

Lukas Amadeus Schachner

St. John's College, Oxford

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION IN THE MONASTERIES OF EGYPT AND ORIENS, AD 320-800

*Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Archaeology*

VOLUME 2, PART 1



Trinity Term 2005 [i.e. 2006] (LTS 27x106)

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ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Section A

A.1 Abbreviations

A.1.1 Tachygraphic

AD	<i>anno Domini (Iesu Christi)</i>
AG	<i>anno graecorum</i>
AH	<i>anno ḥiġrī</i>
cf.	<i>confronta</i>
chap.	chapter
C.xxx	colophon no. xxx – cf. vol. 2, sect. C.4
corr.	corrected
d.	died (in)
E	east (of)
ed.	edited
ed./edd.	editor/s
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i>
et. al.	<i>et alii</i>
etc.	<i>et cetera</i>
fn.	footnote
ibid.	<i>ibidem</i>
id.	<i>idem</i>
i.e.	<i>id est</i>
inscr.	inscription
I.xxx	inscription no. xxx – cf. vol. 2, sect. C.3
Ill.xxx	illustration no. xxx – cf. vol. 2, sect. C.5, s.v. M.xxx
L.xxx	literary source no. xxx – cf. sect. I.5 and vol. 2, sect. C.1
loc. cit.	<i>locus citatus</i>
M.xxx	monastery no. xxx – cf. vol. 2, sect. C.5
m.	mortus (vol. 2 only)
N	north (of)
no.	number
O.xxx	ostrakon no. xxx – cf. vol. 2, sect. C.2
P.xxx/yy	negative (x ... no. film, y ... no. frame; author's collection)
p./pp.	page/s
pl.	plate
S	south (of)
resp.	respectively
sect.	section
S.xxxx	diapositive (author's collection)
s.v.	<i>sub voce</i>
tr.	translated/translation
vol.	volume

W	west (of)
WPxx.yyy	GPS® waypoints – cf. vol. 2, sect. C.6

A.1.2 Series and monographs

AAES	<i>Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900</i> , ed. Butler (1903-).
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> .
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> .
IGLS	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> , ed. Jalabert et al. (Paris 1929-).
PAES	<i>Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909</i> , ed. Butler (1919-).
PG	<i>Patrologiae graecae cursus completus</i> , ed. Migne (1857-).
Waddington	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure</i> , ed. Waddington – Le Bas (1853).

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MAPS

Section B

GAZETTEER

Section C

C.1 Literary sources (L.xxx)

Ascetica et monastica	Hagiographica	Epistologica	Historiographica	Canonica et iuridica	Alia
L.x00-L.x29	L.x30-L.x49	L.x50-L.x59	L.x60-Lx79	L.x80-L.x89	L.x90-L.x99

Legenda: ES ... extract and summary; F ... fragment(s); PE ... partial edition; PT ... partial translation; S ... summary; V ... versio; V^B ... versio bohairica

C.1.1 Greek (L.1xx)

ID	Title	Author	Edition	Version
L.101A	<i>Apophtegmata Patrum</i> (late V) Systematic Collection	---	Guy 1993	<i>ibid.</i>
L.101B	<i>Apophtegmata Patrum</i> Alphabetical Collection	---	---	Guy 1968
L.102	<i>Historia monachorum in Aegypto</i> (late IV)	---	Festugière 1961	<i>ibid.</i>
L.103	<i>Paralipomena</i> Koinonia Pachomiana	---	Halkin 1932: 122-165	Veilleux 1980-1981: II, 19-70
L.104	<i>Apophtegmata</i>	Ammonas Episcopus (IV)	Nau 1915: 403-423	<i>ibid.</i>
L.105	<i>Instructiones</i>	Ammonas Episcopus (IV)	Nau 1915: 455-484	<i>ibid.</i>
L.106	<i>Quaestiones et responsiones</i>	Barsanuphius (m. 540) – Joannes (m. 530)	Neyt 1997: I-II	Regnault 1972
L.107	<i>Opera ascetica</i>	Basilius Caesariensis (m. 379)	[varia]	Wagner 1962
L.108	<i>Instructiones</i>	Dorotheus Gazaeus (m. 560/580)	Préville 1963: 146-487	<i>ibid.</i>
L.109	<i>Doctrinae</i>	Dorotheus Gazaeus	Préville 1963: 526-531	<i>ibid.</i>
L.110	<i>Practicus</i>	Evagrius Ponticus (m. 399)	Guillaumont 1971	<i>ibid.</i>
L.111	<i>Sententiae ad monachos</i>	Evagrius Ponticus	Driscoll 1991	<i>ibid.</i>
L.112	<i>Orationes</i>	Gregorius Nazianzenus (m. 389)	Migne 1857: XXXV, 395-1252	
L.113	<i>Homiliae</i>	Gregorius Nyssenus (m. ca. 386)	Migne 1857: XLIV, 615-1120	
L.114	<i>In acta apostolorum</i>	Joannes Chrysostomus (m. 407)	Migne 1857: LX, 93-160	

L.115	<i>In Matthaëum homiliae</i>	Joannes Chrysostomus	Migne 1857: LVIII, 13-794	
L.116	<i>Scala paradisi</i>	Joannes Climacus (m. ca. 649)	Migne 1857: LXXXVIII, 632-1164	Luibhéid 1982
L.118	<i>Pratum spirituale</i>	Joannes Moschus (m. 619)	Rouët de Journal 1946; Nissen 1938	Wortley 1992
L.119	<i>Homiliae</i>	Pseudo-Makarius/Symeon (m. ca. 390)	Desprez 1980	<i>ibid.</i>
L.120	<i>De disciplina perfecta</i>	Marcianus Asceta (m. 492)	Lebon 1968	<i>ibid.</i>
L.121	<i>Liber asceticus</i>	Maximus Confessor (m. 662)	Deun 2000	Sherwood 1955
L.122	<i>Diegemata</i>	Nilus Sinaiticus (m. ca. 430)	Conca 1983	
L.123	<i>Historia Lausiaca</i>	Palladius (m. ca. 431)	Bartelink 1985	<i>ibid.</i>
L.124	<i>Historia religiosa</i>	Theodoretus Episcopus Cyri (m. 466)	Canivet 1977	<i>ibid.</i>
L.130A	<i>Life of Chariton</i>	---	Garitte 1941	Di Segni 1990
L.130	<i>Life of Daniel Stylita</i> (m. 493)	---	Delehaye 1962: 1-94	Festugière, 1961: II, 87-165
L.131 V	<i>Life of Pachomius</i> (m. 346) Koinonia Pachomiana	---	Halkin 1932	Festugière 1961: IV/2
L.132	<i>Life of Georgius Chozibae</i>	Antonius Chozibita (early VII)	{Houze, 1888 #1495}	<i>ibid.</i>
L.133 V	<i>Life of Symeon Stylita Senior</i> (m. 459)	Antonius Hagiographus	Lietzmann 1908: 19-78	<i>ibid.</i>
L.133A	<i>Life of Symeon Stylita Iunior</i> (m. 592)	---	Ven 1962	<i>ibid.</i>
L.134	<i>Life of Antonius</i> (m. 357)	Athanasius (m. 373)	Bartelink 1994	<i>ibid.</i>
L.135	<i>Life of Hypatius</i> (m. 446)	Callinicus (early V)	Bartelink 1971	<i>ibid.</i>
L.136	<i>Life of Cyriacus</i> (m. 556)	Cyrillus Scythopolitanus (m. 558)	Schwartz 1939: 222-235	Festugière 1961: III/3, 39-52
L.137	<i>Life of Euthymius</i> (m. 473)	Cyrillus Scythopolitanus	Schwartz 1939: 3-85	Festugière 1961: III/1, 57-140
L.138	<i>Life of Joannes Hesychiasta</i> (m. 558)	Cyrillus Scythopolitanus	Schwartz 1939: 201-222	Festugière 1961: III/3, 13-34
L.139	<i>Life of Saba</i> (m. 532)	Cyrillus Scythopolitanus	Schwartz 1939: 85-200	Festugière 1961: III/2, 13-130
L.140	<i>Life of Dositheus</i> (m. ca. 530)	Dorotheus Gazaëus (m. 560/580)	Prévile 1963: 122-145	<i>ibid.</i>
L.141	<i>Life of Theodorus Syceota</i> (m. 613)	Georgius Syceota (early VII)	Festugière 1970	<i>ibid.</i>

L.142	<i>Life of Macrina</i> (m. 379)	Gregorius Nyssenus (m. 394)	Maraval 1971	<i>ibid.</i>
L.143	<i>Life of Tychon</i> (early V)	Joannes Eleemosynarius (m. ca. 619)	Usener 1907: 111-154	
L.144	<i>Life of Joannes</i> Eleemosynarius (m. ca. 619)	Leontius Neapolitanus (m. ca. 650)	Festugière 1974	<i>ibid.</i>
L.145	<i>Life of Porphyrius</i> Episcopus Gazae (m. ca. 420)	Marcus Diaconus (early V)	Grégoire 1930	<i>ibid.</i>
L.146	<i>Life of Theodosius</i> (m. 529)	Theodorus Episcopus Petrarum (mid VI)	Usener 1890	Festugière 1961: III/3, 103-160
L.150	<i>Epistula</i> Koinonia Pachomiana	Ammon (mid IV)	Halkin 1932: 97- 121	Veilleux 1980-1981: II, 71-109
L.151	<i>Epistula</i> 'Concerning the Conduct and Life of Pachomius and Theodore'	Ammonas Episcopus (IV)	Goehring 1985	<i>ibid.</i>
L.152	<i>Epistulae</i>	Ammonas Episcopus	Nau 1915: 423- 454	<i>ibid.</i>
L.153	<i>Epistula ad monachos</i>	Antonius Magnus Abbas (m. 356)	Garitte 1942: 99-102	
L.154	<i>Epistulae</i>	Basilius Caesariensis (m. 379)	Courtonne 1957	<i>ibid.</i>
L.155	<i>Epistulae</i>	Dorotheus Gazaeus (m. 560/580)	Prévile 1963: 488-525	<i>ibid.</i>
L.156	<i>Epistulae</i>	Gregorius Nyssenus (m. ca. 386)	Maraval 1990	<i>ibid.</i>
L.157	<i>Epistula magna</i>	Pseudo- Makarius/Symeon (m. ca. 390)	Staats 1984	<i>ibid.</i>
L.158	<i>Epistulae ad monachos</i>	Serapion Thmuitanus (m. 362)	Migne 1857: XL, 925-941	
L.160	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	Evagrius Scholasticus (m. 595)	Bidez 1898	Whitby 2000
L.161	<i>De aedificiis</i>	Procopius (m. ca. 562)	Dewing 1954	<i>ibid.</i>
L.162	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	Sokrates Scholasticus (early V)	Hansen 1995	
L.163	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	Sozomenus (m. ca. 448)	Bidez 1995	
L.164	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	Theodoretus Episcopus Cyri (m. 466)	Parmentier 1998	
L.165	<i>Chronographia</i>	Theophanes Confessor (m. 817)	Boor 1883	Mango 1997
L.166	<i>Historiae</i>	Theophylactus Simocatta (m. ca. 636-640)	Boor 1972	Whitby 1986
L.180	<i>Acta conciliorum</i> <i>oecumenicorum</i>	---	Schwartz 1927- 1944	

L.181	Novellae Corpus Iuris Civilis	[Justinianus]	Kroll 1880	
L.190	De situ terrae sanctae	Epiphanius Monachus Hagiopolita (mid VII)	Donner 1971	ibid.

C.1.2 Latin (L.2xx)

ID	Title	Author	Edition	Version
L.201 V	Apophtegmata Patrum	---	Freire 1974	
L.202	De moribus ecclesiae catholicae	Augustinus Hipponensis (m. 430)	Migne 1844: XXXII, 1309-1378	
L.203	De opere monachorum	Augustinus Hipponensis	Migne 1844: XL, 547-582	
L.204 V	Basili Regula	Basilius Caesariensis (m. 379) – Rufinus Presbyter (m. 411)	Zelzer 1986	
L.205	Regula monachorum (ca. 530-560)	Benedictus Abbas Casinensis (m. ca. 480)	Linderbauer 1922	
L.206	Conlationes	Cassianus Abbas Massiliensis (m. 430)	Pichery 1955	Luibhéid 1985
L.207	De institutis coenobiorum	Cassianus Abbas Massiliensis	Guy 1965	ibid.
L.208 V	Pachomii Regula Koinonia Pachomiana	Hieronymus Presbyter (m. 420)	Boon 1932	
L.209 V	Historia monachorum in Aegypto	Rufinus Presbyter (m. 411)	Schulz-Flügel 1990	De Wauchier 1993
L.210	Dialogi	Sulpicius Severus (m. ca. 420/5)	Augello 1969	ibid.
L.230	Life of Melania (m. 439)	Gerontius (m. 485)	Gorce 1962	Clark 1984
L.231	Epitaphium Paulae (m. 404)	Hieronymus Presbyter (m. 420)	Bastiaensen 1975, 145-237	ibid.

L.232	<i>De viris illustribus</i>	Hieronymus Presbyter – Gennadius (m. 471)	Herding 1879	Schaff 1890-1900: III, 359-402
L.233	<i>Life of Hilarion</i> (m. 371)	Hieronymus Presbyter – Sophronius	Bastiaensen 1975: 72-142	<i>ibid.</i>
L.250	<i>Epistulae</i>	Hieronymus Presbyter	Labourt 1949	<i>ibid.</i>
L.260 PE	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> X-XI	Rufinus Presbyter (m. 411)	Schwartz 1908; Schulz-Flügel, 1990: 243-247	Amidon 1997
L.280	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i> Corpus Iuris Civilis	[Justinianus]	Krueger 1872: II	
L.281	<i>Instituta</i> Corpus Iuris Civilis	[Justinianus]	Behrends 1997: I	<i>ibid.</i>
L.282	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>	[Theodosius]	Mommsen 1905	Pharr 1952
L.290	<i>De locis sanctis</i>	Adomnanus Abbas Hiensis (late VII)	Geyer 1964: 219-297	Wilkinson 1977: 93-116
L.291	<i>Itinerarium</i>	Antonius (?) Placentinus (mid VI)	Milani 1977	<i>ibid.</i>
L.292	<i>De locis sanctis</i>	Beda Venerabilis (m. 735)	[Beda] 1965: 249-280	
L.293	<i>Itinerarium</i>	Egeria (late IV)	Maraval 1982	<i>ibid.</i>
L.294	<i>De situ Hierusolimae</i>	Eucherius (m. ca. 449)	[Beda] 1965: 235-243	
L.295	<i>De situ terrae sanctae</i>	Theodosius (early VI)	Geyer 1964: 135-150	Wilkinson 1977: 63-71

C.1.3 Coptic (L.3xx)

ID	Title	Author	Edition	Version
L.301 V	<i>Apophthegmata Patrum</i>	---	Chaîne 1960	<i>ibid.</i>
L.302	<i>Prophetia</i>	Čarour (IV ?)	Lefort 1956: I, 100-104	Lefort 1956: II, 100-108
L.303	<i>Regulae</i> Koinonia Pachomiana	Horsiesius (m. ca. 387)	Lefort 1956: 82-99	Veilleux 1980-1981: II, 197-223
L.304 V F	<i>Asceticon</i>	Isaias Gazaeus (m. 491)	Guillaumont 1956	<i>ibid.</i>
L.305	<i>Catechesis</i> Koinonia Pachomiana	Pachomius (m. 346)	Lefort 1956: I, 1-26	Lefort 1956: II, 1-27

L.306	<i>Praecepta</i> Koinonia Pachomiana	Pachomius	Lefort 1956: I, 30-33	Lefort 1956: II, 30-34
L.307	<i>Praecepta et Instituta</i> Koinonia Pachomiana	Pachomius	Lefort 1956: I, 33-36	Lefort 1956: II, 34-37
L.308	<i>De vita monachorum</i>	Shenoute (m. 466)	Leipoldt 1913: 41-173	Wiesmann 1952: 25-104
L.309 F	<i>Regula</i>	Shenoute	Amélineau 1888	<i>ibid.</i>
L.310	<i>Instructiones</i> Koinonia Pachomiana	Theodorus (m. 368)	Lefort 1956: 37-60	Veilleux 1980-1981: III, 91-122
L.330	Life of Anba Moïse	---	Amélineau 1888: 680-706	<i>ibid.</i>
L.331	[Dossier of] Aba Zenobius (V)	---	Johnson 1989	<i>ibid.</i>
L.332	Panegyric on Abba Bgoul	---	Amélineau 1888: 229-236	<i>ibid.</i>
L.333	Life of Daniel Scetiota (m. ca. 576)	---	Clugnet 1901	<i>ibid.</i>
L.334A	Life of Manasse	---	Amélineau 1888: 666-679	<i>ibid.</i>
L.334B	Lives of Maximus and Domitius (IV)	---	Munier 1917	<i>ibid.</i>
L.335	Life of Pachomius (m. 346) Koinonia Pachomiana	---	Amélineau 1888: 1-294	Moscatelli 1981
L.336 F	Life of Pamin	---	Amélineau 1888: 737-741	<i>ibid.</i>
L.337 F	Life of Shenoute (m. 466)	Besa (m. ca. 474)	Amélineau 1888: 633-649	<i>ibid.</i>
L.338 V ^B	Life of Shenoute	Besa	Leipoldt 1906	Wiesmann 1951
L.339	Life of Samuel (m. ca. 695)	Isaac (VII)	Alcock 1983	<i>ibid.</i>
L.340	Life of Longinus (late V)	Papohe	Orlandi 1975: 39-93	<i>ibid.</i>
L.341	Life of Phif (IV)	Papohe	Orlandi 1975: 20-37	<i>ibid.</i>
L.342	Panegyric on Apollo	Stephen (late VI – early VII)	Kuhn 1978	<i>ibid.</i>
L.343	Life of Joannes Kolobus (m. ca. 450)	Zacharias (m. ca. 730)	Amélineau 1894: 316-410	<i>ibid.</i>
L.350	<i>Epistulae et Sermones</i>	Besa (m. ca. 474)	Kuhn 1956	<i>ibid.</i>
L.351	<i>Epistula X</i> Koinonia Pachomiana	Pachomius (m. 346)	Quecke 1975: 113-114	Quecke 1973: 660-663
L.352	<i>Epistulae</i>	Pisentius (m. 632)	Revillout 1900-1902, 1912	<i>ibid.</i>

C.1.4 Syriac (L.4xx)

ID	Title	Author	Edition	Version
L.401 ES	Canones (for the Ṭḥīdāyē)	---	---	Vööbus 1970: 373-375
L.402 ES	Canones (of the Monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā) (XII)	---	---	Vööbus 1970: 375-387
L.403 ES	Canones (of the Monastery of Mār Mattay) (early VI)	---	---	Vööbus 1970: 325-333. 387-394
L.404	Canones 'for the Monastic Community' (VII/VIII)	---	Vööbus 1960: 71-77	Vööbus 1960: 71-77; Vööbus 1970: 363-369
L.405	Canones 'for the Monks' (VIII/IX)	---	Vööbus 1960: 109-112	Vööbus 1960: 109-112
L.406	Canones 'for the Monophysite Monks in Persia' (VII/VIII)	---	Vööbus 1960: 89-92	Vööbus 1960: 89-92; Vööbus 1970: 219-223
L.407	Canones 'for the Nuns' (V/VI)	---	Vööbus 1960: 64-68	Vööbus 1960: 64-68; Vööbus 1970: 355-359
L.408 ES	Praescriptiones (VI/VII)	---	---	Vööbus 1970: 336-350
L.409	Canones of Mar Abraham (m. ca. 600)	Dadīšō' Qaṭrāyā (m. 604)	Mai 1825-1838: X, 290 ff.	Budge 1893: I, cxxxiv-cxl
L.410 ES	Canones	Dionysius I Patriarcha Antiochiae (m. 845)	---	Vööbus 1970: 35-47
L.411	Canones (VII-VIII)	Pseudo- Ephrem (m. 373)	Vööbus 1960: 14-23	Vööbus 1960: 14-23; Vööbus 1970: 350-362
L.412 S	Nomocanones	Gregorius Bar Hebraeus (m. 1286)	Bedjan 1898	Vööbus 1970: 509-520
L.413 ES	Canones	Ignatius II Patriarcha Antiochiae (m. 883)	---	Vööbus 1970: 59-63
L.414	Carmina	Isaac Antiochenus (m. ca. 460)	Bickell 1873	ibid.
L.415	Commentarii in Asceticon	Isaias – Dadīšō' Qaṭrāyā	Draguet 1972	ibid.
L.416	De gradibus vitae monasticae	Isaias Gazaeus (m. 491)	Graffin 1963	ibid.
L.417	De castitate	Ṭšō'denah Episcopus Baṣra	Chabot 1896	ibid.

L.418	Canones	Joannes Bar Qūrsōs Episcopus Tellae (519-538)	Vööbus 1960: 57-59	Vööbus 1960: 57-59; Vööbus 1970: 156-164
L.419	Vitae virorum illustrum orientalium	Joannes Ephesinus (m. 586)	Brooks 1923-1925	ibid.
L.420	'Canones'	Marūtā Episcopus Maipherqaṭ (V)	Vööbus 1960: 119-149	ibid.
L.421 V	Liber paradisi	Palladius (m. ca. 421) – 'Enanīšō' (VII)	Budge 1904	ibid.
L.422	Canones	Philoxenus Episcopus Mabbugensis (485-523)	Vööbus 1960: 53-54	Vööbus 1960: 53-54; Vööbus 1970: 316-325
L.423	Canones 'for the Monks'	Rabbula Episcopus Edessae (411/2-435)	Vööbus 1960: 27-33	Vööbus 1960: 27-33; Vööbus 1970: 307-315
L.424	Canones 'for the Clergy and the qyāmā'	Rabbula Episcopus Edessae (411/2-435)	Vööbus 1960: 36-50	ibid.
L.425	Canones	Pseudo- Rabbula Episcopus Edessae (411/2-435)	Vööbus 1960: 80-86	Vööbus 1960: 80-86; Vööbus 1970: 350-355
L.426	Homelia cathedralis LXI	Severus Antiochenus (m. 538)	Brière 1908	ibid.
L.427 ES	Canones	Symeon Stylita (ca. 390-459)	---	Vööbus 1970: 145. 138-146}
L.428	Historia monastica	Thomas Episcopus Marga (IX)	Budge 1893	ibid.
L.430 ES	Life of Aḥā (m. ca. 560)	---	---	Vööbus 1956
L.431	Life of Alexander (m. ca. 430)	---	Stoop 1911	ibid.
L.432 S	Life of Jacob (m. 421)	---	---	Nau 1915-1917
L.433	Life of Joannes Bar Aphtonia (m. 537)	---	Nau 1902	ibid.
L.433B S	Life of John the Arab	---	Fiey 1977: 154-157. 205-207	
L.434	Life of Mar Bassus (early V)	---	Chabot 1893	ibid.
L.435	Life of Mar Benjamin (m. 466)	---	Scheil 1897	ibid.
L.436	Life of Mar Gabriel (m. 648) Qartmin Trilogy	---	Palmer 1990: microfiche supplement, B	ibid.

L.437	Life of Mar Samuel (m. 410) Qartmin Trilogy	---	Palmer 1990: microfiche supplement, B	<i>ibid.</i>
L.438	Life of Mar Symeon (m. 433) Qartmin Trilogy	---	Palmer 1990: microfiche, B	<i>ibid.</i>
L.439 V	Life of Onophrius	---		http://www.ocf.org/orthodoxpage/reading/st.pachomius/saints/onnophrius.html
L.440	Life of Romanus	---	Land 1862-1875: III, 341-343	Ahrens 1899: 257-263
L.441 S	Life of Symeon (of Kefar 'Abdīn)	---	---	Nau 1913-1915: II, 420-431
L.442 S	Life of Symeon Olivarius (m. 734)	---	---	Brock 1979: 174-179
L.443 S	Life of Theodotus Episcopus Amidae (m. 698)	---	---	Palmer 1990
L.444 S	Life of Yaret Alexandrinus	---	---	Nau 1913-1915: II, 432-440
L.445	Life of Marūtā Tagritensis (m. 649)	Denḥā (m. 660)	Nau 1909	<i>ibid.</i>
L.446	Life of Joannes Bar Qūrsōs Episcopus Tellae (519-538)	Elias	Brooks 1907: 31- 95	Brooks 1907: 23-60
L.447 S	Life of Ḥannīnā (m. 500)	Jacob Sarugensis (?) (m. 521)	---	Nau 1910: 62-64
L.448 V	Life of Peter (m. 491)	Joannes Rufus (?) (m. 518)	Raabe 1895	<i>ibid.</i>
L.449	Life of Symeon Stylita (m. 459)	Šem'ōn Bar Apollōn	Bedjan 1890- 1897: IV, 507-644	Lietzmann 1908: 79-180
L.450 V	Epistulae	Ammonas Episcopus (IV)	Kmosko 1915	<i>ibid.</i>
L.451 V	Epistulae	Pseudo- Makarius/Symeon (m. 390)	Strothmann 1981	<i>ibid.</i>
L.452	Epistula	Philoxenus Mabbugensis (m. 523)	---	Graffin 1961-1962
L.453	Epistulae	Severus Antiochenus (m. 538)	Brooks 1902	<i>ibid.</i>
L.460	Chronicon a.a. 819 pertinens	---	Barsaum 1920: 3- 22	Chabot 1937: 1-16
L.461	Chronicon a.a. 846 pertinens	---	Brooks 1904: 157- 238	Chabot 1904: 121-180
L.462	Chronicon a.a. 1234 pertinens	---	Chabot 1920; Chabot 1920	Chabot 1937; Abouna 1974
L.463	Chronicon Edessenum	---	Brooks 1903: 1-13	Guidi 1903: 1-11

L.464 PT	<i>Chronicon Maroniticum</i>	---	Brooks 1904: 43-74	Chabot 1904: 35-57
L.465	<i>Chronicon</i> a.a. 774/775 (<i>Zuqnīn-Chronicle</i>)	---	Chabot 1965-1989	<i>pars</i> III: Witakowski 1996; <i>pars</i> IV: Harrak 1999
L.466	<i>Chronicon</i> 'of Seert'	---	Scher 1950	<i>ibid.</i>
L.467	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	Barḥadbšabbā 'Arbāyā (late VI)	Nau 1932; Nau 1913	<i>ibid.</i>
L.468	<i>Chronicon ecclesiasticum</i>	Gregorius Bar Hebraeus (m. 1286)	Abbeloos 1872	<i>ibid.</i>
L.469	<i>Chronographia</i>	Gregorius Bar Hebraeus (m. 1286)	Bedjan 1890	Budge 1932
L.470	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , <i>pars</i> III	Joannes Ephesinus (m. 586)	Brooks 1935	<i>ibid.</i>
L.471 PT	<i>Ktābā d-nṣ mellē</i>	Joannes Penkāyā (late VII)	Mingana 1908: I, 1-171	Brock 1987
L.472	<i>Chronicon</i>	Michael Syrus (m. 1199)	Chabot 1899	<i>ibid.</i>
L.473	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	Zacharias Rhetor (m. ca. 530)	Brooks 1919	Brooks 1899
L.490	<i>Synodicon</i>	[<i>varia</i>]	Vööbus 1975	<i>ibid.</i>

C.1.5 Ge'ez (L.5xx)

ID	Title	Author	Edition	Version
L.560 V	<i>Chronicon</i>	Joannes Niciensis (m. ca. 690)	---	Zotenberg 1916

C.1.6 Arabic (L.6xx)

ID	Title	Author	Edition	Version
L.601	<i>Churches and Monasteries of Egypt</i>	Pseudo-Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Armenius' (XIII)	---	Evetts 1895
L. 602 V	<i>Regulae</i>	Antonius Magnus Abbas (m. 356)	---	Migne 1857: XL, 1065-1074
L.603 V	<i>Canones</i>	Pseudo-Athanasius (m. 373)	Riedel 1904	<i>ibid.</i>
L.604 V	<i>Oratio IX</i>	Isaias Gazaeus (m. 491)	---	Migne 1857: XL, 1133-1134

L.605 V	Regula ad monachos	Isaias Gazaeus	---	Migne 1844: CIII, 427-434
L.606 PT	Book of Monasteries (Kitāb ad-Diyārāt)	aš-Šābuštī (m. ca. 988)	Awwad 1966	Sachau 1919
L.630 V	Life of Shenoute (m. 466)	---	Amélineau 1888: 289-478	ibid.
L.631 V	Life of Stephanus Sabaites (m. 794)	Leontius Damascenus	Pirone 1991	ibid.
L.660	Historia universalis (Kitāb al-'Unwān)	Agapius Episcopus Manbiğ (X)	Vasiliev 1912	ibid.
L.661	History of the Muslim Conquest (Kitāb Futūḥ al-buldān)	al-Balāduṛī (m. ca. 892)		Hitti 1916
L.662	Historia universalis (Naẓm al-ğawhar)	Eutychius Patriarcha Alexandriae (m. 940)	Breydy 1985	ibid.
L.663	Liber viarum et regnorum (Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik)	Ibn Hurdādbih (m. 888)	Goeje 1889	ibid.
L.664 PT	Hiṭaṭ	al-Maqrīzī (m. 1442)	Wiet 1911	Bouriant 1895; Evetts 1895
L.665 PT	Meadows of Gold (Kitāb Murūğ aḍ-ḡahab)	al-Mas'ūdī (m. ca. 957)	Barbier de Meynard 1861	Lunde 1989
L.666	Historia Patriarcharum	Severus Episcopus Ašmunayn (X)	Evetts 1904	ibid.
L.667	Historia (Ta'riḥ ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk)	aṭ-Ṭabarī	Goeje 1879	Abbas 1989-1998
L.680	Book of Offerings (Kitāb al-Harāğ)	Abū Yūsuf (m. 798)		Mahmoud 1923
L.690	Book of Strangers (Kitāb al-Ğurabā')	Pseudo-al-Iṣfahānī (m. 967)		Crone 2000
L.691	Synaxarium	Michael Episcopus Atrīb (XV)	Basset 1907-1929	ibid.
L.692	Divani	[varia]	Ahlwardt 1870	

C.1.7 Armenian (L.7xx)

ID	Title	Author	Edition	Version
L.701	Exhortatio ad monachos (ca. 450-500)	Elīše 'the Armenian'	---	Outtier 1988

C.2 Papyri and ostraka (P.xxx, O.xxx etc.)

Abbreviations of papyri and ostraka follow the rules outlined by Oates et al., *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, <<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>>, April, 2005. The ostraka start on page 156. Abbreviations in *Italic* indicate that the document is *not* associated with any identified monastery.

P.Alex. Inv. 689¹ (AD 569) Thebais I, Dayr Apa Apollōs (Aphroditō) [M.144]

Cf. P.Cair.Masp. II 67176r.

P.Apa Apollo 7² (6th c.) Thebais I, Dayr Apa Apollōs (Aphroditō) [M.144]

FROM: Clergy (κληρος) of Holy Mary's of Tkoou³.
TO: Senouthios (of) the monastery of [...
SUBJECT: Rent dispute (letter).
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: The clergy writes about a **field-rent** (μικθωσ(ις)) dispute apparently involving one of the tenant farmers of the church; in addition to the φορος (state rent), **rent in wine** (πιεε) is involved.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Apa Apollo 11⁴ (AD 560s) is a letter on agricultural troubles between the pagarch and the Phthia shepherds; MacCoull (1993, 37) infers that these were the fields belonging to Dayr Apa Apollōs (Aphroditō) [M.144] that had suffered both damage from animals and confusion about their back-tax (ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ) records.

P.Apa Apollo 12⁵ (6th c.) Thebais I, Dayr Apa Apollo (Aphroditō) [M.144]

FROM: Sophia.
TO: Apa Phoibammōn (hegumen)⁶, 'the men (λαος της) of Aphroditō'.
SUBJECT: Donation of land.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Donation of land to the monastery, as an endowment or dowry, on the occasion of a new member's, Sophia's son's joining the community.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Apa Apollo 15⁷ (AD 565-573) is a letter from Dioscorus/Flavius Apollōs, in which he expresses his practical concern for the welfare of the **tenant farmers** of his monastery in Aphroditō [M.144]; the letter is addressed to Apa Biktor, monk and *ekdikos* (*defensor civitatis*) of Antaeopolis.

P.Apa Apollo 25⁸ (post AD-538) is a letter apparently addressed to the monastic *proestōs* of Dayr Apa Apollōs (Aphroditō) [M.144] and concerned with the *embolē* (presumably that of the monastery's **tenant farms**; cf. MacCoull (1993: 52)).

P.Apa Apollo 28⁹ (post AD-546) is a letter from Dioscorus and deals with **financial troubles** having beset Dayr Apa Apollōs (Aphroditō) [M.144]; someone, or the community as a whole, is involved with a moneylender (δανειστής), owing to the monks' sloth and lazy **mismanagement**; Dioscorus instructs the monks to keep tighter control over their affairs.

¹ Ed. MacCoull (1985: 160).
² Ed. MacCoull (1993: no. 7).
³ Antaeopolis, the nome capital and Aphrodito's 'twin city' across the river.
⁴ Ed. MacCoull (1993: no. 11).
⁵ Ed. MacCoull (1993: no. 12).
⁶ But steward in P.Cair.Masp. I 67096 (AD 573/4).
⁷ Ed. MacCoull (1993: no. 15).
⁸ Ed. MacCoull (1993: no. 25).
⁹ Ed. MacCoull (1993: no. 28).

P.Athen.Xyla 10¹⁰ (AD 553) Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190] (?)

FROM: Aureliōs Phoibammōn.
TO: Apa Phibi (μονάζοντος καὶ ἄρχων ἐλαιωργος in the 'Mountain of Τίτκωις').
SUBJECT: Money-loan.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Apa Phibi, head of the **oil-production** of the monastery, lends money to Aureliōs Phoibammōn; it seems as if he were acting on his own behalf, not on that of the monastery.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wipszycka (2001: 178).

P.Bad. IV 55 (6th c.) is a document in which Ouain, the hegumen of an unidentified monastery in the Heracleopolite nome, pays in advance for some *pithoi* of **wine** (οἶνος) which will be delivered by the Oxyrhynchite merchant (?) in due time; Barison (1938: no. V).

P.Bad. IV 94 (5th c., Apollonopolites Heptacomias) lists the income of a **diakonia** (of a church); those liable to financial contributions are more than five monasteries (οἶκοι) (?) in the Apollonopolite nome (?), some of which are named explicitly; Barison (1938: no XI).

P.Bad. IV 95 (7th c.) is an account of income and expenses from/for **agricultural estates** (rose-gardens, vineyards, ...) near Thalmouu in the Hermopolite nome; in l. 67 the *monazōn* Apa Amōnios occurs as the beneficiary of a **donation** (?) in money and kind (σῆτος); in l. 238 and 267 a *topos Phoibammōna* occurs; neither the localisation, nor the identification of the monastery are sure; Barison (1938: no. XXII p. 140), Timm (1984: VI, 2816-2817).

P.Bala'izah 102 (7th/8th c.) Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM: ΔΙΚΔΙΟΝ¹¹ of the monastery.
TO: Apa Amrou (Ἀλλίου)¹².
SUBJECT: Repayment of a debt.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Since we had need of eight solidi of gold that we should deliver them as **tax** (ΔΥΜΟCΙΟΝ)¹³ of the monastery, we came and besought you. [...] And the debt we are prepared to repay you, we being thankful. On the one hand as regards 6 solidi we shall give them to you in **lentils** (ΛΡΩΙΝ) from this crop at the rate [...] And further two solidi, I shall repay them to you according as we shall find them. If God wills that we find **honey** (ΕΓΙΩ), we shall repay them to you according to the price which shall be determined [...] [followed by a list of brethren who assent to the agreement].
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: 395).

P.Bala'izah 103 (7th/8th c.) Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM: ΔΙΚΔΙΟΝ of the monastery.
TO: Apa Ammone (probably the later superior), brethren.
SUBJECT: Repayment of a debt.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Since you gave us a solidus for **wheat** (COCO) that we should give it up as **tax** (ΤΕΜΟCΙΟΝ) of the monastery, now we agree that we shall you ten artabas of wheat, being expected at the **season of threshing** (ΧΗΡΕ)¹⁴ [...] [followed by a list of brethren who assent to the agreement].
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: 397), Wipszycka (2001: 173-174).

¹⁰ Ed. MacCoull (1994).

¹¹ I.e., the jurisdiction of the monastery represented by its superior (Kahle 1954: I, 31-32); however, different, Wipszycka (2001: 172): 'le terme était employé également dans des cas où il était question, non pas d'un monastère, mais d'une église ou d'une institution philanthropique qui n'avait pas de conseil [...] le terme devait exprimer la notion de 'personnalité juridique'.

¹² Pistikos, an official attached to every important town or village, in connection with the collection of taxes and other levies (Kahle 1954: II, 740 fn. 9).

¹³ Dēmosion, land tax; in this period frequently public taxes in general (Kahle 1954: II, 495 fn. 6).

¹⁴ Or 'threshing-floor' (Kahle 1954: II, 506 fn. 9)?

P.Bala'izah 114 (7th/8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM: Jacob, George (monks).
TO: Lampou (deacon?).
SUBJECT: Repayment of a debt.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] You gave us a solidus for **wine** (ἡρεν), and I agree [that I shall give] you [...] λλζη of wine [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: 397).

P.Bala'izah 115 (7th/8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM: Jōhannēs (π[ροεστώς?]).
TO:
SUBJECT: Repayment of a debt.
TRANSCRIPTION: ... I am owing to you clearly and] without fail 4 solidi and 8[½ karats of gold], i.e., gold, solidi: [...] I am prepared [to pay to you] from the **harvest of the crop** (χωλε κλ[ρ]πων) of the fifteenth indiction without any [ambiguity whether north] or south of Tešnē¹⁵ [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wipszycka (2001: 172-173).

P.Bala'izah 116 (7th/8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM: Monk (unidentified).
TO: Monk (unidentified).
SUBJECT: Repayment of a debt.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] I am prepared to give them [seven jars ([κλ]τογς) of **wine** (ἡρεῖ)] to you by the will [of God] at the time of the **harvest** (χ[ωλ]ε) [...] which are [these] seven jars of wine [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wipszycka (2001: 178).

P.Bala'izah 118 (7th/8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Repayment of a debt.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Now [I] am prepared to repay them to you with the little **salt** (κογι ἡμερεῖ²)¹⁶ (?) [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Bala'izah 119 (Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]) attests to the purchase of an ass (εἰω) by the holy monastery of Apa Mēna [M.182]; Till (1956: 397).

P.Bala'izah 130 (AD 723-724)

Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Notification (in Greek) of a tax assessment.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Saal, son of Abdella, it is who is writing to Daniel, the son of Pahôm of the kastron Ĝēme, saying: These are those which are due from you and you shall pay them in the assessment (διασταλμός) (?) of the **poll-tax** (δημόσιον) of the 7th indiction, year 105 and the **expenses-tax** (δαπάνη) of the 8th indiction, year 106; which are these: **tax** (ἀνδρισμός)¹⁷ for one person for **poll-tax assessment** (κεφαλισμός) solidi 1½ 1/3 1/12 1/48; thus: poll-tax (διάγραφον) solidi: 1½, expenses-tax (δαπάνη) for 12 months solidi: 1/3 1/24 [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: 397).

¹⁵ Place-name, unidentified; cf. O.Sarga 355.

¹⁶ μλ2, μελ2 (Kahle 1954: 524 fn. 4)?

¹⁷ For a full discussion, cf. P.Lond. IV, p. 168.

P.Baia'izah 132 (7th/8th c.) Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]
FROM: Enoch (βοηθός), Psōte (προεστώς).
TO: Chaēl (monk).
SUBJECT: Weaving-garments tax-receipt.
TRANSCRIPTION: We have fully received from [you] from the **weaving-garments tax** (τεμοσεν ενταλεωτε η) and all the ... (?) which is the ... (?) in [the] nome Pousire which is this: one (?) and a half solidi – solidi 1½ - in this year the 6th indiction, [...]
COMMENT: A tax-receipt issued by a βοηθός and prior jointly is unparalleled (Kahle 1954: II, 546 fn. 3).
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: 397-398).

P.Bala'izah 133 (Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]) is a similar **weaving-garment tax** (τεμοσιν) -**receipt**, written by Mēna (μηνα πεπε [πρεσβύτερος]), the βοηθός of P.Bala'izah 145; Till (1956: 398).

P.Baia'izah 134 (Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]) is a similar **weaving-tax** (τεμοσιον) -**receipt**, written for Aplō (Apollō).

P.Bala'izah 158 (7th/8th c.) Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]
Thebais I, [Apa Apollō] [M.144]
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Contract.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *Biktor, the brethren* (?) [...] *holy* [monastery] of Apa Apollō in the [nome of the town Sbeht [i.e. Aphroditō] we are writing to ...] the priest and monk (μοναχος) of this monastery (μονο^τ) [saying: Since some who] mock every one mocked us, we went [...] when you had sought [after (?)] the **fields** (νεκοι ε) (?) [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Bala'izah 188 (7th/8th c.) Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]
FROM: Shenoute.
TO:
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] and, what is more, if I come again, I shall be seized for even some **care of the monastery** (ροο[Υ]ω ενμον^τ)¹⁸ as they are advising me here. [...] I adjure you by God, that you do not cast me out from you in your prayers. [...]
COMMENT: Letter of the monk Shenoute who had been expelled from the monastery for some disobedience and eager to return; he had been warned 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.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: 399).

P.Bala'izah 193 (Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]) mentions **plaited works** produced in the monastery (νωοντε νιμονα^τ).

P.Bala'izah 205 (Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]) mentions [little (?)] **work of hand** (κ[...] ζωβ νσι χ)¹⁹.

P.Baia'izah 206 (7th/8th c.) Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174] (?)
FROM: Phoibammōn (father of the brethren)²⁰.
TO:
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] no man spoke with me in any matter concerning you, whether [...] and anything you²¹ require, ... (?) whether **salfish** (ταπειχε)²² or **seed** (ερα), send [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

¹⁸ '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 (Kahle 1954: II, 612 fn. 4).

¹⁹ Probably rope-work.

²⁰ Being a superior only in P.Bala'izah 206, perhaps not of this monastery (Kahle 1954: II, 637 fn. 5).

²¹ Probably the fellow-monks.

²² I.e. *taricheion*.

P.Bala'izah 223 (7th/8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM:
TO: 'The most holy and dear lord (and) holy father Apa [...]'.
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] my brother the deacon Jeremias; now when I sent [him (?) ...] he brought out the **ships** (νεμη) [...] man, and we compelled him and [...] ... (?) down, and he gathered all his men and brought them and we turned him (it ?) back. Now let your mercy [come (to us) and give him] (?) his command, since there is no **sailor** (νεε) with me and behold my few (or: small) **garments** (κοι) and all your (pieces of) **wood** (νε) have perished (α) and I have not [...] but if you work on it, send Ouenober to me with another person, he knows (how) to work, that [I] bring him south and make terms with him. And as you command, we will be (your) servants; but whatever the command which you will give, do not restrict (?) me, because all that was ours has perished and we are destitute [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: 400).

P.Baia'izah 229 (7th/8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM:
TO: Brethren, palm-leaf pickers (νε) (?).
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Be so kind, therefore, as soon as you receive my letter, you the **palm-leaf pickers** ()²⁴ [...] that you satisfy () the monastery [...] (gap) [...] [...] good **palm-bundles** () and [...] and seal () them and give them to the man, so that no one among them go there (?); but by all means do not continue without doing it, so that your heart be distressed. I salute you through this letter. +
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Bala'izah 235 (7th/8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM: Theodōros (?)²⁵.
TO: Joseph (archpriest, hegumen).
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] **basket** () (?) from (?) Christodōre and he did not do it, but left his **ship** () moored all these days, while his **freight** () was tied²⁶ to the man. [And I found] occasion in my heart because you undertook that the monks () should [...] it to me and they did not give it [...] communicate like a Christian until they complete for (?) Christodōre all the [...] which he shall assign to them. [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: 400-401).

P.Baia'izah 241 (7th/8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM: Pinoute.
TO: [Apa] Helias.
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] For I was told that since you came away from me you have not done any work to the small **dwelling-place** () until now, already the third year; you have not come further than its door and you have not build bricks over the yard, [nor] have you strengthened the beam which is broken [...] Now ... [...] for ... (?) everything which you wished to do and I will do more than those (things). Now 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

²³ ωε = *hylē*, 'articles' (Kahle 1954: II, 651 fn. 7)?
²⁴ On , cf. Kahle (1954: II, 657 fn. 1).
²⁵ ἰωσεφ πηγουμενος[θεοδωρος ν...]; probably the bishop who recurs elsewhere in the P.Bala'izah collection (Kahle 1954: II, 662 fn. 4).
²⁶ Presumably this means that the man was in charge of the freight.

[...] brother in the Lord [...].

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Baia'izah 242 (7th/8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM:

TO: Apa Ammōne.

SUBJECT: Letter relating to a legal decision.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] you came away from me, Apa Biktor [...] in the presence of the Emir (ἀμερᾶ)²⁷ and he made application concerning [...] any **wine** (ἐρῆ). And the decision was [given ...

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Bala'izah 249 (7th/8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: Letter.

TRANSCRIPTION: + I have received the letter of my dear lord [...] as regards the matter of the **horse** (ἵππος) which he brought to the monastery [...] ... I will come south and pray ... [...] and ask Apa Isaak concerning the half-trimesion [...] how he (?) is [...] iron pan (κογμοογ)²⁸ and ask Apa Amōne, let him cast these fears away ... (?) [...] and behold (as regards) some **moēi2-measures**²⁹, leave them for us; and four **baskets** (βίρ) ... (?) [...] and four **baskets** (χνογ?) with the capacity of a **κπ-measure** of the large ones and four [of the] small ones and [...] and I will send the young (or: small) **camel** (ἑλμογλ) south with the brethren [...] further ask Apa [...

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: 401).

P.Bala'izah 259 (7th/8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: Letter.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Now do not [...] mercy with [...] **palm-leaf picker** (σαλκβητ) that he should do the **work** ([ρ]φωγ) [...] and I expel him and your heart will be troubled. For you know that the works of the place require to be done and it is neither possible for me, nor is it possible for you. [...] Because a palm-leaf-picker is not one whom it is fitting for me to expel any more than (it is) for you. Now search after a few **lentils** (ἀρωιν) and the little **salt-fish** (ταριχε) and bring them when you come, because we shall not (be able to) find (them) here. [...

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: 401-402).

P.Bala'izah 263 (Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]) lists the belongings of a monk, Apa Phoibammōn: a habit (λεβίτον), a tunic (ὑπην), a pallium (πορῆ), a pillow-bag (ψοτὴν βαλοτ), a cowl (κλατγ), a deacon's bag (βαλοτ ΝΔΙΔΚ³⁰).

P.Bala'izah 272 (7th/8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: Letter.

TRANSCRIPTION: Behold this ... (?) of **wine** (ἡρῆ) together with the **basket** (βίρ) – I have filled it with **bread** – I have sent to you through Joustos the **merchant** (ων)³⁰. Farewell and do not send any but good news, [...

²⁷ 'Amīr, as elsewhere, the pagarch (Steinwenter 1920: 6-18).

²⁸ Koukkoumion.

²⁹ A measure for fodders.

³⁰ Ōnētēs?

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: 402).

P.Baia'izah 273 (Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]) is a letter in which there is request for **carob-pods** (χιείρε).**P.Bala'izah 288** (AD 725) is an account relating to the government and **taxation**; in l. 12, mention is made of the monastery of Abba Poulos [M.246]; in l. 17, the genuineness of the document is attested by 'she of the people (i.e., nuns) of (the convent of) Ama S[ophia [M.248] ...'**P.Bala'izah 290** (7th/8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: Tax-account.

TRANSCRIPTION: [1. Paoni 11, 6th indiction] *The first time for (2Δ-) the **money** (χρῆμα) of the monks [through ... and ...] solidi []; for the **δαπάνη** (ΔΑΠΑΝΗ)³¹ 6th indiction through these same persons sol. 2 (?); for the wage of the **craftsmen** (ΝΕΤΕΧΝΙΤΗΣ) who are **on the sea** (ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ)³² through them again sol. 1/6 [...]*
 [2. Paoni 19, indiction 6] *For the **poll-tax** (ΔΙΔΡΑΦΟΝ) of the monks through Achillitēs the deacon and Petros the doctor sol. 15 [...]*
 [...] *[Phaophi 18, 6th indiction] ... for **wheat** (σῶο)³³ through them again sol. ½ [...]*

COMMENT: Document written at various periods by various scribes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: 402).

P.Bala'izah 291 (7th/8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Balā'iza [M.174]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: Tax-account.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *for the **land-tax** (ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ) of Pektēs³⁴ through Mēna from Pektēs sol. 1; for **rope** (νοῦτ) for Pateron³⁵ through Apa Petros the superior sol. 1; for the **freight of the ferry-boat** (ΘΗΜΕ ΝΠΕΧΙΟΘΗ) of the nome (of) Antinoou through Apa Petros the superior and Thōmas the deacon sol. 1/24; [...] the deacon Pgōl for his **poll-tax** (ΔΝΔΡΙCΜΟC); [...] for the **corn-tax** (ΝΒΟΛΗ) in barley (?) of Pšonte³⁶ ... sol.; for **wine** (ΗΡΗ) from Nerēbe³⁷ through Mēna [... (?) sol.; [...]*
 [Verso:] [...] *for **wine for the offering** (ΗΡΗ ΕΤΕΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ) through Padēr the priest sol. 2/3; [...] for **wine** [...] through [Apa] Hēlias sol. ½ 2/3 [...]*

COMMENT: Probably part of an account-book.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Bala'izah 292³⁸-300 are similar tax- (and general monastic) accounts; they mention **land-tax** (ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ; P.Bala'izah 292), **poli-tax** (ΔΝΔΡΙCΜΟC; P.Bala'izah 293/94/95; 300) and **corn-tax** ([ἐμ]βολή; P.Bala'izah 296); '**tax-quota**' (ἐπιζ[ητούμενα]³⁹; P.Bala'izah 298) and **δαπάνη** (P.Bala'izah 300).**P.Baia'izah 301-308** are similar monastic accounts referring to **government taxes** (P.Bala'izah 301) payable through the **steward** (οἰκ^ο; P.Bala'izah 301), general expenses (**fare of the camels** (ΘΗΜΕ ΝΕCΔΜΟΥΛ), P.Bala'izah 303B; for **vinegar** (ΖΗΜΞ), P.Bala'iza 303B); **κΔΧ**⁴⁰ (P.Bala'izah); **wage of feeding the sheep** (ΒΕΚΕ ΜΟΟΝΕ ΝΕCΟΟΥ), P.Bala'izah 303B/07; **poli-tax** (ΔΙΔΡΑΦΟΝ, ΔΝΔΡΙCΜΟC), P.Bala'izah 303B;³¹ I.e. the tax levied to cover the expenses of the local officials and others (Kahle 1954: I, 43-44).³² These are men required by the Muslims for personal service. their expenses, while engaged on this service, conditioned the levy of this additional tax (Kahle 1954: II, 716 fn. 5).³³ Corn-tax (ἐμβολή), usually paid in kind (Kahle 1954: I, 42), here paid in money.³⁴ Probably a place-name.³⁵ Probably a place-name (Kahle 1954: II, 720 fn. 3).³⁶ Place-name, appears in several other documents, published and unpublished (Kahle 1954: II, 721 fn. 21).³⁷ Place in the Lycopolite pagarchy (Kahle 1954: II, 721 fn. 14); cf. P.Lond. IV, 1460 (95. 170) and P.Bala'izah 321.³⁸ All of the following documents, 'P.Bala'izah', relate to the homonymous monastery [M.174].³⁹ I.e. money required for the central treasury and other purposes, presumably local (Kahle 1954: II, 729 fn. 2).⁴⁰ Crum (1939, 134 s.v. κΔΧ): 'meaning unknown, relates to agriculture'.

⁴⁶ Ed. Wipszycka (1975: 625-626).

BKU I 36 Thebais II, Tabennēsē [M.100]
FROM: Phaustos.
TO: Patlōle [...] of Tabennēsē.
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: *Here you are the guarantee (λοκος) [by God:] fill (χω) my fields (ωζε), his half [...] of Phoibammōn [...] fields [...]*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1938: no. 57).

BKU I 48⁴⁷ (AD 629/644) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]
FROM: Azarias/Kyri[a]kos.
TO: Jacob/Daniel (monk).
SUBJECT: Contract of cultivation.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *You have agreed with me that I will fill (χω) your piece of land (μερος πειωζε) [...] We will work at half cost for each of us. But we will pay together for the seed-corn (βριχωε) and for all costs (δαλωμα). We will pay the tax (δημοσιον) together. [...]*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stern (1878: no. 7), Till (1964: 16), Godlewski (1986: 81. 83).

BKU I 78⁴⁸ Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]
Thebais II, [Patūbastn [M.048]]
FROM: Patapē (monk of an unidentified monastery (at) Patūbastn).
TO: Monks of Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II.
SUBJECT: Money-loan (for 4 months).
TRANSCRIPTION: *I, Patapē/Pūs from Patūbastn, deputizing for my brothers, (I) write to my brothers at the topos of Apa Phoibammōn, that I owe (ει[χρ]εωστει) you one gold ducat (ογδολοκ ν νογβ), which you have given us for our need (χρεια). We are willing to return this [i.e., the ducat] without any restriction [...]*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stern (1878: no. 6), Godlewski (1986: 81).

BKU II 689 (8th c.) attests to the otherwise unknown abba Sarmatas who has paid for sth. indetermined in wheat (σῖτος); Barison (1938: no. XXII p. 146).

BKU III 367 Unknown
FROM: 'Our father'.
TO: Apa Biktōr, 'the brothers'.
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: *Give eighty buckets (καδους) of wine (ηρη) to Jōanēs of the mill. [...]*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

BL Or. 6201 B29 text 1 (7th c.) is a letter mentioning **tax-** ('tithe'-) **collection**, relative to Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]; it mentions mobile monks collecting the tax (απαρχη); Clackson (2000: no. 16 and p. 17-23), Wipszycka (2001: 181).

BL Or. 6201 B105 (7th c.) is a letter of introduction for Makarios, a monk of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190] collecting the **ἀπαρχή** (not 'tithe') in a village; sailors (νεεα) are presented as liable to the tax (απαρχη); Clackson (2000: no. 17 and p. 17-23), Wipszycka (2001: 181)).

BL Or. 6201 B187 (8th c.) is a **tax-** ('tithe'-) **collection** contract relative to Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]; it mentions the payment of the **pactum** (πακτων) in **wine** (ηρη); Clackson (2000: no. 12 and p. 17-23).

BL Or. 6201 B230 (8th c.) is a loan-agreement relative to Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]; Clackson (2000: no. 38 and p. 27).

⁴⁷ Bought in Thebes; script of Crum (1902: 'hand D').
⁴⁸ Bought in Thebes; script of Crum (1902: 'hand D').

BL Or. 6201 B267 (7th c.) is a **tax-** ('tithe'-) **collection** guarantee in which a monk of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190] (?) guarantees to other members of his community to collect the year's tax in the harvest (ἀπ[ἀ]ρχῆς καὶ κληρικοῦ) (?) and to pay it immediately to the great brother (νοσ νον); Clackson (2000: no. 2 and p. 17-23).

BL Or. 6201 B268A (7th c.) is a similar **tax-** ('tithe'-) **collection** guarantee in which a monk of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190] guarantees to collect the year's taxes and all the produce of Tmou[-]mou and places belonging to it on behalf of Apa Apollō and Apa Makare; he has already collected 1 solidus of the 1 5/6 solidi of the dēmosion payment; Clackson (2000: no. 3 and p. 17-23).

BL Or. 6201⁴⁹ (AD 849) Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190]

FROM: Shenoute.
TO: Stauros et al. (monks).
SUBJECT: Sale of monastic property made by/to monks of the monastery.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: BL Or. 6201 is a copy of BL Or. 6202 predating it by five days.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Krause (1985).

BL Or. 6202 (pi. 50-54)⁵⁰ (AD 849) Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190]

FROM: Senouthios (priest, archimandrite); Paul, Severus (monks).
TO: Stauros et al. (monks).
SUBJECT: Sale of monastic property made by/to monks of the monastery.
TRANSCRIPTION: Whereas there is a dwelling that is in the new **workshop area** (τεκράσιαν ἔργον) with its entrances to the west: We **obtained it by sale** (ἡμεῖς ἀποκτήσαμεν αὐτὴν ἀποδοῦναι) from Paul, the priest and **oikonomos** of Apa Pamoun [...] As for its boundaries that encompass it in its monastic area, as follows: north, the **watchtower** (ὄρυγος)⁵¹ west of the place of Apa Pamoun [...] you may take possession of and be owner of this dwelling, you, Brother Shenoute and his brothers, with every right over it right down to the ground, its vaulted cellars, its roofs [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Krause (1985).

BL Or. 6203 (pl. 36-39)⁵² (AD 833) Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190]

FROM: Joseph (archimandrite), Mark (monk).
TO: Makare/Peheu.
SUBJECT: Sale of monastic property made by/to monks of the monastery.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Whereas there is a dwelling that is in the new **workshop area** (τεκράσιαν ἔργον) with its entrances to the west: **obtained it by sale** (ἡμεῖς ἀποκτήσαμεν αὐτὴν ἀποδοῦναι) from our late father Apa Ammonios the archimandrite. [...] you should become its owner with every right over it right down to the ground, you and your sons and your heirs, [...] south, a small yard [...] with necessities for the workshop, east of it lies a small dwelling of Brother Shenoute the **fruit-grower** (κοῦμαρτής); west, the gate of the workshop [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Krause (1985).

BL Or. 6204 (pl. 40-44)⁵³ (AD 842) Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190]

FROM: Makare/Peheu et al.
TO: Paul (priest), Peter (both stewards).
SUBJECT: Sale of monastic property made by/to monks of the monastery.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Whereas there is a dwelling that is in the new **workshop area** (τεκράσιαν ἔργον) with its entrances to the west: we **obtained it by sale** (ἡμεῖς ἀποκτήσαμεν αὐτὴν ἀποδοῦναι) from Papa Joseph and Brother Joseph his brother [...] we wished to **sell** (πράξαι) it again [...] Additionally, since the law that is

⁴⁹ Ed. MacCoull (1994).
⁵⁰ Ed. MacCoull (1994).
⁵¹ Built between AD 842 and 849 (MacCoull 1994: 157).
⁵² Ed. MacCoull (1994).
⁵³ Ed. MacCoull (1994).

over us ordeins that each individual shall have ownership over what is his, after your departure out of the body, you, Paul the priest and Brother Peter, the diakonia (ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ) of the monastery is to be owner of the dwelling first. [...]

[among the signatories:] + I, Brother Shenoute the **fisherman** (ΟΥΩΞΕΤΙΟΝΜΗΤΡΕ), I am witness. ++ I, Brother Paul the fisherman (ΟΥΩΞΕΤΙΟΜΜΗΤΡΕ), I am witness.

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Krause (1985).

BL Or. 6206 (pl. 45-49)⁵⁴ (AD 847)

Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190]

FROM: Paul (priest, steward).

TO: Shenoute et. al. (ΝΑΠΟΤΑΚΤΙΚΟ[ς] ΜΜΟΝΑΧ[ος], dwelling in a single monastery).

SUBJECT: Sale of monastic property made by/to monks of the monastery.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Whereas there is a dwelling that is in the new **workshop area** (ΤΕΚΡΑΣΙΑΝΒΡΡΕ) with its entrances to the west: I **obtained it by sale** (ΝΤΑΝΩΟΠΗΝΠΡΑΣΙC) from Makare/Peheu [...] I wished to **sell** (ΤΑΔΗΕΒΟΛ) it again [...] As for the boundaries that encompass it in its monastic area, as follows: north, the **watchtower** (ΟΥΟΡΩ) west of the place of Apa Pamoun [...] you may take possession of and be owner of this dwelling, you, Brother Shenoute and his brothers, with every right over it right down to the ground, its vaulted cellars, its roofs [...]

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Krause (1985).

BL Or. 13886.35 (7th c.) is a **money-loan** agreement involving monks of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190] as creditors/debtors; Clackson (2000: no. 41 and p. 27), Wipszycka (2001: 178).

BM EA 10135 (A) (ca. AD 750) is a **tax-** (δημόσιον/διάγραφον?) demand issued to a monk of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190]; Clackson (2000: no. 29 and p. 24-25), Wipszycka (2001: 179).

BM EA 10135 (B) (8th c.) is a **wine-** (οινῷ) account issued to a monk of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190]; Clackson (2000: no. 46 and p. 27).

BM EA 10460 (A) (ca. AD 750) is a **tax-demand** issued to a monk of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190]; Clackson (2000: no. 28 and p. 24-25), Wipszycka (2001: 179).

BM EA 10460 (B) (8th c.) is a **wine-** (οινῷ) receipt issued by a monk of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190]; the payee is a builder (ἐκωτ) for building the 'wall of the great house'; Clackson (2000: no. 47 and p. 27).

BM EA 75311 (manuscript; 7th/8th c.) is a **tax-** ('tithe'-) **collection** contract related to Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190]; Clackson (2000: no. 9 and p. 17-23).

BM EA 75315 (7th c.) is a **money-loan** agreement involving monks of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190] as creditors/debtors; Clackson (2000: no. 44 and p. 27), Wipszycka (2001: 178).

BM EA 75318 (7th/8th c.) is a **tax-** ('tithe'-) **collection** contract relative to Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190] and other monastic institutions; one place mentioned, Tiloğ, is a known source for **wine**; Clackson (2000: no. 14 and p. 17-23).

BM EA 75324 (7th c.) is a **money-loan** agreement involving monks of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190] as creditors/debtors; Clackson (2000: no. 39 and p. 27), Wipszycka (2001: 178).

BM EA 75332 (7th/8th c.) is a **loan agreement** between Anoup and Klothe, headmen of Migdōl (of) the Four Villages in the region of Hermopolis, to repay Kōsma, monk of the τὸν of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190], his **solidus** in 13 (or 13½) ounces of **lachanon-oil** (λαχ) and 10 **artabas** of **wheat** (σιτ); Clackson (2000: no. 34), Wipszycka (2001: 178).

B.Metr.Mus. acc. no. 24.2.4⁵⁵ (AD 697 or 712)

Thebais II, Apa Paulos [M.80]

FROM: Flavius 'Aḫīya b. Ġu'ayd, on behalf of 'Abd al-Azīz (governor).

TO: Inhabitants of Kaukoi in the mountain of Memnonia.

SUBJECT: *Firman* from the duke of the Thebaid.

TRANSCRIPTION: *In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. [...] Whereas, on my examining the register of sums demanded of you in respect of poll-tax and desiring to call upon you for payment of the said poll-tax, as also the other monasteries which pay their quotas of poll-tax [...]*

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 21-22), Godlewski (1986: 86-87).

⁵⁴ Ed. MacCoull (1994).

⁵⁵ Ed. Bell (1926: 266-275).

BSAC 5⁵⁶ (AD 750-800)

Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM:
TO: Sourous (deacon).
SUBJECT: Contract of sale.
TRANSCRIPTION: I will **sell** you (εἶ τι εἴδωλ ΝΔΚ), Sourous, the deacon of the saint Apa Phoibammōn on the mountain of Ĝēme, from today and for all times the **yards/courts** (ΝΔΝ2) [...] which are situated [follows description of boundaries] [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 21-22), Godlewski (1986: 86-87).

P.Cair.Cat. 10077⁵⁷ (AD 556)

Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Abbas Andreas [M.264]]
Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Elias [M.284]]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Receipt for a rope.
TRANSCRIPTION: + Given by the monks of the monastery of Abbas Andreas to Joseph, sub-tenant (?), for the use of the **machine** (μηχ' (ανῆς)) of the the topos of Elias outside the gate on the 24th of the month Mecheir of the 4th indiction one **rope or coil** (σχοινί(ον) ἦτοι κρίκ(ος)), total 1 rope or coil only. Year 232 and 201, Mecheir 24 of the fourth indiction.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Cair.Cat. 10078⁵⁸ (AD 556)

Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Abbas Andreas [M.264]]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Receipt for mats.
TRANSCRIPTION: + Given by the monks of the monastery of Abbas Andreas for the use of the land-owner's bath (λουτρ(οῦ))⁵⁹ on the 11th of Phamenouth of the 4th indiction four **mats** (ψιάθια), total 4 mats only. [2nd hand] Total four mats only. [1st hand] Year 232 and 201, Phamenoth 11 of the 4th indiction. [Back:] The house of Apion⁶⁰, 4 mats.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Cair.Cat. 10079⁶¹ (AD 556)

Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Abbas Andreas [M.264]]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Receipt for ropes.
EXTRACT: + Given by the monks of the monastery of Abbas Andreas to Philoxenos, collector of fodder, for the use of the machine of the stable of the cursus velox (ὀξέως δρόμο(υ))⁶², on Payni 25 of the 4th indiction one and a half pairs of **ropes or coils** (σχοινί(ων) ἦτοι κρίκ(ων)), total 1½ pairs of ropes or coils only. Year 232 and 201, Payni 25 of the 4th indiction.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Cair.Masp. I 67003 (AD 567, Antinoopolis) is a monastic (ἐρημιτῶν μοναχῶν) petition to the dux of Thebais for the protection of the six aruras of cultivable land (σπορίμης γῆς; l. 16) which had been donated to the laura's diakonia by a widow and then been reclaimed by a certain Ezechiel; Barison (1938: no. XII/4).

⁵⁶ Ed. Till (1939).
⁵⁷ Id. SB XVIII 14061; re-ed. Sijpesteijn (1987: 54-55).
⁵⁸ Id. SB XVIII 14062; re-ed. Sijpesteijn (1987: 55-56).
⁵⁹ The same geouchikon loutron is mentioned in P.Oxy. I 148.
⁶⁰ I.e. the well-known family of the Apions (Gascou 1985: 1).
⁶¹ Id. SB XVIII 14063; re-ed. Sijpesteijn (1987: 56).
⁶² On the cursus publicus, cf. Gascou (1985: 53-59).

P.Cair.Masp. I 67021 (AD 567, Antaeopolite nome) is a request of the monks of the monastery of Psinepoïs [M.168] to an unknown ecclesiastical dignitary after the unjustified (ἀλόγως) dismissal of the monastic administrator (διοικητής) by the pagarch; the monastery owns some *aruras* of **land** (subject to taxation; verso, l. 1-2); allusion to a **kiln** (κάμινος) for **brick-** (ὀπτόπλινθον) **making** is made in verso, l. 23-24; Barison (1938: XII/5).

P.Cair.Masp. I 67080 (5th/6th c.) lists an unidentified monastery of Apa Sabouērios [M.148] (l. 6) near Aphroditō holding some *aruras* of **land**; Barison (1938: no. XIII/31).

P.Cair.Masp. I 67087 (AD 543) Thebais I, [Apa Sourous [M.162]]

Cf. P.Cair.Masp. II 67133.

P.Cair.Masp. I 67096 (AD 574) refers to the unidentified laura (ὄρος τῶν ἐρημίτων μοναχῶν; l. 14) of Apa Apollōs [M.144] at Aphroditō to which belongs a **diakonia** and a **guest-house** for pilgrim monks (ἐρημίτων ξένων μοναχῶν; l. 29); Barison (1938: no. XIII/4).

P.Cair.Masp. I 67097 (5th/6th c.) lists an unidentified [τόπος] Νέου λάκκο(υ) τοῦ ὄρους καλουμέ(νου) Σατίβους [M.160] (l. 2) near Aphroditō; Dioskoros, the steward (?) of the monastery, receives the (emphyteutic) rent for the pasture land belonging to the monastery; Arangio-Ruiz (1920: 27-30), Barison (1938: no. XIII/32).

P.Cair.Masp. I 67110 (AD 565) Thebais I, [Apa Sourous [M.162]]

Cf. P.Cair.Masp. II 67133.

P.Cair.Masp. I 67117 (AD 524) Thebais I, [Apa Dios [M.134]]

FROM: Aurelios Charistos, Paul.

TO: Authorities (δημοσίῳ λόγῳ) of Aphroditō.

SUBJECT: Transfer of tax (δημόσιον)-obligation.

EXTRACT:

COMMENT: Having bought ¼ *aroura* of land from the monastery of Apa Dios, Aurelios Charistos and Paul declare the change of property.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. XIII/11).

P.Cair.Masp. I 67118 (AD 547) Thebais I, [Abba Michael [M.140]]
Thebais I, [Pisraēlios [M.156]]

FROM:

TO: Authorities (δημόσιος λόγος) of Aphroditō.

SUBJECT: Transfer of tax- (δημόσιον) obligation.

EXTRACT:

COMMENT: The monastery of Abba Michael owns half of the (undivided) τόπος Pisraēlios; the second owner is unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. XIII/24).

P.Cair.Masp. II 67133 (5th/6th c.), **P.Cair.Masp. I 67087** (AD 543) and **I 67110** (AD 565) refer to a monastery of Apa Sourous [M.162], situated N of the *kōmē* of Aphroditō; the monk and ναύτης Ammonios receives and weighs, μέτρῳ ῥορ[ι]κῷ [τοῦ] ἁγίου μ[ον]αστηρίου, the 92 *artabas* of **wheat** (σι'τος) delivered by Flavios Dioskoros as his rent for the use of a plot of monastic land; Ammonios issues the receipt on behalf of the hegumen; in total, the monastery owns two **plots of cultivated land** (incl. ὄργανο[ν]) and 2/3 of a **potter's workshop** (κεραμεῖον); Barison (1938: no. XIII/36).

P.Cair.Masp. II 67138 (6th c.) Thebais I, [Peto [M.166]]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: List of expenses of the nobleman Ammonios.

EXTRACT:

COMMENT: Account of receipts from and (tax-) expenditures on Ammonios' estates; among the taxable (χρυσικά) items (κτήματα) is a monastery situated in the village/hamlet of Peto (fol. II^v, l. 19).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. XXII p. 141), Johnson (1949: 270-271), Timm (1984: II, 608-609), Bowman (1986:

197).

P.Cair.Masp. II 67139 (6th c.)

Thebais I, [Peto [M.166]]
Thebais I, [Psinabla [M.136]]
Thebais I, [Apa Sourous [M.162]]
Thebais I (?), [Ibeke [M.250]]
Aegyptus I, Metanoia [M.370]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: List of expenses of the nobleman Ammonios.

EXTRACT: [Fol. II^v] account of the **annona** (22 *artabas*) for the monastery of Peto, 314 *modii* might have been reserved for the annona of the monastery τῆς Μετανοίας (Maspero 1911-1916: II, 43); [fol. III^r] account of wheat (100 *artabas*) delivered to the monastery of Psinabla (district of Panopolis); [fol. III^v] account of wheat (413 *artabas*) to the διακονία of the monastery of Aphroditō; [fol. V^r] mention of an expense to Apa Palōs for **sun-dried bricks** (σπτοπλινθ) used in the **sāqiya** (λακ)⁶³ of Pekysios, in l. 13 of a deacon in the function of μυλονάρχης of the monastery/τοῦ ὄρου Ibeke; [fol. VI^v] account of an expense for **barley** delivered to the monastery of Apa Sourous (Aphroditō).

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. I/1; VIII/6. 18. 36. 53. 57; XV/5).

P.Cair.Masp. II 67141 (6th c.)

Thebais I, [Abba Michael [M.140]] (?)

FROM: Dioscoros (herdsman) *et al.*

TO:

SUBJECT: List of expenses of an unknown monastery (Abba Michael?)⁶⁴ or private domain.

EXTRACT: [Fol. I^v] account of the expenses for **camel-fodder** (τροφὴ τῶν καμηλῶν); [fol. II^r] mention of **asphalt** (ἀσφάλτο[u]) as part of a receipt; [fol. II^v] statement of **herdsmen's** activities; [fol. III^r] account of **sheep** (58 in number, yielding 365 pounds of wool), distinguished by gender, period of birth and colour; [fol. V^v, VII^r] accounts of sheep-shearing, **domestic animals** and **goats**.

COMMENT: One may incur that the monastery (or private domain) possessed outlying structures; for their maintenance, herdsmen and women were employed; Barison (1938: no. XXII p. 146) mentions a certain *monach(ē)* Ama Rebekka as the beneficiary of **wheat** (σῖτος) **donations**, probably by the same monastery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. XIII/59).

P.Cair.Masp. II 67151 (AD 570)

Thebais I, [Apa Jeremiah [M.214]]

FROM: Flavius Phoibammōn (physician *en chef* at Antinoopolis).

TO:

SUBJECT: Will (διαθηκιμαία βουλή).

EXTRACT:

COMMENT: The monks of the monastery of Apa Jeremiah come into inheritance of mobile and immobile goods: (a) [l. 101-] 1 *arura* of fertile, **irrigated land** (situated at Ibiōn Sesembythis, in the Hermopolite nome), cultivated with **grapes** (ἀμπελοφοριμός) and **free of tax**; (b) 1 **boat** (comes with original documents); in addition, the testator insists on dealing with the monastery generously.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. VIII/2).

P.Cair.Masp. II 67162 (AD 568) is a contract of **money-loan** in which John, deacon of the *oikos* of the martyr Apa Biktōr [M.212] borrows – for two months and without interest – 2 *nomismata* from Flavius Christophoros, (land-) owner in the city of Antinoopolis; Barison (1938: no. VIII/1).

P.Cair.Masp. II 67168 (6th c.)

Thebais I/II[Πουῖνκῶρεός [M.252]]

FROM: Theodore (bishop in Pentapolis)⁶⁵.

⁶³ *Lakkon*?

⁶⁴ Maspero (1911-1916: II, 59. 61).

⁶⁵ Though Maspero (1911-1916: II, 132) suggests that this security was signed by Theodore and a monastic *apokrisarios* in the working class area of Alexandria.

TO: Monks of the Pachomian (ταβεννησιωτικός) monastery of Pouīnkōreōs.
 SUBJECT: Security (ἀσφάλεια) for delivery of wine.
 EXTRACT:
 COMMENT: Theodore buys (and pays in advance) 1500 *knidia* of **wine** (οἶνος); he, personally, collects the cargo in Alexandria; a **harbour** belonging to the Pachomian monastery is attested to in P.Michael. 32.
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. IX/2).

P.Cair.Masp. II 67170 (AD 564) is a rental contract in which two gardeners **rent out** to the unidentified laura/monastery of Zmin [M.138] a **vegetable garden** (πωμάριον; l. 18), with a **cistern** (λ[α]κκος), **olives** (ἐλαιοί), **date-palms** (φοίνικες) and a **large enclosure** (περιοχή) (l. 18-22), whereas in AD 527 it was still the (former) hermits' (ἐρημίτων) community to **rent out** some of its **land** (**P.Lond. V 1690** (AD 527)); in AD 565, the community purchases 3 *aruras* of **non-irrigated land** (part of the enclosure rented in the year before), situated in the *kōmē* of Aphroditō (**P.Lond. V 1686** (AD 565), l. 12-13); instead of direct payment, payment for the ἀστική συντέλεια for 14 *aruras* of cultivable (γεώργιον) land has been agreed; Barison (1938: no. XV/2).

P.Cair.Masp. II 67176⁶⁶ (AD 569)

Thebais I, Dayr Apa Apollōs (Aphroditō) [M.144]

FROM: Dioscorus.
 TO: Hegumen of the 'Mount of Pharoou'.
 SUBJECT: Cession (παραχώρησις) of land.
 EXTRACT: ...] *For it is agreed that according to our scrutiny (and) our counsel ... that the sons Anoup and Julius [monks], having entered the monastic life according to the advice of Mesiane their mother, ... are to share with Apa Papnoute, rightly and justly, going halves together.*
 COMMENT:
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: MacCoull (1988: 36-39); the fragment is continued by P.Alex. inv. 689, the affair resumed in P.Cair.Masp. III 67353.

P.Cair.Masp. II 67242 (AD 547, Aphroditō) is a contract in which the unidentified monastery of the hegumen Enōch [M.150] rents out some of its **landholdings**; Barison (1938: no. XIII/13).

P.Cair.Masp. III 67286 (AD 527/528)

Thebais I, District of Antaeopolis
 Aegyptus I, Metanoia [M.370]

FROM: Anastasios, Ischuriōn (monks from Antaeopolis, *diakonētai*).
 TO: *Protokomētai* of the *kōmē* Aphroditō.
 SUBJECT: Receipt.
 EXTRACT:
 COMMENT: Anastasios and Ischuriōn confirm, on behalf of their monastery (Metanoia-Canopus), the receipt of parts of the grain tax (δημόσιος σίτος, 5759 *artabas*), levied in their *kōmē*; the grain was delivered, by boat (πλοῖον), in September; **P.Cair. Masp. III 67347** (AD 527/528) lists the same agents signing a similar receipt; **P.Flor. III 298** (6th c.) lists different agents, Cosmas and Julianus, signing a similar receipt.
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. I/1).

P.Cair.Masp. III 67287 (5th/6th c., Aphroditō) is a list of **taxes** and **expenditures**; in col. IV, l. 13 a certain *monaz(ōn)* John occurs; Barison (1938: no. XXII p. 143).

P.Cair.Masp. III 67299 (5th/6th c.) is an emphyteutic contract relative to the unidentified *hagios oikos* of saint Phoibammōn (Antinoopolis?) [M.240], administered by two monastic stewards (Mēnas, γεγικ[ὸ]ς οἰκονόμος (l. 48) and Noumanios, ἰδικὸς οἰκονόμος (l. 48-49)); the stewards stipulate a contract with the advocate Phoibammōn who rents the monastic property: a **cultivated field** (ψιλὸν χώρημα; l. 9), its **dependences** (l. 10), an **enclosed surface** with **cisterns** and an **irrigator** (κυκλευτήριον; l. 11), **stallings** (l. 10-12) and two cells/huts (κέλλια); Arangio-Ruiz (1920: 22-27), Barison (1938: no. VIII/4).

⁶⁶ Ed. MacCoull (1985: 159-160); tr. MacCoull (1988: 37-38).

P.Cair.Masp. III 67312 (AD 567) Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Šinūda [M.122]

FROM: Flavius Theodoros (Aphroditō).
TO: Petros, on behalf of the δίκαιον.
SUBJECT: Testament (διαθήκη).
EXTRACT:
COMMENT: The testator bequeathes his **properties** (πάντα τὰ ἀκίνητα πράγματα, l. 55-56) in the Hermopolite, Antinoite, Panopolite nomes and possessions (οἰκία, στάβλον, 66-67) in the cities of Antinoopolis and Hermopolis Magna to the monastery of Shenoute in Atripe in the Panopolite nome; in l. 70-79 he stimulates that any profit from theses estates be redistributed for works of charity; a monastery of Apa Mousaios, unidentified, follows as the intended beneficiary of the **movable property**.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. XV/3), Timm (1984: II, 608).

P.Cair.Masp. III 67324 (5th/6th c.) Thebais I, Aphroditō (?)

FROM: Aurelios Pankab/Panouphis.
TO:
SUBJECT: Will (διαθήκη).
EXTRACT:
COMMENT: This will assures the monastery (τῷ ἀγίῳ μοναστηρίῳ) **wheat** (σίτου) and **wine** (οἶν[ο]) *in perpetuo*.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. XIII/55).

P.Cair.Masp. III 67347 (AD 527/528) Aegyptus I, Metanoia [M.370]
Thebais I, Antaeopolite nome

Cf. P.Cair.Masp. III 67286.

P.Cair.Masp. III 67353⁶⁷ (AD 569) Thebais I, Dayr Apa Apollōs (Aphroditō) [M.144]

FROM: Dioscorus.
TO:
SUBJECT: Cession (παραχώρησις) of land.
EXTRACT:
COMMENT: Any previous arrangements (P.Cair.Masp. II 67176r, P.Alex. inv. 689) are abrogated, and the *dominium* has passed its former possessor, whether the mother of the two half-brothers by themselves, to be vested jointly in the two monks and the monastic superior Apa Papnoute, who has apparently already put money into the property.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: MacCoull (1988: 41-45).

P.Camb. UL Green 6 (7th/8th c.) is a **money-loan** agreement involving monks of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190] as creditors/debtors; Clackson (2000: no. 42 and p. 27), Wipszycka (2001: 178).

P.Camb. UL Michael. 856/5 (8th c.) is a **tax-** ('tithe'-) **collection** guarantee relative to Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]; Clackson (2000: no. 4 and p. 17-23).

P.Camb. UL Michael. 1201 (8th c.) is a **money-loan** agreement involving monks of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190] as creditors/debtors; Clackson (2000: no. 43 and p. 27), Wipszycka (2001: 178).

P.Camb. UL Michael. Q102 (B) (ca. AD 750) is a **tax-** (ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ) demand issued to a monk of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]; Clackson (2000: no. 30 and p. 24-25), Wipszycka (2001: 179).

Chrest.Wilck. I 134 (6th/7th c., al-Fayyūm) is a letter addressed to a hegumen; the editor infers from τὸ ἔθος τοῦ κτήματος (l. 7-8) that the village Pinar, where a conflict had broken out, was in some way related to a/the monastery of Serenus [M.314]; Barison (1938: no. IV/10).

CLT 1 (AD 698)⁶⁸ Thebais II, [Apa Paulos [M.080]]

FROM: Moses (monk).
TO: Apa Daniel, Apa Iakob, Apa Athanasios (monks of the monastery).
SUBJECT: Discharge (amerimneia).
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] I gave 20 holokottinos to them; I adjured them in the name of God to take them from me and

⁶⁷ Ed./tr. MacCoull (1988: 41-43).

⁶⁸ Schiller (1932: 9).

give them in **dispensation/charity** [ἀΓΑΠΗ] for my miserable soul, so that the Lord God should not overlook any of my wishes. [...] giving them as offerings [προσεχή] for me in their **work with the needy** [ΖΙΤΕ ΝΧΝΔΖ], either as to clothing [ΖΒCΩ] or any monastic need [...]

COMMENT: Moses' life-story, after his recovery, continues in CLT 2 (AD 703).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wipszycka (2001: 176).

CLT 3 (AD 744/759)⁶⁹ Thebais II, [Apa Paulos [M.080]]

FROM: Chaël, John (serfs of the kastron Ġēme).

TO: Pagarch ('amīr)⁷⁰.

SUBJECT: Surety for person on furlough⁷¹.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] we request your revered lordship to order that a **permit** (CΙΓΕΛΛΙΝ) be given to them for the period of three months from today on, so that they find a way to go north and **sell** their small amount of **rope** (ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΙΔ ΝΝΟΥΖ), which is the result of their labours (ΖΙΤΕ) and their life. [...] And they paid that which was due of them as **taxes** (ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ) for the 12th indiction. + One list of permits for three persons for three months, permitting them to go to the Arsinoite nome. [...]

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Winlock (1926: I, 155).

CLT 4 (AD 672/687)⁷² Thebais II, [Apa Paulos [M.080]]

FROM: Merkurios (resident of Koptos).

TO: Apa Daniel, Apa Iakob, Apa Athanasios (hegumens).

SUBJECT: Discharge (amerimneia).

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] I sold to you a **millstone** [ΠΥΛΗ ΗΩΝΕ] which I set up in the inheritance of my fathers [at 2 trimesia of gold] [...] You set it up in the **workshop** (ΠΚΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ [i.e., bakery]) of your noble monastery for the bread of the brethren and the expenses of the **charity of the poor** (ΧΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΕΤΡΑΠΙΖΔ ΝΝΖΗΚΕ). [...]

COMMENT: A release, acknowledging that the addressor has received full payment for a millstone set up in the monastery of Apa Paulos.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Col. inv. 261 (5th/6th c.) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn I [M.056] (?)

FROM: Phoibammōn (presbyter).

TO: Hegumen (unknown).

SUBJECT: Letter of recommendation.

TRANSCRIPTION:

COMMENT: Phoibammōn writes in favour of Petros, πρεσβύτερος τοῦ ἁγίου μαρτυρίου ἁπα Φοιβάμμωνος ('Dorfpriesterstelle'), whose 2 aruras of arable land at the martyrion of Phoibammōn do not meet his (nutritional) demands; the relationship between Petros and the hegumen remains unclear.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eideneier (1970).

CPR IV 17 (K 4900) (8th c.) Arcadia (Heptanomis), Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334] (?)

FROM: Isaak (monk).

TO: Monk (unknown).

SUBJECT: Stand-in for personal shipping duty.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] I, Isaak, the son of the blessed Abraham, the monk of the holy Apa Jer[emias] (?) on the Mountain (ΤΟΡΟΥ) of Memphis⁷³, (?) I write to Theodore [...] the monk of the same τόπος: I have

⁶⁹ Schiller (1932: 10).

⁷⁰ Cf. fn. 27.

⁷¹ Other surety documents are KRU 115. 119; O.Crum 29. 42. 48. 81. 86. 133; O.CrumST 55. 426; P.Epiph. 255. 458; sigillia at Memphis: Sethe (1920: 510-511); at Hermopolis Magna: CPR 120-122; at Aphroditō: Kenyon (1893: IV, appendix, no. 1540. 1633); in Greek: P.Lond. IV 1419, 1328-; Dayr Apa Jeremiah (Saqqāra) [M.334]: Krall (1885: 72), CPR IV 20.

⁷² Schiller (1932: 11).

⁷³ 'Apa Jeremias vom Berge von Memphis' ist weit mehr geraten als gelesen' (Till 1958: 15).

COMMENT: been appointed chief ... of the **karabion-boatmen** (ΒΕΛΘ ΝΠΝΥΕΚΑΡΔΒ), to go and to be a boatman (?) for this [...] year of the indiction (?). I came to ask you, you have gone for me [...]
Isaac, appointed as a karabion-boatman for one year, makes an agreement with a fellow monk to stand in for this duty; the payment (ΒΕΚΕ ΝΟΥΡΟ, 'reward of the king') is 4½ nomismata; on sailors raised by conscription, cf. Bell (1893: IV, xxxiv-xxxv); a similar note from Arsinoë (al-Fayyūm) for a payment of wages for the (non-monastic) sailors of the Arab fleet was published in Grohmann (1957: no. 13).

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

CPR IV 20 (K 10116) is a security for a fellow-monk (Abraham) of Dayr Apa Jeremiah (Saqqāra) [M.334] (?) who wants to travel to Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ); the monks guarantee Abraham's payment of the **tax** (δημόσιον).

CPR IV 82 (K 1354) (8th c.) Unknown, [Iambar]

FROM: Pek[y] (monk, winegrower).
TO: Apa (?) Agena (rope-dealer?).
SUBJECT: Acknowledgement of a debt for wine.
TRANSCRIPTION: In the name of God. I, Pek[y], the **winegrower** (σμε), the son of the blessed Stephane, from the holy monastery (ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗ) of Iambar, [...] living on the estate (ΚΤΗΜΑ) of the Lord Christod-(oros, -otos, ulos?), I write to Apa (?) Agena, the **rope-dealer** (σίππας)⁷⁴ (?), [the son] of the blessed [...] who lives in the city: [...] I owe you [...] 3 gold-holokottinoi (ζολοκ⁷) [...]

COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

CPR IV 117 is a **lease** for a limited term (μισθώσις, ἐπιτροπή) for 1 aroura; the owner is the deacon of St. Theodore (unidentified), represented by the deacon Apa Biktor, the phrontistēs.

CPR IV 128 (Hermopolis) is an emphyteutic lease by the owner, the dikaion of an unidentified monastery (?), of a 'little house' with its appointments.

CPR IV 140 (Hermopolis) is a phoros-receipt drawn up by an unidentified monastery, issued by Petros, its proestōs.

CPR IV 146 (K 3145) (8th c.) Thebais I, [Apa Jeremiah [M.214]]

FROM: Apa Salomon (hegumen), Petros (scribe), on behalf of the ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ of the monastery.
TO: Apa [...]mon (priest in Hermopolis Magna/Šmūn).
SUBJECT: Receipt for a hereditary lease.
TRANSCRIPTION: The ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ of the holy monastery (ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ) of Apa Jeremias in the south of the city (ΠΟΛΙΣ) of Antin(ou), (represented) by Apa Salomon, the God-loved priest and superior (ἡγ[ο]ς) of the very same monastery[, (represented) by me (?)], Petros, I write to Apa [...]mon, the priest of Šmūn (ΩΜΟΥΝ): [I have] received [...] the 33 keratia (κερ⁷) which you pay to us as a **rent** (ΠΑΚΤΟΝ) of the **hereditary lease** (ΕΜΦΗΤΕΥΜΑ) for this 12th year of the indiction [...]

COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

CPR IV 147 (K 3145) (8th c.) Unknown, [Herwōğ [M.232]]

FROM: Pahomo (deacon, steward), on behalf of the ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ of the θυσιαστήριον of the holy Herwōğ.
TO: 'Heirs of the blessed master John'.
SUBJECT: Receipt for hereditary lease.
TRANSCRIPTION: The ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ of the holy ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ of the holy Herwōğ (ζερωγω[x]), represented by me, the deacon and **steward** (ΩΚΩΝΟΜΟΣ) Pahomo, [and the community of the] clerics of the same ΤΟΠΟΣ, [we write to the] heirs (ΚΛΗΡΟΥΝΟΜΟΣ) of the blessed master John: We have received [...] the **rent** (ΠΑΚΤΟΝ) which you had paid to us for the house (ΗΙ) according to (ΠΡΟΣ) [...] the **hereditary lease** (ΕΜΦΗΤΕΥΜΑ) [...]

COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

⁷⁴ Styppax?

CPR IV 152 (K 4917) (7th c.)

Thebais I, Hermopolis Magna

FROM: Severos, on behalf of Theophilē (nun, from Hermopolis Magna/Šmūn?).
TO: Apa Basile (from Šmūn).
SUBJECT: Receipt for rent.
TRANSCRIPTION: *I, the nun (ΜΟΝΑΧΗ) Theophilē [...], (represented) by me, Severos, her son [...]: I have received [...] the **rent** (ΠΑΚΤΟΝ) which you for me for your [house] and [...]*
COMMENT: This papyrus belongs to the so-called 'Shenoute-archive'; Shenoute was a 7th-c. ΔΗΥΣΤΗΣ, 'lawyer' in Šmūn (Hermopolis Magna/al-Ašmunayn); Till (1958: x).

CPR IV 153 (K 4917) (8th c.)

Unknown, [Herwōğ [M.232]] (?)

FROM: Justa (deacon, steward).
TO: Herwōğ.
SUBJECT: Receipt for a hereditary lease.
TRANSCRIPTION: *...] I have received [...] from you the **hereditary lease** (ΕΜΦΥΤΕΥΜΑ) for the house of the τοπος, [...]*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

CPR IV 191 (K 3148) (7th c.) refers to the **tax** (ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ) (?) paid by an (unknown) τοπος: John, hegumen in the πολις Šmūn (Hermopolis Magna), is the third to witness the agreement.

CPR VIII 37 (4th c., Hermopolite nome) is a list of **wheat-delivery** to the **baker** S[y]ros (ἀρτοκόπος) of the τόπος of the bishop Dios [M.134] (5+6 *artabas*); to Hermes, the baker of the τόπος of Herminos [M.206] (20+2 *artabas*); Lelenes, the baker of an unidentified τόπος (6 *artabas*) (Timm 1984: VI, 2793. 2808-2809); Kelelythios, the baker of the τόπος of Neilammōn [M.210] (8 *artabas*); Kornelios, the baker of (the τόπος of?) Helladios [M.204] (12 *artabas*); the total amount of delivery is 53 *artabas*.

CPR X 8 (AD 609)

Arcadia Heptanomis, [Ptolemais [M.312]]

FROM: Stephanos (employee (δοῦλος) of the church of the Theotokos von Arsinoë).
TO: John (ἀπαιτητής Πτολεμαίδος).
SUBJECT: Order for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Stephanos orders John to hand over 2½ *artabas*/week of **bitter vetch** (ῥοβος) for the **fodder** (τροφή) of 1 **bull** (ταύρος) and six **cows** (βούδια) belonging to the monastery of Ptolemais; the animals were fed by Samūn, a former tenant (προγεωργός) of the monastery; CPR X 9 (AD 609) is identical with CPR X 8, with the difference that Stephanos then feeds 3 bulls and x cows (6¼ *artabas*); Samūn, again, is the animal-keeper, and the monastery is not mentioned explicitly.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

CPR X 9 (AD 609)

Arcadia Heptanomis, [Ptolemais [M.312]]

Cf. CPR X 8.

CPR X 52 (7th c.)

Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Serenus [M.314]]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Two letters and an account of *erica* wood purchases.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Letters A (l. 1-15) and B (l. 16-20), addressed to ἡ ἀδελφότης σου (i.e. *fraternitas*, Wipszycka (1974: 220)), concern the **pressing and drawing of wine** from the press into the jars; the wine is in danger of being 'lost' through evaporation because of the unavailability of jars into which to transfer it; then follows an account 'list of **erica wood** bought from different farmers of the village of Boutō for the account of the glorious landlord, as follows: (l. 31) from the monastery (κοιν[ι]) of saint Serenus, 1 *erica* (ἔρικ) for 5 *artabas* of wheat (σίτος)'.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Dubl. 29 (AD 628/643)

Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Abba Isak [M.304]]

FROM: Aioulios/Pekusios (watchman?), Panauei (chief assistant).

TO: Abba Isak (prebyter, hegumen of the monastery of the monks of (?) Abba Isak).
SUBJECT: Receipt for payment of wages.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Aioulios/Pekusios and Panauei acknowledge the receipt of ½ *solidus* from the abbot of the monastery, as **payment** for late Anoup; the editor considers it reasonable that they were employed as 'watchmen' (*excubitores*) somewhere on the property of the monastery, or in one of its operations (McGing 1995: 156).
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schmelz (2002: 189).

P.Dubl. 32 and 33 (AD 512) are guarantees in form of a sale of cells (μοναστήρια) for the price of 8 *solidi* and 1200 *myriads* of large silver (P.Dubl. 32)/10 *solidi* (P.Dubl. 33) at the Melitian *proastion*-monastery of Labla [M.310], district of Arsinoë.

P.Duk. inv. 1140⁷⁵ (6th/7th c.) Unknown

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: List of items, perhaps (to be) bought or transported.
TRANSCRIPTION: [l. 1] [ἵνιν νιτρίν α.
COMMENT: [ἵνιν] could be the measure or container of natron, though the editor is not sure of what it actually is; νιτρίν, diminutive of νίτρον, '**natron**'; ὑπ(ὲρ) νίτρον appears on the recto of a 6th c. short account (P.Oxy. X 1343).
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Epiph. 84 (7th c.) Thebais II, [Apa Joannēs [M.076]]

TYPE: Ostrakon.
FROM: Severos (priest of the τόπος of Apa Joannēs).
TO: Phoibammōn/Plōs (camel-driver).
SUBJECT: Camel rental.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] I am willing to pay you 1/5 of the **return** (ΓΕΝΗΜΑ)⁷⁶ of the **camel** (ΚΑΜΟΥΧΑ). [...] I will provide all the fodder (ΤΡΟΦΥ) for the **camel** and the equipment from my share (ΜΕΡΟΣ) of the return. If I send you [to bring] something to a brethren or to a secular person (ΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΝ) and they do not pay you for the cargo, I will see to it that you will go your own route to the extent of that route [i.e., he will be allowed to do his **own business** on his own account, to the extent of the route which has not been paid]. On feast-days I will add [i.e., to your payment] the blessing (ΣΜΟΥ, '**Segensabgabe**') of the τόπος, accordingly. [...
COMMENT:

P.Epiph. 85 (7th c.) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068] (?)

TYPE: Ostrakon.
FROM: Arōn, Gedeōn.
TO: Apa Petrōnios (τιμιώτατος; monk on the 'Mountain of Ĝēme').
SUBJECT: Contract of cultivation.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] you have given us for our urgent need 2 holokottinos. We, for our part, are willing to **fill** (χο) you 2 aruras of soil with **flax** (ΜΑΞΕ) during the sowing of this 12th year of the Indiction. We will work on them agricultural work and without dispute we will **irrigate** († ΝΕΥΜΟΟΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ) them. You, however, will deal with us according to the **law for canal-workers** (ΝΟΜΟΝΟΝ.Η) (?) [...
COMMENT:

P.Epiph. 90* is the acknowledgement by a priest of Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068] of a **debt** to be paid in 50 jars (ΔΓΓΗΝ) of **wine**, [at the next] harvest, in 'baskets', as elsewhere.

P.Epiph. 92 is the acknowledgement of a **debt** in which Hllō, monk of Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068], had taken 7 gold *solidi* from John and Abraham, traders of Ĝēme.

P.Epiph. 113 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is a letter; it shows part of a request as to ropes, which the writer lacks.

⁷⁵ <http://odyssey.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/1140.html>; ed. Gonis (2000: 79-81).

⁷⁶ *Genēma* (Till 1964: 73); different, following O.Crum 220: 'fodder-crop' (Winlock - Crum 1926: II, 173).

P.Epiph. 126 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is a letter; it begins with an apology for lack of papyrus; reference is made to a book (possibly to its binding) and to the writer's coming south.
P.Epiph. 168, is a letter to John of Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068] encouraging him to accept **money**, 20 še, for the writer is 'unable to **reap**, neither has he other **craft** (τεχνη), nor can he go south, by reason of the sickness that is on him'.

P.Epiph. 279 Thebais II, Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]

TYPE: Ostrakon.
FROM: Peter (deacon).
TO: Elias, Isaac (fathers).
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] your holy and truly devout fathership. Hereafter: I inform your holiness that need has arisen of half a solidus worth of **linen** (ογπιδωε ἰζ[βοc?]). Please send it to me by this letter-carrier [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Epiph. 283 is a letter from Daniel to Hllō, member of the brotherhood of Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]; Daniel enquires about the promised **jars** (ἄλλακων), their price (τιμη) and transport by camel (καμογλ).
P.Epiph. 301 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is a letter to Apa Joseph (?) in which the sender writes he had sent an oipe of **corn** (κογο) and four **diplae** of **wine** (ηρῖ); the wine had been valued at 40 še.
P.Epiph. 312 is a request, addressed to Psan of Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068] (?) for **pots** (ωοωογ?) for the **water-machines** (οργ[αν]ον).
P.Epiph. 314 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is a letter that mentions the cleansing/washing of corn/wheat (κογο).
P.Epiph 350 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is an internal request for **linen** (εἰλαγ) within the monastic community.

P.Epiph. 351 Thebais II, Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]

TYPE: Ostrakon.
FROM: Frange (monk).
TO: Enoch (monk).
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: Before (coming to) my humblest affair, I write and greet my dear brother Enoch. See, this covering for laying upon the mouth of the jar of herbs have I sent you by brother Daniel. Be so brotherly and be so good and send me some **linen** (ἱλαγ) by brother Daniel. For I have some **bandages** (καίρεα)⁷⁷ mounted upon the **loom** (νατ) and have not found linen, wherewith to finish them. (So) now I pray you to send me one (lot), cleansed, that I may finish them. If you do (so) on my account, I will complete the **garments** (λαλαγ, 'things') (?) and will bring it north and pay you for the linen.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wipszycka (2001: 178-179).

P.Epiph. 352* attests to the transport of a loom at Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068].

P.Epiph. 353 Thebais II, Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]

TYPE: Ostrakon.
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: When I came away from you and said, 'Two solidi,' I did not deceive you. Here you are, the 150 **bundies of flax** (ἄμμηρ ἄμλαζε) have I finished; if you would have them delivered, send to me and I will deliver them. If again you would that I leave them here, send me the costs. Here you are, I have **bleached** (λεγκη)⁷⁸ the **linen** (ἄεῖω)⁷⁹. If you would that I send them to you, send to me. I have paid 1 1½ carats for **chaff** (τω2).

⁷⁷ Kairia, 'tape, cord'.
⁷⁸ Leukainein or leukoun.
⁷⁹ The 'literary' term εἰλαγ often occurs as εἰω in the documents (Winlock - Crum 1926: II, 246).

COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Epiph. 355 is a letter in which Joseph, 'all our brethren' (of Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068] (?)) and the purchase of good **linen** (...)ⲱⲡⲏ ⲛⲉⲓⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ), to be sent north, are referred to.
P.Epiph. 359 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is an internal request for linen clothes (ⲁⲃⲟⲥ), 'for there is need (thereof)'.
P.Epiph. 363 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068] (?)) is a request for **linen** (ⲉⲓⲁⲁⲩ), from Epiphanius to Jacob.

P.Epiph. 367 Thebais II, Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]

TYPE: Ostrakon.
FROM: Biktor.
TO: John.
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: *This humblest Biktor writes (unto) John, (saying,) Be so good, the brethren have produced (ⲁⲡⲟ) (?) the **linen clothes** (ⲛⲉⲁⲃⲟⲥ)⁸⁰. Send and take them, if so be they have not sold them. We greet you all, my brethren. Farewell in the Lord.*

COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Epiph. 369 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is an internal request for **linen clothes** (ⲁⲃⲟ[ⲟⲥ]); none of the correspondants seems to be member of the monastic community.
P.Epiph. 371 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is a request to a brethren to have **shoes** (ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ) repaired.
P.Epiph. 372 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is an internal request for **linen** (ⲉⲓⲁⲁⲩ).

P.Epiph. 380 Thebais II, Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]

TYPE: Ostrakon.
FROM: Pesenthios.
TO: Peter.
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: *...] Be so kind and go unto the dwelling of Athanasius, the son of Sabinus, the craftsman (ⲡⲉⲣⲉ ⲉⲓⲟⲛⲉ), and get good **goat skins** (ⲱⲁⲁⲣ ⲛⲉⲃⲁⲙⲡⲉ), either 3 or 4, or whatsoever you shall find of good (ones); and bring them to me, that I may choose one therefrom for this **book** (ⲁⲱⲱⲙⲉ). [...*

COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Epiph. 398 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is a letter relating to five **coils of rope** (ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲩ ⲙⲉⲣ).
P.Epiph. 404 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is an admonition by Šenoute to Apa Psan, the anchorite, in which Šenoute threatens to mulct Psan of 300 **jars** (ⲛⲱⲁⲱⲟⲩ).
P.Epiph. 408 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is a request by Epiphanius to Andrew to 'come up' and bring the **ass** for transport.
P.Epiph. 438 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) deals with a request for (**goat-**)**hair** (ⲁⲁⲕ), **skins** (ⲱⲁⲣ) and **ropes** (ⲛⲁⲩⲩ).
P.Epiph. 446* (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is a recital of past transactions in which the word ⲃⲁⲉⲓⲧ, 'ox', occurs; a **skin** (ⲱⲁⲣ), mentioned in l. 7, may be referred to in l. 10: 'What time do you have need of it, send and fetch it'.
P.Epiph. 519 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is an account of expenditures of one (monk?) since he had come in; amongst expenses for victuals there occur those for a **camel** (ⲕⲁⲙⲟⲩⲁ; seven [solidi]) and for a man from Tabennēs⁸¹.

P.Epiph. 521 Thebais II, Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]

TYPE: Ostrakon.
FROM:
TO:

⁸⁰ 20800C.

⁸¹ Either the site of the Pachomian monastery [M.100] or Taut, a location ca. 19 km downstream (Winlock - Crum 1926: 196).

SUBJECT: List of payment to monastic servants.
TRANSCRIPTION: *Apa Elias, 9 še. Apa Abraam, 5 še. Apa Peter, (a) carat. Isaac, 5 še. Elias, 5 še. Brother Anania(s), 5 še. Brother David, 5 še. Brother Joseph, 16 še. Brother Constantine, one carat. Brother [...], 5 [še ...*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wipszycka (2001: 175).

P.Epiph. 532 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is a record of receipts and payments; **wine** (ⲏⲣⲏ), **reed (-s gathering;** ⲟⲗⲕⲁⲙ), **lentils** (ⲁⲣⲱⲓⲛⲉ), other work are exchanged for **bandages/grave-clothes** (ⲥⲉⲣⲏ).

P.Epiph. 534 Thebais II, Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]

TYPE: Ostrakon.
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account of castor-oil.
TRANSCRIPTION: *I (?) sent Constantine and Jacob in Mesorē. I (gave) to them 12 pair. They brought 16 ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲁⲥ of **ricinus** (ⲧⲏⲕⲙⲥ) and 400 kōr (ⲕⲱⲣ)⁸². They gave another 'hand' to a poor man. They made 5 pair and I allowed 4 ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲁⲥ unto them thereof. They gave the other 7 pair unto the woman-dealer.*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Winlock (1926: I, 147).

P.Epiph. 537 Thebais II, Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]

TYPE: Ostrakon.
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: *...] 3 **baskets** (ⲓⲃⲓⲣ) that I completed on the last day, if you want (to choose), of Parmhatp; they ate me 18 of them that day; for they had made me answerable for the **linen clothes** (ⲛⲟⲥ). The priest and his sons, at the time when they came, they ate me another 10. I (paid) them other 15 on my part, for Moses. (He? paid) me other 27, beyond them (?). What they ate as **wage** (ⲃⲉⲕⲓ!) (?), at the time I took the linen clothes away. I completed the other basket on the 14th of Parmhatp.*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Epiph. 554 (Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is a **list of books**; includes writings on papyrus (ⲕⲁⲣⲧⲏⲥ) and parchment (ⲙⲏⲃⲣⲁⲛⲟⲛ)⁸³; other lists of books are **P.Epiph. 556*** and **557***.

P.Epiph. 556*/557* Thebais II, Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]

Cf. P.Epiph. 554.

P.Epiph. 631⁸⁴ (6th/7th c., Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]) is a list of **grain**.

'Ex-von Scherling 27' may be a **tax-** ('tithe'-) **collection** guarantee relative to Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwī?) [M.190] (?); it mentions the payment of the **pactum** (ⲛⲁⲕⲧⲉ) in **salt** (ⲛⲙⲟⲩ); Clackson (2000: no. 6 and p. 17-23).

P.Fay.Copt. 17 Arcadia (Heptanomis), Dayr al-Ḥammām [M.306]

TYPE: Papyrus.
FROM: Mēna.
TO: Petros (presbyter).
SUBJECT: Letter
TRANSCRIPTION: *...] Next, send this monk (ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲭⲟⲥ), my brother John, the **mason** (ⲥⲁⲛⲱⲭⲱⲧ) (?), to [-], that he may*

⁸² A fraction of the carat (Winlock – Crum 1926: II, no. 535 fn. 2).

⁸³ Membrana.

⁸⁴ Id. SB IV 7484.

[...] for these cattle of ours [...] and send this [...], the builder of yours (?), that he may build the stables for the cattle, according to God's will. [...]

COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Fay.Copt. 35 mentions the payment (εζογι) by the hegumen of an unidentified monastery of x holokottinos for an unspecified product; the Coptic is purely Sahidic.

P.Fay.Copt. 45⁸⁵ Arcadia (Heptanomis), Dayr al-Ḥammām [M.306]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Wine-merchant's register of sale.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: L. 10 mentions πωνε, obviously a place name, 'the Rock' (πέτρα) (Crum 1893: 65).
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Clackson (2000: no. 114. 116).

P.Flor. I 71 (ca. AD 350) Thebais I, District of Hermopolis Magna

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Land-/tax-register
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: No mention of μοναστήριον/μονή, respectively μοναχός; one ἀποτακτικός, Makarios, is mentioned in l. 722.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jones (1953), Bowman (1985), Bagnall (1992: 128).

P.Flor. III 285 (AD 552, Aphroditō) lists the monastery of the Oasitai [M.167] in the homonymous place; the monastery rents out 1/3 of the 'oil-factory' (ἐλαιουργίον) situated in the monastery-owned *diakonia* at Aphroditō; the *diakonia* houses the press, a cistern and a building for accomodation; Barison (1938: no. XIV) and P.Lond. IV 1419.

P.Flor. III 297 (6th c.) mentions an unidentified monastery in the district of Aphroditō, subject to taxation; Barison (1938: no. XIII/45).

P.Flor. III 298 (6th c.) Thebais I, District of Antaeopolis
Aegyptus I, Metanoia [M.370]

Cf. P.Cair.Masp. III 67286

P.Fouad I 87 (6th c.) Thebais I, ['Near Stratonikis' [M.154]]
Aegyptus I, Metanoia [M.370]

FROM: Abba Andreas (in a monastery of Aphroditō, near the μοναστήριον Στρατονικίδος).
TO: Abba George (προεστώς of the monastery of Μετανοία).
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] the megaloprepestatos John has arrived at the **port** (ὄρμος) of the monastery of Aphroditō [...]
COMMENT: The letter deals with an inspection following mal-administration ('neither a single drop of (olive-) oil (ἐλάϊνος), one knidion of wine (οἶνος), nor 10 artabas of wheat (σίτος) are left'; l. 16-17) of the Pachomian monastery by a monastic agent (διακονητής) from the Μετανοία [M.370], Alexandria; one may infer that, with its **economic contributions** (διοικήσεις), the monastery at Aphroditō 'dépassait certainement les questions d'assistance sociale; et nous les verrions aussi bien s'étendre à l'armée' (Gascou 1976: 177); the document belongs to a series of letters, **P.Fouad I 86-89**, which share the same sender and addressee.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gascou (1976: 163-177).

P.Fouad I 86. 88 and 89 (6th c.) Thebais I, ['Near Stratonikis' [M.154]]
Aegyptus I, Metanoia [M.370]

Cf. P.Fouad 87

⁸⁵ Id. P.Lond.Copt. I 692.

P.Fouad inv. 247⁸⁶ (AD 589)

Thebais I, Dayr Apa Apollōs (Aphroditō) [M.144]

FROM: Flavius Jo(h)annes (pagarch of Aphroditō).

TO: Ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ μου(αστηρίου) Ἀβ(βᾶ) Ἀπολλῶτ(ος).

SUBJECT:

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] You have given us ..., for the **embolē** of the seventh indiction, through ... of the **port** of Helenē, 40 artabas of **wheat** (σίτος) [...]COMMENT: The port of Helenē being the loading platform of the monastery, Rémondon (1952: 67) hypothesizes the existence of monastic **boats** (πλοῖα ἀποστολικά).

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Freer 08.45 a+b⁸⁷ (pre-AD 524) is the so-called 'Aphrodito Cadaster', published in 1987; it lists eight or nine monasteries situated in the kōmē of Aphroditō and is dealt with in sect. II.2.2.1 (landownership) and III.1.5.2 (wine). Zuckerman (2004: 266-233) counts only seven monasteries. Unfortunately his publication came to my attention only in late September 2005.

P.Genova II 69 (4th c.) is a receipt relative to grain (σίτος) loaded onto a ship to Alexandria 'in the name of the monē'; both the provenience of the papyrus and the monē are unknown.

P.Giss. I 56 (AD 537)

Thebais I, District of Hermopolis Magna

FROM: Wine-grower (unknown).

TO: Monastery (unknown).

SUBJECT: Lease (μίσθωσις) of land (vineyard).

TRANSCRIPTION:

COMMENT: 10 years-**lease** of a of a monastic **vineyard**/garden between an unidentified monastery and a wine-grower; the leased property includes a **cistern** (λάκκος ὁλόκληρος), a **sāqiya** (κυκλευτήριον), a **stable** for oxen (βοοστ(άσιον)) and **tools for pressing** (ξυκλικὸν ὄργανον); situated at Φαυ, it consists of the vineyard and some γῆδια of arable land; it has been agreed that half of the **yield/revenues** would go to the owner, i.e. to the monastery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. IX/5).

P.Giss. III 103 (4th c.)

Thebais II, Al-Hārīḡa Oasis

FROM: Apollonios (bishop?).

TO: Stephanos (deacon).

SUBJECT:

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] bring me, when you come, three litres of **linen** (τρῖς λίτρας τῶν σιππίων) [...] your brother Hierax has given to Theodore, son of Hierax, one tunica (κολόβιον), so that he will **sell** it. [...]

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ghedini (1923: no. XXIV).

P.Giss. I 117 (ca. AD 350) is a **land-/tax-register** of the Hermopolite and Antinoopolite nomes; similar to P.Flor. 71, it lists, for the major part, the same names; Bowman (1985), Bagnall (1992: 128).

P.Grenf. I 90 (6th c.) is an acknowledgement of a **debt** due from Flavius Psensoerius to John, a notary; the annual interest was arranged being five jars of **wine** (οἶνος) μέτρῳ τοῦ εὐαγοῦς μοναστηρίου Ἀββᾶ Ἀγενοῦς [M.024] (l. 13-14); Barison (1938: no. XX/1).

P.Grenf. II 95 (6th c.) is a receipt showing that the church of Apollinopolis Magna had paid for the provision of 'the most noble Scythians of Justinian's corps', quartered in the monastery of Baullos [M.030], 2 *solidi* 21 *carats*, being the half-yearly instalment due.

P.Gron. 8 (6th c.) is a tax-receipt issued by local authorities (σιτόλογος) to Petros/Neilammōn, a villager of an unknown ἐποίκιον; the wheat (σίτος) delivered was weighed μέτρ(ω) δ(οχικῶ) μου(αστηρίου); Barison (1938: no. XXI/21).

P.Hamb. I 68 (AD 530, Aphroditō) is a rental contract in which the unidentified monastery of Genealios [M.152] rents out – for 6 years – some of its property (κτῆμα); a yearly sum of 4 *artabas* of **wheat** (σίτος) and 1 *artaba* of **barley** (φορικός) per *arura* has been stipulated, irrespective of the hydrological, i.e., flooding conditions (ἐν τελείῳ καὶ ἀβροχικῶ, ὃ μὴ εἴη, φορᾶς τε καὶ ἀφορίας; l. 15); the terrain would

⁸⁶ Ed. Rémondon (1952).⁸⁷ Ed. Gascou (1987).

be measured yearly, μετρω τοῦ ὄρους (i.e., of the monastery; l. 39-40); furthermore, the monastery secures for itself a share of the **income/yield**, in money and kind, of the **date-palms** (φοίνικες; l. 31-36), **oil** (έλαιον), **plums** (μυξαία), **orchard** (πωμάριον) and **reeds** (καλαμεία) (l. 34-36); 13 *artabas* of wheat (incl. the salaries of the woodcutters (?)) have been stipulated for the use of the two ξύλινοι [ὄργανοι] (l. 37-40); in addition, the lessee would have to pay annually 2 φόροι of **wine**, 12 rounds (ἀγγία) of **meat**, 4 κολοβά of λεμψάνη ('Ackersenf') and 100 pieces of good, dry **cheese** (τυρὸς ξηρὸς καλὸς) (l. 40-42); Barison (1938: no. XIII/9).

P.Harr. inv. 130 c⁸⁸ (6th c.) is a fragment of a contract relating to ἡ ἀγία πέτρα, i.e. the monastery of the βορρινὴ πέτρα ('Northern Rock') of Antinoopolis [M.236] (?).

P.HermitageCopt. 3 (8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190]

FROM: Enoch et al. (monks).

TO: Apa Georgios (archimandrite), on behalf of the δίκαιον of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt).

SUBJECT: Lease of monastery land to monks.

TRANSCRIPTION:

COMMENT: Lifetime lease (μίσθωσις) given by the monastery for eight *arouras* of waterless (ἄτμοος) land (i.e., non-inundated land, ἄβροχος γῆ?) in the small meadow of Senesla⁸⁹ previously exchanged with the men of Senesla (being waterless, it is taxed at a lower rate); a payment of 2 *solidi* less 22½ *keratia*, per year (?), has been stipulated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Clackson (2000: no. 26 and p. 23), Wipszycka (2001: 178).

P.HermitageCopt. 7 (8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190]

FROM: Council of the settlement of Pōrahēu.

TO: Athanase (scribe, master, προεστώς of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt)).

SUBJECT: Sale of land to the monastery.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Whereas we agreed with you to sell you three good **arouras of fodder** (2πε) and twenty-five **arouras of pasturage** (μο[ο]νε) in the meadow of our settlement, we allot you them (according to the **measure of the monastery** (βαλ[η] [μ]οναχ[τ]?)⁹⁰ [...] we state that we have received and have been paid in full by you our price as we had agreed it with one another, which is two *solidi* less half a *tremissis*, i.e., gold *solidi* 1 (+) ½ (+) 1/3. [...]

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Clackson (2000: no. 24 and p. 23).

P.HermitageCopt. 14 (8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: Wine account.

TRANSCRIPTION:

COMMENT: Account of **wine** payments, probably made by the monastery; payees are from ecclesiastical, monastic and lay milieux, and some of the entries may represent tax payments to the *šaliou*⁹¹ and payments to the Arab administration; the *šaliou* are the only to be credited **boiled wine** (ἐψημα)⁹².

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Clackson (2000: no. 45 and p. 27).

P.HermitageCopt. 16 (8th c.)

Cf. P.HermitageCopt. 14.

P.Horak 10 (AD 555)

Thebais I, Dayr Nazlat Tūna (?) [M.198]

FROM: Aurelius.

⁸⁸ Ed. Gonis (1998-1999: no. 7).

⁸⁹ Location in the Leukopyrgites Anō toparchy of the Hermopolite nome (Clackson 2000: 84).

⁹⁰ βα, 'date-palm branch', and, more specifically, a measure of length.

⁹¹ Local officials involved in the collection of taxes and (other) levies (Clackson 2000: 25).

⁹² Cf. P.Bala'izah 312; for comparison, in P.HermitageCopt. 16 (8th c.) an Arab called Salei is credited with the massive amount of 1005 *kollatha* of boiled wine, the payer belonged to the clergy (priest and *oikonomos*).

TO: 'Authorities of the holy martyion of St. John'.
SUBJECT: Land lease.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] To the authorities (δίκαιοι) of the holy martyion of St. John, for 5 1/3 arouras, and of the holy martyion of the Holy Tree Martyrs of the Holy Serapeum for another 2 arouras lying in the plain (?) of the village of Thynis⁹³ of the Hermopolite nome [...] I acknowledge voluntarily and of my own free will that I have **leased** (μεμισθῶσθαι) from the same holy martyria for a period of three years reckoning from the crops that are now in the field of the D.V. coming fortunate fifth indiction inclusive, the [description of property] belonging to the same holy martyria ... 7 1/3 arouras of arable land in the farmstead called Tbōte⁹⁴, along with the -th part of the **cistern** (λάκκον) there and its **water-wheel** (κυκλευτήριον) and **ox-enclosure** (βοοστάσιον) [...] for sowing and planting of crops of my choice, for an annual rent for the 5 1/3 arouras of St. John ... annually for each aroura 6 artabas of wheat and two artabas of barley and (? 1/6) of an artaba of sesame seed (λαχανόσπερμον) [...] which I shall deliver and measure out, new, clean, and sifted, to the same holy martyria ... at the appropriate time by receivers's Athenian **measure** (μέτρῳ Ἀθηναίῳ) ... without delay in the month of Epeiph each year ... to the **granary** (θησαυρός) of the same holy martyria in Hermopolis by my own animals and at my expense without delay. [...]
COMMENT: The foundations seem to be plural, at least one being a martyion, another belonging to St. John⁹⁵; the editor remarks that the total in excess of 7 artabas of wheat per aroura was a relatively high rent.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Hyvernat inv. 75.16⁹⁶ (6th-7th c.) Unknown

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account of cloaks and mats, probably for monks.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Hyvernat inv. 75.19⁹⁷ (6th-7th c.) Arcadia (Heptanomis), Dayr Anbā Samū'īl [M.302] (?)

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account of artabas of grain.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.land. VI 100 (4th c.?) Arcadia (Heptanomis) – al-Fayyūm (?)

FROM: Besodōros (monk).
TO: Doīlos, Valerios (fathers); Herakleidēs et al. (brothers of a μοναστήριον).
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] I would like to give you a report (ὑπομνήσω) about the items you had given me for **sale** (πωλῆσαι) [and] it is very difficult (ἀπραγία). Someone, willing to pay (only) 4000 τάλαντα per type, is offering and I did not want to sell them without your approval. As regards to the kolobion, it is

⁹³ Kōmē, attested from AD 104 to the 8th c.; the name θῦνις, 'canal', refers to a location near a canal or swamp. One such location, al-Birka, situated near Tūnā l-Ġabal, has been proposed by Drew-Bear (1979: 118-121); at Tūnā l-Ġabal, an impressive sāqiya (Roman-Byzantine) is open to the few visitors today. Drew-Bear: 'il est probable que Thynis était un gros bourg en raison de la fertilité de son territoire facilement irrigable et de sa situation géographique dans une zone de passage qui permet d'éviter les sinuosités de la vallée du Nil' (ibid., 121).

⁹⁴ Tbōte, a farmstead (geōrgion) near Thynis, also attested in P.Lond. III 1012 (AD 633).

⁹⁵ There is no explicit mention that any of these martyria was a monastery; however, as Wipszycka (1996d: 270) has shown, the philoponion of Apa Theodore, a 6th/7th c. monastery situated in the kōmē Paouōre near Thynis, owned a house (P.Lond. III 1080, 6th c.) and a field (P.Lugd.Bat. III 16) at the site.

⁹⁶ Ed. MacCoull (1985: 55, no. 11).

⁹⁷ Ed. MacCoull (1985: 55, no. 12).

damaged, and I could not show it at all. As regards to the **cheeses**, I will send them to you shortly.
[...
COMMENT: One may infer from εἰ μὲν ἔτοιμοι ἔ[σεσθε κατέ]λθειν πρὸς [ἡμᾶς] (l. 16-17) that Besodōros belongs to another monastic community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Kell. I 12 (4th c.) Thebais II (Dahḫa Oasis), [Tenida [M.042]] (?)

FROM: Samūn.
TO: Tithoes.
SUBJECT: Letter
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] of the sons. As I indicated to you concerning my son [...], put him into the monastery (μοναστήριον), where it (one) teaches him the **linen-weaving trade** (λίνοφικὴ)⁹⁸. I greet my brother and my sister [...]

COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Kell. IV 96 (4th c.) Thebais II (Dahḫa Oasis), [Mani [M.040]]

TYPE: Tablet.
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Agricultural account book.
TRANSCRIPTION: [5^r, payment of **dates** (συμφωνία φοίνικος)] Petros the monk (μοναχός) | in place of Mani: I cut (l. 975/6); [5^v, **olives** (ἐλαί(ας))] Petros | to wit: 60, likewise 2, likewise 3, the same 4, likewise 10 (l. 1109-1112); [7^r, dates] Petros: I cut (l. 1433).
COMMENT: Petros, the monk (and same person as in P.Kell.Copt. 12, 6), represents the Τόπος Μάνι in the dates and olives revenues lists for indictions 6 and 7; the Topos Mani, listed also in l. 320 as a tenant owing olives and l. 513 owing dates, must be a corporate entity/monastery (?) paying rent on leased land.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bagnall (1997: 69. 81-82. 192), Gardner (1999: 76).

P.Kell.Copt. 21 (4th c.) Thebais II (Dahḫa Oasis), Kellis (Ismant al-Ḥarāb)

FROM:
TO: 'My master' brother Psemnouthes et al.
SUBJECT: Letter (Manichaean context).
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] We have received the letter and the pallium; but you wrote, 'We have sent you a μαχε of jujubes. [...] Send the **dyed cushion** (ψαῦ ἡχῆσε) for the **book** (χωμε); and, if the threads have not perished, send them. [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Kell.Copt. 35 (4th c.) Thebais II (Dahḫa Oasis), Kellis (Ismant al-Ḥarāb)

FROM: Ouales (scribe).
TO:
SUBJECT: Letter (Manichaean context).
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Just as you made the land of Egypt lord, you cast quarrels over the Chaldeans. [...] O dirty (?) **natron** (ⲛⲁⲥⲃ ⲙⲏⲛⲓⲛⲟ)⁹⁹ of Arabia! Just as you will wash away every thing, (so) you can wash (away) the desire which is between them for each other. [...]
[...] I beg you, my lord brother: If you can write these tetrads for me, which I sent to you, I will cause what is written to be brought to you. [...] Now, do not neglect to send them quickly. By no means! I did it for the great tests; (but it is) because they say that the **papyrus** has run out. Still, writing is what is useful [...]
COMMENT: Gardner (1999: I, 77. 223) suggests that Ouales, the monk, was a monastic scribe.

⁹⁸ P.Kell.Copt. 44-48 (4th c.) are business accounts from Kellis (Ismant al-Ḥarāb). Various texts from 'house 3' suggest a local tailoring and trading business, the authorship of the documents remains unknown (Alcock 1999: 235).
⁹⁹ ⲛⲁⲥⲃ, 'natron'; ⲙⲏⲛⲓⲛⲟ (pinos?, 'dirt'), reference to the impure substance of the naturally occurring deposit.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Kell.Copt. 44-48 Thebais II (Dahla Oasis), Kellis (Ismant al-Ḥarāb)
Cf. P.Kell. I 12.

P.Köln II 109 (4th/5th c.) Unknown

FROM: Pataor, Lutteos.
TO: Abaris, Paneisotis (et al. ἀδελφ[]).
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] we hope that you, with the help of God, will come to us at **harvest-time** (τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ θε[ρ]ισμοῦ). [...] also bring the scissors, because I have promised them to the **fuller** (τῷ γυν[α]φί). [...]
COMMENT: It may be inferred from a reference to σύναξις (l. 19) that ἀδελφ[refers to brethren, i.e., monks.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Köln III 153 (5th-6th c.) Thebais I, 'Northern Rock' (ex Apa Sabinos) [M.236]

FROM: Aurelius Pheus/Horos (farmer).
TO: Kolluthos (presbyter, προσετώς), on behalf of the δίκαιον of the monastery of the 'Northern Rock'.
SUBJECT: Promissory note.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Aurelius Pheus, farmer, now resident of Antinoopolis, acknowledges his delay in rental payment (due in kind, ἐκφόριον) and promises to pay back its equivalent in money during the third indiction.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wipszycka (2001: 172).

P.Köln III 155 (6th c.) is a sale of property; Apa Elias, presbyter and steward of the monastery of Apreos, sells to Apa Elias, presbyter of the church Hōriōkelkaali, a **house** (οἰκία) with its **court** (αὐλή) and other dependencies; the price of sale is 4 2/3 (?) solidi.

P.Köln III 157 (AD 589) attests to the release of a **slave**; the owner, Biktor, was a monk of the μοναστήριον ἅπα Μακροβίου (l. 5) [M.164].

KRU 13 (AD 733) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: Kyriakos/Demetrios (hegumen of [the Dayr of] the saint Apa Phoibammōn [II]).
TO: Arōn/Shenoute (of the kastron of Ġēme).
SUBJECT: Sale of parts of houses.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] I sell you, Arōn/Shenoute, a quarter of these two **houses** (μηί), which now are mine: [...] these are the parts that the sons of Pešate/Pestinos had given to the holy Apa Phoibammōn of the Mountain of Ġēme as a προσφορά for his poor soul [...] you have given me the **price** (τιμή) in gold, as we had arranged beforehand, i.e., 1 gold holokottinos, i.e. 1 nomisma. I spent it on the **table of the poor** (τραπέζα τῶν πτωχῶν) (and) the need (χρῖα) of the holy τοπος for the salvation of the blessed Pešate. [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 108-110), Godlewski (1986: 86), Wipszycka (2001: 172-173).

KRU 18/9 (early 8th c./AD 747) are similar **re-sales/re-transfers** of (parts of) houses (situated in Ġēme) which had previously been given to Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]; Till (1954: 103-105; 1964: 116-118), Godlewski (1986: 86).

KRU 65 (AD 650-700)¹⁰⁰ Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: Jacob (hegumen).
TO:
SUBJECT: Will.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] that he [i.e., Biktor/Theodōros] takes possession of the holy τόπος of the holy Phoibammōn which is situated on the Mountain of Ġēme, with all all things that are in it, be it **gold** (νογῆ) or

¹⁰⁰ Tr. Thomas (1998: I, 51-58).

silver (ἄργυρος), **clothes** (ἱμάτια), **brass** (χαλκός), **scriptures** (γράμματα), **books** (βιβλία), **caves** (σπήλαια), **cellars** (οἰκίσματα), **domestic buildings/tower** (πύργος), all possessions within and without the four boundaries [...] **camels** (κάμηλοι), **donkeys** (εἰς), **sheep** (ἐσθλὰ), **goats** (βάδην) or **houses** (οἶκος) which have been given to the holy τόπος, be it in the city (πόλις) of Hermonthis or in the kastron [i.e., Ĝēme], be it **village** (κωμή) or χωρίον, Dum (?) **-palms** (ψηφιδένια), **cisterns** (πηγάδες) and **fields** (ἀγροί), **meadows** (ἀμμοί), **crop** (καλλιέργεια) (?), in short, whatsoever. [...] on the mountain and in Egypt (Κημέ) [...] he [i.e., Biktor/Theodōros] should take care of the administration (διοίκησις) [...] as regards the **(food-)donations** (τροφὰς) to the poor which pass [...]

COMMENT: Being the legal owner of the monastery, Jacob the hegumen appoints Biktor/Theodōros to his successor; on the hegumen's state of ownership, cf. KRU 67 and 75.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1954: 59), Krause (1969: 65-67), Godlewski (1986: 71).

KRU 67 is a will (of unidentified origin) in which the monk Paham appoints his only son Jacob to the sole heir; his personal effects include a **house** (οἶκος) and an ἀμμοί, situated close to (?) a **water-wheel**.

KRU 75 (ca. AD 650)¹⁰¹ Thebais II, Dayr Apa Epiphanius [M.068]

FROM: Jacob/David, Elias.

TO:

SUBJECT: Will.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] we have cast upon you [i.e., Stephen] the care of all the **caves** (σπήλαια), which we have already declared, and the new **tower** (πύργος) and all the **dwelling-places** (οἰκίσματα) and all the **chattels** (ἐκτίματα) present in the caves [...] and the other humblest things, those moveable and those immovable and those that move themselves [...]

COMMENT: Jacob/David, hegumen and owner (cf. KRU 65) of the monastery, and Elias appoint Stephen to their successor; the text also provides topographical references to the roads to saint Phoibammōn [II], i.e. to Dayr al-Bahṛī [M.070]), and to the valley.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lange (1894), Till (1954: 198).

KRU 89 (ca. AD 775) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM:

TO: Apa Sourous (deacon/steward of the τόπος [Dayr] of Apa Phoibammōn in the 'Mountain of Ĝēme').

SUBJECT: Donation of a child (Abraham).

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Who should dare to prevent the boy (ἄνθρωπος) from being a **servant** (δούλος) of the holy monastery, should be judged [...] if the boy does not want to become a servant of the monastery in which he was healed, he should give all that he will earn through his **manual labour** (ἐργασίαν) to the monastery, according to the agreement which he will make with the **steward** (ἐκκλῆτος) in charge. [...]

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

KRU 78-88 and **KRU 90-104** are similar documents which attest to the **donation of children**, made by villagers of the kastron Ĝēme to the holy τόπος [Dayr] of Apa Phoibammōn [M.070] on the 'Mountain of Ĝēme' (KRU 78 (8th c.), KRU 79 (AD 785-785), KRU 80 (AD 776), KRU 81 (AD 771), KRU 82 (AD 771/2), KRU 83 (ca. AD 770), KRU 84 (AD 770), KRU 85 (AD 767/8), KRU 86 (AD 766), KRU 87 (AD 77x), KRU 88 (AD 734), KRU 90 (8th c.), KRU 91 (AD 781), KRU 92 (ca. AD 770-780), KRU 93 (ca. AD 770-780), KRU 94 (8th c.), KRU 95 (AD 747/8), KRU 96 (AD 775), KRU 97 (ca. AD 770), KRU 98 (AD 738/9 or 753/4), KRU 99 (AD 780), KRU 100 (after AD 778), KRU 101 (8th c.), KRU 102 (AD 762), KRU 103 (8th c.), KRU 104 (AD 771/2)); many of these documents relate to **manual labour** in favour of the monastery.

KRU 104 (AD 771/2) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM:

TO: Δίκαιον of the holy monastery [Dayr] of Apa Phoibammōn on the 'Mountain of Ĝēme'.

SUBJECT: Donation of oneself.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] According to God's will, nobody, except for the above-mentioned holy monastery of the holy

¹⁰¹ Tr. Winlock (1926: II, 343-348).

*Apa Phoibammōn, the great martyr, which is situated on the Mountain of Ĝēme, should be the master of my body, and I will be its **slave** (σμ2Δλ), behaving in it [i.e., the monastery] in the way of a slave that has been bought. [...]*

COMMENT: Id. Steinwenter (1921: 203).

KRU 106 (AD 735) is a certificate of donation of a **small house** (κογι νοικογ), parts of **fields** (νκΔ2) and of a **bakery** (μα ντωκ) (situated in Ĝēme) to the monastery of Apa Paul [M.080]; Till (1954: 51).

KRU 107 (AD 767/8)

Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: 'The people of Hermonthis (ερμων)'.

TO: Apa Kyriakos (steward of the holy τόπος of Apa Phoibammōn on the 'Mountain of the kastron [i.e., of Ĝēme]').

SUBJECT: Donation of a plot of land.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] We give you as a gift, Apa Phoibammōn, one nōh (νω2)¹⁰² of **land** (κΔ2) [...] from the canal (πειωρ) of Saffe (?) to the mountain, as we will tell you its boundaries. It [i.e., the plot of land] borders the field of the holy Apa Hatré on the mountain of Pmile. You should be its owner, use it for the holy lamp (λεχνος)¹⁰³ in the monastery. [...]

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 190-191), Godlewski (1986: 82).

KRU 108/9 (7th/8th c.; AD 771) are similar documents which attest to the donation of a small **plot of land** (κογι νκΔ2; KRU 108)¹⁰⁴ or **field** (ειω2ε; KRU 109) to the τόπος [Dayr] of the holy Apa Phoibammōn [M.070] on the 'Mountain of Ĝēme'; Till (1964: 191-192), Godlewski (1986: 82).

KRU 110/1 (ca. AD 770) are similar documents which attest to the donation of **date palm-tree(s)** (δννε) to the τόπος [Dayr] of (the holy) Apa Phoibammōn [M.070] on the 'Mountain of Ĝēme'; Till (1964: 192-194), Godlewski (1986: 82).

KRU 112 (8th c.) is a similar document which attests to the donation of small **livestock** (τβνοογε) to the holy τόπος [Dayr] of Apa Phoibammōn [M.070] on the 'Mountain of Ĝēme'; Till (1964: 194), Godlewski (1986: 85).

P.Leps. VI 122 (c)¹⁰⁵

Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: Letter.

TRANSCRIPTION: I went up and visited the brothers. Abba Sabine, the priest (πρεσβυτερος), said: 'I **sold** (χο ... εβολ) the **garments** (ν2εσοοc) and got two holokottinoi (2ολοκοτci), ... in a hurry.' [...]

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stern (1878: no. 4).

P.Lips. 28 (AD 381, Hermopolite) is a contract of adoption in which Silvanos the apotaktikos adopts his younger nephew and becomes guardian of his estate.

P.Lond. I 77¹⁰⁶ (AD 634)

Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: Apa Abraham (bishop of Hermonthis)¹⁰⁷.

TO: Dayr Apa Phoibammōn.

SUBJECT: Will.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *Biktor, the most pious priest and my disciple*¹⁰⁸, shall enter upon all of the moderate **property**

¹⁰² Unit of square measure, id. schoinion.

¹⁰³ Lychnos.

¹⁰⁴ The plot is called κΔληνπεκω, situated north of πωμοογ; cf. O.Crum 462 (fn. 170).

¹⁰⁵ Found at Dayr al-Bahrī [M.070] and published by Lepsius (1897-1913: VI, 122 (c)).

¹⁰⁶ Corr. Preisigke (1922: I, 241); tr. Thomas (1998: I, 51-58).

¹⁰⁷ Born in ca. AD 540/550 (AD 554?), bishop from AD 590 to 600, died in ca. AD 610/620 (AD 624?), Abraham was the founder of the monastery for which the will was written; cf. Krause (1956) and MacCoull in Kazhdan (1991: I, 127 s.v. 'Apa Abraham').

[...] movable and immovable and animate property, of every kind and sort and of whatever type and quantity, in **gold and silver and cloth and copper, and clothing and books and building sites and wasteland and buildings** [...] I leave you in unhindered ownership [...] you shall have the right] to possess, take care of, manage and improve the property [...] as far as gold and silver are concerned, that I swear [...] that I do not possess gold or silver [...]

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. XIX/2), Krause (1969: 58-60).

P.Lond. II 392 (6th/7th c.) is a receipt issued my two monastic stewards (οἰκονόμοι) of the (unidentified) monastery of Leukotios [M.392] to a prebyter, apparently for some kind of **agricultural produce** (ἔως καρπῶν), advanced to them until the approaching harvest; Barison (1938: no. XXI/10).

P.Lond. II 483 (AD 616)

Thebais II, [Apa Patois [M.157]]

FROM: Mēnas/Panais (hegumen), on behalf of the δίκαιον of the holy monastery of Apa Patois.

TO: Aurelios Iōhannēs/Phoibammōn.

SUBJECT: Emphyteutic loan.

TRANSCRIPTION:

COMMENT: Iōhannēs has agreed to rent perpetually 12½ *aruras* of monastery land fit for sowing (σπόριμα) plus 5 *aruras* of wasteland, tax-exempt and waterless.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. XX/4), Muller (1901).

P.Lond. III 994 (AD 517) is an acknowledgement by Peter and Victor, inhabitants of the village of Enseu, in the Hermopolite nome, of the acceptance of a lease, apparently of a fourteenth share of a **pottery** for ten years.

P.Lond. III 995, 996 and 1152 (7th c.) are certificates of the delivery of the annual charge of **corn** to the **boat** (πλ[οιο]ν) of the monastery of the Metanoia [M.370] which was to convey it down the river; Barison (1938: no. I/1), Gascou (1976: 184).

P.Lond. IV 1412-1417. 1419. 1420. 1424. 1430. 1432-1434. 1436. 1442. 1444. 1445. 1456. 1458. 1459. 1460. 1468. 1471. 1474. 1481. 1552/3. 1571. 1594. 1597 (AD 698-722), **P.Lond. V 1680** (6th c.) *et al.* (cf. Bell 1893: IV, indices 4b. 6b. 7) are documents from ἡκωογ/Aphroditō/Aṣqūh and relate to **taxation** (land-tax, poll-tax, δαπάνη), in money and in kind, ordinary (δημόσια; χρυσικά δημόσια, ἐμβολή) and extraordinary (ἐκτραόρδινα), under the 'Ummāyad caliphate; monasteries (μοναστήρια, τόποι), holding μερίδες of land, were subjected to different tax contributions; Bell (1893: IV, xvi-xvii), Barison (1938: no. XIII/7. 8. 10. 12. 14. 16. 17. 19. 21. 22. 25. 27-28. 30. 34-35. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 46-47. 49-50. 54. 60; XIV).

P.Lond. V 1680 Cf. P.Lond. IV 1412 ...

P.Lond. V 1686 Cf. P.Cair.Masp. II 67170.

P.Lond. V 1690 Cf. P.Cair.Masp. II 67170.

P.Lond. V 1758 (6th c., Aphroditō?) refers to a monastery/nunnery of Ama Anna [M.142] which acts as an intermediary in **tax-** (δημόσιον) payment; the editor infers that the person liable to taxation may be a dependent on the monastery; Barison (1938: no. XXI/2).

P.Lond. V 1906 (6th c.) refers to a donation of 5 *artabas* of **barley** (κριθή) to, amongst others, an unidentified monastery called Ορυρ [M.394]; Barison (1938: no. XXI/15).

P.Lond. VI 1917 (AD 330-340) is a letter to be circulated in the community of the Melitian monastery of Hathōr [M.262] in the Cynopolite nome; l. 13 refers to the existence of a **vegetable garden** (κηπολάχανος); Barison (1938: no. VII).

P.Lond. VI 1918 (ca. AD 330-340)

Unknown

FROM: 'Myself' (monk).

TO: Apa Paiēous.

SUBJECT: Letter to a hegumen (of a Melitian community?).

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Knowing then your zeal, father Apa Paiēous, for all the brethren, and especially myself, behold I have sent you **dates** (φοινίκια), two *artabas*, and **lentil meal** (ἄλευρα φ[λ]κοῦ), one *artaba*, and upwards, and **grapes** (σταφοίλια), one *knidion*, and **sweet olives** (κλοκελέας), one *knidion*; and if

¹⁰⁸ Note that Abraham and Biktor are often addressed and greeted in conjunction (Crum 1902: xiii-xv).

you need anything send to me [...]

COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Lond. VI 1920 (ca. AD 330-340) Arcadia (Heptanomis), Hathōr [M.262]

FROM: Hatre (of Tmou Mpahōm)¹⁰⁹.
TO: Paeiēw (of P-Hathōr, 'father').
SUBJECT: Letter on the making of a cloak and some shoes.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] I greet all the brethren that are with you. [...] respecting the fashion/model (ρητε) of a **cloak** (λεβιτων); so now, if it be possible, make it according to your wish (?) [...] ... I send it when you shall come. And ... whatever you shall spend thereon. [...] But as to the fashion of the **shoes** (ῥ τοογνε), [...] make them; there has not been means [that I] should make them, for there has been a little sickness. If you make it (i.e., the cloak) and you find a brother about to come, send it, or give it to Pahbew. See an oipe of dried grapes have I given to Pahbew ... [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jernstedt (1927).

P.Lond. VI 1922 (ca. AD 330-340) Unknown

FROM: Bēs, Aphinqe.
TO: Paiēous (?), and all the brethren.
SUBJECT: Letter to a hegumen (of a Melitian community?).
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] You have not come with the **cloak** (λεβιτογ) and the **napkin** (λλεντε)¹¹⁰. [We] sent them to Charitōn (saying that he should) give them to you. And seeing how I said regarding the two artabas of **lentils** (αρωιν) that [were to be] bought, have a care for the two artabas of **olives** (χαειτ); send them to me (?) ... with (?) the cloak [...] If you have in hand ... of **dates** (νεβνε), send them. And ... fetch them (?). Thirty-two lengths (?) of ... make them (?) at the price [of] the small [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Lond.Copt. I 1013 (Hermopolis) is an **emphyteutic lease** (ἐμφυτευτική ὁμολογία) from an unidentified monastery (?), represented by the πατήριον, brethren and φιλόπονοι, of certain land to Siōn, a vine-grower.
P.Lond.Copt. I 1015 (Hermopolis) is an **emphyteutic lease** of a small house by Apa Kyri, the representative of an unidentified monastery (?), to Apa John, a deacon.
P.Lond.Copt. I 1027 (Hermopolis) is a **rental agreement** (πάκτον) between representatives of an unidentified monastery/patērion (?) and Ammonius, regarding the rent (πάκτον) of 18 aruras of land.
P.Lond.Copt. I 1055 (Hermopolis) are two receipts (ἀπόδειξεις) from the dikaion of the unidentified monastery of Apa Phoibammōn, represented by Basile, its pronētēs, to Apa Colluthe, for two supplies of **corn** (κογo).
P.Med.Copt. inv. 69.69¹¹¹ (AD 998/999) is a guarantee, issued by a Middle Egyptian hegumen Pilihew and his monks to Abū l-Mūb[ī]tal, for their co-brethren Chaēl and 'Apimi' who had run away from their duty of **mowing/reeping** (ω2c).

P.Med.Copt. inv. 76.21¹¹² (7th c.) Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]

FROM: Pia/Dioskre (from Tahrūḡ, near Hermopolis Magna).
TO: Apa lenōch (monk of the τοογ of A]pa Apollō on the 'Mount of Titkooh', creditor).
SUBJECT: Loan agreement.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] I am ready to pay you them in full in the month of Mecheir [...]
COMMENT: Guarantee of Pia's debt-repayment to Apa lenōch; Clackson (2000: 97) suggests a sum ≥ 1 solidus.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wipszycka (2001: 178).

¹⁰⁹ Unknown location, near Hathōr?
¹¹⁰ *Lebitōn*, and *lention* respectively.
¹¹¹ Ed. Crum (1905); re-ed. Richter (1999: 89-92).
¹¹² Id. P.Mon.Apollo 33.

P.Mich. Xiii 667 (ca. AD 550)		Thebais I, [Apa Sourous [M.162]] Thebais I, [Psentusēs [M.158]]
FROM:	Aurelius Phoibammōn <i>et al.</i>	
TO:	Kolluchios (monk, προσετώς), through John/Samuel (presbyter, διοικήτης).	
SUBJECT:	Lease of land.	
TRANSCRIPTION:		
COMMENT:	Aurelius Phoibammōn/Triadelphos ¹¹³ , leases from a monastery named after Psentusēs a holding (κτῆμα) which the monastery possesses in the western plain of Aphroditō and which conveniently adjoins his own holding; as a rent Phoibammōn pays all the taxes (ἀπογραφή τοῦ δημοσίου) on the leased holding and in addition 20 <i>artabas</i> of corn (σίτος) and fifty vessels of new sweet wine (οἶνος γλεῦκος) per year; the agreement is made with the board of managers (προκείμενον) of the well-known monastery named after Apa Sourous, from which one may conclude that the monastery of Psentusēs was economically dependent on the bigger, more important monastery.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	Keenan (1980, 151).	
P.Mich.Copt. 20 (ca. AD 500-550)		Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190]
FROM:	Biktōr/Mathias (from Esou, near Hermopolis Magna).	
TO:	Apa Enōch (monk).	
SUBJECT:	Sale of oil for future delivery (?).	
TRANSCRIPTION:		
COMMENT:	Agreement to repay 30 <i>sextarii</i> of oil (NH2) owed by Biktōr to Apa Enōch on Choiak 15, i.e. at the beginning of the olive harvest; Clackson remarks that Biktōr's debt may represent his payment for the use of an olive grove or oil-press or other property belonging to the monastery; the oil is measured according to Enōch's measure (μετρώ), presumably that of his monastery.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	Kruit (1994: 73 and n. 41), Clackson (2000: no. 36).	
P.Michael. 32		Thebais I (?), [Pouīnkōreōs [M.252]]
FROM:		
TO:	'The monks of Pouīnkōreōs'.	
SUBJECT:	Letter.	
EXTRACT:		
COMMENT:	Mention of ὄρμος Ποῖνκώρεως (l. 4), i.e. the harbour of the Pachomian (ταβεννησιωτικός) monastery of Pouīnkōreōs near the Nile or Bahṛ Yūsuf, attested in P.Cair.Masp. II 67168 (l. 40-41. 57-59).	
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	Drew-Bear (1979: 217. 219).	
P.Michael. 49 (6 th c.)		Thebais I, Aphroditō
Cf. P.Ross.Georg III 48.		
P.NagHamm. 68 is a letter/request to Sansnos (monk/priest) for the sale of ten loads of chaff .		
P.Naqlun I 7 (6 th c.)		Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr an-Naqlūn [M.308]
FROM:		
TO:		
SUBJECT:	List of corn supplies.	
TRANSCRIPTION:		
COMMENT:	Issued in the office of some large estate located presumably in the Arsinoite nome; the supplies of corn (σίτος) for persons connected with the monastery (Apa Athanasios and Apa Plesa, anchorites) may have been gifts or donations for the <i>laura</i> of Naqlūn.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	Derda (1995: 97-98).	
P.Naqlun I 8 (6 th c.)		Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr an-Naqlūn [M.308]
FROM:		
TO:		

¹¹³ On this 6th c. personality, cf. Keenan (1980).

SUBJECT: List of crops to calculate land rent (?).
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: The persons mentioned in this document, paying an annuity of 1/3 of their harvest, may have been farmers renting land from the issueing **estate**; Derda (1995: 98) hypothesizes that the estate could have been monastic.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Derda (1995: 97-98).

P.Naqlun I 10 (6th/7th c.) Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr an-Naqlūn [M.308]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: List of products delivered to an abbot of the monastery.
TRANSCRIPTION: *List of products [delivered] to my lord and father: **poor wine** (ὄξος), six kouri; edible **clams** (πεταλίδες, 'sea-snails')¹¹⁴, 90; and some **vegetables** (ὀλίγα λάχανα).*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Derda (1992).

P.Naqlun I 11 (6th c.) Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr an-Naqlūn [M.308]

FROM: Joseph (clothes merchant, recipient of payment).
TO:
SUBJECT: List of clothing delivered to the monastery.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Γνωστis ὀνελασίων, i.e. a list (bill or way-bill) of things (pieces of clothing) delivered on donkeyback to the monastery; these include a **monk' garb** (sticharomaphorion) and a **galerion/galerum**; the agreed price was one *solidus* and six *trienses*.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Naqlun I 12 (ca. AD 550) Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr an-Naqlūn [M.308]

FROM: Nikolaos (resident of the monastery, bishop (?)).
TO: Basileios (comes)¹¹⁵.
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: In the letter, a *kyrios* Timotheos had bought some **plots of land** (χωρία, perhaps vineyards), possibly from the monastery, and Nikolaos was making sure that the new owner would be provided with the proper documents; furthermore, the comes had brought the **wine** for a group of monks/anchorites connected in some way with the monastery not giving the monastery a receipt for the wine supplied (γνωστis οἰναρίων), nor a list of the persons to whom he had given the wine; Nikolaos, being upset by this form of gift for the monastery, decided to return at least part of the cost of the wine given to the hermits by giving Basileios the same amount of *kouri* of **must** (μούστον).
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Derda (1992).

P.Naqlun I 13 (6th c.) Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr an-Naqlūn [M.308]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Amphora inscription.
TRANSCRIPTION: *God's grace [is] a gain. [From the monastery (?) church (?) of St.] Biktoria, of the **sacred oil** (ἐλαιον ἅγιον) which is of first quality (πρωτίον) xestai 29, xestai 29 ...*
COMMENT: Amphora found in the court of 'hermitage 1', the neck of an amphora Peacock – Williams Class 44, Carthage LRA 1, Egloff 164.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Derda (1992).

¹¹⁴ I.e. *tellinai* (?); according to Athenaeus, these could be found at Canopus in large numbers and were abundant at the time when the Nile was rising. Shells of fresh-water molluscs of the genus *Unio* (commonly found in al-Fayyūm Oasis) and some kind of snails of the subclass *Prosobranchia* were found in the refuse dump where the papyrus was unearthed (Derda 1995: 142-143).

¹¹⁵ At that time, a honorific title which almost every official of medium and high rank could use (Derda 1995: 163).

P.Neph. 27 (336-337?) is a **tax-receipt** in which Papnuthis (a monk of Hathōr [M.262], though not explicitly mentioned) had paid to the σιτολόγοι ταμιακού 6 7/24 *artabas* of **wheat** (πυρός), including the transport costs.

P.Neph. 48 (323?) is a contract of sale in which a resident of the oros of Hathōr [M.262] sells an *oikia* to Aurelios Eusebios (?) *monachos* (?) from the same oros; l. 10 mentions a **workshop** (ἐργαστήριον), l. 11 a small **linen-weaving workshop** (μικρὸν λινυφικὸν ἐργαστήριον), l. 13 a **granary** (θησαυρός).

P.Prag I 45 (AD 521/2) Thebais I, 'Northern Rock' (ex Apa Sabinos) [M.236]
FROM: Aurelios Pathout/Apollōs (wine-grower in the κώμη Ibion/Sesymbothis, Hermopolite nome, on land belonging to Dayr Apa Sabinos).
TO: Athanasios (presbyter, προεστώς τῆς βορινῆς πέτρας τῆς Ἀντινοέων τόπ[ο]υ).
SUBJECT: Sale of wine.
EXTRACT: [...] *I agree to have received and to have have been paid in full by Your Reverence, the full and fair price of 200 wine-jars* (κάδοι) *of new wine* (οἶνος νέος), *best quality, each jar being four sestari* [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kruit (1992: 171).

P.Prag I 46 (AD 522) Thebais I, 'Northern Rock' (ex Apa Sabinos) [M.236]
FROM: Paul (presbyter), Hatres (his brother), both from Pesla¹¹⁶, district of Hermopolis Magna.
TO: John (presbyter, hegumen).
SUBJECT: Sale of containers/jars (νεφραματιονμπικατωσωου, κεραμοπλάστης).
EXTRACT: [...] *we acknowledge to have received from you and to have been paid in full the full price of fourhundred jars* (κοῦφα), *beautiful, new, coated* (πεπισσοκοπημένα), *dried* (ἀπεξηραμμένα), *of large dimensions, and we are willing to deliver (?) these with mutual guarantee to your* [...]
COMMENT: A similar (non-monastic) purchase of 532 jars for advance payment from Hermopolis Magna (AD 608) has been published as BGU XVII 2694.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Prag I 65 (7th c.) Thebais I, 'Northern Rock' (ex Apa Sabinos) [M.236]
FROM: Apa Heus/Papnuthios (γραμματεὺς).
TO: Abba Serenus (presbyter and archimandrite of (the monastery of) our Lady Mother of God)¹¹⁷.
SUBJECT: Tax-receipt.
EXTRACT: [...] *I have received [...] the dēmosion for the little farms/pieces of land* (γῆ'δια), *for the estates* (χωρία) *in the plain of the village* (κώμη) *of Sebennytyos [...] of the 7th indiction: 2¼ carats of gold* (κεράτια χρυσοῦ).
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Oxy. I 146 (AD 555) Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Abbas Andreas [M.264]]
FROM: Monastery of Abbas Andreas.
TO: Serenus (stableman).
SUBJECT: Receipt for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Payment by the monks of the monastery of Abbas Andreas to Serenus, a stableman, for carrying **hay** (χόρτον) and **chaff** (ἄχυρον) from the barn belonging to the γεοῦχος to the **stable** (στάβλ(ου)) of the monastery.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Oxy. I 147 (AD 556) Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Abbas Andreas [M.264]]
FROM:

¹¹⁶ Drew-Bear (1979: 204-206).

¹¹⁷ Unidentified monastery.

TO:
 SUBJECT: Receipt for a rope.
 TRANSCRIPTION:
 COMMENT: Receipt for a **rope** or **coil** (σχοινίον) ἤτοι κρίκον provided by the monks of Abbas Andreas 'for the machine in the garden of the Holy Mary for raising water to fill the holy font' (εἰς τὴν μηχανὴν τοῦ κηπίου τῆς ἁγίας) Μαρίας ἐπὶ τῷ ἀντλήσαι ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν) κολυμβήθραν).
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: VI/2).

P.Oxy. I 148 (AD 556) Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Abbas Andreas [M.264]]

FROM:
 TO: Melas (hegumen of the κοινόνιον of Abbas Andreas).
 SUBJECT: Receipt for mats.
 TRANSCRIPTION:
 COMMENT: Receipt for four **mats** (ψιᾶθ(ια)) supplied to Justus (bath-attendant γεουχικ(οῦ) λουτροῦ) for the use of the porters of certain buildings.
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. VI/2).

P.Oxy. I 157 (6th c., Oxyrhynchus) is a letter concerning a dispute between Papnuthios (μονάζων) and a *grammateus* over a **measure** (ἕνεκεν τοῦ διαπίσματος τοῦ μέτρου) (of the monastery?) which had been sealed by the monk; Barison (1938: no. XXII p. 146).

P.Oxy. VI 941 (6th c.) Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Justos [M.288]]

FROM:
 TO:
 SUBJECT: Letter.
 TRANSCRIPTION: Since the brickmaker (πλινθευτής) says that the place of the son of Ninnous (?) is full of sherds and not adapted for **brickmaking** (πλινθεύσαι), and as he says that if you will trouble to go to the son of the steward (οἰκονόμος) of the monastery of saint Justos he will provide you with a small space, either opposite the martyr's shrine, or [...
 COMMENT: The writer entreats his friend to help him in obtaining from the monastery of St. Justus a piece of ground to be used for brickmaking.
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. VI/4).

P.Oxy. VI 994 (AD 499, Oxyrhynchus) is an order by Phoibammōn, comes, to the monk Justos for the payment of 12 *artabas* of **wheat** (σῖτος); Barison (1938: no. XXII/143).

P.Oxy. X 1338 (5th c., Oxyrhynchus) is an order for a delivery of dried (cheese?) (ισχνά) to Kosrēs, monazōn; Barison (1938: no. XXII p. 144-145).

P.Oxy. XIV 1774 (4th c.) Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Didumē [M.282]]

FROM: Didumē (hegumen), her 'sisters (ἀδελφαί) in the Lord'.
 TO: Atienateia (nun).
 SUBJECT: Repayment of debt.
 TRANSCRIPTION:
 COMMENT: Didumē, hegumen of a nunnery, urges her correspondent (in Oxyrhynchus?), who still has 1300 *denarii* to her credit, to indicate any further wants.
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. XXI/20).

P.Oxy. XVI 1890 (AD 508) Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Abba Kopreus [M.266]]

FROM: Aurēlios Apphuas, Abraham (bakers and master-millers).
 TO: Serēna (εὐγενεστάτη).
 SUBJECT: Lease (security) of a milling-bakery.
 TRANSCRIPTION: [...] we have voluntarily and of our own choice leased from your nobility [...] the **milling-bakery** (μυλοκριβάνιον) which belongs to you [...] in the monastery (μοναστήριον) called that of Abba Kopreus, which belongs to your nobility and came into your possession by cession from Kopreus the most discreet monk, containing 3 **baking-ovens** (κρίβανοι), 2 **mills** (μυλῶνες), and a **stone for crushing** corn (λίθος σιτοκοπικός) with a **mortar** (θυεῖα) and a **containing stone** (λίθος στεγικός) with

a mortar, and all the other receptacles and fixtures or belongings appertaining to the said bakery, [...]

COMMENT: 11-Months lease of a milling-bakery, situated in a monastery, the rent being partly in cash and partly in kind; both monastery and milling-bakery belonging to the lessor, a woman, the papyrus illustrates the possession by laymen of proprietary rights in monasteries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. VI/5).

P.Oxy. XVI 1900 (AD 528) is a receipt, issued by Pseeis, labourer for the Holy Principal Church of God (Oxyrhynchus), for a spare axle (ἄξων) for its **water-wheel** (μηχανή); he had ordered it from Phib, the priest and principal steward (καθολικὸς οἰκονόμος), and it was **delivered** by Luke, a monk (μονάζων); Barison (1938: no. XXII p. 145) and P.Oxy. I 147.

P.Oxy. XVI 1901 (6th c.) is a will in which the testator (Flavius Pousi) appoints as heirs the church/monastery (?) of Saint George called Apa Symeonius' to the half share of his entire dwelling.

P.Oxy. XVI 1912 (late 6th c., Oxyrhynchus) is an account of receipts from and expenditure on the Apion (?) estates; while l. 75 lists the contribution of **wheat** (σίτος) by a monastery of Salomōn [M.296], the monastery (of) Appheu [M.278] seems to be the beneficiary (ἐξ ὧν ἀνη[λώ]θησαν οὕτως).

P.Oxy. XVI 1913 (ca. AD 555?) is an account of expenditure on the Apion (?) estates; in l. 8 the koinobion of Apa Apollō [M.270] receives 400 *artabas* of **wheat** (σίτος); in l. 58 the *monazontes* of Prychthis [M.294] and Bekry [M.280]¹¹⁸ receive 20 *artabas* of wheat (each).

P.Oxy. XVI 1917 (6th c.) are **receipts in corn and money** from the Apion estates (Flavius Apion II?)¹¹⁹; in l. 19 Pamum, πρεσβύτερος καὶ οἰκονόμος of the holy [monastery? of] Apa Tittos [M.276] (a monk called Tittos is listed in l. 11), pays 24 *artabas* of **wheat** (σίτος); in l. 26 George, πρεσβύτερος καὶ οἰκονόμος of the holy [monastery? of] Apa Pamouthios [?], pays half a gold *solidus*; both monasteries (?) are situated in the village Ibiōn.

P.Oxy. XVI 1934 (6th c.) Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Kolluthos [M.290]]

FROM: Phoibammōn (priest, steward) of the holy [monastery] of Kolluthos.

TO: Pamuthios (village scribe of Talaō).

SUBJECT: Receipt (πρόσγραφον) for tax- (ἐμβολή) payment.

TRANSCRIPTION:

COMMENT: Phoibammōn quotes from the tax-receipt which had been issued to him by Pamuthios and which acknowledges his former payment of the *embolē* (30 *artabas*, according to the *kankellion*-measure); he argues that Pamuthios did not record this payment and demands that the scribe be brought to the city (πόλις) for things to be sorted out.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Oxy. XVI 1952 (6th c.) is an order from 'the honourable house' (of Flavius II Apollō?) to the archimandrite of the 'Homooousios'-monastery [M.286] to pay to the people of the village of Tarouthinou 600 **loaves** (ψωμία); Barison (1938: no. VI/17).

P.Oxy. XVI 1967 (AD 427) is a lease from the Principal Church of Oxyrhynchus to an ironsmith; Rémondon (1966: 146).

P.Oxy. XVI 1968 (ca. AD 575-600, Oxyrhynchus) is part of a lease (μίσθωσις) of 6 *aruras* of artificially irrigated **land** (μηχανή) in a field called tou Monastēriou, 'with the part of the **cistern** of the same farm which falls to them and the **well** and the **wheel** and the machinery of the **irrigator** and the plants of all kinds', the rent being payable in kind; the question of identification and ownership has not yet been answered; Barison (1938: no. VI/15), Timm (1984: IV, 1681), Gonis (2000).

P.Oxy. XVI 2015 (AD 555) is a receipt to the monks of Abbas Andreas [M.264] for a '1½ **rope or coil**' (σχοινίον ἥτοι κρίκος), making up for the year a total of 6, supplied for a bath (λουτρὸν τῆς μεγάλης οἰκίας), in connection with the drawing of water; Barison (1938: VI/2).

P.Oxy. XVI 2019 (6th c., Oxyrhynchus) is another account rendered to Flavius Apion II of **receipts in grain and money** from estates in various villages; l. 65 lists Apa Nakios, διάκονος καὶ οἰκονόμος μαρτύριου ...

P.Oxy. XVI 2020 (6th c.) is an account of the *arcarica*; a θεῖος οἶκος is noticeable in l. 13.

P.Oxy. XVIII 2195 (6th c., Oxyrhynchus) is an account of receipts from and of expenditures (in money and kind) on (the Apion) estates; among the beneficiaries are various clerics and ἀποτακτικοί; Bowman (1986: 197).

¹¹⁸ Kōmē; Prychthis has been identified as a neighbouring village (Calderini 1925: 88).

¹¹⁹ On the prosopography of the Apion family, cf. Mazza (2001: 47-74).

P.Oxy. LI 3640 (AD 533)

Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Apa Hierax [M.272]]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: Receipt for ropes.

TRANSCRIPTION: + They were supplied through John, deacon and archimandrite of the monastery of Apa Hierax, to Phoibammōn, sub-tenant (καταμείναν) outside the gate, for the **irrigation machine** (μηχανή) which draws water for the little orchard at Eutrygius', in place of the decayed ropes, two **ropes** or **coils** (σχοινία ἤτοι κρίκια), total 2 ropes or coils only. Year 209, 178, Epeiph, 26, indiction 11. (vac.) Total two ropes or coils.

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Oxy. LV 3804 (AD 566, Oxyrhynchus) is an annual account of a steward of the Apion estate; amongst the beneficiaries are the monastery of Abbas Andreas [M.264] 'according to the custom in respect of solidi 50 less 200 karats' plus 1012 artabas of grain (σίτου) and 'as the result of a letter, by order of the patrician (Flavius) Strategius Apion' (consul AD 539; col. viii, 184-186) another 100 artabas; in col. xi, 254 the former 1012 artabas cause a fee of 3½ solidi 'for the transport (ὑπὲρ μεταφορᾶς) of wheat artabas 1012 given to the monastery of Apa Andrew'.

P.Oxy. LXIII 4397 (AD 545)

Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Apa Hierax [M.272]]

FROM: Joseph (priest, hegumen), Theodoros (steward).

TO: Flavius Apion II.

SUBJECT: Settlement of claims between Flavius Apion II and the monastery of Abbas Hierax.

TRANSCRIPTION:

COMMENT: The monastery acknowledges (ὁμολογία) the receipt of the last instalment (58 solidi) of a sum of 130 solidi as a **pious** (διὰ δὲ τὸ εὐσεβές) **donation** and declares that it has no claim against the Apion estate in respect of a piece of **irrigated agricultural land** (μηχανή); this piece of Oxyrhynchite land had previously been claimed by both the Apions and the monastery (κοινόβιον) of Apa Hierax from whom the former owner, Diogenēs, had borrowed money (80 solidi (at an interest of ½ % per month) through an agent of the monastery, on the security for the capital sum of a **mortgage** (ὑποθήκη) of a piece of Oxyrhynchite land of 16½ aruras served by a water-rising machine in the village of Ophis; another 50 solidi, on the mortgage of all his property) and died before repayment; the problem was solved when the Apions, in possession of contracts for loans to Diogenēs upon the mortgage of all his property prior in date to the contract held by the monastery, resigned any claim to inherit from Diogenēs; the money was deposited with the zugostatēs (weighmaster) of Oxyrhynchus to be **lent out at interest** (ἐκδανείζειν) which was to go to the monastery until the monks could find a piece of irrigated land to be bought.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wipszycka (2001: 171-172).

P.Oxy. LXVI 4537 (6th/7th c., Oxyrhynchus) gives the measurements of a/two cistern(s) (λάκκος) from which water was lifted up by a sāqiya and then distributed via channels to the fields.

P.Petra inv. 6a¹²⁰ (AD 528 (?), Petra Church)

Palaestina III, Ġabal Hārūn [M.590]

FROM: Obodianus/Obodianos.

TO:

SUBJECT: Donation/will.

TRANSCRIPTION: [l. 5-16] I, Leontios son of Obodianos, priest and superior of the Church of ... and Valen(tino)s son of Samiabion, deacon, and Gesios son of Euthenios ... and [...] he [i.e., Obodianus/Obodianos] said as follows: '[...] because I am lying in bed, and no one among all can oppose the command of God, wherefore, having the human destiny in my mind, I wish and direct in your presence that, if indeed I do pass from this present life through illness I am suffering from, all my **belongings** whatsoever which I leave behind should be administrated by Cyricus son of Petros the most holy presbyter and superior of the saint high priest Aaron and by the aforementioned Theodoros son of Obodianos, the most beloved of God, orthodox and Christ-loving, and that by them who are taking care, from those (belongings) my mother Thaaious should be nourished and clothed during the whole time of her life, and after her death from what will be left of my mentioned

¹²⁰ Unpublished; tr. taken from the abstract in Gagos (1998: 476-477).

belongings whatsoever which I leave behind, one half passes to the holy house of our Lord the saint high priest Aaron and the other half to the most holy hospital of the saint and gloriously triumphant martyr Cyricus situated in this same city ...'

COMMENT: Written by a presbyter (and hegumen?) Leontios/Obodianos.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Petra inv. 86¹²¹ (6th c., Petra Church) is an emphyteutic lease; the writer ('son of Simiabion') has, at some point, **donated a hospitai** to a monastery, possibly in Zadakathon (?), or at least property situated there is mentioned; references are made to a monastery (on Ġabal Hārūn [M.590]?) and possibly monks; on a separate papyrus fragment a *proestōs* occurs and reference is made to Aaron (Hārūn).

PSI I 49 (6th c.) is a letter of a *monachos* Isakios to the *peripleptos* Eulogios in which he writes that he had great difficulty in obtaining **opium** (ὄπιον) on behalf of his addressee; Barison (1938: no. XXII p. 143).

PSI I 89 (6th c., Oxyrhynchus) is a receipt issued by a *pronoētēs* to Abba Hermē; the document refers to the customary donation of **wheat** (σίτος), προσφορ(ὰς) ἐξ ἔθους (erroneously translated by the editor as 'diritto di sepultura'); Barison (1938: no. XII p. 141).

PSI III 176 (5th c.?, Oxyrhynchus) is an **emphyteutic contract** (ὁμολογία μισθώσεως) for a *chōrēma*; the Oxyrhynchite (?) monastery is not in possession of the lot, but may become so, through donation, at a certain point (Barison 1938: no. VI/10).

PSI IV 284 (6th c.)

Thebais I, [Apa Dios [M.134]]

FROM: Psatos (steward), on behalf of the δίκαιον τοῦ ἁγίου ξενοδοχίου τόπου Ἀπα Δίου Ζυνορίας.

TO: Phoibammōn Triadelphos.

SUBJECT: Receipt (ἐντάγιον) for rent (φόρος) of land.

TRANSCRIPTION:

COMMENT: Psatos acknowledges the receipt of 14 *artabas* (of wheat) from Phoibammōn Triadelphos for the 7th indiction; note the notion of ξενοδοχείον.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Timm (1984: VI, 2737).

PSI V 480 (5th/6th c.) is a letter in which a certain comes sees to it that a donation of wheat (σίτος) to a monastery is done; Barison (1938: no. XXII p. 147).

PSI VI 698 (AD 392, Oxyrhynchus) is a contract which stipulates that Annis, a *monachē*, owns (?) a property 'on the public street'.

PSI VII 791 (6th c., Oxyrhynchus?) lists churches and monasteries as the beneficiaries of feast-related money donations; Vitelli (1926), Barison (1938: no. XXI/3. 6. 8. 9. 16. 18).

PSI VIII 953 (6th c.) is an Apion-account which attests to a donation of **vinegar** (ὄξ(ους)) to the Oxyrhynchite (?) *koinobion* of Abba Sarmatas [M.268] (l. 9); among other ecclesiastical institutions, another beneficiary is the *monastēr(ion)* of Pela [M.292] (διν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) τξ and ὄξ(ους) δι(πλᾶ) ξ); l. 12), situated in Pela, district of Oxyrhynchus; Barison (1938: no. VI/8. 18).

PSI XIII 1342 (4th/5th c.)

Thebais I, 'Northern Rock' (ex Apa Sabinos) [M.236]

FROM: Humios, Origenēs (sitologists of the *kōmē* Alabastrinē).

TO: Apa Sabinos.

SUBJECT: Letter by a σιτόλογος to an abbot (ἀναχωρητής) (?).

TRANSCRIPTION:

COMMENT: The sitologists ask Apa Sabinos to pay τὸ ὀλίγον κέρμα ὑπὲρ τῶν δημοσίων of 21.400 *denarii* for the **blacksmith** (χαλκεύς) Biktōr of the same village.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baulig (1984: 147), Rémondon (1970: 434).

P.Rein. II 107¹²² (ca. AD 550-600)

Thebais II, Dayr al-Gizāz [M.086]

FROM: Aurelios Allamōn/Prepositos (blacksmith).

TO: Abba Jakob (presbyter, hegumen), on behalf of the pious monastery (of) Phel¹²³.

SUBJECT: Acknowledgement of a debt (ἀσφάλεια).

¹²¹ Unpublished; tr. taken from the abstract in Gagos (1998: 480-481).

¹²² Re-ed. Fournet (1997).

¹²³ Id. Monastery of Samuel (ΔΠΔ ΣΑΜΟΥΗΛ ΜΦΕΛ, O.CrumST 340; Dayr al-Gizāz).

TRANSCRIPTION: ...] I declare to have received from you and to owe you one gold solidus according to the measure of the poor (ζυγὸς πενήτων)¹²⁴. [...

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Porten (1996: no. D28).

P.Ross.Georg III 48 (6th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Šinūda [M.122] (?)

FROM: Kursios/Joseph (presbyter, αρχιμανδρίτης, προνοήτης), on behalf of the *dikaion* of the μοναστήριον Απα Σενούθ[ου].

TO: Aurelius Phoibammōn /Triadelphos (Aphroditō).

SUBJECT: Receipt of rent paid in kind.

TRANSCRIPTION:

COMMENT: The monastery acknowledges (ἀσφάλεια) the receipt of rent (ἐκφόριον) for its **landholdings** in Phthia, paid in wheat (σίτος) and barley (κριθαί); a similar receipt of rent paid by Aurelius Phoibammōn to the deacon and steward Psaios is P.Michael 49 (6th c., Aphrodito), but the beneficiary, be it a monastery of church (καθολικός), has not been identified.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barison (1938: no. XV/3), Atiya (1991: III, 762).

P.Ryl. II 338 (7th/8th c.)

Thebais I, [Apa Kolluthos [M.220]]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: Letter to a high official.

TRANSCRIPTION: I have loaded the 2 **ships** (χοῖ) of **acacia wood** (ψοντε, *acacia nilotica*) and have despatched them this day, Hathor 2, in charge of their supercargos (πικτικος) that are aboard them. And here are the names of the ships and the names of the supercargos that are aboard them and the list of villages where they were loaded. [...

COMMENT: Timm (1984: VI, 2797) reads π[ΜΔ] ΝΠΖΔΓΙ [οc κο]λλυχ^o, 'topos of saint Kolluthos' (l. 4); this would imply that the topos, not the village, would be the owner of the cargos.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Ryl.Copt. 124

Thebais I, [Ama Sophia [M.248]]

Thebais I, Wādī Sarḡā [M.172] (?)

FROM: Apollō ('of the οὐσία'), Pachōmō ('of (the monastery of) Ama Sophia').

TO: Apa George (archimandrite), on behalf of the *dikaion* of the monastery 'of the Rock' [of Apa Thomas]¹²⁵.

SUBJECT: Receipts for taxes (δημόσιον) paid by the monastery 'of the Rock'.

TRANSCRIPTION:

COMMENT: Apollō and Pachōmō acknowledge the receipt of taxes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Ryl.Copt. 125 is a similar receipt (ἀπόδειξις) for a **tax** (?) paid by the *dikaion* of a monastery, through its administrator (προνοητής).

P.Ryl.Copt. 133 (8th c., Hermopolis Magna?) is a lease (μίσθωσις) of property wherein a previous one is referred to, from the *dikaion* of a monastery (τόπος) to the *kyris* Hamoi; Schmelz (2002: 173).

P.Ryl.Copt. 163 (Hermopolis) is a **lease** from an unidentified monastery for a 12-years term, 'as an assurance for this holy monastery, we recorded this μίσθωσις'.

P.Ryl.Copt. 164 (Hermopolis) is a 4-years **lease** (μίσθωσις) from the *dikaion* of the unidentified monastery of St. Severus, represented by Apa Pehēw, the *phrontistēs*, to George (?), son of Philotheus; the yearly rent is to be paid in **grain**.

P.Ryl.Copt. 166 (Hermopolis) is a **lease** (μίσθωσις) from the *dikaion* of an unidentified monastery (τόπος) to a certain *kyris* Hamoi; the document records the agreement about certain changes of an already existing 10-years lease.

P.Ryl.Copt. 174 (Hermopolis) is an **emphyteutic lease** (ἐμφύτευμα) of one *aroura* of land addressed to the *dikaion* of an unidentified monastery, presumably situated near Antinoopolis.

¹²⁴ Unidentified measure, not mentioned in Maresch (1994).

¹²⁵ A mere designation of the monastery whence an inscription comes (Crum 1922: 6 fn. 4); the 'Holy Rock of Thomas' was the name whereby the Wādī Sarḡā monastery was known in the 6th and 7th c. (*ibid.*, 92 fn. 1).

- P.Ryl.Copt. 176** (Hermopolis) is an **emphyteutic lease** (ἐμφύτευμα) concluded by George, the master, and Apa Basile; Apa Basile may be the representative of an unidentified monastery, or he may act on his own behalf.
- P.Ryl.Copt. 181** (8th/9th c.) is a **phoros-receipt** (ἀπόδειξις) by the *dikaion* of a monastery of saint Geōrgios [M.096] to Apa Philotheos for the rent (φόρος) of certain fields.
- P.Ryl.Copt. 192** is an acknowledgement of a debt of 2 *solidi* less 6 *karats*, by a woman to a nun Ama Ei[...], the **interest** being at ¼ of ...
- P.Ryl.Copt. 196** is an agreement (ἀσφάλεια) as to debt; the writer, Theodore/Leontios, owes to a monastery the price of certain **wheat** (60 *artabas* of *coyo*, at a value of 12 1/8 *solidi*) supplied; he undertakes to deliver then the 60 *artabas* to the artichoke-seller (σανκινεϛ), on behalf of the monastery.
- P.Ryl.Copt. 224** is a list of names, apparently of **monastic officials**; in addition to presbyters and deacons, there are listed ΔΕΥΤΕΡ (δεύτερος), ΘΥΡ (θυρωρός, 'doorkeeper'), ΔΙΟΝΟΣΟΚΟΜ (νοσοκομείον), ΤΕΚΤ (τέκτων).
- P.Ryl.Copt. 251** lists the remains of monastic accounts which in part relate to **oil** (νεϛ); one of the accounts is headed ΔΠΑΡΧΗ ΕΠΕΙΚΑΡΠΟΣ, followed by names which are probably monks.
- P.Ryl.Copt. 253** (8th c.) is an account of various expenses, for lentils, wheat and wine; Jeremias, presbyter of a monastery (ζημιητε, unknown), has paid 3 *solidi* for **oil** (νηϛ).

P.Sarga¹²⁶ 21 (5th-7th c.)¹²⁷ Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

TYPE: Graffito.
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Medical recipes, written upon a plastered wall.
TRANSCRIPTION: ... the] fever which the medicaments (θηριακόν) (?) ... and **wine** (νηϛ) and **olive oil** (νεϛ)¹²⁸. Apply them to it [...] and water of **onions** (χων) and **honey** (εβω). Apply (them) to [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Sarga 29 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

TYPE: Inscription.
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Grave-stone or commemorative tablet¹²⁹.
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] have mind of Anoup, the **tanner** (πκαϛε)¹³⁰, of [...
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Sarga 56 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

TYPE: Inscription/Graffito.
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] my brother Anoup the **baker** (πλμπε) [...
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Sarga 66 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

TYPE: Inscription/Graffito.
FROM:

¹²⁶ The documents 'P.Sarga' are reprinted in SB XVIII 13370-13562.

¹²⁷ On palaeographic ground.

¹²⁸ νεϛ μμε, 'genuine oil'; cf. sect. III.1.4.5.

¹²⁹ Crum (1922: 57).

¹³⁰ In a list of trades (BM Or. 8903, cf. Gascou (1982: 94)) *skyteus* apparently corresponds to κεϛε, which Crum (1922: 60 fn. 3; 1939: 121) takes as dialectal for καϛε.

TO:
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Apa Enoch the **scribe** (περ[α]μμα[τ]ε[υ]ς) [...
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Sarga 67 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

TYPE: Inscription/Graffito.
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: God watch over our **workshop** (μηδ νερ 2ωβ)¹³¹. Have mind of us, the brethren (νεσνηυ) (?) of this τόπος. Amen.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Sarga 73 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

TYPE: Inscription/Graffito.
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: [among rough drawings of three sailing boats:] ... us the less, the **sailor** (πνηγ ο); [beside one ship:] απλ θωμας.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Sarga 74 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

TYPE: Inscription/Graffito.
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: The master Elias, the **mason** (πλακζος), and Enoch the less, his apprentice.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Sarga 75 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

TYPE: Inscription/Graffito.
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: Pamoute the **mason** (πλαγρσφς).
COMMENT: Another graffito mentions πλμογτε, a name found in a Shenoutian text (MS BN Paris 1317, 46); the second word is laxos, 'stonemason' (Crum 1922: 82 fn. 3).
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Sarga 76 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

TYPE: Inscription/Graffito.
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: The master Ammonius, the **builder** (πεκωτ) [...] The blessed master Apa Anoup, the **builder** (πεκωτ).

¹³¹ Perhaps in the sense of ergasia, 'way of life, occupation', rather than ergastērion (Crum 1922: 80 fn. 6).

COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Sarga 80 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

TYPE: Inscription/Graffito.
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: *Paul, (the) tanner* (κἀσε) (?).
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Sarga 96 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO: Apa Biktor (archimandrite (πᾶρχιμᾶ[ναριτης])?) of the 'Holy Mount').
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] As regards the **nets** (ψη[γ?]) ... tremis ... three (?) large λΔΖΥ to you ... Give it to my brother Biktor, from ...
COMMENT:

P.Sarga 166 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Germanus (carpenter).
TO: 'Brother' (of the same monastery).
SUBJECT: Promise for repayment.
TRANSCRIPTION: *I, brother Germanus, the carpenter* (ζαμωε) *of the Holy Rock ... the city ... [I write] to brother the deacon ..., the monk of this same monastery, in this same nome, (saying,) When I entreated you, you asked a solidus ... need and my necessity, namely (?) from today [...] that I would give you for its satisfaction* (μοτνεσ) *a ... of cheese* (ζαλωμ). [...]
COMMENT:

SB I 3972¹³² (7th c.) Thebais II, [Apa Elija 'of the Rock' [M.094]] or Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Elias [M.284]]

TYPE: Ostrakon.
FROM: Samuēl.
TO: Apa Zēkiēlios (presbyter, hegumen).
SUBJECT: Receipt for tax-payment.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: This receipt acknowledges to Zēkiēlios, the *presbyteros* and *proestōs* of the holy *topos* of Apa Hlia to have paid the prescribed tax (τὴν συντελεῖαν τῶν γοιτώντων).
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Winlock – Crum (1926: II, 113).

SB I 4675 Arcadia Heptanomis, District of Arsinoë
Cf. SB XX 14712

SB I 5114 (AD 630-640) Thebais II, [Abba Cyrus [M.026]]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Deed of sale (ἀσφάλεια).
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Sale by Pistoīs, prior (προεστώς) of the monastery of Abba Cyrus, of one third of a dwelling-house (οἰκία), situated on a public road in Apollinopolis Magna (Apollōnos Anō), given to the monastery by Tachymia/Sansnotus.

¹³² Ed. Hall (1905: 148 no. 26).

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

SB I 5174 (AD 512) and **5175** (AD 513) relate to the Melitian monastery of Labla [M.310] in al-Fayyūm; in SB I 5174, 2 Eulogius/Joseph sells all his economic property to the Melitian priest Pousis before he quits the community in favour of an orthodox one.

SB VI 9051¹³³ (6th c.) Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ') [M.190] (?)

FROM: Aurēlios Mathias/Theodōros (of Tanemōis).
TO: Phoibammōn (hegumen of the holy monastery of Abba Apollō at Tīt̃kōes¹³⁴).
SUBJECT: Contract of sale.
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] *I have received and owe you the price [...] of 3½ artabas of wheat* (σίτος), τῷ σὺ μέτρῳ [l. 7],
of good quality, which I will give you back at the time of harvest, in the month of Paoni [...]

COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

SB VIII 9683 (late 4 th c.)	Unknown
FROM:	Monk (unknown).
TO:	Civil authority (δεσπότης).
SUBJECT:	Legal dispute (letter).
TRANSCRIPTION:	
COMMENT:	Legal dispute over an anchor that has been taken away from an unknown monastery by a soldier to whom a monk and deacon owed money but had not paid him back.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	

SB XVI 12432 (6th c.)

FROM: Thebais II, [Apa Paternouthios [M.058]]

TO:

SUBJECT: Order for payment.

TRANSCRIPTION:

COMMENT: Order by Maria to Petros, the lessee, to pay 2 *artabas* of **wheat** (σίτου) to the priest Apa Sabinos of the τόπος of Apa Paternouthios.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

SB XX 14353 ¹³⁵ (7 th c.)	Thebais II, Dayr ar-Rūmī [M.060]
TYPE:	Ostrakon.
FROM:	
TO:	
SUBJECT:	Work- and rent-contract (ἐπιτροπή).
TRANSCRIPTION:	
COMMENT:	Contract for the sowing (κατασπορά) of the plains (πεδία); payment is in money and kind (φακί, lentils); the signatory and the/a role of the monastery remain unclear.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	

SB XX 14701¹³⁶ (7th/8th c.)

Thebais II, [Abba Agenēs [M.024]]
Thebais I/II, [Abba Horos [M.112]]¹³⁷

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: Fiscal (ἀνδρισμός/δημόσια γῆς) register from Apollinopolis Minor.

¹³³ Ed./tr. Hombert (1946).

¹³⁴ I.e. Bāwīt (?); cf. Clackson (2000: 14-15).

¹³⁵ Ed. Wagner (1990: no. C/8); re-ed. Gasco (1999: no. 11).

¹³⁶ Id. P. Lond. III 1097b; ed. Sijpesteijn (1990: no. 2), re-ed. Gonis (2000: 27-28).

¹³⁷ Unidentified; unlikely to be identified with Dayr Apa Hōr at Sawāda, near Minyā, i.e. north of Hermopolis (Atiya 1991: III, 770-771).

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] (l. 8) *through the monastery of Abba Horos solidi 265* [...]
 [...] (l. 16) *for the **orgon** ((ὕπερ) ὄργ(άνου))*¹³⁸ of *abba Agenios* [...]
 COMMENT: Collective tax-quotas for a monastery; it may be inferred from ἀνδρισμός-payments (l. 16-23) that the supreme authority in Egypt at that time was an envoy of the caliph.
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gonis (2000: 25-29).

SB XX 14712 (AD 498)

Thebais I, Hermopolis Magna

FROM: Aurēlios Kollūthos/Pheus (potter).
 TO: Priest and steward (unknown).
 SUBJECT: Sale of jugs.
 TRANSCRIPTION: [...] of Hermopolis under the direction of Salamas, the most holy, through ..., the most pious priest and steward (οἰκονόμος), Aurēlios Kollūthos/Pheus, **potter** (κεραμοπλάστης) from the village Phby of the Hermopolitan nome. I declare that I have received and got paid from your devoutness right now the agreed price in full for 2400 new, **pitched jugs** (κούφα πεπισσωμένα) [...]
 COMMENT: The most pious priest and steward may act on behalf of the church (of Salamas) rather than of a monastery; delivery of wine-casks (καινόκουφα) to another ἁγία καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία], situated in the Arsinoite nome, is attested to in SB I 4675 (undated).
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gascou (1993).

SB XXII 15311 (Hermopolite, 367/368?) attests to a **ship** of the Pachomians and Anoubion the *apotaktikos*.

P.Turner 54 (6th c.)

Thebais I, [John the Stylite [M.234]]

FROM: Aurēlios Theophilos.
 TO: John (στυλίτης; hegumen)¹³⁹.
 SUBJECT: Work-contract for water delivery.
 TRANSCRIPTION:
 COMMENT: Aurelius Theophilos agrees to deliver, through Joseph, for a period of 6 months, water (3 loads of 4 amphorae each) daily to the monastery of John the Stylite; John, in exchange, has paid the fee for the donkey-driver.
 BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Würzb. inv. 49¹⁴⁰ (8th c.)

Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]

FROM: Isak (monk).
 TO: Apa Daniēl (archimandrite), on behalf of the *dikaion* of the *topos* of Apa Apollō.
 SUBJECT: Renunciation of monastery property.
 TRANSCRIPTION:
 COMMENT: Isak, under the burden of **dēmosion**-payment, gives up property which then is irrevocably transferred to a fellow monk; the **place/plot** (μᾶ) is associated with a **cistern/wetlands** (λίμνη)¹⁴¹ (?) and, as such, it represents a desirable plot.
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Clackson (2000: no. 25 and p. 23), Wipszycka (2001: 175).

SB Kopt. I 50¹⁴² (8th/9th c.)

Thebais I, [Apa Mēna [M.182]]

FROM: Apa Shenoute (προεστώς), on behalf of the *dikaion* of the holy monastery on the rock (πέτρα) (of) Apa Mēna.
 TO: Congregation (λαός τῆς ἡγίας πέτρας) of the same monastery.
 SUBJECT: Contract (ὁμολογία) for hegumen.
 TRANSCRIPTION:
 COMMENT: Apa Shenoute, having brought 53 *holoktinos* with him to the monastery, acknowledges his obligations inherent to monastic leadership such as the care for (**plots of**) **land** (κτ[ησις]),

¹³⁸ Originally an irrigator, this term came to mean an irrigated area of cultivation (Bonneau 1993: 104).

¹³⁹ The monastery has not been identified.

¹⁴⁰ Id. SB Kopt. I 49.

¹⁴¹ *Limēn*, artificial basin or a naturally formed wetland; on 'cistern', *lakkos* etc., cf. Bonneau (1993: 52-55), Clackson (2000: 83).

¹⁴² Ed. Schmidt (1932: 60-64).

workshops (εργαστήριον) and **tax-payment** (δημοσίον); he agrees to pay 400 *holokottinoi* to the community if he leaves the monastery without permission; if the community expels him, they would pay 2 x 53 = 106 *holokottinoi* to him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

SB Kopt. I 51¹⁴³ (6th-8th c.) Thebais I, [Apa Mēna [M.182]]¹⁴⁴
TYPE: Ostrakon.
FROM: Apa Isaak (presbyter, προεστώς), on behalf of the *dikaion* of the holy monastery on the rock (πέτρῃ) of Apa Mēna.
TO: Leōn.
SUBJECT: Contract (σύμφωνον) of employment ('Werkvertrag').
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Apa Isaak **employs** (ἀποστέλλει) Leōn, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφρονήσεως (ἀνευ καταφρονήσεως), for one year, from 2 Payni/11th indiction to 2 Payni/12th indiction; his **payment** (βεκε) are 25 *artabas* of **wheat** (σῶρο), 4 *artabas* of **barley** (εἰωτ), 12 jars of **wine** (ἡρῆ), 1 sack of **dates** (ἡνε)¹⁴⁵, and nutrition for 4 animals; it is not clear if the latter would have been given monastic grazing grounds or if Leōn was simply given fodder (σιμ) instead.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Schøyen 89/14 (7th/8th c.) is a **tax-** ('tithe') **collection** contract relative to Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ)) [M.190]; Clackson (2000: no. 8 and p. 17-23).
P.Schøyen 1579/1 text 2 (7th c.) is a **tax-** ('tithe') **collection** guarantee relative to Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ)) [M.190]; Clackson (2000: no. 5 and p. 17-23).

Stud.Pal. X 296 (7th/8th c) Arcadia (Heptanomis), Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: List of persons and estates (?).
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: L. 4 mentions a χωρ(ίον) Πενσ[...]_ω (Penšō, not Pentasō), situated in the district of Memphis; neither the location, nor the relationship with Dayr Apa Jeremiah (e.g., monastic **estate**) are known; a *chōrion* Pentasō/Memphite nome occurs in several papyri (cf. Calderini (1935: IV, 96)) as a Christian settlement in Byzantine times.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Timm (1984: IV, 1891).

P.Vat.Aphrod. 11 (6th c.) Thebais I, Aphroditō (?)
FROM: Maraūs (presbyter), on behalf of the *dikaion* of a monastery (ἅγιος τόπος, unidentified).
TO:
SUBJECT: Receipt for payment of rent.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: The payment of rent for a piece of monastic land, situated on the plain of the village, is in wheat (σίτος) and barley (κριθαί).
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

P.Vat.Aphrod. 13 (7th/8th c.) Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ)) [M.190] (?)
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: List of requisitioned contributions (διανομαί) (from the monastery).
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Requisitions of **durable cloth** (κιλίκια), made of goat-hair, **sacks** of various sizes (θαλλί(α) τρίχ(ινα), σακκί(α)), material for the building and maintenance of ships (**acacia wood** ([ἄ]κανθ(έα)ι) and **nails** (πησσομένα)), and edibles (**raisins** (σταφίς) and **boiled wine-must** (ἐψημ(α))));

¹⁴³ Ed. Schmidt (1931: 102-103).
¹⁴⁴ Previously, a Fayyūmic origin of the document had been conjectured.
¹⁴⁵ Fayyūmic (?) for βνε, 'dates'.

the common factor is the needs of the army and the navy, apparently in view of the *cursus*; Gonis (2000b: 22) estimates the market value of the total requisitioned 44 *kilikia* as 88 *solidi*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MacCoull (1991), Clackson (2000: appendix 1, no. 2), Gonis (2000: 21-25).

P.Vat.Copt. Doresse 20 (ca. AD 700-730) is a communication from Rašīd b. Ḥalīd to the monks of Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt)[M.190]; MacCoull (1981: 192), Gonis (2000b: 22-23).

P.Vindob. K 11375¹⁴⁶ (8th c.) Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīt) [M.190] (?)

FROM: Theodoros (hegumen).

TO: Apa Petros (steward).

SUBJECT: Tax- (ἀπαρχή)¹⁴⁷ payment.

TRANSCRIPTION: ...] give one **tunic** (λοβιτογ) and a **small dress** (κογῖ νζοῖτε) to Ammone, who ... Pankalou, **aparchē** (ἀπαρχ(η) gather [...
...] give a bottle of **wine** (λακοοτε νη[ρ]π) to the **bee-keeper** (εβι ειτ) for the period during which he had gathered 1512 + and give one λαξε of ... to him, and he should add this xēstēs of **oil** (νη2) [...

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wipszycka (2001b: 181).

¹⁴⁶ Ed./tr. Hasitzka (2001: 56-58).

¹⁴⁷ Imposed on all monks, the *aparchē* could be paid both in money and kind ('tithe', Clackson (2000)), salt and wine; cf. Hasitzka (2001: 55).

O.Amst. I 91 (5th/6th, Aphroditō?) acknowledges receipt of a certain number of *artabas* of **wheat** (προσφορά) paid by Paamios for the (unidentified) church/monastery of Apa Papnouthios [M.146].

O.Ashm.Copt. 19 (early 7th c.)

Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: Fr[an]ge (monk?).

TO: Apa David/Las (?).

SUBJECT: Letter.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *Take the ropes* (εἰλωτ) *for yourself (and) send me an artaba of wheat* (κοῦο), *which is necessary fit the work (?) in the fields.*

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Bahria 6¹⁴⁸ (AD 374-375)

Arcadia (Heptanomis), Bahriya Oasis

FROM: Herakleidēs.

TO: Plolos (monk).

SUBJECT: Order for payment.

TRANSCRIPTION: *Herakleidēs to Plolos, the monk. Pay to Euphrantios, the soldier, the artabas that you owe, 1 artaba of wheat* (σίτος) [...]

COMMENT: Another monk (monachos) occurs in O.Bahria div. 8¹⁴⁹ (AD 410/411).

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Bahria div. 8 (AD 410-411)

Arcadia (Heptanomis), Bahriya Oasis

Cf. O.Bahria 6

O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 66/2

Thebais II, [Apa Pesynthios [M.084]]

FROM: 'The daughter of Plēin' et. al.

TO: Kalapēsios/Joseph (priest, steward of the holy tonoc of Apa Pesynthios).

SUBJECT: Deed of gift of land to a monastery.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *my father Plēin gave as a gift* (δωριζε) *to the topos, long ago while still living, his entire plot of land* (οἶκος ἡγοιζε) *which had come to him from his parents, for the salvation of his soul. [...] That plot was known (?) as the plot of Plēin the elder [or Plēin/Hllo], on which he is (?) a free man, from the ground to the air (?)*. [...]

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 69/2

Thebais II, [Apa Geōrgios [M.096]]

FROM: Gölthe (προνοητής).

TO: David (camel-driver).

SUBJECT: Travel insurance certificate.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] **Work** (ῥωβ) *with the camel* (καμωλ) *of Apa Philotheos, the head* (προνστος) *of the (monastery of) Apa Geōrgios and give me 1 holokottinos and 1 trimesion in this 15th year of the indiction. [...] I will not ask you for any service free of charge* (ἐνεχνοῦ κε λαδγυ νακαρῖα), *neither I nor anyone who belongs to me* [...]

COMMENT: Id. Till (1938: no. 58).

O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 73/1

Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammon II [M.070] (?)

FROM: Isaak/Moyses (of Hermōntis).

TO: Apa Shenoute (monk on the 'Mountain of Ġēme' (?)).

SUBJECT: Repayment of a debt.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *I asked you, you gave me 1 trimesion of pure* (οβριον)¹⁵⁰ **[gold]** *for my needs, [... I am] willing*

¹⁴⁸ Ed./tr. Wagner (1987: 90).

¹⁴⁹ Ed./tr. Wagner (1987: 106).

¹⁵⁰ Obryzon.

to return it (ετραχού) [i.e., the money] (? or: to spend it on you, or to use it for sowing on your behalf), in the way you like it [...]
COMMENT: Id. Till (1956: no. 46).

- O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 63/3** (Ĝēme?) is a letter from the hegumen and the monks of a desert monastery to a wealthy layman, with regard to his **offering** (προσφορά), and asking him not to lose interest in them.
O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 67/3 (Ĝēme?) is a letter from Antonios to the holy Apa [...] asking for **grain** (σῶρο) and **wine** (ἠρῆ).
O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 76/1 (Ĝēme?) is is a contract of sale between two fellow monks; a **camel** (καμογλ) is being sold.
O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 81/2 (Ĝēme?) is a letter from Ananias to Elias, asking him to send his property (σκηγε), of which he gives a list; this includes **salt** (ζμογ, ογκογῖ ζμογ) and some **coils of rope** (ζεννω2 ντωη).
O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 83/2 (Ĝēme?) is a debt-certificate; Phoibammōn/[Bik]tor writes to Apa Di[os] that, during/for the value of half a *trimesion*, he would **interweave** (αμφι[80]λε) something [-] with **flax** (2αστο).
O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 89/1 (7th c.?, Ĝēme?) is a list of the **property** of a monastery.

O.Brit.Mus.Copt. II 11 (AD 640-650) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070] (?)

FROM: Enoch (priester), Pisraēl (deacon; from the district of Koptos).
TO: 'The Brothers of the τόπος of Apa Phoibammōn'.
SUBJECT: Acknowledgement of a debt (?).
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] we will weave (τε[ταλο] for you the **mats** (τ[ομ] for [...] We owe you the mats for which the monastery has all rights [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- O.Brit.Mus.Copt. II 12** (AD 622/637, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]) is a similar acknowledgement of a debt; the debtor agrees to **sowing** and **irrigating** one *aroura* of land belonging to the monastery.
O.Brit.Mus.Copt. II 38 (AD 590-620, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]) is a detailed instruction of how to **tan skins**, probably written by Biktor, while being the secretary of the abbot Abraham (Biedenkopf-Ziehner 2000: I, 290); I. 12 mentions **salt/natron** (ζμογ) (?)¹⁵¹ for rinsing at the end.

CPR XX 10 (8th c.) Thebais I, [Geōrgios [M.202]] or Thebais II, [Apa Geōrgios [M.096]]

FROM: Hersiese of the village/monastery of Geōrgios.
TO:
SUBJECT: Order issued by a γραμματεῖον.
TRANSCRIPTION: + Order (ψινε Ἰσα) for 20 bottles (λακκον) of **fish** (ψαλα)¹⁵² through Hersiese from the village/monastery (of) George (πμα γεωργε). Makes for the scriptorium 20 = twenty. [...
COMMENT: CPR XX 10, 12 and 20 are orders issued by a monastic (?) grammateion; the ostraka were found at the producer/retailer's office.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

CPR XX 12 (8th c.) Thebais I, [Apa Anouph [M.194]]

FROM: Tschoor (?).
TO:
SUBJECT: Order issued by a γραμματεῖον.
TRANSCRIPTION: ++ Order for 14 bottles (λακκον) of **fish** (ταριχε)¹⁵³ through Tschoor (?) from the village/monastery of Apa Anouph. Makes for the scriptorium bottles 14. [...
COMMENT: Cf. CPR XX 10.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

CPR XX 20 (8th c.) Thebais I, [Apa Anouph [M.194]]

FROM: Tschoor.

¹⁵¹ Biedenkopf-Ziehner (2000: I, 288) translates ζμογ, 'salt', with 'natron', but gives no explanation for this choice.
¹⁵² 'Gepökelter Fisch in Salzlake' (Hasitzka 1995: 11).
¹⁵³ Tarichion, 'Pökelware' (Hasitzka 1995: 11-12).

TO:
SUBJECT: Order issued by a γραμματεῖον.
TRANSCRIPTION: ++ Order for 14 bottles (λακον) of **fish** (λαβηc)¹⁵⁴ through Tschoor from the village/monastery of Apa Anouph. Makes bottles 14. [...]
COMMENT: Cf. CPR XX 10 and 12.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Crum 29 (ca. AD 600) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: Samuel, Jacob, Aaron (prospective deacons).
TO: Abraham (bishop of Hermonthis).
SUBJECT: Ecclesiastical document.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] And we will not **trade** (ρωτ) nor **take usury** (xιμηcε) nor will we go abroad without asking (αxνωινε). [...]
COMMENT: Schmelz (2002: 195) infers from Crum's translation 'without asking (leave)' a general ban on taking usury; 'without asking' could equally refer to the sentence as a whole (i.e. relating to trade).
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Crum 58 (ca. AD 600) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: Abraham (bishop).
TO: Biktor (deacon).
SUBJECT: Letter from bishop Abraham to the deacon Victor.
TRANSCRIPTION:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Godlewski (1986: 81).

O.Crum 88 (ca. AD 600) Thebais II, Thebes (?)

FROM:
TO: Steward of a τοπος.
SUBJECT: Work-contract.
TRANSCRIPTION: [I, ..., write to the] **steward** ([νομoc) of [... that I **work** (?) in the] τοπος. Now I am [, according] to God's will [, prepared to] take care ([προ]cεxε) of it, to obey [you] [...] **wage** and I will work from today [to the feast of] Patermoute [...]
COMMENT: O.Crum 88 may deal with **cattle breeding** (Till 1956: 299).
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: no. 31; 1964: 47).

O.Crum 89 (ca. AD 600) is a similar **work-contract**, addressed to the οικονoc of a [τοπος] – the workman comes from Antinoopolis; Till (1956: no. 32; 1964: 47).

O.Crum 100 Thebais II, Thebes (?)

FROM: Elias (monk?).
TO: Paul (monk?).
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Paul having sent another Paul regarding 2 **blankets** (λωτιx)¹⁵⁵, Elias expresses his thanks; Paul is being sent again asking for the **mats** (πρηω) (?) and a black **garment**
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Crum 106 (ca. AD 600) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: Markos (deacon).
TO: Biktor (deacon, προστάτης).
SUBJECT: Work-contract.
TRANSCRIPTION: I, the humble deacon Markos/ [...] write to my head (προcτατης), my holy gracious father, the

¹⁵⁴ Alabēs, cyprinus niloticus.

¹⁵⁵ Lōdix.

deacon Biktor. According to God's will and the prayers of the saints, I am willing to obey the holy orders that you have given me and to do any **artisanal work** (ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ ΝΕΩΒ ΝΤΕΧΝΙΤΗΣ). For the period, which in [number of] days makes one month, I will come to the mountain at one go and I will perform the **ΛΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ**¹⁵⁶ of the **τοπος** eagerly (c[πογΔ]Η) and with joy. [...]

COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: no. 33(a); 1964: 47-48), Godlewski (1986: 87).

O.Crum 134 Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM:
TO: Hegumen (προεστώς).
SUBJECT: Gift of a part of a house.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Gift (ΔΩΡΙΖΕ) of a part of a house (ΗΙ) to the **τοπος**; the former is situated **ΖΗΤΠΟ** (πόλις), presumably in Hermōnthis (Crum 1902: 56 n. 1; Godlewski 1986: 87).
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Crum 138 (AD 600-650) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: Biktor.
TO: Abraham, Anatolios.
SUBJECT: Contract of cultivation.
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] I order you to sow (ΧΩ) the **fields** of Rumau (ΕΙΩΖΡΟΥΜΔΥ)¹⁵⁷. According to the **yield/return** (CΜΟΥ) that God will give us: [one] half for me, [the other] half for you. Regarding the **tax** (ΤΕΜΟCΙΟΝ): you will pay ½ holokottinos (ΖΟΛΟΚ^ο). We will share the cost for the **seeds** (ΕΒΡΙ), as well as for the **plough** (ΖΒΒΕ). [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 49), Godlewski (1986: 82-84).

O.Crum 139 (early 8th c.) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: Zacharias (ΛΑΩΔΑΝΕ).
TO: Apa Biktor (priest).
SUBJECT: Contract (ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ) of cultivation.
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] I give you my share (ΜΕΡΟC) of the **Ūba-field** (ΕΙΩΖ ΟΥΒΔ) (?) for this 5th year of the Indiction. According to the **yield/return** per νογ²¹⁵⁸, 6 arurae per holokottinos, nomisma 1. [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 50), Godlewski (1986: 82).

O.Crum 140 (AD 611/626) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: Peqōš, Plēyne, Anatōlios, Merkūrios, Abraham.
TO: Biktor (ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC).
SUBJECT: Contract of cultivation.
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] we have asked you, you were accomodating towards us [and have ?given] us the **field** (ΕΖΟΙ) and all its equipment (CΚΗΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ). Now we act as a guarantor for it [i.e., the field] and for its **tax/rent** (ΖΩΤΕ)¹⁵⁹. [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 50), Godlewski (1986: 83).

O.Crum 158 (ca. AD 600) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: ...]os.
TO: '(Θεοφιλέστατος) monk and steward (οι []) [of the monastery of Apa] Phoibammōn'.
SUBJECT: Deed of security (ἀσφάλεια).

¹⁵⁶ *Leitourgia*, 'public service', the service in favour of the monastic community (Godlewski 1986: 87).
¹⁵⁷ Evidently near Ġēme, occurs in other documents; cf. Crum (1902: 22 fn. 3).
¹⁵⁸ A land-measure (Crum 1939: 241)?
¹⁵⁹ 'Tribute', *phoros*, *ekphorion* (Crum 1939: 722).

TRANSCRIPTION: ...] You have given [me] 1 holokottinos. Now I am willing [to give you] **seeds** (cωxε) [therefore] and I will deliver it [...]
COMMENT: The document was written by David, monk of the monastery.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Crum (1902: xix), Till (1964: 52-53).

O.Crum 185 (AD 600-650) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Letter on a legal dispute.
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] According as you said that Paul had taken all **field** (201) of ..., so now he said to me, 'I am not taking beyond (?) the half of the meadow.' And he said further to me, 'I arranged at law with you as to the **hired labourers** (χαλβεκε) whom I engaged and I paid their **wages** (βεκε).' He said also, 'I will never give anything from the ... solidus nor will I go to law with thee.' Now I find no means [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Godlewski (1986: 83).

O.Crum 200 Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: 'Monk and steward (οι []) [of the monastery of Apa] Phoibammōn' (unknown).
TO: 'Son of Sourous'.
SUBJECT: Deed of security (ἀσφάλεια).
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Sourous, whom having hired to ..., the monk/steward [is ready to pay with] four (?) artabas of **wheat** (?) and (of) **lentils** (αρῳιν).
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Crum (1902: xix), Till (1964: 55), Godlewski (1986: 88).

O.Crum 206 (AD 600-650) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: Apa Biktor.
TO: Jacob/Ko[...]
SUBJECT: Contract of cultivation.
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] I authorize you to **sow** (xω) for me **the ploughed field** (c1ω2) in the property of Eponychos and hand to me the value of its **taxation** (c2ωτε) in (the month of) Paone, namely, 3½ artabas of corn (coyo) [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 56), Godlewski (1986: 83).

O.Crum 212 Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070] (?)
Thebais II, [Apa Ananias [M.074]]

FROM: 'His humble son'.
TO: 'My holy Lord and father'.
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: The writer says he is sending a bag (θαλιc) of **salt** (2μογ), ..., some **oil** (νε2) and 4 measures of **vinegar** (2μx). The steward (οικ) of Apa Ananias' [M.074] is mentioned.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Winlock – Crum (1926: I, 148).

O.Crum 218 (late 7th c.) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070] (?)

FROM: Abraham/David (Ĝēme).
TO: Apa Jacob.
SUBJECT: Work-contract.
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] you have hired me that I would tend your **camel** (καμογλ) during this 5th year of the Indiction. Now I am willing to take care (πρocece) of it and to work (p2ω8) with it without negligence. I will not be disobedient in anything and I will keep its equipment (2γλH) in order. [...] I will work from the feast of Apa Michael to the feast of Apa Michael. [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: no. 27; 1964: 57), Godlewski (1986: 85).

- O.Crum 219** (AD 600-650) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]
- FROM: Apa Biktor (hegumen).
TO: Apa Biktor (hegumen).
SUBJECT: Work-contract.
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] you have given me the **camel** (καμογλ) so that I would **work** with it. The **τονος** [i.e., of Apa Phoibammōn] will receive 3 parts (= 3/5 of the yield/return) for the camel, and I will receive 2 parts (= 2/5) for my labours (ναξιςε). [...
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: no. 29; 1964: 57), Godlewski (1986: 85).
- O.Crum 220/21** (AD 650-700; AD 600-650) are similar work-contracts between Apa Biktor, the hegumen of Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070], and Elias/Salomon (O.Crum 220) and Joseph/Paulos (O.Crum 221) respectively; these would take care of (προεχ[ε] and **work** (ρ2ω8) with the **camels** (καμογλ) of the holy **topos** of Apa Phoibammōn; O.Crum 221, Till (1956: no. 28); O.Crum 220/21, Godlewski (1986: 85).
- O.Crum 222** (ca. AD 600; Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]?) is a similar work-contract between [?] and Hllō who would take care of the animals (ντ8νοογε) of [?]; Till (1956: no. 26; 1964: 57-58), Godlewski (1986: 85).
- O.Crum 223** (AD 600-650) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]
- FROM: Phoibammōn.
TO: Apa Biktor ('[steward (?) of the holy **τονος** of saint Phoi]bammōn').
SUBJECT: Undertaking to do some **work** (ρ2ω8) at the **topos** for a fixed period.
TRANSCRIPTION: Undertaking to do some **work** (ρ2ω8) at the **topos** for a fixed period.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 58), Godlewski (1986: 81).
- O.Crum 229**¹⁶⁰ Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070] (?)
- FROM: Paul (?).
TO: Superior (unknown).
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: Letter to a superior; Paul (?) had requested [-] and Basil to annul the guarantee of a **camel** (καμογλ) ...; he speaks of going south to visit his correspondent (at Dayr Apa Phoibammōn?) whom he begs to inform him should he wish the donkey be sent to the meadow.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Godlewski (1986: 85).
- O.Crum 250** Thebais II, Thebes (?)
- FROM: Letter of book-request.
TO: Letter of book-request.
SUBJECT: Letter of book-request.
TRANSCRIPTION: Letter asking for *The Paradise of Šihēt* (i.e. Skēthis), *The Paradise of Nitria* (ππα[ρ]αδει[ς]κος μοναχ[ος])¹⁶¹ and the *Askētikon* of [...
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:
- O.Crum 303** (AD 600-650) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]
- FROM: Hllō (the monk in O.Crum 222?), Simeōn.
TO: Biktor (priest, hegumen).
SUBJECT: Work-contract.
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] In the **field** (ιω2ε) of *Patšment*, which we have tilled together, we are your **farm-labourers** (τνρ2μ2αλ), so that in no way we will neglect (?). With God's help we will also pay for the **seeds** (ε8ρ1), the **tax** (αημοσιον) and all the costs (αλωμα τηρ4) [...

¹⁶⁰ Ostrakon found at Kōm Ombo (Thebais II).
¹⁶¹ Crum (1902: 63 fn. 1), Evelyn-White – Hauser (1926-1933: II, 17-18. 27-28).

COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1956: no. 49; 1964: 61), Godlewski (1986: 83).

O.Crum 304 (AD 600-650) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Agreement (ὁμολογία).
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Agreement between Esdra (monk?) and Patlōlios (monk?)¹⁶², in the presence of Apa Biktor (priest): they undertake that any one working (?) for either (?) shall give half (the product) to Esdra, half to Patlōlios; the division of the **straw** (τῶ2) has been fixed, an undertaking seems to be given about the mode of work on a meadow and a promise not to neglect any means of benefitting the land (Crum 1902: 28).
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 61).

O.Crum 306 is the termination of a work-contract between Georgiōs, the deacon, and Phaustos; these shared a **potter's workshop** (σεκωτ)¹⁶³; Till (1964: 62).

O.Crum 307 (AD 600-650) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: Biktor (hegumen), Matthaios.
TO: Germanos, Isak.
SUBJECT: Contract (ἐπιτροπή) of cultivation.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] We order you to **sow** (χο) our sector (μερος), i.e., the third on the Mnke¹⁶⁴ of the shepherds, from Šmūl¹⁶⁵ southward. You will pay a full gold trimesion of gold and 8 artabas of **wheat** (coyo). [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 62), Godlewski (1986: 83).

O.Crum 308 (AD 600-650) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: 10 headmen (of a village; κγφλλε)¹⁶⁶, Zacharias (lašane).
TO: Apa Biktor (ὀικονόμος or προεστώς(?)) of the monastery of saint Phoibammōn).
SUBJECT: Authorization (ἐπιτροπή).
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: This authorisation relates to land adjoining (?) the river; written by Pīsraēl, the geometer (μῆτρης).
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 62), Godlewski (1986: 82).

O.Crum 310 (ca. AD 600), a declaration, mentions a monk Joseph who lives in a **tower** (πυργος) situated outside the gate of the monastery of Apa Phoibammōn [M.070]; Till (1964: 62-63).

O.Crum 311 Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: Moses/David (priest).
TO: Biktor (bishop, resident in the tonoc).
SUBJECT: Deed of security.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Repayment of something in return for a **loan** (?) or other benefit previously received by the writer (Crum 1902: 24).
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 63).

¹⁶² Suggested by Godlewski (1986: 81).

¹⁶³ Different, Crum (1902: 28 fn. 2): πατσεκωτ, 'wine-cellar'; no mention is made of an attachment of Georgiōs or Phaustos to a monastic community/site.

¹⁶⁴ Unknown location.

¹⁶⁵ Unknown location.

¹⁶⁶ On civil headmen, cf. Crum (1902: 23, fn. 1).

O.Crum 347

Thebais II, Thebes (?)

FROM: Pekōš (deacon).
TO: Leontios ('his father').
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Pekōš requests Leontios to send 2 jars (ἀγγείον) of **garden-oil** (νεῖ2 νεωμ) and 1 jar of **vegetable-oil** (ἡ02 νελο6)¹⁶⁷.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Winlock (1926: I, 147).

O.Crum 402

Thebais II, Thebes (?)

FROM:
TO: Apa Jacob (?).
SUBJECT: Letter of book-request.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Letter (urgently) asking for books, among them *Isaiah the Exegete*.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Crum 404

Thebais II, Thebes (?)

FROM: Jacob/Hasios.
TO: Apa Biktor (deacon).
SUBJECT: Financial obligation.
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] I have **deposited** (†) with you [...], i.e., 200 holokottinoi. Now I ask for your fatherly feeling to [pay] the **tax-instalment** (καταβολή) of the two [... i.e.,] nomisma I for Twarios. [...
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 65).

O.Crum 407/08 are tax-receipts in which the community (κοινότης) 'of the Mountain [of Ĝēme]' [i.e. Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]] certifies that Mēna/Dorotheos (monk; O.Crum 408) has paid his **tax-** (δημόσιον) instalment of 1 *holokottinos*; Till (1964: 65).

O.Crum 409-430 are similar **tax-receipts**; (presumably,) they refer to members of a monastic community (Till 1964: 6567); O.Crum 409, Godlewski (1986: 84).

O.Crum 458 is a list of **books** (χρῶμε), including the Gospels of Mark and John.

O.Crum 459

Thebais II, Thebes (?)

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: List of books and other articles.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Extensive list, including **books** (κατηκεσις of Shenoute, ...), **sheep-skins** (ψαρ νεσοογ), 27 pairs of **grave-cloths** (κερεα)¹⁶⁸, 2 **weighing-machines** (χαριτζων)¹⁶⁹ (?) etc.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Crum 462 (8th c.)

Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: List (λόγος) of grain.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: List of **grain** (σοογ) sent to καλη μπεκο¹⁷⁰: 12 (*artabas*) for us, 12 for them; v^o: another list of *artabas*

¹⁶⁷ I.e. 'gourd-oil' (Crum 815).

¹⁶⁸ *Keiria*.

¹⁶⁹ *Charistiōn* (?), an instrument for weighing or lifting.

¹⁷⁰ A small piece of land/Christian settlement in/near Hermōnthiς (?), situated north of *Tpağs n-Rōmoou* (Ramau), given to Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II by the *koinotēs* of Ĝēme (Crum 1902: 43 fn. 1; Timm 1984: III, 1217-1218 and V, 2195).

sent to the place of Kyriko[s].
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Godlewski (1986: 84-85).

O.Crum 464 is a list (probably) of **wine**; l. 10 mentions the *aparchē* (Crum 1902: 43; Clackson 2000: 19).

O.Crum 482 (AD 600-650) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]
Thebais II, [Apa John [M.076]]

FROM: Biktor (of the [τόπος of] saint John).
TO:
SUBJECT: Deed.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] I will give you a quarter of the **straw** (τω2) (?). The **seed-corn** (ειβρι) shall be paid in common.
[...]
COMMENT: The deed was written in the presence of Apa Biktor, priest of [the τόπος of] saint Phoibammōn.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Godlewski (1986: 83).

O.Crum Ad 3 (AD 600-650) Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Deed of gift.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Jas/Sanēth (Ĝēme) leave (τωριζε)¹⁷¹ the share (μερος) of land inherited to the τοπος of saint Phoibammōn; mentions boundaries.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 68), Godlewski (1986: 81).

O.Crum Ad. 23 Thebais II, Thebes (?)

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: List of books.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: List of **books** (χαρτες); includes *The Acts* (on papyrus), *My Father Isaiah* (on papyrus), *The Paradise*.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Crum Ad 30 Thebais II, [Apa Joannēs [M.076]] (?)

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: List (λόγος) of expenses.
TRANSCRIPTION: *The list (λογος) of what I [?] spent] for the τοπος of the holy Apa Joannēs and Jacob. **Wine** (ηρῆ), [...] (). I gave 12 pairs of **clothes** (2800c) for one trimesion. I bought them from (?) [...] Likewise **sesame** (σιμσιμ), 3 ½ artabas. **Wheat** (coyo), 20 artabas. 24 copper-še (ψε)¹⁷² I gave, in addition, for wine. 10 artabas of **wheat** I gave for the **camel** (δαμογλ). 8 baskets (λικ) of **copper** (20MNT) I spent, in addition, for **camel fodder** (τροφηναδαμογλ).*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 71).

O.Crum Ad 44 Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: David (monk), on behalf of Ezeqiēl (?).
TO:
SUBJECT: Work-contract.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] and I will [again] leave you, until/when I will have made 24 **coverings/garments** (2800c). I am willing to [have] these made. I, David, the monk of Apa Phoibammōn [...]
COMMENT: Production for monastic consumption rather than sale (Godlewski 1986: 87)?
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Till (1964: 72), Godlewski (1986: 81, 87).

¹⁷¹ Dōrizein.

¹⁷² ψε (Theban Sa'idic): small bronze coin (value of 1 (?) karat) (Crum 1939: 547).

O.Crum Ad 46

Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.076] (?)

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Letter concerning a loom.
TRANSCRIPTION: *When first your fraternity wrote to us saying, Send me the loom (ΝΑΤ), I replied to you, 'I cannot do so; but if your fraternity consents to the agreements which we arranged with you, we are ready to act according to everything so arranged.' Then, behold, you did again write to us according to your first folly, saying, 'Send me the loom.' Think not then, dear brother, that I am able to do anything of this sort. For I am in the house of the ... as a servant (δούλον), watching over his master's house and not neglecting it, lest it be ... and plundered by thieves. [...] Anything presented to the different τόποι, which can, at what time they will, be removed, such will gladly give you¹⁷³. Farewell, brother [...]*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Crum Ad 54

Thebais II, Thebes (?)

FROM: Abraham (monk).
TO: Apa David.
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: *Make haste (σπουτασε)¹⁷⁴ to give 62 bundles of rope (ΜΗΡ ΝΝΩ2) to the man that comes to you with this ostrakon, till I arrive and put in order this account (λογος) with you and take away the ... too.*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.CrumST 46

Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]
Thebais II, [Forty Martyrs/Holy Theophilos [M.046]]

FROM: Isak/Hatré, Apa Biktor (craftsmen).
TO: Apa John/Isak (of the holy τόπος of the Forty Martyrs and of the holy Theophilos of Hermōnthis).
SUBJECT: Wage-receipt.
TRANSCRIPTION: *In view of the wooden construction (ξύλικον) (?) of the τοπος that we are about to erect, we have received as our wage (βεεκε) 2 holokottinoi of gold (νουβ) and 30 jars (αγγην) of wine (ηρπ) for subsistence [...] 40 pounds of mutton (αγ ηεσοογ) [...]*
COMMENT: Id. Till (1956: no. 50).

O.CrumST 60 (papyrus, 7th c.) is a will (ΔΙΔΗΚΗ) that transfer **plots of land** to Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]; Godlewski (1986: 82).

O.CrumST 128 is an account of **corn** (σογο) delivered by camel (καμογλ).

O.CrumST 163 lists **books** (χωωμε) and the cost of **binding**.

O.CrumST 255

Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070] (?)

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: *When I came north, I found in truth that the brethren had sold it [the salt] and scarcely did I find for maaḡes in the place.*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Winlock - Crum (1926: I, 148).

O.CrumVC 30

Thebais II, Tabennēsē [M.100]
Thebais II, Ġēme

FROM: Claudius (in the 'monastery of Apa Pahōm [i.e., Pachomius] in the Koptite nome)¹⁷⁵.

¹⁷³ Crum (1902: 81 fn. 2) implies from this statement that the loom was not among things removable.

¹⁷⁴ Spoudazein.

¹⁷⁵ Id. Tabennēsē [M.100], for Pboou (Fāw) [M.102] is situated in the Diospolite nome (Crum 1939: 16).

TO: Philotheus (in the *kastron* of Ġēme).
SUBJECT: Agreement as to sowing.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] you have paid me the price (ΤΙΜΗ) of an aroura and a half of land (κα2), that I should sow (χοc) it for thee with ... and should give [it] its water [...]
COMMENT:

O.Deir ei-Gizāz, Journal des fouilles 1¹⁷⁶ (AD 600-618) Thebais II, Dayr al-Ġizāz [M.086]

FROM: Pesynthios (bishop of Koptos).
TO: Apa Jakob.
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION: Please, send ... Pleine: make [the animals] **graze** (μο[ο]νε) with Kornelios; now or as soon as possible, go to the mountain and bring me the **animals** (τβνο) and accompany them south together with the same Kornelios. Please ... and all the brothers. Greetings.
Give it to Apa Jacob, presbyter and proestōs, from the most humble Pesynthios.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Elkab gr. 197¹⁷⁷ (Demotic) Thebais II, Nekheb (al-Kāb)

FROM: Hōros (farmer (τελώνης) of the νιτρία¹⁷⁸).
TO: Tabous (female)/Peteharoēris.
SUBJECT: Receipt for **natron-tax** payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] I have received from you, as tax-payment, one hundred flasks/(small) bottles.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.IFAO 13315¹⁷⁹ (post-AD 452 or 7th/8th c., τόπος of Apa Elija 'of the Rock (πέτρα)' [M.094]¹⁸⁰) is a catalogue of 80 **holy books** (λ)ογος βιβλίων με ετογλδδ; 'catalogue du bibliothécaire') in papyrus (χαρ; 61/80) and parchment (μεβρανον; 14/80); 79/80 books deal with biblical/hagiographical/canonical subjects, 1/80 (no. 78) with medicine.

O.Kōm al-Nānā TA94KN/AC52 [8410] 30336¹⁸¹ Thebais I, Kōm al-Nānā [M.192]

FROM: Ioannēs (wine-handler/-seller (?), of Peġla¹⁸²).
TO: Phoibammōn (θεοφιλέστατος).
SUBJECT: *Synetheia* (gratuity paid to an official/regular salary)¹⁸³.
TRANSCRIPTION: [Hand 1, Greek] [...] **wine** of the ... I have received and have been paid in full the **synetheia** owed by you to/for the ... annually of the **crops** of the ninth indiction which is of **wine** two jars, total 2 jars (?) of wine only.
[Hand 2, Coptic] I, Joannēs the soldier/Pmatoei (i.e., personal name) of Peġla (ΠΜΔΤΟΕΙ ΜΠΕΧΛΔ) agree to this ostrakon.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Kōm al-Nānā.Copt. 1¹⁸⁴ (6th/7th c.) Thebais I, Kōm al-Nānā [M.192]

FROM: Kolthe/Isak.

¹⁷⁶ Ed. Di Bitonto Kasser (1989: 173-177).

¹⁷⁷ Ed./tr. Bingen (1989: 136-137).

¹⁷⁸ I.e. the deposits of *nitron*.

¹⁷⁹ Ed./tr. Bouriant (1889: 131-138); re-ed. Coquin (1975).

¹⁸⁰ Though claimed to be from Qurna, the ostrakon may originate from and was purchased in Qūs (Bouriant 1889: 131-132. 135).

¹⁸¹ Tr. Clackson (1999: 275-276).

¹⁸² Cf. O.Kōm al-Nānā.Copt. 2.

¹⁸³ Johnson (1949: 289-295).

¹⁸⁴ Id. TA94KN/AC51 [8400] 30312; tr. Clackson (1999: 271-273).

TO: 'Great men' (ΜΝΟΣ ΝΡΩΜΕ)¹⁸⁵ of Teclooce (ΤΕΣΛΟΟΣΕ)¹⁸⁶.
 SUBJECT: Acknowledgement of tax-payment.
 TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *I have accounted for (ΝΟΥΖ ΕΒΟΛ) the double aroua of fields. Here is the dēmosion of/for Pilepai¹⁸⁷ (?). I Kolthe agree to this ostrakon for Apa Phib the headman (ΑΠΕ). And if Apa Eisak comes to you, do not give him any payment/answer (ἀπόκρισις) for/about the fields.*
 COMMENT: Kolthe agrees to the document on behalf of the head of the monastery, Apa Phib; Clackson (1999: 271) infers from the passage that Kolthe worked in something like the accounts department of the monastery, even though he does not bear a monastic title.
 BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Kōm al-Nānā.Copt. 2¹⁸⁸ (6th/7th c.) is a similar document in which a horse[man ?] (ΡΩΜΖΤΩΡ) of Peğla¹⁸⁹ writes to the great man (ΝΟΣ ΝΡΩΜΕ) of Teclooce that he had accounted for the double **aroura** (?).

KO 761¹⁹⁰ (7th c.)

Thebais II, [Apa Joannēs 'of Diabathra' [M.078]]

FROM: Markos (Iašane of Pseparios¹⁹¹).
 TO: Harau (monk of the monastery of Apa Joannēs).
 SUBJECT: Acknowledgement of a debt.
 TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *I entreated you, you came to me (and) brought me two holokottinoi for a loan (ΟΥΨΙΝ). Now I am ready to give (=repay) them to you without dispute and without difficulties [...]*
 COMMENT:
 BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Louvre E 32584

Thebais II, Elephantine Island

FROM: Psan (presbyter).
 TO: Psan (steward, ΟΙΚΟΝΩΜΟΣ).
 SUBJECT:
 TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *give him back eight bunches-mton¹⁹² of esparto-grass (ΚΕΜ)¹⁹³ and [...]*
 COMMENT:
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacot (2000: 38-40).

O.Louvre E 32585

Thebais II, Elephantine Island

FROM: Moïse (?).
 TO: Psan (steward, ΟΙΚΟΝΩΜΟΣ).
 SUBJECT:
 TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *give him back six bunches-mton of esparto-grass (ΚΕΜ) of Moïse and of Biktōr [...]*
 COMMENT: Cf. O.Louvre E 32584.
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacot (2000: 38).

¹⁸⁵ In its singular, head of a monastery (cf. O.Kawm al-Nānā.Copt.2, Clackson (1999: 274)); in its plural, the elders of a monastery, but also high-ranking village officials (Clackson 1999: 272).

¹⁸⁶ *Klimax*, 'ladder', attested elsewhere in monastic toponymes (e.g., Dayr Abū Darāğ [M.322]) and book-headings [L.116].

¹⁸⁷ Neither attested as a personal name, nor as a place name.

¹⁸⁸ Id. TA94KN/AC51 [8400] 30313; tr. Clackson (1999: 273-275).

¹⁸⁹ 'The cultivated field' (Clackson 1999: 274 fn. 33). Clackson (*ibid.*) draws attention to a place called Pescla (mod. al-Hağğ Qandīl, Drew-Bear (1979: 206 and fn. 382)) and listed in the *Notitia dignitatum* as a Byzantine cavalry camp – could the horse[man ?] have been a cavalryman, attached to the imperial army?

¹⁹⁰ Ed. Crum (1957: no. 2).

¹⁹¹ Unidentified village between Koptos/Qift and Hermōnthis/Armant (Timm 1984: IV, 2036).

¹⁹² 'Of wealth' (Crum 1939: 194), i.e. in good condition?

¹⁹³ 'Le terme copte pour l'alfa est kam, qui ne doit donc pas être traduit autrement' (Bacot 2000: 36).

O.Louvre N 686¹⁹⁴ (6th-7th/8th c.)

Thebais II, Thebes (?)

FROM:
TO: 'Our fathers' (ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ).
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] tomorrow, when you will go to mass (ΕΚΨΑΝCYNΔΓΕ), please take the knives (ΝΚΑΡΤΕ)¹⁹⁵ (and) bring them to us. Be so good also to bring the 'sharpener' (CΟΥΡΕ ΝΨΩΒ) with you and 'repair'/cut (ΨΩΒ) for us those straps (ΝΕΙΜΟΥC) which have broken off the books (ΝΕΧΩΜΕ), and also those 'buckles' (ΝΙCΥΡΔ) (?)¹⁹⁶. Pray for me in love.
COMMENT: Repair of a book's binding or closing buckles/straps.

O.Medin.HabuCopt. 81 (8th c.) is a contract of cultivation in which the dikaion of a monastery in Ġēme [Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]?] asks the addressees to sow a plot of land; the yield/return would be shared.

O.Mena 1¹⁹⁷ (6th c.)

Aegyptus I, [Dayr] Abū Mīnā [M.378]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Instruction for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: Paophi 1. Pay for the board (ΦΑΓΙC) of the vintage workers (ΠΑΤΗΤΑΙ) 13 solidi and of the clerics ('Oberaufsicht bei der Weingewinnung')¹⁹⁸ 3 and of the apostasarios ('Kellermeister') 1.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Mena 2 (6th c.)

Aegyptus I, [Dayr] Abū Mīnā [M.378]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Instruction for payment
TRANSCRIPTION: Thoth 26. Pay for the board/provision money (ΦΑΓΙC) of the vintage workers 13 solidi and of the clerics 3 and of the apostasarios 1.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Mena 3 (6th c.)

Aegyptus I, [Dayr] Abū Mīnā [M.378]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Instruction for payment
TRANSCRIPTION: Thoth 15. Pay for the board (ΦΑΓΙΟΝ) of the vintage workers 1 (3) solidi and of the clerics 3 and of the apostasarios 1, of Alexander (?) solidi [...]
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Mena 4-7 (6th c.) are similar instructions, issued between Mesorē 28 (August 21) and Thoth 20 (September 17); O.Mena 6 mentions Tēneti, O.Mena 7 Sēsana as wine-related estates (?).
O.Mena 8 (6th c.) is a similar instruction (Mesorē 23/August 16) in which 2 solidi and 1 xestēs of wine are consigned to the donkey-drivers (ὄνηλάται).

O.Mich.Copt. 7

Thebais II, Tabennēsē [M.100]

FROM:
TO:

¹⁹⁴ Ed. Revillout (1900-1902; 1912: no. 76^{bis}); re-ed./tr. Blöbaum (1999: 250-251).
¹⁹⁵ CΟΥΡΤΕ.
¹⁹⁶ Sera or seira (?), 'Verschlussbänder (resp. -ösen?)' (Blöbaum 1999: 251-252).
¹⁹⁷ Ed. Drerup (1908); found near the Main Church.
¹⁹⁸ Drerup (1908: 245).

SUBJECT:

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *Make great haste and send your **camels** (καμογλ) and those of the congregation by night – at Tabennēsē – today – and let my things be [...]*

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Mon.Phoib. 9 (Dayr Apa Phoibammōn I [M.056]) is a letter of enquiry about a matter relating to **wine** (ηρῖ).

O.Mon.Phoib. 10 (Dayr Apa Phoibammōn I [M.056]) attests to the presence of **oxen** (βαειτ) in a monastic context.

O.Mon.Phoib. 35 (Dayr Apa Phoibammōn I [M.056]) relates the toponyme Tabennēsē ([M.100]?), where Paulos was sent to go.

O.Mon.Phoib. 42 (Dayr Apa Phoibammōn I [M.056]) relates a 'head of the house' (χεχηι); Bachatly (1961-1981: II, 107).

O.Mon.Phoib. 48 (Dayr Apa Phoibammōn I [M.056]) attests to something being produced and taken to a monastery, to Tsehet¹⁹⁹.

O.Vind.ÄS 6015²⁰⁰ (AD 601?)

Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammōn II [M.070]

FROM: Shenoute (lawyer).

TO: Biktor (steward).

SUBJECT:

TRANSCRIPTION: *According to the will of God, I am willing to pay you, at the right time, half a holokottinos for the expenditure (ἀνδάλωμα) for the **field** (εἰς 2ε). [...]*

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.QU IV²⁰¹ 369-374 (Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]) are receipts relative to the shipping (by ship; no. 372-374) of foodstuffs and other goods; signed by an official (καταστάτης).

O.QU IV 375 (Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]) mentions the load of 3 camels.

O.QU IV 376-387 (Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]) are receipts, usually signed by an official, though his office is not stated, for a tax in connection with loaded camels.

O.QU IV 388 (Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]) lists '32 oipe (?) of **vegetables** ... to Rakote (Fayyūmic?), 69'.

O.QU IV 396

Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL:

FOUND:

STORED:

CONTENTS: *Into the holy (?) cell ... **oil-press** (ηλρνε2) for the first (?) ... **large vessels** (νο6 νλδ2Η) ... **small vessels** (κογῖ νλδ2Η) ... Mesorē 27 in[diction] [...] Those which I have brought ... [I] Mena [...]*

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Qurnat Mar'y 249²⁰² (ca. AD 650-700)

Thebais II, Dayr Mār Murqus ar-Rasūlī [M.062]

FROM: John (πρωτοκωμήτης/λαψδανε).

TO: David (monk)²⁰³.

SUBJECT: Work- and rent contract (ἐπιτροπή).

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *I authorise you to **sow** (σπείρειν) and to **fill** (γεωργεῖν) the arouras of the valley (κοιλίας)²⁰⁴ of Asie (Ἀσιε) (?), for the sowing (season) of the 12th (indiction) and the harvest of the 13th, on basis of (?) an **annuity** (πάκτου)²⁰⁵ (?) of 2 [i.e. nomismata] [...]*

COMMENT:

¹⁹⁹ Unidentified location.

²⁰⁰ Ed. Krall (1902: 258-260).

²⁰¹ Ed. Quibell (1912).

²⁰² Ed./tr. Gascou (1999: no. 3).

²⁰³ Gascou (1999: 205) emphasizes that David does not necessarily represent his monastic community.

²⁰⁴ 'Lit d'un canal qui est sans doute à sec durant une partie de l'année' (Gascou 1999: 205).

²⁰⁵ Gascou (1999: 206).

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

O.Sarga 55 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Stela/graffito.
TRANSCRIPTION: Good God, have mind of [...] Apa Akoui the **press-man** (ρμειομ) , Anoup the **baker** (αμρε) and (the) papa Wenofer the **press-man** (ρμειομ) [...]
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 56 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Stela/graffito.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] my brother Anoup the **baker** (αμρε), the p[apa] Wenofer and [Zach]arias (?), **press-men** (ρμειομ). God bring their life to a good end. [...]
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 86 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]
FROM: John.
TO: Theōna.
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] of Poih, (saying,) As regards the matter of the two **nets** (νεϋνε) that are in the hands of the papa George, give him ten μααχε of **corn** (κοϋο) for them. [...]
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 87 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]
FROM: Daniel (archimandrite).
TO: Apa John.
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: Daniel [...] writes to Apa John of the **pickle store** (μα ν[.]χι ρ) (?) (saying), Be so good and fill two λααη with **pickle** (χι ρ), and give five xestes (ζεϋτ) of pickle to the λααη, that is ten xestes ...
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 88 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]
FROM: Enoch (steward).
TO:
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: Be so kind and give four sacks of **onions** (σοοϋνε νῖϋωλ) to papa John; [...] Give it to my brother Pgōl, from Enoch (ποϊκονομοϋ).
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 89 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]
FROM: Enoch .
TO: Stephen (steward).
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Lo. my brother Enoch is come down (? up) to you. Let him be given three μααχε of **lentils** (αρϋιν) and two οῖνε of **dates** (βννε) and a φοροϋ of **[old?] wine** (ηρῖ [αϋ]). If [...]
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 90 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Letter.

TRANSCRIPTION: Be so kind and give two φορος and thirteen λακον of **old wine** (επι ΔC)²⁰⁶ to papa Andrew [...]
COMMENT: Apparently, the text continues on P.Sarga 91, which formed part of the same pot.

O.Sarga 91 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: And fill their δαλιτε (κόλλαθον?) with **oil** (νε2) for them and their hots (20TĀ) with **old wine** (επι ΔC).
[...]
COMMENT: Cf. O.Sarga 90.

O.Sarga 92 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: [Papnoute's] father (πεφλωτ).
TO: Papnoute.
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Send me two φορος of **wine** (επι) and six bags of **loaves** (δαδε) and the jar of **oil** (νε2) and ten baskets of **salt**-... (ωτε μελ2)²⁰⁷. And fill the ... of **wine** (επι) for my father [...] And send us a φορος of **salt-fish** (ταριχε)²⁰⁸ and a φορος of ... **vinegar** (2εμχ). And send us three xestes (ζεκτης) of pickle (χιρ) of ... and send us four οινε of **corn** for grinding (κογο νικικε).
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 93 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO: 'Our beloved father' (μεριτ ν [ιωτ]).
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] send eight [**camels** (δαμογλ)], that we may (?) load them with **fodder** (cι [M]) (?). [...] And provide three good **camels**²⁰⁹ for **wine** (ηρι) for us ... When the camels come up (?) down) loaded with fodder, send them out to us, that we may (?) load them (with the wine) for coming down (?) up). [...]
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 94 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, [Būhā [M.188]] (?)
Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: 'Brethren' of Pohe (πο2ε)²¹⁰.
TO: Apa Justus (παιωτ απα ιουκτη).
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Be so kind and send all the **camels** (δαμογλ), that they may clear out (σεκε2) these **palm-branches** (ειβητ). [...]
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 98 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Papnoute (steward).
TO: Enoch.
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] [Send?] the **ass** (νιω) to me and [...] you sent [...]
COMMENT:

²⁰⁶ As opposed to μηικ, mustum, gleukos (Crum 1922: 88 fn. 1); O.Crum 235.

²⁰⁷ Cf. O.Sarga 164, where this unknown term perhaps recurs.

²⁰⁸ Taricheion is taken to mean pickled fish, but among Theban monks it applies to other foods besides, such as vegetables (Winlock - Crum 1926: 148-149).

²⁰⁹ Or 'camel (loads)', as in P.Sarga 204.

²¹⁰ Most likely, Būhā [M.188], in the neighbourhood of Kāw (Crum 1922: 90 fn. 6).

O.Sarga 100 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Patermoute.
TO:
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] the great kindness and go in to the dwelling (ΜΔ ΝΩΩΠΕ)²¹¹ [...] and go in the ch[urch] and look in the window (niche) on the north side of the place of the congregation (ΜΔ ΝΧΗΝΔΚΕ, a part of the church?) [and send (?)] those three packets (?) of **rope** (CΠΟΥ) to me and that **net** (ΩΝΕ) that hangs (?) on [...]. And [be so kind] as to ask about the [... Other requests are made, the last being for twelve (?) baskets] of **loaves** (ΕΔΕΕ) **on loan** (ΕΠΟΥΔΑΠΡ)
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 101 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] and the **balance** (ΜΔΩΕ) and its ring and a **ball of net cord** (ΚΕΛΚΟΛΕ ΝΚΔΠ ΝΔΒΩ), (belonging?) to papa Pihēw, and six 'hands' of **tow** (CΠΠΟΝ). [...
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 104 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Enoch (brother).
TO: Apa Enoch (steward).
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Lo, George, the sailor of the libernus (ship) is come up to you. Be so kind, go to the place of the **palm-fibre** dealers (CΔΝ ΩΒΝΝΕ)²¹² with him; for they say, We want the **cable** (ΜΔΩΡΤ) and the **towing rope** (ΛΕΒΔΝ) and the small cable of the [...]. And give them other twenty litres of **tow** (CΠΠΕ). [...
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 105 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Ap[a ...].
TO: [...], the **palm-fibre worker** (CΔΝΩΒΝΝ[Ε]).
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] send us six ... [for (?) **camels** for [...]] forthwith. And if you find as many (?) **reeds** (ΚΔΜ), send them, in good condition.
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 106 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Letter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] send a little **wine** (ΗΡΠ) out to the shepherds (ΩΩC). For we gave them the two small hots (ΖΟΤC) and they said, We want three a day. Come out and satisfy them. And bring two ΜΔΧΕ of **dates** (ΒΕΝΕ) for them. Give it to Apa Enoch, from papa Isaac. Do not delay to come [out], for they have been idle.
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 107 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Apa Enoch.
TO: Cosma.
SUBJECT: Letter.

²¹¹ Here it must comprise a group of monastic buildings (Crum 1922: 94 fn. 1).
²¹² Sebenion, whence monkish clothing etc. were made.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] set four **sucking-pigs** (παῖρε)²¹³ apart, in a place by themselves, and give them a little **barley** (ἰωτ) [...] For it is desired to give them to the pagarch's bride [...]

COMMENT:

O.Sarga 108 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarḡā [M.172]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: Letter.

TRANSCRIPTION: Papnoute has come, telling me that you are compelling the ... to yoke (a **beast** to) the **waterwheel** (νογ28). Please do not molest (?) the ... until they harvest the **field** (σωε); for you know that this is the reason for (harvesting) the field.

COMMENT:

O.Sarga 110 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarḡā [M.172]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: Letter.

TRANSCRIPTION: Joseph the **baker** (παιμπε) came from the **vineyard meadow** (φοῖ μπισωμ), (saying,) Did not Apa (?) Papnoute the steward say, Give six ... of **pure** (wine) (2ε ἄκρᾱτην) to the **camelherds** (καμαλιτῆς).

COMMENT:

O.Sarga 111 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarḡā [M.172]

Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Talaō [M.300]] (?)

FROM: 'The brethren (?) of our moun]t (?) of Talaō²¹⁴'.

TO: '[Our father (?) the] bishop and Isak [the chief cou]rier (?)'.

SUBJECT: Letter.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] If (?) we **neglect** (?) when **working**, for you [i.e., the bishop] know that we have not **income** (πρσοτος) whence to live, be so kind, then, let your lordship give order and render the whole place equal with the other parts ... us, for we work in other ones (?) places) [...]

COMMENT:

O.Sarga 121 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarḡā [M.172]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: Account (Greek).

TRANSCRIPTION: By the same, 11th, 1st convoy (φορ), by C..., **camel-driver** (καμαλι[τοϋ]), 28 phorai of **wine** (οι). By the same, 11th, 2nd convoy, by John of Parou, 16 phorai of wine. By the same, same day, 2nd (convoy), by Phoibammōn, camel-driver, 30 phorai of wine. By the same, 2nd convoy, by Macarius (?), camel-driver, ... phorai of wine.

COMMENT: O.Sarga 121-125 (accounts of wine), are apparently all of the same character (number + φορ + [Δ + name of person responsible for payment +] Δ + name of camel-driver) + amount of wine; {x φορ}²¹⁵ = number ('times') of the payment or successive daily deliveries ('first', 'second')) and probably all in the same hand (Crum 1922: 105-109).

²¹³ παῖρ in P.Ryl.Copt. 158 and 159 is an element promised by husbandmen in their rent in kind; *choirada* holds exactly the place of παῖρε (fem.) (Crum 1922: 99 fn. 1).

²¹⁴ A *kōmē* Talaō (mod. Ṭalā), situated north-west of al-Fašn (district of Oxyrhynchus/al-Bahnasā), occurs in P.Oxy. XVI 1934, 3 (Timm 1984: VI, 2471); most remarkably, Apa Paternoute, later monk of Wādī Sarḡā, was born in Pbēš (πβησ > al-Fašn) (O.Sarga 63 and Timm (1984: II, 946)); another location called Talaō is attested near Aphroditō (cf. P.Lond. IV, 589).

²¹⁵ *Phoras*, 'convoy, delivery'; cf. Quibell (1912: 118-119 and ostrakon no. 375) and O.CrumST 128, where x φορ occurs, followed by a number of camels, and a quantity of wine or other articles; a close analogy to the present accounts can be found in the documents from Dayr Anbā Abullū/Bāwī [M.190] and an account from Hermopolis Magna, PSI IV 307 (5th c.).

O.Sarga 122 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account (Greek).
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Account (of **wine**) identical in arrangement with O.Sarga 121; measures: ὄργον, φορά, κνίδιον.

O.Sarga 123 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account (Greek).
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Account (of **wine**) identical in arrangement with O.Sarga 121; measures: ὄργον²¹⁶, φορά, κνίδιον.

O.Sarga 124 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account (Greek).
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Account (of **wine**) identical in arrangement with O.Sarga 121; measures: φορά, κνίδιον; fragments of place-names, probably thoses of the estates from which the wine had come; οικονῶ (l. 5) refers to a monastic steward: Papnoute often appears in these texts as the writer or recipient, as does Stephen (l. 7) (Crum 1922: 113).

O.Sarga 125 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO: Account (Greek).
SUBJECT:
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Account (of **wine**); mentions οικονόμος Papnoute; measures: ὄργον, φορά, κνίδιον.

O.Sarga 126 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account (Greek).
TRANSCRIPTION: Account of wine (ΓΝΩCΙ ΟΙ). Large knidia from jar (ΚΔΔ)²¹⁷ 4, 3. Large knidia from jar 3, 2; from jar 2, 7. Small knidia from jar 1. Small and large, of the original stock (?), 74.
COMMENT: Mentions οικονόμος Papnoute; measures: ὄργον, φορά, κνίδιον.

O.Sarga 127 (5th-7th c.) is a similar (Greek) account of **wine** (?).

O.Sarga 131 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account.
TRANSCRIPTION: By the will of God, [...] which we have **loaded/shipped** (ΝΤΑΝΤΑΛΟΟΥ) [...] Pšnbre²¹⁸, **corn** (αι), artabas 238 [...] The 1st day, by Pho[ibammōn, ...]. The 2nd day, by Ph[...] makes] corn, artabas 150 [+? ...
COMMENT:

²¹⁶ opr in the common sense of 'field' (Crum 1922: 114), or (rather) vessels containing the wine?

²¹⁷ Kadoi.

²¹⁸ Unidentified village near Hermopolis Magna/al-Ašmunayn (Drew-Bear 1979: 239-240; Timm 1984: IV, 2046-2047).

O.Sarga 133 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account.
TRANSCRIPTION: The list of **wine** (HPH) transported (NTΔNTΔΛOΟΥ)²¹⁹ from Touhō²²⁰: 10 'hands' (ςΙΧ)²²¹ and 6 ..., making 770, save 1.
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 134 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account.
TRANSCRIPTION: The account of the dried **dates** (B̄N̄)²²² from the southern meadow: 307.
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 135 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account.
TRANSCRIPTION: The list of the **wine jars** (ΠOΠOY NHPI) of (? for) Tiloġ²²³. The first **ship**, 51 (jars); large vessels (NOC NCKEYΕ) 320.
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 136 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: List of vessels, presumably containing **wine**; the sorts named are ὄργ[αν]ον, κόλλαθον, λάκκον, small κόλλαθον, OTC (for ZOTC).

O.Sarga 137 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account.
TRANSCRIPTION: Apa Mēna: large vessels, 14. Likewise 300. [...
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 139 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account.
TRANSCRIPTION: John the camelherd, for fodder (for?) Šmoun: 5 sacks, 16 artabas of fodder (in exchange) for the **wine** (HPH) of Planenhoire. [...
COMMENT:

²¹⁹ TΔΛO , probably by water (Crum 1922: 118 fn. 2).
²²⁰ Theodosiopolis (mod. Ǧahā l-A'mida), near Samalūṭ (Drew-Bear 1979: 111-112; Timm 1984: VI, 2457-2458).
²²¹ Measure used for grain (Crum 1922: 118 fn. 4).
²²² BNNE.
²²³ Nilopolis; unidentified.

O.Sarga 142 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Account of expenses, including offerings on behalf of the dead (προσφορά) and alms (ἀγάπη); l. 5: κοροῦτον, an epithet of wine (ἥρπ) (?).

O.Sarga 146 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Account of a vegetable garden for a large part of a month (11th-28th, omitting two days).

O.Sarga 153 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]
Arcadia (Heptanomis), [Tahrouġ [M.298]]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Account.
TRANSCRIPTION:
COMMENT: Account naming 'the big garden' (νοσ νωνη), 'the garden of Tahrouġ²²⁴' and 'the cell (πί) of papa Pša'.

O.Sarga 161 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Daniel (archimandrite).
TO: Apa Paul (carpenter).
SUBJECT: Contract for work and wages between a monastery and a carpenter.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] appoint you to do **carpenter's work** (ῥ 2ΔΜΩΕ) for [...] of the monastery, in this year of the 12th indiction; [...] and that we will pay your **wages** (βεκε), namely 25 artabas of **corn** (c[ογο]) and 12 lahē of **wine** (ἥρπ) and [...] of **fodder** (c[ιμ]) (?) and four artabas of **barley** (ἰωτ) [and] two jars of **wine** (καδοϋς νήρπ), according to the vintage/vineyard (μα νχ), and a **cloak** (λωβι των) and a **sackcloth** (cΔαντΔλε) (garment) and a [...] and a (pair of) **sandals**. [...]
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 164 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Apa E[noch?] (agent).
TO: Psynhōr (salt-dealer).
SUBJECT: Contract for work and wages, between a monastery and a salt-dealer.
TRANSCRIPTION: The council of the holy monastery [of Apa] Thomas, through his pious father, Apa E[noch?], the agent (ἡρ)²²⁵, writes to Psynhōr, the **salt-dealer** (cΔν2μοϋ), (saying,) [Every] month which he passes bringing 3 ... [of ...] ... daily, we will pay him his **wage** (βεκε), [name]ly, each month, 3 artabas of [μα]Δχε of **fodder** (c[ιμ]), a λακοοτε of **wine** (ἥρπ) [...] we will feed him therewith, a μαΔ[χε ...] ... of **pickle** (χιρ), a **cloak** (λεβι τοϋ) [...] a single (**shoe**) **sole** (πελμα). You too, for your part, shall do your work without any neglect, throughout the year; and we, for ours, will pay you your wage. Written month Payni 25th. (Wages) making one solidus.
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 167 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Apa Enoch.

²²⁴ Terythis (near mod. al-Maġāġa), in the eastern toparchy of Oxyrhynchus/al-Bahnasā; mention of Tahrouġ recurs in O.Sarga 218. 254. 288. 292. 313. 321. 330. 335. 338; 'the garden of Tahrouġ' may refer to a dependent monastery [M.298] in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

²²⁵ Pronoētēs.

TO: Apa Mēna.
SUBJECT: Order for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: Give it to Apa Mēna, from Apa Enoch. Be so kind and give twelve small λΔΖΗ of **wine** (ΗΡΠ) and eight phorai (ΦΟΡΗC) to Anoup, the **camelherd** (ΜΑΝΕΔΜΟΥΛ); and give other two small λΔΖΗ of wine to Apa Agēne, the head husbandman. Makes (total), wine, small 11, large 8. [...]
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 168 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Apa Enoch.
TO: Apa Mēna.
SUBJECT: Order for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: Give it to Apa Mēna, from Apa Enoch. Be so kind and give twenty small λΔΖΗ of **wine** (ΗΡΠ) to Irene, the **nun** (ΜΟΝΑΧΗ). Written 20th Mesore. Makes (total), wine, small 20. [...]
COMMENT: The order was written (ΔΕΜΘ) by Phoibammōn; the same scribe apperas in O.Sarga 169 and 171.

O.Sarga 169 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Apa Enoch.
TO: Apa Mēna.
SUBJECT: Order for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: Give it to Apa Mēna, from Apa Enoch his father. Be so kind and give 11 small λΔΖΗ of **wine** (ΗΡΠ) to Apa Peter [son of?] Pargamos, that he may [take them?] to the dwelling of Apa Macarius. Makes (total), wine, small 11. [...]
COMMENT: The order was written (ΘΙ/ ΕΜΘ) by Phoibammōn.

O.Sarga 170 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Apa Enoch.
TO: Apa Mēna.
SUBJECT: Order for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: Give it to Apa Mēna, from Apa Enoch his father. Be so kind and give 16 λΔΖΗ of **wine** (ΗΡΠ) to Apa Pgōl and let him take them to the **nuns** of Labouhot (ΜΜΟΝΑΧΗ ΝΕΛΑΒΟΥΖΟΥΤ)²²⁶. Makes (total), wine, small 16. [...]
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 171 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Apa Enoch.
TO: Apa Mēna.
SUBJECT: Order for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: Give it to Apa Mēna, from Apa Enoch his father. Be so kind and give 3 phorai (ΦΟΡΗC) of **wine** (ΗΡΠ) and 15 small λΔΖΗ of wine to my brother John, ... the ... **smith** (ΣΑΜΑΚΗ)²²⁷. Makes (total), wine, large 3, small 15. [...]
COMMENT: The order was written (Θ/ ΕΜΘ) by Phoibammōn.

O.Sarga 172 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Apa Enoch.
TO: Apa Mēna.
SUBJECT: Order for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: Give it to Apa Mēna, from Apa Enoch his father. Be so kind, when George, the **camelherd** (ΜΑΝΕΔΜ[ΟΥΛ]) [of? Patinē], comes to you, give 8 phorai (ΦΟΡΗC) of **wine** (ΗΡΠ) and [12] small [λΔΖΗ of wine?] to him [...]
COMMENT:

²²⁶ A markaz near Asyūṭ (Crum 1922: 140 fn. 1)?.

²²⁷ For the same (?) term, ΣΑΜΑΚΕ, cf. Clédat (1904/1906: 130). Crum (1922: 141 fn. 1) suggests that, if ΔΚΗ equals ΔΚΕC (= ἀκίς), we may here have an iron tool maker.

O.Sarga 173 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Apa Enoch.
TO: Thomas (διοικητής?)²²⁸.
SUBJECT: Order for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] be so obliging and give [a] phoros (φορος) of **wine** (ἡπῖ) and a λαζη to master Pe[...] Makes, wine, 1 phoros [...]
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 174 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172] (?)

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Order for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: Our father it is writes (to) his sons, the brethren (σὺν), regarding (?) the **poll-tax** (πλάν²²⁹), (saying,) Lo, (here) are 4 **sacks** [σοογνε] of [...] the **sack-weaver** (ψαζ σοογνε) (?); they have been received by me in respect of his poll-tax. So give him his receipt and see to them and let them be made at the rate of 4 sacks to the half solidus. [...]
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 178 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Papnoute (steward).
TO: Apa Hōr.
SUBJECT: Order for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: Give 3 phoros (φορος) of **wine** (ἡπῖ) of the southern vineyard (σωμ ἡπρhc) to the **potters** (σεκωτ)²³⁰. [...]
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 180 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Order for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: Give 12 [...] of **unmixed (wine)** (ἀνκρᾶτω)²³¹ [to Apa] John [...], from Apa [...]
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 181 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Papnoute (steward).
TO: Apa Mēna.
SUBJECT: Order for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: Give it to Apa Mēna, from Apa Papnoute, the steward (ἡκονομος). Be so kind, when papa John comes to you, give (him) a can (χ1)²³² [of] **oil** (νη2) and a little **meat** (λα). [...]
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 182 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Enoch.
TO: George.
SUBJECT: Order for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Give 10 artabas of **natron** (πτο4 ἡ2οεῖ) to Ama²³³ Martha. [...]

²²⁸ Crum (1922: 142 fn. 1).

²²⁹ *Andrismos*; cf. P.Lond. IV, 1338 (introduction) and O.Sarga 248.

²³⁰ 'Potter's place', i.e. his oven or workshop (cf. O.Crum 306 (κεραμῖον)); pl. σικωτε, σεκατε (cf. O.Sarga 377); the potter is πατσεκωτ.

²³¹ *Akratōs*; Copt. ἀ(ν)κρᾶτωρ, ἀ(ν)κρᾶτον.

²³² A bronze vessel (Crum 1921: 439)?

²³³ 'Ama' does not necessarily designate a nun; sometimes it is a mere courtesy (Crum 1922: 146 fn. 2).

COMMENT:

O.Sarga 185 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Apa Enoch.
TO: Papa Kolthe.
SUBJECT: Order for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] **wine** (ῥῆ), set it to the account of papa P[...
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 186 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Apa Justus.
TO: Papnoute.
SUBJECT: Order for payment.
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] send us 6 [...] ²³⁴ of **bread** (οἶκ) and a 20TC of **vinegar** (ζεμῡ) and a 20TC ²³⁵ of **pickle** (χῖρ) and 2 phoros (φορεσ) of sorouton (σορυτον) ²³⁶ **wine** (ερῖ) for my father. And send us other 10 phoros of **new wine** (ερῖ ἡδῡτ). And add 10 xestes of ... wine to each on.
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 187 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Enoch.
TO: Papnoute.
SUBJECT: Invoice
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] Lo, I have sent up (? down) 36 sacks (σοοῡνε) of **corn** (κοῡο) to you, making a total of four score and five artabas: [makes sacks] 36, 85 artabas of corn. [...
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 188 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Cyrus.
TO: Stephen (steward).
SUBJECT: Invoice.
TRANSCRIPTION: Lo, 40 carats (κῡς) of **pickle** (χῖρ) and 30 pots of ... pickle have I sent you. [...
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 189 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Esaias.
TO:
SUBJECT: Invoice.
TRANSCRIPTION: Lo, 24 sacks (σοοῡνε) of **grain** (κοῡο) have I sent you. [...
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 190-193 are invoices for **grain** (κοῡο; O.Sarga 190), **fodder** (σιμ), **barley** (ιωτ; O.Sarga 191) and **wine** (οἶ; O.Sarga 193); the text follow a similar pattern.

O.Sarga 194 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Invoice.
TRANSCRIPTION: Theman²³⁷, through Luke the **camelherd** (μῡνσῡμοῡλ), with 40 camels.
COMMENT:

²³⁴ μοῖδῡ, a measure or receptacle for grain (Crum 1922: 148 fn. 1).
²³⁵ A jar or pot, sometimes containing cheese (P.Sarga 166; O.Sarga 198), sometimes wine (O.Sarga 344).
²³⁶ The vessel holding the wine or vinegar (σειρητικός?) (Crum 1922: 148 fn. 3).
²³⁷ Tkemēn, near Heracleopolis (Crum 1922: 152 fn. 1)?

O.Sarga 196-199²³⁸ are invoices for **cheese** (2ΔΛΩΜ; O.Sarga 196-198), **wine** (οι; O.Sarga 199); all contracts begin with the name of Apa Elias, the consignee or camel-driver; **O.Sarga 200-201** mention the **camel-drivers** Mathias, Horus (O.Sarga 200) and Eustathius (ΚΑΜΔΑ[Λ/]; O.Sarga 201).
O.Sarga 204 is a receipt (?) mentioning '2½ camel (loads) of corn'.
O.Sarga 205-208 are receipts for **wheat** (σι | ὄ) of the following pattern: date + number of θαλλία and amount in artabas + δ(ις) with a personal name + signature of the clerk issuing the receipt.

O.Sarga 209 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Mēna (ΜΙΝΩ).
TO:
SUBJECT: Receipt.
TRANSCRIPTION: *Thoth, 3rd intercalary day, 1st convoy (φ), by Joseph, camel-driver (ΚΑΜΔΑΛ/): wine (οι), 68 large measure = wine, 68 large, only. [...*
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 210 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM: Phibius.
TO:
SUBJECT: Receipt.
TRANSCRIPTION: *Mesorē 23. Ditto, by John, **boiled wine** (ΥΨΗΜΔ[†])²³⁹, 24 phorai (φορ), 96 jars (ΚΑΔ)²⁴⁰. [...*
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 211 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]
Thebais I, Thallou or
Thebais I, [Talaō [M.300]]

FROM: Kolluthos.
TO:
SUBJECT: Receipt.
TRANSCRIPTION: *Thoth 16, wine (οι /) from Thallou²⁴¹, 4th convoy, by Athansasius, camel-driver: wine, 115 = one hundred and fifteen knidia. Written by Kolluthos. Similarly, one camel-load, wine, 24 = twenty-four knidia.*
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 212 is a receipt for **wine** (οι /), written by the same Kolluthos.

O.Sarga 213 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:
TO: Hōr.
SUBJECT: Receipt .
TRANSCRIPTION: *Phaophi 1. Takwutes²⁴²: wine (οι /), 30 large measures, 1 small. Nemhate²⁴³: wine, 7 large; oil (νε2), 1 lakkon. Hōr, **camel-driver** (ΚΑΜΔΑΛ).*
COMMENT: O.Sarga 213 is the first of a series of receipts given to the camel-drivers on delivery of the wine; the texts obey the following scheme: date + place-name + amount of wine + name of camel-driver; Crum (1922: 163) suggest (a) that the camel-drivers must have lived in Wādī Sarġā, and (b) that the receipts were meant for the camel-drivers only, to clear them of responsibility for the wine.

²³⁸ All subsequent documents ('O.Sarga'), listed en bloc, refer to Wādī Sarġā [M.172].

²³⁹ Hepsēmatos; cf. P.Lond. IV (index).

²⁴⁰ Kados?

²⁴¹ ΘΑΛΛΟΥ, name of a village or estate (probably) situated south-west of al-Minyā in the Hermopolite nome; a Christian estate is known from the 6th c. (P.Berl. inv. 13908); less probably, id. Talaō [M.300], in the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. (Drew-Bear 1979: 108-109; Timm 1984: VI, 2611-2613).

²⁴² Unidentified village (probably) situated near Heracleopolis Magna/Ihnās(īya al-Madīna) (Timm 1984: VI, 2471).

²⁴³ Unidentified village situated in the Heracleopolis nome (Crum 1922: 104; Timm 1984: IV, 1766-1767).

- O.Sarga 214-224** are similar receipts for **wine** (οι/). The **camei-driver** in O.Sarga 219 delivered as far as to Sanhūr²⁴⁴ in the NW Fayyūm.
- O.Sarga 225-244** are similar receipts for **wine** (οι/). The **camel-driver(s)** (καμαλλ/) is/are called John (Ἰωάννης); John, in O.Sarga 232, delivered as far as to Tōw, an unidentified location in the Heracleopolite nome (Crum 1922: 169); in O.Sarga 239, to Samalūt (πρυμούλοτ), north of al-Minyā.
- O.Sarga 245-259** are similar receipts for **wine** (οι/). The **camei-driver** (καμαλλ) is called Lukas (λοῦκας πμάνδαμοῦλ/).
- O.Sarga 261-277** are similar receipts for **wine** (οι/). The **camei-driver** (καμαλλ/) is called Macarius (μακάριε).
- O.Sarga 279-289** are similar receipts for **wine** (οι/). The **camel-driver** (καμαλλ/) is called Kollutho (κο(γ)λλε(η)). In several ostraka, Kolluthos is described as παπογοοτε, 'the **vegetable gardener**', presumably the monk so employed.
- O.Sarga 290-297** are similar receipts for **wine** (οι/). The **camel-driver** (καμα(λ)/) is called Joseph (Ἰωσήφ). In O.Sarga 292, mention is made of Menas of Tjites (μηνά τχίτς), apparently the consignor of this wine.
- O.Sarga 298-306** are similar receipts for **wine** (οι/). The **camel-driver** (καμα(λ)/) is called Mathias (μαθιάς). In O.Sarga 302, **old wine** (ῤπας) is ordered.
- O.Sarga 307-313** are similar receipts for **wine** (οι/). The **camei-driver** (καμαλλ/) is called Enoch (ἐνώχ).
- O.Sarga 314-316** are similar receipts for **wine** (οι/). The **camei-driver** (καμαλλ/) is called Serenus (σερηνε/ος).
- O.Sarga 317-319** are similar receipts for **wine**. The **camel-driver** (καμαλλίτης) is called Pamoun (παμοῦν).
- O.Sarga 320-324** are similar receipts for **wine** (οι/). The **camel-driver** (καμαλλ/) is called Paēse (παησε).
- O.Sarga 325-327** are similar receipts for **wine** (οι/). The **camel-driver** (καμαλλ/) is called Cyriacus (κυρίακος).
- O.Sarga 328** is a similar receipt for **wine** (οι/). The **camel-driver** (καμαλλ/) is called Pmatoi (πματοί).
- O.Sarga 329** is a similar receipt for **wine** (οιν^{ογ}). The **camei-driver** (καμαλλ/) is called Andrew (ἀνδρεας).
- O.Sarga 330-340** are similar receipts for **wine** (οι/).
- O.Sarga 341-343** are similar, but slightly different receipts for **wine** (οι/). O.Sarga 341 might have been intended for the consignor (?) rather than for the camel-driver (Crum 1922: 196).

O.Sarga 344 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarḡā [M.172]

FROM:

TO: Apa Germanus, on behalf of the monastic community.

SUBJECT: Tax-receipt.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] and the ... **honey**, they write to the council of the monastery of Apa Thomas, though Apa Germanus, the agent (πεπρ^ο)²⁴⁵, (saying,) Lo 15 2ΔΤC of **wine** (ἡπῖ) we have received from you, on account of the **tax** (ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ) of the **fields** (ῤειωζε) of Tahomō²⁴⁶, for the **crop** (καρ) of the 1st Indiction. [...]

COMMENT:

O.Sarga 345 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarḡā [M.172]

FROM: Apa Mēna (μηνά, μινῶ).

TO:

SUBJECT: Receipt (Greek).

TRANSCRIPTION: **Field** of Nesieu (οργανῶνεσεγ)²⁴⁷. Thoth 1, 2nd convoy; by Apa Mēna from Touō Neaniskōn²⁴⁸: **wine** (οι/), a 124 phorai = wine, 124 phorai only. Written by the humble Mēna.

COMMENT: O.Sarga 345 is the first of a series of receipts for wine which begin with the name of an organon, i.e. a field or estate. **O.Sarga 346-354** (all receipts for **wine** (οι/)) are by the same hand, by Mēna; the place-name Nesieu (νεσι(ι)εγ) being always the same, it seems that Mēna had a special connection with this estate; the ostraka may, again, be regarded as way-bills rather than receipts (Crum 1922: 199).

O.Sarga 346-354 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarḡā [M.172]

Cf. O.Sarga 345

²⁴⁴ Timm (1984: V, 2290-2291).

²⁴⁵ Proestōs or pronoētēs. The abbreviation (πε)πρ^ο also occurs in O.Sarga 164.

²⁴⁶ Presumably a place name (Crum 1922: 198 fn. 4; Timm 1984: VI, 2466).

²⁴⁷ A village/estate (presumably) situated in the Hermopolite nome (Drew-Bear 1979: 97-99; Timm 1984: IV, 1769).

²⁴⁸ A village situated in the Hermopolite nome (Crum 1922: 199-200).

O.Sarga 355 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]
FROM: Horus.
TO:
SUBJECT: Receipt.
TRANSCRIPTION: **Field of the Vineyard** (οργ/ ἀμπελογ). [...] allotment (τεϋνη)²⁴⁹ (?) of Paroou, 5th (?) convoy: **wine** (οι/), 26 = twenty-six phorai. By Horus.
COMMENT: **O.Sarga 356-358** are similar receipts for **wine** (οι/); O.Sarga 355-357 refer to an organon called Ampelou, 'Vineyard', O.Sarga 358 to Notinou.

O.Sarga 356-358 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]
Cf. O.Sarga 355

O.Sarga 360-364 are similar receipts for θαλλία and αἶτ(ου) αρτάβαι; O.Sarga 360-362 relate to wine deliveries from the village Pšibrre²⁵⁰.

O.Sarga 365 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]
FROM: Dioscorus.
TO:
SUBJECT: Receipt.
TRANSCRIPTION: 1st convoy, by Pamoun, the **camel-driver** (καμᾶ): **wheat** (çι), 104 = a hundred and four artabas, 52 thallia, for the payment (?) of Paa = wheat, 104 artabas, 52 thallia. Mesorē 24, 3rd indiction. Dioscorus, correct.
COMMENT: **O.Sarga 365-368** are receipts that specify the phora (of **wheat**: O.Sarga 365/68; **barley** (?): O.Sarga 367; **wine** (?): O.Sarga 366) to which the consignment belongs; in O.Sarga 365 the estate (Paa)²⁵¹, from which the corn came, is mentioned, and probably the receipt is intended for the consignor, not for the camel-driver (Crum 1922: 209).

O.Sarga 366-368 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]
Cf. O.Sarga 365

O.Sarga 369 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]
FROM:
TO:
SUBJECT: Tax-receipt.
TRANSCRIPTION: Received (from) brother PISOOU for (his) **caput** (κεφ/) for the fourth indiction 15¼ c. (of the standard of Alexandria). [...] for **harbour dues** (ορμειδε)²⁵² (?). Constantius, correct. Mēna, son of Ama Mus... correct.
COMMENT:

O.Sarga 370 (5th-7th c.) Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]
FROM: Elias (ηλιδε).
TO:
SUBJECT: Receipt.
TRANSCRIPTION: By John son of (?) Po-eas, **camel-driver** (καμηλιτ^{ου}), 1st convoy. A hundred small knidia [of **wine**?]²⁵³, and twelve thallia of **vegetable seed** (λαχανοσπερμᾶ), there being 4 **camel(-loads)** (καμηλιδ) to 100 knidia and 6 camel(-loads) to 9 thallia of vegetable seed. [...]
COMMENT: O.Sarga 370 and 373 give equivalents of camel-loads to cargo (metrology).

²⁴⁹ 'The garden'; a place-name, presumably a subdivison of the organon Ampelou, the allotment of Paroou in/near Aphroditō (mod. Kōm Išqāw) (Crum 1922: 204-205; Timm 1984: IV, 1845-1846).

²⁵⁰ I.e. Pšnbre; cf. fn. 218.

²⁵¹ I.e. Bāhā, an unidentified location (presumably) in the Heracleopolite nome (Timm 1984: I, 280).

²⁵² Hormos, 'anchorage', rather than hormia or hormeia (Crum 1922: 212)?

²⁵³ Crum (1922: 212): 'miscellaneous load, wine and vegetable seed'.

O.Sarga 371-374 are receipts, more probably for the camel-driver than for the consignor, for **wine** (οι/; O.Sarga 372/73) and **palm-fibre** ([μο[γ]ρ/, 'bundle') ωβηνε; O.Sarga 374).

O.Sarga 373 (5th-7th c.)

Thebais I, Wādī Sarġā [M.172]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: Receipt.

TRANSCRIPTION: *Cyriacus, monk: 6 camel(-loads), 133 = a hundred and thirty three — of wine* (οι/).

COMMENT:

O.Sarga 377, a fragment, mentions 'pure' (? wine) (καθαρον), the **ship-caulkers** (νεκλααφδθς)²⁵⁴ and **potters** (νεκελτ^ε)²⁵⁵.

O.Vind.Copt. 23 is a document (ἀσφάλεια) in which Markos, *lašane*, acknowledges a debt of 2 *nomismata* which he is going to pay back to the monk Harau of the monastery of Apa Joannēs of the διαβάθρα [M.078].

SB XIV 11858 (4th/5th c.)

Unknown

FROM: Herakleios (πρ[εσβύτερος]).

TO:

SUBJECT: Receipt for book (βίβλος) to be illustrated (κόσμησις).

EXTRACT: Herakleios assures his client to return the book, illustrated, within one month.

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

SB XIV 11972 (AD 367/8)

Thebais II, Tabennēsē [M.100]

FROM:

TO:

SUBJECT: List of taxation (ὑπὲρ ἀρόρων).

TRANSCRIPTION: [I.17-18] εἰς πλ(οῖον) μοναστηρίου Ταβέννησε [περὶ] | [Τίν]τυριν δι(ὰ) 'Ανουβίωνος.

COMMENT: List of **grain-tax** contributions payable by the Pachomian community in the Hermopolite nome: 'l'impôt et les surtaxes ont été embarqués sur le **bateau** annonaire du monastère de Tabennisi. L'ordre pachômien, dès ses débuts, acheminait les grains de l'impôt, et, comme l'église d'Alexandrie en 390, mettait ses πλοῖα au service de l'État' (Gascou 1976: 184).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wipszycka (1975), Gascou (1976: 183-184).

O.Wilck. II 1224 (ca. AD 650-700)

Thebais II, Ġēme

FROM:

TO: Joseph.

SUBJECT: Contract (πάκτον) for sowing.

TRANSCRIPTION:

COMMENT: Joseph is being entrusted with the **sowing** (σπειρ[εῖν]) and **tilling** (γεωργ[εῖν]) of a little farm or piece of land (γῆδι[α]), and of land overgrown with **rushes** (χερσοθρύια); the text comes from Ġēme, there is no mention of a monastery or monk.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gascou (1999: 204).

²⁵⁴ Cf. P.Lond. IV, 1391.

²⁵⁵ Cf. O.Sarga 178.

C.3 Inscriptions (I.xxx et al.)

AAES, III B, 28 (AD 554) Syria I, Al-Gūwānīya [M.988]
MATERIAL:
FOUND: Boundary stone.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: *Limits of the asylum (ὅποῖ ἀσυλίας) of the holy first martyr, Stephanos, (the) 14th of (the) month Xanthikos, indiction 2, of the 602nd year (April, AD 554).*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Id. IGLS 618.

AAES, III , 29 (AD 554) Syria I, Al-Gūwānīya [M.988]
MATERIAL:
FOUND: Boundary stone.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: *Limits of the asylum (ὅποῖ ἀσυλίας) of the holy first martyr Stephanos, by grace of our most serene king Fl(avius) Justinianus, Semper Augustus, under our most holy (and) most blessed archbishop (and) patriarch Domninus, our most glorious head, the most God-beloved Herakleios, (son) of Andreas, and Ioannes (being) presbyters ...*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Id. IGLS 620.

AAES, IV, 4 and 5 Syria I, Dayr Mār Sāba [M.1094]
MATERIAL:
FOUND: Subterranean tomb/press.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: *I am Zahṛōn, the presbyter, the son of Yōḥannān [and] I am Eusebius, the son of Zakkay.*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.Äg.Mus. 35017 Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]
MATERIAL:
FOUND:
STORED: Cairo, Egyptian Museum.
TRANSCRIPTION: *Athanase, George, Phoibammon: 'keepers of the archives' (χαρτολαβριοι)¹.*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maspero (1907: II, 41. 45-47, pl. 16), Krause (1988: 118).

I.Berlin I 4786 Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]
MATERIAL:
FOUND:
STORED: Berlin.
TRANSCRIPTION: *...] Jeremias: οἰκονόμος [...*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wulff (1909: 83, no. 253), Krause (1988: 117).

I.Berlin I 4788 Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]
MATERIAL:
FOUND:
STORED: Berlin.
TRANSCRIPTION: *...]Jeremias: οἰκονόμος; Apa Mena: 'oil-maker' (ψαπνη2)² (?) [...*

¹ Chartouliarios.

COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wulff (1909: 85, no. 258), Krause (1988: 117. 119).

I.Breccia1914 1³ (AD 601) Aegyptus I, Pempton [M.372]
MATERIAL: Marble.
FOUND: Duḥēla.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: *His Holiness our Father Abba Geōrgios, presbyter and **steward** (οἰκονόμος) of the meris of Gaianos auf holy memory, has died [...] in the year 318 of the (the era) of Diocletian.*
COMMENT: Geōrgios was the steward of the Gaianite monks living at Pempton monastery.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lajtar (1998).

I.Clédat1902 17⁴ Thebais I, Dayr Abū Ḥinnis [M.218]
MATERIAL: Paint.
FOUND: Church.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: *I am the humble sinner Mēna, I **worked** (ΔΙΕΙΕΒ) in this holy monastery (τοπος ετουΔΔΒ). [...*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.Cramer 9997⁵ Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]
MATERIAL: Limestone (funerary stela).
FOUND:
STORED: Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, no. 9997/7734.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *Abraham*: ΠΑ ΤΣΕΒΙΚ (?); [...
COMMENT: The reading of ΤΣΕΒΙΚ requires further investigation; Wietheger-Fluck (1995: 286) hypothesizes that it could derive from σε, 'place, location', and βεκε, 'wage, salary', and would thus indicate the place of payment.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 73 and p. 286).

I.Crum1904⁶ Thebais II, Dayr Abū Mūsā [M.108] (?)
MATERIAL: Wine jar/Earthenware pitcher.
FOUND:
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: *The account (λόγος) of the **wine** (ηρη) which we sold/gave at the vintage (καρπός) of the indiction [...*
COMMENT: Follows list of names, generally in pairs, with the amount (Δ : Β = 29 : 1) of wine opposite them.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.DACL I.2 col. 2354⁷ Thebais I, Dayr Abū Ḥinnis [M.218]
MATERIAL: Yellow paint.
FOUND: Church.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: *Gregory, the bishop of Isnā', said: the one who despises (ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΙΕΝ) **work** (ζωα), work will despise him. [...*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

² Crum (1939: 241); another ψΔΡNH2, Lazaros, is attested in 'Chapelle 28' (Clédat 1904-1906: 160).
³ Ed. Breccia (1914: 74-77); id. SB III 6249.
⁴ Ed. Clédat (1902: no. 17); re-ed. Jarry (1971-1973: 72 and pl. XI).
⁵ Cramer (1949: 25-26).
⁶ Ed. Murray (1904: 43 and pl. XXXVII).
⁷ Re-ed. Jarry (1971-1973: 76).

I.Fahūrī J⁸ (post-7th c.?)

Thebais II, Dayr al-Fahūrī [M.034]

MATERIAL: Wall painting.
FOUND: Dayr al-Fahūrī, church.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: *May the Lord Jesus-Christ bless the God-loving brother, the deacon Merkurios, son of the deacon Muḥibb, son of Moïse, monk of the monastery (μοναστήριον); he has taken care of the image of saint Apa Archelides. [...]*
COMMENT: The name Muḥibb suggests that Merkurios was arabophone; cf. I.Šuhadā' P.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

IGLS 530 (AD 588) indicates the **limit of the territory** belonging to the 'Kaprobaradaioi'; Jalabert and Mouterde suggest that the community, to which reference is being made, are the monks of Dayr Mār Bīzā [M.1240 (?)], situated in the village of Brad (Syr. *kfar/kp^har* + Brad > Kap^hro-b(a)rad-aioi).

IGLS 2211 (AD 514)

Syria I, Dayr Ṭell 'Adē [M.1190] (?)⁹

MATERIAL:
FOUND:
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: *Has found rest the blessed ... bōnas, monk, priest, archimandrite, who had again surrounded with a wall the holy monastery of Telda. [...]*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

IGLS (21) 52

Arabia, [Quwaysma (6 km south of Ammān)]

MATERIAL: Mosaic.
FOUND: Church.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: *God, have mercy on the land (κτῆμα).*
COMMENT: *'On aurait ici l'église d'un grand [monastère]/domaine. Il serait possible d'envisager une permanence des divisions foncières à céréales du plateau jordanien; le mausolée et l'église, à deux époques différentes, sont les témoignages des dépenses d'un grand propriétaire' (Gatier 1986: 67).*
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

IGLS (21) 144

Arabia, [Madaba]

MATERIAL: Mosaic.
FOUND: Church.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: *This place has been decorated with **mosaics** under the most holy bishop John trough the zeal of John, the most pious monk.*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.KelliaQR195 81¹⁰

Aegyptus I, Kellia [M.360]

MATERIAL: Stone.
FOUND:
STORED: QR 195, inv. 1987/089a.
TRANSCRIPTION: *...] Jesus Christ [...] and the brethen who went out for the **harvest** (ωc_h). Have merci on me [...]*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

⁸ Ed. Coquin (1975: 272-273).

⁹ Presumably Ṭell 'Adē (Telda), located north-east of Salamīya.

¹⁰ Ed. Ballet (2003: 270).

I.Lefebvre1905 2¹¹ (AD 530) Aegyptus I, Ennaton (Dayr az-Zuğğāğ) [M.374]
MATERIAL: Funerary stele.
FOUND: Ad-Diḥayla/al-Manāzir.
STORED: Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum.
TRANSCRIPTION: *The blessed Abba Dōrotheos, the **harper** (ψάλτης), died [..*
COMMENT: Lefebvre (1905: 16) infers from the rhetoric formula that I.Lefebvre1905 1-14 come from the cemetery of one and the same monastery.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.Lefebvre1905 3¹² (AD 533) Aegyptus I, Ennaton (Dayr az-Zuğğāğ) [M.374]
MATERIAL: Funerary stele.
FOUND: Ad-Diḥayla/al-Manāzir.
STORED: Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum.
TRANSCRIPTION: *Abba Mēnas, son/disciple of Abba Theonas the **baker** (ἄρτοκοπάδιος) died [..*
COMMENT: Cf. I.Lefebvre1905 2.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.Lefebvre1905 4¹³ (AD 536) Aegyptus I, Ennaton (Dayr az-Zuğğāğ) [M.374]
MATERIAL: Funerary stele.
FOUND: Ad-Diḥayla/al-Manāzir.
STORED: Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum.
TRANSCRIPTION: *Iōannēs, son/disciple of Abba Serēnos the **doctor** (ιατρός) died [..*
COMMENT: Cf. I.Lefebvre1905 2.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.Lefebvre1905 5¹⁴ (AD 537) Aegyptus I, Ennaton (Dayr az-Zuğğāğ) [M.374]
MATERIAL: Funerary stele.
FOUND: Ad-Diḥayla/al-Manāzir.
STORED: Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum.
TRANSCRIPTION: *Ioulianos, brother of Iōannēs the **gardener** (κηπουρός) from the complex (κοινόβιον) of Abba Eustathios died [..*
COMMENT: Cf. I.Lefebvre1905 2.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.Louvre I 4839 Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]
MATERIAL: Wood (lintel).
FOUND:
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: *...] Jeremias: οἰκονόμος [...*
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rutschowskaya (1978: 303, fig. 9; 1986: 150, Krause (1988: 117).

I.Maspero1931 428¹⁵ Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]
MATERIAL:
FOUND: 'Salle 16'.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: *My small Anoup, the **blacksmith** (σιδεργάτης). Pray for me. Amen.*
COMMENT:

¹¹ Ed. Lefebvre (1905: no. 2).

¹² Ed. Lefebvre (1905: no. 3).

¹³ Ed. Lefebvre (1905: no. 4).

¹⁴ Ed. Lefebvre (1905: no. 5).

¹⁵ Ed. Maspero (1931: 125).

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.Maspero1931 60¹⁶

Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]

MATERIAL:

FOUND: 'Salle 6'.

STORED:

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] remember [...] all the brethren of the cell of the **press-men** (ῥεμῖοι) [...]

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.MIFAO111 chap. XLIII, II¹⁷

Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]

MATERIAL:

FOUND: 'Chapelle XLIII', east wall'

STORED:

TRANSCRIPTION:

COMMENT: Invocation; among the names (of monks?) is Phoibammnō, 'the one of the **pitta** (πίττα)'¹⁸.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.MIFAO111 chap. L, I¹⁹

Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]

MATERIAL:

FOUND: 'Chapelle L, 1', west wall.

STORED:

TRANSCRIPTION: 46 lakootē (λακοῦτι) 21 lahe (λαῆ) (of) **wine** minus (?) (ῥῆ ψατενῆ) ...

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.MIFAO111 chap. LV²⁰

Thebais I, Dayr Anbā Abullū' (Bāwīṭ) [M.190]

MATERIAL:

FOUND: 'Chapelle LV', west wall.

STORED:

TRANSCRIPTION: + Perpetual account (λοκοῦς) of (rations of) **wine** (ἡρῆ): day of the 2nd (feast) of Michael: lakote, [...]

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.Munier 53²¹ (AD 716)

Thebais II, Dayr Anbā Hadrā [M.020]

MATERIAL: Funerary stele.

FOUND:

STORED:

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] monk and **steward** (ἐκονομος) (of the monastery) of the Virgin. [...]

COMMENT: Among 177 funerary stele-inscriptions (6th-9th c.) published from this site, this is the only to mention a steward.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.Naqlun I 13²² (6th c.)

Arcadia Heptanomis (al-Fayyūm), Dayr an-Naqlūn [M.308]

MATERIAL: Neck of an amphora (type LR1).

¹⁶ Ed. Maspero (1931: 64).

¹⁷ Ed. Clédat et al. (1999: 63-64).

¹⁸ 'C'est à dire, le faiseur ou le vendeur de 'pitta', 'poix ou résine', à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un toponyme' (Clédat et al. 1999: 64 fn. 34).

¹⁹ Ed. Clédat et al. (1999: 107).

²⁰ Ed. Clédat (1999: 150).

²¹ Ed. Munier (1930-1931: no. 53).

²² Id. P.Naqlun I 13.

FOUND: Hermitage 1.
STORED: No. 266/86.
TRANSCRIPTION: God's grace [is] in gain. [From the monastery (?) church (?) of St.] Biktoria, of the **sacred oil** (ἐλαϊον) which is of first quality xestai 29, xestai 29 ...
COMMENT: It remains unclear if a church/monastery of St. Biktoria was the actual producer of the oil.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Derda (1995: 175-176).

I.Phoibammon I 125²³ Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammon I [M.056]

MATERIAL: Graffito.
FOUND: Circular cliff, N side, mural no. 152.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: Ousēph (Joseph). (?) the **bakers** (νημπε).
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.Phoibammon I 148²⁴ Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammon I [M.056]

MATERIAL: Graffito.
FOUND: Circular cliff, W side, mural no. 177.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] (?) **fuller** (ρᾶστ). [...
COMMENT: Seems to be a list of words rather than a list of professions.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.Phoibammon I 175²⁵ Thebais II, Dayr Apa Phoibammon I [M.056]

MATERIAL: Graffito.
FOUND: Cave (presumably) of Pisentius, mural no. 215.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: Biktōr, the **hireling** (χαίβεκε), of the topos (monastery) of Apa Phoibammōn [...
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.Qartmin A.8²⁶ Mesopotamia, Dayr Mār Gabriel [M.1440]

MATERIAL: Stone.
FOUND: Wall, north-east of the conventual church ('Old Library').
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: In the year one th[ousand] and ninty-six [of the Greeks = AD 784/785] in the days of Mār Geo[rge] and Mār Michael, the b[ishop], the abbot, Mār Denhā, and Gadāl[iah] of Arnas, the **admin[istrator]**, and Aaron, the **sandal-mak[er]** and steward, and Micah and Joshua [and A]lexander, [the archi]tects, made this **winepress**.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.QU III 13 Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone.
FOUND:
STORED: Cairo, Coptic Museum, no. 7769/39814/3.(?).19.(?).
TRANSCRIPTION: ...] Patermute, [...] (monks): 'who **load the wood**' (ἐγταλλο ετ[ς]ᾶν[ις]; Gamul, Jeremias (monks): **fodder-sellers** (βάρωτ); Jeremias (monk): **stonemason** (λαζος); Phoish (monk): **painter/scribe** (γραφευσ); Phoibamun (monk): **scribe** (νοταριος).
COMMENT:

²³ Ed./tr. Bachatly (1961-1981: II, 73-74).

²⁴ Ed./tr. Bachatly (1961-1981: II, 79-80).

²⁵ Ed./tr. Bachatly (1961-1981: II, 88).

²⁶ Tr. Palmer (1990: 215 and 216 fig. 55).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Quibell (1912: 127), Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 276 and p. 281. 284).

I.QU III 16

Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone.

FOUND: Main Church (MC), N wall.

STORED: Cairo, Coptic Museum, no. 9322/39934.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] [...] **fullers** (ⲛⲣⲁⲧⲧ); *Paul (monk)*: 'father of the **place of the fullers**' (ⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲙⲁ ⲛⲣⲁⲧⲧ); [...

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 218 and p. 288).

I.QU III 34

Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone.

FOUND: R 756.

STORED:

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *Joseph (monk)*: **driver/rider** (ⲣⲉⲭⲱⲣⲙ) [...

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 219 and p. 288).

I.QU III 81

Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone (funerary stela).

FOUND: By Sebaḥīn.

STORED:

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *Ptolemaius*: **gardener** (ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲱⲛⲏ) [...

COMMENT: (Monastic) gardeners also appear in other funerary inscriptions, namely Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 28 and 107).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 16 and p. 287).

I.QU III 89

Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Graffito.

FOUND: R 753.

STORED:

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *Hereain, Makarius (monks)*: *Hello (monk)*: **bricklayer** (ⲉⲕⲱⲧ); *Joseph (monk)*: **carpenter** (ⲧⲁⲙⲣⲉ); *George, Shenoute (monks)*: **shoemaker** (ⲕⲁⲥⲉ); *John*: **salt-seller** (ⲛⲓⲧⲙⲱⲩ) [...

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 386 and p. 281. 284. 287. 290).

I.QU III 92

Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Graffito.

FOUND: R 728.

STORED:

TRANSCRIPTION: *Markus, [...] (monks)*: **painters** (ⲧⲱⲎⲣⲁⲫⲟⲥ) [...

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 274 and p. 282).

I.QU III 106

Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Graffito.

FOUND: R 706.

STORED: Cairo, Coptic Museum, no. 7953.

TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *Mena (monk)*: **stonemason** (ⲗⲁⲩⲟⲥ) [...

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 421 and p. 284).

I.QU III 108c

Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Graffito.
 FOUND: R 706.
 STORED:
 TRANSCRIPTION: *Zacharias (monk): potter* (καλιδμεος) – κερδμευς (Quibell 1909: 59)?
 COMMENT:
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 422 and p. 283).

I.QU III 132

Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Graffito.
 FOUND: R 764.
 STORED:
 TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *Viktor (monk): 'who belongs to the oil-press'* (πα νῖνεζ) [...]
 COMMENT:
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 383 and p. 285).

I.QU IV 3

Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone.
 FOUND:
 STORED: Cairo, Coptic Museum, no. 188.
 TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *Jeremias (monk): blacksmith* (ζαμκλλε) [...]
 COMMENT: Cf. also Hasitzka (1987: 37).
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 165 and p. 290).

I.QU IV 177

Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone (pier).
 FOUND: R 1737.
 STORED:
 TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *Hereain (monk): bricklayer* (εκωτ); *Phoibammon: carpenter* (ζαμπε)²⁷ [...]
 COMMENT: Another inscription (Cairo, Coptic Museum, no. 11040/68487; from Saqqāra?) mentions an εκωτ John (monk?) (Wietheger-Fluck 1995: no. 327); carpenters appear with remarkable frequency in the Saqqāra inscriptions, e.g. Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 5. 64. 142. 143/386. 157. 171. 182/358. 194. 222. 251. 268. 274. 350. 384. 456).
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 222 and p. 281. 290).

I.QU IV 192

Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone.
 FOUND: R 1772 N.
 STORED:
 TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *Phoibamun (monk): stonemason* (λαιο)²⁸.
 COMMENT:
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 171 and p. 284).

I.QU IV 203

Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone.
 FOUND: R 1772 S.
 STORED:
 TRANSCRIPTION: [...] *unknown (monk): painter/scribe* (γραφευς)²⁹ [...]
 COMMENT:
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 192 and p. 281).

²⁷ On εκωτ and ζαμπε, cf. Crum (1922: 229. 232), Maspero (1931: 170. 172), Hasitzka (1987: 37).

²⁸ Crum (1922: 227).

²⁹ Grapheus; cf. Maspero (1931: 171).

I.QU IV 206 Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone.
FOUND: R 1772 S.
STORED: Cairo, Coptic Museum, no. 9719/41427.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Abraham (monk): **bowl-seller/-producer** (CΔ[Ḳ]ΔΠΟΤ)³⁰ [...
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 188 and p. 289).

I.QU IV 207 Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone.
FOUND: R 1772 S.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Papa Philotheus, Julius (monk): **bowl-seller/-producer** (CΔḲΔΠΟΤ, CΔḲΔΓΩΤ) [...
COMMENT: Cf. I.QU IV 206
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 195 and p. 289).

I.QU IV 227 Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone.
FOUND: R 1790.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Nahre/u, Kosma (monks): **bakers** (ΔΜΡΕ)³¹; **physician**; Paul (monk): 'who loads the **fertilizer**' (ΕΦΤΔΛΟ COT); Alex, Apollo (monks): 'who **load the wood**' (ΕΦΤΔΛΟ ΕΤ[C]ΔḲ[IC]); George, Enoch (monks): **fodder-sellers** (ΒΔΡΩΣ); George (monk): 'who **keeps the oipe-measure**' (ΠΔ ΤΟΙΠΕ); Isidor (monk): head of **laundry** (?) [...
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 285 and p. 281).

I.QU IV 232 Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone.
FOUND: R 1793.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Phoibamun (monk): **stonemason** (ΛΔΣΟC).
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 158 and p. 284).

I.QU IV 239 Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone bowl.
FOUND: R 1830.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] John (monk): **grain-peeler** (ΠΤΙCΤΗC).
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 210 and p. 287).

I.QU IV 275 Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone (funerary stela).
FOUND: 1951.
STORED: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 10.175.44.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Phib (monk): **secretary/scribe** (ΝΟΤΑΡΙΟC) [...
COMMENT: Secretaries/scribes, at Saqqāra, also occur in Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 35. 84. 85. 171. 195. 276. 333. 348. 361. 362. 373. 381. 431. 447. 448. 471. 481); **sub-secretaries/-scribes** (ΣΥΠΟΝΟΤΑΡΙΟC) in Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 347. 357. 364. 431. 447).

³⁰ Grapheus; cf. Hasitzka (1987: 37-38).
³¹ Crum (1922: 229), Maspero (1931: 170).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 46 and p. 284).

I.QU IV 287 Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone.
FOUND: R 1964.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Alexandria (nun), daughter of Paphnutius (monk): **geo-/sitometrician** (ΚΗΤΩΜΕΤΡΕC)³²[...
COMMENT: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: 284) conjectures that *kētōmetrēs* may also relate to a fishing-related profession.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 119 and p. 284).

I.QU IV 290 Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone (door lintel).
FOUND: R 1976.
STORED: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 10.175.89.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] John (monk): **weaver** (CΔΩΤ).
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 101 and p. 289).

I.QU IV 294 Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone (vessel-stand).
FOUND: R 2017.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Jacob (monk): **bricklayer** (ΕΚΩΤ) [...
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 212 and p. 281).

I.QU IV 310 Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Limestone.
FOUND: In debris.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Apollo (monk): **blacksmith** (ΣΑΜΚΑΛΕΙ)
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 165 and p. 290).

I.QU IV 319 Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Graffito.
FOUND: R 1724.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Papa Pesyntheus (deacon): 'father of the (dwelling-)house' (ΙΩΤ ΜΠΜΔ ΠΩΩΠΕ); Papa Phoibamun: 'father of the **salt-house**' (ΙΩΤ ΠΤΕΡΙ ΝΕΧΙΡ); Abraham (monk): **painter** (ΖΩΓΡΑΨ) [...
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 394 and p. 282-283).

I.QU IV 341b Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]

MATERIAL: Graffito.
FOUND: R 1775 (outer wall surface).
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] John (monk?): **slaughterer/butcher or cook** (ΜΑCΔΙ [ΡΟC])³³ [...
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 371 and p. 284).

³² *Geōmetrēs/sitometrēs* (Quibell 1912: 89 fn. 2).

³³ *Mageiros*.

I.QU IV 349 Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]
MATERIAL: Graffito.
FOUND: R 1794.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Paul (monk): **fuller** (ΡΑΤΤ) [...
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 375 and p. 288).

I.QU IV 350c Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]
MATERIAL: Graffito on door.
FOUND: R 1790, E door.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: John: **fodder-seller** (ΒΑΡΩΣ)³⁴.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 450 and p. 281).

I.QU IV 360 Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]
MATERIAL: Graffito.
FOUND: R 1967.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Kelal (monk): **potter** (ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ) [...
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 452 and p. 283).

I.Rifa³⁵ Thebais I, Dayr Rīfa [M.178]
MATERIAL: Door lintel.
FOUND:
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: The **teacher/learned man** (CΔΔΔ) Phoibammōn.
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I. Šuhadā' P³⁶ (AD 1157) Thebais II, Dayr aš-Šuhadā'³⁷
MATERIAL: Wall painting.
FOUND: Church.
STORED:
TRANSCRIPTION: The most humble Theodor, presbyter and monk, **painter** (ζωγράφος), son of Ḥamšen, son of Manasse, of the city (πόλις) of Hermontis, with the deacon Merkurios, son of [?] Abū [?] of the city (πόλις) of Esna, has taken care of the image of saint Theodor the general; may God bless him with all his cousins through him [...
COMMENT:
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I.Vatican 52b³⁸ Arcadia Heptanomis, Dayr Apa Jeremiah [M.334]
MATERIAL: Limestone (funerary stela).
FOUND:
STORED: Vatican, Museo Egiziano Vaticano, no. 52b.
TRANSCRIPTION: [...] Papa Viktor (monk): **weaver** (CΔΩΤ)³⁹ [...

³⁴ Maspero (1931: 170).
³⁵ Ed./tr. Petrie (1909: 21 and pl. LII).
³⁶ Ed. Coquin (1975: 255-257).
³⁷ Monastery situated ca. 5 km south-east of Isnā'; cf. Sauneron (1969: 94-100).
³⁸ Marucchi (1899).

COMMENT:

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wietheger-Fluck (1995: no. 1 and p. 289).

³⁹ Different, Clédat (1904-1906: 80 s.v. *ncewt*: 'le portier').

⁵ Wright (1870: no. LIII).