.) be cut off; (with ηεικαλ intrans.) be cut, broken off; (trans.) cut off." Of 11 instances where this verb occurs in non-literary texts the verb occurs in this "normal" meaning "be cut off" only once (S.T.25114). Of the others Crum cites three:

(a) Bala'izah 102 (here discussed) "price that was decided (?)";
(b) BM 1124 in support of the meaning "decide".
(c) J.12244 (no translation given).

I have cited below all the ten instances known to me in their proper context and have given a translation in each case. In J.122 the word occurs three times and I thought it best to give a translation of the whole of that document. These examples, in my opinion, show conclusively that the meaning of κατάλημα (and κατάλημα ηεικαλ) in these texts is "settle", "agree upon", "make a settlement with".

(1) (κατάλημα absolute) Bala'izah 102, see above.
(2) (σωλην absolute) Ryl.374 "...and with my consent you shall not leave me until the (inundation) water has been agreed upon." (φαντε μενοῦ σωλην) It is however possible to translate this passage: "...until the (inundation) water has been cut off.

(3) (σωλην absolute) Worrell: *Coptic Texts* part III,18 (p.205) lines 4 - 6: "...Because you know yourself that I have been three days waiting while the work is perishing. And although some (inundation) water is agreed upon (ἐρομοῦν σωλην) he will have much money in account against us..." Here again it might be possible to translate: "...although some water is cut off..." as in the last case.

(4) (σωλην transitive) B.M.11463 - 6: "...and behold Paule has come to you that you draw up the account of his wine, as to what he has given to you, and that you do the same (lit.: it) to him concerning money, as to how much he has given, and that you agree upon the tax (τήνες σωλην παρμοικίαν) of (εγνι) the fields which he is sowing in (εις) Tkou-ι-ν-ερότ. For (εφικε! ) make him swear that he is sowing their fields, settle them for him (σολην ένας) as regards (?) Terot. Give him the rest of (εγνι) the tax (δημόσιον) of Tahanjiho...".

(5) Ryl.284 σύσολην, no context.

(6) (σωλην εσολ absolute) J.12240, see below.

(7) (σωλην εσολ έα-) J.12263, see below.

(8) (σωλην εσολ μη-) J.12244, see below.

(9) (σωλην εσολ μη-) B.M.1116 Verso 3 - 7: "...Now (a) Tshabar (το το or το το) did not settle (?) (b) with us concerning land or (c) any matter (ΝΚΑ). Now (a) inquire after him at your <place> (d) and make a settlement with him (σολην εσολ ΝΕΜΑΣ) by the will of God."

(a) ειλικρινη see 189 line 14 note.
(b) παρκε Cruce proposes to take this to be πωλή.
(c) For ουγαλαλαγ ΝΝΚΑ I propose to read ουε άλαγ ΝΝΚΑ.
(d) For the meaning of ζαντικ see 188 note 5.

(10) (σωλην εσολ μη-) B.M.1124: "...and then as regards the things
you told me you desired, I am not wont to give him any more for them than that which I received from him. But I have already settled my affair with him (σπολαν ηαμαμεν αναμ ακαθαλομενα): Everything that I have found he has taken according to the year...."

Translation of J.122.

I have collated this text in the British Museum and the following corrections should be made in the published edition:

line 3. εκεί (sic!) certain.

lines 4 - 7:  

5 Χε άνεμε επεκουμαί ήντας [..] έκκελενές[ε]

6 άν.ένα φωβ ονοκαμαμαθ φορος

7 ε]τέποκε μυν νέφερην ετιβε γενεκας ικλά

line 10. ουντο.επί; I am unable to improve on Crum's reading here, obviously ουντο.επί is meant here.

line 11.  

line 12. μακυάτε.

line 22. Ναν.

line 37.  

line 56. [μαγεκαθε]απί possible.

line 57. ενςοτ.

line 58.  

"In the name of the Lord. The holy Trinity. Written month Mesore 25, the first year. 

I have (a) received the letter of your honoured fraternity which you sent to our lowliness (εδάλλικο), [and we rejoiced] because - 5 - we found concerning your wellfare in it. [...] you commanded (κελεύετο) (a). .... (b) concerning the matter of the letter-carriers (χρεματηφορες) who are prosecuting (ενδεχετον) each other concerning some lands of inheritance (κληρονομικα) and the house of their parents which is the house of Ta-

Joseph on - 10 - the one hand said: I have a share in it from a
real(γησειος)(c) sister of ours which Tacham took alone. And we heard these things and left them undecided(Ἀπομεμερος)(d).

And - 15 - Tacham herself on the other hand said: We bought(a) it from the late(μικειος) Hēms - he continuing to ... it(e) -. And I received a (deed of)sale(πρακτοριος) concerning it. When we heard these things we left them undecided(Ἀπομεμερος)(d) according to that which God had put into our heart.

And we reckoned that this(lit.: it) was just(δίκαιον) - 20 -; if Tacham found two or three witnesses in the village, worthy of being believed(πραβειον) concerning the (deed of)sale(πρακτοριος) that she has bought the house from the late(μικειος) Hēms - Joseph being in the village - 25 - and he did not (at the time) prosecute(ἐγκτιμετιος) her - it (the house) shall be under her authority(ἐξουσία). Because the matter has taken time(f) since we are wont to hear from those senior to us(g) that .... the sale(πρακτοριος)(h).

Alternatively(Μαντεκελες) if she does not find a credible witness - 30 - concerning (the) (deed of)sale(πρακτοριος), she shall be taken into the holy place(i) and shall be made to swear by oath as to what she has paid(κοπαινεοιοις) to the late(μικειος) Hēms for it, and Joseph shall pay(κοπαινεοιοις) her his share and the house shall be divided between - 35 - the two of them(j).

Further as regards the matter of some shares of land which are the yard of the outside and the surround of ....(k) and the land of Sarah as far as the palm-trees of Georgios:

Joseph on the one hand said: Our parents reached an agreement(τουκλητοιοις)(l) - 40 - on those lands and made a settlement(Ἀγαρένεπος) before I came of age(m). And we heard these things and left them undecided(Ἀπομεμερος)(d).

Tacham for her part and Phaustos and Aron on the other hand said: We did not divide them nor did we make a settlement with each other - 45 - for these shares (of land) (Μαντεκελες Αφαλος Μανιερος Ταχαμεμερος Ναι).
When we heard these things we left them undecided (ἀνομερος) (d) according to that which God had put into our heart.

And we reckoned that this was just (δικαιον). If Joseph found two or three credible witnesses — 50 — worthy of being believed (μετεωρως) concerning the deed (ἐγραφον) that they have divided the lands with their parents, they shall not be able to prosecute (ἐναρξον) each other for this share, but they shall attend to their boundaries according as they have agreed — 55 — on it, because the matter has taken time (f).

[Alternatively, if Joseph does not find a faithful witness or a deed of agreement (διακυριευς, ἐγραφον) that they have reached an agreement (συναλλαγης) (1), they shall take Tacham — 60 — into the house of God (1) and she shall be made to swear by oath — because she is come of age (o) — saying: We did not divide the lands nor did we reach an agreement (συναλλαγης) (1) that we should make a settlement for them (νυνων μοι ἐνοικίων μεαρον ουγκιν) — 65 — For ....? they shall be divided between each other (p) according to their proportion (ἀνακογις) (q).


(a) Line 3 εις Χι for Χι; line 5 perhaps εκκελευς for οκκελευς; line 15 Ξανωγην for ξεανωγην.

(b) The passage is not clear.

(c) The word γυναικης is frequently used to distinguish between real sisters (or brothers) as opposed to cousins etc., since the Coptic (κωμενα and κον) is ambiguous. Cf. J. index.

(d) ἀνομερος. The word does not seem to recur elsewhere. The meaning is probably that the judge did not decide the question either way but kept an open mind.

(e) This sentence is added between the lines. The meaning is obscure.

(f) This is evidently used in both instances to express that the state of affairs has existed for some time already and that it is only now that one party is prosecuting.
(e) I presume that this sentence indicates the law governing such lawsuits, which the judge here cites.

(h) The passage is somewhat obscure (μωνηματικος). I have thought of taking μων to stand for μωνν, and μ being the Greek article, but to find the Greek article in such a position is quite unusual, though parallels might be found. In that case one might translate: "because the (deed of) sale is established" i.e. the validity of the deed as declared by Tacham is to be established; which would give good sense here.

(i) In line 31 it is 'the holy place', in line 60 'the house of God'. For this practice cf. Worrell: Coptic Manuscripts p.175.

(j) Reading: ιον οποιος θηλας.

(k) For ηλα θηλα see Crum: Dictionary p.134a and p.213a.

(l) The Greek word συναγωνις generally means "come together", "collect" "assemble"; here it evidently has a transferred meaning of "reach an agreement" in all three passages. I am, however, unable to parallel this use here.

(m) Reading: μανες επτωθεν cf. J.7922.

(n) Reading: ις τε αντιφ. For τε = τηδε see chapter VIII par.146.


(p) Reading: μανθανει απο θηλα for Crum's μανθανει απο θηλα.

(q) ιον οποιοι sometimes in Coptic texts clearly means "value" see C.O. 30613 (note on p.28); J.6837,73; B.K.U. 976 and V.C.3411. Here, however, as in Ryl.1447 it appears to have its normal meaning of "proportion".

103

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT

(e 48; d 101a; d 125a; d 148b) Few ligatures. 10½ by 6¾ inches, complete. Same hand as 1016 and 7 and 142.
504 ' 103 (continued)

+ δικεόν νημονος ετούλαβ ναπα απολω
γιν νημονος νεκυστ τπολις γιτοοτ ανοκ π
ου πιελξ νπρ; αυω πεπρο λιν πεεενε νηνο
σ ναχρε τηρου μημος ενεγαινα ναπα αμ

5 μωνε χεπιαν ντακαι ουγολοκεςαν ουγο
τεντάλαγ εγαίε γημονιος τενου
tενγομονογοι ταρεντι νακ νακτ νερτ
ογ ουγο ευδουντ χαρομενα χασμε ενωρ
κ ουν νακ [α]τεμν] τιασφαλα νακ ετνεθη
χι εροε εν[ορκ μιπραν μπνουτ ππα[ν]τ
μιν πευχαϊν νενξ[ιεουε ετ]αρξι εκσκον]
νκερος νειμ[ ]νακ προς [τε]
om ντιαςφαλα|α[ εηρά, μ, φ]κρομοα β i κ [ι]
αυω εις[ ]αντι νακ[ ;]

10 +ανοκ πογα π[ιελξ νπρ] ; αυω πεπρο τιετοιχι
+ανοκ απα[ ]..  
II +ανοκ απα[ ]τιετοιχι
   [ ετιγομολογια [+] 
15 I +δι μου γεωηγε ελξ[δικ]ξκ εηρκψ [+] 

(margin)

3. νηνο6 for ννννο6 see chapter VIII par. 93.
4. μοτ for μονακτηριον.
5. χεπιαν for χεπιαν .
   ντακαι for ντακτι; see chapter VIII par. 111.
6. τεντάλαγ for ντεντάλαγ see chapter VIII par. 138.
   γημονιος for γημονιον cf. 102; see chapter VIII par. 82h.
   πευχαϊν for πημυχαϊν so 132, 136, 5, 151 and elsewhere; cf.
   chapter VIII par. 68 and par. 34.
8. χασμε for χασμε cf. chapter VIII par. 116a.
11. ηλεξουσία for ηλεξουσία, see chapter VIII par. 80m.

12. ηλεξουσία for ηλεξουσία see chapter VIII par. 40.

the lacuna should be supplied by either [τραπεζα] or [ετραπεζ] see chapter VIII par. 159.

Translation:

† The δικαίωμα of the holy monastery of Apa Apollo in the nome of the town Sbeht through me Psha this least priest and prior and the rest of all the senior sons of the monastery, we are writing to Apa Ammone saying:

Since you gave a solidus for wheat that we should give it up as tax of the monastery, now we agree that we shall give you ten artabas of wheat, being expected at the season of threshing.

As a security, therefore, for you I have drawn up this agreement for you to which we assent. We [swearing by] the name of Almighty God and the health of our lords which rule over us at any time [that we will adhere] for you to the validity of this agreement. [Written month Parmouthi 2, indiction 3.

† I Psha this least priest and prior I assent.
† I Apa I assent.
† I Apa I assent.
† Through me George (the) least deacon, I have written (it). [+]

(1) See chapter V p. 31.
(2) See chapter III p. 15.
(3) This person recurs in the next document; he is perhaps also the Apa Psha of 293.
(4) See chapter V p. 32.
(5) See chapter V p. 35.
(6) Probably the later(?!) superior of the monastery; see Index and cf. chapter V p.30.

(7) "Since you gave us a solidus for wheat", this is rather strange as the wheat is to be given in the future. The usage, however, recurs elsewhere e.g. 1144.

(8) δημόσιον, this is either the land tax or more probably refers to public taxes in general; cf. chapter VI.

(9) For the meaning of the Coptic word Χῠφε in the particular sense of "corn threshed", "season of threshing" see Crum: Dictionary p.782a, where this passage is cited. It would however be quite possible to translate the passage by:"being expected from (ἐν = ἑβολὴ ἐν) the threshing-floor. Cf. also 1177 here.

It may be noted that normally in this type of document the corn is repaid from the crop of the same or the next year, cf. Krall numbers 8-33 passim and here 10217. Cf. also P.Lond. IV 1593 note.

(10) "to which we assent" is strange and, I believe, unparalleled; the normal clause reads "we assenting to it" in this context.

(11) "swearing by the name of Almighty God" is also found in a small fragment d 76e ...]εγορφ ον[ν ...[...ε]νορρ άμπ[αν... This is the clause commonly used at Aphrodito during this period, but outside this region is only found three times at Thebes. See chapter VII.

(12) Notes like this sentence, added as it were as an afterthought are rare in Coptic documents, but parallels may be cited: e.g. the document from this neighbourhood published by C.Schmidt in Ä.Z. LXVIII (1932) pp.60 ff. lines 23 and 28 and Krall 13212 - 14.

(13) It is very strange to find this document being referred to both as ἀσφάλεια and as ὁμολογία, but I am unable to suggest any alternative to ...]ογία.

(14) This person recurs frequently, see index.
This fragment containing only the signatures to a contract is published here on account of its obvious relation to 103. Lines 6 and 7 are written in the same hand as 103 and 142.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{II} & + \text{σωλ [σωλ]} + [σωλ]^0 \text{στοηχι} \\text{(broken)} \\
+ \text{ανωκ απα [καβ]ρε} & + \text{πρε τηετθε [i +]} \\
+ \text{ανωκ αρων τηετθε} & + \\
+ \text{ανωκ αλενε τηετθε} & [+]
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
5 & + \text{ανωκ αιουλε τηετθε} + \\
\text{I} & + \text{ανωκ ωευρε πιεκ νιακ ωντατιαεφ[α]λια} \\
7 & \text{αυνε εειποτ Δυω τηετθε} [+]
\end{align*}
\]

4. This spelling of \(\text{αγενουτε}\) recurs 151\(^1\), 278\(^9\) and elsewhere.
5. \(\text{αιουλε}\) for \(\text{ιουλε}\); this spelling occurs in a few late Byzantine Greek documents, cf. Preisigke: \textit{Namenbuch}. It is also found in a few Coptic documents, cf. Krall 64\(^6\) \(\text{αιαιουλε}\).

\textbf{Translation:}

\(\text{Psha}^{(1)}\) priest \(\text{πρεσβύτερος}\) and prior \(\text{πρεστάσσομεν}\) \(\text{(I)}\) assent \(\text{στοηειν}\).

\(\text{I Apa Kyre}^{(3)}\) priest \(\text{πρεσβύτερος}\) I assent \(\text{στ.}\).

\(\text{I Aron}\) I assent \(\text{στ.}\). +

\(\text{I Shinoute}\) I assent \(\text{στ.}\).

\(\text{I Aioule}\) I assent \(\text{στ.}\).

\(\text{I George}^{(4)}\) this least \(\text{διακεπότερος}\) deacon \(\text{διακονοφειν}\), this agreement \(\text{στ.}\) was executed through me and I assent \(\text{στ.}\).

(1) See 103 note 3.
(2) See chapter V p. 32.
(3) Perhaps the later (?) superior, 102\(^3\) and 29, 106\(^2\) (?)
(4) Cf. 103 note 14 and see Index.
The document originally numbered 105 is now 303A.

106

FRAGMENT

(g 35)  Same hand as 107.

(margin)

1  Ἀπαθείαν ἐν[μοναχὴς ἑτοιμᾷ παπα ἀπο]
2  λῶς εἰσοπτ ἀνοικ ἀπα [κυρε]
3  πετοσαί ἡμας θεων[ (broken)

Verso: ↑(sic) fragment of an account, different hand.

3. petoai see chapter VIII par.155.

Translation:

The Ἀπαθείαν (1) of the ἡ[oly monastery of Apa] Apollo through me
Apa Kyre(?) (2) [the priest and prior], who is writing to my brother (3)
Theona (4) [... (broken).

(1) See chapter V p.31.
(2) See 102 note 2.
(3) The title ἡμας "my brother" here merely signifies that the person
is a monk.
(4) This name recurs 3215.

107

FRAGMENT

(g 13)  Same hand as 106.

(broken)

1  ἡμᾶς ἀπονούσε τεχνοστως
2  [μοναχὴς ἑτοιμᾷ παπα ἀπα][κυρε]
3  [μεμετηθε σπὴλιε ἑποχαί ἐναμαὶνούσε]
4  [...] ἦν ἀνεκοῦλκα κατα
3. ἴστασθαι for ἴστασθαι, cf. chapter VIII par. 85.

4. κούλκα is probably the Latin "cuculla" cf. B.S.A.C. vol. IX (1943) p.211 note 3.

Translation:

.....]by the mercy of God(1) the prior(προστάτης)(2) of the holy monastery of Apa Apollo in the nome(των)(3) of the town(τιτάνος) of the town (ταξιάλη) I am writing to our God-loving(4)[....] upon(?) her coverings(?) according(κατά) ......(broken).

(1) This expression is sometimes used in Coptic documents by bishops, archpriests and priests, cf. 371, 1872, 3598 etc. It may be noted, however, that at Thebes out of many signatories only three make use of this formula: Pshere, priest and hēgoumenos of the holy church of Jēme (7 times), Papnoute, priest of the holy church of Jēme (twice) and Zacharias, archpriest of the holy church of Jēme (once). The formula corresponded to the Greek ἡλιός Θεοῦ so here 405 ἡλίος Ἑγερὰν [k. It is probable that only certain persons had the right to use the formula; cf. the use of the Greek adjectives euκλεεύς, ὑπερφυς etc., which were applicable only to persons with the appropriate rank. Cf. also Krall in Mitt. P.E.R. V pp. 33 f.

(2) See chapter V p.32.

(3) των here as elsewhere interchanges with νομός.

(4) The Coptic shows that the letter was written to several persons.

108

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT (?)

(g 15) Same hand as 109; small hand ligatured.

(margin)

1

[πλακαίων ἴστασθαι ἴστασθα] ἴστασθαι ἴστασθα ἴστασθαι ἴστασθα

2

Ἰάσεεμεν ἴστασθαι ἴστασθαι
2.  

For ΝΝΟ6 see chapter VIII par. 93.

For NO6 ΝΝΗΥ see chapter V p. 34.

109

FRAGMENT

(d 95a, b, c; d 92d; d 142b) Same hand as 108. On the Verso 112 different hand (earlier).

4 - 5. These lines do not actually join on to lines 1 - 3, but in view of parallel documents (102, 103, 108) it does not seem likely that there was a gap here.

Translation:

[+ The Δικαίωμα (1) of the holy monastery (Μοναστηρίον) of the holy]  
Apa Apollo through me [Apa] Abraham (2) the priest (πρεσβύτερος) and prior (προστάτης) [and] the rest of [.....] Mena [.....] (broken).

(1) See chapter V p. 31.

(2) That the name of the superior was Abraham seems probable from the next document 110; see note 1 there.
Translation:

... the town [πολις] [Shehth] through me [Apa] Abraham (1) this least (ελκχιστιος) priest (πρεσβυτερος) [and] prior (προεστως) (2), who is writing to the [god-loving brother Apa Helias (3) saying: Since we besought (παρακαλειν) [you ...... (broken).

Verso: ....agreement executed concerning the monastery [......] I have written (it) +

(1) Apa Abraham as superior recurs in 109 and 205 and he is probably the same person as Apa Abraham the priest in 102 and 365. As such he also appears in the address of two fragmentary letters e 73 and d 106b: [Apa Abraham the priest]. A further letter addressed to him as superior is e 74; the following is the text: ↑ [Ναγ]ορρο ας νεωμ τιονιν αυτο γραφει [Επιστολα τοιης] (broken).

Address: ---> ......ειωτ αββα αβρααμν πιελαχ [τοιης] (broken)

(2) See chapter V p.32
(3) As Apa Helias is called "brother" he is presumably a member of the community; he is probably the same person who occurs elsewhere, see Index.

III

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT (?)

(f 18; d 24b; d 104d; d 128a) Same hand as 100, ligatured.

(margin)

1 [ΠΑΙΚΑΙΩΝ ΝΠΜΟΝΤΕΤΟΥΔΑΝ ΝΑΜΑ Α[ΝΟΛΛΟ]

(gap)

3 ΠΑΛΕΥ ΝΠΜΟΝΤΑΝΕΙ ΑΠΝΑΡΑΚΑΛ[Ε]

4 ΜΠΟΟΥ ΝΣΟΟΥ ΕΤΕ ΣΟΥ[ΜΝ]Τ[

5 Ε Ω ΤΕΝΟΥ[

(gap)

7 ΜΠΕΝΙΚΗ ΑΝ ΠΟΥΧΑΙ

8 ΤΑΡΝΩΕΙΝ ΝΑΚ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΕΣΘΟΜ[

9 ΣΝΙΧΕΙ +

10 [ΕΛΧ ΝΑΙΑΚΩ ΠΟΣΕΝΠΜΑΚ[ΣΣΕΥΡΩ Ι[,

11 ΕΡΙΝΚΑΡΑΜΑΜ ΤΙΣΤΟΧ[

12 ΝΤΕ ΑΙΣΩΙ ΓΑΡΟΥ ΓΙΣΝ ΝΕΧΝΗ ΝΣΤΑΥΡ]+[]

(gap)

14 [ΕΧΕ[

(margin)

7 - 8. On this oath-formula see chapter VII.

10 - 12. Probably different hand from the rest.

11. Except for ΤΙΣΤΟΧ unintelligible.

12. "... above, I wrote for him through his cross-signs (σημείων, σταυροῦ)"

A similar phrase occurs in 165:17 - 18; I cannot recall an exact parallel.
112

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT

On the Verso 109, different hand, later.

(1) Read Χέκαθς "tenth" or ΕΗεκαθς "eleventh" etc.

3 - 6. For the lacunae in these lines cf. 1029 - 14.

Translation:

.....]monastery (μοναστήριον) of Apa Apollo [saying: Since] I had need (-χεικα) of four [solidi of] gold, I came and besought (παρακαλείν) [you and you gave them to me] this day [which is the ... day] of the month [... in this year the]...[1] [indiction .....](broken).

(1) Read Χέκαθς "tenth" or ΕΗεκαθς "eleventh" etc.

113

FRAGMENT

(d 96b) few ligatures.

1 [υεο]λωρος ποιμελακριν]

2 [...επειδήν ατεκαίνο[θς]

Verso: (docket) — 3 βο[δ] απο πετε αββ[ ποδ πετε[ ]

2. καινοθς for κοινοθς. The κοινοθησ of a village apparently corresponded to the δίκαιον of a monastery; cf. Steinwenter: Studien par. 7 pp. 52 ff.

3. βο[δ] either the end of some name or more probable a title, perhaps
514  

for βοήσος.

3. πέτε αββ' που', this place recurs 130, 2, 288, 12, 298 and in a small fragment d 139f πέτε {αββ'} πολει πετε [ ]; see chapter IV pp. 25f.

114

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT

(d 40 and g 33) 8½ by 6⅞ inches. Few ligatures.

---

1. ἐγν πρᾶν ἐπινούτε ἀνον ἰάκων μὴν γεσώργε 

3. [μ]ουναχος ἦπιπτιθ ἀνει ἁνπαράκαλε ἦμοκ 

3a [π]ασο λαμπού 

[ἀκτ]ι ναν ἁπούτε ἀλακούτε γαμπεπ τίγο 

5. [μ]ολογο [ν]άρη νήρεπ νακ 


(gap)

8. [μ]πεβότ τωβε 

[ε]ιωρεξ ον νακ αἰςμην τιασφάλε 

10. νακ εἰς [τ]η [κ]επ εἰωρεκ μπηούτε 

παντοὐγκρατών μὴν πουξαί νητάρχε 

ηξών τηννού αυχ κάθρος είς τφπε 

ροεικ νακ προς τεσκόλι ανος ἰάκων μὴν 

γεσώργε τενστή κε τιασφάλε ν 

15. θε εςκνε ἦμος +

π + ἄνοκ θεμας πτιακων τιεκά 

(margin)

Verso: (docket) 17 + τασφάλε (space) γεσώργε γαπ[ 

3. ἦπιπτιθ for ἥ ἐπειδή. 

3a. Added between the lines. The scribe had forgotten to insert the name of the addressee in its normal place (i.e. ενσαί: ηπασον λαμπού ἥ ἐπειδή), so he adds the name between the lines.
4. ΝΝΟΥΣΤ, perhaps the scribe intended to write ΝΟΥΣΑΛΑΚΟΥΣΤΕ; ουτ for ουκ is impossible here.

7. The gap here was probably only one line.

9. εἰωρέξ ον ΝΑΚ, we should have expected εἰωρὰκ οὐν ΝΑΚ, but this phrase is sometimes found, e.g. 16014, J.756.

ομον for ομον, see chapter VIII par.2e.

ακαφάλει for ακαφάλεια so again in lines 14 and 17; cf. ακαφάλεια V.C.516.

11. παντοκράτωρ (sic!) for παντοκράτωρ, see chapter VIII par.101.

νηταρχεῖ for νηταρχεῖ so B.M. 10416 νευχάι νηταρχεῖ; see chapter VIII paragraphs 22 and 80m.

12. εἰκών for the normal εἰκών; unparalleled.

τηνού for τηνού see chapter VIII par.22.

καθρός (sic!), mistake for κατά καθρός.

14. στή.χί, between η and χ remains of another letter (illegible); for στοιχεῖ.

στή.χί τιακάφαλε for στοιχεῖ ἐτιακάφαλεια, see chapter VIII par. 20.

16. τιακών for διακόνος, cf. chapter VIII par. 68.

τέκνη, as this line is written in a hand different from the rest of the document, τέκνη cannot be an abbreviation of ἐγκαφό; it is probably a mistake for τικτοιχεῖ.

Translation:

In the name of God. We Jacob and George(1) his son of Πνομ[.]етς(2) in the nome(τοιω)(3) of Αντινοος, monks(μοναχός)(4) saying(4): Since we came and besought(παράκλησις) you — my brother Λαμπού(5) — you gave us a(? solidus for wine(6), and I agree(μολόχειν) 5-[that I shall give]you[...] lahē-measures(7) of wine[...]and again I agree(μολοχείν) [...(gap).....] month Tobe, I securing you again(8). I have drawn up this agreement(ἀφαίρετο) 10 — for you, I assenting(στοιχεῖν) to it, I swearing by almighty(παντοκράτωρ) God and the health of those who rule over us now and at any time(9) that we shall observe for you its
validity. + We Jacob and George, we assent (στροατε) to this agreement (ἀτροατε) - 15 - as it is written. + I Thomas the deacon (δικομος) I assent (?)..

Docket: The agreement (ἀτροατε) of George concerning the [...]

(1) These two persons only here.
(2) This village does not seem to recur elsewhere.
(3) θωμίσ here as elsewhere corresponds to νομίσ. The Name of Antinoou recurs here 119, 127, 291, the πολογος in 180. Outside the Bala'izah texts I have found it only twice again in published Coptic texts: P.Lond.IV 1521 and V.C. 46; it also occurs a few times in the series B.M.Or. 6201 A and B. On this name see Pastorius: Indices Antinoopolitani (Leiden 1939).

(4) Supply: "we are writing to my brother Lampou, saying..." cf. the note on line 3a above.

(5) Lampou as deacon recurs several times in this collection (see index). I have not been able to find this name again outside the Bala'izah texts, cf., however, λαμπον in Preisigke: Namenbuch.

(6) Cf. 103 note 7.


(8) See above note on line 9.

(9) On the oath-formula see chapter VII and references there.

115

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT

(d 46 and d 151g) 6½ by 11 inches. Ligatured.

In script, size and subject matter this document is very closely connected with the documents from the Ashmunein region.

↑

(�αυτοις "[πατριάρχης ελληνος λέοντος καθαρος κατ]"

↑

(-margin)
1. Perhaps παίνε etc. (cf. παίνε ποσάνων etc. B.M.1064 f.) or some name; not παζούν.

2. [τιχρεωκτε: ΝΑΙ ΚΛΗΡΑΡΣ ΚΑΙ] ἀνοκροτῶσι this phrase is common in the texts from Ashmunein and the Fayyum, cf. Ryl. 191 and note 8 there also Ryl. 207, 209, B.M.1058 etc.. The occurrence here and in 117 appear to be the only instances known from this region; it also occurs in Theban texts: J.586, 596-7, 6411, C.O.Ad.165, S.T. 4279, 4294, V.C.257-8.

4. cy., perhaps συ[φ] (σῶν θεότ), but this would be very unusual here; it is sometimes found in the middle of a document, but generally in front of the date e.g. B.M.1041 τιρομενε εκαννυ συν πρίημας έν λυρ] similarly B.M.1024, Ryl. 159, 162, 163 etc.. More probably, however, cy. stands for συνollowed by the name of some important town e.g. B.M.1030 4ή κυρία Λυρolv συν ερμ. For συν = συν see chapter VIII par. 69.

4a. Some note added between the lines; obscure.

5. πεμτυς for πεμτυς so again in line 6 σαρυς for σαρυς, see chapter VIII
par. 36, and for the omission of a par. 78B.

καν ολος καρπὸς τετευμένη, lacuna supplied partly from the context partly from 18813 - 14 see 188 note 11.

7. The words following εἰσαίων are extremely doubtful.

8. εἰσαίων on the use of a noun for a verb here see chapter VIII par. 157B.

9. μέτρει for μνημέ see chapter VIII paragraphs 23 and 82c.

μέτρει looks more like μερρέ (mistake).

μέτρε τιμίαλαία for μνημέ η (or ε-) τιμίαλαία see chapter VIII paragraphs 20 and 80.

12. Cf. line 4; χρ. = χρυσός; κυ. = κεράτια; θ. = ὅπερ.

Translation:

....(line 2) Johannes [....] saying: [I am owing to you clearly and] without fail (ὁποκρότων) four solidi and eight and a [half carats of gold] i.e. (τίνεςοι) gold, solidi: 4 and carats: 8½ ...(1) These therefore] I am prepared (τοιαὶμος) [to repay to you] from the harvest of the crop (κεράτια) of the fifth indiction without any [ambiguity whether (2) north] or south of Teshne(3). +Written month Choiaik 12, Indiction 4 + sign (σημεῖον) (4) Isaac(?) the prior (προσετώτως) (?) I assent (στηκεις) (?) + I Pamoun, I was requested (ἐπιτρεπαί) and I wrote for them and I am witness. +I the papa Helias, I am witness to this agreement (ἀσφαλεία) [as it is written.] +I ......., I am witness to this agreement (ἀσφαλεία).

.... (5) (?) (margin).


(1) See above note on line 4.

(2) See 188 note 11.

(3) Teshne as a place-name recurs Ryl.170, Krall 130, W.S.355 and B.M. 1041, perhaps also Ryl.354; on the locality see W.S. 355 note 3.

The word literally means "the garden" which could be the meaning
(4) On the triple cross (uggestion here cf. Steinwenter: Studien pp. 70 - 71 and references there; also Mitteis: P. Leipzig 90. This only occurs three times at Thebes while it is very common in the Ashmun texts and further north. In the neighbourhood of Bala'izah it also occurs in the papyrus from the monastery of Apa Mena (C. Schmidt in Ä.Z. vol. LXVIII (1932) pp 60 ff. line 22) and in another papyrus fragment from Bala'izah: d 139e:

→ INCUMION NBIK[ X [ ] MON[ ]

116

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT

(d 44 and d 95f) 2½ by 2½ and 7 by 6¼ inches. Few ligatures.

(broken)

5 
ΕΝΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΑΙ Χ [ (gap)

8 ΤΑΡΕΙΤΑΔΥ [ΝΑ]Κ ΕΜΠΟΥΩ[Α] ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ]
ΕΝ ΠΚΕΡΟΣ ΝΠΧ[ΑΛ]Ε ΕΝΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΑΙ]

10 ΔΕΣΑΡΙΣ ΤΕ ΤΕΚΑΤΗ[Σ]Ε ΕΙ[Σ]ΕΝ[ ]Η[ ]
ΕΥΑΡΕΚ ΟΥΝ Ν[Α]Κ ΑΙΚΩΝ [ΤΙΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑ]
ΝΑΚ ΕΙΣΤΗΧΕΙ ΕΡΟΣ ΕΙΩΡ[Κ] ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ]
ΠΛΑΝΤΩКΡΑΤΟΡ ΜΠΝΟΥΧΑΙ [Ν]ΝΕΝΧΙΣΟΥΥ]

15 ΕΝΕΡΓΟΥ ΕΤΑΡΧΕΙ ΕΧΩ[Ν ΤΕΝΟΥ]
ΤΑΡΕΙΤΑΔΥ ΕΙΡΟΕΙΙ ΝΑΚ [ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΜ]
Translation:

...I am owing you clearly and] without fail(ἀποκρήτωρ) (?) [... solidi [... ] give (or: gave) them to you [...] seven] jars (κάδος) of wine [...] today which is the [...] day [of the month ...] in this year [the fourteenth indiction ..... (gap) ..... I am prepared] to give them to you by the will [of God] at the time (κακεφώρ) of the harvest in this fourteenth year, which are [these] seven jars (κάδος) of wine ..... As a security, therefore, for you I have drawn up [this agreement] for you, I assenting (στοιχεῖν) to
it, and I swear [by] almighty [God] and the health [of our lords] the sove­
reigns(1) who rule over us [now], that I shall observe for you [the validi­
ty] of this agreement (ασφάλεια). I A[...]? the priest (?) who wrote alrea­
dy(2), I assent (στ. ) to this agreement (ασφαλεία).
I Apollo the monk (μονχὸς ἡ τῶν αὐτών), I assent (στ. ) to this agreement (ασφαλεία) as
it is written.
+I Apa Isaac the steward (στάρτος ἡ τῶν αὐτών) (3), I am witness. (4)
+I Apa Isaac the poor brother (5), I am witness. (4)
+I Petros the monk (μονχὸς ἡ τῶν αὐτών) I assent (στ. ).
+I Apa Tēr (6) the priest (προσώπος ἡ τῶν αὐτών), I wrote for him and I am witness.

(1) The Coptic word ἀρχή here translated 'sovereign' refers to the Caliph
and not to the Byzantine emperor. That neither βασιλικὸς and the
adjective βασιλικός nor the Coptic ἀρχή was regarded as a special
attribute of the Byzantine emperor, but merely referred to the
ruling person, is pointed out by E. Seidl: Der Eid im Römisch - Än-
gyptischen Provincia1recht, vol. II, p. 141. To the references
cited there by Seidl I may add that βασιλικός occurs several times
in the eighth century legal documents from Thebes.

(2) This very common phrase οὐχ ἠμένει sometimes with the addition of
οὐχ (who wrote already above) presents some difficulty in exact
translation. The meaning of the phrase is clearly: 'who has al-
ready been mentioned (above),' but grammatically it is impossible to
translate it like that.

(3) On this title see chapter V p. 34.

(4) This sign (x) is sometimes found for the usual cross (+); in this
collection again 15210, 11, 1518, 1761.

(5) The title 'the poor brother' I have been able to find only once
again in the sixth century Aphrodito papyrus which is cited in the
Introduction chapter III p. 21. In line 2 we read: Ἰδοῦς πλαοὶ τηρη
μνούτε μνεῖν ἱν ἄμεικ" and the whole people of God and the poor
(6) Ἄπα Τὴρ is not a very common name, but is cited in Preisigke: Namen-
buch and elsewhere for the 7th - 8th century. In the present
collection it recurs perhaps in 215\(^4\) and as ἀνάρτησις in 126\(^1\).
It may be noted that the name does not seem to occur at Thebes.
It is probably a shortened form of ἀνάρτησις.

117
REPAYMENT OF A DEBT

(f 45) Uncials. Two fragments.

1

[...ἐγεραὶ ὑμῶν]

2

[ἐπετράπα ν]

4

NTN[

5

τι νακ καθαρῶς καὶ αποκροτως

4

νητούον νρτον [Ν 2ΝΤΧΗ]

βε ντρις καὶ ἐκατὸς ἑνα, ἀναλαμ]

10

Χει εἰς ἀποκάλιξάνες ἐπει τις ἔκχει μ

mos ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτάμων δωρῶν ΝΕΕ

14

καὶ οῦ μεντρε ερφ [ ΊΝΔΥ]

Verse: (docket) → 15 ἰω ἦ ἡράπ.

Translation:
..... who is writing to my[..... in the]rock\(^1\) of[..... (gap).....]give\(^2\)
you clearly(καὶ κατηχύ) [and without fail] four artabas [of ... from the] sea-
son of threshing\(^3\) of the thirteenth [indiction without any] ambiguity
(καὶ φιλοξένεω) [if I do not give then (4) to you I shall pay them double.

[i ..., I] assent (στοιχείν) to this agreement (σεφιλεκέω) [as] it [is written].

I Phoibammon, [as] he requested (άξιος ὁ θαυμάς) (5) [me I wrote for him and] I am witness. Written [month ... indiction] 12 (6)

Docket: (obscure)

(1) Reading ἀντιπέτρον, cf. chapter IV pp. 27ff., but doubtful.

(2) In view of the context, the τι is hardly the end of κρούωται, but the Coptic verb τι, cf. ST 427, VC 26 and cf. above 1152 note.

(3) Cf. 103 note 9, but doubtful.

(4) Cf. BM 10315-9, 10366, etc.

(5) See chapter VIII paragraph 156.

(6) The σης in the text is unusual, but a parallel may be cited from Peremans-Vergote, Papyrologisch Handboek pl. X.

118

REPAYMENT OF A DEBT

(d 57 and d 151d; further fragments are two fragments in d 57 and d 151e) Crude hand.

(broken)

[μνημοιο[ναρού ετε]


cονκατες πε νατσεου τινού ηνε[ ]

ωυοι ρεσεμος ταμας ηνου ην

ημαρροι ριμερησ ον εισωρεκ ην

νουτε παντωκρατωρ ετρα[2]

βρες νακ επιχαρης ηνε εχ

[ζημ]ου ηνοκ ανοκ πεγατε πετυε

ρεπεςαι τις [τοιχει]

+ ανοκ

[μετρε (+)]

10 [+]

[μετρε (+)]

11 [+ ανοκ ζαχαριας τιο νατζ [μετρε (+)]

(margin)
2. Χωτέεε for Χγούταε see chapter VIII paragraphs 56B and 7.

τηνογ for τενογ see chapter VIII par. 23.

ητε[?] is difficult. From the context we should have expected τενογ τηνοον ηστεμον. To read ητε[ν]οοον is impossible in view of τακαις and εποφηκ following; and in any case the use of the conjunctive here would be unparalleled. I can only suggest that ητε stands for ηνε = ηνε which is found in the Acta Pauli and a few other early Coptic manuscripts; in this case supply τηνογ ητε[ν] ηνοοον. But the occurrence of ηνε in a late text like this is quite remarkable and certainly unparalleled.

3. τακαις for τακοφς (sic!).

4. I can only suggest that μεφεζ stands for μλε, μηλε cf. Crum: Dictionary p. 166a where a form μεφεζ is also cited; cf. also chapter VIII par. 75.

9 - 11. μετφε for μμτφε see chapter VIII par. 82a.

Translation:

....]this day which is the twenty-sixth day of Hathor. Now [I] am prepared (εροτομον) to repay them to you with the little salt(?), I swearing by almighty God that I shall observe for you this document (χατγ) as it is written. I Peshate who has already written, I [assert]. + I [. . . . , I am] witness. +[I . . . . , I am] witness. +I Zacharias, I am witness.

119

DEED OF SALE

(b 8, d 71h, d 155c) 17½ by 4½ inches, complete. Ligatured.

An ass and its foal sold for one solidus.

(margin)

→

εμ πραν ἠπωνυτε
ἀνοκ πειληθεος
πωμε χ[η]χ[α] κ'

πε[.]τε πρωτομου
5 οἱ άρτοι εἰς τὴν Μνήμην

10 Επιλεξον οὖν τὸ πόλις
καὶ προμνηστῇ
ητείων ἐν τῷ
μνήμει ναὶ

15 Επιλεξον οὖν τὸ πόλις
καὶ προμνηστῇ
ητείων ἐν τῷ
μνήμει ναὶ

20 μὴ ποιήσαι μνήματα
εὖον ταρείας
καὶ προσέβουμεν ητεὶ[

25 II τὰν οἶκον μακρῷ πιελαχ
[από τὸ ἔμεντε] +

III τὰν οἶκον ἀπακύρε πειε
λαχ ἀπὸ τὸ ἔμεντε +

30 τὸ ἔμεντε +

(margin)

4 - 6. The reading of these lines was based on 127\(^1\).

10. επαλην a very unusual spelling of επηλην; cf. cτηχαι 116\(^{18}\).

14. ετε παλ we should have expected ετε ταιρε. The omission of the enclitic is sometimes found, see chapter VIII par.157A.

21. ταφασαρεις in this context only 172\(^5\) again, we should have expected ετρακαρεις see chapter VIII par. 159e.

27-28. Perhaps the same hand as that of lines 25f.

29-30. Perhaps different hand from the rest.

31. τακαφαλια for τακαφαλια (sic!).

Translation:

In the name of God. I Peilitheos the son of the late(μακαριοσ) Peil[...the from Τουμερ(1) - 5 - in the name(νομοσ) of the town(πολις) Antinoou(?), I am writing to my brother Abraham from the holy monastery (μοναστηριον) of Apa Mena(2) saying:

- 10 - Since we agreed(πείθεισ) with each other, I sold you the ass which is mine and its foal and you gave me its price which is this:
- 15 - one solidus - solidus 1 -. And I agree(δούσατε) that its price has come into my possession, I swearing by almighty(παντοκρατορ) God - 20 - and the health of those who rule(κυριοι) over us, that I shall observe for you the validity of this agreement(αυτοις). + I Peilitheos assent(συναντειν). - 25 - + I Makare [this least] priest(?), I am witness. [+ I] Apa Kyre this least(ελαχιστος) priest(πρεσβυτερος), I am witness. +

I the Papa Pshoi, I am witness.+


(1) This village recurs 124\(^2\) and 127\(^1\), but apparently not elsewhere.

(2) On this monastery see chapter IV p.25.

120

SALE OF LAND

(\(\#\) 53) Few Ligatures.
Translation:

....] the east and the west. As a security therefore [for you I have drawn up this (deed of) sale (πρέποντις) and I assent (στοιχεῖον) to it and I swear by [almighty] God [and the health] of our lords who rule (ἐξευτελέσθαι) over us at [any time .......]. I draw (sic!) up this (deed of) sale (πρέποντις) and I have besought [.....] it. + [.....] as it is written. + [..... I am] witness to this (deed of) sale (πρέποντις) as it is written. + [.....] and deed of exchange (ἀλλαξώμεθα, διάλυσθαι) which I heard [through him who drew it up. +]

Verso: Ἐλκέχριστος, ἐγγενὴς ἑβδομοῦ Ῥώμης.
(σωματισμένη) (2) it at the request αυτής of him who drew it up.

(1) For ἀλλαγή in this sense see Preisigke: Wörterbuch; it probably occurs in much the same sense in C.0.296. The word occurs in a different sense in Ryl. p.162 note 5 "discount" and J. Sch. 612, etc. where it seems to mean "change of men" as part of the duties imposed by the government, cf. Preisigke: Wörterbuch.


121
DEED OF SALE

(g 62 and d 93a) Few ligatures. Perhaps same hand as 143.

Verso: (docket) ———

Translation:

..... now I agree] that its price has come into my possession which is this [... solidi] of good gold, they being their weight (1). [For your
Therefore, we have written this (deed of) sale for you and we assent to it.

Docket: Most God-loving(Aποφιλικήστερος) honored lord brother Apa Kosma from George the son of...

(1) I am unable to find this phrase elsewhere; it evidently stands for ιύστημαμπος and is used to denote fully-measured gold solidi.

(2) After εροστ in line 1 we should have expected the first person singular here.

122

DEED OF SURETY OR GUARANTEE

(c 10, d 73a, d 165a) 7 by 12\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches (incomplete). Script: see plate IV,3. Same hand as 131.

This document is for several reasons of unusual interest and takes us into the realm of the Aphrodito papyri with which it has much in common. It is addressed to the δημοσιος λόγος (Public authority), for which see Bell and Roberts: Merton Papyri number 49 p.184 note. Such documents are very rare in Coptic outside the Aphrodito find (P.Lond. IV; also Grohmann: Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library vol. III numbers 164-5) and the only others known to me are Ryl. 115, 116, 160, J.Sch. 6 and a few documents in the series B.M. Or. 6201 A and B.

On the Verso(287) is an account of the taxes for the pagarchies of Siocut(Αλκων) and Kousson(Κουσσων) which is dated 25th Phamenoth (or Parmouthy), indiction 8, years (A.H.) 106 which gives us the date of that document as Feb-March A.D. 725. The present document(122) was almost certainly the first text to be written on this papyrus and is dated 8th Paoni, indiction 7. This document was thus presumably written 9 or 10 months earlier than the verso which would give us the date for this document as May A.D. 724.

The δημοσιος λόγος is here represented by Αβδελλα Αιν γαζογαν (عابد الله بن غزواد) the emir (= pagarch) of the combined pagarchies of
Sioout (Lycopolis) and Shotep (Hypsele). This emir does not seem to occur elsewhere. That he was pagarch of the combined pagarchies of Sioout and Shotep is of special interest; on the verso (287) too we find these two pagarchies mentioned together (παγάχ λυκοπόλεις ὑψεληγα παγάχ λυκοπόλεις ὑπσηλήγα) which almost suggests that the two nomes had been merged as was the case of the two pagarchies of Antaiopolis and Apollonopolis Parva, see Sir Alan Gardiner: Ancient Egyptian Onomastica vol. II pp.56ff.

On the other hand, the fact that the village Tōhneshin [ ] here is evidently described as being in the pagarchy of Sioout (lines 1-2) and that we find another village described as being in the nome of Shotep (152) seems conclusive evidence that the two pagarchies were temporarily combined under the same pagarch but continued as separate nomes.

**1.** The lacuna hardly contained more than this.


Translation:

[In the name of God] amen. Written month Paoni 8, indiction 7.
[.... the] guarantors (ἐγγυηττος) and the rest [of the] whole community
(κοινοτητος) of Tōhnesin[1] [in this pagarchy] Siout, through us who
shall subscribe (ὑπογραφεῖς) below this deed of surety (ἐγγυητική ὁμολογία)
[and through] his signature (ὑπογραφὴ) that is to say (ἡγουμ) he for whom
it shall be written because he knows (νοεῖν) not (how to write), we are
writing to the public authority (ἡμωνος λόγος) [that is to say our lord]
Abdella son of Gazouan the most illustrious (ὑκλειστος) emir(2) of
this pagarchy (παγαρχῆς) Siout and Shōtep[....] the son of Philotheos[...]
...(broken).

(1) This village only here.

(2) The title 'emir' is used for the title 'pagarch' if the holder of
this office is an Arab; cf. Steinwenter: Studien pp. 9ff.

123
GREEK RECEIPT

(Ms. Greek Class. g 57) 3½ by 3 inches complete. Script not unlike
Bell and Roberts: Merton Papyri 48 (plate XLVIIIa). I am indebted to
Mr. C.H. Roberts who made some valuable suggestions on this document.

This is one of the few Greek documents in this collection. It is
a receipt for fourteen and a half carats of gold for a fixed quantity
of fruit (τακτος κριμος) of the ninth indiction. Unfortunately the
first line of the document has remained obscure.

↑
+ εξω εξω πισλας απο του
 ορουχ απο τακτος καρ
 που ενατης κριμος
 σου κεραυν δεκτες
 5 σερκημησου συνβοηθ.
1. ἐξωεῖον very doubtful; εὐχον or some abbreviation of this cannot be read here. After this follows a letter or ligature which I am unable to read (L'). ψιλακτ is perhaps part of a name.

2. ζοροῦχ evidently a place-name.

5. (and 6.? ) συνβοήθι this word again in P. Grenf. II 977, republished in Wessely, Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde vol. III (= U.K. p.) 3187.

8. μ' κ' ση στηχ probably for μέτ' κυρίων ση(μελωσάμενος) σταίχε?.

124

RECEIPT

(c 14, d 71 b-g, d 90d) 4½ by 12 inches, complete. No ligatures. On the Verso letter in different hand (240), earlier.

---

1. Νρμ for πρμ (sic!)

2. Πενθιγιον for Πενθικτιον.

3. Νπου (sic!) apparently for Ντπάγε, cf. chapter VIII par. 10; cf.
also note 3 below.

4. Perhaps μηνόνον, we should have expected μήνον νεόνον.

5. [πανοκ] we seems probable but is not certain; for the omission of the enclitic ne see 119\textsuperscript{14} note.

5a. Added between the lines.

6. ecc. mistake for εχεκε.

7. Probably supply [χαριας].

στμχε ποιαρτας for στμχε επιχαρτας see chapter VIII par. 20.

Translation:

+I Zacharias the son of the late (μακκρινος) Mena from the ἐποίκιον ἱεσον of the field of Tmoumer\textsuperscript{2} I am writing to my brother Samuel saying: as regards\textsuperscript{3} half solidus which is from you\textsuperscript{3} behold four solidi have come into my possession [this day] which is the sixteenth day of Paoni(?). +I Bartholomeos this least one (ἐλαχιστος), I am witness to this document (χερτη) as it is written. [+I Zacharias (?)] I assent (στοιχείων) to this document (χερτη).

(1) This ἐποίκιον only here.

(2) Tmoumer, a village in the nome of Antinoou, recurs 119\textsuperscript{4} and 127\textsuperscript{1}.

(3) The passage is extremely difficult; I can only suggest that Samuel had paid half a solidus and was then told to pay four solidi which are now receipted.

f 16 Few ligatures.

RECEIPT
3a. Added between the lines.

6. Apparently not εέντοοτ which grammatically would be the correct form. After παγε supply ιςολοκι which was accidentally omitted.

8. ετεεπε γερωΧ for the more usual εγωρΧ ητην , but it is frequently found in texts north of Thebes, e.g. P.Lond.IV,1592, B.M.1028, Ryl. 182, Krall 7 etc.

10. § for δπερ.

Translation:

+ I Pegosh the son of the late (μεκκέαος) Biktor, I am writing to the Δικαίον (1) of the monastery (μονεστήριον) of the holy (υμείος) Apa Apollo - through Apa Damianos (2) the prior (πρέοιςρως) (3) - saying: As regards the matter of the agreement (ασφαλεια) of the monastery (μοναστήριον) which is from me (4), behold half (a solidus) and a trimesion has come into my possession concerning it. For your security [(broken)].

Docket: The receipt (εντολή) of Pegosh concerning solidi: ½.

(1) See chapter V p.31.
(2) Apa Damianos as prior only here; perhaps the same person elsewhere in this collection, see index.
(3) See chapter V p.32.
(4) The translation is somewhat difficult; εεντοοτ might also be translated "which is with me". Presumably Pegosh had lent the monastery money under an earlier agreement and he now acknowledges the
receipt of ½,½ solidi in part-settlement of his ἀφάλεια.

126
RECEIPT ?

(f 63) Line 3 suggests that some articles (σκευος) were involved.

(broken)

4. The κ following συν (sic!) is difficult. We should have expected the year of the indiction here, cf. 115 note, but no numeral from 1 to 15 begins with a κ.


127
RECEIPT ?

(e 70) Few ligatures. Two fragments.
536 127 (continued)

5 [νωςανμε ναυ/[η]μακαρίος
6 [κη πηλα προγ[]
(broken)

Verso: (docket) ———>
8 +τασφαλία πασον ιω εφε

1. τούμ αντίνοου for τού μ αντίνοου; similarly line 2 γολοκοττή νοσή for 
2. γολοκοττή νοσή and line 8 τασφαλία πασον for τασφαλία νπασον, see 
3. chapter VIII par. 80.
4. met for μή; see chapter VIII par. 34, or ωάμευτ for γομωντ, ib.par.82.
5. ο a frequent abbreviation for ωςάνμε, though usually written ιω, see index.

Translation:

.....] from the village Τμουμερ(1) in the nome(τού) of the town(πόλεις) 
Αντινοου(2)[.....] ten solidi of gold for their satisfaction(3) [.....
4. this day which is the] nineteenth day [.....] Johannes the son of the late 
5. [.....(one more line, then broken).

Docket: The agreement(τασφαλίων) of my brother Johannes concerning[...

(1) This village recurs 119^4 and 1242.
(2) On the nome of Antinoou see 114 note 3.
(3) For the Coptic word μωτάνμε see W.S. p.137 note 3t cf. also Crum:

Dictionary p. 195b.

128 RECEIPT

(d 148e) Uncials. On the Verso letter in different hand. 

———> (margin)

1 [πενταχεί] ετοι[η]

2 [γιακα] ζη η[η]

3 [βαρθόλο] μοιοις κεοια ζη[η]
(broken ?)
2. kακ, on this rare word see Crum: Dictionary p. 134a; here again 3035.

129

RECEIPT?

(g 71) Uncials. On the Verso literary fragment in different hand.

1. Obscure.
2. no6 ἔρωμε for no6 ἐρωμε; see chapter VIII par. 82b.
3. nonoction ought to be a Greek word; perhaps for monacθηπιον (Drescher).
4. ω< (sic!). The sign < is obscure.
5. ἢ< for eic; cf. index for various spellings of this word.

130

NOTIFICATION OF TAX ASSESSMENT IN GREEK

(Ms. Greek Class. f. 86 and g. 52) 4½ by 4½ inches, complete. Minuscule hand, see plate IV, 4.

From the early Arab period we have quite a number of documents of this type in Greek, Arabic and Coptic. A number of Greek documents were published by Wessely, Studien III, VIII (=U.K.F.) numbers 260, 1083, 1180-1200, 1202, also Studien X, 197. These are mostly earlier than the present document and the only one which in some ways resembles it is U.K.F. 1195. Well-known is the group of documents of this type from Aphrodito, usually issued in both Greek and Arabic, published by C.H. Becker in Papyri Schott Reinhardt I, in Zeitschr.f-Assyriologie XX (1906) and in Der
Islam II (1911) pp. 266ff., cf. Preisigke, Sammelbuch 5638, 5644-5654; these are again a special group and they are almost certainly earlier than the present document. A most interesting parallel to these is provided by the Colt Papyri recently found in Palestine, see H.I. Bell, The Arabic bilingul Enagion in Proc. Am. Phil. Soc. LXXXIX (1945) pp. 531ff.

In Coptic there are quite a number of documents of this type, though few of them have so far been published. We can distinguish three types among these. Firstly Ryl. 117 and 118, and to these four documents at Vienna can now be added. Professor Till very kindly communicated these to me and he is proposing to include them in his forthcoming volume of Coptic legal documents at Vienna. Ryl. 378 is probably yet another document of this type. A second group is formed by five documents issued apparently by the same person and written by the same scribe from Bawit (about A.D. 725). I found these among the Lansing papyri which came to the Egyptian department of the British Museum in 1887. I am proposing to publish these elsewhere. The third group consists of Ryl. 119, B.M. 440 and probably here 131, and the present Greek document is a very close parallel to these. B.M. 440 (B.M. Or. 4664 A and B, two documents of which one is a copy of the other) was described by Crum as: "A financial document in the form of a letter the purport of which it is difficult to comprehend." The short extracts which Crum published from this document attracted my attention and I am publishing the text in full in the appendix to the present document. It was the Coptic document which helped me greatly to read and to understand the Greek document.

B.M. 440 is of special importance as it is an assessment for the years A.H. 105-6 = A.D. 723; the years of the indications, however, do not agree with the years A.H. there and presumably the scribe made a mistake in the years A.H., dating the document one year too early. We would thus obtain the year A.D. 724 for the date of that document. In view of the obvious relation of the Bala'izah text to that document and
the fact that the years of the indiction are in both cases the same, we
are probably right in assigning the Bala'izah document to the same year
A.D. 724. Probably RYL.119 too belonged to the same period, but unfor-
tunately the year of the indiction is not preserved there.

(margin)

1. On \(\varepsilon\) at the beginning of this document see below 185 introduction.

It is remarkable that in line 6 here the scribe makes use of the
cross (\(\text{\textsuperscript{+}}\)).

\(\xi\) in Arabic \(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\)

\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\) note that in line 2 it is \(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\).

2. \(\pi\varepsilon\tau\varepsilon\); on this \(\pi\varepsilon\tau\varepsilon\) see chapter IV p. 25.

\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\) for \(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\).

\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\) for \(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\); this corresponds here to \(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\), For
this meaning of \(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\) see P. Lond. IV pp. XXV ff.

3. \(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\) for \(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\). This was the tax imposed to bear the expenses of the
local officials and others, see P. Lond. IV pp. XXV ff. It is in-
teresting to note that the \(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\) (poll-tax) has to be paid for
the current year, whereas the \(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\) to support the local offici-
als is paid a year early; we find the same in B.M. 440, see below
and also in RYL.120.

\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\) for \(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\) as opposed to the \(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\).

The \(\text{\textsuperscript{\textendash}}\) were solidi weighed by the official standard
and they differed from the \( \varepsilon \chi \sigma \mu \varepsilon \nu \nu \mu \varepsilon \sigma \mu \alpha \tau \kappa \) by two or more carats, see P.Lond.IV pp.84 ff.

\(^a\)\(^b\) (sic!) written \( \varepsilon \gamma \). Both signs are commonly used for \( \nu \mu \varepsilon \sigma \mu \kappa (\tau \alpha \tau \kappa) \) though the latter is more common in late documents like this, and elsewhere in the present document it is always the second sign (\( \gamma \)), in particular also in line 4 after \( \alpha \epsilon \) where it was inserted by mistake.

\( \delta \alpha \varepsilon \gamma \) for \( \delta \alpha \varepsilon \gamma \phi \theta \) or \( \delta \alpha \varepsilon \gamma \phi \gamma \).

4. \( [\delta \alpha \varepsilon \gamma \phi \theta] \) \( \mu \mu \beta \) for \( \delta \alpha \varepsilon \alpha \varepsilon \nu \mu \varepsilon \nu \delta \omega \varepsilon \kappa \alpha \) "expenses for twelve months". This tax is also found in the parallel documents Ryl.119 and B.M.440 (see below), also in 300\(^1\)\(^9\) below. In P.Lond.IV the \( \delta \alpha \varepsilon \alpha \varepsilon \nu \) is paid for various months and generally for a particular person, e.g. P.Lond.IV 1433\(^1\)\(^7\),\(^1\)\(^8\); but \( \delta \alpha \varepsilon \alpha \varepsilon \nu \) for twelve months is also found e.g. P.Lond.IV 1433\(^3\)\(^4\) and P.Ross.Georg. IV 4\(^7\). At the period when the present document was written the \( \delta \alpha \varepsilon \alpha \varepsilon \nu \) for the local officials appears to have become a fixed item for twelve months. On other \( \delta \alpha \varepsilon \alpha \varepsilon \nu \) payable at this period cf. the next note and see chapter VI.

\( \delta \alpha \varepsilon \gamma \phi \theta \) \( \epsilon \zeta \)\(^\epsilon \)\(^\delta \) This tax recurs as the last \( \delta \alpha \varepsilon \alpha \varepsilon \nu \mu \varepsilon \nu \delta \omega \varepsilon \kappa \alpha \) in 300\(^1\)\(^9\) and is evidently the same as that described by Bell in P.Lond.IV 1419 line 16 note: "\( \epsilon \zeta \)\(^\epsilon \)\(^\delta \) this word varies frequently; in line 164 it is apparently written \( \epsilon \zeta \epsilon \)\(^\delta \) and in line 785 \( \epsilon \zeta \)\(^\epsilon \)\(^\delta \). Sometimes e.g. line 371 it precedes a new section of the \( \tau \alpha \varepsilon \alpha \varepsilon \nu \); there in each case the name of the \( \tau \alpha \varepsilon \alpha \varepsilon \nu \) is followed by (\( \omega \varepsilon \epsilon \)) with a personal name; so that \( \epsilon \zeta \)\(^\epsilon \)\(^\delta \) may be taken to referring to those persons, for whom the person under whose name the previous entries stand, pays. The word therefore is probably \( \epsilon \zeta \epsilon \)\(^\delta \)\( \omega \nu \) i.e. 'persons away from home'; it seems, indeed, a rather literary word, but that is not in itself a decisive objection."

\( \delta \alpha \varepsilon \beta \)\(^\lambda \) for \( \omega \varepsilon \epsilon \tau \eta \tau \varepsilon \varepsilon \mu \beta \omega \eta \eta \). The \( \varepsilon \mu \beta \omega \eta \) was the corn-tax which was paid in kind (here half an artaba). It is to be noted that the
eμβολί is absent in the parallel documents Ryl.119 and B.M.440; but in some of the Aphrodito accounts it is required as here side by side with the διάγραμμα: S.B.5638, 5644, 5646, 5648, 5650, 5653, 5654.

ατ for ατάβη. The ν after ατ is probably a mistake, cf. note on line 3 above.

5. [ν] πλημμένει επί μαξτύ εκατοφύτον evidently for ύπο πλημμένης μηδέν ετει παράνοι. After this the lacuna may have contained one further letter, then follow a few letters which I have not been able to read satisfactorily, cf. photo on plate IV,4. According to the Coptic parallel we would have expected something like: "so that you do not pay anything in the present year more than that expected from everyone..."

απ εκ for απεκαστός.

B.M. Or.4664 A and B, partly published as B.M.440.

Appendix

B.M. Or.4664 A and B, partly published as B.M.440.

B.M. Or.4664 A: 7½ by 7⅔ inches, complete. Crum already noted that the hand is that of Aristophanes son of Johannes who wrote many of the legal documents from Thebes; cf. the facsimile in B.M. plate 3 no.1011. B.M. Or. 4664 B is a second copy of 4664 A written by the same scribe.
2. [Na]i ne nταςταροκ μμοογ, so again Ryl. 117, 118 etc.

3. διαςτάζος very doubtful; the scribe here makes use of a difficult ligature (§) and διαστάζος is little more than a guess.

4. σφοναί is very doubtful; the scribe here makes use of a difficult ligature (§) and διαστάζος is little more than a guess.

5. σφοναί is almost certainly an abbreviation for αμφίρ χλμουμενν, in Arabic: اَمَرُ اَمْوَعْ. At Aphrodisio the most common abbreviation used for this is αμφίρ χλμουμενν. P.Lond. IV 1338, P.Ross. Georg. 7 etc., other abbreviations found are: αμφίρ τό P.Lond. IV 1362, 1438, 1451, 100, 109, 1487; αμφίρ λ 1378 and 1517.

6. ey...[...Xe], one is tempted to read ευκράς [ΝΑΚΧΕ] here, but it is somewhat difficult to justify this reading from the traces extant on the papyrus. The λ above the line is certain and there can be little doubt that something like this was intended here.

Translation:

With God(1). Saal son of Abdella(2) it is who is writing to Daniel the son of Pahom(3) of the castron Jēme, saying:

These are those which are due from you and you shall pay them in the assessment(§) of the poll-tax(δημόσιον) of the 7th indiction, year 105(5) and the expenses-tax(δαπανή) of the 8th indiction year 106; which are these: Tax(ανδρισμού)(6) for one person(δονομακ)
for poll-tax-assessment (κεφαλαιαγιος) solidi: \(1 \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{3} \); thus: poll-tax (διαγραφον) solidi: \(1 \frac{1}{3} \), expenses-tax (δωραξων) for twelve months solidi: \(\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \), expenses-tax (δωραξων) for the Emir al-moumenin solidi: \(\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \); total, solidi: \(1 \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{3} \).

And as regards everything which you shall pay, receive a receipt (καταθερον) concerning it as a [security for you(?)] that you shall not pay anything beyond your order of payment (μεταγενεσθαι) according to the authority of (the) administration (δεικτων της οικειας) of your village. +

Written month Tobe, indiction 7.

Poll-tax (διαγραφον) solidi: \(1 \frac{1}{3} \), expenses-tax (δωραξων) for twelve months: \(\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \), expenses-tax (δωραξων) for the Emir al-moumenin solidi: \(\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \); total, solidi: \(1 \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{3} \).

(1) The introduction to this document is of some interest; we have several documents written by the same scribe which are headed by the full Christian invocation formula e.g. J.10,11,14, etc., but here he writes the document on behalf of an Arab, and consequently omits the cross usual at the beginning of Coptic documents, and merely writes 'with God'; in line 7 he adds the cross by mistake, clearly by force of habit.

(2) Definitely not Saul as read by Crum in B.M.440. Saal son of Abdel-la, in Arabic سهل بن عبد الله recurs in J.45 as Emir (κομης) i.e. pagarch of (δοκιμασιος) δοκιμασιος (πολοκατορχης).

(3) Daniel the son of Pahom recurs in J.52, 61 and Verso 6, 63, 71.

(4) On δημοσιον here see above 130 note.

(5) On the discrepancy between the years A.H. and the years of the indiction see the introduction to 130 above.

(6) For a full discussion of δολοςκυμος in the meaning of poll-tax see Bell in P.Lond. IV p.168. Bell there points out convincingly that there was no apparent difference between δολοςκυμος and διαγραφον (= διαγραφον). In the present document δολοςκυμος is used to include
both διαγραφή and also συνάνη which almost suggests that ἀνδρισμός had that particular significance. In support of such a meaning those documents might be cited where διαγραφή and ἀνδρισμός occur side by side as here in number 303; on the other hand ἀνδρισμός is also frequently found side by side with συνάνη e.g. P.Lond IV 1421, 1575, and we are probably right in concluding that in the present document as elsewhere the word meant no more than poll-tax and that its peculiar use here is accidental.


(8) On this tax see chapter VI.

Text of B.M. Or. 4664 B:

(broken)

↑

[\[\text{broken}\]

η]έπεκναταν θηρη ξι ἀπο[δείξις

η]εκτείνεται λαός παραπεκπάται πρας

η]εκτίμω + επεμ θή τις [5

\[\text{broken}\]

\[\text{margin}\]

For this document see the corresponding lines in the last document.

131
NOTIFICATION OF TAX ASSESSMENT ?

(d 165 b) Same hand as 122.

(broken)

1 \[\text{broken}\]

2 \[\text{broken}\]

3 \[\text{broken}\]

(margin)
131 (continued)

1. Cf. 130 Appendix (B.M. Or. 4664A) line 6.

132 - 134

These three tax-receipts are of unusual interest since they are receipts for weaving-garments tax (132 and 133) and weaving tax (134). There is also a small fragment d 164a \( \text{πεντακός ήταλέγυθη} \) which is probably yet another one. This tax was discussed by Crum in W.M.Fl.Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh p. 42 (par. 103) and Ep. vol. I p. 157. Cf. also above chapter VI. In all three the amount required is one and a half solidus.

132
WEAVING-GARMENTS TAX RECEIPT

(d 29) 4 by 9\( \frac{1}{2} \) inches, complete. Crude hand. On the Verso is an Arabic letter from Al-Kasim b. Ubaid Allah (ca. A.D. 740) which was the first text on this papyrus. The present document, therefore, must have been written after A.D. 740.

(margin)

[Handwritten text]

Verso: (docket)

1. \( \text{δωδος for δωδος; προστος for προστακός.} \)

ca1 for CA1, see chapter VIII par. 108.

There is a remarkable interchange between the first person singular and the first person plural thus \( \text{πετακός line 1, άνακι and αίμους line 2.} \)
2. entoot mistake for entootk.
   temecen for δμόσιον.

3. (Ne)timecthyle, this ought to be a Greek word, but no such word is known to me.
   περος obscure; perhaps for κιβος, cf. chapter VIII par. 96B.

4. κιβος: we should have expected σοβος or σομαν σοβος in view of ἰκ
   following; mistake?

5. pone for pomne, see chapter VIII par. 79.
   entianoc for indkionoc (sic!).
   xoos for χονωτ, see chapter VIII par. 56.

6. e-te for e-1, see chapter VIII par. 39.
   apotakeicen and line 8 apotakeic for ἀπόδειξις (sic!).

   Translation:

   +Enoch(1) the βοηθος(2) and Psote(3) the prior(πεσωτας')(4) wri-
   ting to my brother(5) Chael(6) saying:

   We have fully received from ηυς from the weaving-garments-tax
   and all the ...(?) which is the ...(?) in ηυς nome(του) Pousire(7)
   which is this; one(?) and a half solidi - solidi 1½ - in this year the
   sixth indiction, the twentieth day of Tobe. Enoch and Psote assent
   (στοιχεῖον) to this receipt(ἀπόδειξις) according to its validity. X(8)

   Docket: Receipt(ἀπόδειξις) for weaving-garments-(tax) for that of
   Mena(9), solidi 1½.

(1) From Enoch the βοηθος we have a fragment of another tax-receipt in
   d 85b: £ Enox πςοφος which was written by the same scribe.
(2) On this title see chapter V p. 35.
(3) The name Psote is very rare in non-literary texts, cf. Krall 598.

   We know also of an Apa Psote who was martyred under Arianos cf.
   Till: HM vol. I pp. 205ff. It is probable that Psote is a variant
   spelling of the names Psate, Pisate, Peshate, etc. Psote as
   prior does not recur in this collection, it is, indeed, unlikely
that he was superior of the monastery at Bala'izah. A tax-receipt issued by a βωτιστός and a prior jointly is unparalleled.

(4) On this title see chapter V p.32.

(5) The title 'my brother' here merely signifies that Chael is a monk.

(6) Chaël is a very common shortened form of the name Michaël.

(7) The mention of the nome of Pousire(Busiris) here is remarkable; see above chapter VI and chapter VIII p.232 note 1.

(8) The x stands for the normal +, see 116 note 4.

(9) 'For that of Mēna' (Σαταμήνα) is strange and unusual, but presumably it is meant for Σαταπητράς(άνα) μηνα 'for the rock of Apa Mēna'.

The monastery of Apa Mēna recurs elsewhere in the present collection, see chapter IV p.25.

133

WEAVING-GARMENTS-TAX-RECEIPT

(d 36) 5½ by 8½ inches, complete. Uncials, perhaps the same hand as 145. Written below another text, different hand, now broken away.

(margin)

1 + ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕΠΡΕΠΕΤΣΕΛΕΙ ΝΛ...ΚΟΥ ΑΙΧΙ ΑΙΜΟΥΣ ΝΤΟΟΤΚ ΝΠΤΕΜΟΙΝ

2 ΝΤΑΛΕ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΝΠΟΟΥ ΠΑΙΕΤΕ ΜΟΝΤΑΖΕ ΠΕΝΕΛΩΡ ΠΕ ΚΝΝΕΤΕ

3 ΜΟΣΙΝ ΝΤΕΤΑΡΤΕΣ ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕΝΣΛΗΧΕ Π

(margin)

1 and 2. τεμοιν for δημόσιον.

2. μενταζε for μενταζε; see chapter VIII par.104.

The second enclitic πε was added by mistake.

3. πενςληχε mistake for πενςτοιχε.

Translation:

+ Mena(1) the priest(πρεσβύτερος) it is who is writing to L... (2)

(saying): I have fully received from you the weaving-garments-tax(δημόσιον) on this day which is the sixteenth day of Mechir in the public taxes.
(δημόσιον) of the fourth ἁγίας ἀποκατάστασις. Mena it is who assents.†

(1) Probably the same person as Mena the ἄγιος in 1451, same hand?
(2) I am unable to read this name, not Loukas.

134

WEAVING-TAX RECEIPT

(d 150a) Few ligatures.

1  [ ]  

[margin]  

1. πετεσαίνα αναλω χε εις
2. [ουα μιν ουβος]ς γολοτίης ης κι ης ης ης
3. [τοοτ ηποτκ ηπα] τεμοσίον πειρε 
4. [ ]  

(broken)

1. πετεσαίνα αναλω so line 2 ουβοςς γολοτίης and line 3 τεμοσίον <ν or νεως>

see chapter VIII par.80.

εις for εις ; for this spelling cf. Crum: Dictionary p.86a; cf. also here εις 187, 18921, 29, 3391 and εις 1294.

2. γολοτίης for γολοττίνος.

Translation:

.....]it is who is writing to Απλο(1) saying: Behold [one and a half] solidi - solidi 1½ - have come into [my possession for the] weaving-tax (-δημόσιον)[.....] this day[.....](broken)

(1) Apló as a shortened form of Apollo recurs in this region, cf.P.Lond. IV 1553 verso 10, Brunton: Qau and Badari vol.III pl.III; also elsewhere cf.Ryl. index, Maspero: Bawit index, J. index, etc..

135

TAX-RECEIPT

On the verso there are traces of an earlier account.

This and the following two tax-receipts are unusual as they are receipts not for one tax only but for several taxes and, as the present document shows, paid at different periods. Parallels known to me are Worrell, Coptic Texts IV, 16, MH 323 and P.Lond.V 1784.

(margin)

+ ἀνοκ ἀχιλληίτο ὈΗ ἐνεαί ἐρεμῆ

Χε ἐν οὐ[...] ἄχει ἐτοοτ γαπεκ ἀνεδήμω

[...] ἄνοκ κα[χ]λλητό ὈΗ στό + Μ θοσοθ θ...

+ ἀχιλ[ληίτο] ὈΗ ἐνεαί ἐρεμῆ [ΝΧ]

5 ὀμπ εατμβολ[π]... ης[η]

[...] Μ ξοι[χ ξ]κ ... + ἀχιλ[κ ξ]κ ΟΗ στό [Ι]

[...] ἔρεκ προ[π] πνεσεαί ι[ι]

[...]]ολοκτ ἄχει ἐτοοτ [Ι]

[...] ἰτο Μ Μ Μ Ν + ἀχι[κ ξ]κ

10 [ ...] πρε πετεσεαί [Ι]

ογσολοτ ἄχει ἐτοοτ [Ι]

12 [ ...] πρε ἀχ[Ι]

(faded and broken ?)

Verso: (continued, upside down, margin)

13 ἄχει ἐτοοτ γαπεκ[Α]

14 [Σ]Ηλιασ ΟΗ εφ[Ι]

(margin)

2. γαπεκ ἀνεδήμω for γαπεκλαγάφων ἐν νάμμοιον so again in the next document line 2. It is interesting to note that in all Theban tax-receipts issued by the well-known scribe Aristophanes son of Johannes the same phrase occurs (C.O.422,423; S.T.79; Till: Die Koptischen Quittungsostraca Orientalia 1947 numbers 21,23,24; also three unpublished Bodleian ostraca: C.I.303,437,521; and S.T.415 a and b, collated = Bodleian C.I.281,282); the same phrase occurs
in two documents written by other scribes: C.0.416 written by Kyriakos and Till:  
_Die Koptischen Quittungsostraca der Wiener Papyrus Sammlung_, Orientalia vol. XVI (1947) pp. 525 ff. number 25 written by Kyriakos son of Petros, presumably the same person as the scribe of the last. It is interesting to note that all the tax-receipts issued by Aristophanes son of Johannes were written in the 10th - 13th indiction and the two written by Kyriakos both fall into the 11th indiction. Two further tax-receipts also mentioning the same phrase - Tor. 22 and B.K.U. 85 - were presumably written by either of these two scribes. This is fully confirmed by the recently published Stephansky-Lichtheim, *Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*.  
4-5. ἄγον; probably for ἀγόν; cf. chapter VIII par. 65.

Translation:

_+_ I Achillités(1) the βοηθος(2), I am writing to Kolthe(3) (the son of) Jerēmias saying: Behold a [...] has come into my possession for your poll-tax(δεκτήσ) in the public taxes(δημοσίες) [of the ...] indiction. I Achillités the βοηθος assent. + Month Thoth(4) 9.

The rest of the document is too fragmentary to permit a translation.  
Lines 4 - 6, the second tax-receipt deals with the corn-tax(εβοκέ) and is issued in the month Choiak(4) by Achillités.

Lines 7 - 9, the third tax-receipt is issued by [...] rek the priest in the month Mechir(4); the tax is not preserved.

Lines 10 - 12, the fourth tax-receipt is issued by some priest; the tax and date are not preserved.

Lines 13 - 14, the fifth tax-receipt mentions the poll-tax(δικτήσ) and Helias(5) the βοηθος who may have issued it; the date is not preserved.

(1) Achillités as βοηθος occurs only here, but presumably he is the same Achillités who occurs frequently in financial documents from the present collection, see 197 note 8.
(2) On this title see chapter V p.35.

(3) Kolthe is a very common shortened form of the name Kollouthos; cf. Serne for Serène, Aplô for Apollo, etc..

(4) Thoth(1st month) – Choiak(4th month) – Mechir(6th month); the document thus covers a period of at least six months.

(5) Helias the βοηθος recurs 29127 and 3046. He may be identical with the Helias of 146.

136

TAX-RECEIPT

(d 159) Uncials. On the Verso 410, earlier.

For this document see 135 introduction.

Translation:

+ Johannes the priest it is who is writing to Apa [... he saying:
Behold a trimesion has come into [my possession] for your poll-tax(δημόσιον) in the public taxes(δημόσιον) of the fourth indiction. [...] assents(?). [...(?).] + Johannes the priest it is who is [... saying: Behold a trimesion has come [... for your poll-tax(?)] in the public taxes(δημόσιον) of [...(?)]... Month Pharmouthi 19. + Johannes the βοηθος[2] assents(?).]
(1) See 135\(^2\) note.

(2) It is to be noted that Johannes is both priest and βοηθος, cf. Mēna the priest (133\(^1\)) and βοηθος (145\(^1\)); Johannes probably recurs 150\(^1\).

On the title βοηθος see chapter V p. 35.

**137**

**TAX-RECEIPT**

(e 12; d 76d; d 92a) Very crude hand.

For this document see 135 introduction.

---

(margin)

\[\begin{align*}
+ \text{παγοι} & \text{καε} \\
\text{α} & \text{ει} \\
\text{ετσε} & \text{πα} \\
\text{με} & \text{παγοι} + \text{ανοκ} \text{ιωβ} \text{ει} & \text{καε} \\
\text{ει} & \text{ετσε} \\
\text{ι} & \text{τεμοτ} \text{κελθε} \text{κοι} \text{ευμογ} \\
\text{αι} & \text{ιωβ} \text{ειε} & \text{καε} \text{καε} \\
\text{καε} & \text{καε} \\
\text{ειε} & \text{τοσοτ} \text{ηοτεμμεν} \\
\text{ειε} & \text{τοσοτ} \text{ηοτεμμεν} \\
\text{καε} & \text{καε} \\
\text{ειε} & \text{τοσοτ} \text{ηοτεμμεν} \\
\end{align*}\]

(broken)

1-2. The lacunae in these two lines present some difficulty:

*either*: the άκ (line 1) is the beginning of the name of the father of παγοι, but then the recurrence of παγοι in line 2 is difficult to explain.

*or*: παγοι in line 1 was written by mistake and we ought to supply the lacunae from lines 2 and 3, thus: line 1: ανόκ ιωβ (sic) καε; line 2: ας ειετοσοτ οτεμμεν παγοι. It should, however, be pointed out that ας ειετοσοτ in line 2 is very uncertain.

1. άκ for ειετοσοτ (sic), cf. chapter VIII par. 127F.

**τοσοτ** an unusual spelling of τριμπινιον.

5. Perhaps supply: ειετοσοτ μν]οτεμμεν

The fragment is too uncertain to permit a translation. The first receipt is for \(\frac{3}{4}\) solidus from Chaël through (?) Pshoi; the second is for ...(?) paid by Chaël through Kolthe to Jōb who issued the receipt; the
third is for l½ solidus (?) paid by Chael to Job who issued the receipt.

138
TAX-RECEIPT

(d 39) 6 by 8½ inches, width complete. Uncials.

(margin)

1. ἐνρεμαν[τ] ; the indefinite plural article ἡν is remarkable here; we generally find ἡνμ-; but ἡνμ- recurs in two papyri from the Aphrodito find: P.Lond.IV 15254 and Grohmann: Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library vol.III 1644; similarly also here 353 οὖμ-.

3. Lacuna supplied from the context but not certain.


ponge; the η is written over an earlier μ, for pounge.
4. ΤΕΚΤΙΝΟΣ, cf. 102\(^1\) note.

5. ἐπαραγεῖν for ἐπαραγοῖ, only here, sic!. We should have expected ἐπαραγεῖν in this context, see chapter VIII par. 159.

6. ἘΤΙΑΝΟΔΕΙΣΙΣ for the more usual προστῶμον ἘΤΙΑΝΟΔΕΙΣΙΣ; similarly 118\(^6\). ΝΤΕΣΩΣΗ a mistake for νοεςσνοῦ μμοσ; cf. chapter VIII par. 157.

8. ἝΛΕΝΘΙ a mistake for ἈΝΚΝΟΥ.

ςαι for ζςαι; see chapter VIII par. 108.

κι ξ for κι ξ; see chapter VIII paragraphs 124 and 127.

ἐλεγιαίς καὶ ταχίον, we should have expected ἈΝΚΝΟΥ ἈΝΨ

κι ξ ἘΠΑΡΟΤΟΥ ἝΝΤΑΣΙΧ cf. P.Lond. IV 1553\(^3\) 32 and 34. It should be noted that only in these three instances ἘΝΟΥ is used in this technical sense for the more usual ἘΝΤΕΙ, κορέα, παρακάλει etc., see chapter VIII par. 156.

9. μετρὲ for μνετρὲ; see chapter VIII par. 82c.

Translation:

[+] In the name of God. Firstly I Pshoi and Kolthe from An[...\(^1\)] we are writing to[...] Chaël from our village saying: We have fully received from you three solidi for your tax(δημόσιον)(\(^2\)) which are these: three solidi[of] gold without\(^3\) dyke(service) and without sailor(service), in this year the eighth[indiction; we(?)] swearing by almighty God that I shall adhere for you[to (the validity of) this receipt] as it is written(?).

+ I Paule (the son of) Papa[...\(^4\)] I am witness. + I Ermias\(^5\) of the monastery(μοναστηρίον) of Apa Jerēmias\(^6\), I was asked: Write for [them with] my hand\(^7\), [and I am] witness.\(^8\) (three more lines containing signatures of witnesses.)

(1) Hardly Antinoou as this would almost certainly be called πόλεςε, not τηνε (line 2), cf. e.g. 119\(^6\), 127\(^1\) etc..

(2) δημόσιον here clearly denotes public taxes in general; cf. chapter VI.

(3) "without dyke(service) without sailor(service)" so Crum: Dictionary
p. 238b and references there. For personal service (ἐν σώματι) as opposed to money payments (ἐν ἀποκρύπτοις) as part of the demands of the government at this period see P. Lond. IV 1508 introduction.

(4) This could also be translated: I Paule from Pa[...](place-name).

(5) Ermias is a shortened form of the name Jeremias; cf. in this document Kolthe for Kollouthos, Chael for Michael.

(6) For this monastery see chapter IV pp. 22f..

(7) Probably a mistake for: I was asked and I wrote for them with my hand. See above note on line 8.

139
TAX-RECEIPT

(e 39; further fragments are d 163e and d 166b) Ligatured. On the Verso 384, later.

1. This might be the first line, but as more than one person issued this document it probably is not the first line.

2. For the lacuna see note 1 below.

Translation:

[In the name of God. We ... and Philotheos (the son of) Kollouthos [we are writing to ... saying: We have fully] received from [you for your public tax and your] poll-tax (δαχτύλιον) (1) of this eighth year - [indication] 8 - which are these: three solidi and a trimesion of gold - [solidi] 3½ - and lest we should ask you (2) any more until[....](broken).

(1) If this tax-receipt were for poll-tax only, the amount received (3½
soli) would be unusually high. At Thebes, from where we have over 150 poll-tax receipts, the poll-tax received varied from one sixth solidus to one solidus. Only in Turaev: Materiali 25 the amount is two solidi, but the text of Turaev may not be accurate. In the present collection the amount received for poll-tax was in seven cases one third solidus (136, 137, 142, 143, 144, 147, 149), and in one case one sixth solidus (146, poll-tax?). It seems probable, therefore, that the present document is a receipt for both public taxes and the poll-tax; cf. 138 which is a receipt for public taxes (δημόσιον) and the amount received is three solidi. Hence we may supply the lacuna in line 2 thus: ΝΤΟΣΩΤΚ ΔΑΝΕΚΑΜΟΙΚΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΚ ΔΙΑΚΡΑΦΩΝ.

(2) For this sentence compare W.S.167 ll, 1688, 169 ll, Ryl.157, 319, but I cannot parallel it exactly; cf. also 130 Appendix, line 6.

140

TAX-RECEIPT ?

(e 76; d 90a,b,c; d 147c; d 150c,d) Few ligatures.

(broken)

---

ΤΟΝ . . . ΔΝΙΤΑ ΕΙΣΧΑΙ ΝΠ[Α]

[CON ΧΑΛΛ ΝΠΟΟΥ[Γ]ΝΑΓΛ ΜΗΝΑ ΧΕ ΝΠΛΑ ΝΕΣΟΥ ΝΩΙΧ ΜΝ]

ΠΝΗΜΟΙΟΝ ΝΠΤΙ[ΤΙ]ΜΕ ΟΥΞ[ΟΛΟ][ΟΤΤΝΟΝ]

ΜΗΝ Ν ΜΝ ΛΑΛΟΥ . . . ΝΠΝΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ[ , ΝΙΑ, ΝΑΙ ΟΥΝ]

5 ΕΜ ΠΟΥΩ[Γ]ΝΠΝΟΥΣΕ ΤΙΟΥΟΥ ΝΕΣΕΙΜΟΣ ΤΑ[ ,]

ΟΥΤΕ ζ[. . . . Τ ΝΚΑ[. . . ]ΚΚ ΟΥΝ Δ[ ,]ΧΝ ΕΣΟΜ[ ,]

7 ΟΝΟΤΣ ΝΠΕΤΓΕΡ[Ν]ΕΣΑΙ ΤΙΣΤΗΧΕ

(margin)

Verso: (docket)↑

8 [ΝΠΕΤΓΕΡ[Ν]ΕΣΑΙ ΧΑΛΛ ΧΡ Ν Α5]

2. ΝΠΛΑ for ΕΠΛΑ, see chapter VIII par.27.
2. for NNαωι, see chapter VIII par. 93.
4. μΗΔι, obscure.
6. This line is quite uncertain.
7. οντε perhaps for προοντιμε but doubtful.
8. χηθ for χευσετ (sic !).

Translation:
(broken) . . . . I am writing to my brother Chaël of the mount of Apa Mē­
na(1) saying: as regards the works of hand(2) and the tax(δημόσιον) of
the town, a solidus(?)[. . . .]in this year the fourth(?)[indiction. This
therefore,] by the will of God I am ready(ετοιμαζομαι) to[. . . . (line 7) the]
administrator(περονηγης?) who has already written, I assent[. . . .(margin).
Docket: . . . .] who is writing to my brother Chaël. Gold, solidi 1½.

(1) For this monastery see chapter IV p. 25.
(2) The 'works of hand' here probably refer to the βν σωματι service
which was demanded by the government in addition to the public ge­
geral taxes; see P.Lond.IV pp.XXXI f. and 1508 introduction.

141
TAX-RECEIPT ?
(α 108 b) Receipt for ½ solidus.

---

1. [πευςδαί] μη
2. ουπαξε η[20]ολοκτ acei[ετοοτ

(broken)

2. Since acei is feminine, 2ολοκτ (masc.) must have been preceded by παγε
(feminine).

142
TAX-RECEIPT ?
(b 4) Same hand as 103 and 1046–7. On the Verso 223, earlier.
1. ἄνοκ ἀπα ἔωμας εἰς εἰκαὶ ναπα ἀλμωνε ἕνα ἐκ εἰς ὄντρα

2. μνεῖο ἀνεῖ ἐτοιτ εάννονβ νενάβει ν ἴε

3. ἔπειφ ι. ἐπειφ ι ἀπα ὁ ἔωμας ἐγειρή τις καὶ εγράφα

2. νενάβει (sic!) cited Crum: Dictionary p. 513b 'meaning unknown'. Perhaps the phrase was used to denote the χευσίκα δημόσια.

3. ἐπειφ ι, the last i is written on a κ or the κ on the i...

θωμας ἐγείρη, it is just possible to read θωμας ἐγείρη here.

Translation:

+ I Apa Thomas I am writing to Apa Ammone(1) saying: Behold a trimesion has come into my possession for the ... gold, indiction 15.

Solidi ι, month Ἕπιφ 10 (or: 1), indiction 1. Apa Thomas[assents?] George the deacon(δωκονος)(2), I have written (it).

(1) Probably the Apa Ammone who occurs elsewhere as superior, see index.
(2) George the deacon recurs in many documents of this collection, see index.

143
TAX-RECEIPT

(e 59; d 131b) 1⁄8 by 8 inches, width complete. Few ligatures, perhaps the same hand as 121.

1. ἄνοκ ἐγείρῃ πιέλας νάλακ εἰς εἰκας ἀλμα[να]

2. εἰς ἐκ ὄντρις ἀχει ἐτοιτ εάννονβ εἰς εἰκας

4. [ἐν τιρομπε ταὶ δωκονος εἰς μ]

5. ἄνοκ ἐγείρῃ τίς τίς [ ]

(margin)
Translation:

+I George(1) this least(ελξυστος) deacon(δικονος) I am writing to Athanasios saying: Behold a trimeon has come into my possession for your poll-tax(δικεφον) in this twelfth year. Written month[....] I George I assent(στοιχειον).

Verso: (2) For the wage of feeding the sheep through Phoibammon the deacon(δικονος).

(1) George the deacon recurs frequently in this collection, cf. index. Perhaps there were more than one 'George the deacon', for, if he was the scribe of this document, he must have been a different person from the scribe of 103 etc. which is written in an entirely different hand. It is possible, however, that the present document is a copy from the original as part of a writing exercise, cf. the verso.

(2) For this line cf. 3039 and 14.

144

TAX-RECEIPT

d I11a-d) Receipt for one trimeon.

(margin)
Perhaps the same hand as 133. Uncials. $1\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, complete.


Translation:

+Mêna (1) the βοηθος (2) it is who is writing to Apa Phôka the priest (πρεσβύτερος) saying: Behold two carats (3) have come into my possession.

(1) Mêna the βοηθος recurs on a small fragment d 62c; Mêna the priest; he is probably the same person as Mêna the priest of 133, cf. 136 where Jôhannês is both priest (lines 1 and 4) and βοηθος (line 7).

(2) On this title see chapter V p. 35.

(3) For this coin see Crum: Dictionary p. 120a.

Parchment. $4\frac{3}{4}$ by 3 inches. Few ligatures. Written on a page from a codex of the Pauline Epistles in Semi-Bohairic, number 19. A photo was published in Le Muséon vol. LXIII (1950) Plate 1.

For the special interest and significance of this document see above chapter VIII p. 232 note 1 and elsewhere.
Translation:

+Helias (1) it is who writes to my brother (2) Taurine saying: Behold half a trimesion has come into my possession [from you] in this [ ... ] year. [Helias (?)] assents (στοιχεῖον). +

(1) Perhaps the same person as Helias the βοηθὸς of 13514, 29127, 3046.
(2) 'my brother' here as elsewhere merely signifies that Taurine is a monk.

147
TAX-RECEIPT ?

(d 161b) Ligatured. Receipt for ½ solidus from Apa Ammone.

148
GREEK AND COPTIC TAX-RECEIPTS

(d 82a, b) These two fragments do not actually join, but they are certainly parts of the same papyrus, as on the Verso of both there are
fragments of the same Coptic letter. The Greek text is written in a
cursive-minuscula, the Coptic in a cursive hand. They were probably
written by the same scribe, Petros, who also wrote 225 (and note). On
the other hand it is of course possible that the scribe made use of the
verso of an earlier letter to write two different tax-receipts without
relation to each other.

1 + δεδωκέν 'πλατέρ μον[ ]
2 μοκές ἄτετερ μὑρ +

2nd. fragment:
3 ]τοοτ. ἄτετερ γράφε 'γραφ ηλ 'γραφ . . .
4 ]οτοι + πετερ ἐγερ 'γε +

2. μὑρ for μόνον.

Lines 1 - 2: "Fully received from the monastery[of ... through ...]the
monk solidus ½ - one quarter only."

Lines 3 - 4: Probably a receipt for 6(?) solidi for general taxes, con­
sisting of the poll-tax(δωρεάφων) ½ solidus and [...] Petros is
the scribe.

149
TAX-RECEIPT

(ε 58) 2 by 7 inches, height complete. Uncials.

1 ἄπα λαμμωνε ἐπηφ. νος +
2 ἄπα ναρκήρε φιονος στοι +

1 - 2. The lines are probably complete; perhaps a cross preceded both
lines.
2. ανα πακυρε, either for and ανα πακυρε, Apa Kyre having by this time become a fixed name to which the title Apa could be prefixed as in the case of any other name, or it is Apa Pakyre; in support of this one might cite Hall pp.18 and 19 where Pakyre occurs on its own twice as a proper name (πακυρε καρη περαχρε, and πακυρε νεκελαιος in a list of names). απα πακυρε recurs in 373 below.

Translation:

[?]Apa Ammone_poll-tax(κνεμοςματης), 7th indiction, Epiph 1, solidus 3. [? ]Apa Apa-Kyre (or: Apa Pakyre) the βαπτιστής assents (στοχευετε).

(1) Probably the Apa Ammone who recurs elsewhere as superior, see index.
(2) For the meaning of κνεμοςματης = poll-tax see 130 Appendix note 6.
(3) For this title see chapter V p.35.

150
TAX-RECEIPT ?

(d.136A) Uncials. Receipt issued by Johannes to Apa Solaiman. Verso, letter, earlier.

 margin)

1. +[σ][Π]ΝΟΚ ΙΩΑΝΝΗς
2. ΑΓΗΕΙ ΕΤΟΣ Υ[ ]
3. NAPA SOLOAIM[AN]
4. ΝΤΑΗΕΙ ΝΑΙ ΓΜ[ ]

(broken)

1. Ioann[AN] probably the same as 136, 4, 7.
3. Soloaim[AN] is the Arabic version of the name Solomon - سليمان, it recurs as σουλαίμαν in 28815. As this tax-receipt was found at Bal'aizah, Apa Soulaiman was probably a member of the community there; the name is certainly unusual for a Christian at this period, cf. 102 note 4.
fragments of the same Coptic letter. The Greek text is written in a
cursive-minuscule, the Coptic in a cursive hand. They were probably
written by the same scribe, Petros, who also wrote 225 (and note). On
the other hand it is of course possible that the scribe made use of the
verso of an earlier letter to write two different tax-receipts without
relation to each other.

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1 + δεδωκες περι το μον[]
2 μον και τετακε μην +

2nd. fragment:
3 τοοτ ἤμιδωρ και [.....]
4 κτορχε ὑπετε εσχατοποι

2. μην for μόνον.

Lines 1 - 2: "Fully received from the monastery [of ... through ...] the
monk solidus ½ - one quarter only."

Lines 3 - 4: Probably a receipt for 6(?) solidi for general taxes, con­
sisting of the poll-tax (δωρὸς ἐκφεσον) ½ solidus and[...] Petros is
the scribe.

149
TAX-RECEIPT

(e 58) 2 by 7 inches, height complete. Uncials.

1 ἸΑΝΑ ΛΗΜΜΩΝΕ ἀν, ἵνα ἐπηφ. α: ὕψος
2 ἸΑΝΑΝΑΚΙΡΕ ΠΗΟΙΦΟΣ ΣΤΟΧ +

1 - 2. The lines are probably complete; perhaps a cross preceded both
lines.
2. ἀπα πακυρὲ, either for ἄπα πακυρὲ, ἀπα κυρε having by this time become a fixed name to which the title ἀπα could be prefixed as in the case of any other name, or it is ἀπα πακυρὲ; in support of this one might cite Hall pp.18 and 19 where Pakyre occurs on its own twice as a proper name (πακυρὲ κακε πεταυρε, and πακυρὲ κεκακιδὸς in a list of names). ἀπα πακυρὲ recurs in 373 below.

Translation:

[? ]Ἀπα Ἀμμόνε(1), poll-tax (ἀνάγεσσιμος)(2), 7th indiction, Ἐπιφ 1, solidus 1/3. [ ? ]Ἀπα Ἀπα-Κυρε (or: Ἀπα Πακυρε) the βοηθὸς (3) asserts (στοχεῖον).

1. Probably the Ἀπα Ἀμμόνε who recurs elsewhere as superior, see index.
2. For the meaning of ἀνάγεσσιμος = poll-tax see 130 Appendix note 6.
3. For this title see chapter V p.35.

150

TAX-RECEIPT?

(d 136a) Uncials. Receipt issued by Ἰωάννης to Ἀπα Σολαιμὰν. Verso, letter, earlier.

(margin)

1. +[Ἀ]ΝΟΚ ἩΩΑΝΝ[Η]
2. ἄγει ετούτ Ὡ[?
3. ΝΑΠΑ ΣΟΛΑΙΜ[Ἀ]
4. ΝΤΑΓΕΙ ΝΑΙ ᾿ΣΛ[┱]

(broken)

1. ἩΩΑΝΝ[Η] probably the same as 136.4.7.
3. ΣΟΛΑΙΜ[Ἀ]N is the Arabic version of the name Solomon - سولامون, it recurs as σολαυμαν in 28815. As this tax-receipt was found at Bala'izah, Ἀπα Σολαιμὰν was probably a member of the community there; the name is certainly unusual for a Christian at this period, cf. 102 note 4.
TAX-RECEIPT ?

(d 34) 6 by 8 inches, complete ? The script is of unusual interest, see Plate IV,5. On the Verso there are traces of a document written by a different hand, but probably it is merely a short note added by a later hand; as the fibres are vertical on the recto, there is some proof that this was the first text on the papyrus.

The main interest of this fragment lies in the fact that it is written in Bohairic. Unfortunately much of the text has remained obscure but the fragment is clearly Bohairic without any Fayyumic tendencies. We find a similar state of affairs in number 19 above, but whether the present document was written in the dialect of number 19 it is impossible to ascertain. Crum in his Coptic Documents in Greek Script mentioned and discussed other Bohairic and Semi-Bohairic non-literary documents known. From lines 6f. it seems probable that the present document is a tax-receipt - the tax(διαμοσίον) has come into our possession without any ambiguity(ελπίζομεν). For the significance of this document and in particular the occurrence of the nome of Busiris in line 6 see above chapter VI, also chapter VIII p.232 and elsewhere.

(margin)

[ ... ]ΜΩΝΑ[Ε]ΤΗΡΙΟΝ
πας πιγιοπ[ ][π][μο]νατηριον ειτοτ ἀν
[ ... ]ΧΙΤΟ [ ]κοξι τε [ ... π]ικαρπος τε
[ ... ]ια ξηπε τε πιου ην[ι]πυς[πι] απιτιμοι ι ετοτεν
[ακεποι]μαθηβαί [π]αινοκ παπα ἕλια
[ ... ]ΤΟΥΧ[ ... ]μεθορε ×[τ] ηα[ ... ]ανοκ παπα αβραμ
[ ]φιν[ ]μετερω (blank)

10 [ ιαγ. λ ἀπα 2[ ]ακαριά
[ ξηπε]περμεθορε +

(margin)
151 (continued)

Verso: (different hand, not part of the text on the recto.)

(margin ?)

12

[Ἀ πλάος Τ]

13

[ΝΤΛΝΠΝ] (blank) (broken ?)

3 - 4. "the monastery, through me ἀνουπ, the administrator(δοκητής) of this same monastery...", cf. similar passages in 100, 102, 103 etc.

5. Perhaps οὐφακτοῦ ἀνουπ(Κοιλι) (J.W.B.Barns).

6. Χη'ε, perhaps again in line 11. In view of the context, it seems probable that this is an example of the Bohairic Χη' here meaning 'year' instead of the only meaning given by Crum: Dictionary pp. 777b 1. of 'hour'; I may compare the Fayyumic cen meaning both 'year' and 'hour' which is clearly the equivalent of the Bohairic Χη. We could thus translate Χη'ε as "in this 15th year". A further example of Χη meaning 'year' may perhaps be found in the very interesting inscription from Berlin which was last published by M.Cramer: Koptische Inschriften im Kaiser-Friedrich Museum zu Berlin, number 9694 p.30. The dialect of that inscription is a remarkable mixture of Bohairic and non-literary Sahidic forms. Lines 11 - 14 read as follows: Ἀγο ταμι Βολ ζν κομι σου cooy παςοτ παςον Ταβληντι μπιμ πικκλος. The strange ταβληντι in line 13 have puzzled the various editors from Stern(Koptische Grammatik p. 438) onwards. I would propose to read the passage as follows: Ἀγο (Ν)ταμι (Ε)Βολ ζν κομι σου cooy μπιμ παςοτ παςον (Ν)ταμι Χη-μητι (Ν) μπιμ πικκλος. For the omission of the Ν in six instances see chapter VIII par. 80; for Βολ = εβολ see chapter VIII par.20; for ταβληντι = (Ν)ταμι (Ε)μητι see chapter VIII par.15; for έμητι = Χη-μητι see chapter VIII par 124; it may be noted that άμεοτ is the Bohairic form(δοτοτ) for εβολ, the Fayyumic form would be εβατ or αβατ. The μπιμ is clearly superfluous after έμητι,
but parallels for such superfluous additions could easily be found. We can thus translate: 'and he came out of the sixth day of the month Paoni in this tenth year (ΣΤ-ΜΗΡΙ) of the cycle.'

6. Perhaps τε in this line, also in line 5, stand for ιντε, Bohairic genitive.

7. ομφιαὶ for ἀμφιβολία, cf. line 6 τιμοεῖ for δημόσιον.

8. It seems that Papa Elias both 'assented' and 'was witness'.


11. περμεθερε difficult, for περμεθρε; ?


MARRIAGE-CONTRACT

(b 3; d 145b,c,d) 5 by 15 inches, complete. For the script see Plate IV,6.

This is one of the most interesting documents found at Bala'izah. A full translation was published by Crum in W.M.Fl.Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh, the double volume, p.42 par.104. Coptic marriage documents are extraordinarily rare and only four other documents have so far been published. For a full discussion of these see in particular W.Till, Die Koptischen Eheverträge in Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Festchrift ... Joseph Bick, Wien 1948, pp.627 - 638, and references there. The present document was fully discussed by G. Moller in Ä.Z. vol.IV(1918) pp.67 - 74. Möller pointed out the remarkably close relation of this document with late Egyptian and Demotic marriage contracts and assumed that the Bala'izah document must be very old. The script, however, would seem to point to the seventh or eighth century as the date of the document, the same date as the rest of the non-literary manuscripts found at Bala'izah. When looking through unpublished Coptic papyri in the British Museum recently, I found two further documents relating to marriage: one a marriage contract in many ways resembling Ryl.139, the
other a deed of divorce, which is the only document of this kind which has so far become known in Coptic. I am publishing both these documents jointly with Professor B. Balogh in *Miscellanea Gerolamo Vitelli* IV (1953).

The dialect of the document shows some interesting features, especially the use of γ for η in both Greek and Coptic words: μοναστήριον, ἔμπραγμα, τριμύκσιον, πλυν, χαρτυς and μνημειον, νευτή, cf. γυμναι for αγυμνὸν = γυμνὸν. On this and other dialectical variations see the relevant paragraphs in chapter VIII.

---

1. Ἔν ονοματὶ δούχυ θυγατρος γε τον Νικ. γε τω αγιω Πνατος η αγια γραφει ανοκ βικτωρ

2. παυε ἀνακαρε πρεσβυτερος μν τεχμάλλαυ τεβροομπε μν εισογάνης πευκοβ χνον εμ


4. τουε νανθυρια [νπωλ]...[]νπομος νουμ[η]π τοτοις χε επιδυ ειπτρε πνουτε ουωμ ετ

5. ρεσωτρ μνημειον ου καλμος ετνανου[η] ηθε νουμε ναυ μελεχθερος αυω νθε νεομε

6. κανεα[β]υ ντε παι αητι νε. νουμας ναολ[ο] κρ μν ου τριμύκσιον νουη νουας ετερει εγον ε

7. εβουν επανη γως ελευθερος ανοκ εωτων χε νηκαλαφροη

8. ουδε οε ινεονοξε [ε][ε][ο]λ. αξν ετια ερε νομος νευτη πλυν 

9. νεον ναολοκ γαπειων ντο εω τε νιαδη ερεγιανουλου έβωλ εινατη

10. επονωρξ ουν αις αν πιχαρτυς Χ εκ με άπιε κυ δι ια ανοκ 

11. μεταωρπεαι τικτηο[ι] επι[π]χαρτυς Χ (blank)

---

(margin)
1. Aoy for toy; similarly line 3 Anoyic for Toyic see chapter VIII par. III.

2. 3nmp for kai toyioy (sic!)

3 - 4. tye tye dittography for tye.

4. Anoy; we should have expected tyn, I cannot parallel this.

Emph 3nmp; enelH is generally followed by the 1st. or 2nd. Perfect, I do not know of another example where it is followed as here by 3nmp. Clearly a Greek-Coptic tautology like enelH, mak, etc.

5. Cnme for Cnme; see chapter VIII par. 108.

6. Cnday by dittography for Caay = Cnday, for y = e; see chapter VIII par. 25. Cnbe for Cnbe is of some significance; see chapter VIII par. 27.

6 - 7. etrpoet eon = eon enapH; Crum in Petrie: Gizeh and Rifeh, the double volume, p. 42 notes: "either read etrpoet eon enapH or translate: 'come as being related, to my house' cf. eon eon in the Jeme deeds". But eon eon only occurs three times in the Jeme deeds: J. 8817 'come near to the holy place'; 10659 'I have come near unto my end (death)'; and J. Sch. 555 'holy fathers who are near unto God (i.e. departed)'. eon by itself without eon occurs frequently in the Jeme deeds but only in the meaning of 'comply with'. Crum in his Dictionary too does not cite any example for the meaning he here suggested of 'to be related'. Hence it seems almost certain that eon eon enapH is a dittography for eon enapH, cf. above lines 3 - 4 tye tye for tye and line 6 Cnday for Cnday. For eon = eon see chapter VIII par. 56.

7. Anypa; this is frequently found for Anyp both at Thebes and very commonly in the Faiyum and the surrounding districts, but it occurs rarely in the region from Aphrodito to Ashmunein. For Theban examples see Ep. vol. I pp. 25f., adding C. O. 31514 and V. C. 31.
the Fayyum and its neighbourhood I have found the following: B.M. 530^23^, 583^19^, 586^8^, V.C.100^5^.

It is also particularly common in literary manuscripts from that region especially in the Morgan Collection, cf. J.Drescher: Apa Mena p.18a lines 6 and 14, p.19b line 2, p.20a line 8 etc. Compare also μηρα in 102^18^ and note there; see above chapter VIII par.79A.

7. μνεμοι for μνιν μνοι or μνιν μνοι; see chapter VIII par.78(and 82)
8. ἐξοξε mistake for ἐνοξε.
9. ἑφατί for ἓφατι; see chapter VIII par.129.
10 and 11. Χ stands for the more usual Χ, see above 116 note 4.
10. ἐκ for ἐγερφη, δε for ἀδικτίων.
11. μεταφρασς for μεταφρασσε; see chapter VIII par.5b.

Translation:

In the name of God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; the Holy Trinity.

I Victor the son of Makare the priest(προσβετεοσ) and his mother Tegroompe(2) and Jōhannēs his elder brother in the monastery (μοναστεριον) of the holy(τεο) Apollō in the nome(νομ) of the town (πόλις) Sbeht(3) I am writing to Tsophia(4) the daughter of Anthyria(5) from[...] in the nome(νομ) of the town(πόλις) Shōtep(6), saying:

Since God desired that we should be joined together in a good wedlock(γάμος) like every free(ελεύθερος) man and every wise woman, because of this I have given you half a solidus and a trimesion of gold as wedding-gift(μνημι) so that you may come into my house as a free(ελευθετεοσ) person. I for my part (undertake) that I shall not despise (κρατέοντας) you more than as it were my own body(σώματι), nor shall I be able to throw you out without lawful(νομος) cause(ατίκαι). If I wish to throw you out, I shall pay six solidi(9) for this matter. And you for your part are situated likewise(10): If you desire to go your way alone, you shall pay this penalty(πρός τεμον).
For your security, therefore, I have drawn up this document.

Written month Athyr 23, indiction 11. I Victor and his father and his mother and his brother who have already written, we assent.

(1) 'the priest' here clearly refers to the father Makare and not to the son Victor, since in Eastern churches, down to the present day, priests may marry before but not after ordination; the Coptic text, however, could be interpreted in both ways.

The question may well be raised what status Victor and his relatives had in the community of Apa Apollo. That Victor himself was not a member of that community seems certain from the fact that he marries, and his mother, perhaps also his brother, too did not belong to it community. The connecting link with the monastery was most probably the father Makare the priest. To forsake wife and children in the world for the sake of religion was quite a normal and accepted practice in those times—see Ep.vol.I p.132 esp. note 5 there. On the other hand we have evidence that such monks did not break all contact with their near relatives, but continued to take a very real interest in the well-being of these. A clear example of this we have in the testament of the monk Paham (J.67) where the father, the monk Paham, plays a very important part in the life of his son Papnou, who had contracted an unfortunate marriage against his father's will. Nevertheless, Paham out of his own means continued to provide for his son until the son's death. Thus in the present document the father Makare had probably left his wife and two sons in the world and had become a monk in the monastery of Apa Apollo, but had continued to maintain contact with them. When the important occasion of the younger son's wedding arose it was natural for the family to assemble in the monastery of Apa Apollo, in particular to obtain the father's
blessing. The father assents to the document (line 10) and the
document is deposited for greater safety in the monastery.

(2) For this name cf. Crum: Dictionary p. 829a.

(3) Sbeht was the Greek Apollonopolis Parva, see chapter III p. 15.

(4) Tsophia is the name Sophia with the Coptic article τ added, cf. in
this collection names like Trashe, Tsomanites etc.

(5) Anthyria recurs as ἀνθεφα in Hall p. 68 and Ep. 163; also once in
Preisigke: Namenbuch as ἀνθεφα

(6) Shotep was the Greek Hypsele.

(7) For ἐλευθερος cf. B.M. 4469 and Ep. 268 note 4. Crum in his notebook
20 (in the Griffith Institute, Oxford) notes also Z. 269 ὑπερελευθέρως καὶ
ἐπὶ ὅπως ἐν ὑπερελευθέρως ἁν ἐπὸνοοὔκ ὡσ, and Borgia 268 (Δ) μὲν
ἐπὶ ὅπως ἐνεκαὶ ὡσ ἀναμένασθαι; see now Till in Le Museon
LXIV, 251ff.

(8) For the word γαν see Crum: Dictionary p. 574b and references there.
Cf. also Till in the article cited above pp. 636ff.

(9) It is interesting to note that the same penalty of six solidi is al-
so found in the Coptic deed of Divorce which is mentioned in the
introduction above, as also in the majority of the Greek late By-
zantine deeds of divorce.

(10) For ἕναι meaning 'likewise' cf. Matth. XX, 5 and Luke X, 37. Crum:
Dictionary p. 645a translates this passage: 'whilst thou (bride) hast
like (rights)'.
572 153 (continued)

Verso: (docket) ———

4

[broken]

Translation:

...you drew up the promise (λόγος) for him concerning you...]

if he has not anything... beyond its validity (1).

(1) or: 'beyond his power'.

154

CONTRACT.

(d 21) 9 1/2 by 10 1/2 inches, incomplete. Uncials, see Plate IV,7. Originally this must have been a very large document. The subject-matter is uncertain. It was drawn up by the community of a village. On the Verso so 245, later.

[broken ?]

[broken]

...
15. Perhaps the first line.
12. out for oyw, see chapter VIII par. 57A.
13. 'NTAYA'ATH, 'NTAYANA'AKA, the use of the second perfect seems unusual.
14. 'NOYAN'ATNOEI for NOYAN'TATNOEI, see chapter VIII paragraphs 83 and 90.

Translation:

(broken ?) we Ianne(1) the son of the late Plakētas(2) and Victor the son of [.....] Severos and Pehēu(3) the son of Mēna the βοηθοῦ (4) and Chael[..... the son of the] late Apollo and Theodōros the deacon(δικόνονος) the steward(δικοκατηγορού) the son of the late Anoup[.....] and Apa Kyre the son of Mēna and Aire(6) the son of the late[..... - 5 -] and Sarapamōn his brother and Paule (the son of) Hale(7) and Anoup[.....] Phausta and Petros (the son of) Hale(7) and Moui(8) (the son of) Severos and Makare[.....] and George the deacon(δικόνονος) and Bēs(9) (the son of) Shamashoule(10) and Philothe[..... the] son of the late Theophile and Paulos the priest[.....] Victor and Phoibamōn (the son of) Paule and Zacharias the deacon(δικόκατηγορού) and [also] the rest of the husbandmen(11) of our whole village[.....] kouī, we are writing to Mēna the σώμακοφ(12) the son of the late Enōch from this[same] village[..... in this] same nome(τοκ) saying: we gladly acknowledge(δικοκατηγορού) all of us together and were persuaded(πειθεῖν) with a[.....] not being[.....] nor being deceived(κνώκατείν) nor being compelled(κνώκατείν)[nor.....] nor is it ignorance nor in any matter of pretext(φασμα) we have agreed(πειθεῖν) with you, with our intention towards you with a straight-forward heart and[.....]

(1) This name recurs in this collection 244[2] and in a small fragment d 128b( ]προφ + ετν μακων ΙΑΝΝΕ ΙΑΝΝΕ.). It is also found in B.M.113123, 11427, Ryl.384 and Krall 7712; it occurs as ΙΑΝΝΕ P.Lond.IV 143243, and B.M.114511 and as ΙΑΝΝΕ B.M.11802; cf. Krall: Mitth. P.E.R.V,p.
27. It is probably a shortened form of the name Johannès, cf. Serne for Serênos, Kolthe for Kollouthos, etc.

(2) This name is known from the Martyrdom of Plakêtas the general who on being baptised assumed the name Eustathios, see B.Mar.pp.102ff.

The name is very rare in Coptic texts, cf. \(\text{πλακουδος, πλακυντος, πλακιδος}\) in P.Lond.IV (see index) and \(\text{πλακοτος}\) S.B. I 243; cf. \(\text{πλακυτια}\) Jern.8. The name is clearly derived from the Latin word 'placidus'.

(3) This name again Krall 1452 and elsewhere; cf. also \(\text{πεσμος, πασις, πινος, πις, κοκκινος}\), and the Greek \(\text{πλακευ}\).

(4) On this title see chapter V p.35.

(5) 'the steward' is added above the line.

(6) I am unable to find this name elsewhere; Atre cannot be read here.

(7) On this name see Crum: Wadi Sarga 56 note and references there. As Crum points out it is scarcely the Muslim \(\text{خليفة}\) in this context.

(8) Moui, lit. 'the lion', recurs in a small fragment d 82d as \(\text{κολινδος, κολινις}\). Preisigke: Namenbuch cites only two examples, both from P.Lond.IV.

It recurs Grohmann: Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library vol.III 16756; B.M.1027, 1227, also 1102(fourth century); Ryl.122; Hall p. 113; Maspero: Bawit 390, 391, 454. Cf. also \(\text{παναμος}\) here 27611.

(9) On this name cf. Preisigke: Namenbuch; in Coptic again B.M.Or.6201 A 31a line 2.

(10) Perhaps again in a small fragment g 39(legal) \(\text{ανδραμωνοι, άνδρωνοι}\). I am unable to find this name elsewhere; cf. \(\text{ανωνυμος}\) in P.Lond.IV 1419 line 123 al.


(12) On this official see Bell: P.Lond IV 1416 note; the main function of this official was that of carrying letters. The title recurs in this collection in 1796 and a small fragment Ms.Greek Class d 89d \(\text{σεμλα καλος}\).

(13) The phrase 'we gladly acknowledge' recurs B.M.1073, Ryl.134 and elsewhere. Cf. also J.596 and 666 (Crum).
(g 24) Perhaps same hand as 102. From a legal document.

1. πτοοὐν κειοοϋτ, see chapter IV p.24.


6. ηδων for εξων, see chapter VIII par.124.

156
CONTRACT

(e 61; d 114b,c,d) On the Verso 157, later?

Document issued by the κοινωτής of an ἐπολκιον.

(margin)

5 6αρων μποου νεοοὐ[ ]

[ ]κε[ ]]

[ ... ]σαρων μποου νεοοὐ[ ]

[ ]κε[ ]]

λάαν 2αρ[ ]

πενίωσε ν[ ]

10 [ ]ιεν[ ] (broken)
1. το&̆ρ̆ε for τος, see chapter VIII par.2h.
   τοπεῐτ̆υ for τ-ε̆στοικιο̆ν .

3. το&̆ρ̆ε, probably Rifeh, see Crum in Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh p.41; it
   probably recurs in 2793, cf. also Togo Mina, Le Martyre d'Apa Epima
   p.XXI and references there; cf. το&̆ρ̆ε 29110,18,32112.

4. μο&̆ν for μμο̆ν, see chapter VIII par.78.

CONTRACT

(e 61; d 114b,c,d) On the Verso 156, earlier?

The document was probably a deed of sale, cf. line 8.

(margin)

157

158

AGREEMENT

(f 37)
Translation:

... the least deacon (δωκονος) and Victor, the brethren (οι μοναχοι) of the monastery of Apa Apollo in the nome of the town Sbeht (1) we are writing to ... the priest and monk (μοναχος) of this monastery (μοναχος της του Μοναχος) saying: Since some who mocked every one mocked us, we went when you had sought the fields (2) (broken).

Docket: Agreement (δομολογία) executed (broken).

(1) For the lacuna cf. 100\(^1\) - 2 etc.

(2) The restoration is very doubtful.

---

**159**

**CONTRACT**

(f 43; f 51) Uncials. Same hand as 310, 335, 336, 365.

Translation:

... the least deacon (δωκονος) and Victor, the brethren (οι μοναχοι) of the monastery of Apa Apollo in the nome of the town Sbeht (1) we are writing to ... the priest and monk (μοναχος) of this monastery (μοναχος της του Μοναχος) saying: Since some who mocked every one mocked us, we went when you had sought the fields (2) (broken).

Docket: Agreement (δομολογία) executed (broken).

(1) For the lacuna cf. 100\(^1\) - 2 etc.

(2) The restoration is very doubtful.
10. (between the lines) τάκτε, the α is corrected; perhaps read ἀγωγέ.

Translation:
(broken) ..... through me(1) Ἀπα Ἀμμώνη the priest and [prior(2) .....] and Ioutathe(3) saying: Since we(4) [.....] anything for the work of the monastery(μοναστηρίου)[.....] gave them to us this day [.....] (lines 5 and 7 obscure, between them a gap) [.....] give it and you gave it[.....] for we agreed(πέμψαμεν) and[.....] you for this very matter for ever(5)[.....] we besought you[.....] (broken).

(1) For the context cf. 1001 - 2, 1021 - 5, 1031 - 4 etc..
(2) Ἀπα Ἀμμώνη as superior occurs elsewhere, see index.
(3) I cannot find this name elsewhere, but cf. 107 B.M.6243.
(4) The general sense of these lines is probably as follows: Since we required ... and did not find any for the work of the monastery, we came and besought you and you gave them to us this day ...
   cf. 102, 103 etc..
(5) There is an obscure note added above this line.

160

CONTRACT

(£ 60; d 76g; d 84e; d 151c) Few ligatures. On the Verso 218, earlier.

(broken)
Translation:

(lines 1 - 8 are too fragmentary to permit a translation) lines 9 - 14:

....]tenth(?) indication ...(?)[...]in [the monastery (?)] of Apa Apollo which are these: seven solidi[...]trimesion as expenses (ἀνάλομα) and three solidi for the monastery of (?) Apa Apollo; that is (τοῦτο ἔστιν) seven solidi[...]seven (?) for us, the half for me - I'm my brother' (1) Pa[...

(1) The title 'my brother' here as elsewhere merely signifies that the
person in question is in monastic orders, cf. Index.

161

CONTRACT ?

(g 29; d 94a) Semi-crude Hand.

[margin]

1. Papostolos rather uncertain here; this name again 192^8 and 300^10.

The only interest of this scrap is that it preserves the formula \( \text{NATAN NATNOMOC NATLAAY NAMPHOBOLIA} \), which does not occur elsewhere in this region, but is very common further north. On this formula see the Appendix to Spiegelberg: *Ein Koptischer Vertrag* in *Abhandl. d. kgl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* vol. XVI 3 (1917) pp. 83 f.; cf. also here 1177–8.

164

CONTRACT

(*48*) Uncials.

\( \text{N} + \text{AKONIA} \)

\( \text{A EUNPTOW} \)

\( \text{NITOPOS NOYWT (?)}\)

\( \text{BE ENAHEY} \)

\( \text{CH NT TAY} \)

\( \text{XE EI OVK M} \)

\( \text{N]EN [X]IOYE} \)

(broken)
165 - 170

The unusual oath-formulae in these documents is discussed in chapter VII.

165

SETTLEMENT?

(f 98; d 63a; d 150b) Few ligatures; same hand as 268.

(broken)

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{[\ldots]} \\
\text{[\ldots]} \\
\text{[\ldots]} \\
\text{[\ldots]} \\
\end{array} \]

11 ΕΥΩΡΧ ΝΑΚ ΔΙΣΜ ΠΙΧ[ΑΡΤΗΣ]
ΝΑΚ ΕΙΩΡΧ ΜΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΙΝΑΝ
ΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΜΗ ΝΕΩΛΗ[Α Ν ΑΠΑ]
ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΕΠΙΚΙ[\ldots]

15 [ΝΑΚ] ΠΡΟΣ ΤΥ ΒΟΜ + ΕΙΕ [Μ' ΠΛΕΡ Φ]
\\
ΣΩΙ Μ + ΑΝΟΚ[\ldots]
ΤΕΤΩΝΗΡΠΕ\[\ldots] Τ[\ldots] ΣΤΗΧΕ [21]
[\ldots] ΝΑΣΩΜΙΩΝ ΝΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ

19 [\ldots] ΑΝΟΚ ΓΟΥΡΩΝ Τ[\ldots]
2. Not γαμμαλήωσαντε.
6. [Δω]λεκατης supplied from line 16.
12. αυτος the η is not certain, but there was some letter between α and ηνούτακε, perhaps corrected.
14. The [ε] makes it probable that we ought to supply [η[ηεκή] here, cf. I117, 166\textsuperscript{5}, 167\textsuperscript{2}, 168\textsuperscript{1}; see chapter VII.
15. The second lacuna supplied from lines 4 - 5.
17. Definitely not [ημηρήσας]; the person was therefore a woman. On [ημηρήσας] for [ημηρήσας] see chapter VIII par. 2g.

Translation:
(broken)....]Now I agree (δομολογεῖαι) [....] the dwelling-place\textsuperscript{(1)} or concerning[....] I have no more dealings with you from this day onwards which is the seventh day of the month Parmoute in this year the twelfth indiction. And [at any] time, if I wish [to prosecute] you I shall pay four solidi [to you] and this document (χρητηγης) shall remain valid as it stands\textsuperscript{(2)}.
(Verse) As a security for you I have drawn up this [document] for you and I swear by almighty God and the prayers [of Apa] Theodōros the [bishop]\textsuperscript{(3)} [that I shall adhere for you] to its validity. + Written [month Parmoute \textsuperscript{7}, indiction 12.+] + + + I [. . . ]\textsuperscript{(4)} who has already written, I assent (στοχεεις) through my cross-signs (στοχεεις, στοχεεις)\textsuperscript{(5)}. I Houron\textsuperscript{(6)} [. . . ] (broken)

\textsuperscript{(1)} Or: 'cell'; see Crum: Dictionary p. 580a.
\textsuperscript{(2)} Lit. 'in its manner'.
\textsuperscript{(3)} Theodōros the bishop is probably the same person as the Theodōros of 232\textsuperscript{6} and 235\textsuperscript{11}.
\textsuperscript{(4)} A woman, see above note on line 17.
\textsuperscript{(5)} For this phrase see I11\textsuperscript{12} note.
\textsuperscript{(6)} The name Houron is uncertain; I cannot find it elsewhere.
(f 68) Much ligatured. A good deal missing on either side.

(broken)

[NAI ETAE OY[
[ΜΥΝΝΑ] ΝΑΚ[
[ΕΛΕΤΗΙ ΕΚΕΛΕΤΗΙ[
[ΝΑΤΑΛΑΥ ΝΑΜΦΙΒΟΛΙΑ

5 epικ" αλω ΠΟΥΔΑΙ[
] + μ μεσωκα κα δη = +[
φο[ΒΑΜΜΩΝ ΜΝ ΦΙΛΟΦΕ[
Τ]ΑΜΑΚ ΕΝ ΠΑΣΩΗ[

9 [ΝΑΜ ΌΥΝ ΠΕ + ...[
(margin ?)

167
AGREEMENT

(ε 67; δ 157a) Ligatured.

(broken)

[ειωρκ μηνούτε απαντόκρατ[ωρ ΜΗΝ Ν(ε]
[αλη Ν] ηπικ ητεπύλενε ΜΗΜΟΚ
[ειωρκ ΝΑΚ ΑΙΚΩΝ]ΤΙΑΣΦΑΛΙΑ ΝΑΚ ΕΙΣΤΟΙΧΕ[
[ερχ + (ι) ΑΝΟ]Κ ΙΣΑΚ + ΤΗΧΕΙ (ι) ΑΙΣΚΑΙ

5 [ΝΤΑ] ΑΝΑ ΙΣΑΚ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ ΝΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΝΤΡ (ΑΕ)
(margin)

Verso: (docket) ———

6 ΝΓΦ ΜΗΝΙ ΠΑΧΩΝ ...[

5. ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ for ΕΠΙΤΡΕΠΕΙ, see chapter VIII par. 157b.
6. ΝΓΦ for ΕΓΓΡΑΦΟΝ.

Translation:

(broken) ..... and I swear by]almighty God and the[prayers of ... the]
bishop (τού Πιστού) not to lead you astray (ναλεντ). [As a security for you I have drawn up] this agreement (σφάλειο) for you and I assent [to it.]

(Second hand) Isac I assent. (First hand) I wrote [this agreement as]

Apa Isac urged (περιστέρα) me (and) I am witness.

Docket: Deed (τοῦ Πιστού) month Pachon[...]

168

DEED OF SALE

(e 53; d 171b, c) Ligatured. Very fragmentary.

(broken)

1 [πενεκρ]

2 [κατα Καλφος Νιμ Ταρνοις]

3 (gap ?)

4 [πρασις +]

5 1β Καλφος

6 Ἀνοκ γεωργε πετω [πνεαμα] τις θ[κε]

7 [Νιακ τιο Νεμέτρε [+]]

(margin)

5. 1β for β of 'twelfth indiction'?

169

FRAGMENT

(g 50) Another fragment g 51 is written by the same hand, but is probably not part of this document.

(broken)

αλη [λι] νεμειωτ [επεκορφ ουν αι [εμι]

ερος νταβίκ.

5 ψε βοους ντα παη[ωτ](margin)
5. ψε θοῦν Ἐθε; see Crum: Dictionary p. 836a "sack-weaver".

170

FRAGMENT

(d 81a) Very small script.

(broken)

1 [.Χίκοτρε]ς έταρχέ χων ΝΚ[ΑΙΡΟC ΝΙΜ]
2 ταρνποεις ΝΑΚ προς τόμου[
3 μ φακα δή είς ενδεκατης + [ 

(margin ?)

171

FRAGMENT

(f 57) Much ligatured.

(broken)

1 ε[γ]υορχ οὑν ΑΝΜΑΝ
2 ε[ρ]χων εταρνποεις προς τε[.]
3 (Σ) πρυςιοουτ τιστυχε
4 τιστυχε + 

(margin)

2. εταρνποεις; we should have expected ταρνποεις, see chapter VIII par. 159.

172

FRAGMENT

(d 166c)

(broken)

[.]. Ν[.]. ουν[ 
εγωρχ ουν[ 
[.]. γω ενωρ[κ 
εχων [ 
5 τα[ρ]νποεις α[.][ (broken)
5. ταρνεάρες; we should have expected ετρνεάρες, see chapter VIII par. 159.

173
FRAGMENT

(g 56) On the Verso 298, later.
(two lines illegible)

3 [. . .]ω προς ἔνταϊπαρ[άκαλε]
4 [ἀπα] παύει πνὸ ταρνεύμενε
(broken)

174
FRAGMENT

(g 54; d 104a) Palimpsest, the earlier text now illegible.

This fragment is of some interest as it was almost certainly written in Babylon; line 3; ]I being in Babylon I am[ witness as I heard it through those who[drew it up].
(broken)

5 +ανοκ παύρε πμακ[
II ] +ανοκ μνάνα πόε εν πμακ, κολλ[ου]
(margin)

5. παύρε; a name commonly found at Thebes, e.g. S.T.41219, 31815.

175
FRAGMENT

(d 146b; d 71ı)
176

FRAGMENT

(e 69)  This is one of the rare cases where in addition to the father's name, that of his mother is also given. Krall p.3 cites three instances known to him (Krall 40¹, 129², 223¹).

---

(broken)

f |

(Anok philote iacak these ti o nunteo x

(broken)

These evidently stands for these, so 248⁹. I cannot find this name elsewhere, but it is probably the feminine form of the name these. The x stands for the more usual +, see 116 note 4.

177

FRAGMENT

(d 132b; d 134a) Uncials.

---

(broken)

1 | Anok iacak piechisto[c]

2 | Nkonomoc ti sthox [+] (broken)

For this person see 116²¹. Konopoc for oikonomoc.
From what remains this appears to be from a legal document which was written round the letters of a protocol.

\[ \text{(broken)} \]

\[ \text{(margin)} \]

3. Ἀναά; cf. Ἀραχλτ in Freisigk: Namensbuch.

5. 'the Lord God' seems strange here.

Verso: Remains of a protocol and a note (docket ?) in minuscule hand.

6. ἐκωκ probably for ἐκωκ, cf. chapter VIII par. 82.

6. γυμμ(ὁχο)σ; see 154 note 12.

ἐπὶ probably for ὑπεραμ; cf. Krall 248 ὑπεραμ which is the Arabic form (אברע) of the name Abraham.

7 - 8. Obscure.
Three letters from the Arab governor Kurrah b. Sharīk, governor from A.D.709 to 714. A large number of letters from this governor were found at Aphrodito, written in both Greek and Arabic (see especially P. Lond.IV; P.Ross.Georg.IV; Becker: Papyri Schott-Reinhardt and Becker in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie vols.XX and XXII), and one letter in Arabic was found at the neighbouring Wadi Sarga(W.S.p.9). While 181 and 182 are very similar to the documents in other collections, 180 presents very considerable difficulties, see 180 introduction. 181 was re-used to write a Coptic letter which explains its presence in this collection, and only 182 seems to have been addressed to the monastery at Bala'izah, though this document too was apparently re-used. 181, 182 and the first two lines of 180 are written in a minuscule hand, very similar to that in other letters from this governor.

180

(d 48) 3½ by 10½ inches, complete. The first two lines are written in Greek in a minuscule, the rest in Coptic in a cursive hand.

Although the first two lines expressly state that this is a letter from the governor Kurrah b. Sharīk, there are several reasons against this: Firstly we find on the verso traces of an earlier Greek liturgical text in a hand very similar to - but not the same as - the famous liturgical fragment found at Bala'izah (see above chapter II p.7). The lines of that text are not complete, and thus the papyrus was broken before the present document was written, as it is complete. It seems very strange that the notary writing on behalf of the governor should have made use of papyrus which had already been inscribed on one side. Secondly all other letters known from this governor are written in either Greek or Arabic or both, but no letter is known which is written as the present one in Coptic; but this is not in itself a decisive objection. Thirdly it seems very unlikely that the notary writing on behalf of the governor would have written(line 3): 'I have received the
letter from you the god-loving dear honoured brother'. On the other hand, no attempt has been made to erase the first two lines and there is no apparent reason to suppose that the present document was a writing exercise. Unfortunately the Coptic text is too obscure to permit us to draw any definite conclusions.

1. X for μοσ, unparalleled. έρωποκον mistake for έρωπιοκον.
2. ο' μυποου... or ο' λαπιου... obscure.
3. On the use of θεοφειδε here see 191 note 2 below.

ετίθητη for ετίθητη, see chapter VIII par. 38.

Translation:

(Greek) + In the name of God. Kurrah son of (?) Sharīk, governor, to you from the έποικίον Hagios Kollouthos(1) (in the) pagarchy of Antinoou(2) .....(?).

(Coptic) + I have received the letter from you the god-loving (θεο- φειδε) dear honoured brother. As regards the matter concerning which you wrote to me [....](rest obscure).

(1) On this έποικίον of Saint Kollouthos see Grohmann: Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library vol. III, 167 note 22 note and references there.
(2) On the name of Antinoou see 114 note 3.
order for sailors: καράβιον and τακτιον. For similar orders see P. Lond. IV 1408, 1410 which are nearly identical.

1. κορεξ νι σφεεκ σμμβουλος μην τοις απο εποικ

2. Παξεκοξ χαξιον νατικι καρεκ & ακκ

3. τροφ μδ . . . . [ ]

Verso: Beginning of a Coptic letter, different hand, later:

5. + τιγνινε αγω [τιαρη]ζε ητεκ

(broken)

182

(d 126a; d 142a) Letter from Kurrak b. Sharik probably addressed to the monastery of Apa Apollo (see line 2).

1. κοιρεξ νι σφεεκ σμμβουλος

2. Παξεκοξ μν απολλων παρακ

(broken)

Verso: A few letters visible, different hand, later.

183

(d 170a; d 75a; another fragment is d 165c) Uncials. Letter mentioning the Emir (Εμίρ). The Arabic title emir corresponded to the Greek pagarch, see Steinwenter: Studien pp. 8f.

1. Εμιρ

2. Πρεξε λεων Εμη ΑναφορΑ Αναυν εοι[ ]

3. Ενδοξο ταμίρα γη + τωι

(broken)

The fragment is too uncertain to be translated.
Uncials. Written on the verso of a Greek-Arabic protocol. It is presumably the address of a text written on the other side below the protocol.

Palou the son of Paulos ... of the most illustrious (ἐνδοξότατος) emir. +

(1) This is an unusual name, cited once in Preisigke: Namenbuch (P.Lond. IV, 1420173); cf. p. 252 note 2 and references there.

(2) Perhaps some title, but I am unable to identify it.

Ligatured.

Letter from Kasem — the Arabic name — mentioning Babylon. It is interesting to note that Kasem as Muslim makes use of // instead of at the beginning and the end of the letter and the address. On this practice on the part of Muslims see Ryl. p. IX and P.Lond. IV p. XLII; cf. also 130 above where the sign £ is used.

Verso: (address) ————

12 JGHN KASEM //

16 by 3½ inches, complete. The script is much ligatured and extremely difficult to read, see Plate IV, 8. I have
been unable to understand, or read satisfactorily lines 19 - 23, although the additional fragments have supplied much of the missing text here. As Crum did not know the additional fragments, his copy was of no use to me here.

The background to this and the following letter 187 is evidently the ἐν σώματι service. Apart from the usual taxes paid in money and in kind, the Arabs also demanded various kinds of personal (ἐν σώματι) service. In P.Lond.IV we hear of several demands for persons to serve in the Arab navy, cf. here 181 which is such a demand. Other demands were for persons to build the Caliph's palace at Aleppo, see P.Lond.IV 1517, etc. For this personal service in general see P.Lond.IV 1508 introduction and references there.

The person to whom the present letter is addressed is apparently on government service with a local pagarch and the letter among others relates to a request to be made to the pagarch that that person is to be released from this service. The following letter 187 is written by a person on government service under the governor direct, and the writer relates how after an application to the governor he had been released from this service.

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(margin)

† ΤΙΩΧΙΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΙΑΣ

ΠΑΖΕ ΝΠΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΕΚΛΙΝΤ
ΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΧΟΕΟΙ ΝΚΟΝ ΆΙΡΑ
ΟΥΕ ΝΜΑΤΕ ΝΤΑΙΝ ΝΑΚΟΝ
ΠΑΙΔΙΚΟΙ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΕΥΝΗ
ΟΥΑΡΩΤΗ ΝΙΚΕΔΙ ΕΙΟΥΙΝΕ
ΕΤΕΚΛΙΝΤΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΚΟΝ
ΟΥΑΝΤΙΝΑΙ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΤΕ ΠΑΡΑ
ΟΥΕ ΙΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝΕΙ ΤΙΟΕΚ

10 ΞΕ ΝΤΑΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΙΤΟΟΤΚ
ΕΙ ΙΧΟ ΜΕ[?] ΞΕ ΜΝ ΩΚ ΝΕΙ
12 ἐρχετ ὑπὸν Παρᾷ ἑτβηντκ
νὴκακ Εβολ λοιπον
ντερνε έγχτ αναρχ

15 εἰ εγχτ ἐθανοφύκη ημν
ἀν θε νει ἐρχετ ηκεσον
άγω ξένεκ ξοος εν πεκ
ἐγχτ ζε άιερποβου η[

ποείκ τανούοστη ημι

20 μνενερνυ α... ετρε
πεπ[ ἔλεπον]
νμοι[ δω...]

ννταν[...]τν... εινεινα
εςουν νεμακ εινηκ

25 νούε εἰς πνοβ νραμε
κα μοσ ζε αυλει ερχε
ουπλα νάνα άθαμ ετβε
ουκούι νετια ουλπα

πακαλει μμοι νξνου παρχ
(σικ)

30 ετβηντκ έπει εςαγαν

ξνουχ ετβηντκ ουλχκα
(σικ) (σικ) Εβολ

32 (margin, continued on the verso)

(mid) margin,

margin, continued on the verso

Verso: midway down.

33 τιπακαλε[ε] ουν ντεκ
μντσον ξενεκονω

35 εκούτρτορ επει πνουτε
ποουν ζε πεκερνοβε
εν πλα οντανοοκα
νεκοκ ηνηχαν πειεποου
εςαμπε νμοικ άλλα

40 ε[αυθ] ε ακερσους εςαμε
At the top of this page there are traces of an address, illegible.

10. nταει for nταει, cf. line 26 ωιαει for ωιαει.

11. μ[ο]κ, not room for μ[μο]κ, again in lines 26 and 42; see chapter VIII par. 78.

17. ξενεχιωος for ξενεχιωος, again line 34 ξενεκβω; see chapter VIII par. 152.


19. τανωρετημα or τανωρετημα, obscure.

20 - 23. Uncertain and obscure.


30. nηει; the ne is very difficult to explain. I can only suggest that ne here stands for ene and is used to express an unreal conditional clause, but I am unable to parallel this construction; cf. Stern par. 630.

36. πεκεροσαε for πεκεροσαε, see chapter VIII par. 133.

48. co for con (sic!)

50. κοειω for κοειω, see Crum: Dictionary p. 374b.
Translation:

I greet and salute (ἀσπασμόν) the sweetness of you the dear lord and brother. I rejoiced greatly when I found my brother - 5 - the deacon Johannēs coming to you, and I wrote greeting you the dear brother until I see you and my joy be complete, since (ἐπεί) I am delayed. - 10 - For I came away from you saying: There is no delay to come south, we are asking the pagarch concerning you, that he should release you. Then (Ἀνδριάν) when we had come north, the ἀντικύρων (1) - 15 - came north to Apothēkē (2) and we did not find the means to come south another time. And so that you do not say in your heart, I have forgotten to buy the bread ...(?) - 20 - together .....(?)(3) I being in custody with you, I being smitten with sticks (4). - 25 - Behold the superior (Ἀποθέκης) (5) is saying: I shall come south to the place of Ἀποθέκη (6) for some small occasion (κύριον) and we will beseech him to ask the ἀντικύρων - 30 - concerning you. This one, if he were to ask him concerning you, he would release me (7).

Verse: (continued from the recto).

I therefore beseech (παρακαλεῖτε) your fraternity, that you do not continue - 35 - being troubled, since (ἐπεί) God knows that you have not sinned in the slander which has been cast upon you, and he has not permitted this evil to happen to you. But (καταπάπαι) - 40 - if (?) some other matter has happened to us in our littleness (8) we do not know it. God has desired that he should give this small [ ... ] that he should - 45 - ...(?)[...?] .... These I am writing, I greet (ἀσπασμόν) the sweetness of your fraternity. + We shall fare well in the Lord (9). + Behold fifteen - 50 - double loaves I have sent to you. +

(1) The ἀντικύρων at this period was a civil official, often a magistrate; cf. the use of this title in the Jeme deeds and cf. Preisigke: Wörterbuch.

(2) Apothēkē recurs as τὰ ἄνθρωποι in 3034, 10; it is probably the modern
Aboutig on the west bank of the Nile, twenty miles south of Assiout and about five miles from the settlement at Balā'īzah; cf. Sir Alan H. Gardiner: Ancient Egyptian Onomastica vol. II pp. 66ff.

(3) The text is obscure and broken here.

(4) For the passage cf. Ryl. 272 and note 4 there. Unfortunately the context is not clear here and perhaps this related to some previous occasion. It is also uncertain whether we can be translated as I have suggested, and it is certainly unusual in this sense, but I am unable to suggest an alternative translation. Cf. also note 7 below.

(5) On this title see chapter V p. 33; perhaps a civil official rather than the monastic superior is meant here.

(6) In view of what follows it seems probable that Apa Atham is a person here, and not a place-name. Atham presumably stands for the name Adam.

(7) 'he would release me' seems very strange here, we would have expected 'he would release you'; but perhaps 'me' is right in view of the passage above 'I being in custody with you...'. Yet on the other hand from the whole tone of the letter it does not seem likely that the present writer is in custody. That the person to whom this letter was addressed was in some difficulty is obvious from lines 33 to 39, but exactly what had happened is not made clear, perhaps intentionally.

(8) The real sense of this passage is obscure to me.

(9) The regular phrase we find at the end of letters in Coptic is 夤 CON XES 'farewell in the Lord', and this phrase is common throughout Egypt and occurs in the present collection 13 times. In this letter, 18821, 1982 and 22311 we find the unusual phrase 夤 CON XES 'we shall fare well in the Lord'; and in 2242 and 2255 we find a similar phrase 夤 CON XES 夤 CON ORIAC ET OY AAB
we shall fare well by the power of the holy consubstantial Trinity'. The only parallel I can find in texts outside the present collection is Ryl.291 εννετονυλα έτουλαι
'we shall fare well by your holy prayers'. Crum there notes: 'not from the Ashmunain collection' and it seems probable that that letter originally came from the region round Bala'izah.

(c 13; d 63b) 8\% by 11\% inches, width complete. The script is very unusual and in places certain letters are difficult to distinguish, especially η and γ, also π and μ; see Plate V,1. On the Verso (↑) large Arabic Protocol, earlier, and fragment of an account, different hand, later, containing οδηγερε δι[ ]

For the general background of this letter compare 186 introduction.

(broken)

(continued.)
Translation:

(broken)....[and [his] children and Apa Abraham and [his] wife and his children and Nakare and his wife and his children and Phibamou(1) and his wife and his son and Sible(2) and Poukas(3) and his wife and his children and my dear brother Johannes and Ane(4) and Paese(5) and Hor and the rest [...](?) according to name; pray for me all of you - 5 - my brethren in the places(τῶν) of our village Toue[...](7)....] God desired and I (?) went to Babylon(8) being safe by the will of God and I[sent] the letter(ἐν στολή) in to the governor(σύμβουλος); and God desired and he released me(9) and he did not keep me back[...]....(?)(10). Behold
Al-Chalēu (11) took him [.....] he sought after [.....] from me and I did not find one that I ought to give (it) to him, nor did I find a man (12) [.....] he asked] - 10 - the governor (συμβολος) that he should release me. Then (αχωνος) [.....] come north to the place of the emir (13) and that he should receive the letter (παραγωγη) and should give it to Petros and should [.....] and that he should speak [.....] and I be released (14). ...? (15) "As God liveth (16) not a single [.....] passed me by (πληθυνοντας) in Babylon that they should [.....] nor many other villages. Now (αχωνος) brace yourselves up concerning that which [shall happen (?) and do not let (?) your] - 15 - heart suffer for me until [.....] (17) Al-Chalēu. Farewell in [the Lord.]

(1) This spelling of the name Phobiammon recurs Ryl.165 and elsewhere.

(2) The name Sible is not listed in Preisigke: Namenbuch and I can only find it once again in Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 16. Worrell is probably right in comparing Sibylla; cf. Kolthe for Kollouthos, Seme for Serene etc.,


(4) Ane recurs as ΑΝΗ in Kral 149, probable for Anna.

(5) For Paese see Preisigke: Namenbuch, also B.M. (index), Ryl. (index), etc.,

(6) An interesting use of τωρες, here evidently referring to various churches and monasteries in the village; cf. Ep. vol. I pp. 108f., also p. 169 where this passage is cited (not quite correctly).

(7) This village apparently not elsewhere.

(8) Babylon is, of course, the well-known Fustat near Cairo. In Coptic the name is frequently spelt as here πασιλων; thus 185πασιλων, B.M. 593 πασιλων, and Ryl. 380 πασιλων, etc.,

(9) Cf. 186 introduction; could also be translated: 'and I was released'.

(10) Perhaps supply the lacuna ἡμεταμετέχει νυμφαί ετεταχασάται αλλ' ανοίμανι
"and he did not keep me back for even the šαπάρη (of) al-moumenin" which is suggested by 2903, etc.; for this tax see chapter VI.

(11) Al-Chaleu here and in the last line presents serious difficulties. I presume that it must be some Arabic name like جللم ; Professor Kahle informs me that he does not know such a name, but does not consider it impossible. On the other hand it might be an Arabic word which I am unable to recognise.

(12) Unfortunately the lacuna leaves the exact sense of this passage in doubt; perhaps a substitute is required before the writer of this letter can be released.

(13) The emir (م) was the pagarch, see Steinwenter: Studien pp.8ff.

(14) The passage from ἀποτελεύς in line 10 to here probably describes in detail what has already been stated briefly in lines 7 - 10.

(15) Perhaps read μὴ γὰρ ἡμῖν ποιήσης 'Surely God liveth' for μὴ γὰρ ἡμῖν etc., but doubtful.

(16) 'As God liveth', we should have expected 'as the Lord liveth' which is the biblical expression from the Hebrew יִתְנֶה and the Greek Ἰερουσαλήμ, e.g.Ruth III,13. That phrase is sometimes used in Coptic letters, e.g.Jern.115, B.M.1197, Sphinx vol.X, papyri from Alexandria, Ms.Copt.XIII. It may be noted that we find 'God' for 'the Lord' only here and B.M.11505.

(17) If, indeed, Al-Chaleu is a personal name, we might supply the lacuna οὐκ ἔχων ἐπὶ μένα, ἱτο ἤρθαν ἕως ἧς ἤδη μένεσθε until I go away from Al-Chaleu'. For πώς in this sense see Crum: Dictionary p.275a, especially Ryl.289 ἐν τῇ ναῷ πρὸς τὸν ἑλέρδης μοναχὴν youths fled (or: went away) from the monastery'.

188

(c 11; d 65a,b; d 67a,b; d 69a; d 76a; d 89a,b; d 169a) 12 by 9 ½ inches, width complete. Few ligatures, same hand as 189, 190, 191, second
hand; see Plate V, 2. Another three fragments of letters by the same scribe are d 124d, d 150h and d 154b,c; see the Appendix to this document. It may be noted that the present document, being an official application to the monastery is written on good papyrus in a very large hand, while the other letters by this scribe are written in a much smaller hand.

This letter is the only non-literary text in the present collection of which the Coptic text has been published, being printed in W. Till: Koptische Schutzbriefe number 84 (Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo vol. VIII, Berlin 1938). Till published the text of the papyrus from a copy which Crum had sent him, but I was fortunate in being able to find eight further fragments and with the help of the two separate fragments which were known to Crum and were published by Till, I could add another five lines to the main fragment. These additional five lines have not only added to the sense, but have revealed some very interesting dialectical forms, for which see chapter VIII par. 143. I have also been able to make a few minor corrections to the text printed by Till.

This and the following three letters, written by the same person, are among the most interesting in the whole collection. We know the writer's name as Shenoute from 189 and 191. He had evidently been expelled from the monastery for some disobedience (1882-5, 10-11), and with some others had suffered great tribulations (190); and it is clear from all the letters that he was very eager to return. A definite time had probably been fixed when he would be able to return, cf. note 1 below, and when Shenoute wrote 188 this time had passed. He had been warned, however, by the people with whom he was staying, that on his return he would not be treated like the other members of the community, but would be compelled to do some work for the monastery (1888-10). In 188 he makes an official application to the monastery that they should give him a promise by God not to treat him differently from the rest of the community.
Without such a promise he would not be able to return, but nevertheless he is willing to do all he can for the monastery and will send anything required. Especially he asks not to be excluded from their prayers. The request for prayers is also found in the other letters and combined with the evidence of other letters in the collection we hear of an interesting custom prevalent in the monastery, see note 2 below. The mention of Apa Ammône in 188, is of some interest. There is little doubt that this is the same Ammône who appears elsewhere as superior of the monastery, see index. As the present letter was most likely addressed to the superior of the monastery, Apa Ammône is clearly not superior at the time when the letter was written. On the other hand, another letter from Shenoute, 190, is definitely addressed to Apa Ammône as superior since he holds the title Θεώφορος. We may conclude, therefore, that Shenoute’s request for a 'promise by God' was not granted and that he did not return to the monastery, but makes a further application in the later letter 190.
15. Noe'ti sa'loj ma'otn annetnualh' aw eoume tet'riia maaleh ne'loj e'te'riia n'to'oma tao
mon aw e'reyan'ou'mon xriia nou'ou'h katteten bom tao'om e'rou menepato'ti'ut aw e'rito't
thu'tn tou'ine emapa kou'stan'ti ne ou
beytoce an a'pa am'rene nai eic'ari amooy
ennnou'ki an nnetnualh' etoo'lab
(margin)

2 - 3. pi'reyrenoboe awaw nata'ou'ha, confused; either pi'reyrenoboe awaw nata'ou'ha or pi'reyrenoboe nata'ou'ha.

3. nen'to'lyh for nen'totn, see chapter VIII par.80m.

4. n'ta't for nata'ten, see chapter VIII par.143.

5. na'ca's, probable, but not certain.

6. no't for e'to't, see chapter VIII par.114.

7. e'xw for e'xh, see chapter VIII par.87.

9. po'o'ly, practically certain; there is no sign of the ' printed by Till (po.'ly).

po'o'ly e'nno'nt for po'o'ly enno'nt see chapter VIII par.82d.

pro'c th for pro'c th, cf. no'th line 11; see chapter VIII par.22.

no'th, not no'th as printed by Till.

10. xar'ti for xar'ten'ti, see chapter VIII par.143.

lo'co enno'yte for lo'co emno'yte, see chapter VIII par.82d.

11. no'kka't for nke'ka't, see chapter VIII par.138.

n'th for n'th, cf. pro'c th line 9; see chapter VIII par.22.

12. e'gal'ie for e'gal'ie; I am unable to explain the e in front of the


me'-for (mu)n-, see chapter VIII par.82k.

13. no'yu'mo'to see note 10 below.

no'yu'mo'to monac'tra'ih for no'yu'mo'to monac'tra'ih, see chapter VIII paragraphs
80 and 96A.

13. Ἕλπων for ἡλπον, see 189\(^1\)\(^4\) note.

14. μμοτν for μμωτν, again line 15; see chapter VIII par.61.

Τάρκο μμοτν καὶ πνοῦτε for τάρκο μμωτν μπνοῦτε, see chapter VIII par. 82h.

ΝΝΕΤ- for ΝΝΕΤ- , see chapter VIII par.141.

15. ΝΟΣΤ for ΝΟΣΤ, see chapter VIII par. 124.

μμοτν for μμωτν, again line 14; see chapter VIII par.61.

16. ΤΕΤΧΡΙΑ for ΤΕΤΧΡΙΑ, see chapter VIII par.141. On the use of the Greek noun ΧΡΕΙΑ as a verb here see chapter VIII par.157B.


19. πάνα (sic) for πάνα; this spelling of πάνα recurs frequently on Coptic inscriptions, e.g. Quibbell: Saggara 266; B.I.F. vol.III (1903) p.203 line 12; Wülff: Altchristliche Bildwerke etc., zweiter Nachtrag p.8 number 2255; it is also sometimes found in literary manuscripts, e.g. Morgan vol.XXXI p.Κ3 col.1 line 12.

Translation:

(broken) .....[...?]PETRE. I know — I, this sinner and disobedient (one) — that I transgressed all the commandments(ἐντολή) which you commanded me and I am guilty in every sin. — 5 — I wrote(?), therefore, because you told(παραγγέλλω) me as I was going away from you, saying: Come south at (the fixed ?) time\(^1\) and prostrate yourself upon our (deceased) fathers\(^2\). The cares of the ὀσιά\(^3\) did not let me come; and, what is more, if I come again, I shall be seized for even some care\(^4\) of the monastery(Μοναχὸς τῆς ου) as they are advising me — 10 — here\(^5\). And if you will give me a promise(λόγος) by God\(^6\), and I am permitted (to come)\(^7\) into[my]dwelling-place\(^8\) like all the people(λαός)\(^9\), I shall come south; if not, it is not possible for me to dwell(?) within the boundaries\(^10\) of the monastery(Μοναχὸς τῆς ου). Now(λαότην), whether north
or south (11), I adjure you by God, that you do not - 15 - cast me out from you in your prayers. And if you need (χρεία) anything at all (ἔσωμι) in the need (χρεία) of the body (σῶμα), tell us; and if the monastery (μοναστήριον) needs (χρεία) anything within (κατά) our power, tell us concerning it; we will not be disobedient (12). And through you (13) we greet Papa Kōstantīnes (14) and Papa - 20 - Theutose (15) and Apa Ammōne (16). These (things) I am writing; we shall farewell (17) by your holy prayers.

(1) 'at the fixed time' (κατὰ ὁμοιότητα); the passage presents serious difficulties. Crum: Dictionary p. 500a cites two passages for κατὰ ὁμοιότητα and suggests the translation 'from time to time'; yet, on the other hand, while I am unable to adduce further examples for κατὰ ὁμοιότητα, I have found a number of examples for its equivalent κατὰ καιρός and parallels show that it had the same meaning as κατὰ καιρός ἐν ἀν. Thus compare J. 82 43 ἐνωρκ ἀγαθὴ γίνεται ἡ παντοκράτωρ ἡμῖν ἡ Νινέλλη καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐξον κατὰ καιρὸς ἐκεῖνος, similarly Kral 113 and 116 17, with B.M. Or. 6202 (unpublished) ἐνωρκ ἅπαντες πάντες ἡ παντοκράτωρ ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐξον τοῦ ἔνας κατὰ καιρὸς ἐν ἀν. A number of other passages also point to this same meaning: Ryl. 145; J. 78 12, 74, 81 14, 86 16, 89 45, 96 84, 100 62, 106 49, 106 107, 148, 121, all. It may be noted that in nearly all these cases the translation 'from time to time' is not possible. The two passages cited by Crum for κατὰ ὁμοιότητα give good sense if translated like κατὰ καιρός 'at any time' and under the circumstances this translation seems preferable.

Turning to the passage under discussion we are faced with further difficulties: The translation 'at any time' seems unlikely in view of the context, and Till's translation, following Crum, 'come south from time to time' is clearly impossible, if only,
because from the whole letter it is obvious, that the writer is not
thinking of occasional visits 'from time to time', but of a return
once and for all. The question really is, whether the writer had
actually been expelled from the monastery, or whether he had merely
left the monastery because he had been disobedient and was afraid
of the consequences. Only in the second instance the translation
'come south at any time' (i.e. 'come south whenever you desire')
would be admissible. It seems to me, however, that the whole con­
text of the letter speaks against such a conclusion: Firstly, the
danger, that the writer on returning would not be treated as every­
one else, was suggested not by the superior, or superiors, of the
monastery, but by persons with whom the writer was living; second­
ly, the writer had clearly been disobedient which had led to his
leaving the monastery; and thirdly, he had not left secretly, but
had seen the superior, or superiors, before he left, and was told
that he should return, clearly not at any time, but at some defi­
nite date in the future. Under the circumstances we are probably
justified in reading κατά θυροφεία, just as in line 14 we have to
read ητῶν (ι)μονάστηριον. The omission of the definite article
in cases like this is by no means unparalleled and in chapter VIII
par.94 I have collected all examples known to me. In this case
we may translate 'come south at (the fixed) time' and we find a close
parallel to this in another letter from the collection, 202, where
two persons who had been expelled from the monastery ask for per­
mission to return, and they specifically mention 'the fixed time
(προθεσμία) has been completed'. For such periods of penance
after which the offenders might return, cf. Riedel and Crum: Ca­
nons of Athanasius of Alexandria par.27.

(2) 'prostrate yourself upon our fathers' (ἐκ ναῷ ποιότε). Till
translates this: 'und dich unseren Vätern (zu Füssen) wirfst' (and
throw yourself (at the feet of) our fathers). If the writer had
indeed intended to express this, we might have expected him to
write: ΝΓΝΑΛΤΕ ΕΝ ΝΕΥΟΥΕΡΤΕ ΝΝΕΝΙΟΤΕ, cf. P.S.p.61 ος εη ης ης ης
αναλατε ΕΝ ΝΕΥΟΥΕΡΤΕ ΑΚΑΤ η η η η η 'and Martha came forward
and threw herself on his feet and kissed them'. There is, how­
ever, one reference which I owe to Dr.Crum's dictionary slips which
might support Till's translation: Lefort;Pachomius(Sahidic) p.179
lines 15 f.: αλλα ευςανπαστν εξωκ ηνπασακε ητεκαλε η ητεκαρ
'But we throw ourselves upon you (St.Antony) and we kiss your head
or your mouth'.

But Till's translation becomes extremely unlikely in view of
three passages in the other letters of our writer:
189 - 10
ετετνερπενειευε εν μας ημω εν ημωνποευ
Αιερπι ηντηνοτο ημι η με με με με με
εικω ηντο νιοτε ηη ηη ηη ηη ηη
[ετεν επογν εινοιτε

...you making our]remembrance in every place[in]which you spread
[upwards your hands]and upon our lords the fathers also [...] who
are near unto God.'
18930
εικω εικω νεπιοτο ηντετερενευμεευ
'...go to our father and make [our]remembrance ...'
190 - 3
Δεικ νεπενερεμεευ ννετογλαβ ετεμακ
[μν ννενιοτε ηετογλαβ ετενεμακ εκ αρογ]
'...and you giving our remembrance to the saints which are with you
[and to (?) our] holy[fathers] when you go to them...'
The solution of the problem is clearly to be found in the meaning
of ειοτο, ετο 'father, fathers'. For this there are another six
passages from the present collection which, in my opinion, show
conclusively that we have a reference here to the graves of the de­
ceased holy fathers, which are in the monastery, over whom prayers
were said and to whom devotion was paid:
192 - 14
Δεικ νεπεμεευ εικω νεπιοτο ετεμακ
'and make our remembrance upon our(?) holy fathers'.
References to this custom which is known to have been widespread are extraordinarily rare in Coptic non-literary sources. A very close parallel is S.T.186

\[\text{Make our remembrance upon the body of our holy father; farewell in the name of the Holy Trinity}.\]

In J.750ff. we hear of Apa Psan and Apa Epiphanius ηαι τενου ετερε\[παλιφανον ετουας κι ευπτομος 'those whose holy remains (λειψανον) now lie in the monastery (τοπος)'; and the excavation of that monastery has actually revealed some graves within the monastery and two of these contained almost certainly the bodies of the founder Apa Epiphanius and his successor Apa Psan, and a temple-like structure had been erected over the graves, see Ep.vol.I pp.45ff. Unfortunately, as pointed out in the introduction above, we have no plan or any record whatsoever of the buildings at Bala'izah which might have shown us the position in the monastery of the graves of 'our holy fathers'. A similar reference we have from the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit (Maspero: Bawit p.47) \[\text{ετερεπολως εξην παλαι ετυμας ανεγο ευοδοεν μωαιτε} \]
'when he had gone to (or: upon) that place, his face shone exceedingly'.

Cf. R.O.C. vol.V p.67 line 16, where Apa Daniel of Scete on a visit to the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit went εἰς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

Literary sources have yielded an abundance of evidence for this custom, especially those texts which deal with the miracles of a saint, generally a martyr, in his shrine. One of the most interesting parallels was supplied to me by Professor Drescher from his book Apa Mena p.33b lines 4ff.:

...and they said to the multitudes: Go down to (or: upon) the body (σῶμα) of the saint and prostrate yourselves and beseech him to pray to Christ and to grant you that which you need'.

Cf. also pp. 420, 426, 1320, 6121, etc. This reference is of particular interest as we know from Kaufmann's excavation of the site that the body of Apa Mena rested in a crypt below the ground.

Another close parallel is from the miracles of Apa Merkourios the general, B.Misc. 278:

...Immediately the young boy ran with all his might until he came to the shrine(suβτητιον) of the saint with great fear and he worshipped the body(σῶμα) of the saint. And he saw the young daughter prostrated, as it were, upon the body(σῶμα) of the saint with her father and her mother, they beseeching him and helping her'.
(3) For the meaning of όσωκ see Preisigke: Wörterbuch. The word originally meant 'land', 'property', etc., but in the seventh and eighth centuries came to denote the land belonging to some village and administered by it. That is evidently the meaning here: Shenoute was working for some village and probably had contracted to work for it for a definite period of time. όσωκ in this meaning recurs elsewhere in Coptic texts, e.g. Ryl.124, B.M.629, and Clédat: Bawit (Memoirs XII) p.47 (XXXII,2).

(4) 'care of the monastery' was evidently some duty or employment in the monastery which was beneath the dignity of the normal monks, or just extra work; cf. also above 'cares of the όσωκ'.

(5) 'as they are advising me here' (προς θν εὐχάνον μαοί ζαται). The use of ζαται is interesting here and occurs in a meaning which is not cited in Crum: Dictionary. It evidently corresponds to the French 'chez'. The word occurs in the same meaning in 259

Further search after a few lentils and the small saltfish and bring them when you come; for we shall not (be able to) find (them) with us' (ζαται, i.e. 'here'). Similarly B.M.1116 Verso 5: 'search after him at your place'(ζαται) and B.M.545 number 2: 'he desires some money from a man at your place'(ζαται).

(6) For the 'promise(λυγος) by God' see the full discussion in Till: Koptische Schutzbriefe; cf. also his further discussion in Α.Z. vol.LXXVI (1940) pp.74 - 76.

(7) I suggest we supply άν after κατ(understood), cf. line 8, but it is not necessary.

(8) 'dwelling-place' (μαλακων) in this context probably refers to the monk's cell, see Crum: Dictionary 580a.

(9) 'all the people' (αλλας προφυ) probably refers, as elsewhere, to the
monastic community, see chapter V p.34.

(10) 'it is not possible for me to dwell(?) within the boundaries of the monastery' (inδομ ἀμοι νομοδ Ντογ μοναστηρίον). Till translates this by: 'is ist es mir nicht möglich den Aufrägen des Klosters zu entsprechen'. He proposes to interpret οὐχωμ as 'obey' and notes that Crum thought this meaning unlikely, but not impossible. My translation is based partly on this difficulty that οὐχωμ does not occur elsewhere in that meaning, and partly on a different interpretation of τοκ. But, admittedly, my suggestion too is little more than a guess, and is put forward really as an alternative to Till's translation. In line 2 the writer mentions 'I have transgressed all the commandments which you commanded me' and the word for 'commandments' there is not τοκ, but the Greek ἐντολή. Furthermore, it seems that the writer intended to express here much the same as 'come into my cell' in line 11. The Coptic word τοκ apart from its meaning 'commandment' (read τοκ) can also mean 'boundary', cf. Crum: Dictionary p.452a esp.65ο5 θησον θισολ ελεγτο τογ κοτοττοτοτοτ Ντογ 'within and without the four boundaries of the monastery'. I would suggest, therefore, that for οὐχωμ Ντογ we either read (1) οὐχωμ εις Ντογ 'it is not possible for me to dwell within the boundaries of the monastery'; or (2) οὐχωμ εις Ντογ Ντογ 'it is not possible for me to dwell within the boundaries of the monastery again'; or (3) οὐχωμ εις Ντογ κοτοτοτοτοτοτ Ντογ 'dwell in the monastery' with τοκ added as an afterthought.

(11) 'whether north or south' ΚΑΝ ΚΑΗΝΤ ΚΑΝ ΚΑΗΠΣ, this probably recurs in 115ο [These therefore] I am prepared [to repay to you] without any ambiguity whether north or south of Teshnē; and a close parallel is G.Brunton: Matmar par.172 p.95, a Coptic ostracon found at Matmar on the east bank of the Nile almost exactly opposite Bala'izah, lines 13 - 14 'I have not heard north or south that a woman left her children and went (away)' ΝΠΙΤΟΙΤ ΚΑΗΝΤ ΟΥΑΣ ΚΑΗΠΣ (collated);
Professor J. Drescher drew my attention to three passages in P. Lond. IV: 1565 \( \text{\ldots} \) whether before our lord the all-famous governor, or before any authority, north or south, (saying) ...'

\[ \text{ειδε} \text{γεννεσα} \text{νιμ πεμω} \text{νπ} \text{κc, cf. p. 484 note g; and 1574} \]

\[ \text{ητ} \text{ω πεμω} \text{νπε} \text{ειδε} \text{νετ} \text{ν[π]κc. The passage clearly has the meaning of 'anywhere' etc., cf. also below 226.} \]

(12) 'we will not be disobedient', or perhaps better 'we will not turn a deaf ear'.

(13) Cf. 191 \( ^6 \), 259 \( ^{11} \), also 202 \( ^{12} \).

(14) The normal spelling in Coptic of the name Constantine. This person recurs in another letter by this scribe, see the appendix to the present document.

(15) Theutose for Theodosios; this spelling again B.M.1119 \( ^3 \), 1126 \( ^2 \) and elsewhere.

(16) On Apa Ammone here see above the introduction to the present document.

(17) See 186 note 9.

Appendix:

The three fragments of letters by the scribe of 188, 189, 190, and 191 (second hand).

(a) 124d: \[ \text{νερ} \text{ιν[ρ] επατε} \text{νιμ[ς]} \]

(b) 150h: \[ \text{ερο} \text{νυπορκι} \text{μετ} \text{κ} \]

\[ \text{ε} \text{αυω τ.. ημαντετ} \text{ε} \]

\[ \text{ανομε} \]

(broken)

(c) 154b, c:

\[ \text{ερ} \text{οκ εκβω[ς]} \]

\[ \text{εραι νινο} \text{ντε} \text{ε} \]

(gap)
(d 56) 9½ by 4½ inches, height complete. For this letter and other letters by the same scribe see 188 introduction. A facsimile of part of the present papyrus is given on plate V, 2.

188 (continued)

189
19. +αυω ετεε πεσυ πνοας[  
20. κλεοια νπειι κοι ταλε[  
ελοπον γνς αυναε νξο[λόκ] δςιτυ ντο]  
οτ ἣ νπανουν μν γεωρ[τε]  
τεκτεοια ετεε προσφορα[ ]  
φαιρομενε πεσοο ευ[ ]

25. πεσηρη συλανενους ν[ντν]  
δω ώτε πασον κωςαμα α[ ]  
εων παι ελοπον ξνου[ ]  
εων νιμ εουλικουο να[ ]  
εκς ουτερελιενοιον αιτν[νου] νντν[ ]

30. ἑωκ εξω πενιοτι πτετπερπ[ενμεευε]  
μνου τι προκινεν ππεουεις[ ]  

32. νιοεν ετης ουξαι εμμεκοει ε[ ]

2. επατη νεξκοει for επατη ννεξκοει, similarly line 4 ευνδποτιον δυνεερπιτε  
κνεκοει, see chapter VIII par. 80, m; we should have expected επατομ.
3. προκινεπ for προκινεν, again in line 31, see chapter VIII par. 59.
8. εωατπορεγ for εωατετπορεγ, see chapter VIII par. 143.

9. εωω- for εωω-, see chapter VIII par. 87.
13. ννον for ννεν, perhaps also in line 11, see chapter VIII par. 138.
14. ειποον for ηποον, again lines 17, 21, 27, 18813; cf. ελεωον R21.409; ειποον
BK2 26211, εηποον BM 110521, ειποον BM 11167, 14, vo. 3, 5.
15. ετνμεε for ετετπεε, again in line 18, see chapter VIII par. 143.
16. 6: 6 for 6: X, see chapter VIII par. 124.
21. 2 N C , again in line 29; cf. 134^ note.
30. εκω- for εκα-, cf. line 9; see chapter VIII par. 87.

Translation:

[In the name of God.] First of all I Shenoute(1)[....] he is writing to his lords the fathers[....] I salute(ωσκειν) and worship(πεοσκυνειν) [many times the] footstool(υποποδιον) of the feet of my lords - 5 - [the honoured fathers(2) until] God deems me worthy again[to do this face to face(3)] and my great joy is complete(4). [.... my lords] the honoured fathers that you should continue[to remember] us in every place [in] which you spread [upwards your hands(5) and] also upon our lords the fathers(6) - 10 - [....(7)] who are near to God. Since(ενεิσιώ;) [(....)] is prepared at our place(8) ... (?)[....] and we are not able to sleep the whole night(9)[.. ...] our body(σαμοι) (and) that they may despoil[....] Now(λοιπον) I beseech(πεοσκυνειν) - 15 -[....] who continue(?) to [remember] us [that] we may be saved(11) from their hands, because[.... we have not] been able to prevail against them. Further(λοιπον) we have[....]continue(12) to remember us. (margin, continued on the Verso)

Verso: [And as regards the matter of the one[....] - 20 - church(εκκλησια) these young ones have not offered(13)[....] Further(λοιπον), behold half a solidus [I have received] from Pamoun and George[....] church(εκκλησια) for the offering(πεοσφασκειν) (14) [of ...] until this year; its wheat[....] - 25 - its wine(15) we will send to[you .....] and as regards my brother Kosma[..... this] very matter. Further(λοιπον) ask him[.....] everything which he will send to[me .....] Behold I have sent[to you] also a trimesion [that you may(?)] go to our father(16) and [remember(?)] us ... ...(17) them. I worship(πεοσκυνειν) the dust [of the feet of] the(?) ho­

Address: [The God-loving honoured lords[.....] and Apa Petros(19) and [.....]
(1) The name of the scribe of the present letter, 188, 190, and 191 (second hand) is also found in 1917; see 188 introduction.

(2) For this salutation formula and the lacunae cf. C.0.90, 93, 94, 97, etc., S.T.189, 242, 300, V.C.50, 86 etc., (all from Thebes), also V.C.114, (Fayyum), Krall 238 (north of Shmun ?) Ryl.296 al.pl.; cf. also here 3957. The formula is also found in Greek documents, e.g. P. Fouad I 892-3 περισσόντων καὶ ἄπαγόμενος τὰ εὐλογημένα ἵχνη τῶν εὐλογημένων ποδῶν τῶ ἐμῶ ἄγαθος δεσπότω.

(3) For this phrase and the lacuna cf. 1918 and note, 2062, 2751, 2231; see also Jern.113 and references there.

(4) A common phrase, cf. 1868, 2231, al.

(5) Lacuna supplied from the context, but doubtful; cf. 21616, 2179, 2186, 2193.

(6) See 188 note 2 and references there.

(7) Perhaps [μακάριος] 'who have become blessed'; for εἰσίν εἰσούν εἰς πνοὺς 'who are near unto God' cf. J. Sch.55 where this phrase also refers, as here, to deceased saints.

(8) For the use of εἰσόν here see 188 note 5.

(9) Or: 'that we are not able to sleep the whole night'. For this and the next sentence cf. 1903 and below note 11.

(10) λοιπον in this letter is interesting; it is used four times, each time to introduce another request or paragraph.

(11) This and the next line would seem to imply more than ordinary troubles with which Shenoute and his companions were afflicted; cf. 188 introduction and 1903.

(12) Perhaps 'that you might continue to remember us', but doubtful.

(13) Unfortunately the lacuna leaves this interesting sentence in doubt; The Coptic Τάλο (ἐτραί) is a word commonly used in the Old Testament for 'offering up' sacrifice. Perhaps the young ones were to offer up the προσφορά, cf. below. The 'young ones' here may merely refer to junior monks, cf. ΝΟΣ ΝΥΜΦΕ chapter V p.35.
(14) Perhaps supply the lacuna in line 22 -[τε υνταχα γαλαγοντε] and translate: 'behold half a solidus I have received from Pamoun and George that I might give it to the church for the offering of ... until this year'. The προσφορή here probably refers to some definite offering for the soul of some person, as was common at this period; see below 306 introduction and references there.

(15) The wheat (read πεοξυαν τα, cf. πεοξυμπτη) and the wine were probably part of the προσφορή, since the feminine possessive adjective is used; alternatively the church's wheat and wine are referred to.

(16) Cf. 188 note 2 and references there. The mention of a trimesion which was sent, in close connection with what follows, would seem to suggest that Shenoute paid this trimesion to be remembered in the prayers over the saint, but the passage is somewhat doubtful.

(17) Not: 'and remember us over them'. I am unable to suggest anything for the latter part of the lacuna.

(18) For this phrase and the lacuna cf. C.0.93 al.; we might have expected: 'I worship the feet of your honoured paternity', but there seems hardly enough room for this in the lacuna.

(19) Perhaps the same person who appears elsewhere as superior of the monastery, cf. index.

190

(d 158) 2½ by 8½ inches, incomplete. For this letter and other letters by the same scribe see 188 introduction.
1. For the restorations and the lacunae in this line see the address on the Verso.

3. ιτάνκ probably for ιτανάςκ, see chapter VIII par. 143.

Translation:

[First of all I greet] you the most God-loving, God-bearing lord (and) honoured father[...and you remembering us to the saints who are with you[and to our] holy fathers] when you go to them, because some great tribulations[...we have not a solidus [...].]

Address: +To the God-honoured, God-bearing lord (and) honoured father Apa Ammone [...].

(1) The title ἡσοφόγος was applicable only to bishops, archimandrites and superiors of monasteries, cf. Ep.263 note 3.

(2) If 'saints' here refer to the monastic community, the writer is probably thinking of the use of this word by St. Paul, e.g. Rom.1,7; 2 Cor.1,1; Eph.1,1; al...

(3) Supplying [ἀυτὸν ἀνένιοτε ἐγράψατε], but doubtful; see 188 note 2 and the discussion there.

(4) Perhaps supply [ἐγε ρέμεν ἐχάσαι] and translate: 'because some great tribulations have fallen upon us and we have not a solidus'; for the tribulations cf. 188 introduction and 189 notes 9 and 11.

(5) On the mention of Apa Ammone as superior here see 188 introduction.

(c 15 and d 153b) 5 by 15 inches, width complete. Two hands, the first hand wrote lines 1 to 7, first half, and the second hand wrote lines 7, second half, to 9. For the writer of the second half of this
letter and other letters by the same scribe see 188 introduction.

(broken)

1. [____________________]. 

2. [____________________]. Ἀνὴρ ἐρχόμεν ἰδὼν ἔρωτικόν τε [____________________].

3. ΝΤΝΧΠ[____________________]. Ἀδειμπυλ λα[____________________]ι ΝΤΝΠ ΝΕΥΝΟ ΕΠΙΣΤΑ ΝΤΝ[____________________].

4. ΕΠΕΤΝ[____________________]. ἐὰν [____________________] μὴ τὴν ἔλεης ἔνοικην αὐξήσατος[____________________].

5. ΤΙΕΙΣΕ ΝΗΤΝ ΕΡΕ [____________________] ἐκείνω ἐρωτικῷ, εἰς δικοῦ[____________________]...[____________________].

6. ΤΙΑΣΠΑΣΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΦ[____________________] ΜΕΡΙΤ Ν[____________________]ΝΤΝ ΝΕΙΣΕΑΙ ΔΥΟ ΕΙΣΟΠΟΤΗΥΤΝ ΤΙΑΣΠΑΣΕ ΝΟΣΥΜΜΗΟΥΣ Ν[____________________]ΝΠ.

7. ΑΝΑ ΜΗΝΑ Μὴν πάρ αὐτὰ ΜΑΚΑΡΗ ΜΟΝΕΣ ΝΗΥΝ ΤΗΡΟΥΤ (SECOND HAD) ΤΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΝ ΤΙΑΣΠΑΣΕ ΝΟΣΥΜΜΗΟΥΣ Ν[____________________]ΝΠ.

8. ΝΤΕΤΝΠΑΝΑΙΟΝ ΝΕΙΣΕ ΑΥΤΟ Ν[____________________]ΝΠ ΑΥΤΟ Ν[____________________]ΝΠ ΟΥ ΑΟΡΙΑΝΑΙresses[____________________]ΝΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΔΥΟ ΤΙΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΝΤΕΤΝ[____________________].

9. ΝΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΣΩΝΕΤΝΗΚΑΛΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΔ +

(margin)

7. πάρ for πάρον.

πετνηγυμπο for πετνηγυμπο, see chapter VIII par. 140b.


Translation:

(broken)...[... and] come [... and] stand [... if the Lord [...] Petre, and we receive [...] ...(?) we will come and direct you to the place and will [... which( or: whom) you sent ...?] [...] ...(?) [Behold] we have received two 'thallion'-measures (1) of bread [...] ...(?) and you have not - 5 - troubled yourselves. May the Lord increase his blessing upon you and [...] ...(?) to please him. I salute( ἄστυγεν) you the Christ-loving( φιλόχερω-
(continued)

dear brother through this letter; and through you(3) I salute
(κατὰ θείαν εὐεργεσίαν) many times Apa Mena and the ἐξέχων(4) Apa Makare and all the
brethren. + (Second hand) + Shenoute(5), your least(ἐξέχωντος) son, I
[...]
you the all-holy(παναγιώτος)(2) father and brother and lord until I
am worthy of this face to face(κατὰ πασχαλίαν) and I beseech(παρακαλέων)
your[... that you] remember me in your holy prayers. + (margin)

(1) On this measure see W.S.p.20.

(2) In both these cases we might have expected ἀμνούλοχριστος and ἀμνούλοχριστος, but the use of certain Greek words in this sense recurs elsewhere, and Crum drew attention to this phenomenon in Ryl. 289 note 3. The following words are found used like this: εὐλαβεστάτος C.0.243, θεοσβεστάτος C.0.178, θεοφιλεστάτος Bal. 190, Ryl. 139, BM 464; θεοφιλεστάτος Bal. 1803, BM 1151, Worrell, Coptic Texts III, 141, vo.l; λαμπροστάτος CO 400, RE 5; εομοστάτος Bal. 208, 238, Ryl. 1289; παναγιώτος Bal. 191, 214; περιφλεπτός BMGr. 6201 B 44; φιλοχριστός Bal. 191.

(3) Cf. 188 note 13.

(4) The title ἐξέχων in this context is unusual and almost suggests that
this was an office in the monastery; cf. 186 note 1.

(5) On this person see 188 introduction.

192

(d 17; d 95ε; d 109c) 10 by 7½ inches, width complete. Few ligatures.

(broken)

[ ...... αἰράδιεματε ἐκατέρε προ[ ]
[ ] ἡτε ντακβοχ
[ ] ὑματν ὀνειαγχε
[ ] αὐράε ερε πνούτε
[ ] ἐκαν μερε πνου
[ ] ἅπα ὀγενοβρ αἰ]
[ ] ἀν ἱερκακ μν ἀδυρῖνε
8  [οιον...] ίας μιν πεποστολος μιν ἀλα υ

9  ἐνούσε μιν σοφία μιν ἀναστου

10  μιν τρομανίθης μιν τραγῳ μιν

11  θυροῦ ἄγω ονείν εναι[α]

12  σφύκα μιν ἀλα ἰσάκ μιν πενιώτ

13  μιν πλοὺς θυροῦ ἐνούσε ἄγω ἢρ

14  ιν πεμεεύε εκὴν πενιώτε ἐτούκαβ

15  ἄγω ἀλα πιλατὸς μιν ἀλα φαις

16  τίνι άγω ονείν επφῆβαλμων

17  μιν γεωρκε μιν αθανασε μιν μαρκος

18  ανοκ κρηκοπία τιοώκε ἐρωτή

19  εκκεπέσης θύρα δικουτ ἐβολ

20  ἐκωτε μπαγα μπα...ττ ἢ ἦ

21  αίτη ἃ μετην ἐκοτε μπα ἰνα

22  κυρε επετιοῦκητ ετνανούβ ἱνα

23  ανοκ παιλκ ἰδακ Τίοωκε τιοώκε

24  εροκ εκα [μνάγιετ] ου[...] ηα

(margin)

Verso:  (Address) ———>  

25  ἀναρεφτε [μνη]

1. αὑραγεματε for αὑραγε εματε, see chapter VIII par.20. For the lacu-

na cf. 1863 - 4.


14. πεμεεύε for πενεεέυε, see chapter VIII par.82m.

εκὴν for εἰκὴν , see chapter VIII par.6D.

πενιώτε probably for πενεειοτε , cf. chapter VIII par.80m.

19. ειμανάσητ for ειμανάσητ , see chapter VIII par.77.

έωτε for έωτέ , see chapter VIII par.127.

20. πα...ττ , I am unable to read this word or name; Crum read πατερ ,

but noted πατερ? , but this too is obscure.
21. γνωτή: probably for γνωτεν, I cannot parallel this, but cf. chapter VIII par.140.
21 - 22. The verb has accidentally been omitted.
23 - 24. Same hand as the rest.
24. υγ[...][κκ], the hole in the papyrus between υγ and κκ was probably already there when the letter was written, in which case there is nothing missing here.

Translation:
(broken) ..... l rejoiced greatly because I found you[......] in the manner in which you went[......] less a half[......] but(τλλτ) God[......] upon us.
God is not wont to[......] Apa Ouenober ...(?) and George and Taurine[and] ...(1) and Papostolos(2) and Apa Shenoute and Sophia and Anastou(3) - 10 - and Tsomanitēs(4) and T rashē(5) and all the people, and greet Papa Pho- ka and Apa Isaac and our father(6) and the whole people of God(7) and remember us over the (our ?) holy fathers(8) and Apa Pilatēs and Apa Phau- stine and greet Phoibammon and George and Athanase and Markos. I Krē- kopia(9) greet you with my whole heart. I was looking out - 20 - for you at the feast of ...(?) whether you would come - you did not come(10) - until Mēna my son <(told)> me of your good welfare. I the deacon Jacob greet you with my heart. Farewell. (margin)

Verso: Address: Ἀγαθόκλης Ἀποστόλος...

(1) Perhaps[He]lias, or[Jeremias] etc.
(2) On this name see 161 note.
(3) Not elsewhere; probably some form of the name Anastasia.
(4) This name recurs Z.324, MH 53 and, according to Crum's notebook, in MH inv.29,204 (not included in Stephanski-Lichtheim).
(5) Not elsewhere, but cf. Tarshe in C.0.167, 475, and the names Prashe and Rashe, for which see Ep. 667 note.
(6) 'our father' probably refers, as elsewhere, to the superior of the monastic community.
(7) 'the whole people of God', probably, as elsewhere, the monastic congregation, see chapter V p. 34.

(8) See 188 note 2.

(9) This name apparently not elsewhere.

(10) 'you did not come' added as an afterthought.

193

(g 36) Few ligatures.

Translation:

(lines 6–8) ...the plaited works of the monastery and Apa(?)[......]

Remember[me]over the remains(λεψχνων) of our(holy fathers(1) in your(?)]
holy prayers.  (margin)

(1) See 188 note 2.

194

(g 66) The only interest of this fragment is line 4 for which see 188 note 2.

Translation:
194 (continued)

3 Ἀρὴζαμ ἀνὴρ τιγύνε
ἀπιγάλλευτες ἔστε ἑκατον πέντε

5 Ἡραυμὸν ἔκκελε
ἥ ἱμάτια ἑξακοσίον ἑπτάνων

8 ἧ ἑπτάνων
(broken)

Verse:  (Address) 10 → + παῖς ἀν[]

195

(d 145e) Ligatured. The only interest of this fragment is line 3 for which see 188 note 2.

↑

4ΟΥΝΑΙ[ ]
]
]
]

196

(f 48) Much ligatured.

↑

Εὐτυπνοῦσος ἐφθα[ ]

(continued)

(1) ἀνθρώποι

(2) ηὐλίαν ἀναφέρουσιν

(3) παρὰ ἑπτάνων ἀνὴρ
1. ὑπονοεῖν, on the spelling see chapter VIII par. 80, 1.

3. ἐπικέ is extremely difficult to explain.

4. Crum: Dictionary p. 451b does not cite any instance of τι πτωγ being followed, as here, by ἐτοῦτο.

6. On this line see 188 note 2.

197

(e 68; d 116a; d 135a) 7\frac{1}{8} by 7\frac{1}{8} inches, incomplete. Uncials, same hand as 325.

↑

.margin ?


14 [ΑΥ[Η ΠΑΙΩΤ ΟΥΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ [ΚΑΛ[ΟΣ ΜΝΠΑΡΝΑ Α[ [ΜΕΝ]ΕΕΕΙ +ΠΕΙΕΧ[ ΚΟΝ

15 Φ[Ι[ΛΟΓΡ Π[ΑΡΑΚΑ ΑΝΠ ΑΧΙΛΛΙΤΗΣ ΠΧΑΡ + ΑΒ[

16 [. . . ]ΠΑΣΕΝΕΕΙ +ΠΕΙΕΧ[ ΚΟΝ

4. εξωνυτ, this qualitative is sometimes found in Sahidic, see Crum: Dictionary, Additions and Corrections p. XXII (on p. 381 b) and add
IV Kings XIV,29; XV,11,21,31, etc.; on ἁγνὸς] for ζήνητ see chapter VIII par.109; cf. also note 1 below.

6. ὡντε, perhaps ἡγνὸς which is just possible, but the word might be read differently as ἀγνυτε, ἡγνυτε, al.

7. συντάξε for συντάξε see chapter VIII par.105.

8. μέθ, almost certain, μεθ cannot be read here; cf. chapter VIII par. 21.

16. ...[.ογνει], obscure, perhaps added by a different hand.

Translation:

.... you the God-loving(θεοφίλεως) dear brother[.... until I am worthy to see] you in the body(σῶμα), but I hope(ἐλπίζων) in God that[....] which is the[...] together; by the will of[God ....]and they are written upon the tablets(τάξις) of my heart[....] that we should do our utmost. That which God is wont to put[into our hearts(?)] ....] Be so kind(ἀμήνη) ...(?) put it into our midst[....] ...(?) and according as I told (συντάξεσθε) you many [times .....] Be so kind(ἀμήνη) and pay us with some few saltfish(τακτος) upon[....] ...(?)[... give(?) it to the monastery (μοναστήριον). And search after a[....] the papa Pishote[....] and do that which is [good(?)] ....] Apa[....] the remains(λειψανον) of our holy fathers(4)[....] ....(?) These (things) I am writing; we shall [farewell(6) ....] And my father(7) greets you well with my brother ...? [....] 

Verso: (Address) [... the] Christ-loving(φιλοχριστος) archdeacon(ἀρχιδιακονος) Apa Achillites(8) the χριστιανος(9). [...?] ... (?) This least (ἐλαχίστος) brother.

(1) 'Tablets of my heart' is probably a biblical quotation, cf. II Cor. III,3

(2) Cf. above line 6 note; if ἡγνυτεis right we might translate: 'Be so kind, [for] God put it into our midst[....]

(3) For the meaning of συντάξεσθε see Ryl.p.182 note 13.
(4) See p. 188 note 2.

(5) Perhaps read ε[κ]ωμη and translate: '...a strange place in which[you] are'.

(6) For this phrase see p. 186 note 9.

(7) Either the writer's father, in which case 'my brother' following is his brother, or, perhaps more probably, the superior of the monastery and 'my brother' is a fellow-monk.

(8) Achillitês is a very unusual name and in fact I can find it only once again in non-literary texts outside the present collection in S.T. 443, a list of the 40 martyrs of Sebaste. In this collection the name occurs in no less than 9 documents, mostly as deacon or βοηθος, and it seems very likely that it is in each case the same person. Only in the present document he is called archdeacon, cf. index.

(9) On the functions of this official see P.Lond.IV p.XXI.

198

(d 133a; d 141a) Two fragments.

(1) Προκυνης εξωογ ταεφε [μη μενες (?)]

(gap)

3 Νετενειωτ έτταηγ + εναουξαι 2μ

4 [ηκισακ + ] (margin)

1. See p. 188 note 2.

2. For επησακικ see p. 186 note 9.

199

(f 27; a small fragment of this is d 129b) Perhaps same hand as 227.

(broken)

[ἀυῳ τετμουμεθε ΜΝΤ]

2 Ἰννουτε ἑαρες
3. καί σεν for κεκον see chapter VIII par. 26.
4. παραγώγος 'the holy place', cf. 188 note 2.
5. ταχαία probably for ταχαία, see chapter VIII par. 130.

200
(d 121a) ——> (margin)
1. Ἰμπρός Νάος εις ναόν
2. Ἰος Ναός Ἡφαίστειος ἄπα
3. Ἰ. τι ορείχαλκεν (broken)

1. πρόσ for προστώς.
2. '... the feast of the holy(ὁγος) Ἀρπα[...]', cf. 201².

201
(f 65; d 85a) Ligatured.
↑ (broken)
1. Ἰος Ἰων ονομάζων κακοτήτον
2. Νομοθέτω ἡμέρα ομολογίας ἀνάμειναι
3. ὃ ἢ τῶν τεσσάρων τιμίων παρακαλεῖν
4. ὑοτε γίνεται ἡ ἡμέρα τιμίων τιμωροῦσαι
5. ὅτε ἡ φύσις κοσμῶν ἡ τελείωσιν

1. Ἰων ονομάζων κακοτήτον, obscure.
2. *τὸν οὖς* doubtful.
5. *εἰσε...* apparently not *εἰσ...*.

**Translation:**

(line 2)... send (?) them to the monastery (*μοναστήριον*). And (as regards ?) the feast of the holy [*... (1) ....*] and I sow the field, being safe, I will [*... (2) ....*] through this letter. And I beseech (*παρευρέσθως*) you ...? that you remember my brother Kosma who loved the fathers [*...*] (margin ?).

(1) Cf. 2002 and 31220.
(2) Probably: 'I greet Pavthoute through this letter.'

Two applications to the monastery by persons asking to be readmitted.

(1) [margin]

[+ΤΡΙΚΥΝΙΟΥΜΊΝΗΜΟΥ ΝΕΠΑΛΟΒ ΝΤΕΚΜΗΤΩΤ][
[*PEK[CO][N 6WİWN 9ΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΙΩΤ ΝΕΓ ΝΕΤΘΚ ΑΝΝΕ ΕΤΡ[*ΧΡΕΩ ΜΟΝΑΕIN[*XΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΡΗΕΡΝΑΒΕ ΤΑΡΝΗΤΝΟ[...]]ΕΡΧΙΑ ΝΠΟΚΛΕΧ[
[*]ΑΝ ΧΟΟΣ ΓΙΜΝΗΣΗ ΤΕ ΑΝΝΕΝΠΑΛ ΤΕΚΣΩΛ ΝΕ[...]] ΝΕΝΑΜΑΝΟ[...


[2][ΓΤΗΝ]ΝΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ ΝΤΕΚΜΗΤΣΟΕΙΣ ΝΙΩΤ[...

[kow]ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΙΠΙΚΕΣΟΝ ΝΙΠΡΩΣΟΥ ΕΠΑΥΛΙ ΝΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ[...

[1] Μ[Ν] ΛΑΔΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΤΝΟΒΕ ΝΔΑΝΝΟΥΤΕ[...

[10] ΑΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΥΣΙΝΕ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΎΣΤΑΝΤΙ ΝΙΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΚ ΑΡΗΣΗ ΤΑΜΟΝ (3)

[13] ΚΟΕΙΣ ΝΙΩΤ ΥΣΕΝΕΤΗΚ ΕΑΡΟΝ ΖΕ ΑΝΣΙΣΕ ΔΥΣΑΝΧΙ ΤΝ[...]

(18; d 70a) 8½ by 9 inches, height complete. Uncials, the script could be as early as the late sixth century, see Plate V,3.

(d 18; d 70a) 8½ by 9 inches, height complete. Uncials, the script could be as early as the late sixth century, see Plate V,3.
Translation:

[το θεό(1)] worship(προσκυνεῖν) many times the sweetness of your paternity [... and] your brother(?) ἑόροπ(2) the dear fathers. Since(ἐπεί) it is not the healthy who[need the doctor(3) .....](...) because of the sinners that we should ...(?)[...] need(χεῖκ) consolation [...]. We said
in our heart that we have not been worthy of your letter [...] (2) [...] 5 - but (ἀλλ' ὢν) God has been compassionate on the great number of [our] sins ... (2) [...] distress in his goodness (-ἀφίκεσθι). For we know that there is compassion [...] that we might (2) beseech (πέπλημμα) you the lord (and) father [...] forgive us once more, do not look on the multitude of [our sins] [...] for there is no-one without sin except God [...] 10 - of God. From the day when we approached you, our heart [told (?)] [...] behold we sent a [...] to you, send us a word of consolation that we might cease being distressed [...] send your greeting to us through him, because the fixed time (πέπλημμα) (4) has been completed [...] lord (and) father have compassion on us because we have suffered and have received our [...] (5) [...] because we have been disobedient (?). Since there is someone who does not pray and fast (πέπλημμα) for the sinners ...(2) [...] 15 - free (ἐλευθερώσω) them. May the good (ἀφίκεσθι) God give you power ... (?)[... ] all [the brethren (?)] like us. Farewell in the Lord. I Basil and Pishote [...] cry out. (margin)

Verso:

[+ I (1) [...] this miserable (πέπλημμα) one, I am writing, worshipping (πέπλημμα) my father Petre (6); I beseech (πέπλημμα) me and beseech (πέπλημμα) for me as though I were with you, I beseeching (πέπλημμα) [...] 20 - by (?), God; forgive me once more the multitude of my sins and [...] which I sent to you, and may God guide him, since (ἐπιέκισα) [...] and they are (?), worshipping (πέπλημμα) you. + (margin).

(1) It is to be noted that on the Recto it is always 'we', while on the Verso it is 'I'. The Recto is an application by Basile and Pishote (and others ?) to be readmitted to the monastery, the Verso is a similar application by one person only, probably a short note by one of the persons who applied on the Recto. For this letter cf. 188 introduction.

(2) I cannot find this name elsewhere, but the passage is uncertain and
the division of words may not be correct.

(3) Clearly a quotation from St. Matth. IX, 12 (Xενενθίκαινηκ ιερά Κρεία λύνον, καλείν καὶ λαβα λειμωνὸς νεῖ).

(4) Cf. 188 note 1.

(5) Probably some word like 'reward', 'due', etc.

(6) This probably refers to the superior of the monastery. Apa Petre recurs elsewhere as superior of this monastery, see index.

203

(Ms. Greek Class. d 89c)

Recto contains: 

\[ \text{μοναχὲς, } \text{nēs, } \text{nēs, } \text{καὶ, } \text{λειμώνεσ, } \text{καὶ, } \text{ποιμήν.} \]

Verso: (address) 

\[ \text{ἐπὶ } \text{μοναχὲς, } \text{καὶ, } \text{λειμώνεσ, } \text{καὶ, } \text{ποιμήν.} \]

204

(d 42; further fragments are d 84b,c,d; d 90e,f; d 166e,f; d 169b). On the Verso account (371), different hand, later.

This letter is the only private letter in Greek in this collection; but unfortunately the papyrus is badly damaged and the text is for the most part illegible. It is written in a late cursive hand (VIIth - VIIIth century) by a well-trained scribe.

Begins: 

\[ \text{μοναχὲς, } \text{καὶ, } \text{λειμώνεσ, } \text{καὶ, } \text{ποιμήν.} \]

Ends: 

\[ \text{ἀρχιμισθηρός, } \text{καὶ, } \text{ποιμήν.} \]

Verso: (address) 

\[ \text{τὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.} \]

205

(d 32) Other texts on the same papyrus are 291 (earlier) and 358 (earlier ?). The fact that the address is written on the same side as the rest of the text is somewhat suspicious. It is possible that it was merely a copy of the actual letter sent, or it was written purely as a writing exercise, just as the first text on this papyrus, 291, was copied
below the original lines as a writing exercise. Moreover, the writer of this letter is a superior of the monastery at Bala'izah, and this letter, if it was intended as such, was not sent off, as it was found there. On the other hand we have evidence that letters were sometimes exchanged within a monastery, see Ep. vol. I p. 179, and this may be a case in point.

(margin)

1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

Address: (on the same side) 

6. 

7. 


4. ταπετακτημερίτ for ταπετακτημερίτ, see chapter VIII paragraphs 20 and 82a.

7. ἐντπετά ἄπα απόλλω for ἐντπετά ἄπα απόλλω, cf. 312 ἄπα for πεπτα.

Translation:

[+ I worship (προσκονεῖν) and salute (ἀστείεῖν) you the dear lord (and) honoured (ἐξολοθρεῖν) brother. Behold we have sent our son (1) the Papa Johannes to you with the little (?) work of hand (2), that you the dear lord (and) brother might [.....](broken)

Address: [+Give it to (?) my dear] lord (and) honoured brother Jacob [from] the priest (πρεσβύτερος) and ἤγομενος (3) Abraham (4) [this] least (ἐλάχιστος) one in the rock (πέτρα) (5) of Apa Apollo.

(1) Cf. 103⁴ 'and the rest of all the senior sons of the monastery'.

(3) On this title see chapter V, p.33.
(4) On Apa Abraham as superior see 110 note 1.
(5) For the interesting use of πετακ here see chapter IV; cf. also 2114f.

Uncials, the script could be as early as the late sixth century. Four fragments.

\[\text{(margin)}\]

1. \[\text{[εκήμ[mπημαχαμένες [εφέλμ[απαμένε}\]

2. \[\text{[νήμημα [επερα[tακάμαμον}\]

\[\text{(gap)}\]

4. \[\text{νομηρε [εταινόμενε [πι:ομπημαμάμε}\]

5. \[\text{[νιτεμποπομε πεμπμαμάμεμ}\]

6. \[\text{σπελαμμε προπομ}\]

7. \[\text{κοικημε [ερεπμχεμε [ετεκ][εμχεμ}\]

8. \[\text{μομημε [ερεπμχεμε [ερεπμχεμ [ερεπμχεμ}\]

\[\text{Verso: (address)} \rightarrow \]

9. \[\text{[τε παμ[εμμαμέμ}\]

10. \[\text{[σιμπομ μπυμ}\]

\[\text{(margin)}\]

4. οταιμογ for οταιμογ, see chapter VIII, par. 114.
5. αμμομ (sic!), probably for αμμομ.
8. After τρητ two letters, η, perhaps some particle.

**Translation**

"First of all I greet and[salute ..... until I am]worthy to[do this] face to face[..... (gap) .....]honoured children(1). As regards the matter of Papa[.....] that they might(?) expend them on the strangers ...? (gap) since you sent a[... ]no man spoke with me in any matter concerning you, whether(επεκτε\( )[.....]\(2) and anything you require(εκειν), ...(?) whether(επεκτε\( ) saltfish(ταεκειν) or seed(3), send[.... Farewell"
in] the Lord. + (margin)

Address: [+]Give it to(4)[.....]from Phoibammon[...]the father of the brethren(5).+

(1) This refers probably to the fellow-monks, cf. chapter V p.35.
(2) From the context it is clear that the gap in these lines must have been very wide.
(3) On the Coptic word ἀναμ 'seed' see Crum: Dictionary p.53a.
(4) Probably ὁμη τὸν μῖν ἐπὶ [give it to the brethren].
(5) Phoibammon as superior only here, perhaps not of this monastery.

207
(d 110b; d 104b) (margin)

1 ἐξείωσεν ὁ βιοθεός Παύλου
2 ἀναλόγως φιλόθεος Παύλου

(gap)

4 [ ] ἄνα ξαχο μπαμπαρες

(broken)

Verso: (address)

6 ἄνθρωποι περις ἅγιος ἀγάλματα

4. ξαχο μπαμπαρες is interesting; on ξαχο see Crum: Dictionary p.384a.
6. Apa Ouenober as superior recurs in the next letter; on the name Achillites see 197 note 8.

208
(d 167a,b,c; d 69b; d 96f; d 99b; a further small fragment is d 99c).

Four fragments.

(margin)

1 [προφασίς ...] εἰς ἐνα ὅης[ν] ὅης[ν]
2 [ἰγραμ] [εἰς] ξοῦταγε θερικοῦ ἁγ[ι]
3 [ε] εἰς[ε] [η] ταρετ}[ε]
1. Perhaps ουγα (n) απα σιλβανε, but doubtful.

4. Apa Bictor as superior only here, but perhaps not from this monastery.
210 (continued)  639

letter (211).  7 by 9 inches, height complete.

(margin)

"[Π]ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ ΓΡΑΦΗ ΝEWΜ ΝΗΜ ΤΙΜΗΝ ΑΥΤ." ΝΑ ΓΝΩΣΙΑΕ ΝΠΕΘΛΑΘ Ν." "[ΙΕ]ΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΕΒΑΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΩΤΗ ΝΝ ΝΕΤΝΟΥΜΗΡ." "[Ε]ΕΙΣ ΠΑΛΙΤΗΡΕ ΠΑΣΟΝ Κ." "[ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΝΕΤΑΡΑΤΕ." "[ΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΗΤΟΥΜΠΕ." "[ΝΕΤΝΑΠΟΕ ΝΗΜΕ." "[ΟΣΚΙ ΕΡΟΤ ΚΑΛΙΟΣ." "[ΙΟΝ ΓΕΝΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΕ ΕΝΑΝ." "

(margin)

Verse:  (address) →

9  ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΙΕΛΤΑ ΑΠΛΙ ΓΜΩΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ
10  ΝΦΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΝΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ  

Translation:

(lines 1 and 2) God. First of all I greet and salute (ἀστάθεια) the sweetness of Jeremias, may he bless you and your children [... (rest fragmentary and uncertain).

Address: ..... Petros this least (ἐλάχιστος) archimandrite (ἐρχομένων της) in the monastery (Μοναστήριον) of the holy Απα Απολλῶ.  

(1) A very unusual opening of a Coptic letter.
(2) Petros as superior recurs elsewhere; on the title archimandrite see chapter V p. 33, it recurs 395, and in a small fragment d 136b as ΑΦΜΑ." 

211

(d 62a) Probably the same hand as 210.
The letter was clearly written by Petros, superior of the monastery at Bala'izah – cf. 2109, same hand – to a pagarch. The pagarch may thus have lived at Bala'izah for a short time, or alternatively the letter was never sent off, since it was found there. For the use of the word πέτρα see chapter IV.

212
(d 72a; a further fragment is d 162b). The only interest of this scrap is line 2 ('we dwelt in the rock') for which see chapter IV.

213
(d 144a,b; d 138d) The only interest of this scrap is line 2 ('of the holy rock') for which see chapter IV.
Few ligatures. After line 19 there follows an account in different hand, 323, which has no apparent connection with the present text.

This letter is of great interest as it is addressed to the monks of the two monasteries of Apa Apollo and Apa Jeremias; for this see chapter IV pp.22f.
1. There is probably only one line missing before this line.

2. Ἀκτ... , perhaps Ἀκτοσγ[η], just possible, but doubtful.

7. ΕΚΑΧ! for ΕΚΑΧ!, see chapter VIII par. 129.

8. ἸΕ-ΕΝΟΤΣΣ, obscure.

10. ΤΟΝΑΤΣ for ΣΕΝΑΤΙ, see chapter VIII par. 139.

15. ΝΚΑΙΣ for ΝΚΕΟΝ, see chapter VIII par. 26.


19. ΝΝΑΕΙΕ[; certain but obscure; perhaps a name.

Translation:

(broken) ..... I am writing to (?) the men of (the monasteries of) Apa Apollo and Jeremias; peace (εἰς ζήνη) to you and your all-holy (τὰ νόστα) fathers. Behold (?) I have sent (?) ... to you; now (λοιπόν) do not give money to him from the eight solidi which are with you; and at the time when I gave them to you (?)[...] to you (?)[......] ... (?) and you (?)[have not (?)] given anything to me [...] Now (λοιπόν) behold I have sent the ... (?)[1] [...] to you (?). As soon as you receive [this] letter ..... (?) unless (εἰς τέσσερις) [...] and Jeremias, they shall give [...] (broken)

Verso: (continued from the Recto)

(broken) ..... Αιτρέ (2) (the) monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ) [...] mock you ... (?)[......]

I Kollouthas (3)[......] ... (?) Now (λοιπόν) behold the money [which (?)] she sent [...] another time [...] you in (or: from) the new tax (δὴ ΜΟΣΙΟΥ) and give two camels to [...] ... (?) [...] they being distressed that they might take them to those of (the monastery of) Jeremias and sell them; and send the goat of ... (?)[......] (margin)

(1) Some word beginning with λογφ, probably Greek.

(2) Probably some form of the name Hatre.
214 (continued)

(3) Kollouthas for Kollouthos, cf. Ioustas for Ioustos in 359^ and see chapter VIII par.43.

215

(f 29) Much ligatured.

(margin)

1. ωρη, difficult; perhaps ωρη is the qualitative of the verb ωρεια, but the qualitative cannot follow the first perfect.

2. τερωτ, perhaps τερ stands for των, cf. chapter VIII par.82k; τερωτ cannot be read here.

3. ευμνος (sic !) for ευμνος.

4. φιλ (sic !) for Φιλ.

5. ευπανηνης for ευπανινηνης, see chapter VIII par.82g.

6. Perhaps nothing after ετυμαλ.

Translation:

... monasterio (μοναστηγειον) and let me come south to find her and they ...(?) [... ] ...(?) to which I turned your attention [... ] ...(?) since he came north in the business of the monastery with Apa Severos(1) [... Apa]Ter and Apa Shenoute. + Farewell in the Lord. +

Verso: + I the master(2) Apa Kyrie, I am writing to Johannes saying [... ]
since we did not arrive north at that place (? margin).

(1) 'with Apa Severos' is added between lines 3 and 4, and probably belongs to line 3, in which case translate as above; alternatively it belongs after Apa Shenoute in line 4.

(2) On the title caž 'master' see Crum: Dictionary p.383b.

216

(e 43; d 64a; d 117a; d 139a,b,c; d 166a) Much ligatured. Perhaps lines 1 - 4 belong to a different document written by the same scribe.

(broken)

1

2

[alpha]mete[lambda]xeic[tau]

3

[omicron]ome

4

se[p]nh

(gap ?)

6

[omicron]ei. [omicron] [lambda]xit[...] [omicron]metap[omicron]ei


[omega]nchc pwbtaiei tihn pekynine

[kappa] eti menta[omicron]y[...] anok et[...] ney[...]cion

10


14


(margin)

Verso: Traces of an address; also and nayle written in large letters in different ink.


7. kmhtcon for kmhtcon, similarly line 12 etekwnt[and line 13 ntek[ntmerit], see chapter VIII par.83.
8. μωνέμεν πένθατει, very difficult; μωνέμεν is clearly the name μωυσέ, perhaps read μωνέμεν πέπω 'Moyses the dumb person, I came', but the use of the second perfect or the past relative would be difficult to explain here. πέπω is certain (definitely not πεκωτ), but perhaps there was another letter after πεκωτ (πεκωτ. αιει). τάδην-see τάδην-see chapter VIII par.2e.


10. νυσάρακηνος probably for νυσαράκηνος cf. chapter VIII par.80m; the 'Saracens' are rarely found in Coptic documents, cf. B.M.588⁹, Hall pl.7, and J.70⁵, 91², 106⁹, but they occur commonly in Greek documents from the sixth century(P.Masp.67009 I 22) onwards, esp. P.Lond. IV, index.

11. μνήμονε for μνήμονε μνήμονε, see chapter VIII par.82d; similarly line 12 μνήματι and line 13 μνήματι εκον .

12. καϊ, very difficult; perhaps for καϊ, cf. chapter VIII par.108, but in the next line the word is spelt correctly.

14. Perhaps read μνήματι τ[ν] [και] μνήματι for μνήματι και μνήματι see chapter VIII paragraphs 2e, 22 and 80m.

"(The) time when you are(?) in the raising up of your holy hands ", The latter part of this phrase is found in the following six letters; outside Bala'izah it recurs frequently at Thebes, especially in the texts from the monastery of Epiphanius and once (B.M.1149⁵) outside Thebes. The Theban references are: Ep.105¹, 106⁴, 164²⁰, 205¹⁷, 246⁶, 254¹¹, 279¹¹, 285⁵, 296⁶, 328¹⁸, C.o. 274, V.C.54²⁴, 71¹², R.E. 41⁹. In all these references the passage occurs in two phrases, either αρις παρεέευε υμήι εσπαίει μνήματι ετούσακε 'remember me in the raising up of your holy hands' or υμήι εσπαίει μνήματι ετούσακε 'pray for me in the raising up of your holy hands'. The phrase is evidently taken from the Bible I.Tim.II,8 τούσμο γε ετρε ησπαίει γιμαί ημε εμνη εσπαίει μνηματι ετούσακε.
The document is too doubtful and fragmentary to permit a reasonable translation.

217

(e 37; f 97; d 151b) This letter was already broken when another letter (229) was written on the Verso. The script is very peculiar; while generally written in uncial, the scribe has sometimes made use of cursive script for some words and phrases. In parts the letter is badly faded and very difficult to read.

1. Obscure.
2. \(\mu\i\i\v\i\o\u\) obscure.
6. \(\e\i\a\u\w\o\n\e\) perhaps for \(\e\i\a\u\w\o\n\e\), see chapter VIII par. 129.
\(\mu\,\p\o\n\), obscure.
8. \(\e\a\d\) for \(\e\a\t\), see chapter VIII par. 111.
9. μν[...]ς, perhaps μν[...]ς, cf. the very common μν[...]ς in Fayyumic letters.

10. ἀθανάτιος for δεσπότας.

Translation:

(line 2).......

(1) Or: 'God is wont to rise up like ...'; this is probably a quotation from the Bible, cf. Isaiah XXVIII,21: (God) ἀνέστησεν τοὺς θεούς τοις ἁγίοις τοῦ θεοῦ. (2) See 216 note.

(3) "my lords", δεσπόται, in this context occurs only here in the present collection, but is found commonly elsewhere, cf. Krall: M.P. E.R. vol.V. pp. 36f., also B.M.473, 1145, 1146, 1180, Ryl. 280, 305, 308, 334, 340; at Thebes this seems to be rare outside the Pesynthian correspondence: R.E.5,18(ter), 17, 32, C.O.124.

(4) Apa Ouenober is not certain, but probable; as superior he recurs 207 and 208.

218

(f 60; d 151c; a further fragment is d 76g) Few ligatures; on the verso 160, later.

↑

1

[...]παράκαλε...παρακάλε...

2

(gap)
4 \[\ldots\] τωρ \[\ldots\] δοευτν ερομ ετκοι ηεκν\] 
5 \[\ldots\] εν πεκκενων ταπε πετενερπαιεεεε ευπε ηεκ\]
6 \[\ldots\] δουν \[\ldots\] με \[\ldots\] ηεκν \[\ldots\] εγ\[\ldots\] επε δη\[\ldots\] ε\[\ldots\] ηεκ \[\ldots\] ε\[\ldots\] ηεκ 
(broken)

1. Obscure.

5. \[\ldots\] πεκκενων, obscure, the exact word-division is not certain.

**Translation:**

(lines 5 and 6). . . . in . . . (?), that your\(^1\) remembrance might take place
day and night in the raising up of your\(^2\) holy hands. . . . (broken).

(1) We might have expected 'our remembrance'.
(2) See 216\(^1\) note.

219

(d 146c)

(broken)

1 \[\ldots\] \[\ldots\] πευ\[\ldots\] προι \[\ldots\] θε
2 \[\ldots\] τετενθα\[\ldots\] \[\ldots\] ηο\[\ldots\] 
3 \[\ldots\] \[\ldots\] ε\[\ldots\] ε\[\ldots\] ε\[\ldots\] η\[\ldots\] δη\[\ldots\] ηεκ \[\ldots\] ε\[\ldots\] ηεκ \[\ldots\] ε\[\ldots\] ηεκ 
(margin)

**Translation:**

give an account of them according as . . . [you relying (\[\ldots\] θε\[\ldots\] \[\ldots\] [\ldots\] \[\ldots\] ηεκ \[\ldots\] God . . . . in the raising up] of your holy hands\(^2\). +

(1) For \[\ldots\] \[\ldots\] θε\[\ldots\] in this sense see Ep. 431\(^8\) and note 7.
(2) See 216\(^1\) note.

220

(d 124a) — — — —

(broken)

1 \[\ldots\] \[\ldots\] ε\[\ldots\] ε\[\ldots\] ε\[\ldots\] ε\[\ldots\] η\[\ldots\] δη\[\ldots\] ηεκ \[\ldots\] ηεκ \[\ldots\] ηεκ 
2 \[\ldots\] \[\ldots\] χενεκ \[\ldots\] χενεκ \[\ldots\] χενεκ 
(broken)
1. See 216\textsuperscript{14} note.

221

\((d\ 138e)\) Contains: \textit{…\ μιν \ η\ ν\ ε\ ζ\ π\ ι\ ε\ θ\ ρ\ [\ ι\ …}\ , see 216\textsuperscript{14} note.

222

\((d\ 132a)\) (broken)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
1 \text{[unreadable]} \\
2 \text{[unreadable]}
\end{array}
\]

2. See 216\textsuperscript{14} note.

223

\((b\ 4;\ d\ 118a;\ d\ 154a)\) Ligatured. 5 by 15 inches, complete. On the Verso 142, later.

\[(\text{margin})\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
1 \text{[unreadable]} \\
2 \text{[unreadable]} \\
3 \text{[unreadable]} \\
4 \text{[unreadable]} \\
5 \text{[unreadable]} \\
6 \text{[unreadable]} \\
7 \text{[unreadable]}
\end{array}
\]
Translation:

+ I worship(προσκυνεῖν) the sweetness of you the dear lord (and) holy father until I do this face to face(κατὰ προσώπον) and my great joy be complete[.....] father(?), for when we were about to come south we went up to Ma-n-sabēs(3) and they covered(?)[.....](?)[.....](?)[.....](?) my brother the deacon Jeremias; now when(?) I sent[him(?)] he brought out the ships[.....] man, and we compelled him(5) and[.....](?) - 5 - down, and he gathered all his men and brought them and we turned him (it ?) back. Now(λογούσον) let your mercy[come (to us) and give him] (?) his command(6), since(ἐπεὶ) there is no sailor with me and behold my few (or; small) garments and all your (pieces of) wood(7) have perished and I have not[.....] but if you work on it(8), send Ouenober to me with
another person, he knows (how) to work (9), that I bring him south and you make terms with him (10). And as you command (κελευειν), we will be (your) servants; but whatever the command which you will give, do not restrict (κεπτειν) me, because all that was ours has perished and we are destitute. Behold, I am remaining with him (11) — 10 — until your letter(s) come(s) to us and we act accordingly, since the man has not remained with me that I should bring him south. These (things) I am writing. + We shall farewell (12) by your prayers. +

Address: + The most holy ὁσίωταστάρος dear lord (and) holy father Apa[...

(1) Cf. 189 notes 3 and 4.
(2) For the meaning of the word ἐν in this context see Crum: Dictionary p.70a, b; cf. also here 245.
(3) This place recurs P.Lond.IV 16196, 7, 8; Crum suggests the modern Man-
safis about 5 miles south of Minia.
(4) The Coptic verbal auxiliary ἔντά - is sometimes found in non-literary texts with this meaning, cf. 186 διαρρέει ἕνταρεν μανήν παῦν τις ἕναν τούτην ηγάζεται ἔναν ψυχήν ἐγκατοντά ταῖς ἡγάζεται 'I rejoiced greatly when I found my brother the deacon Johannes coming to you'. This usage is common in Bo-
hairic.
(5) This translation of ἀνάμοιρα ἐκωγιέ seems likely, but the passage might be translated differently; cf. Crum: Dictionary p.181a.
(6) Perhaps: 'give us command of him'(Barns).
(7) One is tempted to translate ὡτε here like the Greek ὡτι as 'articles' but Crum does not support this in his Dictionary.
(8) Perhaps: 'if you are exercised about it(?)'(Barns).
(9) 'he knows (how) to work' added as an afterthought, cf. 192 note 10.
(10) This meaning of τετευμοτίζειν seems probable, but is not certain; cf. Crum: Dictionary pp.195b and 196a where all references are cited. Perhaps translate: 'and you agree with it' i.e. with my action, but
doubtful; cf. also W.S. p.96 note.


(12) See 186 note 9.


(12) See 186 note 9.

224

(e 38) For this fragment see 186 note 9. On the Verso 363.

(broken)

1 [ NAI EICZAI
2 μμοου εναουχαι ειτσεμ [ΝΤΕ]ΤΡΙΑΣ
3 έτουλλαι ονομοους[ιον

(two more lines visible)

225

(g 92) In red ink; much ligatured.

(broken)

5 [ ηναουχαι ειτσεμ [ΝΤΕ]ΤΡΙΑΣ έτουλλαι

(Verso) (sic !) in minuscule script; perhaps not by the same hand as the recto but in the same hand as 148 and a small fragment cited below. Probably part of a text written on the verso, now no longer visible.

7 δη εμ'/ πετε' εκ δικυ' εγ' + Below a seal: 

5. See 186 note 9.

7. Cf. a small fragment, e 57 and d 119a, end of a contract:

(crude hand) άνοκ δεοτω[ρε] ερμ τε έκ

(ligatured, same hand as line 7 above) + πετε' εγ' +

Petros again 1484; cf. also index. For the seal cf.402f. below.
2. την Χορυ, see chapter VIII par. 138.

4. Τε, (sic !), τριάκ cannot be read here.

**Translation:**

(broken) .....[...] northwards, southwards(1) [...] the he being with us pointed it out(σημαίνειν) to us that we should complete it [...] the teacher(2) Apa Merkourios, that his heart be at rest concerning this matter [...] holy consubstantial(δομοσωσίας) [...] through the intercessions (πρεσβείας) of our lords [...] (margin).

(1) Cf. 188 note 11.

(2) On this title see Crum: Dictionary p. 383b.

(3) Not 'Trinity' which we should have expected here; 'consubstantial God' would paleographically be possible, but can hardly be right.

(e 40) Two fragments; script very like 154 and 199, same ?

5 exp ονο δυνατον εν ευχαριστίας

5. $\tau \nu \varepsilon \chi \alpha \rho \varepsilon \iota \tau \alpha \tau \alpha$ for $\nu \tau \varepsilon \chi \alpha \rho \varepsilon \iota \tau \alpha \tau \alpha$, see chapter VIII par.138.

7. $e y o y k o y i$ (sic!) for $e \theta y k o y i$.

11. $\gamma \lambda \lambda$ for $\gamma \lambda \lambda$, see chapter VIII par.6C.

Translation:

$\pi [\text{With God (?)}.]$ We worship (προσκυνε\(\varepsilon\)) now again many [times your]\(\text{Christloving(} \phi \lambda \chi \varepsilon \sigma \tau \alpha \psi \iota \text{)}[\ldots]^{(1)}\) which is manifest [before] God. This one we sent to [\ldots in truth those who shall contend (\(\dot{\alpha} \chi \dot{\omega} \nu\))\(^{(2)}\) with us \ldots (?)\[\ldots] that we should bless and give thanks (\(e \dot{\chi} \chi \varepsilon \sigma \tau \alpha \nu\))\[\ldots\] Finally, however, (as regards) these we beseech [\ldots](rest fragmentary and broken).

(1) Probably 'paternity' or 'fraternity'.

(2) $\gamma \gamma \gamma$ a noun used as a verb, see chapter VIII par.157b.

228

(e 47 and d 123b) Uncials. Very badly faded and extremely difficult to read. On the Verso 259, also traces of an earlier account.
Translation:
(lines 1 - 9, broken and obscure) ....... (?) I besought (παρεκλήσα) him and his mercy met me and he set me at ease. It is written(1): 'Saying is exquisite indeed ...(?), but giving is better'. But .......(2). If there is any possibility, then come south with Apa Serne and comfort my sister Eucharia ...(?). your word, I am drawing up ...(?). My brother Theodore the oil-seller and his wife greet you, and remember them for they are ill. The deacon Abraham and Paitapa(3)[...] greet you ......

(1) I am unable to identify this quotation; cf. however Acts XX,35.
(2) ἡμενίοτε εὐτυχαβ is extremely difficult here, as εὐφυς in the next line is practically certain, and there is no line missing. The
scribe evidently left something out here.

(3) Paitapa is an unusual name, but cf. Patapē 0.0.290, J.7128, al.

229

(e 37; f 97; d 151b) Few ligatures. On the verso 217, earlier.

(margin)

1 [+]ΟΥΝ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΧΙ
2 ΤΑΕΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΤΟΟΤΝ ΝΣΟΚΒΗΤ
3 [ ... ] ΤΑΡΕΤΕΤΝ ΠΛΗΡΟΥ ΆΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙ
4 (gap)
5 [ ... ] ΤΤΜΜΟΥΡ ΝΒΗΤ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΤΕΤΝΕ
6 [ ] ΤΕΤΝ[ΒΟΥΛΛΩΜΕ ΜΜΟΥΥ ΤΕΤΝ
7 ΤΑΑΥ ΕΤΟΟΤΙ ΆΠΡΩΜΕ ΗΕΝΕΟΥΑ ΓΙΩΝΟΥ
8 ΒΩΚ ΕΜΑ ΆΛΛΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΆΠΝΩΡΣΟ ΝΑ
9 ΤΑΑΞ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΤΝΣΗΤ ΡΙΣΕ
10 ΤΙΑΣΝΑΖΕ ΆΜΩΤΝ ΕΙΤΝ ΝΕΙΣΩΑΙ +

(margin)

Verso: (address) ↑

11 + ΤΑΑΣ ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΝΣΟΚΒΗΤ

1. Above this line are the remains of a few letters, probably the address of the letter on the verso.

2. ΝΤΟΟΤΝ clearly for ΝΤΩΤΝ, see chapter VIII par.49; ΝΤΟΟΤΝ is impossible here in view of ΤΑΕΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ preceding. See also below note 1.

5 and 6. ΤΕΤΝ- for ΝΤΕΤΝ-, see chapter VIII par.138.

8. ΕΜΑ probably for ΕΜΑΥ, see chapter VIII par.17.

μνωρσω for μηρσω, see chapter VIII par.144.

Translation:

[+] Be so kind, therefore, as soon as you receive my letter( ἐπιστολή), you the palm-leaf-pickers(?)(1)[ ... ] that you satisfy( πληρώω) the monastery
(2) good palm-bundles(3) and[...] and seal(βουλαγγείον)(4) them and give them to the man, so that not one among them go there(?); but by all means(ἀλλὰς πέντες) do not continue without doing it, so that your heart be distressed(5). I salute(ἀσπαζόμενον) you through this letter.+

Address: +Give it to the brethren, the palm-leaf-pickers(?)...(1)[.....]

(1) The word σκάκνετ recurs almost certainly in line 11 and as σακκβντ twice in 259, esp.259 ἐγείρε νοὐ σακκβντ Ἰνν πέταγε ἑροὶ ἀνάκ ἐπερνούχε ἐβολ ἑγοῦε ἑροκ. Dr.Barns suggested that this is a title and offered the following translation for 259: "if a palm-leaf-picker is not one whom it is fitting for me to expel any more than it is for you". This seem very probable and is borne out also by other evidence: Crum: Dictionary p.328a cites a few words composed also of σακκντ and another word, where we clearly have a parallel development. (1) MIF 59 ne-τρε χάκκου "Petre the six-day-faster" (cf.Dict. p.326a); (2) Ry1.289 ἐγείρε ἐσκακκου ἀντίτηλον ἐπερνούχε ἐβολ ἑγοῦε ἑροκ. Here I would suggest we read ἐσκακκοῦ and translate: "(men) who were going to the corn-gatherers and persuaded them that they should take them north with them." (3) P.Mich. 3571 cited Crum: Dictionary p.328a 'I sent γομτε σακκοῦ' probably 'three thorn-gatherers', but the context of the letter might suggest a different interpretation; (4) Professor Drescher drew my attention to a letter which he had copied which contained the phrase: δικοῦνκ εὴ ἐσκακκοῦ where ψακκαλλω is probably a man who does something with cheese, though it is difficult to be certain which meaning of σακκντ would be applicable here; (5) B.M.487 contains τσακκοῦ, but there the context is obscure.

(2) Probably 'three] good palm-bundles'(γομτε]τ) or 'ten'(μητ) etc.(Barns).
(3) For μονής]τ see Crum: Dictionary p.181b; the word recurs here in 260; cf. also W.S.148.
(4) For Boyzlize cf. Krall M.P.E.R. vol.V p.37 εἰσενήτει λατινογεία μανη γιτοφτη τανα ὀυενοφρ εὐξοῦλιζε νον. Boyzla. 'Behold I have sent it to you through Apa Ouenober sealed with a seal.'

(5) The sense of this passage is: 'do not delay to do it, lest you be sorry for it'. For μνήμων ματ- and its Theban equivalent μνήμω νομο- in the meaning 'delay not to (do something)' see Crum: Dictionary p.601a. τετεθεικτικα recurs here 259², also C.O.61 Ad.52 and Ep. 298²², cf. C.O.276, Ad.60, V.C.6⁹, B.M.1195², Ep.105⁹, 486.

(g 58; d 135b; d 150g) Few ligatures. Three fragments.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>γιτοφτη ει[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>εμπρασωτιμ ουν[</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(gap)

4 | έψωτ εβολ ενε[ |
5 | ω κανεκγ εγρήγορι[α |
6 | ιοκ τιμαζ πελαυαλ σναυ η[ |
7 | γιτοφτηθυτ η ηυγηνε επολοος τηρη αλα[ |
8 | (blank) |

Verso: (same hand) ———> (margin)

9 | ιαιοει επανη[ωνε] |
10 | ταινης ακακυ[ρε] |

(margin)

6. τιμαζ- for νυμες- see chapter VIII paragraphs 21 and 138.
7. ηυγηνε επολοος τηρη probably 'I greet the whole community' cf. chapter V p.34.

The document is too fragmentary to permit a translation.
Letter perhaps from a bishop.

2. Μετεποιήσεως Ἀντιποίησις Νεόντος

3. Ἐπισκοπή Περιπλούμ

4. Ἐλαχιστον [ἔλαχιστον] ἔπειτα ΝΕΟΝΤΟΥΝ ξ[

Verso: (continued from the recto) —>

6. ΜΟΝΟΝ ΝΠΕΡΤ[...]

7. ΠΕΘΟΥΝ ΝΠΑΚΟΝ ΦΙΘ ΝΕΒΩΚ[...]

8. ΤΕΛΗ ΛΕΣΗ ΟΥΧΑΙ ΕΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΟΥ

9. ΝΑΛΕ ΕΥΟΥΝΣ ΥΙΟΥ ΝΜΑΥ —

2. ΝΤΕΝΤΝΟΩΥ, see chapter VIII par. 140.

3. Difficult; ΝΠΑΚΟΝ ΤΕΝΙΣΚΟΠΗ can hardly stand for ΝΠΑΚΟΝ ΝΤΕΝΙΣΚΟΠΗ

'(she) who has established the office of bishop(ἐπίσκοπος)'.

From a bishop or an archimandrite.

6. ΠΡ ΠΡΕΩΝΒΟΛ 2Ω[...]

Verso: (address) —>

6. ΠΡ for προσταγος.
6. τὸ οὖν ἀληθὲς is probably the same as the Theodoros of 165 and 235.

233

{f 19} On the Verso 263, later.

(footnote)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>ἙΣΤΑΘΒΩΚ ΕΑΘΗ ΠΕΝΙΚΚ</th>
<th>(broken)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ἙΝΟΥΤΕΧΩΙΔΙΤΥ ΣΑΚΑΝ</td>
<td>(broken)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ἙΣΤΩΚ ΜΕΛΩΝ ΝΕΤΝΕΡΟΥ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ἙΣΚΩΙΝΒΙΡ ΜΝ[ ]</td>
<td>(broken)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ἙΣΙΩ ΜΑΝΑ [ἈΡΑΝΗΣΕ]</td>
<td>(broken)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ἙΝΚΕΙΧΝΣ ΜΝΗΔΝ ΝΑΙ ΕΙ</td>
<td>(broken)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>δ' Χ</td>
<td>(blank)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Perhaps read Χαίβιτυ for Χε αλβιτυ; cf. chapter VIII par.151.

234

(f 34) From a bishop or an archimandrite.

(broken)

| 1 | [ ] λοιπον εἰς ὑμεῖς | (broken) |
| 2 | ἙΤΣΝΚΗ ΜΙΒΩΛ ΝΕΜΗΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ | (broken) |
| 3 | ἙΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΕΤΣΝΠΑΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ[ ] | (broken) |

Translation:

(broken) ....... now (λοιπόν) behold you are excluded from the holy mysteries (μυστήριων) (1) that you might hand over (παράδοσε) [...... (broken)].

(1) This is one of the few references to excommunication outside the Theban texts, cf. Ep. vol.I p.154.
Uncials. On the Verso large fragment of a Greek-Arabic proto-

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Verso: (address) } & \rightarrow \\
10 & + \text{δεοφιλείς Ναύπρε ζητώρ πειζελαι } + \\
11 & \text{θεολυπός Ν...[margin]}
\end{align*}
\]

2. [ε]μοονε, we might have expected [ε]μανόοοτ.

24. \(\alpha\) for \(\gamma\), cf. chapter VIII par. 37.

5. \(\alpha\) for \(\gamma\), cf. 272, 24 \(\mu\)οοον and Krall 223, 10; rare in non-literary.

10. \(\pi\)ρ\(\pi\)ρ\(\pi\) for \(\pi\)-\(\alpha\)ρ\(\chi\)\(\iota\)\(π\)\(\rho\)\(\epsilon\)\(σ\)\(\rho\)\(\epsilon\)\(τ\)\(ε\)ρος, cf. \(\alpha\)\(\pi\)\(\alpha\)\(\mu\)α\(\alpha\)\(\nu\) for \(\alpha\)ρ\(\chi\)\(μ\)\(\alpha\)\(ν\)\(\rho\)\(τ\)\(η\)\(ν\)\(ς\), \(\alpha\)\(\mu\)\(δ\)\(\alpha\) for \(\alpha\)ρ\(\chi\)\(δ\)\(\iota\)\(α\)\(κ\)α\(ν\)\(ο\)ς.

Translation:

(broken) .....] basket(?) from(?) Christodore and he did not do it, but left the ship moored all these days, while his freight was tied(1) to the man. [And I found] occasion in my heart because you undertook that the monks(\(\mu\)ον\(\chi\)\(ο\)\(ς\)) should [.....] to me and they did not give it [.....] ...(?)[.....] communicate(\(\sigma\)ου\(\nu\)κ\(\chi\)\(ε\)\(υ\))\(2\) like a Christian(\(\chi\)\(ε\)\(σ\)\(τ\)\(κ\)\(χ\)\(ο\)\(ς\)) until they complete for(?)(3) Christodore all the [.....] which he shall assign to them. Only(\(μ\)ονον) let them [.....] them all before they have been permitted to
communicate (συνάχειν). We greet you (our) God-loving (θεοφιλεῖον) child through this letter. +

Address: + The God-loving (θεοφιλές) honoured child, the archpriest (ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος) Joseph, the ἴδρυμενος (from) Theodorus (4) […]

(1) Presumably this means that the man was in charge of the freight.
(2) Probably 'they shall not] communicate …' in view of what follows.


(3) ὅμως ξοκ χρηστολαμφέ εῶσ is extremely difficult; I can only suggest that the scribe omitted an η after ξοκ (ξωκ).

(4) Theodorus is probably the bishop who recurs elsewhere in the present collection, see 165 note 3.

(f 102; d 62b) Poor papyrus.

(broken)

6. eμειπ ενηπον ηντιακονία , cf. chapter V Appendix.

237

(d 147a) Letter to a bishop.

(margin)

1  ἀντιπροσκυνεὶ ἀν[ω

2  ἀνω πανοστολικον]
237 (continued)
3 ὡτ ητογας... ε]βολα[ (broken)

Verso: (address) ——> 
5 ἕπ εξ ὧη έγγενηρ βαίν

5. '... from ...' the least priest who is in disgrace'.

238
(d 64b; d 148a; d 156a) Letter to a bishop written in literary uncials.

(margin)
1 προς θε ΝΤΑΤΕΤΝΕΨΩΝΙΩΤΑΤΟΣ ΝΧΟΕΙΣ Ντ[ωτ
2 ετε μνήκαζ... ε]ς[γ]ήντε ουν [ε]τ[η]ν[ ]
(broken)

Verso: (address) ——> 
4 πετ]ι[ε[ε[ε]ποκοδοξος... μπρος Βοκο...[ε]λαχ[ ]

Translation:
According as you the most holy (δοςωτατος)(1) lord (and) father...
...
(?) behold therefore (...) (broken).

Address: [ Give it to ... the orthodox δοςωτατος] bishop (ἐπισκοπος)
(from) Markos (the) least[...

(1) For the construction of δοςωτατος see 191 note 2. δοςωτατος was specially applicable to a bishop, see Ryl.289 note 3.

(2) ετε μνήκαζ, obscure.

239
(d 55) Uncials, very like Crum: Coptic Manuscripts no.XXVIII pl.1.

(margin)
[σωνοῦτε πασιω πετσαϊ νη[ ]
[π]ε ναι[ν] εστ[φ]ον μιν μαν[ ]
Translation:

[...] Shinoute (1) of Ἱσού (2) it is who is writing to [...] which are all yours, because of [...] the son of Stephen and [...] may your mercy meet me to draw up a letter (ἐπιστολή) (3) [...] that he draw up a φιλοξένον (?) [...] are free and they are (?) writing [...] his general tax (δῆμος τοῦ) (4) and his expenses-tax (δαπάνη) [...] lords and his fathers [...] .

(1) This spelling of the name Shenoute recurs 104, 278 and elsewhere.
(2) This place recurs as ecoy in Worrell: Coptic Texts III, 20: ἀνοικ βικτορ νηρεν μεθιας πρωμ εκογ ενπτογ μημογ εχειτ ναπα ενοιχ πιμονακος ναπα απολλω. That we ought to read πωμ ecoy (not πωμ κεω) is obvious from chapter VIII par. 154 here. On the verso of that papyrus we ought probably to read πωμ ecoy for Worrell’s κωμεκεω since κωμε does not occur elsewhere in such a context. For the location of this place see Worrell’s note. The monastery of Apa Apollo mentioned in that papyrus is probably the great monastery at Bawit, see above chapter III p. 18. Perhaps another reference to ecoy...
may be found in an inscription published by Gayet; Miss. III (1889) p. 30 αριθμεύει περίφημα περίον where περίον perhaps stands for περίον.

(3) ἱπτολή used as here in the sense of 'document' recurs elsewhere e.g. Ryl. 323 and B.M. Or. 6201 A 129, but this use is uncommon; cf.

the similar use of εἰσιν e.g. Krall in W.Z.K.M. vol. XVI (1902) p. 258£ line 8 τῶνε ἐπεικτέοι, also χάρτης, δελάκη and πλάκη.

(4) For δημόσιον and διαρά & here see above chapter VII and references there.

240

(c 14; d 7 1/2 - g; d 90d) 4 1/2 by 12 inches, width complete. Ligatured.

On the verso tax receipt 124, later.

This letter is in many ways related to the eighth century Aphrodito find; not only is Ἀπόραδε (Aphrodito) mentioned, but the letter relates to some money paid to the government with an assurance that the persons had not received more money from the tax-payers than they had actually paid over to the government. The fact that the verso was re-used to write a tax-receipt makes it probable that the letter was addressed to the local financial officer, perhaps the pagarch.

(broken)

1 [..........................................................]ΝΤΧΚ[.........

2 [..........................................................]ΝΤΚΜΕΛΗΚ[....

3 ε[τν][ο]ντον εντον εβάλα..........................]ἐκομιολογεῖα ἐντητρίβοικ ἐχήτ εβαλώ[η]

4 [ἐν τιρμόλε τ[ω] περίθε ινάδυ ..]ἐτ[....]ἐπ[.............]αλκ[......]

5 [.....]ὑκαταβάλε νέοντα ντανανω[.............]ἐ. ἐμ[....]ἐνπ[...
1. Perhaps πῆχκ[εoγ].

2. If the word κοίε was intended here we should have expected π[ῆχκεoγ]ει since κοίε according to Crum: Dictionary p.92b is always feminine. Perhaps π[ῆχκεoγ]ει is a place-name.

3. πουγ for πουκ, line 7 που for πουε, see chapter VIII par.61.

7. πουγ εποογ for πουγ πουε, see chapter VIII par.82d.

Translation:

(broken) ..... ]of Jkoou(?)[.....]great village ...according to the validity of the agreements(όμολογία ?) which[we are(?)]showing to you[.. ..]agreement(s)(όμολογία ). When we went north to Babylon [in this]year the fifth[indiction ..... ]we left(?)[.....]paid(κατ'[βάλλεν) the money which we had[......](?)[..... this]same village Jkoou[.....]we did[not] receive anything except that which we paid(κατ'[βάλλεν). When we reached the present day which is[the ... day ....](?)[.....(broken).

(1) Cf. above note on line 2; perhaps 'this great village of Π[ῆχκεoγ].'

241

(d 30) 7½ by 7½ inches, complete. Ligatured, see plate V,4. On the verso Greek-Arabic protocol dated 705 - 714 (401), earlier.
Translation:

First of all I greet and salute (συνεργεῖς) my dear honoured brother [Apa] Helias. For (σε) I was told that since you came away from me you have not done any work to the small dwelling-place (1) until now, already - 5 - the third year; you have not come further than its door (2).
and you have not built bricks over the yard, [nor] have you strengthened
the beam which is broken, nor have you ...[......]downwards or upwards.
Now (λοιπόν) ...[......]for ......(?) everything which you wished to do and
I will do more than those (things). Now (λοιπόν) let me come in by the
will of God to see any thing you have done so that my heart be at rest.
And (as regards) the wine[......] and you have not[......]your face upon my
[......]brother in the Lord[......](margin).
Address: + Give it to my dear [honoured brother Apa Hetjias from Finoute(3)].

(1) μαν. Nοwμή 'dwelling-place' often refers to a monk's cell, which is pro-

bably the meaning here; see Crum: Dictionary p.580a,b.
(2) Perhaps read εἰσέβαλ for εἰσοδέβαλ and translate: 'you have not come

into it'; (Barns).
(3) This name is rare; again as Πενούτο 2941, also Ryl.207.

242

(e 45) Few ligatures. Letter relating to a legal decision.

(margin)

[+] Νωμήν ΜΕΝ] ΝΕΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΤΙΡ]ΟΓΡΙΝΗ ΑΥΤ ΤΙΑΣ
[ΠΑΣΕ ΜΝΩΝΠΟΤΙΩΝ ΝΝΟΥΡΤΕ[6] ΜΠΑΚΟΝ ΑΝΑ ΑΜ
[ΜΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΠΕΙΔΗ(7)] ΟΝ ΝΤΟΚΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΙΣ ΤΩΤ [Α]ΑΝ ΒΙΚ
ΤΩΡ | ΛΑΣΤΝ ΝΑΜΕΡΑ ΑΥΣΜΑ ΕΤΒΕ
5 [ ] ΤΩΡ
[+ ΝΑΛΑ[7] ΝΕΠΙ ΑΝΔΩΣΟΝ
[ΑΥΜΗΕ | ΛΕΠΝ ΕΚΝ
[ ] ΜΑΝ ΑΝΑ ΒΙΚ
8 [ΤΩΡ | ΤΟΥΝ Ν[.] (broken)

Verso: (address) ↑

10 + ΤΑΣ ΑΛΕΡΙΤ ΝΚΟΝ (ΚΙΝ) ΑΜΜΟΝΕ[...

3. ΝΤΟΚΕΙ: for ΝΤΑΚΕΙ, see chapter VIII par.10.

ζ[.]ΤΩΤ for ζ[.]ΤΟΤ, see chapter VIII par.49.
Translation:

"First of all I worship (προσκοπέω) and salute (κατακάω) the foot-stool (ποσόδιον) of the feet (1) of my brother Apa Ammone (2), [saying: Since (?) you came away from me, Apa Biktor [...] in the presence of the Emir (3) and he made application concerning [...] any wine. And the decision (διώκω) (4) was [given ......] (three more lines mentioning Apa Biktor, then broken).

Address: + Give it to (the) dear brother Ammone [...]

(1) For this salutation-formula see 189 note 2.
(2) Probably the person who recurs elsewhere as superior, see index.
(3) The Emir ( Ἐμίρ), as elsewhere, is the pagarch, see Steinwenter: Studien pp. 8f.
(4) For διώκω in this sense see Steinwenter: Studien p. 13 note 6; the word occurs very rarely outside the Theban district, again Ryl. 139 and B.M. Or. 6201 A 57.

243

(e 29; d 107a - i) Two fragments. On the verso an account in minuscule script, later.

Letter mentioning a promise (λόγος) and 'the headmen (ἀνήγε)'.
243 (continued)

7  [n. ] [n. n. [n. ]
]μπνούτε μνείς ε [e] [e] [e]
eις πλογος Ντενττνουμ

10 [c ωλητι ωμπρε εναμπηφ]
νε]τανε[ε]αν ετ]
(broken)

244

(d 19) 7½ by 9½ inches; height complete. Ligatured.

+2μπραν μπνούτε ππαν ανω φοιβαμι[ ]
τιμεν τιμινε εποκ αωρα μν γεννητικον εποκ αωα λανκη
[ ]τιμαλλα ύπερ[ ]μεν νοχυρε εποκ αωρ]
λω χειας ύπερ[ ]μεν νοχυρε εποκ ερ[ ]
5 μν νοχυρε ανω φοιβαμι[ ]
τιμεν λινατον τιμινε ελωνγινι αωω λουκ[ ]
μν μονε πανυρε [e] χε νοχυρε [ ]
αω χονε επεια[ ]
έκιρε νμου νεμα] αωω τιρκαινε νκα
επει δεξωι νετατανιν λτοτο ταροκ αυ[ ]
10 [ ] [f ] [ ] [e] λω εικ πεντα]νιν λτνουνυ [ ]
ολωι νουρ νπωωκ διλυε εβολ αωω λιτη[ ]
(ω) [ ]
γιλερε ουγαλι γνυο[ ]
13 [ ][ ][ ] [ ][ ][ ]
επε[ ] [ ][ ] [ ] [ ]
ks +
(margin)

Verso: (address) ——>

14 [ ] [ε[ ] [ε[ ] [ε[ ] [ε[ ] [ε[ ] [ε[ ] [ε[ ] [ε[ )
(3) εις Φοιβαμηνα ενα μαρωυ +
11. πωωκ διλυε εβολ, see below note 8.

Translation:

+In the name of almighty God. I Phoibammon greet my[....]your
mother greets you; Dōra and Gennatia(1) greet you; Apa Ianne(2)[.....]
his mother and his children greet you; Dōra(?) and Ėsaias and his wife and his children greet you ...- 5- and his children. I phoibammon and Marou we greet the whole people. I greet Loungini and you and Mōne my son for he is your own son. Since which you are doing together with me; and that you may search after since I have received his receipt from him for him[... - 10 - ...] And behold I have sent the receipt[...] two baskets to ... (7). And through daughter. Farewell in the Lord. Written indication; Phaophi 26. (margin).

Address: from Phoibammon and Marou.

(1) Gennatia is evidently a feminine form of the common name Gennadios; cf. J.7161, C.0.160, al.

(2) On this name see 154 note 1.

(3) Marou is a woman's name; cf. B.M.1024, 1043, and Preisigke: Namenbuch.

(4) "the whole people" probably refers to the monastic community; see chapter V p.34.

(5) Loungini, a strange spelling of the name Longinos; a similar spelling occurs C.0.394 Longinos.

(6) The name Mōne is not listed in Preisigke: Namenbuch, but is common in Coptic documents, cf.Ryl.(index), etc.; it is probably a short form of Ammōne; recurs here 2452,15.

(7) Νυπάωκ βάλτε εἴολ is very difficult. For νωπκ see Crum: Dictionary p.261a where Crum cites B.M.Or.6201 B 205 ταβάλτε εἴολ Νυπάωκ τού βάλτε εἴολ; Crum suggests 1.? Νυπάκ which would make good sense. Here Νυπάκ would also make good sense: "two baskets to remove βάλτε". Βάλτε, this word does not seem to recur elsewhere, but perhaps we might read βάλτα "gourds".

(8) Probably: "and through[you I greet ...]"; see 188 note 13.
(d 21) 9¾ by 10¼ inches; width complete. Ligatured. On the Verso 154, earlier.

(margin)

+ NOIPH MON NEWH NIM TNOYNE EPEXPERIT
NOIPH MON EPEXPERIT THY AVW TEK
AYEP OYNE EROK KALOS ANI XENAIE EREH ENOE
ATEKMAAY OYNE ACEI KEXAMAOU ANNOUTE

TOYNOΣ XINEFE ΝΤΑΣΤΗΩΝ ΑΙΕΝΚΟΤΕ
ΕΣΟΤ ΑΟΙΜΟΝ ΝΤΙΝΟΕΙΝ ΑΝ ΚΕΟΨΑΙΜΟΥ Ν ΚΕ
ΟΥΑΙΝΑΣ ΣΡΑΙ ΤΙ ΤΕΚΥΕΡ ΝΤΕΚΜΑΛΛΥ
ΕΠΙ ΑΚΝΟΕΙΝ ΖΕ ΝΙΚΟΥΙ ΟΥΗΡΕ ΖΟΟΥ ΔΥΟ

[7] TEOKEALAY RIZE NEUKAC AVWO AIXI NEXIOΛΑΙ

9a

AYOU NTO KALOY ΝΙΟΛΝ ΑΦΩΕ ΝΟΩΙ ΟΥΑΣΕ ΦΩΗ ΤΑΧ[0]

10

ΝΚΟΥΝ ΝΠΑΣΟΧ[ ...] ΡΙΜ[ ...] ΚΑ[ ...] ΜΝΤΑΙΤΕ

ΗΕΡΤΟΥ ΝΑΙ[ ]

ΟΙΝΕ ΑΥΟΥ Τ[ ]

13

ΕΤΡΑΙΩΤΕ ΛΜ[ ]

(broken)

Verso: (address) + (αυ)

15 + ΤΑΣ ΝΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ Χ ΝΟΙΡΕ ΑΥΝΕ + ΖΙΝΤΙ ΝΕΗ

16

ΤΩΤ ΜΝ ΝΤΕΚΜΑΛΛΥ

3. ουηρ for ουηρε, again line 7. This spelling occurs only here, but cf. ουηρ which is found in a number of texts, see chapter VIII paragraph 20c.

XENAIE for ΧΕΝΑΪΕ, similarly line 4 ΚΕΟΨΑΙΜΟΥ for ΚΕΕΧΑΜΟΥ, see chapter VIII par.129.

5. XINEFE for ΧΙΝΘ, see chapter VIII paragraphs 34 and 153.

6 - 7. Cf. Worrell: Coptic Manuscripts p.239 lines 1 - 3; ΝΤΙΝΟΥΝ ΑΝ]

(αυ)

ΚΕ ΑΥΑΙΟΥΝΕ [ν] ΚΕ ΑΥΑΙΜΟΥ.

9a. Added between the lines.
ga. gaste ἔρωτας ταξιδεύει seems certain. ἔρωτας for ἔρωτες, cf. chapter VIII par. 149.

Translation:

First of all we greet our dear son Möne (1) with all our heart and your daughter greets you heartily. We were about to come south to the feast (2), when your mother became ill and was about to die; God raised her up. From the time that she rose, I myself took to my bed; now (λόγος τοῦ γεγονότος) I do not know (ἔρωτας) whether I shall die or live. Write! (3) give your daughter to your mother, since you know (ἔρωτας) that this young boy is wicked and your mother and she have been suffering (4). And I have received her solidus (5) worth of wheat for (?) my brother [...] (broken and obscure) – (added above the line) and Kollouthos the monk will mock me until the matter has perished – [...] (three more fragmentary lines, then broken).

Address: Give it to my dear son Möne + from his father and his mother.

(1) See 244 note 6.
(2) A 'feast' is sometimes mentioned in the present collection, cf. index; cf. also Ep. vol.I p.153, but here the feast is hardly the communion-service.
(3) The use of the imperative is somewhat surprising here, but it is impossible to translate the passage in any other way.
(4) As the context behind this letter is not known, it is difficult to make any suggestions for the meaning of this passage.
(5) Lit.: "her solidus of wheat"; this expression recurs elsewhere, cf. Ryl.350, 386, etc.

246

Obscure letter to Euphêmia and her children. Line 2 mentions some wheat which has been brought south; line 4 "that he bake them and eat
them"; the rest is more or less obscure.

5

\[ \text{margin} \]

\[ \text{margin} \]

Verso: (address) ↑

13 + τας νευφυμία [ ]

3. τηταλόν τηθομοσ για τηταλόν τηθομοσ, again in line 10 τηθαῦ for τηθαῦ; see chapter VIII par.138.

4. ταμνα, apparently not elsewhere, but cf. Crum: Dictionary p.7b μιαμμα (Bohairic) mentioned among herbs and perfumes; same word?

10-11. Perhaps a gap between these two lines.

12. καλ is difficult; in view of ματεν ουπάλευ τηθολοκγιακα following καλ ought to be a numeral, perhaps for κε (60), cf. chapter VIII par.26, or τοογ (6), but this would be difficult to explain.

(d 25) 4½ by 8 inches, complete. Few ligatures.

The numerous lacunae make it difficult to understand this letter properly.
247 (continued) (margin)

[et]tai ky autamo[.]
[
Je mi ne 

[ntaksooy nai ntynt[ (]
[. . . ]tq nnpapa iomega nhc axenooy tamou

[pr]oc the ey[ntak]a] [ ] nai alla nfe ntyha[ (]
oc eroi djaac pros the eyti eruganpoyuete
xi moit nki erhc [.] ekouapro pros the nta[ (]
ty ektaouapoy gakon pey yathi nte]

9 qye nai e[iczai] mmooy ou ka]i enpko[ (c +]

Verso: Different hand, writing exercise?

4. axenooy for exnooy, see chapter VIII par. 21.

Translation:

(line 3) . . . . . . . which you sent to me, that he bring(?) [ . . . ] . . . . . . to(?) the Papa Johannes for what reason. Tell him according as they(?) shall(?) give(?) them to him, but as he has told me, I have acted - according as they are giving -. If God gives guidance to you to come south - if you wish it according as you have[ . . . ] it - if you do not wish it, you will find the matter with me as before(lit.: in its manner). These (things) [I am writing], farewell in the Lord.[+] (margin).

248

(d 27; d 135c; g 38; also d 113e) Few ligatures.

This letter is extremely fragmentary, but dialectically of great interest and contains several unusual names. It contains little more than greetings from Tankratan (lines 1 and 5), Tehëu (lines 9 and 19) and another person - or persons - (line 9) to Ionobar and Tetoue.
1. Tankratan, recurs line 5; I am unable to find this name elsewhere.

2. ουγιε παρεπίτ for ουγιε επαρεπίτ, again line 2, cf. line 12 βοφ έφαγεν μανή
for δωκ εἰσοῦν ἐπάνω; see chapter VIII par. 20.

2. Tetoue, again lines 3 and 22; cf. (φιος) Διαλογε 382; I am unable to find this name elsewhere.

7. The first part of this line is obscure, even the word-division is doubtful.

8a. Added between the lines.

9. Teheu, again line 19; this name apparently not elsewhere, but cf. ἕλυ η 175.

10. Tōnobar, again lines 13 and 18; recurs as ἄνακόφ Ryl. 159, B.M. 1080 and ἄνακφ Krall 29; perhaps some form of the common name Onnouphrios (Crum).

12. διακ εἰσοῦν ἐπάνω for δωκ εἰσοῦν ἐπάνω, cf. note on line 2 above and see chapter VIII par. 20.

16. πετακού for π�-διακονος; this form is of some interest as it is extremely rare outside the Fayyum where it is common, Crum: Coptic MSS 42, 44, 50 verso 7, B.M. 545 part 210, 593 verso. Outside the Fayyum I can only find it once again on an ostracon found at Deir el-Matmar (opposite Bala'izah) Brunton: Matmar p. 95 line 4 πατακόφ.

17. πέτυ for πετνιο is of unusual interest, see chapter VIII par. 141.

20. κυνηγ for κνηγ is also of special interest, see chapter VIII par. 64f.

21. οὐκ θεοκεί for οὐκ ἐπιθεοκεί (chapter VIII par. 25) for οὐκ ἐπιθεοκεί (ib. par. 82) for οὐκ ἐπιθεοκεί, the usual form, cf. also CO 119.

249

(d 37; d 71a; d 109a; d 153a; further fragments not included here are d 95g; d 99a; d 104c; d 109b) 3½ by 8½ inches, incomplete. Written in a very small ligatured hand, in places especially on the verso extremely difficult to read.
Recto: (margin)

+αίζη νεκραί ονοματί πνοείς η

ςανώς τεστοόρει πνεύματος εφον[...]

απενεργω κ' ραί εμίπτωνεν[...]

η π[...]

η εξων[...]

toy[...]

ηβαιεί εφος ταύταλη τν[...]

5

ναυ ετθομ δ'[

ἰςίγιων[...]

κούη ἄνο εργο υμα[...]

αυμ χνου ανα ἰδακ ἐτ[...]

κούμπον δνείπεις λω χνού ἀνα ἀμανέεις παρκνεής πεινοτε εβολ ογκαλ[...]

αυμ ἄναυ εστεμοείς καθ' ἄρα χνο ἄνα χνο υττούν νβρ νομ[...]

ἐτ[...]

αυμ υττούν χνον πξι δια ν νοδ αν χνο[...]

αυμ προ[...]

10

ζαρον καλὼς μ' πλαος τηρ' σειμρος μ' κωμα αυγε ερόκ μ' σοφία[...]

λισαβίς ζαρον αυμ υαίτνηοο ρικούι καμούλα ερής κ' νεκν[...]

λοιπόν χνού ἀνα (αἰη) τιςεπαίζε μποκ καλως ρι[...]

τη έεἰς ἄνας εοι[...]

Verso: (address, and continued from the recto; margin)

13

|[τ] ω ανταβερναί ἄπτο προσπον νεκκα[...]

... τρ[...]

 [.ερ[...]

[ι]... ντε[...]

... τρ[...]

... τρ[...]

... τρ[...]

... τρ[...]

5. ἕνο probably for χνο, cf. chapter VIII par.124.

7. χνού, followed by μαρε- is unusual, but recurs 276 10f.; μαρε- in a similar context again Ryl.308 κελευ μαρεχτού.

9. See note 5 below.

12. After and a short space was left blank; the writer had evidently forgotten the person's name and left a blank space to be filled in later; cf. Krall 292 note.
13. ὑμᾶληρπατι ἄπα ἀποκωσμον: the ἄπα is remarkable and recurs as ἄπα in another document from this collection 2731 ὑμᾶληρπατι ἄπα[...
from parallel passages we should have expected κατά e.g. 2231 ὑμᾶληρπακατα-ερπατι κατα-προκωσμον, similarly 1918, Ry1.298 al. The word is not listed in Crum: Dictionary, but it might not be Coptic. Perhaps the Greek το προκωσμον is substantivised here, cf. the similar π-τομμίες which occurs several times in the Jem e deeds, but then the ἄπα of ἄπα is difficult to explain.

Translation:

I have received the letter of my dear lord[.....] as regards the matter of the horse which he brought to the monastery(メントτίες)[.....] I will come south and pray[.....](line 5 obscure) ....... and ask Apa Isaac concerning the half-trimesion[.....] how he[?] is(2)
...... iron pan(κούκκομε[ον]) (3) and ask Apa Amône, let him cast these fears away[.....] and behold (as regards) some 'moihi'-measures(4), leave them for us; and four baskets(ειρ) [.....] and four bas-kets(Χνοι) with the capacity of a 'kap'-measure of the large ones and four [of the] small ones(5) and[.....] greet[?] and the whole people(κως) (6) for us heartily(καλους). Sevêros and Kôsma greet you and Sophia[.....] [greet?] Elisabeth for us; and I will send the young (or; 'small') camel south with the brethren[.....] further ask Apa ---- (7).
I salute(τονείες) you heartily(καλους) through this letter. ...[.....]

(1) Dr. Barns tentatively proposes to read μενειωθη και εις ἐμφυτοεις 'our affair entered up in Greek", but very doubtful.
(2) Or: 'how it is', i.e. our affair, but doubtful.
(3) On this word see Ep.549 note 1 and references there.
(4) A measure for fodder etc., see Crum: Dictionary p.208a.
(5) Reading: τοοτον νξοι και καπ νξοις μην τοοτον [ΚΝ]ΚΟΥ; και
(6) On this word see Ep.549 note 1 and references there.
clearly stands for ΧΝΟΥ, cf. 81p in the previous line; for in this meaning see Crum: Dictionary p. 748b; ΧΝΟΥ for ΧΝΟΥ, see chapter VIII par. 80m; presumably the lacuna preceding this line contained a reference to what 'the large ones' referred.

(6) This is probably a reference to the monastic community, see chapter V p. 34.

(7) See note on line 12 above.

250

(d 86a; d 87a; d 89e, f; d 96d, e; d 98a; d 105b; further fragments are d 81b; d 89g; d 93b; d 120b; d 141b, c) On the Verso 404, earlier(?).

(250-252) [w ΝΗΙΧΟΡΠΚ ΑΝ ΚΑ] (broken)

(253) [A] [ΝΟΥ] ΝΙΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΡΕ ΝΠΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΜΠΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ

(254) [Ν] ΤΙ ΝΕΚΒΕΚΕ ΝΑΚ ΕΠΙΚΑΤΑΡΟΙ

(255) [ΧΕ ΠΑΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΑΝ ΝΕ ΕΟΥ] [ΓΑΧΩ ΝΕΛΟΤΟΡΤΡ]

(256) [ΜΠΟΥ] [Μ. ΤΗΛΩΡΕ ΝΕΟΥ ΛΥΟ ΜΟΝΟΝΑΝ]

(257) [ΕΥ ΧΑΙΝΙΗ ΜΙΝΝΕΝΗΡΗ]

(258) [ΧΟΗΙΚ Π]

(margin)

2. etc. Perhaps there is more missing than merely two letters.

3. ΕΠΙΚΑΤΑΡΟΙ is difficult; I can only suggest that ΚΑΤΑΡΟΙ is treated here as a noun, cf. π.κατακαρι in J.6714, 7527, 108, V.C.514 and here 4362-3, also π.καταπολεμον P.Lond.IV 1574 and 1642, π.κατα-μαθοσ 4367-8 and elsewhere, etc..

4. ΓΑΧΩ, extremely doubtful.

Translation:

(broken) I have not stumbled against you in any matter, but may God bless you [......] give(?) your wage to you according to what is due from (?) me [......(rest mostly obscure and broken).
1. Αἱρεύσθη τέκα[ for Ἀἱρέσθη τέκα[, see chapter VIII par.80c.
2. Ἕρευσθαι εἰς ἡλικίαν, see chapter VIII par.82i; similarly line 3.

Translation:
I am amazed\(^1\) at your[... ]all[...] and you did not search after me[......] to search after you; but[.....](broken).

\(^1\) An unusual opening for a letter; it is also to be noted that there is no cross at the beginning of this letter, perhaps from a Muslim.

Translation:
(broken)

252

(d 146a)

(broken)

1 Χε ἄνδρον πετάσωκαμ εβαλ νέντου\[\]
2 μὴ παλαύ μην παννοῦτε μην θεολαφε[\]
3 μὴ τκαψία μὴ μαρίγαμ μὴ ιουκτνα[\]

Translation:
(broken) ..... because we found your welfare in[ it\(^1\) ..... ] and Palau\(^2\) and Papnoutē and Theodōros[.....] and Tkapsia\(^5\) and Mariham\(^4\) and Ious-

Translation:
(broken) ..... (broken)
Address: .....[the deacon Achillēs(6) from Athanase and his brethren
(?)](7).[+]

(1) Perhaps supply: "we have received the letter of your honoured pater-
nity and we rejoiced greatly] because we found your welfare in[ it."

(2) Palau recurs as a name in this form here 312,4 and Maspero: Bawit
10, 27,10,15, 145,2,3; cf. Παλάογ here 184 and once in Preisigke:
Namenbuch (P.Lond.IV,1420173); also Παλάο Brunton: Qau and Badari
vol.III pl.III (top left) line 1; Παλάογ and Παλά Krall 222,11; Παλάγ
Krall 164,10 and Engelbach in Ann.Serv. XXII pp.269ff. num-
ber 5; Παλάγ j.1226. The name is rare and apparently does not
occur before the 7th or 8th centuries.

(3) Ikapsia is a woman's name; apparently not elsewhere.

(4) Mariham is a common form of the name Maria.

(5) Ioustna evidently stands for Ioustina or Ioustine, cf.B.M.11224 al..

(6) See 197 note 8.

(7) Cf.W.S. 193 note 4 ?

253

(d 146d; d 139d) Uncials.

(broken)

\[\text{[broken]}\]

Verso: (address) ——>

7  \[\text{[broken]}\]

8  \[\text{[broken]}\]
253 (continued)

2. ογιμί apparently for ογιμί, cf. chapter VIII par. 7.

3. μή, corrected.

4. ΝΤΙΤΙΤΟ, perhaps dittography for ΝΤΙΤΟ.

7 - 8. "... the headmen of the large village ΜΟΥ..." from Apa Isaac.

The plural Χαώκε of the word Χαώκ occurs only here and is not cited in Crum: Dictionary. The word itself is not very common in this connection, but cf. C.O.267.

254

(d 148d) Ligatured.

1. ζελήσατε γὰρ εἰσ φέρετε καὶ γαναναντήσατε

2. ΤΑ ΕΚΚΕΝΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΑΓΓΕΛ ΝΗΤΝ ΝΚΛΛΩΣ

(broken)

Verse: (address) ---

4. ΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΩΝ ΕΤΤ

2. ΝΚΛΛΟΣ, see 18816 note; but perhaps not ΝΚΛΛΩΣ.

Translation:

(broken) ..... [for I(?)] hope(ἐλπὶς Ἰησοῦν) in God that we shall meet(ἐπειταὐτὲς) ..... ] if you know that he has come to you ... [ ..... (broken).

Address: ..... the God-loving honoured brother.

255

(d 160; f 93) 4½ by 10½ inches, neither complete. Few ligatures.

(broken)
5 Ἰάκ άνταλε[...]γεν ἐροι
6 Ἰπεντού[ε]ϊάςεν ἑβολ οὐαί εἰσαι ἓμοον τιγιν
7 Ἰά νήμπε μν ἑπταμην ἱροι κάτα ονοματ + [?]

(margin)

3. ΚΑΛΛΙΟΝ, the Greek ΚΑΛΛΙΟΝ?
7. ΚΑΤΑ ΟΝΟΜΑ, we might have expected ΚΑΤΑ ΝΈΡΑΝ which is the normal expression, or ΚΑΤΑ ΡΆΝ 1874 and Ryl.291, but ΚΑΤΑ ΟΝΟΜΑ is common in Greek letters.

256

(e 42) Written in a very difficult ligatured hand. On the Verso 286, earlier.

This letter is of unusual interest. It was evidently written by a high official in the government treasury to a local tax-official, reproving him for extortion. In this connection it is not without interest that on the Verso we find an official account of worker's overseers(?) which clearly was written in the government treasury and later was torn and re-used for official letters. It should also be noted that the greeting at the end of the letter is 'peace unto you' which is the normal phrase found in letters written by muslims.

(broken)

ἐπαραμε[...].εράκ γίωκ εοινον άν
ἀν επεντακαυατυ μμοι στοχ εροι μνη
ναί εκτω νεφαλαμπε εροι αυο
[ ] ῥγ.κει ποινε γμπογ
5 αν.μπινουτε αυο τιρηνη ΝΑΚ +

(margin)

2. μν, sic i, for μν.
4. ῥγ.κει or ῥγ.κκει, obscure.
(broken) ....] ... my man[...] to be(?) prudent concerning you. Now 
(λοιπόν) behold, as regards that which you extorted of him, return it to
him together with this, you returning his goat to him. And[...] ...(?)
shame by the will of God, and peace unto you. + (margin)

257

(e 44) The chief interest of this letter is the occurrence of Ἀτρή for
ετρή in line 4; on this see chapter VIII par. 27.

6. For the lacuna see 186 note 9.

258

(e 46) Few ligatures.

This letter is of considerable interest as it shows several Fayyumic forms; see chapters II and VIII.

+ ζεμπραν μνημον[ε]
 + επαμεινίτ ηντ εμαλ[ω]
 + μν επαμεινίτ ηντ[
 + μω μιακ ετρή πη[]
 + αυω μαγ + λαον ην[]
 + αναγ χε χαρπαρα[}
7. \( \text{koyi} \text{ nexwarkwotci} \)
\( \text{ebtancewk yante n} \)
\( \text{en niko} \text{y coya ephc} \)

10. \( \text{yni nni xekoyw} \text{ty} \)
\( \text{xame nbiht ecywne} \)

12. \( \text{exw} \text{ek nbiht oyx} \text{e} \)

\text{Verso: (address)} \rightarrow

13. \( \text{tae} \text{e enpanon pajai} \)

4. Perhaps \( \text{taj} \text{aw}, \text{Crum.} \)

8. \( \text{ebtancewk}, \text{we should have expected ebtanco muok, Barns.} \)

\text{Translation:}

+In the name of God[.....]my dear father \( \text{Hol} \text{de} \).... [.....]and my dear father[.....]told(?) you about the[.....]and they will not give any­thing to[me(].....]behold then, you will[.....]small(amount of)\(^{1}\) solidi[.....]he keeping you alive until[.....]bring(?) these small (measures of)\(^{1}\) wheat south[.....]greet me saying: you wish[.....]palm-leaf-peg\(^{2}\) if[.....]... of palm-leaf. Farewell[.....](margin).

\text{Address: [Give]it to my brother Pshai\(^{3}\).}

\(^{1}\) \text{Koyi 'small' in both cases is difficult. There were no small solidi as against large solidi, and small wheats is nonsense. Perhaps in the first instance koyi nexwarkwotci was followed by (n)coya, in that case translate: 'small measure(s) of wheat worth a solidus' cf. the common oyo kottinoc ndcoyo 'a solidus' worth of wheat'.

\(^{2}\) See Crum: Dictionary p.675a; the other two examples of xame from this collection cited by Crum are 335\(^{3}\) and 336\(^{2}\).

\(^{3}\) Pshai is a dialectic variant of the name Pshoi; perhaps the same Pshoi who recurs elsewhere in this collection, cf. Index.
259 687
(e 47; d 123b) 6½ by 7½ inches, width complete. Few ligatures. This
papyrus was used three times: The first text was the letter on the verso
(228); then it was re-used to write an account on this side which was
later rubbed out before the present letter was written.

The translation and interpretation of this letter has been extreme-
ly difficult and I should express my thanks to Dr.Barns and Professor
Drescher who have made some valuable comments.

Translation:

(broken) . . . thus. Now (λοιπόν) do not [...] mercy with [...] palm-
leaf-picker (1) that he should do the work [...] and I expel him and your
heart will be troubled (2). For you know that the works of the place require to be done (3) and it is neither possible for me, nor is it possible for you (4). Since (τις) you wrote to me saying: 'Do not let a man (stay) with you (lest) (5) I come and expel him, [for] you know (?) yourself that I shall expel him'. Because a palm-leaf-picker (1) is not one whom it is fitting for me to expel any more than (it is) for you. Now (λογοθέτης) search after a few lentils and the little salt-fish (τις ξένος) and bring them when you come, because we shall not (be able to) find (them) here (6). Through you (7) I greet my brother Theodóros [and the] deacon Jóhannes (8) and my brother Victór and my brother Arón. + These (things) I am writing; farewell in the Lord. + (margin)

(1) See 229 note 1.
(2) See 229 note 5. The last sentence is evidently quoting what the other person had written in his letter, compare the next sentences.
(4) The general context of this letter appears to be that the other person had written to him to the effect that he was not to employ a certain third person, but the writer points out that the 'works of the place' have to be executed and neither he nor the other person can really dispense with the services of the third person.
(5) Literally 'and I come'.
(6) For the use of εἰς ἑαυτὸν-here see 188 note 5.
(7) Cf. 188 note 13.
(8) Perhaps the deacon Jóhannes we meet elsewhere, cf. index.
1. For the salutation formula cf.189 note 2.
2. "netne" for 'netn-', see chapter VIII par.140b.
3. "enanooy" for 'enanooy', see chapter VIII par.56.
   "eme moory Nsh", 'fourty palm-bundles', cf. 229 note 3.
4. "ayha", supply "ayha" ("yynayne"), Crum, 'as regards the(?) little handiwork of palm-fibres'.
5. "ayha", we should have expected either "ayha" or "ayha".
7. 'girdles and two cords'; "cmnae" for "cmte", see chapter VIII par.2e.
   on "gyw" see Crum: Dictionary p.618a.
8. "yananep-" for "yanep-", see chapter VIII par.90 and cf. line 12 below.
10. "ynnooy" for "ynnooy", see chapter VIII par.90 and cf. line 8 above.
11. "ya" is probably not a special sign but merely stands for "+".
Uncials. On the Verso account, different hand, illegible.

---

\[
\text{(broken)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(e 67; d 95d; d 152b, c, d; d 155a, b) 6\frac{1}{2} by 7\frac{1}{2} inches, width complete.}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{4, 6, 8. \textit{gyt} for \textit{nt}; \textit{ty} for \textit{th}; \textit{myt}e for \textit{wnte}(?) \text{; see chapter VIII par. 36.}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{3 - 4. 'for God knows that I have told this saying(or: word) and my heart was greatly grieved'.}
\end{array}
\]

---

\[
\text{(f 15) On the Verso Arabic, earlier.}
\]

\[
\text{(margin)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{4, 6, 8. \textit{gyt} for \textit{nt}; \textit{ty} for \textit{th}; \textit{myt}e for \textit{wnte}(?) \text{; see chapter VIII par. 36.}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{3 - 4. 'for God knows that I have told this saying(or: word) and my heart was greatly grieved'.}
\end{array}
\]
1. 'With God. Peace to you ...'. This was probably an official letter written by a Muslim, cf. 256.

4. ἁπλὰ, the Greek ἁπλά 'wooden bowl'? 

6. ἀτομαξεβ, ἀτομαξεβ or ἀτ(ετο)ναξε, cf. chapter VIII par. 143.

8. έγι συνέχεια.

(f 19) On the Verso 233, earlier.

Translation:

ταύτα ἐπηγείρθη αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Φώιμμον: ἦν ἢπαθία, ἄσπερον, ἀμφίστημι, ἀνάφιμον, Κάνθαρος (1), ἄσπερον, ἄδημος (2), ἄπορον, ἀνάφιμον, ἀμφίστημι, Κάνθαρος (3), ἀνάφιμον, ἄσπερον, ἀμφίστημι, Κάνθαρος (4), ἄσπερον, ἄδημος (4), ἄπορον, ἀνάφιμον, ἀμφίστημι, Κάνθαρος (5).

... I salute (σαμαράρια τεντον) you through this letter; a (5).
(5) The last line evidently contained yet another article required, added as an afterthought.

(20) Two Fragments.

---

Verse: Traces of address (?).

4. peice nabix for peice wnaabix, see chapter VIII par. 80m.

Translation:

(broken) ........... he was kind to us[......] for I am a miserable one[......]
Now(na) you know that the toil of my hands[......]night, any time until I put them at ease[......] I(?) greet Apa George. These (things) I am writing,[farewell] in the Lord my dear[......](margin).

(21) Two fragments. Papyrus in poor condition. On the Verso traces of address, also short text in different hand, illegible, and writing
4. **m** is remarkable here, as it seems to connect sentences, cf. Crum: *Dictionary* p.170a.

**εὐακεφάλιθι** μοι, the verb **κεφαλίθι** is apparently followed by two accusatives here, mistake?

**Translation:**

[.....] honoured and blessed(εὐλογείμενος) and Apa Jōhannes, do that which is good[.....]brothers, and if you find a cloak[.....]from my brother Chaēl and if you will[.....]you, for there is need and we have come(?) [.....] farewell in the Lord.


266

(f 24) On the Verso 330, earlier?
7. γιατί- for γιατίτιν-, see chapter VIII par.140.

8. 'we needed them in the place...'.

9. '...you, and that he might give grace(χάρις) to you especially [...].

10. 'These (things) we are writing, we hope(ἐλπίς) to farewell[...];

an unusual ending for a letter.

Very small script, ligatured.

(profacis τιμίνε άυστήσασε
ενωνεί άναν ανπροκάτηράν αν
προμενή ανή ραχί ρήν
ιμε ει μπαρβώ νατί νεμάθε
ζείμεν ει γαρτήν νειζούν άν
ζολωσ κνού ἵσαλκ [...]

και ἐπ τα πρώτα θαλώ άυστήσε

(margin)
1. For the opening formula cf. B.M.1124 ἀναπαύετονοὺς ἵσσαντίπροφασικ
ἀλεαν ἐγών 'I rejoiced greatly when I found this occasion and I
wrote, greeting...', similarly B.M.1137, 1138, Ryl.331, also here
208; rather differently S.T.354 ἵσσαν προφασικ μὴ τνάσπαζε μμὸκ
'Through every occasion we salute you ...'.

4. ἀναπάω for ἀναπάω, see chapter VIII par.144. For this line cf.
229 and note 5 there.

8. '... Kosma greet(s) you, and bring(?) his mother[...].

(1 54; d 138a,b,c) Same hand as 165. On the Verso 324, later ?
(broken)

1. [. .]τνε[...
2. τν κωρα[...]
3. ατνεο[...]
4. (gap)
5. [ ]τνε[...
[.]σολοκτὸν ἀνθοοοὐς ἃ[...
ἐροῦ κατὰ πνοὺτε ἄρω[...
ὑαντὶ τικεοῦει νηθν ἃ[...
ετὶ πνούτε ἆτετνκα[...
10. μοού τνάσπαζε ἅτετνκα[...
(margin ?)

1,3. ατνε- for ἀτετ-, see chapter VIII par.140.

2. The use of the word κωρα is interesting here, see chapter VIII par.
156.
1. ἀκάζ for ἀκαζ, cf. chapter VIII par. 20.
2. ὁμ obscure.
3. '...little evil, without causing the yoke to[...]'. ναττε for ναττε, see chapter VIII par. 146.
4. μεικ is very unusual, see Crum: Dictionary p. 392b where this is cited.

1. πατρέμ[ων], this place recurs on a small fragment d 118b ἰκε πατρέμ[ων]; see W. S. 130 note 2, and Krall 255 and note there.
3. Δο[ν]σ 'safflower' recurs elsewhere in this collection, see index.
3. ωρίβο, for this place see W.S.379 and note there; it also occurs on a legal document at Vienna, K.4955, communicated by Professor Till.

271

This letter was probably addressed to a bishop, see note 1 below.

1. [Ντέκ]ωςιωΤ, see 191 note 2.

5. μαρτυρο- for μαρτυρο-, see chapter VIII paragraphs 144 and 24.

Translation:

[.... I greet] many times [you] the most holy (δωτεκτος) (1) dear [...]
I have not sent any man to you [... wrong road to (?) Apa Helias [...]
... but that you may not [...] do not expel any man (2) [... ] Jer-
emias your son, I worship (?) (3).

(1) δωτεκτος was especially applicable to a bishop, see Ryl. 289 note 3.
(2) Cf.259, passim.
(3) Very unusual ending for a letter, but perhaps there were a few let-
ters in the next line.

272

(g 12) Very small script, ligatured. 2\frac{1}{4} by 1\frac{1}{2} inches, width complete.
Translation:
(broken) .....Your soul(ψυχή), grieving. We hope(ἐλπίζειν) that God may bring us out. Behold this ...(?) of wine together with the basket - I have filled it with bread - I have sent to you through Joustos the merchant(ἀντιτίς?). Farewell and do not send any but good news, that I may know(?) it, together with that of the deacon; for you are the comfort of my soul(ψυχή). And ask Apa Stole(1), know how I asked the deacon, do not let them hear a word from a mouth which knows(2)[...].

6. τικέληνοῦ, evidently some measure; κέλη, perhaps the Latin 'cella', obscure.
11. ποιυ, for πονητής? Barns.
15. ταείν ἐρού, probably for ταείμ(ε) ἐρού, cf. chapter VIII paragraphs 20 and 76A.
24. γεοοὖ for γεοούν, see 235 note.
occasion[....](broken).

(1) Stole is probably a short form of the name Papostole, cf. Phane for Stephane etc.

(2) There had evidently been some 'occasion' connected with Apa Stole (and others ?) which was not generally known, and the writer requests that Apa Stole (and others ?) are to be asked by a person who is unaware of the circumstances of the 'occasion'.

273

(g 16) Earlier text rubbed out.

(margin)

γάμω μαθαίος αγαπτόρινι αυτό
τή γάμω χάβημι πρωτέιριε ετεχρία
επώρχοντας πρωτίερίε ετεχρία νηπια
τονοῦ πασῶν θιασος συρωτόν

5 Ναμαχτον πετουκαί δε ετνανοῦχ

(margin)

Verso: (address)  

7 + περιβλήμερι

1. αυτό, see 24913 note.

7. περιβλήμερι for περιβληπτος, cf. B.M.479, 1159, B.M.Or.6201 B 44, al.

Translation:

[.... We greet our dear(?)]and Christ-loving [...]until we do this [face to face .......as regards the matter of my small (amounts of) carob- pods for the need[.....]the small (amount of) carob-pods for the need of your house[.....]send my brother Hēlias to you[.....]with you. And (as regards) your good health,[send us news of it (?)](1) (margin)

Address: +The admired(πέξεκλειπτος) dear[.....]

(1) Cf. 27212 - 14.
(g 21) (margin)

1 + a ἰώγαννης ταμοί ΧΕ[  
2 ρωμῆ ενούκ ἐν ἐγχώ[  
3 ἐβολΡ[α[γ]ραφόν τεκ[  
4 [γα[λ]δομορος λ[  

Verso: (address) →  
6 ] + α πε[ απο αβπ ποὺε[  

3. ΝΑΤΑ[ΑΓ]ΡΑΦΟΝ, probable.

6. Apparently not απο αβπ ποὺει which we know from other texts in this collection.

(g 59) (margin)

ajante)πνουτε δατ νεμπνοα ΝΝΛ[  
]κ εκκα πεκαντ ΝINE[  
]γ. α νακ κνοι εωωκ [  
]εριμαντε πνουτε κελευε [  
5 ]θρ[ε νακ ουτενε[  

(broken)

Verso: (address) →  
7 + τασυ μπαμεριτ Ν[  

2. We should have expected εκκω μπεκαντ for εκκα πεκαντ, Barns.

(ε 51; d 109d,e,f; d 105a; d 124b; d 186a,b; further small fragments are d 124c; d 184a; d 186c-f; e 83a,b,c) 8½ by 4 inches, width complete. Uncials, crude hand. On the Verso 385, later.

Although this letter is quite easy to read, it is extraordinarily difficult to understand and most of it has remained obscure.
4. ὧδαρκάνος, obscure; there is a verb ἔωμεν cited by Crum: Dictionary p. 785b, but 'meaning unknown'.

7 - 8. καυτκομονγκς, quite obscure.

11. πον μογι: 'the new brother', the word μογι was otherwise only known from Fayyumic texts.

11 - 14. See Crum: Dictionary p. 770a under χελκία where this passage is
cited in full; in line 13 I read οὐγίνη for Crum's οὐγίνη, but very doubtful.

277

(e 34) Very crude hand. On the Verso Arabic, earlier.

This text is very difficult to read and much has remained uncertain.

Along the right side of the text:

3. ταχεῖ for μταχεῖ, see chapter VIII par. 131.
6. άξοος for άξωος, see chapter VIII par. 15; similarly line 7 άντου for άντος?
7. τενοοού presumably for τενοοούς, similarly line 8.
9 - 10. obscure.
11. μανξοούς for μενξοούς, see chapter VIII paragraphs 21 and 55.
12. τεν evidently for ΝΗΤΗΝ, similarly at the end of this line τιρεινέτε for τιρήνη ΝΗΤΗΝ.
13. \( \Delta \omega \) for \( \Lambda \gamma \omega \), cf. line 11 \( \Delta \omega \), cf. chapter VIII par.17.

Translation: \(^{(1)}\)

(broken) ... ](line 3) ... since he was about to send the watchmen up to you, (and) I said: I will send (them) to him and I brought them that they might send them to him .....(lines 9 and 10 obscure) .....the watchmen and we will not send them to you (?) another time; peace unto you\(^{(2)}\).

(margin ? On the side:) And do not let[.....

(1) This translation is given with extreme reserve.

(2) This is the usual formula for a Muslim, cf.256 introduction. In this connection it is not without interest that on the other side is a letter written in Arabic, being the first text on this papyrus. It seems very probable that the many mistakes in this letter are due to the fact that it was written by a person who knew very little Coptic.

278

(e 49) Very crude hand. Two previous texts washed off.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(margin)} \\
+ \text{E\delta\theta\mu\nu \epsilon\omega\beta \ \mu\nu\in \tau\iota[} \\
+ \text{M\iota\in\nu \nu\epsilon\tau\iota[} \\
\text{\chi\omicron\varepsilon\omicron \ \pi\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota \ \mu\mu\omicron\kappa[} \\
\text{\varepsilon\gamma\tau \ \mu\nu\epsilon \ \pi\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota \ \mu\epsilon\rho\kappa\omicron\pi\epsilon[} \\
\text{[}\text{f}\epsilon\kappa\epsilon[} \\
\text{][o}\zeta\epsilon\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu[} \\
\text{[} \text{\iota\omega\iota\nu\iota\nu[}
\end{align*}
\]

(broken)

Verso: (address) ———

9 \( \mu\in\nu\eta\alpha\gamma\mu[\)

1. \( \mu\in \) for \( \nu\mu\), see chapter VIII paragraphs 76 and 85.
3. Read ἔγειν ερότημα διὸ γεγονός (ν)ίκε ταξιδεύοντα: 'become lord over me, for a little trouble has befallen me', Barns, cf. chapter VII paragraphs 80 and 151.

5. γνή for γην, see chapter VIII par.36.

9. For this spelling of the name Shenoute cf.104^note.

(f 67) Very crude hand. The λ has the peculiar form Ω.

1. μαγε (=αμαγο) is remarkable here, since αμαγο was otherwise only known from Bohairic, Fayyumic and a few early Sahidic manuscripts. Perhaps this letter is earlier than the other letters from the collection, but the hand is difficult to date.

2. γνη for γην, again in line 6, see chapter VIII par.127E.

γνη for γην, similarly in line 6 γην, see chapter VIII par.38B.

3. τρέμε, the place? See 156^3 note.

6. γην for γην, see chapter VIII par.23.

(e 22) Crude hand.

1 + ἀνοκ ἀπολλω παγε παμούν

2 α ἀναρεα ξκε 2αθρ νη
3. \[...\\]ιοτ ἐπὶ ἐθάνατο εἰσοδύ
(broken)

**Verso:** (continued from the Recto, margin) →

5. \[...\]αν\[α\] ἀνεραξ εἰσὶν ἀπολλ\[ω\]

6. \[τεγυῖνι ποιε παμο\[ν\]

7. \[να \[ω\] ε[ά]ν ἅννής ἐν (broken ?)

2. ἐλθεῖ, see chapter VIII par. 36.

3. ἐπὶ ἐθάνατο, obscure.

6. \[τεγυῖνι (sic !); if this stands for τεγυῖνε, it is remarkable here.

281

(d 167d)

(margin)

1. \[ογ\]αι εβολ νεντογ τιγόν

2. \[ναμάζε νοι ναγόλοκ, (broken)

**Verso:** (address) →

4. \[τάς κὰντα κὰναυνούτε νε[σ]\n
1. For the lacunae cf. 152 note 1.

2. \[...] was seized for a solidus [...].

282

(d 166d)

(broken)

1. \[τεμάτα \[χε \[ανεκέντ\]

2. \[νε\[ο\]ο λε τραμπε γούε εξιμ\[ν\]

3. \[ταμάε ε[ᾶ]\[ε]\[ν\] λε\[ε]\[ε\[ν\] (broken)

**Verso:** (continued from Recto, broken)

5. \[βο\[υ\] αυ\[υ\] ανναπ[...

6. \[τάς \[μ]\[αμ\[ε]\[φ\[ι\[τ\[ν (margin)
2. 'and what is more, the year is grievous upon us['...']. EICE EXN - not listed in Crum: Dictionary.

283

(d 169c,d) (broken)
1 [ ]
2 ΕΤΕΤΕΝΝΟΟΥΣΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΟΥ [ ]
(broken)

1. '... which you sent to me today ...'; etetne for etetn, see chapter VIII par.140.
2. '...? that I expend them for you on tar ...?[...'

284

(d 50) Fragment of a letter, contains:
1 Ἐ ΒΤΟΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΚΟΥ ΤΟΘΕΒ ΑΝΩ ΠΕΑΝ [...]
κογ for κοι, so again Ryl.24339; see Ryl.p.117 note 18 and above chapter VIII par.38B.

τόθεβ either 'seal's impress' Crum: Dictionary p.398b, or 'foliage'

285

(d 147d) From a letter, the last two lines read:
1 ΚΟΥΙ ΜΠΟΟΧΟΣ [...]
πιστ μακροφε (margin)
μακροφε, this name again 3386, it corresponds to the Greek μακροφος';
cf. μακροφε W.S.129, μακροδι B.M.590, and μακροδι on a small fragment in the present collection d 101b.
OFFICIAL ACCOUNT

Account of workers' overseers(?) in various districts; lines 2, 4, 6 and 8 mention the place-names, lines 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9 the names of the overseers(?) in this document. On the Verso we find an official letter from the government treasury, see 256 introduction, and this account was evidently written there.

2. ευφροσύνη, apparently not elsewhere as place-name.

3. τοῦ, recurs in line 10, for τούκερ?

4. μικρός, this place-name apparently not elsewhere.

5. αντικείμενον, this place-name apparently not elsewhere.

6. αντικείμενον, perhaps a monastery 'mount of Antaiou', cf. chapter IV.

Presumably the other place-names mentioned were near Antaiou.

7. ἀντικείμενον, a name or a title. If it is a name, it is the grandfather's
name; presumably there were more than one Abraham son of Kosma, and these were distinguished by the addition of the grand-father’s name.

8. μετ’ βαμον, this place-name apparently not elsewhere.

LIST OF ORDERS FOR PAYMENT OF TAXES

(c 10; d 73a; d 165a) 7 by 12½ inches, neither complete. Minuscule script, see Plate V,6. On the Verso 122, earlier.

This document is of unusual interest as it is exactly dated 25th Phamenoth (or Parmouty), indiction 8, years (A.H.) 106, i.e. February–March A.D. 725. On the Verso we find an official letter addressed to the δημοσίας λόγος (122) and this account originated probably from the local financial government office. It is, however, somewhat difficult to account for the presence of this document at Deir el-Bala‘izah.

The list relates to details of orders for payment of the tax called νήφων; for this tax see above chapter VI.

The document is also of some interest in illustrating some special functions of the official called ιωφοστατης. From the present document it appears that he was responsible for fixing the details of the orders for payments of the poll-tax for pagarchies and cities. On the other functions of this official see Bell: P.Lond.IV p.85 and references there. His main duties seem to have been the weighing of coins and assessing their correct value. See also Bell: P.Lond.IV p.XIII ‘There is indeed in 1508 and 1509 mention of a certain Theodosios described as ζηγος i.e. ιωφοστατης weighing officer or officer of taxes who resided at Shotep i.e. Hypsele and appears to have had some sort of authority over Aphrodito, but ... his authority was perhaps either temporary only or limited to a general supervision of the financial business of the Επαρχια’. It is interesting to note that here we have mention of yet
another ἰοκοστάτης from Hypsele.

1. ἰοκοστάτης in line 1, see below, after this follows the name of the person through whom the amount is paid; then follows the actual amount paid. Lines 13 - 18 contain the witnesses to the document.

288

TAX-ACCOUNT

(d 52) 8 by 6 inches, neither complete. Lines 1 - 12 minuscule; lines 13 - 18 ligatured; lines 20 - 25 minuscule.

This tax-account is of some interest on account of many unusual names and place-names which occur. In lines 1 - 12 the place-name comes first (except line 1, see below), after this follows the name of the person through whom the amount is paid; then follows the actual amount paid. Lines 13 - 18 contain the witnesses to the document.
there are remains of another account, probably similar to that in lines 1 - 12.

Verso: (same hand as lines 1 - 12) (margin ?)
1. περὶ probably for προκήρυξ θενατο, 'paid previously', cf. P. Lond. IV 1354.135.

πρόδοσις προς, this place-name apparently not elsewhere.

2. φυσις, this place-name apparently not elsewhere.

2 - 12. It may be noted that the numerals in the first and second columns correspond to each other exactly, thus: ½ solidus in the first column corresponds to 4 in the second column; 1/4 = 3; 1/4 = 2; 1/8 = 1; 1/24 = 1/8 = ½.

3 - 6. προσβολισμός, see P. Lond. IV 1604; cf. also similar names in P. Lond. IV e.g. προσβολισμός κελαχί, προσβολισμός.

6. θωνηλα (sic!), a very strange name, not elsewhere.

8. οι, a common abbreviation of the name Johannes, cf. index; Anouph son of Johannes recurs probably on a small fragment d 131f[κ][ν][φ]

(φερίτος προς, almost certainly a place-name; perhaps a monastery.

9. στοιχεῖα presumably for στοιχεῖα, but meaning doubtful; cf. perhaps P. Lond. IV p.9 note.

αβακοτφωμακτή, it seems likely that this is the monastery of Apa Thomas and thus it is the only reference to this neighbouring monastery at Wadi Sarga some 5 miles to the south from Deir el-Bala'izah.

10. ἃθω, difficult as it is already ἃθω, but meaning doubtful; the same difficulty in line 12; ἃ (for ἃ ) cannot be read here.

11. βελτίστην recurs as βελτίστην 298, cf.298 note 5.

12. αβακοτφωμακτή, this monastery recurs elsewhere in this collection, see chapter IV p.25.

13. 'This is the witness of ...[...] the men of Pkrom.'

μυττεκ for μυττεκ, see chapter VIII paragraphs 83 and 114; again in the following lines.

προντ[ι], see P. Lond. IV 1553.31 προντ[ι] which corresponds to βουνοτ in the Greek texts, cf. P. Lond. IV index.

14. αβακοτφωμακτή, the αβακ(α) makes it very probably that this is an Ara-
bic name; again J.7468.

ομ for δομίως.

πηγά, cf. πηγα in B.M.1077 (p. 452b).

αεγ, for αεγευμαχος?

15. σουλκμχνυ the Arabic form of the name Solomon (ละเอל), see 1503 note.

17. '...witness[of ...]'she of the people(i.e. nuns) of (the convent of) Ama Sophia ...'. This is the only reference to a convent in the present collection; for this convent see chapter IV p.26.

22. μωσμος, the Arabic name دَخْل.

289

LIST OF FUGITIVES

(f 59) Minuscule. This fragment is interesting as it contains the only reference to fugitives at Bala'izah, cf.3863 below.

5

[θεοδωρος [ω]ς [α]σφω[ν] [ι]με [v] α

[ω]ς [ι]με [v] α

(broken)

v or perhaps v for ονομα 'person'.

290

TAX-ACCOUNT

(b 2) Minuscule hands. 3 or 4 scribes. 17 by 12 inches.

This is not only the largest papyrus but also one of the most interesting documents in the present collection. For the taxes mentioned here see chapter VI. The document was evidently written at various periods by several scribes. The first scribe wrote lines 1 - 5 and per-
haps also lines 15 - 22; the second scribe wrote lines 6 - 11; the third scribe wrote lines 12 - 14a; lines 15 - 22 were written by either the first scribe or a fourth scribe. The Verso was left blank.

(margin)

[κ ῶ] ἐκ 5' ὑ ΠΟΥΡΙΝ ΝΩΝ ΣΑΧΡΗΑ ΝΕΜΟΝ[κ] ζΙΤΝ

γ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ 5' ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΙΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΝΟΥΣΤ

γ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΟΥΜΕΝΙΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΙΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΝΟΥΣΤ

γ' ΖΑΝΒΕΚΕ ΛΙΚΟΣ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΙΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΝΟΥΣΤ

Α' ΖΑΝΒΕΚΕ ΝΕΤΕΧΝΙΤΗΣ ΕΤΖΗΒΑΛΑΣ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

β' ζ' ΖΑΝΠΙΑΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΕΜΟΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΑΧΙΛΑΙ ΔΙΑΚΓ ΣΠΕΡ'ΙΑΤΡ

γ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

δ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ε' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΙΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΝΟΥΣΤ

μο' Κ' ΖΑΝΠΙΑΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΕΜΟΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΑΛΑΙΟ ΠΡΑΣΤ Σ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ

γ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

δ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ε' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

14a  κ' 9' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

14  φ' ι' ΖΑΝΠΙΑΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΕΜΟΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΑΛΑΙΟ Σ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ

ζ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

δ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ε' ΖΑΝΟΥΟ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

κ' ζ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

λ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

μ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ν' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

15  φ' ι' ΖΑΝΠΙΑΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΕΜΟΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΑΛΑΙΟ Σ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ

ζ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

δ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ε' ΖΑΝΟΥΟ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

κ' ζ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

λ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

μ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ν' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

16  φ' ι' ΖΑΝΠΙΑΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΕΜΟΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΑΛΑΙΟ Σ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ

ζ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

δ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ε' ΖΑΝΟΥΟ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

κ' ζ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

λ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

μ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ν' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

17  φ' ι' ΖΑΝΠΙΑΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΕΜΟΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΑΛΑΙΟ Σ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ

ζ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

δ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ε' ΖΑΝΟΥΟ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

κ' ζ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

λ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

μ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ν' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

18  φ' ι' ΖΑΝΠΙΑΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΕΜΟΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΑΛΑΙΟ Σ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ

ζ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

δ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ε' ΖΑΝΟΥΟ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

κ' ζ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

λ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

μ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ν' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

20  φ' ι' ΖΑΝΠΙΑΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΕΜΟΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΑΛΑΙΟ Σ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ

ζ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

δ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ε' ΖΑΝΟΥΟ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

κ' ζ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

λ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

μ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ν' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

22  φ' ι' ΖΑΝΠΙΑΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΕΜΟΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΑΛΑΙΟ Σ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ

ζ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

δ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ε' ΖΑΝΟΥΟ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

κ' ζ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

λ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

μ' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

ν' ΖΑΤΔΑΝΗΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΝ

1. [κ \(\tilde{\nu}\) \(\tilde{\nu}\) \(\tilde{\nu}\) \(\tilde{\nu}\)] \(\tilde{\nu}\) \(\tilde{\nu}\) \(\tilde{\nu}\) \(\tilde{\nu}\) supplied from lines 6 and 9; this seems the only possible explanation of the \(\beta\) and \(\gamma\) at the beginning of lines 6 and 9;
apparently there were three payments in the month Paoni.

1. \( r \), similarly line 15 \( r \) and line 19 \( r \); the line after the numerals is peculiar: presumably it was used here to distinguish the number of the day of the month from that of the indiction period, thus: \( r \) \( r \). In lines 6, 9 and 12 this is not necessary as the number of the indiction period follows the sign for the indiction (\( r \)).

\( \chi r \gamma m \), extremely doubtful.

\( n e m o n \) for \( n n n o n a x o c \), see chapter VIII par. 93; again in the following lines.

2 - 14. The little mark > at the beginning of these lines in different ink presumably indicates that the entries have been checked; cf. Bell and Roberts: \textit{Merton Papyri} 50 (p. 155). A similar use in 293 here where a line (\( r \)) is used. In line 9 here the mark was probably omitted accidentally.

3. \( r \) restored from lines 8, 11, 14 and 17; it is to be noted that the amount paid for \( \alpha l a m \) \( \alpha l a m \) \( \mu o n e n i n \) is in each case \( r \) (one third).

8. \( \alpha l \) for \( \alpha l a m \) \( \mu o n e n i n \) as in line 3; the same abbreviation in lines 11 and 17, in line 14 it is \( \alpha l m \) (sic!), in line 20 \( \alpha l m \).

12. \( m e \sigma \) for \( m e \sigma \).

14a. \( \kappa \mu \mu \), one fraction stroke has been omitted accidentally, read \( \kappa \mu \mu \).

15. \( \phi \) for \( \phi \sigma \omega \).

19. \( \alpha \eta \) for \( \alpha \phi \).  

\textbf{Translation:}

\[ \text{[1. Paoni] 11, 6th indiction. The first time for the} \]

\( \chi r \gamma m \) \( ? \) of the monks \( [ \text{through ... and ...} ] \) \( s o l i d i [ \text{.} ] \)

For the \( \delta a \pi \alpha \gamma \) \( (2) \) of the 6th indiction through these

\( \pi e \sigma o p o n \)

same persons \( \text{sol. 2(?) [..]} \)

For the \( \delta a \pi \alpha \gamma \) for the Almoumenin \( (3) \) through these

\( \text{sol. } \frac{1}{3}(?) \)

\( \text{same persons} \)
290 (continued)

For the wage of the craftsmen who are on the sea through these same persons sol. 3

2. Paoni 19, indiction 6. For the poll-tax of the monks through Achillites the deacon and Petros the doctor through them again sol. 15
For the through him(sic) again sol. 2
For the for the Almoumenin through him again sol. 3

3. Paoni 29, indiction 6. For the poll-tax of the monks through Achillites and Menas the priest and Lampou through them again sol. 15
For the through him again sol. 3
For the for the Almoumenin through these same persons sol. 3

Mesore 20, indiction 6. For the poll-tax of the monks through Apollo the cleaner and Petros sol. 15
For the through them again sol. 2
For the for the Almoumenin through them again sol. 3

Total (solidi) 76(?)

Phaophi 18, 6th indiction. For the poll-tax of the monks through Apa Hlo and Petros sol. 8
For the through them again sol. 1 ½
For the for the Almoumenin through them again sol. 1 ½
For wheat through them again sol. 1 ½

Athyr 27, 6th indiction. For the through Achillites and Petros sol. 1 ½
[For the for the Almoumenin through them again sol. 1 ½
[For .... sol. 1 ½

Total (solidi) 88 ½ ½

(margin)
(1) Cf. the following entries which were paid through several persons.
(2) ἀποθέσεως was the tax levied to cover the expenses of the local officials and others, see chapter VI.
(3) Almoumenin is the Arabic جَمِيع meaning 'faithful'; for this tax see chapter VI.
(4) σικος, obscure; hardly for ζυγος (= ἠγοςσιγς).
(5) Apart from the poll-tax, the expenses-tax and the corn-tax, the Arabs also required men for personal service and the expenses of these persons while engaged on this service; cf. above chapter VI.
(6) For the poll-tax cf. chapter VI.
(7) The deacon Achillites recurs elsewhere, see 197 note 8 and cf. index.
(8) Petros the doctor recurs 3621; here it is the Greek word ἱκές, in 3621 it is the Coptic word καιν.
(9) Mēna the priest recurs 1331, but the name is common, cf. index.
(10) Lampou recurs elsewhere, see 114 note 5 and cf. index.
(11) For πατ η 'cleaner' cf. Crum: Dictionary p.311a; see also E.S.A.C. vol.IX (1943) p.209 note 5. The word probably recurs 30411.
(12) It is not clear why Phaophi and Athyr in line 19, the second and third months, should follow after Paoni and Mesore, the tenth and twelfth months, since all are in the sixth indiction.
(13) This spelling of the common name Hello with one Λ only recurs elsewhere in this collection. It is probably the same person in most of these documents.
(14) The wheat here evidently refers to the corn-tax, see chapter VI.

291

TAX AND GENERAL MONASTIC ACCOUNT
(d 32; d 131a) 8\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches, width complete. Several hands, ligatured; see Plate V,7.

This was the first text on this papyrus, and the document was later re-used as a writing exercise and the original text was sometimes copied
immediately below the original lines. Another part of the document was copied by another hand on the Verso in consecutive lines. The Verso was also used to write a letter (205) and a list (358). The following document, 292, was written in the same hand and deals with the same matter; on the Verso of that document we find a similar document written by the same hand which wrote the text in consecutive lines on the verso of the present document. It is possible, therefore, that these two pages were part of an account-book; similarly perhaps lines 17 - 18 and lines 20 - 22 in the present document were not part of this papyrus, but belonged to yet another page in the account-book.

(broken)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ελανιοκιοι} & \text{ ἀνεκτης εἰς ἤμιν[α] παρεξ} \\
\text{ενούμεν ἐπατερον} & \text{ ὕπατος πετρος πνομ ἴππωμε} \\
\text{εὐθύμεν ἀνεξιοῦρ ἄντιού} & \text{ ἀντίοου σῖτην ἀλλα πετρος} \\
\text{πνομ ἴππωμε} & \text{ ἁθλάς παικιων} \\
5 & \text{ τηράδα} \text{ ἐνούμεν} \text{ ἐνεκίουσ} \text{ εἰς} \text{ ἁλλα} \text{ παικιων} \\
\text{παικιων} & \text{ πωλ ἂν ἄναρικλωσ} \\
\text{ψειν} & \text{ πετρον} \text{ εἰς} \text{ εἴποτα} \text{ χελωτρ οὐνομφρ σίλαν} \\
\text{ταλαίπας} & \text{ ταλαίπας} \text{ ταλαίπας} \text{ εἰς} \text{ εἴποτα} \text{ χελωτρ οὐνομφρ σίλαν} \\
10 & \text{ λετρίμ} \text{ εἴποτα} \text{ ἁν ρήμα} \text{ εἴποτα} \text{ χελωτρ οὐνομφρ σίλαν} \\
\text{εἰποφασις} & \text{ εἰποφασις} \text{ εἰς} \text{ ἁν ὁμιλεῖς} \text{ παικιων} \\
\text{ἀν} & \text{ ἀνα} \text{ παροῦ} \text{ οὐνομφρ} \\
\text{οὐ} & \text{ οὐ} \text{ αὐθανάναι} \text{ μερί} \text{ πτοχού} \text{ ντασπουτ} \\
15 & \text{ γάνβεκα} \text{ ποιασ} \text{ εἰς} \text{ ἁνια} \text{ σειμερος} \\
17 & \text{ χαίνωλ} \text{ νεῖστ} \text{ ντασπουτ} \\
18 & \text{ χαίνωλ} \text{ εἴπερθε} \text{ εἰς} \text{ ἁνια} \\
20 & \text{ τιοῦτα} \text{ ἀν} \\
\end{align*}
\]
3. ἡμείηονρ, the line over the second ο is to be noted; cf. the common practice in manuscripts of the ninth century and later to write ἐτοιᾶδε, ὠδόν, etc.

4. [κσ'], restored from the writing-exercise.

8. ṇ presumably for πᾶνα, I am unable to parallel this, but cf. ἤπι, ἢ which is often found for πᾶνα in texts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, e.g. B.M.465, 545, 547, 608, Ryl.290, 373, Pcod.p.47 line 20.

10. η sic! for οίτης.

13. ὡμοὶ for ὠμοῖος.

15. ἄδυνε probably for κανθάμε, see chapter VIII par.86, cf.par.102.

20. οίτησαθη restored from the writing-exercise.

27. στενηθεί for συνήθει; (Crum).

28. not ἐντρι[τεροφωρά] as in line 25.

29. η for διακονος, cf. 10236 note.

Translation:

(broken)

For the land-tax (δημοσίου) (1) of Pektēs (2) through Mēna from
Pektēs

For rope for Pateron(3) through Apa Petros the superior(4)

For the freight of the ferry-boat of the nome(τωγ) (of) Antinou(5) through Apa Petros the superior and Thōmas the deacon(6)

For the receipt(7) of some money from Siouit through Lampou the deacon(8)

Total: solidi 27 1/3

The deacon Pēol for his poll-tax(λαβοστορ) (9)

The horse-doctor of Siouit through Papa(?) Theodoros and Onophrios (the son of) Palan(10)

For the rest(λαντοσ) of the land-tax(δημοσιον) of Tōhe(11) through Theodoros the fisherman(12)

For clover(13) from Nēbe(14) through my brother(15)

Theodoros the fisherman

For the occasion(φιλοσοφ) of the carpenter through Achillitēs the deacon(17) and Apa Hello(18) and Mēna (the son of) Bictōr

Likewise(διμωσυ) Markos and Athanase from the mount of Tahnout[19] for the watchman's wage through Apa Severos

Apa Jerēmias for ...? [ ... the date-seller(?) through Hello(?)

the priest(?)

(gap)

For the corn-tax(εμπόλγ) in barley of Pshonte(21) through ......

For wine from Nēbe through Mēna[...(?)

(goal)

[ ...... through him] again

[ ...... ]

[ ...... through Lampou the deacon

sol. 1

sol. 1

sol. 1/4
For the land-tax (δημοσία) of Töhe (11) through Lampou the deacon

For wine for the offering (ποτεοφορία) through Pader (22) the priest

For ... (23) from Siouit through George the deacon (24) 

For the gratuity (σωρηθείς) of the soldiers through Hēlias

For wine through [Apa] Hēlias

For the receipt (7) of four solidi through Lampou the deacon (sol.)

1. Cf. chapter VI.
2. Pektēs is probably a place-name; it recurs here 321.
3. Pateron is probably a place-name; alternatively divide εναπρη ον and translate: 'for Pater again', but this seems unlikely.
4. Apa Petros the superior recurs elsewhere in this collection, cf. index; for μεσομικέ (superior), cf. chapter V p.33.
5. See 114 note 3.
6. Thōmas the deacon recurs elsewhere, see index.
7. The word for 'receipt' here is the Arabic word ḫaṭ, see Crum: Dictionary p.267 and 'Additions and Corrections' p.20. To the references given by Crum add V.C.1159 ηλπαρα - β λογισμοί, also B.M.Or. 6201 A 94 ιππαρα μανονή, ιππαρα μπέζακε, B.M.Or. 6201 A 178 ινσελαρά φιλακαντερος, P.Lond.IV 15156 ιππαρά οετοτ μννν γιανωτ. It is to be noted that in the present document the word is once(line 29) masculine, and once(line 5) feminine.
8. See 114 note 4.
9. For ἱωδοκόμος see 130 Appendix note 6 and cf. chapter VI.
10. The name Palan only here, but cf. ἀλκενή Krall IVI, 8.
11. Töhe, this place again in line 24, 292 and a small fragment
Theodōros the fisherman recurs in the next line, also 303\textsuperscript{17} and 321\textsuperscript{1}.

(13) For the word ἐπιμαμμένον see Crum: Dictionary p.430b.

(14) Nerēbe, this place again in line 18, also P.Lond.IV 1460\textsuperscript{95}, 1460\textsuperscript{170} (Lycopolite pagarchy), and Νηρείδες here 321\textsuperscript{12}; cf. τηρήδε 156\textsuperscript{3} note.

(15) For the title 'my brother' i.e. 'the monk' see chapter V n.

(16) τὸ ἡράκλειον seems unusual here.

(17) Achillitēs the deacon recurs elsewhere; see 197 note 8 and cf. index.

(18) Apa Hello recurs elsewhere, see index.

(19) The 'mount of Tahnout[...]' probably refers to a monastery; this place recurs on one of the stelae found at Bala'izah, see W.M.Fl.Petrie: Memphis vol.I plate LIV ἄγνωστα ἡμείς τά.

(20) Cf. chapter VI.

(21) Pshonte, this place recurs several times in P.Lond.IV (see index), in an unpublished text from Wadi Sarga (B.M.Or.9035,66) τὰ ἱστορίες τῆς Τῆς ἡμέρας τοις ἐγγύντες, and in Grohmann: Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library vol.III 16776. Grohmann suggests σημεία in the district of Achmim.

(22) Pader for Pater; this word is rarely found, as here, as a proper name, it recurs here 388\textsuperscript{5}, W.S.79 and B.M.Or.6201 A 3; Preisigke: Namenbuch cites only P.Lond.IV. Except for B.M.Or.6201 A 3 all references are from this neighbourhood.

(23) For τάγερ see Crum: Dictionary p.453a, 'meaning unknown'.

(24) George the deacon recurs elsewhere, see index.

(25) On this title see chapter V p.35.
(e 75) Probably part of 291, see 291 introduction.

Recto: (same hand as 291, first hand) (broken)

Translation:

Recto: (broken)

For the fare of the deacon Petros (1) and Ouenober as

Thoth 24, indiction 10. For the land-tax (dημόσιον) [..... sol. ]

For the land-tax (dημόσιον) of Tōhe (3) through him again [ sol. ]

[For the land-tax (?) of Tōhe through Achillités the deacon (4) sol. ]

[.....].....[.....] for us through him again

(broken)

Verso: (broken)

For the fare of [.....]

For the land-tax (dημόσιον) of Pamaōtōs (5) through [.....]

(broken)

(1) The deacon Petros recurs elsewhere, cf. index.

(2) Tkema[. is probably a place-name, apparently only here; alternative­ly read ῆ-κε-μα[. but the word μα 'place' is always masculine and

no other Coptic word beginning with μα[ seems to be suitable here.
(3) See 291 note 11.

(4) Achillitēs the deacon recurs 291 and elsewhere, see 197 note 8.

(5) This place-name apparently only here.

293

TAX-ACCOUNT

(d 22; d 137a) 9 1/2 by 9 inches, width complete. Ligatured, probably
same hand as 294.

(broken)

1 ff.. The stroke (/) at the beginning of each line, except line 5, pre-
sumably indicates that the entries have been checked, see 2902
note. The same stroke is found on a small fragment d 103a written
by the same scribe: ↑ 𐀑 / πικο[εβολ...]/ παίακο[...]/...[...].

2. χρεος presumably for χρεος, again in lines 5, 8, 9, 10, 14; cf. note 1
below.
3. μ for μεχεί.

and Δ for ἀμαριμακ, again in lines 4, 7, 13, 15, and elsewhere.

5. ομη for ἀμοίως.

μαι for μοναστήριον.

12. μανγα, presumably a mistake for μανγα cf. line 3; alternatively for μανγα(ἀπαφων) which is sometimes found side by side with ἀμαριμακ, cf. 303B 23 and 24.

Translation:

(broken)

Petros[.....] solidi ..]

The deacon Severos for the debt(ίχεός) (of the monastery) through Apa Helias(1) sol. 3

Mechir 14. Apollo the son of Kyros for his poll-tax

(ἀντεισμένη) sol. 3

Pamoun from P(e)psone(3) for his poll-tax(ἀντεισμένη) through Diometes(4) sol. 3

Likewise(ἀμοίως). Apa Diometes for the debt(ίχεός) of the monastery(μονοντήειον) through Achillites(5) and Apa Psha(6) and Petros the deacon(7) and

Μεγατοσ(8) sol. 4 3/4

Jeremias (the son of) Labes(9) for his poll-tax(ἀντεισμένη) through Apa Phoka(10) sol. 1

Apa Johannes from Lahmef(11) for the debt(ίχεός) (of the monastery) through Apa Phoka sol. 3

Apa Isaac and Theodotos for the debt(ίχεός) (of the monastery) sol. 3/4

Apa Kyri and Zacharias (the son of) Peğroğ(12) and Apa Kyri(13) for the debt(ίχεός) (of the monastery) through Apa Johannes sol. 1

Johannes and Philotheos and his brother for their poll-
tax\(^{(14)}\) through Apa Jóseph
Markos for his poll-tax\((\lambda\nu\iota\varepsilon\iota\mu\omicron\omega')\) through Diométes
Jóseph the shoemaker for the debt\(?\chi\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma\) (of the monastery) through Panikyros\(^{(15)}\)
Apolló the eunuch\(^{(16)}\) for his poll-tax\((\lambda\nu\iota\varepsilon\iota\mu\omicron\omega')\) through Thómas the deacon\(^{(17)}\)

(margin)

(1) Professor G.R. Driver suggested \(\chi\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma\) for \(\chi\epsilon\iota\), cf. Preisigke, Wörterbuch and Driver's note on \(\chi\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma\phi\nu\lambda\varsigma\) in JHS XLIII, 55f.; a public debt concerning taxation is probably meant here. Supply ' (of the monastery)' from lines 5, 8, 9, 10 and 14.

(2) Apa Hélias recurs elsewhere, cf. index.

(3) P(e)psone, a place-name, only here.

(4) Diométes recurs elsewhere, cf. index; probably the same person as Apa Diométes in the following line.

(5) Achillitês recurs elsewhere, see 197 note 8 and cf. index.

(6) Apa Psha is probably the same person who occurs elsewhere as superior, cf. index.

(7) Petros the deacon recurs elsewhere, cf. index.

(8) Elótos, probably the genitive of \(\varepsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\varsigma\) used as a name, apparently only here.

(9) Labês, a very strange name, apparently only here.

(10) Apa Phóka recurs elsewhere, see index.

(11) Lahmef, a place name, only here.

(12) Peğroğ, a strange name, only here; literally: 'the seed'.

(13) The scribe had evidently forgotten that he had already mentioned Apa Kyri before Zacharias, and thus mentions him here again by mistake.

(14) See above line 12 note.

(15) Panikyros, an unusual name, cf. the martyrdom of Panikyros the
Persian who was martyred with Theodōros the Oriental and Leontios the Arab, see Balestri-Hyvernat in C.S.C.0.43 pp.34 - 62, O.von Lemm: Bruchstücke Koptischer Märtyrerakten I, Morgan vols. XXXVIII, XLIX and XL.

(16) Apollō the eunuch recurs 315² and 363⁸ but perhaps ψιοαρ is a name here, cf. Quibbell: Saggara IV 197, C.I.G. III 4990⁸, in that case translate: 'Apollō (the son of) Psiour'.

(17) Thōmas the deacon recurs elsewhere, cf. index.

294
TAX ACCOUNT

(d 137b,c) Two fragments. Probably the same hand as 293.

1. ̀πεινοῦτε παοὺξ  fireEvent

2. ̀μο ηαηλ πνεες ewart

3. ̀μο for δμοιως ?

Translation:

(broken) Peinoute(1) the dux(2) through[.....](gap) Likewise(? δμοιως) Chael the sailor for his poll-tax[.....](broken)

(1) For this name see 241 note 3.

(2) This entry evidently relates to the expenses of the dux, cf. chapter VI. On the functions of the dux at this period see Bell in J.E.A. vol. XII p.267 and references there.

295
TAX ACCOUNT

(e 14) Same hand as 303A,B and 321. On the Verso, fragment of an
account in the same hand.

1. for ἀναρικμωκ, as elsewhere, cf. index; again in line 3.

Translation:

(1) For this tax see chapter VI.

(2) ἂνειφ is very difficult; we should at least have expected ἂνεγθειφ; similarly 303β18 ἂαϊς ἐπι, cf. note 14 there.


(4) This person recurs elsewhere, cf. index.

(5) This person recurs elsewhere, cf. index.

GREEK TAX ACCOUNT

(d 96c) Minuscule script. The only interest of this scrap is that it relates to the ἑμβολή (corn-tax), cf. chapter VI.
1. αἐ for αετάβη; νν for δοματων.

2. στ[ε]βαλλα for στου δεβολης; similarly in line 5

297

GREEK TAX ACCOUNT

(με Greek Class.f 83) Minuscule script.

For this type of document see P.Lond.IV 1419 - 1420.

1. αἐ for αετάβη.

4. χε presumably for χωειον.

πα[ε]σμυβοκ, the reading not certain, this place apparently only here.

αἐ for αεουεκ.


297 (continued)

10. πατμοῦ, cf. a fragment d 59α (from an account) μοναχοῦ, cf. also P. Masp. vol. II index πατμοῦ 'έγιεσ (nome Antaiopolis)'
   and αυτοί πατμοῦ 'mème couvent ?'; cf. also P. Lond. IV 1420.191
tοπ. μοναχοῦ πατμοῦ.

11. παράκτημα, this place apparently only here.
[k]ξ € γ, in view of € γ in line 10 and € γ in line 4 perhaps read
[k]ξ € γ here.

13. μέε for μέες.
πατσοντε, this place apparently only here, but cf. P. Lond. IV 1420.247
με ομο πατσοῖε.

298

GREEK TAX ACCOUNT

(g 56). Minuscule script. On the Verso 173, earlier.

(margin)

1 [κμο] πετύ αβπ πολιτί επιγ ν€
2 [κμο] ςβό ν υ β
3 [κμο] βω ν απολλ
4 γγ επιγ υ εγ ω μ ε υ ο€

(margin)

Translation:

[From] the rock of Abba Pouli (1) tax-quota (2) solidi 755 (3)
[From] .. Ibionos (4) solidi 32
[From] Ibionos Apollo (5) solidi 6

Total, tax-quota: solidi 113; of these (demanded by the treasury) (6)
two-thirds part: solidi 73.5.

(1) This monastery recurs elsewhere, see chapter IV p. 25; on πετύ see chapter IV pp. 28f.
(2) 'tax-quota' επιγ τούμεν, see Bell, P. Lond. IV p. 82 '... επιγ τούμεν
stands not merely for money required for the central treasury, but
also for other purposes, presumably local; it may be translated simply "tax-quota" ...; p. 63 '... but on the whole it is best to suppose that by ἑπὶ ἡπτομένῳ in these papyri is always meant money both required and paid and that the remainder refers to so much of this as was not required by the treasury ...', cf. note 6 below.

3) As the total in line 4 is 113, this must have been 75.
4) This presents some difficulty; the same is found, though without context in a small fragment d 157b ἴς ὀνομα[τ] and in 321<sup>9</sup> we have ἰκές ἴς ὀνομα[τ] where ἰκές is certainly a name. But as in line 1 here we clearly have a place-name, and in line 3 most probably too (see note 5), this, presumably, is also a place-name, perhaps with 321<sup>9</sup> to be supplied ἰκές ὀνομα[τ]. For Ibion(ος) as a place-name see A. Calderini in Mélanges Maspero II, pp. 345ff.

5) Ibionos Apollo recurs as ἴς ἀπὸ λα[κ] in 288<sup>11</sup> and from a comparison with lines 1 - 6 and 12 there it seems certain that this is a place-name. It may be noted that in 288, as here, we have Ibionos Apollo in close connection with the rock of Abba Pouli, see 288<sup>11</sup> and 288<sup>12</sup>. The same place is probably also found on a small fragment Ms. Greek Class. d 89e ἴς ἀπὸ λα[κ].

6) On ἴππος see Bell, P. Lond. IV p. 82: '... ἴππος refers not to all the money collected but to an amount demanded by the central treasury ...'. Here it is interesting to note that the amount demanded by the central treasury was two-thirds of the tax-quota.

299

GREEK TAX ACCOUNT

(Ms. Greek Class. f 82) Minuscule script, red ink.

(broken)

[ΤΩΝ ΣΤΩΝ ἸΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΤΩΤΑΣ]
[ΤΩΝ ἸΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΤΩΤΑΣ]
[ΤΩΝ ἘΝΑΡΧΕΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΟΥΣΙΩΝ]

[ΤΩΝ ΣΤΩΝ ΣΤΩΝ ΣΤΩΝ]
[ΤΩΝ ΣΤΩΝ ΣΤΩΝ ΣΤΩΝ]
[ΤΩΝ ΣΤΩΝ ΣΤΩΝ ΣΤΩΝ]
299 (continued)

4  [χλου [δ]ηλεισωκνιναουιονοςθεκτωρκμε[κ]

5  ετομ. εςεφηνουμηναπωλεκομηνειν[ε[κ]

[σωκνη]θελεου[ιωκ]λουκε[κ]

(broken)

Verso: (?)- (broken)

8  Μηνηνσκυκοτμηνγκδηνηνκδμηνιν...

9  Μηνηνσκυκοτμηνθηρτηνκηνηνκδμηνιν...

(another 5 similar lines, then broken)

3. ενεχο for ενεχθέντων?

5. Supply σον (δονμαςτι) before απωλεκομην, accidentally omitted.

6. θελε, for this name cf. P.Lond.IV 1420 234 τοποι πνευμα θελε, also

Worrell: Coptic Texts IV, 25 θελε.

ωκνην[λ]λουκε 383 ω[κ][κνου λουκκα.

300

GREEK TAX ACCOUNT

(d 45) Minuscule script. 10½ by 5½ inches, neither complete. Probably from an account-book.

This account is of some interest, as it is an account for the three taxes demanded in the interesting document 130 (q.v.). It is arranged in three columns: the first column contains the amount paid by each person for poll-tax(δωξεφων), the second column that for the 'expenses for twelve months' (δεπανη μηνων δωδεκα) see 130⁴ note, the third column that which is paid for 'those away from home' (ἐξεδεων) see 130⁴ note. It may be noted that while every person pays the poll-tax, only some pay the other two taxes.

---

(margin)

εβεθλον

τεκνουκκαον

ωκκαον

θεοδυπνουαν

R
5 εἴς γρεγάνι — —
δισκόμενον — —
φίλθε — —
ενωξ κολλοῦ — —
καπαλλω γε — —

10 πεποσταδίβε — —
συν γε — —
ωδό τιμοθε — —
βησα κάπολω — —
κολλοῦν ωκυν — —

15 ψεπνον μακά — —
παπτοσ — —

17 — —
(broken)

Verso: (?) (margin)

19 — [ ]

20 [μη] η πκολ —
καθαρ εποστ —
βεκτεοδωστο — —
μηνα μακ ωκυν —

23 — [ ] (1 line left blank)

24 φίλα γερμαν —
ωκυν δαυιδ —
ενωξ παρο —

25 — — [ ]

30 — — [ ] (broken)

1. εβελε or εκβελε, obscure.
1. δίκα for δέκα, similarly in line 19.

2. πέκο for πέκοιτος, as elsewhere (P.Lond.IV, P.Ross.Geor.IV, al.).

3. ὑψη for ὑπηφ, again line 12.

4. θεοθύας(ος), again in line 15, Preisigke: Namenbuch only cites P.Lond. IV; cf. also V.0.471 and note 2 there.

5. ολο for ὄλο, again in lines 7,9 and 11.

6. κυνη, I cannot parallel this name, apparently only here.

7. παράστασος(ος), see 1614 note.

10. ουρ for ούρως.

26. παρ[1], cf. Preisigke: Namenbuch παρευ, this name also CMSS 46, Krall 388, al.; cf. also παρ Hall pl.19, B.M.1235.

301
MONASTIC TAX ACCOUNT

(§ 52; 8 45; d 127a) Ligatured.

(margin)

5

[...[.]c ἴπ θλιας ἐκα]

(gap ?)

7

[...[.]c ἴπ θλιας ἐκα]

[...[.]c ἴπ θλιας ἐκα]

10

[...[.]c ἴπ θλιας ἐκα]
Translation:

[... the expenses for the tax-payment (διακίτης) of the monastery through (?) ... the steward (οικονομός) from the time when he agreed with (?) (συγχώσεις) Apa [...] 15th indiction; from the twenty-fifth day of Phaophi [14th indiction(?)] until the twenty-fifth day (?) of Phaophi [...] 15th indiction.

[For through ...] and Hēlias solidi 1

(gap ?)

[For through ...?] and Apa Mēna sol. 5½

[For through Kōstantīne and (?) Theodōros sol. 1

[For the expenses of the governor (συγχώσεις) through [...] sol. ½

[For through [...] sol. 1½

[broken]

(1) The taxes were levied primarily on the community or a tax-district called διακίτης, hence the word came to mean tax-payment, cf. Tor. 21⁵ note, and elsewhere. The word could also mean 'management' etc., but this seems very unlikely here.

(2) On this title see chapter V p.34.

(3) The translation of συγχώσεις presents serious difficulties. In Coptic non-literary texts it almost invariably means 'permit someone to do something', 'consent that someone does ...', etc., cf. P.Lond. IV 1528¹⁰; J.74⁹⁶, 79³², 97⁵², 106²⁰⁸; J.Sch 6²⁹, 3⁵; C.0.108⁴, 11¹⁵; S.T. 9⁸²⁵; al.pl.. In the present case that translation seems hardly
possible. One might be tempted to translate: 'since the time when he combined with Apa ...'; for this considerable evidence might be cited from Thebes from where we know that monasteries were commonly administered by several superiors, cf. J.75; J.Sch.1 and 2; V.C.7; and especially J.85, 107, 109, 110, 111 where the monastery of Apa Phoibammon is administered by two and three superiors called oikonomoi (!). On the other hand it is questionable whether such a translation would be justified without further evidence.

(4) It is difficult to see in what connection the governor is mentioned except as here suggested; cf. P.Lond.IV 144615 and 26 Ἰτ․ ἀνακόμητος, 1462 (i) 9 ἴπτανε τοῦ συμβουλίου, 1496 ἴπτανε τοῦ συμβουλίου and W.S.p.14.

302
MONASTIC ACCOUNT

(d 145a) (margin)

1 πνεο εὑρέθησεν ἡ μοναχικὴ ἐπίσκοπος

2 Άμμων [broken]

2. Ammōne is probably the same person who appears elsewhere as superior, cf. index.

303A
MONASTIC ACCOUNT

(g 18) Same hand a 295, 303B and 321. It is probable that this was the heading of 303B, but against this it must be noted that the Verso of the present document was re-used to write the list of names 392, and if 303A was part of 303B, it must have been detached from it in ancient times.

(broken)

1 ἀνήμων ἀπολαμμένος εἰς τὸν ἁμαρτωλότατον
2. Κίνησον, see chapter VIII par. 153.

4. This sign is commonly used for οὐτωρ, cf. P. Lond. IV, al...

Translation:

[The expenses of the monastery (1) of Apa Apollo through Mi[chaël (2) the least priest and prior (3), from today which is the ... day of the month ... indiction ... until the ... day of the month] Mechir in this year the sixth indiction. +

Thus: (οὐτωρ)

[For ...] of Johannes the διοκετησία (4) through Theodōros [.....]
[For ... through ...] and 'my brother' (5) Hausa (6) and Apa [.....]

(broken)

(1) For the lacuna cf. 301 1, 302 1 and cf. also 312 3.
(2) Mi[chaël] or perhaps Mēna; neither recurs elsewhere in this collection as superior of the monastery, but there is a Mēna who is a priest and βοηθος, cf. index.
(3) For the lacuna cf. 102 3 and 103 3; on the title prior (προστομος) see chapter V p. 32.
(4) For this title see the full discussion in Steinwenter, Studien (cf. the Index there), also Schiller, Koptisches Recht II (in Krit. Viertertelj.-schrift XXVII) p. 20 note 19 and references there.
(5) This title merely indicates that the person is a monk.
(6) Hausa is a very rare name; it recurs here 368 1 and as αυκα 396 11, also Ryl. 233 αυκα; cf. perhaps αύκα 321 6.
MONASTIC ACCOUNT

(b 9) Same hand as 295, 303A and 321. Probably part of 303A, cf. 303A introduction. 16 by 4 inches, neither complete.

Recto:

(broken)

303B

(continued)
3. ἴημαμομ, similarly line 16 ἰημόναξ, see chapter VIII par.93.

9. Read ἰημαμομ (ο)μοον (ο)νεοου, see chapter VIII paragraphs 78 and 80m.

10. ἵημοι ἰον, difficult; we should at least have expected some article. For the omission of ἰ after ἰομ see chapter VIII par.80d.
303B (continued)  

34. and 38. Added later, but by the same hand; 34 obscure.

48. *cyneto* for *cynete*, see chapter VIII par.5.

Translation:

(broken) ......]Damianos[...... through the] deacon Achillēs(1) and [.....] for the fare of the camels of[......] vinegar for Tapothēkē(2)[...... - 5 - .....] for the price(τυρ' γύρ') of a κακά(3) through Apa[......] the superior(4) and Diometēs(5)[......] ... (?) through Apa Hello(6) and Onnophrios[......] Pahoou(7) and Apa Kyre [......] for the wage of feeding the sheep(8)[...... - 10 - .....] the] αυλικά(9) from Tapothēkē(2) for (a) small ... (?)[......] through Apa Hello[......] the deacon and Pahoou and Mēna[......] Apa]Hello [and ...] he(10) and Apollō[......] for the wage of feeding[the sheep(6) ...... - 15 - ......] Apa Hello[......] Apa]Hello for the poll-tax(δωρεάκεφον) of the monks(11)[......] Theodōros the fisherman(12) and Hēlia[......] the remainder(λοίπα τῶν(13) for ... (?)(14) through Theodōros[......] and (?) Emōch the deacon[...... - 20 - ......] Apa Hello for the poll-tax(δωρεάκεφον)[......] Apa]Hello for the poll-tax(δωρεάκεφον)[......] (line 22 faded)[......] Apa]Hello for the poll-tax(δωρεάκεφον) [......] for his poll-tax(ἀνδρικός ομήχως(15)[......] the διοκτησία(16) through Apollō[......] Theodōros[......] (broken).

Verso: (margin) ......] through Apa Johannēs and him whom he[......] flax being pressed(17) in the tower(πυξις τού) (18)[...... - 30 - ......] seven (?) and seven 'lahē'-measures(19)[......] sextarion(δέκα της) of oil[......] artaba(s) of dates[......] seven artabas of dates ... (?)[......] (line 34 obscure)[...... - 35 - ......] [orgon]-measure(s)(20) of olives of[......] megaris-measure(s)(?) (21) of white olives[......] and one of the sheep, the wool (?) (22)[...... - 40 - ......] being full[......] who died, it being in his lot(μέγα τού(23)[...... - 40 - ......] which we gave to the monastery and he took[them(24)

[......] artaba(s) of wheat[......] ... (?) articles(σκεύης)[......] which were (?) found among the articles(σκεύης) which were given to(25)[......] skins: 3; a linnen cloth(στολήν)(26)[......] ... (?) of wool: 1; a[......] 1; cloak(3); [......] 1; a pillow-bag[......] 1; [......] 1; two[......] ... (?) : 1; [......] 1; coverlet(s)(27)[......] (broken).
(1) The deacon Achillitēs recurs elsewhere, see 197 note 8.

(2) Tapothēkē recurs in line 10, probably a place-name here; see 186 note 2.

(3) For the Coptic word καξ see Crum: *Dictionary* p.134a; in this collection also 1282.

(4) See chapter V p.33.

(5) Diomētēs recurs elsewhere, see index.

(6) Apa Hello recurs elsewhere, see index and cf. also 290 note 13.

(7) Pahou an unusual name; again in line 8, cf. Preisigke: *Namenbuch* πκωνος (once) and πκως.

(8) This item again 1436 and probably here line 14.

(9) 'the ωλιον from Tapothēkē'; the title ωλιον recurs twice in this collection, 1025-6, 37 and on a small fragment d 93c ἴνωλιον . Crum: *Dictionary* p.561a has collected most of the references to this title in Coptic texts, but among the Lansing papyri in the Egyptian Department of the British Museum I found some further references: B.M.E.A.10131 ἴνοπλαστόν πνευματικός, 10453 νηγαλίος [πα] τις, 10456 πηγαλιός πνευματικός (accounts). On the evidence now available there can be little doubt that this title corresponds to the Greek title πνευματικός which is common in Greek and Coptic financial texts of this period, it is particularly common in the Aphrodito papyri (P.Lond.IV). For πνευματικός in Greek documents see Preisigke: *Wörterbuch* and references there; in Coptic texts it is found generally in connection with the collection of taxes and other levies: Krall 641, 651 πνευματικός εποιοδέ (πνωθέ probably a place-name), Ryl.258 σειρταρ πνευματικός, 338(twice, especially: 4 πνευματικός και το εφούσκεται; also B.M.675, Krall 1228 and S.T.632, 642. It appears that one or more ωλιον – πνευματικοί were attached to every important town or village, and that there were some especially attached to the governor himself.

(10) Perhaps Νέός or Εβένος.
(11) cf.2906,9,12,15.
(12) Theodóros the fisherman recurs 2919,10 and 3211.
(14) ζάλαπε is very difficult; cf.2952 and note 2, where we have the same difficulty; perhaps ζάλακε is a place-name here.
(15) Although elsewhere in this document we find δανάφον to denote the poll-tax, here the writer has used ζάλαςας; see 130 Appendix note 6.
(16) For this title cf. 303A note 4.
(18) This is the only reference to a tower in the present collection; for towers in monasteries cf. Ep.vol.I p.24 and elsewhere.
(20) Cf. W.S.p.25.
(21) Megaritis-measure apparently only here; perhaps cf. μέγαλα, see W.S. p.24.
(22) The translation of this line is very difficult and doubtful.
(23) This line is remarkable; the translation offered seems probable, though one might have expected εξεγερματήματα; alternatively it might be translated: 'he being in his region', cf.J.4215 where μέγατα is used in this sense, but this seems unlikely.
(24) Perhaps supply: ['A list of the articles which we gave to the monastery ...']
(25) Perhaps supply: ['A list of the (things) which we] found among the articles which were given to the [...]. This line is evidently the heading of a list of articles which follows in the next few lines arranged in two (or more) columns.
(26) For this word cf. Ep.558 note 3; it recurs here 3269.
(27) For this word cf. C.O.242 note (p.61), also Ep.545 notes 5 and 7, Tor.43vo.3, and elsewhere; here again 3252 and 3273.
All the names mentioned here recur elsewhere in this collection, especially in the accounts 290, 291, 293, 295, 303B. For the spelling of Apa Hello see 290 note 13.

10. The mention of ἄφρικη is interesting; cf. P.Lond.IV 143810 ῥυμέτεκα Ἀφρική; 144320 ῥυμέτεκα Ἀφρική; 14522 ῥυμέτεκα Ἀφρική; 15664 κατὰ νεκρὸν οἰκονόμον ἄφρικην; cf. also 1451100, 1472.

11. Perhaps supply [.ἀπολλων]παζτὶ ‘Apollo the cleaner’, see 290 note 11.
305 (continued)

4. τμοεκυντε for τμεκυντε, see chapter VIII paragraphs 5 and 21.

7. '... the βοηθος who died, through [...]; for the title βοηθος see chapter V p.35.

306
ACCOUNT
(d 151f) This is an unusual account; it relates most probably to offerings on behalf of deceased persons. On these offerings see P.Mon.8\textsuperscript{5} note(pp.100f.) and references there, also Ep.vol.I pp.149,161,173(note), 175,184,185 and cf. here 189 note 14.

1 [..]μηνει[ωτ (ι)]
2 το ταπακαριος
3 ταπακαριος
4 με ταπακαριος
(broken)

2. το for τον; similarly line 4 με for μεεις.

307
ACCOUNT
(d 135d) The chief interest of this scrap is that it preserves a rare word.
1. '... for the account (λόγος) of the shepherds [...].

2. ßαιναία; this word is not listed in Crum: Dictionary but I have found it again in B.M.1166 ßαιναία νηρί; lit.: 'carrying two', evidently a wine-measure.

308
ACCOUNT ?

(d 112a) A scrap preserving the docket in minuscule script:

[...] μιοθο ποτκίμ[των]

'... concerning the wage of the river-inspectors [...]. For ποτκίμ[της] see Preisigke: Wörterbuch.

309
FOOD-ACCOUNT


Recto: (margin)

χαλλα ο[ι] = B
χαλλα σογο αγαλε θονε υρτ = B
άραγε υρτ = πή οι Β
οεικ [α] απω λα πάνα κωσμα [κ]
[α] [a] απω ι [α] οι ε
[α] [α] απω [ο] Β
[α] [α] απω [ο] Β

2, 3, 4. = ; the significance of this sign is obscure to me, cf. 318 below.
2. oine, also abbreviated as oi in lines 4, 6, 15, 22, 23, 27, 29, 30, 31. The 'oipe'-measure was one sixth of the artaba, see Bell: *P.Lond.* V p. 159 - 165.
3. ερτ for ερτος (= αετος η), again in line 4.

coyo 'wheat', again in lines 14, 15, 20, 27, 28; it is to be noted that in each case coyo is preceded by a name.

4. φαγέ, again in line 24, the Greek άεκκος; on this word see Prei-sigke: Wörterbuch 'eine schotenartige Frucht', cf. also W.S.202 note and references there. In the present collection it recurs 318^2 and 319(passim).

5. ψεκ 'bread, loaf', again in lines 16, 17, 28, 32; it seems remarkable that this is reckoned in artabas.

αφ for αετος η.


9. δογγ 'safflower, cardamum', again in lines 18, 29; also 270^3 and 310^6.

10. μνογ 'salt'.

11. μανοι 'bird, chicken', again in lines 13, 24; it seems strange to find μανοι in this account and reckoned in artabas; perhaps the word had a different meaning here.

12. εικβαλτε, again in lines 23, 30; perhaps for εικνεσ or εικννεσ, see Crum: Dictionary p.334a.


20. εγ', obscure; hardly for αγ 'flesh', but cf. μανοι in this account.

21. οιηε, this can hardly be the measure here, mistake?

22. αγρα εγ', not αγρα εγ'εα as cited by Crum: Dictionary p.489a; αφ following εγ' is certainly a mistake; perhaps the scribe intended to write αγρα αγ'εορσ cf.310^1.

27. ασυνr, obscure; hardly the name ασυνr.

28. γονα (sic !) for γονο, cf. chapter VIII par.43.

33. ειμον for ειπον, στοπελον, cf.W.S.101 note 6, Krall 245v0.14,15, B.M.1128 note 1, Ry1.(index), etc.
FOOD-ACCOUNT

(d 47) 8½ by 9½ inches, complete. Uncials, same hand as 159, 335, 336, 365. Note: The fragment cited in Crum; Dictionary p.673b zαλβις and p.675 ευμε as 'd 47' is 336 here; that fragment, though written by the same hand, is not part of this papyrus.

9. Byne for σάμη, cf. 335^2-4 (same hand) Bυρέ for δρέ; see chapter VIII par. 86.

Translation
(remains of one line)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beans ...(?)(1)</th>
<th>artabas 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lentils ...(?)(1)</td>
<td>artabas 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans(φύσηλος)(2)</td>
<td>artabas 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chicken-peas
Safflower(3)
...(?)(4)
Crow's eye(5)
Dates
Lupines(?)(7)
Wheat as wage for the mill(\(\mu\nu\lambda\nu\))
...(?)(8)
[
[
Small 'lakon'-measures(10) of cheese
Oil, sextarions(\(\zeta\epsilon\sigma\tau\gamma\))

(margin)

(1) On \(\epsilon\gamma\phi\gamma\tau\phi\gamma\) see Crum: Dictionary pp.356b - 357a.
(2) \(\phi\nu\sigma\nu\lambda\sigma\), again S.T.438\(^6\)\(^{12}\), Krall 247\(^7\)\(^9\), cf. also Preisigke: Wörterbuch.
(3) Cf.309\(^9\) note.
(4) \(\zeta\gamma\eta\mu\) here only, cf. Crum: Dictionary p.674b; Crum suggests: 'Cf. ? \(\zeta\gamma\eta\mu\)'.
(6) Six 'oipe'-measures were one artaba, see Bell: P.Lond.V pp.159 - 165.
(7) \(\phi\rho\omicron\nu\), perhaps for \(\xi\epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\omicron\), cf. V.C.124\(^5\) \(\phi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\omicron\).
(8) \(\epsilon\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\), obscure.
(9) 'litra', a common measure, cf. W.S.(index), S.T.(index), etc..
(10) For 'lakon'-measure see W.S.p.23; generally a measure for wine, but here for cheese.

311
ACCOUNT

(f 62) It is interesting to find the Greek \(\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\chi\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu\) and the Coptic \(\epsilon\phi\omicron\)
both meaning 'salt-fish', side by side; for other examples of this see Crum: *Dictionary* pp. 780b-781a.

![Image](image_url)

\[\text{broken}\]

4. *xenwb* for *knoon* 'basket'.

---

**312**

**WINE-ACCOUNT**

(c 12) Ligatured. 14 by 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches, recto complete, verso incomplete.


![Image](image_url)

10 *tupanepa*  
\[\text{broken}\]

\[\text{broken}\]
15 πανούσ Biktōr
θεος Παλαύ
νεκαλαφάθης
πυθενήτ
...γιν
20 άμπειων
κολλοῦ ἀπὸ πεταλεία
22 νέρωμ απὸ τερμία

(margin)

Verso: (continued from the recto) (broken) ——>

24 [..] ἔφε
25 Ἰοῦ τοῦ ἄνω αὐτοῦ ὡς
καὶ ἀραῶν ταῦτα ἐπιμασίας ὡς ὡς ὡς
παρήγουν ὡς μνημα πεταμερ χαμάνων ὡς
Ἰεβαλ νάρων ἀποφορᾷ ὡς ὡς ὡς
Ἰμνόν ντίσε
30 [α] ὡς

(margin)

1. There is something added above this line, illegible.
8. Πανοσ for πνοσ; see chapter VIII par. 85.
11. πανοὺ, perhaps for πανοὺ, alternatively some name.
28. ἀραῶν ἀποφορᾷ, probably for ἀραῶν ἀποπροστασίας, cf. below.
29. It is not clear why there are two strokes over the γ and μ.

Translation:
The expenses of the wine of the δικονία(1) thus + (2):

Biktōr (son of) Palau(3) wine knidia(4)
.....(?) (5)
Biktōr (son of) Palau wine [ .. ]
(5) Theodōros the βοηθός(6) wine [ .. ]
Pamoun the watchman wine 26
Mēna (the son of) Petsire(7) wine 2
Table(τεχνην) of the superior wine 3
The church(εκκλησια) wine 36

(10) Our table(τεχνην)
Theodōros the sailor(? ναυτης) wine 4
Camelherd wine 8
...(?) wine 7
Damianos wine 2

(15) Papnouthios (the son of)(10) Biktōr wine [..]
Theodōros (the son of)(10) Pamoun wine [..]
The ship-caulkers(? καλυμματος) wine 16
The smith wine 10
...(?) wine 24, sol. 3(12)

(20) Feast of our father(13)
Kollouthos from (the) rock(τερας) of Apa Jōhannes wine 9
The men (from the monastery) of Apa Jerēmias(15) wine 3(?)

Verso: (broken)

[...]
[...]...(?)

(25) [...]
...(?)376, solidi: 1, wine: 73
[... which(?)]... Apa Arōn assigned(?) to the monastery; total
(χιονυτς) solidi: 3½

[... Pamoun ½; and Mēna (the son of) Petsire ½; and
Damianos solidi ½

[...] from Arōn (the) ex-prior(αποτελεσθαι) total(μετανταται)
solidi: 1ll½

[...]...(?) thus solidi: 100 ...(?)

(30) [...]
[...](?)[...]
solidi: 8½

(margin)
(1) On ἰκανος see above chapter V Appendix.
(2) For this heading cf. B.M.463.
(3) Біктör the son of Palau recurs in line 4; for the name Palau see 252 note 2.
(4) The whole account is reckoned in ἱερος, though this is only mentioned in line 2; for the ἱερος-measure see W.S. p.22.
(5) ἡπειρωμένη, difficult; hardly 'the things which are broken'.
(6) For this title see chapter V p.35.
(7) This person recurs in line 27; the name Petsire is a shortened form of the name Petosiris, cf. Preisigke: Namenbuch; it recurs here 332², also S.T.199³, and as πεπεραίων, Krall 387, 8 and Zoega 24.
(8) τεκτονικα may have the special meaning here of 'fund for charitable purposes', cf. Ep.I p.173; it recurs in line 10.
(9) The reference to 'the church' here is of some interest; cf.189²0, 23 and E.E.F, Archaeological Report 1906-7 p.75.
(10) The sign in lines 15 and 16 is probably the abbreviation-stroke, but it may also stand for κατά, in that case translate: 'Papnouthios and Біктör' and 'Theodōros and Pamoun'.
(11) For κατάταξισ see W.S.377 and cf. Preisigke: Worterbuch.
(12) In this case the expenses are not merely in wine, but also one-third of a solidus; cf. also the verso.
(13) This probably refers to the feast of the founder of the monastery.
(14) For this monastery see chapter IV p.24.
(15) For this monastery see chapter IV pp.22f.
(16) ἤκτος, hardly for ἤκτος.
(17) The three persons mentioned recur on the recto.
(18) The occurrence of the title ἱερος-πεπεραίων here is of some interest; for the use of ἱερος with titles in the meaning 'ex-' see Steinwender: Studien (Stud.Pal.XIX), p.40, also P.Lond.V 1687²³ note and Ryl.p.146 note 3, cf.P.Masp.III 67296,3. Number 100 here is a document in which a prior was appointed for a few days only; cf.
also chapter V.

313
WINE-ACCOUNT
(d 1631) Uncials. This and the next account were written by the same hand and are very similar to each other.

\[\text{(broken)}\]
\[\text{\(\sigma \gamma \beta\) \(\underline{\alpha}[\)}\]
\[\text{\(\sigma \gamma \beta\) \(\underline{\pi}...[\)}\]
\[\text{\(\sigma \gamma \beta\) \(\gamma\underline{\alpha\alpha}[\)}\]
\[\text{\(\sigma \gamma \beta\) \(\pi\underline{\alpha\lambda\epsilon \underline{s}[\)}\]

\[5\]
\[\text{\(\underline{\alpha\alpha\Delta \kappa\upsilon\rho\varepsilon} \text{\(\sigma \gamma \eta\) [\)}\]

\text{\(\text{Verse: (docket ?)} \ (margin)}\]
\[8\]
\[\text{\(\Pi\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\eta\varepsilon\alpha\mu\alpha \nu\omega\tau\tau \underline{\eta\nu}[\pi}]\]
\[9\]
\[\underline{\delta}\text{\(\kappa\varphi}\underline{\tau} \text{\(\nu \underline{\eta}\Gamma \underline{\alpha}\theta\varepsilon \underline{\omicron}[\)}\]

\text{(margin)}
1 etc. \(\sigma \gamma \) for \(\sigma\iota\nu\sigma\alpha\).
8. \(\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\eta\varepsilon\alpha\mu\alpha\), the Greek \(\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\mu\alpha\).

314
WINE-ACCOUNT
(d 1490) Cf. the last document.

\[\text{(broken)}\]
\[\text{\(\sigma \gamma \beta\) \(\nu\underline{\tau\rho}[\omega\alpha}\]
\[\text{\(\tau\rho\alpha\eta\varepsilon\tau\iota[\)}\]
\[\text{\(\kappa\upsilon\rho\omega\varepsilon[\)}\]

\[\text{\(\text{Verse: (docket ?)} \ (margin)}\]
\[5\]
\[\text{\(\Pi\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\eta\varepsilon\alpha\mu\alpha \underline{\eta}\nu[\pi}\]}\]
2. ἑρατη[, cf. ἑραδα and ἑρατή in P.Lond.IV.

315

ACCOUNT

(Handwriting [Handwritten])

(broken)

[ἐπερετή]

κατολαβὼ ψισθε[ρ]
κατα τὴν τιμήτερήν
ο[...] [margin]

5 ὁμοίοις κολλαθέν

ἀπὸ σαρκοπάρμῳ

(continued)

πέτρες με[ε]ς

8 ὁμοίοις

(broken)

2. See 293 note 16.

3. For the κόλλαθον-measure see W.S.p.22.

316

WINE-ACCOUNT

(g 28)

(margin)

1 ἐπιγόρος ἢρμης

2 ἱλακόν ἑγεμόνος

3 ἱλακόν ἡμῖς

4 ἱλαμώφις [margin]

(broken)

1. ἢρμη for ἢρμ, see chapter VIII par.2f.

2. Literally: 'lacon-measure sitting'; cf. 'lager' (Crum).
3. nic for nice, 'lacon-measure, boiled(?').

4. λαμωτης λαμωτηρ could also be read; presumably Greek, unidentified.

317
WINE-ACCOUNT?

(e 56) Same hand as 340, uncial.

(broken)

Translation:

[...] Kolthe the fisherman for [...] solidi ½
[... the son of the] late Bartholomeos (the) elder for wine solidi 3
[......] 'my brother' Isaac the steward (oikonomos) (1) for wine solidi 1
[...... Apa Helias the superior (2) through 'my brother' Stephanos (?)
[and (?)...] the least deacon(s) [...]

(1) Isaac the steward recurs 116^2\textsuperscript{1} and 177^1.

(2) Apa Helias as superior only here; cf. index.

318
WHEAT-ACCOUNT

(f 23) Large crude script, uncial. On the verso, Arabic, earlier.

The high figures (200 ? Artabas) should be noted. Cf. also 309.

↑

1 + χαμα κουο - ερτ = ερ ερ
2 απαρε ερτ ποιμεν
1. \( \epsilon\rho\tau \) for \( \rho\tau\omicron\) (artaba).
   For = cf. 309_2-4.
   \( \epsilon\rho \) (sic!).
2. \( \alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon \), see 309^4 note.

319

CORN-ACCOUNT

(e 35) Crude script, uncial. On the verso, Arabic, earlier.

Translation:

+ The account of 'my brother' ...

Through Sarapammôn, wheat artabas 18 arak(1) artabas 6
The same again, wheat artabas 10 oipes 2
The same again, arak artabas 8 solidi 1
(5) The same again, arak artabas 1 oipes 2 sol.\( \frac{1}{2} \)
The monk of Apa Apollo, arak artabas 5\( \frac{1}{2} \)(2) solidi \( \frac{2}{3} \)
Arak oipes 3
Touoiama(?) (the son of) Phello(4), wheat artabas 5 oipes 5
(1) On arak see 309 note.

(2) It is to be noted that in lines 4 - 6 the amount stated in solidi corresponds to the amount stated in artabas and oipes, though in line 6 we should have expected 5½ for 5½ artabas; six oipes were one artaba, see P.Lond.V pp.159 - 165. Presumably, thus, the solidi indicate the price of arak per artaba, which here is one solidus for 8 artabas. Cf. also 102 above where one solidus is the price for eight artabas and two oipes of lentils.

(3) ῥοδιάμα or ῥοδιάμα seems to be a name, apparently not elsewhere.

(4) For the spelling of the name (P-)Hello with one A only see 290 note 13.

320

CORN-ACCOUNT

(f 31) Crude script, uncial. Earlier text washed off.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Margin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>πλακος  ΝΣΟΥΟ [</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ιωχήφ  νεκωτ =[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΝΜΑΚ [</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>φλο  πυε  ΜΑΚ[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ουβαγε  ΝΣΟΥΟ[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>παυε  πυε  Ν [</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ενω[χ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Νφλο  Π[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Νταβοττε[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΜΑΚ [</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verso: ——— (sic !) (docket ?)

| 11 |
|————|
| πλακος  ΝΣΟΥΟ |

4,8. φλο for π-κλο, see 290 note 13.

5. ουβαγε for οουνε, see chapter VIII par.50.

3,8,9. The initial Ν is strange.
Translation:

The account of wheat [...] Joseph the builder [...] Maaje-measures(1) [...] P-Hello the son of (the) late [...] A sack of wheat [...] Paule the son of [...] Enöč [...] For (?) P-Hello [...] ...(?)(2) [...] Maaje-measure(s) [...] (margin)

Verso: The account of wheat [...].

(1) On this measure see W.S.p.24.
(2) ἄραβοττ[ε], obscure.

321
WHEAT-ACCOUNT

(d 33) Same hand as 295, 303A and B.

Recto: Wheat account, only partly preserved; most lines end with εαγούο; contains:

1 (a) ἔκτη τιτᾶνθεοδωρός πούω[ε]
2 (b) [ε] ποιεράγμα τε εαγούο ☐
3 (c) [ποιοίς εαγούο]

Verso: Lines 4 and 5, uncials as on the recto, the rest in minuscule hand, probably by the same scribe.

4 (margin) ΝΤΑΥΤΑΛΟΥ ΕΝΕΕΝΗΝΥ ☐
5 [παύλης θεονάς γ []
6 [δέεα γ γ ψοί ..[..]
7 [απρέ θαλ[]
8 [δηρανέ β...[ (space)
9 [δικτακταφι βιο γ βιο [λαλ []
10 [..... δ [μ []
   [ανδικταφι [δ []
   [καλβ [ε []
   [ισ []
(2 more lines containing γ and γ', then broken)
1. ἔκτη: probably read ἔκτης, a place-name cf. 291 note 2.
   Theodoros the fisherman recurs elsewhere, cf. 291 note 12.
2. πανεπίστης or πανέπιστης, probably some title, unidentified.
6. Ἀδαμα; for this name cf. 303A note 6.
9. βίον ἄγω; see 298 note 4.
11. ἀνα κρί σκότω; cf. line 9 here; I am unable to explain the ω.
12. Νηρβεί; see 291 note 14.
   ΚΛΑ; presumably for ΚΑΜΟΥΛ, ΚΑΜΟΥΛ 'camel'.

322
GENERAL ACCOUNT
(b 6; d 113a,b; d 125b) Perhaps 328 written by the same hand belongs
to this account. 15 by 7 inches, neither complete. Minuscule script.

This is one of the most difficult papyri in the collection and
much has remained obscure; in parts the script is badly faded.

Recto(?): (on upper half only, broken) ———

(2 lines illegible)
14  ἐπιροούχον[

15  καθάρομελι ♯ [ (margin)

Verso(?): (on lower half only, margin)

16  ἴτι[...] [...][]ανὸν θ' ὅμορ̂ο τέκνανε

[κούκουμαν κ αίτε α]

[λακοτήμωμεν κ ού καυκωπήκε][

[γε νβαρω κ νατ][

[εβίω]

[οὑδόνε ναυ νβαρωτ][

[κερεκάπτι νζομεν][

[ενακαυ νβαρωτ][

(margin)

1. Obscure; perhaps πετα for πειε.

2. Obscure; perhaps κούες for κούες.

3. μελόν νδφρο, 'dish with mixed contents'.

σκούδελ, probably σκυτάλη 'staff, pole' etc., cf. Preisigke: Wörterbuch.

4. λακον ναρχιν, 'a lacon-measure of lentils'; on lacon-measure see W.S.p.23.

ναρχης, obscure, the ν-νρφ following shows that it is something connected with wine; a measure?

5. λαχή ναρψ, 'a lahe-measure of wine'; on lahe-measure see W.S.p.23.

λακτής, obscure, cf. line 11 where it is of clay; hardly connected with the Latin 'lactarius'.

7. κολ ννάιατ, 'kol for my eye'; it seems extremely probable that κολ is the Arabic κολ 'Kohl' with which the eye is ornamented.


10. Ο/μαρία Σοφία, 'through Maria (the daughter of) Sophia'.
   κοου, 'flax', but κοου, or κοου not in Crum: Dictionary.

11. ἐμφώιει Ἀθέλε, 'a vessel of clay'; on ἐμφώιει see Crum: Dictionary p.184b.

12. λακοτ', 'a lakoote-measure of clay'; on la-
    koote see W.S.p.23.


14. Obscure; ......ἐποφογήνε could also be read.

15. καλόπ', obscure, reading not certain; μελ', obscure.

16. obscure.

17. κούκοομαν, 'cucum jar', see 249 note 3.
   κίτλα, evidently the Latin 'situla' 'bucket, pail'; cf. κίτλιον P. Ox.1290g.

18. λακτάνωμετ, 'a lakoote of copper', cf. note on line 12 above.
   λακτανωμετ, evidently some Greek word, unidentified; mistake for
   ντοδήκη?

19. γυτε νδαρς, '... of brass'.
   νταρ, 'loom'.

20. γελώ, 'honey'; it seems strange to find honey in a list of utensils
    and tools, perhaps supply 'a vessel for taking honey'.

21. 'a sack for taking brass' (?).

22. 'a copper candelabra', see Ep. 544 note and references there.

23. 'a brass vessel'.

323
LIST OF ARTICLES
(e 33) At the end of a letter in different hand (214).

→
1. ἵπτεν ἕπων ζ κόρην, θΗΣΙΜΕ α βΟΤΕ θ ΒΑΤΙΧ Θ
1. ὑθήν, 'tunic'.

παλαίν ὅρθιμα, 'woman's garment'; this item recurs 328.

βορτή, 'knife'.

Βατάν; see Crum: Dictionary p.625a.

2. παλαιν (πάλαιν), 'cloak'.

ἐπωμίς (ἐπωμίζ), 'part of the woman's tunic that was fastened on the shoulder by brooches' (Liddell and Scott).

οὐγκλήν, 'a bell'.

3. σωμαρές, perhaps the Arabic Σαρά 'urn'; it recurs here 324, also W.S.144 and CMSS 55 (σωμαρές); Crum however in W.S.144 suggests the Greek ἡμαξειστής or σωμαξείστης, cf. note 3 there.

χορτ, a measure; see Crum: Dictionary p.611b.

βαλοτ νερκότκ, 'sleeping-bag'.

4. ἵψυρ ὅχλος, 'ring of ...'; for ὅχλος of. Crum: Dictionary p.711b (only here), cf. also B.M.476 ὅψαρτ η ὅχλος[ where presumably ὅψαρτ η ὅχλος ought to be read.

324

LIST OF ARTICLES

(f 54; d 138a,b,c) On the verso letter(268), earlier?

(broken)

1. Ἰφ. αὑρίσκος

2. Ἰψολ ἐ ἀκωνβ ὅτιμαρές

3. Ἰχνές ἠ β σωμαρές Δ

4. Ἰ... λῆσι ὅβαρωτ Ε

5. Ἰ... ἐ μ ὅχλος σναύ

(margin)
1. Obscure.
2. ἀκων κ ὑπναρβε; '... for healing', ἀκων a new word, not in Crum: Dictionary.
3. καιμαρβ; see 323 note.
4. λυτικαρβατ; for λυτικ see Preisigke; Wörterbuch 'Felgenkranz des Wasserschöpftrades', here of brass.
5. χιλιαν; presumably for διλια cf. chapter VIII par.127; '...and two faggots(?).

325
LIST OF ARTICLES
(d 127b) Same hand as 197.

(margin)

1. [ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΕΚΕ]ΥΕ ΝΤΑΥΒΙΤ[ΟΥ
2. [ΛΩΤΗ]Τ. [Α]
3. [ΛΑΚΟΤΕ ΝΗΡ[Π
(broken)

1. 'These are the articles which were taken[...'; cf. Ryl.239
2. 'coverlet'; on this word see 303B note 27.
3. 'lakoote-measure of wine'; on this measure see W.S.p.23.

326
LIST OF ARTICLES
(g 70) Small uncials; on the verso different hand.

(broken)

1. [ΜΠΟΥΜΑ]ΡΙΚΟΣ
2. [Α: ΜΟΡΤΕ: Ρ]
3. [ΜΑ]ΠΗΛΗΕ: Β: ΜΙΣΡ: Β

(margin)

1. cf. Ryl.23812 κο νινδονιν υπογραφη 'six linen cloths, embroidered (πλούμακες)' (Barns).
2. σόρτς; 'knife'.
3. μανθανε; probably the Arabic ٔـ ـ 'handkerchief'; it recurs here 334\(^5\), also Ryl.243\(^{12,25}\) and see note 10 there.

μιστο; for μύστον 'spoon', cf. Preisigke: Wörterbuch, it recurs here 334\(^4\).

327

LIST OF ARTICLES

(d 48 fragment) On the verso text in literary uncials of the late rounded Coptic type, earlier.

1. ΝΕ ΝΕ for ΝΑΙ ΝΕ, see chapter VIII par.16; 'These are my small[...].'
2. 'Thomas, bag (or: skin)[...].'
3. 'coverlet 1'; cf. 303B note 27.
4. 'knife 1'.
5. 'tunic [...].'
6. Obscure, apparently a new word.

328

LIST OF ARTICLES

(f 55) Perhaps part of 322 written by the same scribe.

1. ΙΒΡ ΕΝΑΥ ΝΔΑΝΙΣΟΥ
2. ΙΑΚ ΝΟΥΕΝΑΥ κ ΒΟΛΒΕ ΝΒΑ[...]

(broken)
328 (continued)

3. te NCOT  φ  "Bet["
4. fοικος  κ [ ]
5. βαλον ΝΡΙΚΟΤΚ  ζ  β [ ]

(broken)

Verso(?); (broken)

7
8  ἀπεκαίνισε  νεοειμε  ε
9  καλλωνε  κ [ ]
10  ηυθή  νοσκε  ΝΣΗΓε [ ]

(margin)

1. 'two baskets of (?) ἡμίχογ-measure'; on ἡμίχογ see Crum: Dictionary p.827b.
2. φοσκή, obscure, see Crum: Dictionary p.582a. 
   φοσκή, 'garment of wool'.
3. χοτ, 'beam'.
4. Obscure.
5. 'sleeping-bag', cf. 323.3.
8. 'woman's garment', recurs 323.1.
9. 'linen cloth', see 303b note 26.
10. 'tunic of ... (?) of purple dye'; φοσκε only here, perhaps connected with άζκω Crum: Dictionary p.24b.

329

LIST OF ARTICLES

(f 33)

(broken)

5  θηλαν ΝΕΓΩ [ ]
6  γαπορκ ΝΣΗΓΟΥΛ [ ]
2. Νιμψίς for νίψις? 'plough' cf. W.S.123; J.66<sup>40</sup>, 76<sup>43</sup>; or 'basin for hand-washing' cf. S.T.116<sup>17</sup>, 439<sup>11</sup>.

3. 'cart [...].'

4. ωθηκη, perhaps the Greek ωθήκη 'niche, small room', but here 'for storing wine'.

5. 'ox-skin', cf. 332.

6. 'for a camel's foal'.

7. οψ for ὀμούς. 'Likewise a small pick'.

---

330

LIST OF ARTICLES

(f 24) On the verso 266, later?

1. 'sextarion', a measure.
2. 'sandal', the Latin 'sandalium'.
3. Probably στέκλη 'scissors', cf. Ryl. 239 note 24; or perhaps φωλαίον 'a round leaden plate'.
4. ἁμάμα, probably for σούγνε 'sack', see chapter VIII paragraphs 56, 127.
5. 'tunic'.
6. 'garment'.
7. 'hand-axe'.
8. 'copper knife(? )'.
9. 'a workman's skin'.
10. 'cauldron-ring(?)'; on άλακ for άλακ see Crum; Dictionary p. 668a.
11. 'large needle'.
12. [?][?][?][?][?][?], obscure.

LIST OF ARTICLES

(g 17) 2\frac{3}{4} by 1\frac{1}{2} inches, complete.

1. 'a piece of a shirt', see Ryl. 213 and note.
2. Obscure, Greek ?
3. 'a sack'.
4. 'four carats'.
5. ἐφ for ἐγκρεπτης; 'a workman's skin'.

331
6-7. 'fifty lahē-measures of wine'; on this measure see W.S.p.23.

8. 'a sack of wheat'.

LIST OF SKINS

1. [order unknown, difficult; wa-wa\[na]\[sa\]oo\[yo]]
2. pete\[si\]re \[g\]\[a\]o\[u\]\[a\]ar \[n\]\[a\]\[sa\]oo\[yo\]
3. wa-wa\[n\]\[ba\]\[a\]\[a\]\[na\]
4. \[ba\]\[a\]\[a\]\[o\]t \[ne\]\[c\]\[o\]\[o\]\[y\]

LIST OF CHURCH(?)-PROPERTY

On the verso account in different hand, earlier ?(345).

W:\[mu\]nt ep\[lo\]x\[m\] au\[w\] au[\[s\]u\][\[m\]\[n\]t\]
no\[s\] la\[ka\]\[l\] ec\[o\]\[m\] \[mu\]nt\[
\[n\]\[a\]\[y\] \[n\]\[b\]\[o\]r \[n\]\[o\]\[u\]e \[n\]\[a\]\[t\]\[a\]\[m\]
\[e\]\[x]\[h\]\[k\] e\[b\]\[a\]\[l\] e\[x]\[i\]a\[m\]e\[x\]
\[n\]\[e\] \[\[m\]\[e\]c\]\[a\]\[l\]\[o\]\[t\] e\[r\] e\[\[a\]\[y\][\[l\]\[e\k\]
6 [N cîte epe ovei gôpek epe o[yei (i) ]
   [πµ pâtemouc nob cîte]
   [aw ovcaye ñbâpat +oy]

9 [nob nocâkîa ñpênî'le]
   (margin)

1. λοκµ cf. Crum: Dictionary p.139a citing the first three lines here;
   (meaning unknown).

2. 'great ladder(σκαλα) being ...(?)[

3. 'two hinges(?) of wood ...(?)[...'; for ñop see Crum: Dictionary p.
   115a (κογρ).

4. 'being complete ...(?)[...

5. μεκαλωτ, difficult; μεκ perhaps from mice, but αλωτ obscure; πλεκ[
   perhaps πλεκτη 'cord, fishing-basket'.

6. '... two, one being broken and one[...


8. 'and a brass-egg [...'; caýse for coûse, cf. chapter VIII par.50 and

9. 'great iron bell'.

334

LIST

(f 87)

(broken)

[...t c]

[...aîtonîn - - [-] - a [3]

aîelîn ñkekâw - a [3]

mîstr - - - []

5 mânthâle - - 8 [3]
   (margin)

1-3. Obscure; kekâw a new word, not in Crum: Dictionary.

4. 'spoon', see 3263 note.

5. 'handkerchief', see 3263 note.
LIST

(1 44) Same hand as 159, 310, 336, 365. Not part of 310.

1. ζρκον, difficult; perhaps for χελκον, but hardly 'sickle', Crum: Dictionary p.668b. ταριξε (ταριςηον) 'saltfish', cf. 311.
2. ενεε probably for εβαε, see chapter VIII par.65c.
3. δμιον for διον, again in lines 3 and 4, see chapter VIII par.102. 'new plough'.
4. 'new peg', cf. 258 note 2.

LIST

(d 163f) Same hand as 159, 310, 335, 365. Not part of 310, see 310 introduction.

1. Perhaps λακ 'bowl, cup', measure for oil, see Crum: Dictionary p.138a, but might be λακον.
2. 'a peg', see 258 note 2.
3. λαλίκ, see Crum: Dictionary p.673b (here only), obscure.
(d 163b; d 120a; further fragments are d 130a and d 162a) On the verso different hand, later. (broken)

1. \[\text{μ} \text{n περιπ..}\]
   (gap ?)

3. \[\text{κ} \text{εμιασε} \alpha\]

5. \[\text{πουτε φιλά}\]

6. \[\text{δα} \text{λας το δαγαλαςωλ}]

7. \[\text{πασογορ}\]
   (broken)

1,4. Obscure.
5. 'three bowls (φοίλα ή ?)'
6. \[\text{δαλαςτ, 'pot'; δαγαλαςωλ, see Crum: Dictionary p.672b.}\]

(d 41) Crude uncial.

Recto(?): (broken)

1. \[\text{γα} \text{απαςς α} \text{πρωτ ή} \]

3. \[\text{μαζμιν} \nu \beta\]

5. \[\text{απακιρε} \alpha\]

6. \[\text{πογαλ N ποιωτ μακρον} \alpha\]
   (margin)

Verso(?): (sic !) (broken)

8. \[\text{απα} \text{λον} \eta\]

10. \[\text{παγκε} \eta\]
2. μαγνητ, the Arabic name Ṣ-ḥ (Mohammet).
Δάκων probably for Διακών(ος).
4. αλκαχού, the Arabic χασία 'soldier, army', cf. CMSS index; this item presumably refers to the expenses of the Muslim army in Egypt, cf. chapter VI.
5. ἄπακαβε presumably follows on ζεῖτεν in line 4.
6. '...the bundle(?) of(?) my father Makrofe'. For the name Makrofe see 285 note.
9 - 17. Several of these names recur elsewhere in the present collection, especially Apa Ammōne and Geōrgios the deacon, cf. index.
15. ζεῖεξ, a strange name, not elsewhere; perhaps for ζεῖεξ cf. Preisigke: Namenbuch (Crum).

339
ACCOUNT
(d 31) 4⅛ by 8½ inches. On the verso Arabic text, earlier.
1. 'Through me Jööre; behold twenty-three and a half...'. The name Jööre is rare, cf. B.M.337 and Ryl.p.213. \textit{Mekoume} for \textit{Mentoume}, see chapter VIII paragraphs 22 and 116.

2. 'Apollo, crops solidi 3'. For \textit{Zeneutou} see Crum: Dictionary p.723b.

3. Obscure.

4. 'The dust solidi 4\frac{1}{2}'. 'Dust' seems strange here, perhaps some earth used for fertilising. \( \tilde{\nu} \delta \gamma \) presumably a mistake for \( \delta \gamma \).

5. 'A trimesion for those in Panau'. Panau is probably the pagarchy \textit{Nanoc} or \textit{Nanoc} which occurs in P.Lond.IV.

\begin{verbatim}
340
ACCOUNT

(\$82) Same hand as 317. (broken)
\end{verbatim}

5. \textit{Cetio\i\v{s}e}, 'a measure of tilled land', see Crum:Dictionary p.89b.
Account of articles which were set upon a ship; cf. B.M. 1088.

1. πλογοςιν ἥνεκεν.
2. [ν]τανταλοῦς ἐπίκοι
3. λε
4. ἵ α ἵ (broken)

4. ἵ α ἵ, the i obscure.

Very small script. On the verso different hand, later.

1. [μα]ν ἵτανξοι ὑμη 2[ν
2. [τε]κμαυ οὐστραμ. [β]
3. (gap)
4. [οὐ]νοβὸρ ὀυρυχαῦ γα skewed]
5. [τε]κυντε οὐποραυ [ (broken)

1. '... the] time when the ship went from(?)...'.
2. Obscure.
4. '...[Wenober, a cloak for 3 solidi [...].
5. '... two(?), a coverlet [...]; κυντε for κντε, see chapter VIII par.
5.

All these make thirty-three [...].
Written below a protocol (400) dated A.D. 685 - 705.

Translation:
+The fourth book (1) of the income (2) through me Wenober (3) this least one.

[... ] wool solidi 5(?)

(1) On the recto the name for 'book' is κοντάκιον, on the verso (different hand!) it is τομάειον; cf. Ep.vol.I p.187, esp. note 7, this is the fragment cited there.

(2) ει εισούν 'income', see Crum: Dictionary p.72b where this is cited.

(3) Probably the prior of the monastery by whom such accounts were normally issued, cf.301,302 and 303. Wenober as prior occurs elsewhere, see index.
1. [+] ΣΥΝ λογ/ τα ελα παρα [
2. Περ/ haps [Δ]ΝΤΩΟΥξ. ου γ στη γ ... [

(broken and illegible)


346
ACCOUNT

(d 131c; d 143c) Obscure account. Probably in Greek.

(broken)

+ ΚΟΣΜ[α
+ ΚΟΣΜΑ ΒΙΑΚ, [

............. []

(ocr)
5
+ ΦΑΡΜ Σ ΧΙΑΧΣ]
+ ΦΑΡΜ Σ ΧΙΑΧΣ]
\$ ΚΟΛΟΥ ΦΑΝΕ []

9 ΧΧΙΑΧΣ ΑΡ \ ν \ ΗΛ\ []

(margin)

Verso(?):

(margin)

10
\$ ΕΝ ΜΟΝ\ []
+ ΦΑΡΜ Σ ΧΙΑΧΣ (t)
\$ ΡΕΩΡ \ ΑΝ\ []
\$ \ ΧΙΑΧΣ (t)

14 \$ ΔΙΑΝΟΜ\ []

(broken)

6,7,9,13. ΧΙΑΧΣ obscure; place-name?
8. ΦΑΝΕ; this name recurs W.S.129; probably a short form of the name Stephane, cf. Stole for Apostole, Chaël for Michael etc..
9. ΑΡ \ ν for ΚΕΣΙΜΧ ΒΟΜΙΣΜΑΣ, cf. 1303 note, etc.
1. Cf. a fragment d 96g?

3. The monastery of Apa Apollo recurs on yet another small fragment d 106a, see chapter III.

\[\text{(g 83)}\]

\[\begin{align*}
1 & \text{[...\omega\ldots\lambda\omega\ldots\alpha_{\text{N}}]} \\
2 & \text{παύλε πατωμοντε \alpha_{\text{N}}} \\
3 & \text{κολλούσιον \epsilonισθειον \alpha_{\text{N}}} \\
4 & \text{φιλο ευσίκη \alpha_{\text{N}}} \\
5 & \text{φεάμ\ldots\tau\nuχ\nu} \\
\end{align*}\]

\(\text{\alpha_{\text{N}} \text{ probably for \alpha_{\text{N}} = \alpha\nu\rho\sigma\mu\sigma\nu(poll-tax).}}\)

\(\text{πατωμοντε, εισθειον, ευσίκη, probably all place-names, but none of these seem to recur elsewhere.}\)

\[\text{(d 111g)}\]

\[\begin{align*}
1 & \text{\chi\alpha\varepsilon} \\
2 & \text{\kappa\pi\nu \pi\tau\eta\nu\epsilon} \\
\end{align*}\]

\(\pi\tau\eta\nu\epsilon \text{ recurs elsewhere as a place-name, but the references in Preisigke Wörterbuch are all from the Fayyum.}\)

\[\text{(d 84a)}\]

\[\begin{align*}
1 & \text{\mu\nu\alpha\lambda\omicron \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\omicron \tau[.}\n\end{align*}\]
350 (continued)

2 [ΜΝ ΑΡΑΒΙΚΗ ΑΠΙ ΟΥΝ[Α
3 ].. ΝΑΚΟΥΤ[Ç
(broken)

351
(d 73b) Contains ———— T]ΟΝΕΩΤ ΤΡΟΛΙÇ[Ç

On ΤΟΝΕΩΤ see W.S.133 note 3(p.118); cf. also Bell, Journal of Hellenic Studies XXVIII, pp.105f.,119.

352
(d 96a)

(margin)

1 [ΜΝ ΤΙΟΛΙΝΕ ΕΠ[Ç
2 ΝΕΚΑΝΑ ΑΝΝΑΡΑ[ΚΑΛΕΙ
3 'ΕΝ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝ
(broken)

353
(d 152a) Contains ———— ΤΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΡΑΜΤΜ[Ç

On the use of the indefinite article here see 1381 note.
Perhaps supply ΤΜ[ΥΜΗ cf.1194, 1242, 1271 or ΤΜ[ΟΥ, cf. W.S.(index), Ryl. (index), cf. J&C 19201 ΤΜ[ΟΥ ΜΠΑΣΩΜ.

354
(d 68a,b) Minuscule. Contains the name of an unknown ΧΩΡ[ΟΥ:

355
(Ms. Greek Class.d 87) Minuscule. Probably a Tax-account. On the Verso, Arabic, earlier. (broken)
2. Presumably the nome-capital Ντενικού.


3. Recurs P.Ox.1720 (A.D.614) ἀπὸ κομμῆς βερκυ (same ?).

4. πολεως is strange; perhaps for ἐκμπολες.

7. Cf. ψωβδές, see Freisigke: Wörterbuch.


9. The high total (over 550 solidi) is to be noted.

(Resume Greek Class.d 89b) Minuscule. Contains two place-names:

παρκκυ | μην ταντ

For παρκκυ cf. P.Cair.Masp.67139a (α τόπος) also P.Cair.Masp.vol.II (index) 12 examples; cf. also P.Lond.IV 14191318 τον παρκκυ.

357

(d 88a) Minuscule. Contains: τοππο μαντελολε; P.Lond.IV 1419916 με τοππο παρκκυ; 14191276 τοπου μαντελολε 1419680 ταλελολε .

358 - 394, Lists of names.
(d 32) On this papyrus also two other texts in different hands: 205 and 291 (earlier). Most of the names here recur elsewhere in this collection, especially Lampou the deacon (cf. 114 note 5), Geōrgios the deacon, Apa Ammōne, and Apa Jōhannēs, cf. index.

It is remarkable that the first five names have the titles of deacons or priests, but not ἀνά; the other names have ἀνά but not the titles.

(f 96a; d 76b; a further fragment is d 76c)
359 (continued)

3. άνα πράγμα, this name recurs Ryl.252, cf. P.Lond.IV p.221 note, Ep.667 
   note, C.0.116; cf. also τράγῳ 192\( ^{10} \).

4. ίοντάκε for ίοντόκε; cf. κολλούθακε for κολλούθοκε 214\( ^{13} \).


360

(d 89c) Same hand as 100,111. Contains: ↑ \( \text{αινα} \text{kUr} \text{παλιοκά} \)

361

(d 168a) From a tax-account. The solidi are the amount paid in poll-
tax(\( \text{δι} \text{καλαφων} \)), the artabas the amount paid as corn-tax(\( \text{εμβαλη} \)).

1
\[ \text{τκμ} \]

2
\[ \text{πυλον' κε} \text{\( \kappa \) \( \varepsilon \) κα} \]

3
\[ \text{ιωκκυν' δικε} \text{\( \varepsilon \) \( \kappa \) \( \varepsilon \) \( \eta \)} \]

(broken)

2. \( \text{κε} \) stands for \( \text{κετι} \).

362

(d 163h) —— (margin)

1
\[ \text{πετρε ψαϊν} \]

2
\[ \text{απα δαλε} \]

(broken)

1. \( \text{πετρε ψαϊν} \) recurs as \( \text{πετρο} \text{ωτεο} \) in 290\( ^{6} \).

2. For the name \( \text{δαλε} \) cf. Kr.(index), Ryl.(index) etc..

363

(e 38) On the verso 224, earlier. Very difficult to read.
3. οϊλκ, a strange name, not elsewhere.
5. ταύδαμε, a name?
6. φον. ε. αμαι, obscure; not φον. ε. αμαι.
8. παματπετάν, obscure. For ἀπολλω πψιγρ see 293 note 16.

364
(d 131 d and e) Cursive script. (broken)

1 Ἰρηω — α
2 Ἰ...ἀβρ cιθε — α
3 σεγυρὸ θαννει — α
   (gap)
5 Ἰφωκα — α
   ἀπα κυρε κεραι
   Ἰ ελο — α
8 φιλοθεος — α
   (broken)

2. cιθε, a name?
3. θαννει not elsewhere.
6. κεραί for κεκρεύντ. ελο in line 7 belongs to this line; ελο was presumable the father of ἀπα κυρε κεραι. On ελο for ελο see 290 note 13.
(d 47 fragment) Same hand as 159, 310, 335, 336.

|   | 1 | ἀνὴρ λείως πτ[   |
|   | 2 | ἀε[λεμίν |   |
|   | 3 | ἀ[π]λεμίν πτ[   |

For ἀελεμίν see 270 line 2 note.

(d 79a)  

|   | 1 | ωκαννη[   |
|   | 2 | πετα[   |
|   | 3 | ἀνα δαμαφ[   |

Δαμαφ is a rare name in Coptic documents.

(f 86) Uncials.

|   | 1 | νεον παθουλογμαῖος  |
|   | 2 | παθουλογμαῖος ἰΒ |
|   | 3 | ἰανούπ ἰακκωκ[   |

1,2. παθουλογμαῖος for βηθολογμαῖος; cf. παθωλμαῖος ΒΜ 545.
3. ιακκωκ, not elsewhere; perhaps for ιακωμος .

(d 62 d) Contains: ——> ἐαγο[   | μονοβ[   (broken).

For ἐαγο see 303A note 6.

μονοβ[ presumably stands for μονοβλεντος used as a name, cf. περίβ[ 273 and note.

(g 37) Obscure fragment; perhaps names. ——>

(broken) ]..... | κωπιᾶς | θακανδ[ (margin).
(d 111 h) (broken)

1 μακροδιος τι
2 γραφε εμου[ν]
3 ψατε παυν[ω]
(broken)

371

(d 42 etc.) On the verso 204, earlier.

From an account; the following names occur: ῥοσφ, θικ φοι, θικ ἰω, παυλε, σιφ.

θικ for θικτωρ; φοι for φοιθαυοου(?); σιφ for ῥοσφ.

372

(d 135e) Contains: ἄνεγαν ναϊλυμέ. For the name ναϊλυμε cf. Preisigke, Namenbuch.

373

(d 146 f) Contains: ανα διωνυ, ανα ταυρινε, [ανα] διομητριος, ανα πακυφε.

For the name πακυφε see 149² note.

374

(d 76 f) Minuscule, contains: ἄνεγαν πακυφα.

This name again P.Ox.I 157⁶; presumably the Arabic خبيث.

375

(d 79 b) Minuscule, contains: ἄνα μας[ ]

μας is the Arabic form of the name μανδαλ(δραδ); so again Kr.143⁵, 203⁵, CMSS Appendix, cf.BM 638.

376

(d 146 e) Contains: ἀμας καραγιον.
377
(d 92 c) Contains: → 

\[ \text{Möriester} \]

Möriester is a rare name, cf. Freisigke, Namenbuch, also VC 525.

378
(d 71 j) Contains: → 

\[ \text{πιοψοτέ} \mid \text{πυμνοχός} \]

πιοψοτέ again 19710, 20216, cf. πυμνατε 1187, πατε 3703. The name πυματε (and its variants) is common at Thebes, but rare elsewhere.

379
(d 92 e) Contains (docket): → 

\[ \text{Σιτωλα πηγαφε} \]

380
(d 163 c) (broken)

1  \[ \text{αμοκρέ} \]

2  \[ \text{απα νιενανα} \]

3  \[ \text{κοξ} \]

1. \text{αμοκρέ} is a strange name, not elsewhere.

381
(Ms. Greek Class. f 84) From a tax-account. (broken)

1  \[ \text{κποκ} \]

2  \[ \text{κπολλ} \]

3  \[ \text{κηλ} \]

4  \[ \text{κκ} \]

5  \[ \text{κκερ} \]

6  \[ \text{κκερ} \]

1. \text{κποκ}, a strange name, not elsewhere.

2. \text{δ} presumably a title in view of the parallel πυ, for \text{δεκκητής} ?
3. κογ, presumably the Arabic name κογ (κογ), but perhaps read κογ (κογ), κογ, again in the following line, presumably the same as κογ in line 6 below.

4. εβες κλαυλι, clearly an Arab; probably the Arabic form of the name Δραμου(μαθωραβ), κλαυλι the Arabic name Δραμου(μαθωραβ).

5. ηλαγι, a remarkable name, not elsewhere.

On the verso there are traces of an earlier account, washed off.

382

|margin| 7 |
1. Ψις Λιδούκε πειε[ | 8 | ισαάκ πειαωτκα[ |
2. απολλω Ψις Λι[ | 9 | ανα κυρει ναπα σι[ |
3. πλιακ, ξικτω[ | 10 | τιμοθε ναπα τ[ |
   (gap) | 11 | [απ]ο[λ]λω η[ | (broken) |
5. ανα ιωάννη[ | (gap) |

1. Λιδούκε, apparently not elsewhere; cf. ἔτογε 248,3,22, but there a woman’s name.

8. πειαωτκ, an unknown name or title.

9,10. The η before ανα should indicate that ανα σι and ανα τ refer to monasteries.

383

(d 110 c,d) Contains: →

1. γε][σεκουο Θεος[ο[ο[ | ν] κ κ | 2. ιωκεννου λουκα | α β κν [ | \(κν[ | ν] κ κβ |

2. ιωκεννου λουκα recurs 2996.

384

(e 39, d 163 e, d 166 b) On the verso 139, earlier. 4 fragments.
(a) 1 [.... AN] [TW] [NE]  v  5  (c) 8  [APAA K[PE] [ ]
  2 [ ]  v  6  9  σενρος  v  δ
  3 [ ]  v  7  10  κολομων  v  γ
(b) 5 [ELA] [PE]  ]  11  παυλ[ε] [ ]
  6 [ALAK] [PE]  ]  12  ζατρε  v  αλ

385
(e 51, etc.) On the Recto 276, earlier.

  1  άνοκ  [  11  κοσμα αρων
  2  ]  v  ΜΠ ε  [ ]  12  τοαννο αβρααμ
   ]  13  πανουτε απολλω
  4  διοσκορος [  14  τω αμογνα
  5  πετρος κοσμα  15  φιλος τω\n  6  μαρκος απολλω  16  τω κοσμα
  7  σενρος [ΞΑΧΑΡ] [ ]  17  παμουν απακυ[ε]
  8  παυλε πετρε  18  σερρος [ ]
  9  χανλ βικτωρ (margin)

386
(f 22) Cursive script, see plate V,8. This account was continued on
the verso, but only the numerals are now visible. On the verso also 57,
probably later.

  1  σευ  τβανης  v  
  2  ηκκω  τβανης  v  
  3  ηω  ηκκω  φι  v  
  4  ηη  αβω  φι  v  
  5  παυλυ αβω  v  γ
  6  [ ]  v  
  7  πετρου βικ  v  
  8  θωμυ  θυδυ  v  γ
387

(d 163 a, d 74 a) From a tax-account; for similar documents cf. P.Lond. IV 1552 - 1563, P.Princeton III, 140, al.

(broken)
2. σπυρέως, I cannot find this name elsewhere, but cf. monoble 368².  
4. ανκεκε ντεστσεφ, both these names are Persian names and are found in Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch. I have found ανκεκε again in BM Or. 6201 A 3 ταγρινοκ αναφε, also in P. Princeton III, 140 p.2 νο. 8 ανκεκε. νεφεσφ occurs in P. Masp. 67005², 67031¹, P. Flor. III, 292¹, 293¹ in all these it occurs as νεφεσφ.

388

(Ms. Greek Class. g 56) Minuscule. (broken) ---->

1  μει[(
 πετεος βοι[
 κτα κιε ονη[
 ακθον νο populous]
 5  πατηρ νιβερο[
 ἱωνοφ νιβερο[
 7  μαρκος φιλοφ[
 (broken)

4. ακθον, a rare name, cf. ακθο P. Lond. IV 1435 69, 133, and cf. Preisigke, Namenbuch and MIF LIX (index).
5. πατηρ, a rare name, see above 291 note 22.
5,6. νιβερο, cf. νιβερο BM 1020 (see correction ib. p. 522 and note there); cf. also Ep. 240 8 and note 3; it corresponds to the name νεφεσφ.

389

(d 105 c) Minuscule. (broken)

1  κ[εφφ νκου[
 πιοκτε σενυο[ου
 πε[ακκ σενο[
 4  πκτοτε ψου[

(broken)
1. νκοῦ for νκότης.
2. πεθέ, this name again as πεθές in 1192, 24, 32, cf. Ryl. 235; not in 
   Preisigke, Namenbuch.
3. πεθέ, only here; cf. Preisigke, Namenbuch πατόζε, πατότε, πατόζε (all 
   eighth century).
   φων, see Preisigke, Namenbuch (ψων).

390

(f 38) Minuscule.  (margin)

| 1 | + ιεημ|[. . .] ηνόν. |
| 2 | πεθέ επίς |
| 3 | πεθέ ιωξνου σ. |
| 4 | φιλοφ απκκυ |
| 5 | κρεκκμ φιλοφ |

(margin)

1. φων, I can only explain this as the Coptic π-κωn 'the brother'.
2. πεθέ, again in Ryl. 191, BM 1075 (p. 449), 1030; cf. πεθω, common at Thebes.

391

(d 119 c) Minuscule.  
(broken) σκμ ιν[ | ιν[ ιν[ | ιω[ ηφ α[ | ηλτ βκ[ |
   σεν σκμ[ | ινοφ μωμησ (margin).

392

(g 18) Minuscule.  On the recto 303A, earlier.

(margin) ῥω μπνκ[ | ...... ῥω | ῥω κρε [ | μκρκ κπκκυ[ (5) πετε κοσμ[ |
   φοτε πέδωμ [ | ῥω ηλωσ (margin).

1, 2, 3, 7. ῥω for ιωξνησ (cf. index).
5. πετεκοςμακ recurs 385.

6. ψοτε, for this name see 132 note 3.

392 (continued)

(d 105 d, d 111 e) Minuscule.

(broken) η ακεκοςμακ ακ[ | ] σετεκομακ β[ | ] Φιλαυσ[ | ] δωρετε[ | ]...

393

(d 135 f) Minuscule. Red script.

(broken) μουσκοφ [ | στεφκουφ | ισωκομακ φιλαφ | Φιλαφε (broken).

394

(f 66, d 108a, a further fragment is d 89 d) Writing-exercise; probably all by the same hand.

(a) (margin)

1 παυλος ο ανδρεας γαντης απολλων Δ[ | ]ω λαμπον διακω

2 γεωργιος διακω φουκα πρεπε βικτωρ[ | ]ων ανουμ

(b) Above (a), upside down (margin)

3 [πα ιωσαννες πνοβ

4 [ανα ιωσαννες πνοβ ναρμαζ

5 [παιων ανα ιωσαννες

(c) On the verso.

6 ανουμ κοινος [ανα διμοτειος ολα κυρο[ | ]βικτωρ λημπ

7 σον εκνι η ηνουρινη μπεηωντ οτολαβ

8 λογιμενον μν πεοους εδουν

(broken)

1,2. Many of these names recur elsewhere in the collection, see index.
3-5. It is interesting to find three descriptions of a superior here side by side: ἀνθρώπινος, ἀρχιμανδρίτης, ἦτο, cf. chapter V above. Apa Johannes occurs also in the following document.

6. Βίγκτορι θρόνος is upside down and does not belong to the rest of the line.

7. For this salutation formula see 189 note 2; πι stands for πι-θρόνος.

8. εὐφορισμένων, see 265 note 1.

396

(f 30) Writing-exercise. Several hands. It contains among others the following:

(a) 1 + ἐνευνυόντος ἐκναξιν ητεινιστολή ἰπεροες
     2 νους εἰμι ἰτι νοσοῦ, ἐροι νοσοῦτιν ἀνοι
     3 λολικοῖ νηροὶ ἐκνανουβ
(b) 4 πεσε πλωσεις ναὶ χε ντόκ πε παςυρε ανοικ
     5 αἰθοποκ νποου εἰμοι τατι νακ
(c) 6 εν όποιατι του πατρος καὶ του γιου
     7 καὶ του τηνα
(d) 8 τιπροσκυνεί ἄυ ὑناسμάζεν
     9 κολλῳ
(e) 10 θωμα ἰωαννοῦ πειεξ κει πρὸ σταξ
(f) 11 δεδωκε δεδωκε δυσά απο μοταπβ ῥ +
(g) 12 τιπροσκυνεί ἄυ ὑ[α]σμάζε
     13 πεσε πλωσεις ναὶ ντόκ πε πασων
     14 ανοικ αἰθοποκ νποου ειμ
     15 οι τατι νακ νεσε θ-θ
(h) The following names occur:
     16 λαμπον διακ θ, ἀπα κολλοὶ, κολλοὐ, κωμα διακ
     17 ἰωαννοῦ, φίλο, σευμρου πρ, μαρκ, πασων κουθ
     18 ἀβρ, θωμας νατ, μαρκο
(i) 19 ανοικ ρεωρε πιε
     20 λα η ναί
1-3. Νομιμοποιούνται in line 2 no sense; the rest reads: 'Immediately you receive this letter, do not delay to read it except ... ..(?) ... and a solidus' worth of good wine'.

4,5. This is repeated in lines 13-14. It is a quotation from Psalm II,7: 'The Lord said unto me: Thou art my son, I have begotten thee today'; but in both cases this is followed by the obscure εἰμοι τῷ νακ (μηξε θ.θ.). Ὑπόκ in lines 5,14 for Ὑποκ, see chapter VIII par. 124.

6,7. Greek: 'In the name of the Father and the son and the Spirit'.

8,9. Repeated in line 12 (but Νομιμοποιούνται omitted there) 'I worship and salute Kollouthos.

10. 'Thómas,(son of ?) Jóhannes this least priest(προέ στούρος) (and) prior (προεστώτης) (I) assent(στοίχειον)'.

11. Greek: 'Given, given, Ausa from the monastery of Abba'(sic !); for the name Ausa see 303A note 6.

12. See note on lines 8-9.

13-15. See note on lines 4-5.

16-18. Several of these names recur elsewhere in the collection, see the index.

19,20. Δι for δικονοσ; George the deacon recurs several times in the present collection, cf. index; much of the present text is clearly in his hand.

(g 25) Obscure fragment. (broken)

↑ 1 ]Φεοδωρά κείμενακται[Σ

2 ]Πελονημανοντες[έ

(rest faded, then broken)

(d 163 d) From an account. Perhaps place-names, cf. τείνωρ BM 1040.
(f 92) Spelling-exercise. For similar school-texts cf. Kammerer, *A Coptic Bibliography* numbers 1832 - 1839; cf. also especially Tor.48 which is very similar to the present text, but the words there are in alphabetical order.

400 and 401 Two Protocols.

For these two protocols see *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri* vol.III, Series Arabica ed. A. Grohmann, vol.I part 2: A. Grohmann, *Die Protokolle.* There are many more small fragments of protocols in the present collection, especially Ms. Arab. d 92, d 94, d 102, e 74, e 78, f 29, and Ms. Copt. c 13, d 47.


After vertical strokes: $\Delta \overset{\lambda}{\lambda} \overset{\varepsilon}{\lambda}$ $\muapov\alpha \nu \gamma \iota \omicron \epsilon$

(d 30) Cf. Grohmann's numbers 13 - 61. This may be dated between A.D. 705 - 714. On this papyrus 241.
402 - 412 Additional Texts.

402

(f 107) Probably a notification of a tax-assessment, see above numbers 130f.  (margin ?)

1  Κ σ ο έ Ν Ε Ν Κ ο Ν Ε Ο Υ Ζ Λ Ο Κ Ξ Μ Ν

2  Μ Ε Ν Τ Α Ι Ε Δ Ε Ε Ρ Ι Ν Ρ Κ Η Α Ε Α [η]

3  Χ Ψ ν κ η

4  κ η

Below this a seal:

Seals occur also in the following document and in number 225.

403

(g 91) A fragment of a financial document preserving a seal:

404

(d 86 a, etc.) On the verso 250, later. From a legal document.

(broken)
(d 171 a) Probably signatures to a contract.

1 (first hand)  
2
3 (second hand)  
4 (third hand)  

4. See 107 note 1.

(e 78) Heading of an account.

1  
2  

Translation: 'These are the (pieces of) gold which I demanded of the brethren, the monks, for their need(s).'

(d 122 a) From an account.

1  
2  

(d 97 a) Minuscule. From an account, contains:

(d 72 b) From an account, contains:
409 (continued)

For ωινονωτε cf. WS p. 94 note 5.

410

(d 159) Letter. For the background of this letter cf. 186 introduction.

On the verso 136, later. (broken)

1 [ ]
   εις το δεος ζε αντ-ν[σου]
   ηνωτε [ου]]
   Ἰνονατ
   πως καθ[τ]
   εβολ επουν επο[ε]
   κα νος [ι]
   νε τιμόνε παμ[
   μν[η]ονε τ[ρον] ναμορθατε
   εμπλατη τη[ρα]
   ες μν[η][εκ]ονε τ[ρα]
   κα πε[k]ο [κακη]
   εβολ ουσι [ε]

(broken)

3. ηνωντε-, see chapter VIII par. 140.
4. νος-, see chapter VIII par. 79A.
5. νος for νες-, see chapter VIII par. 136.

411

(i 76, d 167e) Obscure fragment.

(broken)

1 (large letters) 
2 (small letters) 
3 
4 
5 
6 (large letters)
Small fragment (d 167 e) (broken)
8 (small letters)  
9 (large letter)  

412

(f 64) Literary fragment, rounded uncial. From a manuscript of prayers, cf. number 30 above.

1  

16  

10  

25  

14  

(margin)  

(continued)
INDICES

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General Index

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### Chapter VIII Analysis.

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| 53   | oy omitted p. 85 | d) i p. 92 |
|      | y omitted | e) o p. 93 |
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| 65A  | w = b p. 93    | 65B oy = b p. 93 |
| 65B  | H = b p. 93    | 65C H = b p. 93 |
| 66   | y = B p. 93    | 67 K = r p. 94 |
| 67   | K = r p. 94    | 67A X = r p. 95 |
| 67A  | X = r p. 95    | 67B s = r p. 95 |
| 68   | T = A p. 95    | 67C K = K p. 95 |
| 69   | c = z p. 95    | 70 T = A p. 95 |
| 70   | T = A p. 95    | 71 K = K p. 95 |
| 71   | K = K p. 95    | 71A T = K p. 96 |
| 71A  | T = K p. 96    | 72 X = K p. 96 |
| 72   | X = K p. 96    | 73 b = K p. 96 |
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f. μεκέλο 389^7
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An asterisk (•) in front of words indicates that the word is unusual in its meaning, rare, or otherwise unknown.

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2α1 km. 4546
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| \( \text{Βοιομ} \) | \( 65^5,170^5,179^7,188^3,189^7 \) |
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### Addenda

**pp.41ff. Chapter VI.** Attention may be drawn to the very important archive of Greek papyri from Edfu which are closely related to the Aphroditos papyri and are almost contemporary with them; these have recently been published by Roger Rémondon, *Papyrus Grecs d'Apollônos Anô* (Cairo 1953). Unfortunately this book came to my notice only after the present edition had already been completed.

**pp.193ff. Chapter IX.** I have had detailed discussions with Professor H.J. Polotsky on the questions involved in this chapter, but unfortunately only after it had practically been completed. He, as also J. Drescher, pointed out that the words 'dialect' and 'influence' are used in this chapter in a somewhat loose and questionable sense. The precise classification into separate 'dialects' is not completely justified by the facts, and often it is almost impossible to state exactly where one dialect begins and what is to
be regarded as the distinctive mark of a dialect. An obvious example are the dialects here classified as 'Middle Egyptian proper', 'Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence' and 'Fayyumic'; on reflection it might have been better to class at least the last two under one heading of 'Fayyumic'. A similar difficulty is presented by the word 'influence'; while in some cases it can be proved that one dialect has directly influenced another dialect, as in the obvious case of the Bohairic $\text{\textcircled{B}}$ and $\text{\textcircled{F}}$ in Fayyumic, in others the possibility of a parallel development may seem more probable.

On the other hand it is difficult to suggest satisfactory alternatives to these words, in particular the former; if these difficulties are borne in mind, the general theme of the chapter will hardly be affected.

Recently in the British Museum I found fragments of yet another manuscript in this dialect, again among the Wadi Sarga fragments. I have not yet been able to piece the fragments together, but extant portions show among others: $\text{\textcircled{E}}\text{\textsuperscript{E}}$, $\text{\textcircled{H}}$, $\text{\textcircled{N}}$,  $\text{\textcircled{P}}$, and in particular $\text{\textcircled{M}}$ may be noted. The date of the fragments is the 4th-5th century and I have included the text in the list of manuscripts in this dialect on pp.273ff.

When writing this I overlooked the interesting early Fayyumic magical text published in Worrell, Coptic Manuscripts pp. 323ff. which ought to have been cited here. This text is undoubtedly very early, perhaps as early as the fourth century, as is shown by the peculiar form of the Demotic letters, $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ for $\text{\textcircled{F}}$, and in particular the abbreviation $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ which is very like the $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ of the Hamburg Old Fayyumic text; later Fayyumic manuscripts have $\text{\textcircled{S}}$, $\text{\textcircled{S}}$, $\text{\textcircled{S}}$, $\text{\textcircled{S}}$, etc.; on the other hand we already find $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ (Hamburg $\text{\textcircled{S}}$).
See now H. I. Bell, Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt (Liverpool 1953) which has just been published, especially Lecture IV. Bell would date the spread of Christianity among the Greeks and the native Egyptians a little earlier than has been assumed in this chapter, e.g. (p. 83)'By the end of the second century Christianity must have been fairly wide-spread, even in Upper Egypt', (p. 88)'It is impossible to say when Christianity first began to make an impression on the Egyptian-speaking populace, but this had certainly happened before the middle of the third century!' pp. 556f. Number 140. This document is hardly a tax-receipt, but its precise nature is obscure.