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# NAG HAMMADI CODICES

GREEK AND COPTIC PAPYRI  
FROM THE  
CARTONNAGE OF THE COVERS

EDITED BY

J. W. B. BAGNBY, C. M. BROWNE  
AND J. C. SHELTON





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NAG HAMMADI STUDIES  
VOLUME XVI

# NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

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XVI

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# THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY

EDITED WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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THE INSTITUTE FOR ANTIQUITY AND CHRISTIANITY

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## NAG HAMMADI CODICES

GREEK AND COPTIC PAPYRI

FROM THE

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EDITED BY

J. W. B. BARNS†, G. M. BROWNE

AND J. C. SHELTON



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1981



Theology Library  
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY  
AT CLAREMONT  
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## FOREWORD

"The Coptic Gnostic Library" is a complete edition of the Coptic Gnostic codices: Nag Hammadi Codices I-XIII, Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, the Askew Codex and the Bruce Codex. It includes a critical text with English translations to each codex and tractate, notes, and indices. Its aim is to present these texts in a uniform edition that will promptly follow the appearance of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices* and that can be a basis for more detailed technical and interpretive investigations. Further studies of this sort are expected to appear in the monograph series Nag Hammadi Studies of which The Coptic Gnostic Library is a part.

This edition is a project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, California. The translation team consists of Harold W. Attridge, John W. B. Barns†, Hans-Gebhard Bethge, Alexander Böhlig, James Brashler, G. M. Browne, Roger A. Bullard, Peter A. Dirkse, Joseph A. Gibbons, Søren Giversen, Charles W. Hedrick, Wesley W. Isenberg, T. O. Lambdin, Bentley Layton, Violet MacDermot, George W. MacRae, Dieter Mueller†, William R. Murdock, Douglas M. Parrott, Birger A. Pearson, Malcolm L. Peel, James M. Robinson, William C. Robinson, Jr., William R. Schoedel, John C. Shelton, John H. Sieber, John D. Turner, Francis E. Williams, R. McL. Wilson, Orval S. Wintermute, Frederik Wisse and Jan Zandee.

The volumes and editors of The Coptic Gnostic Library are as follows: *Nag Hammadi Codex I*, volume editor Harold W. Attridge; *Nag Hammadi Codices II, 1, III, 1 and IV, 1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 2: The Apocryphon of John*, edited by Frederik Wisse; *Nag Hammadi Codices II, 2-7 and III, 5*, volume editor Bentley Layton; *Nag Hammadi Codices III, 2 and IV, 2: The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)*, edited by Alexander Böhlig and Frederik Wisse in cooperation with Pahor Labib, Nag Hammadi Studies 4, 1975; *Nag Hammadi Codices III, 3-4 and V, 1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 3: Eugnostos the Blessed and the Wisdom of Jesus Christ*, edited by Douglas M. Parrott; *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, volume editor Douglas M. Parrott, Nag

Hammadi Studies 11, 1979; *Nag Hammadi Codex VII*, volume editor Frederik Wisse; *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII*, edited by Bentley Layton, John Sieber and Frederik Wisse; *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, volume editor Birger A. Pearson; *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII and XIII*, volume editor Charles W. Hedrick; *Nag Hammadi Codices: Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonnage of the Covers*, edited by J. W. B. Barns†, G. M. Browne and John C. Shelton; *Pistis Sophia*, text edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet MacDermot, volume editor R. McL. Wilson, Nag Hammadi Studies 9, 1978; *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex*, edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet MacDermot, volume editor R. McL. Wilson, 1978, Nag Hammadi Studies 13, 1978. Thus, as now envisaged, the full scope of the edition is thirteen volumes.

John W. B. Barns happened into the Library of the Coptic Museum on 16 January 1971 while the Technical Sub-Committee of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices was at work there. He was invited to return to advise concerning papyrological matters, which he did on 21 January 1971, at which time it was agreed that he would prepare a critical edition of the cartonnage. On 5 May 1971 he was supplied with photographs of the parts of the cartonnage of Codex VII that were already exposed to view. On 21 May 1971 he reported a date for the hand of text 66 (VII, 6<sup>c</sup>) to the first quarter of the Fourth Century. In September 1971 photographs became available of the bulk of the cartonnage of Codex VII, which by then had been separated by Abd el-Moeiz Shaheen, Sub-Director of the Centre for the Study and Conservation of Antiquities of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation. On the basis of these photographs Barns provided on 31 October 1971 preliminary datings of text 63 (VII, 2<sup>c</sup>) to 342 A.D. and of text 64 (VII, 3<sup>c</sup>) to 339 A.D., suggesting a resultant date for the library "only a few years later." Barns' preliminary results were published in "The International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices: A Progress Report," *New Testament Studies* 18 (1972), 240, and *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codex VII* (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1972), p. ix. Rodolphe Kasser had already identified the Genesis fragments from Codex VII on 21 December 1970, and published them in "Fragments du livre biblique de la Genèse cachés dans la reliure d'un codex gnostique," *Le Muséon* 85 (1972), 65-89.

In December 1971 Abd el-Moeiz Shaheen also separated cartonnage of Codices IV, V and VIII. Photographs were then supplied to Barns, who worked on all this material in Cairo during the fourth session of the Technical Sub-Committee in December 1972. The cartonnage of Codex I had meanwhile been made available by Jean Doresse on 29 August 1972 at Claremont, California. On 20 October 1972 photographs of what was exposed to view were sent to Barns for inclusion in his work. On 4 September 1973 Barns supplied a preliminary photographic mock-up of the cartonnage for *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, in terms of which the cartonnage was conserved in Cairo in September 1973. Barns then prepared a preliminary report on the content of the cartonnage thus far available, "Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices," posthumously published in *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts: In Honour of Pahor Labib* (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1975), pp. 9-17. On 10 December 1973, the same day on which Barns mailed his manuscript, E. G. Turner examined the cartonnage of Codex I during a visit to Claremont; I reported his views to Barns on 17 December, as did Turner himself before Christmas. But the sudden lamentable death of Barns on 23 January 1974 prevented him from incorporating the work of Turner in his own preliminary report, for which reason Turner provided a "Comment" printed with Barns' essay (pp. 17-18).

Early in 1974 Eileen C. Barns was kind enough to make available the files of her husband so that his work could be made available to a successor who would carry it through to completion. I am indebted to G. M. Browne for consenting to assume this responsibility, and to John C. Shelton, who subsequently assumed responsibility from Browne for the Greek material. Late in 1974 Anton Fackelmann removed the cartonnage from the covers of Codices VI, IX and XI, and on 28-31 October 1973 and 28 March 1975 the cartonnage was removed from the cover of Codex I. Browne was able to examine the cartonnage of Codex I in Washington, D.C. in April 1974 and in Claremont in June 1975, and the cartonnage in the Coptic Museum in July 1974 and December 1976. He has supplied information already published in the *Facsimile Edition: Codex I* (1977), pp. xv and xvii; *Codex IV* (1975), p. ix; *Codex V* (1975), p. xi; *Codex VIII* (1976), p. xi; and, together with John C. Shelton, *Cartonnage* (1979), pp. xv, xvii, xix and xxi.

The team research of the project has been supported primarily



through the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Philosophical Society, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and Claremont Graduate School; and through the American Research Center in Egypt by the Smithsonian Institution. Members of the project have participated in the preparatory work of the Technical Sub-Committee of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices, which has been done at the Coptic Museum in Cairo under the sponsorship of the Arab Republic of Egypt and UNESCO. Without such generous support and such mutual cooperation of all parties concerned this edition could not have been prepared. Therefore we wish to express our sincere gratitude to all who have been involved.

A special word of thanks is due to the Egyptian and UNESCO officials through whose assistance the work has been carried on: Gamal Mokhtar, President until 1977 of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, our gracious and able host in Egypt; Pahor Labib, Director Emeritus, Victor Girgis, Director until 1977, and Munir Basta, currently Director of the Coptic Museum, who together have guided the work on the manuscript material; Samiha Abd el-Shaheed, Curator for Manuscripts at the Coptic Museum, who is personally responsible for the codices and was constantly by our side in the library of the Coptic Museum; and, at UNESCO, N. Bammate, Deputy Assistant Director General for the Social Sciences, Human Sciences and Culture until 1978, who has guided the UNESCO planning since its beginning, and Dina Zeidan, specialist in the Arab Program of the Division of Cultural Studies, who has always proved ready with gracious assistance and helpful advice.

We also wish to acknowledge our great indebtedness to the two directors of Brill during the years in which this volume was in preparation, F. C. Wieders, Jr., Director Emeritus, and T. A. Edridge, whose role as Director has been cut short by his untimely death. Without the support of such outstanding leaders in the field of scholarly publication not only this volume, but the whole series of Nag Hammadi Studies, indeed The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices, would not have been possible.

JAMES M. ROBINSON

# CONCORDANCE WITH THE PLATES OF THE FACSIMILE EDITION

The inventory numbers (to the left) are used in the conservation of the papyri and the plates of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Cartonnage* (Leiden, 1979); the numeration of the texts (to the right) is that used in the present volume. Coptic texts are distinguished by the prefix C.

Codex I		Codex V (cont.)		Codex VII (cont.)		Codex VII (cont.)	
1 <sup>c</sup>	1	14 <sup>c</sup>	30	3 <sup>c</sup>	64	80 <sup>c</sup>	133
2 <sup>c</sup>	2	15 <sup>c</sup>	31	4 <sup>c</sup>	65	89 <sup>c</sup> -93 <sup>c</sup>	C 2
3 <sup>c</sup> -4 <sup>c</sup>	3	16 <sup>c</sup>	32	5 <sup>c</sup> -6 <sup>c</sup>	66	94 <sup>c</sup> -96 <sup>c</sup>	C 4/C 5
5 <sup>c</sup> -6 <sup>c</sup>	4	17 <sup>c</sup>	33	7 <sup>c</sup>	67	97 <sup>c</sup>	C 6
7 <sup>c</sup> -9 <sup>c</sup>	5	18 <sup>c</sup>	34	8 <sup>c</sup>	68	98 <sup>c</sup>	C 7
10 <sup>c</sup>	6	19 <sup>c</sup>	35	9 <sup>c</sup>	69	99 <sup>c</sup>	C 6 or C 7
11 <sup>c</sup> -12 <sup>c</sup>	7	20 <sup>c</sup>	36	10 <sup>c</sup>	70	100 <sup>c</sup>	C 3
13 <sup>c</sup>	C 1	21 <sup>c</sup>	37	11 <sup>c</sup>	71	101 <sup>c</sup>	C 8b
14 <sup>c</sup> -17 <sup>c</sup>	8	22 <sup>c</sup>	38	12 <sup>c</sup>	72	103 <sup>c</sup>	C 8c
19 <sup>c</sup>	9	23 <sup>c</sup>	39	13 <sup>c</sup> -14 <sup>c</sup>	73	104 <sup>c</sup>	C 8a
20 <sup>c</sup>	10	24 <sup>c</sup>	40	15 <sup>c</sup>	74	105 <sup>c</sup>	C 8d
22 <sup>c</sup>	11	25 <sup>c</sup>	41	16 <sup>c</sup>	75	106 <sup>c</sup>	100
25 <sup>c</sup>	12	26 <sup>c</sup>	42	17 <sup>c</sup>	76	107 <sup>c</sup>	101
26 <sup>c</sup>	13	35 <sup>c</sup>	43	18 <sup>c</sup> -19 <sup>c</sup>	77	108 <sup>c</sup>	102
28 <sup>c</sup>	14	Codex VI		20 <sup>c</sup> -21 <sup>c</sup>	78	109 <sup>c</sup>	103
33 <sup>c</sup> -34 <sup>c</sup>	15	1 <sup>c</sup>	44a/45a	22 <sup>c</sup>	98	110 <sup>c</sup>	99
Codex IV		2 <sup>c</sup>	44b/45b	23 <sup>c</sup> -24 <sup>c</sup>	79	111 <sup>c</sup>	C 9
1 <sup>c</sup>	16	3 <sup>c</sup>	44 <sup>c</sup>	25 <sup>c</sup>	83	112 <sup>c</sup>	104
2 <sup>c</sup>	17	4 <sup>c</sup>	46/47	26 <sup>c</sup>	84	113 <sup>c</sup>	105
3 <sup>c</sup>	18	5 <sup>c</sup> -6 <sup>c</sup>	44d-e	27 <sup>c</sup> -29 <sup>c</sup>	80	114 <sup>c</sup>	106
4 <sup>c</sup> -5 <sup>c</sup>	19	7 <sup>c</sup>	48	30 <sup>c</sup>	81	115 <sup>c</sup>	C 10
6 <sup>c</sup>	20	8 <sup>c</sup>	49	31 <sup>c</sup>	82	117 <sup>c</sup>	C 11
21 <sup>c</sup>	21	9 <sup>c</sup>	50/51	32 <sup>c</sup>	86	118 <sup>c</sup>	C 12
Codex V		11 <sup>c</sup>	52	33 <sup>c</sup>	85	120 <sup>c</sup>	C 13
1 <sup>c</sup>	22a	12 <sup>c</sup> -13 <sup>c</sup>	53	34 <sup>c</sup>	87	121 <sup>c</sup>	108
2 <sup>c</sup>	22b/23a	14 <sup>c</sup>	54	35 <sup>c</sup>	88	122 <sup>c</sup>	109
3 <sup>c</sup>	22c/23b	15 <sup>c</sup>	55	36 <sup>c</sup>	89	124 <sup>c</sup>	110
4 <sup>c</sup>	22d/23c	16 <sup>c</sup>	56	37 <sup>c</sup>	90	125 <sup>c</sup>	111
5 <sup>c</sup> -8 <sup>c</sup>	22e-h	17 <sup>c</sup>	57	38 <sup>c</sup>	91	126 <sup>c</sup>	C 14
9 <sup>c</sup>	24	18 <sup>c</sup>	58/59	39 <sup>c</sup>	92	127 <sup>c</sup>	112
10 <sup>c</sup>	25/26	19 <sup>c</sup>	60	40 <sup>c</sup>	93	128 <sup>c</sup>	113
11 <sup>c</sup>	22i/23d	25 <sup>c</sup>	61	41 <sup>c</sup>	94	129 <sup>c</sup>	114
12 <sup>c</sup>	27	Codex VII		42 <sup>c</sup>	95	130 <sup>c</sup>	124
13 <sup>c</sup>	28/29	1 <sup>c</sup>	62	43 <sup>c</sup>	96	134 <sup>c</sup>	115
		2 <sup>c</sup>	63	44 <sup>c</sup>	97	135 <sup>c</sup>	116
				51 <sup>c</sup>	107	136 <sup>c</sup>	117

Codex VII (cont.)		Codex VII (cont.)		Codex VIII		Codex IX	
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138 <sup>c</sup>	119	149 <sup>c</sup>	131	19 <sup>c</sup>	143	2 <sup>c</sup>	147
139 <sup>c</sup>	120	150 <sup>c</sup>	132	20 <sup>c</sup> -27 <sup>c</sup>	144	3 <sup>c</sup>	148
140 <sup>c</sup>	121	152 <sup>c</sup>	134	28 <sup>c</sup> -29 <sup>c</sup>	145	4 <sup>c</sup>	149
141 <sup>c</sup>	122	153 <sup>c</sup>	135	30 <sup>c</sup> -36 <sup>c</sup>	C 18	5 <sup>c</sup>	150
142 <sup>c</sup>	123	154 <sup>c</sup>	136	37 <sup>c</sup> -40 <sup>c</sup>	C 17	6 <sup>c</sup>	151
143 <sup>c</sup>	125	155 <sup>c</sup>	137	41 <sup>c</sup> -45 <sup>c</sup>	C 16	7 <sup>c</sup>	152
144 <sup>c</sup>	126	156 <sup>c</sup>	138	46 <sup>c</sup>	C 15	Codex XI	
145 <sup>c</sup>	127	157 <sup>c</sup>	139	58 <sup>c</sup> -59 <sup>c</sup>	C 19	1 <sup>c</sup>	153
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C1-C19.	<i>See Table of Coptic Papyri p. 121.</i>	



## NOTE ON EDITORIAL PRACTICE AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The editorial signs employed in this volume are those in common use: square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, parentheses ( ) resolution of an abbreviation or symbol, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, double square brackets [ [ ] ] a deletion by the scribe, and high strokes ` ' superlinear additions, but not letters raised to mark an abbreviation. Dots within brackets, or numerals within brackets, indicate the approximate number of letters lost in a lacuna; dots outside brackets indicate illegible letters, and dots under letters indicate uncertain readings. Punctuation and, in the Greek texts, accents, breathing marks, and iotas subscript have been added by the editors. Faults of spelling and grammar have been pointed out in a critical apparatus or discussed in textual notes when they could not be conveniently indicated in the text itself. A horizontal arrow → indicates that the writing on a given papyrus surface runs parallel to the fibers, a vertical arrow ↓ that it runs perpendicular to the fibers.

As regards supralineation in the Coptic texts, printing requirements have necessitated a certain amount of deviation from absolutely accurate reproduction: strokes between two letters on the original are placed over the second in the transcript, and long lines over three letters are centered over the second. For the precise placement of the supralinear stroke, the reader should consult *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Cartonnage* (Leiden, 1979).

Individual dates have not been assigned to the Coptic texts, but it is likely that they were written approximately in the first half of the fourth century A.D. (cf. Introd. p. 5, n. 10).

The reader is reminded that although some consultation of the originals was possible, the greater part of the editorial work was based on photographs; in particular, the surviving editor of the Greek texts has not seen the papyri and in doubtful cases has often necessarily relied upon the Brussels MS (for which see the list of abbreviations below). Details of the transcripts should therefore be judged with due caution.

In addition to the standard abbreviations of editions of papyri

and scholarly journals, we have used the following shortened references:

- Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *NTGrammatik* = F. Blass, A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. Bearbeitet von F. Rehkopf. 14th ed., Göttingen 1976.
- Brussels MS = A typescript including preliminary transcripts of the texts in this volume with the exception of those from the cover of Codex VI, occasionally with translations and some commentary, prepared by G. M. Browne on the basis of material left by J. W. B. Barns and partly controlled by Browne on the originals. Its readings have generally been followed unless a photograph showed a clearly preferable alternative.
- Crum, *Dict.* = W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford 1939.
- CSEL = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. 1866ff.
- Du Cange = Charles Du Fresne Sieur Du Cange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis*. Lyon 1688, reprint Graz 1958.
- Gignac, Phonology = F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. Vol. I, *Phonology*. Milan 1976. *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell' antichità* 55.
- Halkin = *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae*, ediderunt Hagiographi Bollandiani ex recensione Francisci Halkin S. I. Brussels 1932.
- Kasser, Compléments = R. Kasser, *Compléments au Dictionnaire copte de Crum*. Cairo 1964. *Bibliothèque d'études coptes* 7.
- Kühner-Gerth = R. Kühner, B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*. 2. Teil, *Satzlehre*. 3rd. ed., Hannover and Leipzig 1898-1904.
- Lampe, PGL = G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford 1961.
- Mandilaras, *The Verb* = B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*. Athens 1973.
- Mayser = E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*. Leipzig 1906ff.
- Naldini, *Cristianesimo* = M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto. Lettere private nei papiri dei secoli II-IV*. Florence 1968.
- NB = F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nicht-semitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Inschriften, Mumienschilder usw.) Ägyptens sich vorfinden*. Heidelberg 1922.
- Oertel, *Liturgie* = F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie. Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens*. Leipzig 1917; reprint Aalen 1965.
- Onomasticon = D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum. Supplemento al Namenbuch di F. Preisigke*. Milan 1967. *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell' antichità* 16.
- Pape = W. Pape, G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*. 3rd. ed. Braunschweig 1911; reprint Graz 1959.
- PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne. 1857ff.
- PL = *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne. 1878ff.

*Prel. Rep.* = J. W. B. Barns, "Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices: a Preliminary Report", in *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Codices in Honour of Pahor Labib*, ed. M. Krause (Leiden 1975) 9-17, with an addendum by E. G. Turner pp. 17f.

*WB* = F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumien-schilder usw. aus Ägypten*. Berlin 1925ff.



## INTRODUCTION

It was probably in December of 1945 that a party of Egyptian *sabakh*-diggers discovered under the sheltering side of a fallen boulder the sealed jar which when broken open was found to contain the manuscripts that are now known as the Nag Hammadi Library. Reportedly the jar was discovered together with a corpse (though not from an ancient burial) on a bed of something resembling charcoal, but this was not confirmed by excavations on or near the site thirty years later in December 1975. However that may be, one of the party, Mohammed Ali, took the manuscripts back to his home in al-Qasr, the ancient Chenoboskia, some three and a half miles from the place of discovery near the tiny village Hamra Dom. There he deposited them among straw that was to be used as fuel for a clay oven in the courtyard, and some of the material was consequently later burned; but much the greater part was saved and eventually came into possession of the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo, where it is kept today.<sup>1</sup>

The manuscripts proved to contain an immensely valuable collection of Coptic religious writings, many of which had been previously quite unknown, and which for the most part strongly reflect Gnostic teachings. In addition they contained the fragments of Greek and Coptic papyri which are published in the present volume. These had been used simply as scrap paper: the twelve codices are bound in leather, and eight of these leather covers are strengthened with a layer of used papyrus. The late J. W. B. Barns undertook to edit this so-called cartonnage in 1971. The following survey of texts is intended to complete and update the preliminary report on the documents which Barns had prepared before his death in 1974 and which was published posthumously the following

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<sup>1</sup> The paragraph above is based on James M. Robinson's "From the Cliff to Cairo: The Story of the Discovery and the Middlemen of the Nag Hammadi Codices", of which the author kindly sent me a manuscript copy. The most informative account known to me which had been published at the time of this writing is by the same scholar in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden, 1977) 21-3.



year,<sup>2</sup> as well as to correct it in some respects. In particular the question as to whether the documents found in the codex covers support the theory that the codices themselves once belonged to the library of a Pachomian monastery requires new consideration.

This question was answered in the positive by Barns in his *Preliminary Report*, but it will be seen below that evidence for monasticism in general in these papers is less frequent than was supposed in that work,<sup>3</sup> and there are no texts in which a specifically Pachomian background comes plainly to the fore (cf. pp. 5-11). It should be emphasized, however, that the nature of the cartonnage, though of use for determining the approximate date and place at which the codices were bound, is of very questionable value for determining their ownership.<sup>4</sup>

The covers that contained papyrus cartonnage are the following:

Codex I (1-15; C1). Two contracts, an account that mentions weavers' goods, a mutilated private letter, and several fragments of unidentifiable nature. The first of the contracts (1) requires special mention, as it has previously been reported to indicate a "monastic background; it mentions a *μονή* and a *proestōs*, and the name of Chenoboskion occurs in it".<sup>5</sup> This view was reached on the

<sup>2</sup> "Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices: a Preliminary Report", in *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Codices in Honour of Pahor Labib*, ed. Martin Krause (Leiden, 1975) 9-17, with an addendum by E. G. Turner pp. 17f. Henceforth *Prel. Rep.* It should be noted that the last of the material did not become available for study until its detachment from the cover in 1975.

<sup>3</sup> "...most of the contents of [Codex] VII, and some of I and VIII, indicate a monastic background" (*Prel. Rep.* p. 12). Evidence for monasticism is now limited to some of the correspondence in Codex VII, discussed below pp. 5-11.

<sup>4</sup> "Now it seems unlikely that the writing of the codices and their binding should have been the work of two different establishments; and even more unlikely that the waste papyrus used to pack and strengthen the covers should have had no connection with the binders" (*Prel. Rep.* 11-12). Clearly the persons who strengthened the covers had access to the materials they used for that purpose, but this does not get us very far. I see no *prima facie* connection between scribes and bookbinders, nor between those two parties and the owners of the codices. A monastery might, of course, use its own discarded documents for binding its manuscripts, but it might also have used material from any convenient source for this purpose, or have acquired volumes that were already bound. Conversely, secular or heretical parties could have used the cast-offs of an orthodox religious body.

<sup>5</sup> *Prel. Rep.* 12.

basis of photographs made before the fragments had been completely freed from the cover. E. G. Turner found on the original that κώμης should be read in place of μονῆς, and warned that *proestos* can have other meanings than that of the head of a monastic organization.<sup>6</sup> Later a further portion of the document was found and the fragments were rearranged following a suggestion of Professor Turner. It is now clear that *proestos* in the text refers to the chairman of a guild of oil-workers who were contracting to supply oil for the municipal supplies of Diospolis Parva, here called "Diospolis near Chenoboskia" (l. 4). So far as can be determined, therefore, all texts in this cover are purely secular. The hands indicate dates in the late third or first half of the fourth century A.D.

Codex IV (16-21). Fragments of accounts mentioning wine, wheat, and barley in such large quantities that taxation or military rations are probably involved. They were presumably written in some government office in the fourth century.

Codex V (22-43). The two longest documents, 22 and 23 (front and back of the same papyrus), are parts of official accounts concerned with an area at least as large as the two procuratorships of the Thebaid; they would be of great interest if they were better preserved. Of numerous other fragments in the cover, the great majority appear likewise to be official accounts, though 28 may be part of a contract and the nature of 31 is doubtful: one might think of a contract, petition, or report. The natural source of such texts would again be a government office, possibly that of the *praeses Thebaidos*. The location of his seat of office at the time our texts were written is unfortunately not known: near the end of the fourth century it was Antinoopolis, but there is some reason to think that it may have been Hermopolis earlier (see P. Beatty Panop. p. xx; A. K. Bowman, *BASP* 15, 1978, pp. 33, 36-7). As 22 and 23 were written while the Thebaid was divided into two ἐπιτροπαί, those texts can be dated roughly between 298 and 323 A.D. All the papyri in the cover were written in the late third or early fourth century.

Codex VI (44-61). For the most part name lists and accounts; again taxation suggests itself as the purpose. 53 is a document of a different type, presumably a petition, report, or fragment of cor-

<sup>6</sup> *Prel. Rep.* 17-8.

respondence addressed to a strategus or epistrategus; the same choice of officials recurs in 56. The papyri may have come from the same source as those in the covers of Codices IV and V, and were written at about the same time.

Codex VII (62-142; C2-C14). This is by far the richest of the covers in point of view of the number and condition of the documents preserved. It is not easy to summarize briefly.

*Religious literature:* C2, some fragments of Genesis, and possibly C3, an exhortation to virtue which could be part of a homily or an epistle. A suggestion that Pachomius, the traditional founder of coenobitic monasticism, may have been the author<sup>7</sup> is not presently subject to proof or refutation. I do not know whether a fourth-century monastery would be more or less likely than other groups or individuals to use bits of Holy Scripture (C2) to strengthen a book cover. Such use would, of course, have the effect of physically preserving the writing, but it is more than doubtful that that was the intention in this case.

*Contracts:* 62, remnants of a sale of some kind. It was previously dated to the consulship of Domitius Zenophilus (A.D. 333) or Tettius Facundus (A.D. 336),<sup>8</sup> but it is argued in the introduction to the text below (p. 52) that the reign of Aurelian or the rebel Domitius Domitianus, or the consulship of Flavius Domitius Leontius (A.D. 344), are more probable. 63 is a loan of wheat, dated to 20 November 341. The signature of the illiterate debtor was written by a former municipal magistrate, but we do not know of what city.<sup>9</sup> 64 is another loan of wheat, drawn up between a resident of a previously unknown village Techthy in the Little Diopolite nome and a former magistrate of Dendyra. If the debtor took the contract back home with him after paying the loan, it was in Techthy or thereabout when it came into the hands of the bookbinders. Date 21 November 346. The debtor, one Aurelius Comes, was tentatively identified in *Prel. Rep.* p. 12 as a presbyter who is one of the writers of our letter 77. If so, he does not mention his position (which would be odd) or did not have it yet; but it is by

<sup>7</sup> *Prel. Rep.* 15.

<sup>8</sup> *Prel. Rep.* 12.

<sup>9</sup> It was erroneously reported in *Prel. Rep.* p. 12 that the debtor of this contract, Aurelius Psenetyimis, is "almost certainly" to be identified with a man, evidently a monk, named in one of the letters in this cover. In fact the name Psenetyimis does not occur again among these papers.

no means certain that the presbyter was in fact named Comes (cf. 64.4 n., 77.16 n.). 65 is a deed of surety, addressed to the chairman of some municipal council. Dated to October of A.D. 348, it provides a terminus a quo for the cover of this codex.

*Private letters:* whenever the religious faith of the correspondents of the many letters found in this cover can be determined, it is invariably Christian. Particularly welcome are some of the earliest references yet found to monks and the light shed on their daily lives.<sup>10</sup> There were important coenobitic monasteries of the Pachomian order at Pabau and Chenoboskia, respectively about 5½ and 3½ miles from the place where these texts were discovered. These were Pachomius' second and third monasteries; the foundation dates are uncertain, but in any case they were later than the first establishment at Tabennese (c. 320-5 A.D.) and were flourishing by the time of Pachomius' death (probably 346). Our letters were written in the early to mid fourth century and so are roughly contemporaneous with the growth of Pachomian monasticism. As it has been suggested that the Nag Hammadi codices themselves, despite their generally heretical and sometimes non-Christian nature, once belonged to the library of one of these orthodox organizations,<sup>11</sup> it is of some interest to enquire whether the material

<sup>10</sup> The earliest datable reference to an Egyptian monk is P. Collect. Youtie II 77.15 from A.D. 324, recently studied by E. A. Judge, "The Earliest Use of Monachos for 'Monk' (P. Coll. Youtie 77) and the Origins of Monasticism", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 20 (1977) 72-89. The letters in the Nag Hammadi covers are not dated, but on palaeographical grounds they are not likely to be more than about thirty years later than that at the outside.

<sup>11</sup> The argument in *Prel. Rep.* 12ff. is as follows: there are no traces of heresy or heterodoxy in the cartonnage documents; the findspot of the texts was near the monastery of Chenoboskia; and "since it is hardly conceivable that there would have been more than one orthodox monastic organization simultaneously operating in the same place, we should be justified in concluding, even without further evidence, that the Nag Hammadi material came from a Pachomian monastery" (p. 13); further evidence is then forthcoming in the form of texts which mention names identical with those of persons known to have been active in the Pachomian organization, including perhaps Pachomius himself.—To this it can be said that there is no more evidence for orthodox than for heterodox beliefs in the documents, as none reveals the shading of its author's Christianity; none of the personal identifications are (to this writer at least) convincing; and the few texts which give some indication as to the way of life of the persons concerned are difficult or impossible to reconcile with Pachomianism. This last point is, however,

used in the covers reflects a Pachomian background. The following discussion will be largely concerned with this question.<sup>12</sup>

It should be stated at once that there is not enough evidence to settle this on Christological grounds. The letters do include a number of Biblical echoes and pious sentiments, but these are all dogmatically quite neutral and could have been written by virtually anyone whose views were recognizably Christian.<sup>13</sup> One general consideration weighs against a Pachomian attribution, but it is hard to say how heavily—the great majority of the correspondence

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very problematic, as our sources on classical Pachomianism may be misinformed or deliberately idealized, or may represent a stage of development later than that of the papyri; at the same time, the papyri themselves must not be used to correct impressions from other sources unless it can be proved that the papyri are Pachomian. In the discussion of individual texts below I shall take possession of money and other private property, interest in secular concerns, and apparently free contact with the daily world, in particular with women, as speaking against a Pachomian background.

<sup>12</sup> It may be as well to mention at this point some other possibilities; it will be recalled that Pachomius himself made provision for the reception of visiting monks who did not follow his order (Halkin pp. 24-5, *PL* 23.73, *PG* 40.949). Meletian monasteries had been established by A.D. 334 (P. Jews 1913). A series of interesting fourth-century letters to an anchorite is printed in P. Jews. 1923-9. Most of the early papyrological attestations of monks apparently refer to the class which Jerome called *remnuoth* (*Ep.* 22.34 in *CSEL* 54 and *PL* 23); see Judge, *art. cit.* in n. 10 above. As such a monk could own land and other property (cf. for example the sales of dwellings in SB I 5174-5) and was obliged by some means to support himself, his contact with the world must have been immeasurably greater than that of the possession-less Pachomian within his cloister walls, and so it is only natural that we should hear more of him than of the Pachomian coenobite in documentary papyri. A considerable body of late correspondence evidently concerning *remnuoth* has been published in P. Epiph. II. Cf. also the Christian fellowships discussed by E. Wipszycka, "Les confréries dans la vie religieuse de l'Égypte chrétienne", *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (Toronto, 1970 = ASP VII) 511-25, esp. 519f.

<sup>13</sup> Another view was expressed in *Prel. Rep.* pp. 12-3: "Nowhere do we find any suggestion of heresy or heterodoxy; indeed, this seems ruled out by a passage in one letter which speaks of the commendation (συνέστυσεν) of an individual to a group of the brethren by 'our father [the holy ?] bishop'." The letter referred to is our 77, but it shows only that certain presbyters respected their bishop; we should have to know the latter's religious leanings to pass judgment on their orthodoxy. The use of such terms as ἀδελφός, πατήρ, μοναχός, and πρεσβύτερος in the letters is likewise orthologically uninformative: they can all be found similarly used, for example, in the Meletian report on misdoings by the followers of Athanasius in P. Jews 1914.



is in Greek, whereas the Pachomian monasteries of the area were predominantly Coptic.

There are only two letters which beyond all reasonable doubt came from or into the hands of monks, **72** and **C8**. **72** was sent by a woman to *Σανσῶντι καὶ Πσάτος μοναχοῖς*: she asks them to try to find some chaff for her asses and let her know how much it costs per waggonload. Here one can deny a Pachomian background with considerable assurance: a normal member of a Pachomian organization would not have been in a position to fulfill this request and it is almost unthinkable that he would have received correspondence from a woman—or indeed a man—on such a subject, as the point of Pachomian coenobitic life was to avoid just such secular concerns. The monks here may have belonged to another order, or the text may date to a period before Pachomianism had taken on its classical form, but it seems most probable that they are further examples of Jerome's unorganized *remnuoth* (see n. 12).<sup>14</sup> One of the men, Sansnos, may be identical with a presbyter of the same name discussed below, pp. 8-9.

**C8**, a letter from a monk, includes a greeting to "all the brothers" (frag. a, l. 8) and refers to someone called "my father Sansnos" (a 14) and "Apa Sansnos". If that should be the Sansnos of **72**, the brethren can hardly have been Pachomian, but the name was very common.<sup>15</sup>

The possibility of a monastic background arises in several other letters as well, although monks are not specifically mentioned in them.

**67** includes a request to have some wheat transported to a *μονάχιον* and stored in a *σιρός* there. The word *μονάχιον* has not occurred before, but it should indicate a monks' dwelling of some kind; a *σιρός* was sometimes an underground bin, sometimes

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<sup>14</sup> It may be significant that **72** is addressed to *two* monks; the Epiphanius correspondence alone includes 26 more such letters. The editor writes: "In some cases . . . the relation was that of teacher and disciple . . . in others merely that of two anchorites of like standing, who share a cave or hut" (P. Epiph. I p. 138).

<sup>15</sup> **C8** is the letter which was described in *Prel. Rep.* p. 15 as "seem[ing] to compare the growth of the particular community to which it was addressed to that of a grain of mustard seed", but this view was based on a false placing of the fragments; see **C8** a 14 n.

simply a large vessel used for storing grain.<sup>16</sup> Many examples of privately-owned σιροί are known; <sup>17</sup> the μονάχιον need not have been very large to have possessed one.

We are not told the positions of the correspondents in 67 or the reason for transporting the grain, but the writer speaks of "the brothers who are with you and those with me" (l. 12). Though the phrase is of itself indecisive, it seems natural in this context to suppose that two groups of monks, or at least religious fellowships of some sort, are meant. Nothing points specifically to Pachomian life.

77 and 78 are both letters from presbyters to a fellow presbyter named Sansnos. He may be identical with the monk Sansnos of 72, though there is no reason to think so apart from the name.<sup>18</sup> In addition there are five letters written to a Sansnos whose position is not identified: 68, 73, 75, 76, C5. We see him asked to intervene to protect a tenant from harassment by his landlord and to obtain some chaff for the writer (68; cf. n. 21), to turn over five artabs of wheat to a "brother" (75), and, if it is the same man, to put off buying some wheat and to attend to some financial affairs (C5). As the request to obtain some chaff in 68 is reminiscent of that in 72, where Sansnos is called a monk, there is some reason to think that the same person is meant. Indeed, the presence of so many letters addressed to Sansnos gives the impression of a small archive of correspondence received, though I am doubtful whether it is really one archive or at least two. There is further a letter in very uneducated Greek written by a Sansnos to one Aphrodisios (69), scolding the latter for having failed to send food for some "lads"

<sup>16</sup> For σιροί as underground bins cf. F. Luckhard, *Das Privathaus im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten* (Giessen, 1914) 83; Pliny, *NH* XVIII 306; and see the excavation report in P. Epiph. I p. 42 with other remarks on the storage of grain by monks *ibid.* p. 146. The σιροί of P. Giss. Univ.-Bibl. II 17, on the other hand, must be vessels of some kind, as they are located in an upper room; the editor cites Hesychius for the definition πίθος.

<sup>17</sup> E.g., P. Mich. V 195; P. Teb. III. 2 851.37 and 82; 852.98; 959.11.

<sup>18</sup> It should perhaps be pointed out in this connection that according to the *Vitae* there were no presbyters in early Pachomian organizations: *δταν χρεία ἦν προσφορᾶς, μετεκαλεῖτο πρεσβύτερόν τινα τῶν ἐγγιστα ἐκκλησιῶν . . . οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς τις γενόμενος ἐν καταστάσει κλήρου ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ* (Halkin p. 16). But at a later time ecclesiastics were permitted, provided they claimed no special privileges for themselves (*ibid.* p. 17), and there are in any case other grounds for doubting that the monk Sansnos was Pachomian (p. 7).

(παῖδια, possibly slaves) and informing him of some matters concerning sheep and goats. It would be very surprising if this text were to be found in company with letters that the same man had received. I much doubt that it refers to the monk and/or presbyter.<sup>19</sup>

Of the remaining Greek letters of this codex which are well enough preserved to give some idea of their content, one, **71**, is addressed to two presbyters, asking them to buy two skins for the writer: he sends them two artabs of dates as part payment in advance, and will pay the balance when he learns how much it is. The other letters (**66**, **70**, **74**, **79-81**) are evidently purely secular and show no involvement with monasticism.

The Coptic letters, of which two have already been mentioned (**C8** p. 7, **C5** immediately above), show in general a greater tendency to express Christian sentiments and less concern with worldly affairs than the Greek texts.

**C4** is a pious and tender letter to Aphrodisi(os), who may be called an ascetic (l. 25 n.) and is recovering from a recent illness.<sup>20</sup> Aphrodisios is also the name of the recipient of a Greek letter from some Sansnos (**69**): the scolding, impatient tone of the Greek letter contrasts strongly with the respectful, even reverent tone of the Coptic one, but there is no particular reason to believe that the same Aphrodisios is involved.

The Aphrodisios of **C4** plainly lived in a religious fellowship of some sort, and apparently his correspondent lived in another one. The writer speaks of a "brother" named Sourous (l. 16). A Sourous was the first head that we know of in the Pachomian monastery at Pachnoum. This may be the same man, but if so it is perhaps odd that he is not called "father".

<sup>19</sup> This doubt considerably weakens the case for believing that Sansnos and his associates, as the parties responsible for the tending of sheep and goats, were also in charge of leather-work and the production of the covers of the Nag Hammadi codices, as was argued in *Prel. Rep.* 14. The same text does, however, mention a Sansnos "the shepherd" who is obviously not the same as the writer of the letter (**69.17**, 20). If he could be shown to be the monk/presbyter (who is not otherwise connected with animals), then the reasoning of *Prel. Rep.* would gain some support; so far as we know, however, the man was simply a shepherd.

<sup>20</sup> The improvement in Aphrodisios' health did not last long if one may judge from **C5**, which he himself wrote later and in which he declares that he does not know whether he will live or die (ll. 9-10). The Epiphanius correspondence also includes numerous reports of illness among monks; cf. P. Epiph. I pp. 163f.

Aphrodisios later used the other side of the papyrus to write a letter of his own to Sansnos (C5). This is almost wholly concerned with business affairs: Sansnos is to put off making a purchase of wheat, to collect some money, and to pay part of it out again. One can think of positions even within Pachomian life in which such matters would have to be handled in the interests of the monastery, but in that case one would have expected the instructions to have been given verbally; and there is no indication that Aphrodisios was acting for a monastery rather than for himself.

C6 is part of a letter from Papnoute (Papnutius) to Pahome (Pachomius). Virtually nothing of its content is still discernible: the great interest of the text lies in the mutilated address on the back, which it is possible to understand as "Deliver it (the letter) to my prophet and father Pachomius, from Papnutius". If this should be correct, the addressee could very well be the great Pachomius himself; moreover, Papnutius might also be historically identifiable, as the first general oecome of all the monasteries was named Papnutius.<sup>21</sup> Since both he and Pachomius resided in the same monastery at Pabau they must normally have communicated with each other verbally, but of course special circumstances could have occasioned a letter, and in any case the identification of Pachomius is not dependent on that of his correspondent. However, the phrase which one would have partly to restore,  $\pi\alpha\pi\rho[\omicron]\phi\eta\tau$   $[\eta\varsigma] \bar{\eta}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$  (for the  $\alpha\pi\rho[.]$   $\eta\tau[.]$   $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$  of the text), does

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<sup>21</sup> A Greek letter, 68, may further be relevant: it contains a request to "make Petros, who is harassing brother Appianus through Papnutius and his people because of the rents, hold off for a few days" (ll. 3-6). Rent collection would obviously fall within the sphere of competence of an *οἰκονόμος*, but one must question whether the general oecome of the Pachomian monasteries can be meant here. The word for rent used, *ἐκφόρια*, is normally used of rent in kind, and strongly implies that Appianus had leased some farm land from the Petros named. This Petros is evidently Papnutius' superior, since he can use the latter as his agent. If Papnutius was the Pachomian oecome, then the land must have been monastery property, and Petros must have held a very high position indeed—abbot of one of the cloisters, perhaps. But there seems to be no evidence that the early Pachomian monasteries owned land which they leased out: the monks appear rather to have done the work themselves. As the picture of Pachomian monks harassing slow-paying tenants is in any case bizarre, one would prefer to have more evidence before identifying this man as Pachomius' oecome. There is no real indication as to whether he is the writer of C6.

not appear to be attested elsewhere.<sup>22</sup> Pachomius was among the commonest of Egyptian names. As there are otherwise no clear traces of the Pachomian order in these texts, one may be sceptical about the identification of the man here.

**C8** has been discussed above, p. 7. The remaining Coptic fragments from the codex are too small to give a clear idea of their content.

Finally, Codex VII contained a Greek *account*, secular so far as one can tell (**82**).

In summary, it may be said that Codex VII presents us with a very mixed assortment of texts ranging from secular contracts to monastic letters and bits of Scripture. It is hard to think of a satisfactory single source for such a variety of documents except a town rubbish heap—which may indeed have been the direct source of all the papyri the bookbinders used.

Codex VIII (**143-5**; **C15-C19**). A series of ordinances, probably imperial, would be of major importance if the text were better preserved (**143-4**). The office or offices in which the tax documents in other covers were presumably produced would very likely have also had an interest in such ordinances. In addition there are letters in Greek (**145**) and Coptic (**C15-C18**, possibly also **C19**), all too mutilated for their content to be determined.

Codex IX (**146-52**). The nature of **149-51** is unclear. The remainder appear to be fragments of tax accounts similar to those in Codex VI and may have come from the same source.

Codex XI (**153**). The only text in this codex of which the nature can be determined is a fragmentary letter written by an inhabitant of Chenoboskia.

On the basis of place names mentioned in the cartonnage it may be concluded that at least Codices I, V, VII, and XI were bound using material from the general neighborhood of the place where the codices were found. A terminus a quo for Codex VII can safely be set: it was bound during or after October of A.D. 348 (**65**). There are no certain traces of classical Pachomian monasticism in the cartonnage.

JOHN C. SHELTON

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<sup>22</sup> The reverse phrase, however, **παλειωτ ἡπροφητης**, is common enough; see **C6 verso** 6f., n.





PART ONE  
THE GREEK PAPYRI

BY

J. W. B. BARNS<sup>†</sup> AND JOHN C. SHELTON



# CODEx I

## 1. UNDERTAKING BY OIL-WORKERS

I Ic

7.5 × 11.5 cm.

late 3rd/early 4th cent.

The oil-workers of a village in the Little Diopolite nome, having previously agreed to supply oils for the εὐθένεια of the nome capital, agree in the present text to continue and expand their responsibilities in this enterprise. Virtually no details are preserved, but the existence of such an agreement presupposes that the workers involved were organized into some form of corporate unity: see in general M. San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer* (2nd ed. Munich 1972 = *Münchener Beiträge* 2/I + 2/II), with oil-workers' guilds in particular pp. 78-80. The name of the party with whom the agreement was made is lost at the beginning of the text. A eutheniarch would be the obvious guess.

The papyrus has been mentioned by John Barns, *Prel. Rep.* p. 12, and partly transcribed by E. G. Turner, *ibid.* 17-8; cf. *Introd.* pp. 2-3. Dark traces which appear above l. 1 in the *Facsimile Edition* plate 3 are not ink. The back is blank.

$$\rightarrow \dots \Delta_{10\sigma}$$

] . ωμων

]. [ ] Πεύσιος

[ . . . . . ἅπ]ὸ τῆς (αὐτῆς) Διὸς πόλ(εως) περὶ Χηνοβ(όσκια)

5 [ . . . . . ] τῶν ἐλαιουργῶν κώμης

[ . . . . . ] τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) νομοῦ δι(ὰ) Ἡδεμυδρα

[.....]ος προεστῶτος ἀπὸ [τῆ]ς (αὐτῆς) κώμης

χάιρειν.

[ἐπε]ὶ ἔδοξεν ὥστε κοινῇ ἡμᾶς παρα-

10 [σχε]ῖν τῇ εὐθeneίᾳ τῆς πόλεως ἔλαια

[...]...ια, κατὰ ταῦτὰ ὁμολογοῦμεν

[ . . . . . ]ιω καὶ αὐθαιρέτω γνώμη ἐπιγνώ-

[ναι . . . . .] πάντα τὰ διαφέροντα τῇ αὐτῇ

[.....] καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτάγματα καὶ μὴ

<sup>15</sup> [ . . . . . ] ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνθηκῶν

[ . . . . ] . πίας δι' ἀπαξαπλῶ[ς] . [

$$[\dots]\theta\alpha\dots[$$

(l. 4) '... from the same Diospolis near Chenoboskia, (all of us?) oil-workers from the village ... of the same nome, through Hedemyras (?) son of NN, chairman, from the same village, greeting. Seeing that it was decided that we would jointly supply ... oils for the food supply of the city, we in like manner agree of our own ... and free will to take upon ourselves all the responsibilities of the same (public function) and (to carry out) the other orders and not to (repudiate?) the contracts of ... with one another (on any pretext) whatever ...'

1-5 The structure of these lines was: addressee(s) in the dative, now lost; names of oil-workers in the nominative, acting through their guild chairman, greeting.

1 The traces before Διοσ are too slight to permit a reading; syntactically attractive would be ἀ]πὸ Διδός | πόλεως or κ]αὶ Δῖος, Διόσ|κορος, Διοσ|κουρίδης or the like.

4 Διδός πόλ(εως) περὶ Χηνοβ(όσκια): Diospolis Parva. The expression has not been found before, but it is comparable to Διοσπολίτου περὶ Χηνοβ( ) used for the Little Diopolite nome in P. Ant. I 32.2 and 32, where Χηνοβ( ) should be expanded as here on the basis of the accusative Χηνοβόσκ[ι]α in SB X 10277.16 and the dative Χηνοβοσκήσις in W. Chr. 447.14 and M. Chr. 87.39. *RE* III 2285 cites from literary sources two variants, Χηνοβοσκήσια and Χηνοβόσκιον, to which Χηνοβοσκεῖα can now be added from Halkin's edition of the Greek life of Pachomius; none of these have so far appeared in papyri (the last of them would, however, be unrecognizable in accentless texts, as the interchange of ι and ει is too common to be decisive even if Χηνοβοσκεῖα should one day be found. It is not a possible alternative to Χηνοβόσκ[ι]α in SB X 10277.16). A further form, Χηνοβόσκιαι (WB III 339), is simply a false abstraction from the dative in M. Chr. 87.39. Concerning the town cf. Alexander Polyhistor apud Steph. Byz. s.v. Χηνοβοσκήσια: "ἀντικρὺ δὲ τοῦ Διοσπολίτου [νομοῦ] Χηνοβόσκιον, μηδὲν εἰς τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐμφέρουσα· νομάς γὰρ χηνῶν οὐκ ἂν ἴδοι τις, ὑπερβάλλουσαν δὲ τὴν περὶ κροκοδείλους σπουδὴν."

5 Probably πάν]των at the beginning; apparently not τῶν λοι]πῶν or ἄλ]λων.

6 τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) νομοῦ: i.e., the Little Diopolite.

Ηδεμυδρα: context requires a personal name, or the beginning of one. No name similar to this is elsewhere attested, but the ono-

mastics of this region are poorly known, and this volume in general contains an accordingly high proportion of additions to our name lists. A more familiar phrase would be ἡ δὲ μικρά, but I see no way of fitting it into context without assuming major errors in the drafting of the text.

7 προεστῶτος: guild chairman. Cf. e.g. BGU IV 1028.8 for a προεστῶς κλειδοποιῶν, l. 25 π. χαλκίων, P. Oxy. X 1275.8 π. ἀλλητῶν καὶ μουσικῶν. All these examples are taken from *WB* III 148.

10 εὐθενεία: for bibliography see P. Köln I 55.3/4 n., P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2854 introd.

11 -ια is presumably the end of an adjective modifying ἔλαια.

12 ]ιω: one expects [έκουσ]ία καὶ αὐθαιρέτω γνώμη, but the Brussels MS reports a clear ω. After ω the papyrus is damaged: one letter may have been lost. If so, [έκουσ]ίω[ς] would be tempting. [ἀμετανοή]τω cannot be read.

12-3 Perhaps ἐπιγνώ[[ναι] ὁμοίως.

14 χρεία alone would be too short for the lacuna at the beginning of the line, δημοσίᾳ χρεία too long unless abbreviated. λειτουργία or ἐπιμελεία would do.

15 The lacuna is likely to have held a word for "abandon" or "neglect"; e.g., ἐκστῆναι.

16 E.g., δι' ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς [μ]η[δεμιᾶς προφάσεως.

## 2. FRAGMENT OF A SALE (?)

I 2<sup>c</sup>

I4 × 10 cm.

late 3rd/early 4th cent.

Line 12 shows that this document involved a sale, but it follows unconventional formulas and is in places so badly rubbed that in the lack of parallels little is intelligible. Possibly it is not a sale as such, but a legal settlement of some kind which included a sale as one of its terms. Revision on the original would be desirable. The back is blank.

→ ] ... [ ..... ] μ[  
2 ] .. ου ..... [ ] .. νται προπ[  
3 ] υσλους . ει ... [ ..... ] τῆς γε ἀπὸ τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) ζ'  
εὐ[τ]υ[χ]ῶς  
4 -το]ς ἔτους .. μαν[ ..... ] ἐὰν δὲ ἐπέλθω ἢ μὴ καὶ [  
5 ] ..... σερια[ ... ] ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς αἰτήσεως τὸ ἀντίγραφον





col. i, and the text below is printed on that assumption. The last line preserved of each column is probably the last that was written. Revision on the original would be desirable. The back is blank.

## Col. i

→	]	ονω . ( ) α
	]	α
	]ονω	α
	]	α
5	]	α
	]	α
	]	α
	]. [	]νος μναĩ δ· ισχύι π

*space for 1 line blank*

	]χιον γ[	] . δινόχρωα
	]καρίων ε . [	]ε φορτίω α
10	]κια λευχᾶ [	] στρώματα μναĩ η
	ὁμοί(ως) στημ[	] τοῦ στρώμ(ατος) μναĩ δ
	] . εἰς τὸ λ . [	]μναιωμ( ) . . λ( ) μναĩ α (ἥμισυ)
	]ς ὀμφαλαδ[	] . . . μον α
	]ρια [	] γ
15	] . ιτρι[	] α

## Col. ii

	δεν[
	πηγ[
	λ . . [
	καδ[
20	σω[
	στ . [
	αμ[
	αμ[
	[
25	[
	[
	α[
	λέβητος [
	ὁμοί(ως) ἄλλο[υ λέβητος
	7 ισχύει

Ι . ονω . ( ): the letter over ω can best be interpreted as π, μ, or λ. A raised μ, however, takes a different form in ll. 11 and 12. As the ο before ν is clear, ξνω π(όλεως) will not do, even if such a phrase were expected in an account of this nature. There is a slight possibility that the raised letter does not belong to this line but to an insertion above it; if that should be so, then μ(υριάς) or λ(οιπόν) would come into consideration.

7 E.g., στήμω]γος, but it is not possible to arrange the fragments in such a way that the lines here printed as 11 and 7 could be read together as δ]μοί(ως) στήμ[ω]γος κτλ.

ίσχυι (l. ἰσχύει) α: 'it is worth' or 'it weighs 1 (mina?)'. This is apparently a remark concerning the 4 minas of yarn (?) just mentioned.

8 Perhaps ῥοδινόχρωα, 'rose-colored', though the term is not found elsewhere. The final α is raised, so the word may be abbreviated.

9 ]καρίων: the end of a word, or a reference to Carian goods of some kind. For the latter possibility cf. 66.8.

φορτίω: i.e., φορτίω or φορτίω(ν). There is no mark of abbreviation, but in this context a genitive would be easier to explain than a dative: if φορτίω(ν) is the word meant, then α will be the price or the weight of the shipments. The preceding ε is reported as certain in the Brussels MS. On the plate ]μαφορτίω(ν), 'cloaks', looks worth considering, but it does not seem possible to effect a join between the fragments of the papyrus by reading σφ[υβρικο]μαφορτίω(ν).

11 στήμ[ωνος, στημ[ίου, or the like.

12 The word division may be ]μναι ωμ( ); the next word is probably an abbreviation of some form of παλαιός or πάλλιον. Then μναῖ was written, though μναῖ would be better grammatically.

13 *LSJ* records 'button' as a meaning of ὀμφαλός. That would suit the context, but it does not seem possible to read a form of ὀμφαλός here.

17 Presumably πην[ίου, 'weaver's spool', or πην[ίσματος, 'weaver's thread'.

19 The only serious possibilities are κάδ[ου, καδ[ίου, and καδ[μείας.

#### 4. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

I 5<sup>c</sup> + 6<sup>c</sup>

(a) 7.5 × 9 cm.

4th cent.

(b) 2 × 18.5 cm.

Two non-contiguous fragments of a private letter, too mutilated to yield continuous sense.

	τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ α[	]
	καὶ Εὐναιτ . [	
	Κοπρῆς . [	
	γίνωσκε . [	
5	ἐτοιμακέναι τα[	
	ἄρτάβας τοῦ Τριφ[	
	δὲ ἄρτάβην λεγου[	]μεσι[
	κοντα πέμψου[	[ . ον δε . [
	αὐτὸ ἀπελυ[	]μψ . [
10		]ελευ[
		]υσι[
		] . σφι[
		] . ε . [
		]σαι . [
15		] . ωσ . [
		] / ο . [
		] . ονο[
		]δεαι . [
		] . ἑρρῶ[σθαί σε εὐχομαι
20		πολλοῖς χρ[ό]νο[ις

Back: faint traces of the address.

1 E.g., τῷ ἀ[γαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ.

6 Τριφ[: the only suitable names listed in the *NB* and *Onomasticon* are Τριφένριος and Τριφιόδωρος. Cf. also 2.8 with note.

#### 5-15. MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

In addition to the four texts just printed, the cover of Codex I contains 43 small bits of papyrus dating from the late third to the early fourth century A.D. None of these is extensive enough to permit an identification of the type of document from which it comes, and most contain only slight traces of a few letters. The best preserved are transcribed below.

5. I 7<sup>c</sup> + 8<sup>c</sup> + 9<sup>c</sup>. Three fragments of the same text, measuring respectively 2 × 1, 6 × 2, and 2.5 cm. Text: (a) ] [πρὸς αὐτᾶ] [ (b) ] δι' ἐμοῦ Παραμμέουζ [ <sup>2</sup> ] υ ὑπὲρ ὀνομα ( ) [ (i.e., ὀνόμα(τος) or

ὀνομά(των). These two fragments apparently preserve an upper margin. (c) contains only traces that are now illegible.

6. I 10<sup>c</sup>. 5 × 1.5 cm. Text: ] ἰατρὸς καὶ . . . . [ <sup>2</sup>]στοριατ. [ <sup>3</sup>]θαῖ[ . . . ]πατρὸς [. Line 2 could be interpreted as e.g. ἰ]στορία τ. [ or ἰ]στορῖ (l. -εῖ) etc.

7. I 11<sup>c</sup> + 12<sup>c</sup>. Two fragments of one text. (a), 2.5 × 4 cm., is illegible. (b), 1.5 × 3 cm., reads ] . . του[ <sup>2</sup>]ονος[ <sup>3</sup>] αφ[ <sup>4</sup>] . . . . [. There is space sufficient for a line blank between ll. 2 and 3.

8. I 14<sup>c</sup> - 17<sup>c</sup>. Four fragments of the same text, only one of which offers more than a few traces. Text of (d), 2 × 7 cm.: ] . πενο . [ <sup>2</sup>] . παχυ[ <sup>3</sup>]οντα[ <sup>4</sup>]μι . υ[ <sup>5</sup>] . υ καὶ ε[ <sup>6</sup>]επη[. Space enough for two lines is blank between ll. 2 and 3.

9. I 19<sup>c</sup>. 2.5 × 1.5 cm. Text: ]ων ἡμῶν δ[.

10. I 20<sup>c</sup>. 2 × 2 cm. Right margin apparently preserved. Text: ] ἡ<sup>2</sup>]μεν <sup>3</sup>] . . . .

11. I 22<sup>c</sup>. 4 × 1.5 cm. Text: ] προ[.

12. I 25<sup>c</sup>. 3 × 2 cm. ] . . [ <sup>2</sup>]ντας ὁμοίᾱς βιᾱ[ <sup>3</sup>πε]ρὶ παραστ[.

13. I 26<sup>c</sup>. 2 × 0.5 cm. ]εωμεν[ <sup>2</sup>]μψαμεν[.

14. I 28<sup>c</sup>. 1.5 × 1.5 cm. ] . . . [ <sup>2</sup>] . μ . [.

15. I 33<sup>c</sup>-4<sup>c</sup>. Two bits from the same text. The better preserved (I 33<sup>c</sup>, 1.5 × 4.5 cm.) reads ] — [ <sup>2</sup>]η [ <sup>3</sup>]γαῖ [ <sup>4</sup>] . απα[ <sup>5</sup>] . . . [. The stroke in l. 1 presumably marks a numeral or abbreviation.

## CODEX IV

Twenty-six small bits of Greek texts written in hands of the fourth century A.D. So far as the content is identifiable they come from accounts. The large quantities of goods involved suggest that these were official and not private accounts, as is also the case with the documents in the cover of Codex V. The largest and best preserved fragments are transcribed below.

16. IV 1<sup>c</sup>. 13.9 × 4.2 cm. Text: ] . . . . [ <sup>2</sup>]ov'[. The last letters may be an abbreviation of *δνόματος*.

17. IV 2<sup>c</sup>. 6.5 × 3.5 cm. Text:

] . . . . ρ συνα[ . ]α . . [	
] . οἴνου σ(πάθια) Γυι'' . [	3410 spathia of wine
] Γρμδ', ἀφ' ὧν [	3144, of which

The beginning of l. 1 was read as ] . . . υπρ( ) in the Brussels MS, but the ρ appears rather to be a numeral, perhaps preceded by Γ (3000). At the end σὺν ἀ[π]αγτ[ι] would suit the traces.

18. IV 3<sup>c</sup>. 2.3 × 3 cm. Text:

κρ]ῖθῶν (ἀρτ.) [	artabs of barley
]οῦτῳς [	as follows
] . σίτου (ἀρτ.) [	artabs of wheat

19. Two fragments. (a) IV 4<sup>c</sup>. 1.5 × 2 cm. ] , ω . [ <sup>2</sup>] . . [ <sup>3</sup>] . φμ[. (b) IV 5<sup>c</sup>. 6.2 × 4.8 cm. ] σί(του) . [ <sup>2</sup>traces <sup>3</sup>] (ἀρταβῶν?) (μυριάδες) . μς εχ . [ <sup>4</sup>] . . κρ(ιθῆς) [. There are ink traces on the back of both fragments, but only an α in the 4th line of the back of (b) is clear. The first line of (a) is a numeral, the stroke marking a number in the thousands.

**20.** IV 6<sup>c</sup>.  $4 \times 2.1$  cm. Text: ] . [ <sup>2</sup>]μων Αἰγύπ[τ]ου δρα[. The word before Αἰγύπ[τ]ου might be νό[μων or νο[μῶν, 'laws, nomes, or meadows of Egypt', but there are other possibilities even if Αἰγύπ[τ]ου does refer to the country; it may, however, be a personal name.

**21.** IV 21<sup>c</sup>.  $1.5 \times 1$  cm. Text: χοι . [ (e.g., Χοί[α(χ)]. Slight traces of a 2nd line.



## CODEX V

### 22. OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS

The best preserved papyri from the cover of Codex V come from what must have been an extensive series of official accounts in money and kind, dealing with an area at least as large as the Thebaid: their extremely mutilated condition is much to be regretted. The rectos of those fragments which most obviously belong together have been assembled under the number 22, and such versos of the same fragments as bear decipherable writing under 23. This assembly has been made very conservatively, very possibly too much so; re-examination of the originals may well show that some pieces here assigned other numbers were in fact once part of the same roll. There appears to be no way of determining the original order of the fragments. The presentation in this edition is arbitrary.

Fragments (c) and (h), as well as 23(c), were written at a time when the *provincia Thebaidos* was divided into two procuratorships, and presumably all parts of the text are to be dated very closely together. The Thebaid may have become a separate province as early as February A.D. 295; it had certainly done so, and been divided into two *ἐπιτροπαί*, by September of 298, which is therefore the most cautious terminus post quem for this text. It has been suggested that the two subdivisions had been given up by 323, and if so that year forms a terminus ante, but the evidence is very slight: see P. Beatty Panop. pp. xv-xxi, CPR V 6.7 n.

At least those portions of the accounts preserved in 22(c) and 23(c) were concerned with revenues from or for both the Upper and the Lower Thebaid. This suggests that they were drawn up by, or intended for use in an office higher than that of the procuratorship of either division. The most obvious instance would be that of the *praeses Thebaidos*.

(a) V 1<sup>c</sup>. 3 × 13 cm. The first few letters from the lines of one column. The back is blank.

→      σα[  
          κω[  
          τ . [  
          εισ[



10

]μαχο[  
]υθου[  
]...[

3 Not ἀπὸ δι[επ[ι]τροπῆς to follow the phrasing of (h).1, as the large epsilon shows that ἐπιτροπῆς was the first word in this line.

4 Probably Ἐπιμάχου ἐπιμελητοῦ; cf. in general P. Beatty Panop. 1.230-40 n., 276-331 n., P. Oxy. I 43 recto cols. iii-iv.

9 Possibly δι' Ἐπιμάχο[υ as in l. 4, but there are other possibilities, and no good reason to expect the man again here.

(d) V 4<sup>c</sup>. 7.1 × 13.5 cm. Fragment of an account in money, collected in large amounts from various localities. (e) comes from a similar account, or may be a further portion of this one. On the back is 23(c).

→	]	..[	
	] . μισ	. [	
	]	(ταλ. ?) [	
	] . .	(ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) δ[	(40000 [+ ?])
5	πό]λεως	(ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) γ	(30000 tal.)
	]	(ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) β , 5	(26000 tal.)
	] πόλε[ω]ς	(ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) β , Η .	(28000 + tal.)

5 and 7 The possibilities include Ἐρμοῦ πόλεως, Διὸς πόλεως, Ἀγκων πόλεως, Πανὸς πόλεως, Ἀπόλλωνος πόλεως. One expects the city in l. 5 to be different from that in l. 7.

7 This is probably the last line of the column.

(e) V 5<sup>c</sup>. 3.5 × 3.5 cm. Fragment of a money account. See (d) introd. The back is blank.

] . [

] (ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) δ [

] ἀπὸ [

] ε' [

3-4 ἀπό may have been followed by a place name, and if so that name may have been written wholly or partly in l. 4, i.e., read

instead of the printed text <sup>4</sup>—πόλεω]ς. But in that case it is odd that the scribe left so much space after ἀπό, and the trace in l. 4 resembles ε rather than ζ, so the pattern may have been ἀπό so many talents lost in l. 3 followed by another figure in l. 4; that is, of so many talents due, so many were paid.

(f) V 6<sup>c</sup>. 3 × 4 cm. Fragment of an account in artabs. The back is blank.

—	—	—
]	(ἀρτάβαι) ,	Ϛφ [ (6500 art.)
]	(ἀρτάβαι) ,	Γφ [ (3500 art.)
—	—	—

(g) V 7<sup>c</sup>. 9.5 × 10.6 cm. The bottom right side of a column recording quantities of some substance measured in xestai (e.g., oil or wine), collected in at least one case by an ἐπιμελητής (8). The back is blank.

—	—	—	—	—	—
					(traces of two lines)
3		]α			
		]	ξ(έσται) Δφαδ	(4501 1/4 xestai)	
5		]	ξ(έσται) Γραδη	(3101 3/8 x.)	
		]	ξ(έσται) Α	(1000 x.)	
		]	ξ(έσται) Α	(1000 x.)	
		]	Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιμελ(ητοῦ) ξ(εστῶν)	(μυριάς) α δη	(10000 3/8 x.)
		]	ξ(έσται) χ	(600 x.)	

1-7 To judge from the spacing of the writing and the (relatively) small amounts involved, these lines are parallel to 9 rather than to 8. It is therefore doubtful whether the names of ἐπιμεληταί should be expected in lacuna, for in 9 traces of a name should have been preserved unless it was very much shorter than the name in 8. It is possible that 8 is a heading which gives the total collected by the epimeletes named, and that 9 begins a breakdown of that total according to the assistants through whom it was collected, the areas from which it was collected, or some other principle. If that should be the case, lines 1-7 would be the end of a similar breakdown of a figure now lost.



(i) V II<sup>c</sup>. II.I × 16.5 cm. The end of an account similar to the foregoing; see introd. there, and for the possibility that **25** should be joined to the text see **25** introd. The back contains **23(d)**.

## Col. i

Top lost; the first line preserved is on a level with the tenth line of col. ii.

→	]' δι(ἀ) Θέωνος	(through Theon)
	] (μυριάδες?) δ ,Θ	(49000)
	] ιϛ . . . (ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) β ,Βσ	(22200 talents)
	] ευης (ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) β ,Ζω	(27800 talents)

## Col. ii

5	'Υψ]ηλίτου	
	] ( <i>traces</i> )	
	] . ρ . . . . . ς	
	[ 'Α]πόλλωνος κά[τω	
	[δι(ἀ) 'Ι]ερακίωνος [	
10	δι(ἀ) Ψάιτος Σύρου [	
	'Ανταιοπολίτ[ου	
	δι(ἀ) [	
	Πανοπολίτου	
	δι(ἀ) 'Απολλω( ) 'Ιερακαπ[όλλωνος	
15	δι(ἀ) 'Απολλωνίδου [	
	δι(ἀ) Θεοτίμου και 'Ηρ[	
	ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ [	

4 The papyrus has been cut away immediately after this line. It may have been the last in the column, as it is on a level with the total in l. 17.

## 23. FRAGMENTS OF ACCOUNTS

The back of **22** contains fragments of a series of documents written in at least two hands, both different from that of the main text. So far as can be determined, these are accounts, presumably official. Not every piece of **22** has writing on the back, however, and in some which do the verso text is illegible. The following are the best preserved specimens.



(a) V 2<sup>cv</sup>. 6.2 × 14 cm. Back of 22(b). Remnants of six lines of unidentified nature.

	—	—	—	—	—
	↓				
					<i>traces of two lines</i>
					]ευδαί[
					] . σαεπ[
5					]αναι[
					] . . . . ύπ(ερ) [

3 The traces suggest some form of Εὐδαίμων or a similar name.

6 Θη]βαίδ(ος) is just possible.

(b) V 3<sup>cv</sup>. 6.2 × 13.8 cm. Back of 22(c). Fragment of an account arranged by nome, with entries in the form "to so-and-so through so-and-so, so much . . ." The first name in such an entry is presumably an official in charge of collecting money or some commodity, and the second an agent of his. What was collected is no longer apparent, but oil may be mentioned in l. 9.

	—	—	—	—	—	—
	↓					
						] . ε
						]οπολείτου
						]αίω δι(ὰ) Τιβερίνου π . [ . ]λι[
						δι(ὰ) Αγω[
5						] 'Ιουνίω δι(ὰ) Μέλανο[ς
						] δι(ὰ) Σιλβανο[ϋ
						]εγδεμ[
						Σα]ραπίων[
						]ελεα κ[
10						]ετω[
						]αυ αρ[
						]ου . [
	—	—	—	—	—	—

1 ἔστι] δέ would seem appropriate.

2 The end of a nome name such as 'Ερμ]οπολείτου. The suitable names from the Lower Thebaid can be found in the list in 22(h) introd., but that need not be the provenience of this text.

8 Presumably Σα]ραπίων[ι or δι(ὰ) Σα]ραπίων[ος.

9 ἔλεα for ἔλαια, 'oils', seems more reasonable than ἐλέα 'olive tree' or 'olive', but this may be the end of some proper name.

(c) V 4<sup>cv</sup>. 7.1 × 13.5 cm. Back of 22(d). Part of two columns of a money account, presumably revenue from some tax, covering the whole of the Thebaid.

Col. i

	—	—	—	—	—	—
↓		]	..			
		]	Bγ			
			<i>space for one line blank</i>			
		]	ἀπὸ Δι . [ . ] . . . (τάλαντα) , Δ			(4000 talents)
		]	(τάλ.) , Αυ			(1400 talents)
5		]	(τάλ.) , Ζ			(7000 talents)

Col. ii

	—	—	—	—	—	—
		]	σε . [			
		]	σαλ[			
			<i>traces of two lines</i>			
10		]	ειπ . λοι[			
		]	δια[			
		]	εϋδ[			
			<i>space for two lines blank</i>			
			όμοϋ		[	
			Θηβ(αίδος) κά[τω			
15			Θηβ(αίδος) ἄν[ω			
			πα		. [	

(ll. 13-5) 'All together . . . for the Lower Thebaid . . . for the Upper Thebaid . . .'

3 Διϕ[ς] πῶλ(εως) looks plausible on the plate, but according to the Brussels MS it cannot be read.

11 Presumably διὰ or δι' Α[.

13 όμοϋ was probably followed by a total for the Thebaid as a whole, which the following two lines then break down into revenue from each ἐπιτροπή. The point of l. 16 is altogether unclear.

(d) V 11<sup>cv</sup>. 11.1 × 16.5 cm. Back of 22(i). Presumably an account.

↓                    —                    —                    —                    —                    —  
                       ]ολου άπ. [  
                       ]            ούτ(ως)· [  
                       ]κτω(    ) καὶ Σύρου [  
                       ] . αχ . . . (    ) ούτ(ως)· [  
 5                    ]πόλλωνος Κτησίρου καὶ 'Ακ[  
                       ] Πασήτιος καὶ Λου . . ολ(    ) [  
                       ] . ατιος 'Απ . . . [ . ]ω . . [  
                       ]πόλλωνος Κορνηλίου πολλὰ ἕτερο(α) . [  
                       ] Εὐσεβείων(ος) μ . . . . . σιο[

5 and 8 Πόλλωνος, 'Α]πόλλωνος, or a compound such as 'Ιερα-  
 κα]πόλλωνος.

6 Apparently not Λουχόλ(λου).

**24.** V 9<sup>c</sup>. 4.3 × 4 cm. 4th cent. Fragments of accounts. It has been suggested that this text is a continuation of **22**(*h*), and pl. 13 of the *Facsimile Edition: Cartonnage* was composed on that assumption. If so, it comes from a later column than **22**(*h*), as ούτω[ς in l. 3 there cannot have been followed by l. 2 of **24**, with which it would be level. Too little is preserved to be certain whether the hand of the front of **24** is the same as in **22**(*h*) and (*i*), but that of the back of **24** is distinctly different from that of **23**(*d*), the verso of **22**(*i*).

Front:

→                    —                    —                    —  
                       ]φγας'                    (551 1/2)  
                       ]ις  
                       —                    —                    —

Back:

↓                    —                    —                    —  
                       ] . . . . (ταλ.) (μυρ.) . ξ            (more than 10060 talents)  
                       ] . "  
                       —                    —                    —

The traces before (ταλ.) in l. 1 of the back text are very faint and may not be ink.

**25.** V 10<sup>c</sup>r. 6.5 × 4 cm. 4th cent. Fragment of a text of uncertain nature. A ship's captain or a related term is mentioned in



] . ωδος π . . ρο ( ) [  
 5 Διδ]ύμου ἐπιμελ(ητοῦ) [  
 ]υ ἐπιμ[ελ(ητοῦ)  
 — — — — —

1 The high stroke marks a numeral or abbreviation.

3 The remnants of the name suggest Ε]ὑπορος, though one rather expects a genitive.

28. V 13<sup>cr</sup>. 5 × 14 cm. 4th cent. Fragment of an account, or possibly of a contract. On the back is 29.

→ το]ῦ παρελθόν[τος  
 ]ε . . ποι . [  
 ] . . π . . . . [  
 ] . ασαν . [  
 5 ] συναγαν ( ) (τάλ.) . μη κ[  
 ] (τάλ. ?) ξ [  
 ] . . ως π . . [  
 ] . σιλο . ὡσα [  
 traces of 1 line  
 — — — — —

1 το]ῦ παρελθόν[τος ἔτους or μηνός.

5 Not συναγόμε(να).

29. V 13<sup>cv</sup>. 5 × 14 cm. Fragment of an account, probably official. On the front is 28.

Traces of two lines of a column to the left, then:

col. ii

↓ δ[ι(ἀ) . [  
 δι(ἀ) 'Ωρ[  
 λή(μματα) . . . [  
 δι(ἀ) . [  
 5 δι(ἀ) [  
 δι(ἀ) 'Ω[  
 λή(μματα) Φε . . [  
 δι(ἀ) [Τιμο] Θεο[  
 δι(ἀ) 'Αχιλλέω[ς





32. V 16<sup>e</sup>. 5 × 5 cm. — — — — —  
 ]λοσισπῶ . [  
 ] . γοσαπρ[ . ] . . . [  
 ]ον Πανίσκου[  
 ] . α . . . α . [  
 — — — — —
33. V 17<sup>e</sup>. 3 × 2.6 cm. — — — — —  
 ] διὰ Ἀπολ . [  
 ]λαυ[  
 — — — — —
34. V 18<sup>e</sup>. 2 × 3.9 cm. — — — — —  
 ]ου . αι[  
 ]ανεγ[  
 — — — — —
35. V 19<sup>e</sup>. 2 × 2.8 cm. — — — — —  
 ] . [  
 ] θ . [  
 — — — — —
36. V 20<sup>e</sup>. 2.3 × 2.8 cm. — — — — —  
 ] (ἀρταβῶν) (μυρ.) α . [  
 — — — — —
37. V 21<sup>e</sup>. 3 × 3 cm. — — — — —  
 ] . . . ως . . . [  
 ] διὰ Φ[  
 — — — — —
- Back: traces of I line
38. V 22<sup>e</sup>. 1.2 × 4.5 cm. — — — — —  
 ] . [  
 ]ωρ( )[  
 — — — — —  
 Back — — — — —  
 ] (ταλ.) [  
 ] . . [  
 — — — — —



## CODEX VI

44. Five fragments of a name list, evidently intended for taxation purposes. About 1.5 cm. was originally left free between each name. In some instances a further name, usually somewhat indented, was later written in this free space: these entries are more cursive than the original text, but may nevertheless have been made by the same scribe. Three entries in frag. (a) bear a marginal note, ζ(ήτησον), 'find him' or 'investigate'. In one case this note was then cancelled.

Although as much as 3.5 cm. of blank papyrus is found to the right of some names, no statement of money or goods owed is preserved, so the nature of the charge concerned remains obscure. Almost all the persons listed were men, but a woman probably appears in (b).5. The original order of the fragments can no longer be determined; that used in this edition is arbitrary. Late 3rd or early 4th century A.D. On the back is 45.

The Brussels MS included no transcripts of texts from the cover of Codex VI. The readings of 44-61 are therefore based exclusively on photographs and must be accepted with appropriate caution.

(a) VI 1<sup>c</sup> recto. 10 × 14.5 cm.

	—      —      —      —      —
→	<i>traces</i>
	Φατρῆς ἀδελφός
	ζ(ήτησον) Παγαμεύς Σεναμόνιος
	Παχυρᾶς Σέρβιος
5	Διόσκορος Φάηριος Δελχοῦ ἀπα[
	[[ζ(ήτησον)]] Φαῆρις Πενδ. εὐτος
	ζ(ήτησον) Φαῆρις Μίδου
	[Διό]σκορος Ἡρακλήους
	Τούρβων Φάηριος
10	Ἡλίας Πλοῦτος νε[
	Φαῆρις Π[
	Κυ[
	—      —      —      —      —

2 and 4: later additions.

4 Παχυρᾶς Σέρβιος: both names are new if rightly read, but there

is considerable doubt about the first, which is very cursively written; cf. however  $K\tilde{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  and  $K\tilde{\upsilon}\rho\alpha$ .  $\Sigma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , though genitive, may have been derived from Latin *Servius*.

5  $\Delta\epsilon\lambda\chi\omicron\upsilon$  is not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*. Cf.  $\Delta\omicron\lambda\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ .

$\alpha\pi\alpha$ [: e.g.,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha$ [ιτητής,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha$  NN,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi$  A[.

6 Πενδ, εὔτος: new. The name Διεύς is well known, but Πενδιεὔτος is not probable, as the descender of an iota should be visible. Possible no letter has been lost, though in that case the delta was written unusually large.

10 νε[ωτέρου is an obvious supplement, but a name such as Νε[οπτολέμου or a trade beginning with νε- is also possible.

11 The significance of the mark before Φαῖρις is not clear.

(b) VI 2<sup>c</sup> recto.  $9.5 \times 14$  cm.

	→	—	—	—	—	—
						]ς
						]αχανᾶς
					Διο]	σκόρου ταπη
					] . υς	ἀδελφός
5					] . αμινία	Χαλέου Ἐλέως
					Διόσκορος	ἀδελφός
					Σανσῶς	Χολλῶτος
					] . . [ . ] . [ . . ]ς	ἀδελφός
					]ω[ . ]	ἄλλος ἀδελφός
10					ἀ]	δελφ(ός)
					] . [	
		—	—	—	—	—

7 and 10: later additions.

2 Probably λ]αχανᾶς, 'vegetable gardener'.

3 If ταπη(τάριος) is meant there is no sign of abbreviation. Possibly therefore the genitive of Ταπῆς: that name is not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*, but cf. Ταφῆς and Ταπῆσις.

4 The first name is probably Φαμινία.

(c) VI 3<sup>c</sup> recto.  $2 \times 5.5$  cm.

	→	—	—	—
				Σιλ[
				Σιλεμ[
				Σον . [
		—	—	—

2 No name beginning with Σιλεμ- is recorded in *NB* or *Onomasticon*.

(d) VI 5<sup>c</sup> recto. 2.5 × 14 cm.

	→	Φαῖρις πρε[
		Παναμεῦς [
		Πάρσυρος
		[
5		Φαῖρις νε[
		Φαῖρις Κε[
		Πανισνεῦς [
		[Σ]ανσνῶς Μ[

1 A comparison with l. 5 suggests πρε[σβύτερος here and νε[ώτερος there, but of course there are other possibilities.

3 Πάρσυρος: not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*.

4 Stripped away.

5 Cf. 1 n.

(e) VI 6<sup>c</sup> recto. 7.5 × 9.5 cm.

	→	]ων Τριαδέλφου
		]ων Πεκύσιος Σικληῆτος
		]αβῦγχις Κέντις
		]ρος Καρούριος

2 Σικληῆτος: not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*.

3 Κέντις = Κέντιος.

4 This appears to have been the last line of the column.

45. The reverse side of 44, probably written in the same hand as that text, apparently contains lists of two types. The first, represented by fragment (a), follows the format of 44 and may be a continuation of it, though cf. n. to l. 4. The lines on the remaining fragments are written much closer together than in 44 and 45(a), and in at least three instances the names were followed by some commodity: wine in (b).11, something measured in myriads in (b).13 and 14. The impression remains that taxation of some sort is

concerned, but that it is different from that of the front text and fragment (a).

The text on this side of the papyrus is considerably more worn, discolored, and difficult to decipher than 44. The fragments are ordered following the presentation of 44, as there is no clue as to their actual relative positions.

(a) VI 1<sup>c</sup> verso. 10 × 14.5.

	Δ . . . ς Πατρα[
	(γίν.) β
	Διόσκορος Σέννις Σερ . [
	Ἡράκλειος ποιμήν [
5	Φαῖρις Φαμιήους [
	Φαῖρις Κελεμμαρ[ο]ϋ [
	Ὠρίων Κάλλου [
	Φίλων Ἐρωτος [
	] . . υῖός
10	] . Παγκράτ[ο]υς . . [
	] . . [

3 Σέννις = Σέννιος. The name appears to be new. The marginal note seems to be of the same sort as that in l. 4; cf. note there.

4 The marginalia, if such they are, here and in l. 3, are quite unintelligible to me. There is some possibility that they are in fact line ends from a preceding column, i.e., that the reading should be (μυριάς)]α, B, '12000'. If so, then despite the greater spacing between the lines the content of this account probably resembled that of (b) more closely than that of the recto text 44.

5 Φαμιήους: apparently not Φαμινοῦς. Neither name is known, but the latter would have had obvious kindred to Φαμῖνις, Φαμίνιος and the like.

6 Κελεμμαρ[ο]ϋ: even if the dotted letters are wrong the name is new.

9 Added between the lines.



(b) VI 2<sup>c</sup> verso. 9.5 × 14 cm.

	↓	..[
		Πλελο[ῥ]ς (?) [
		<i>traces</i>
		Ἐπώνυχος [
5		Κεραπουβεὺς Αλ[
		Παῦλος Π . . αἰσ[
		Φαῆρις ἀδελφός [
		Μακάριος ἄλλος ἀδελφ[ός
		Σιλβανός Καλεῖ . . δ[ . ] . [
10		Διόσκορος Ἀλέως . . . . . [
		Φίλων ἀδελφός οἴνου [
		Ἄρριος υἱός
		Παναμεὺς Νεμεσιανοῦ (μυρ.) [
		Μα . . ῶς Ὀπειώνιος (μυρ.) [
15		Διόσκορος ἀδελφός [
		Ὀνγῶφρις Η . ου[
		Ζήγων Διοσκο[

2 and 4 There is some discoloration before the first letter read in each of these lines, possibly marginalia or stray ink, possibly also not ink.

5 The division between the names is not quite certain, but the text is probable. Κεραπουβεὺς is in that case new.

9 The mutilated name after Σιλβανός appears to be new.

11 Added between the lines.

14 Both names are apparently new.

17 Διοσκόρου, Διοσκο[ῦτος, Διοσκο[υρίδου or the like.

The remaining versos of 44 are too mutilated for transcription. I make out only two full words with reasonable certainty, Παῶς ἀδελ(φός) in the 4th line of frag. (d) (VI 5<sup>c</sup> verso).

46. VI 4<sup>c</sup> recto. 3 × 5 cm. 3rd-4th cent. Remnants of two columns mentioning barley. In the *Facsimile Edition: Cartonnage* p. 19 this papyrus is placed among the fragments of 44 because the hands of the two texts are similar. They do not, however, have the same format, and the hands of the versos (47 and 45) differ distinctly from each other.

	Col. i		Col. ii
→	— — — — — ] <i>traces</i>		— — — — — Η[
		5	Σ . [
	] —		Κε[
	] κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβης) ι		Ο . [
	— — — — —		Κερρ[
			Ἀχ[
			— — — — —

The traces of l. ι cover all or nearly all of the intercolumnar space of 1.5 cm. It is probably the end of an exceptionally long line of col. i, but it could also be a heading covering both columns. Line 3 translates '1/2 artab of barley'. Between ll. ι and 2 space enough for one line contains no writing.

47. VI 4<sup>e</sup> verso. 3 × 5 cm. 3rd-4th cent. A name list, written on the back of 46.

↓	Παισῶς . . [
	Ψαρφει . [
	Σενθα[
	Πενθ . [
5	, . . . υπ[
	, Σενφ . [
	, Π[ . . ]κ[
	— — — — —

ι Probably the top of the document, or at least of this list.

48. VI 7<sup>e</sup>. 5 × 13.5 cm. 3rd-4th cent. About 1.5 cm. from the top of the recto is the note (ἀρούρης) ση[, '(at least) 5/8 of an aroura'. The remainder of this side is blank.

Back:

	— — — — —
↓	]ς Σοκῆτος β . [
	3.5 cm. blank
	] . Ὀρος Φιλουμ[ένου
	]βd
	traces of at least 1 line
5	]ς Καλῆτο[ς
	— — — — —

ι The name Σοκῆς is not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*. Cf. Σοκεύς.



	↓	κλ( ) 'Επω[
		└' Π . α . . ρ[
		κλ( ) Φαησ[
		Λολ'οϋ Πι[
5		└' Φαῖρ(ις) . [
		Μέρσις Π[
		(ἄρτ.) δs
		└' κρι(θῆς) (ἄρτ.) Ld
		'Ατρῆς Επ[
10		└' Ατρῆς
		Μέρσις Πε[
		└' . . . . . [

1 κλ( ): in all likelihood κλ(ηρονόμοι), with the following name in the genitive, but the possibility of Κλ(αύδιος) NN cannot be entirely disregarded. So also in l. 3.

2 The meaning of the symbol before the name is not clear to me. In l. 8 a similar symbol means (ῶν).

**52.** VI 11<sup>c</sup>. 3 × 6 cm. Name list, 3rd-4th cent. Possibly complete at top and bottom. The text below stands on the recto; the verso contains two notes, καὶ (πυροῦ) ας 'and 1½ (artabs) of wheat' and then after two cm. blank space πας'', '81½', plus a trace of a third line.

	→	Πεκῶσις M[
		└' Μαθεία[ς
		Σεγφαῖρις [
		Σεβεβοῦν[ς [
1		Ψεντεκῶσις . [
		. . ριβελῶς [
		2.5 cm. blank

2 For the sign before the name cf. **51.2** n.

4 and 5 Neither name is in *NB* or *Onomasticon*. The formation of the second from Τεκῶσις is fully regular.

**53.** VI 12<sup>c</sup> + 13<sup>c</sup>. Two disconnected fragments of a document apparently addressed to a strategus or epistrategus, presumably

therefore a petition, report, or official correspondence. 3rd-4th cent. The back of both fragments is stained but bears no writing.

(a) VI 12<sup>c</sup>. 3 × 10 cm.

	—	—	—	—
	→	]	..[	
		]	στρα( )	
			<i>c. 4 cm. blank</i>	
		]	. ρ	
		]	..	
5		]	τα	
		]	.	
		]		
		]	. εσσ ..[	
	—	—	—	—

Col. ii. The writing begins at the level of col. i l. 3.

		ύπ[	
10		δε[	
		τα[	
		δε[	
	—	—	—

(b) VI 13<sup>c</sup>. 3 × 4 cm.

	—	—	—	—
		]	[.]	[
		]	θις	
15		]	ηγ	
		]	η	
		]	.	
	—	—	—	—

2 Presumably the dative of a third-declension name followed by στρα(τηγῷ) or στρα(τηγῆσαντι), or NN ἐπ]ιστρα(τήγῳ) or ἐπ]ι-στρα(τηγῆσαντι).

54. VI 14<sup>c</sup>. 3 × 10 cm. 3rd-4th cent. The first few letters of ten lines of a name list, written against the fibers. The other side is blank.

—      —      —      —

↓      *traces of two lines*

'Επ . . ε[  
Ε . . βα[

5      Πικῶ[  
'Αβῶ[  
Ψενε . [  
Καιυ . ερ[  
Ψενε[

10      Φαῖρις [  
c. 4 cm. blank

3 Of the names in *NB* and *Onomasticon*, 'Επέγε[τος for 'Επαίνετος appears the most attractive.

4 The letter after Ε is probably π or τ. The name is apparently new.

8 I cannot reconcile the traces with any name beginning with Κα- in *NB* or *Onomasticon*. Perhaps simply καὶ ὑπέρ should be read.

55. VI 15<sup>c</sup>. 6.5 × 7 cm. Account, 3rd-4th cent. The back is blank.

—      —      —      —

→      ] . . [  
          ] . μίαν . [  
          ] . ἡμίους . [  
          ] Θῶθ μόνος με[τ]ρ[

5      ] γίγας  
          ]' ια'  
          ] ,,

—      —      —      —

Col. ii. Traces of two lines, beginning at the level of col. i l. 6.

5 μόνος; not μόνον. The last word in the line is a form of μέτρον, μετρέω, or a related term.

6-7 The strokes mark numerals or abbreviations.

56. VI 16<sup>c</sup>. 3.5 × 7 cm. The front bears only a large δ accompanied by a numeral stroke. The back contains the remnants of a text of uncertain nature. 3rd-4th cent.

↓ *traces of 2 lines*  
 ]περ . . . . [  
*c. 5 cm. blank*  
 ]στρα( ) . . [  
 ]

4 Presumably some form of στρά(τηγός), ἐπι]στρά(τηγος), or the related verbs. The traces at the end of the line are unclear and may not be ink.

57. VI 17<sup>c</sup>. 7 × 7.5 cm. 3rd-4th cent. On the front only the letters  $\text{ιβωνος}$  are preserved: this might be interpreted as the word  $\text{ιβωνος}$ , 'of the Isis shrine' (at this date probably a place name) or as the personal name  $\text{Ιβωνος}$ , 'of Ibion'. There is a lacuna before  $\text{ιβωνος}$  in which another word may have stood, but the spacing forbids a reading such as  $\text{Φιιβωνος}$ .

Back: account of uncertain nature. The text is:

*traces of 1 line*

↓ ]ς  
]εως Μάρτης  
]ψειθ β' τεκ( ) θρι( )  
*space for 1 line blank*  
5 ] .  
]εραῖπτις  
]. χ( ) ψαρ . . ε( ) σπου( ) τω  
]η  
]. ε ιβ'  
10 ] . [

4 τέκ(των), Τεκ(ῶσις), or the like if the reading is correct.

6 Σ]ερᾶπις or a compound.

58. VI 18<sup>c</sup> recto. 3.5 × 4.5 cm. Grain account, 3rd-4th cent.  
On the back is 59.

$$\rightarrow \beta] \text{ουκόλου } \Sigma \tau \omicron . [ \quad (8 \text{ art.})$$





In addition to the papyri just described, Codex VI contained twenty-one minor bits measuring on the average less than a square centimeter. Several are virtually blank, none yield more than a few generally doubtful letters.

## CODEX VII

### 62. DEED OF SALE

VII 1<sup>c</sup>

4.2 × 15 cm.

late 3rd-4th cent.

Virtually all details of the sale recorded on this fragment have been lost, but lines 4-5 present a puzzle of some interest. To judge from the structure of such documents as P. Cair. Isid. 92 and 104, either a regnal year or a consular date is expected in this position. Among the imperial and consular names that occurred during the period in which the papyrus can be placed on palaeographic grounds, the traces preserved would suit a Greek transliteration of Domitius, Vettius, or Tettius. Men of these names served as consuls in A.D. 316, 328, 333, 336, and 372, but I find no convincing way of restoring a known dating formula by the consuls of any of these years in the text.<sup>1</sup> The probability, then, is that the date was given as a regnal year: the only serious possibilities appear to be Aurelian and the rebel Domitius Domitianus. Palaeography and the comparatively late date of the other documents used in this cover favor the latter (probably A.D. 297-8); but interesting as it would be to have a second attestation of Domitianus' revolt from Upper Egypt,<sup>2</sup> the arguments for placing this text in his reign are by no means conclusive.<sup>3</sup>

For the chronology of Aurelian, see P. Oxy. XL pp. 15ff.; for

<sup>1</sup> Theoretically Flavius Domitius Leontius, consul in A.D. 344, should also be considered, but the papyri dated by his consulship which have been published up to now omit the name Domitius; references in R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen, 1978) p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> It may be assumed that 62 comes from Upper Egypt, as all known places that are referred to in the papyri from these covers were located there. The rebellion is attested at Coptus in P. Mich. III 220.

<sup>3</sup> The discussion above presupposes that the reading of l. 5 in the Brussels MS (in agreement with *Prel. Rep.* p. 12), ]ετιου, is correct, and from a photograph that interpretation of the traces appears unobjectionable; but a restoration along the following lines also looks plausible: [ὥμολ(όγησα). ὑπατείας Φλαουίων Λεο]γτίου <sup>6</sup>[καὶ Σαλλουστίου τῶν λαμπροτά]των. In that case the date would be A.D. 344, which would fall within the time span of the other dated texts from Codex VII (A.D. 341-8, 63-65).

that of Domitianus, J. D. Thomas, *ZPE* 22 (1976) 253-79 and 24 (1977) 233-40, with the literature cited in those articles. The papyrus has been mentioned in *Prel. Rep.* p. 12, where the date was tentatively given as 333 or 336. The back is blank.

→ [ ] . . . ως  
 [ ] α Κολλούθου  
 [ κυρία ἡ πρᾶ]σις καὶ ἔπερ(ωτηθεὶς)  
 [ὡμολόγησα. ] . ετίου  
 5 [ ] . ων  
 [ (m. 2) ] πέπραχ[α]  
 [ καὶ ἀπέσχων τὴν τιμ[ήν]  
 [ ὡς πρόκειται]ι. Αὐρήλιος  
 [ ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμά]του.  
 7 ἀπέσχων

(l. 3) 'The sale is valid, and in response to the formal question I have so declared. (Date). I, NN, have sold . . . and received the price . . . as stated. I, Aurelius NN, wrote on his behalf, as he is illiterate.'

4 ὡμολόγησα perhaps abbreviated. For the following date see introd.

5 E.g., Πα]χών, or λαμπροτά]των if the suggestion on p. 52 n. 3. is correct.

8 At the start of the line, probably ἐκ πλήρους or a similar expression.

### 63. LOAN OF WHEAT

VII 2<sup>c</sup>

8.5 × 17 cm.

20 November A.D. 341

A loan of what must have been  $1\frac{2}{3}$  artabs of wheat, since the amount to be repaid with the usual increase of fifty percent came to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  artabs. The papyrus evidently comes from a poorly-documented area of Egypt—the vicinity of Diospolis Parva would be a reasonable guess—and does not follow the phraseology current in better known districts of the country. In the lack of a good parallel I have therefore largely refrained from restorations in the first eight damaged lines. The general sense of the text, however, is doubtful only in the penalty clause ll. 5-6. For the reader's convenience I



Consulship of Antonius Marcellinus and Petronius Probinus, *virī clarissimi*, Hathyr 24. (m. 2) I, the aforementioned Aurelius Psenetymis, have received the two and a half artabs of wheat and I shall return them as stated. I, Aurelius Statillius, son of Deuterios, former magistrate of the city, wrote on his behalf, as he is illiterate. (back) Cheirograph of Psenetymis.'

1-8 A plausible reconstruction might run as follows:

ἀς καὶ ἀποδώσω]

1        σοι μέτρ[ω δεκάτῳ ἕως Μεσορῇ λ]  
        μετὰ καὶ [τῆς ἀνειλημμένης ἡμιο-]  
        λείας ἄνευ [πάσης ἀντιλογίας καὶ ὑπερθέ-]  
        σεως. εἰ δὲ [μὴ ἀποδῶ τῇ προθεσίμῃ, ἐξέστῳ]

5        σοι χρήσθ[αι τῇ παντοίᾳ μου πάσῃ]  
        εὐπορείᾳ [μέχρι ἀποδόσεως τοῦ εἰρη-]  
        μένου σίτου. χ[ύριον τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο]  
        καὶ βέβαιον [ἀπλοῦν γραφέν, ὃ ἐφ' ὑπο-]  
        γραφῆς κτλ.

2-3 ἡμιο]λείας: see N. Lewis, *TAPA* 76 (1945) 126-39. The reconstruction proposed above is based on P. Amh. II 147.7, σὺν καὶ τῇ ἀνιλημμένη ἡμιολείᾳ. Μετά occasionally replaces σὺν elsewhere, e.g. in P. Mich. XI 614.21.

3 Possibly εὐρησιλογίας as in P. Mich. 614.19-20 instead of ἀντιλογίας, but 64.14 has ἀντιλογίας. Not κρί]σεως, as the examples of ἄνευ κρίσεως καὶ πάσης ἀντιλογίας cited in the *WB* are all Ptolemaic (s.v. ἀντιλογία). The commonest phrase to express the idea is ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ ἄνευ πάσης ἀντιλογίας.

4 After ἀποδῶ supply τῇ προθεσίμῃ (SB VI 9189.21 with Wilcken's correction recorded there), καθὰ γέγραμμαι (P. Mich. 614.20), ὡς πρόκειται, or the like.

5-6 I know no parallel for the phrase expressed in these lines. If the reconstruction proposed above is along the right lines, the creditor had full use of the debtor's property in case of default, but it is not altogether certain that the infinitive χρήσθ[αι] rather than the participle should be restored, nor that εὐπορεία is governed by it. That a loan should be secured by all a debtor's property, however, is in itself commonplace.

17 Δευτέρου: not δεύτερος, though that may have been intended, as the name is not recorded in *NB* or *Onomasticon*. 64.4-5 indicates

that a patronymic is expected, however, and Pape records Δευτέρα and Δευτέριος. Cf. also Latin Secundus.

18 ἄρξ(ας) τῆς πόλ(εως): cf. Oertel, *Liturgie* 313-16.

#### 64. LOAN OF WHEAT

VII 3<sup>c</sup>

9 × 13.1 cm.

21 November A.D. 346

A loan of 3<sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub> artabs of wheat, with no mention of interest. Written against the fibers. The other side is blank.

↓ ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν  
 Κωνσταντίου Αὐγούστου τὸ δ'' καὶ  
 Κώνσταντος Αὐγούστου τὸ γ'', 'Αθὺρ κε''.  
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κόμης Ἀρμογιῖτος ἀπὸ κώμης Τεχθὺ  
 5 τοῦ Διοσπολίτου νομοῦ Αὐρ(ηλίω) Πτολεμαίω  
 Παχούμιος ἄρξ(αντι) τῆς Τεντυριτῶν  
 πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐσχη-  
 κέναι παρὰ σοῦ καὶ ἡριθμῆσθαι χρῆσ[ιν]  
 σίτου ἀρταβῶν τριῶν ἡ[μίσου]ς τρίτου,  
 10 '(γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) γ'Λγ', ἄς' καὶ ἀποδώσω σοι καιρ[ῶ] τῆς  
 συγκ[ομ]ι-]  
 δῆς τῆς εὐτυχῶς ἐσομ[ένης κατασπορᾶς]  
 τῆς ς'' ἰνδικτίωνος ἄ[νυπερθέτως ἐν]  
 κόκκῳ τῷ μέτρῳ Φα . [ ἄνευ]  
 πάσης ἀντιλογίας, τῆς π[ράξεως]  
 15 οὔσης ἐκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ [τῶν]  
 ὑπαρχόν[των] μου [πάντων μέχρι ἀπο-]  
 δόσεω[ς]

'The consulship of our lords Constantius Augustus for the 4th time and Constans Augustus for the 3rd time, Hathyr 25.

Aurelius Comes son of Harmogis, from the village Techthy of the Diopolite nome, to Aurelius Ptolemaios son of Pachoumis, former magistrate of Tentyra, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you and have had measured out a loan of three and five-sixths artabs of wheat, = 3<sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub> art., and these I shall return to you promptly at the time of the harvest of the auspiciously approaching sowing of the 6th indiction in grain by the measure of Pha . . . without any dispute. (You) shall have right of execution upon me and all my property until repayment . . .'



4 Κόμης: the first certain papyrological instance of the name in this spelling. Of the examples cited in the *Onomasticon*, that in P. Athens 46.19 is partly restored, and the others are not names but the title 'count'.—In *Prel. Rep.* p. 12 it was stated that this man was "almost certainly" a monk because the name of a presbyter (not monk) in 77.16 was at that time read as Κόμ[ης. Cf. note there.

Τεχθύ: cf. the Herakleopolite village Τεχθώ. This is the first mention of the locality, unless Τεχθ(ύ) rather than Τεχθ(ώ) is to be read in P. Erl. 80.89.

12 The sixth indiction referred to is 347/8 A.D.

12-3 ἐν] κόκκῳ: the phrase is found again only in P. Lond. IV 1404.23. Loans and receipts for σίτου κόκκου or σίτου καθαροῦ κόκκου are known (cf. P. Mert. I 47.4, P. Michael. 44.11, P. Mich. XIII 670.9), and a land lease specifies that rent be so paid (P. Michael. 60.10); in addition, P. Collect. Youtie 93.7 records a sale of λαχανοσπέρμου καθαροῦ κόκκου. The last instance shows that κόκκου in these passages does not refer to darnel, but in some way describes the condition of the product to be delivered. The editor of P. Lond. IV 1404 suggests that ἐν κόκκῳ refers to threshed as opposed to unthreshed wheat (10 n.).

18 I take Φα. [ to be the name of the man whose measure was to be used.

## 65. DEED OF SURETY

VII 4<sup>c</sup>

7 × 16 cm.

7 October (?) A.D. 348

Aurelius Melas promises under oath to the chairman of a city council which can no longer be identified that he will guarantee the appearance of one Aurelia (?) Theodora whenever he is called upon to do so. For a bibliography on such documents see O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* (Torino, 1973) 192-3. The back is blank.

→ [ ± 12 ]ωνι ἐνάρχῳ προέδρῳ  
 [ ± 13 ]β' Αὐρήλιος Μέλας  
 [ ± 13 ]οσ[ . . . ] χαίρειν.  
 [ὁμολογῶ ὁμνύς] τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον  
 5 [τύχην τῶν δεσπ]οτῶν ἡμῶν αἰωνίαν  
 [Αὐγούστων ἐγγ]υᾶσθαι μονῆς καὶ ἐμφα-  
 [νείας Αὐρηλίαν (?) ] Θεοδώραν Μαξίμου  
 [μητρὸς ± 6 ἡ]ν καὶ παραστήσω ὁπόταν  
 [ἐπιζητῇται ἄνευ πάσ]ης ἀντιλογίας.

- 10 [ἐὰν δὲ μή, ἔνοχος εἶην τ]ῷ θείῳ ὄρκῳ  
 [καὶ τῷ ἐπηρτημένῳ τούτῳ] κινδύνῳ.  
 [κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον] ἀπλοῦν γραφέν  
 [ ± 7 ἐξεδόμην σ]οι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν,  
 [καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμο]λόγησα.
- 15 [ὑπατείας Φλαυίου Φιλίππ]ου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου  
 [ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρί]ου καὶ Φλαυίου Σαλιᾶ  
 [τοῦ λαμπροτάτου μαγίστρου ἱππέ]ωγ, Φᾶϝφ[ι] ι'.

'To NN, current chairman . . . Aurelius Melas . . . greeting. I acknowledge, swearing by the divine and heavenly fortune of our lords the eternal Augusti, that I stand surety for the presence and availability of Aurelia (?) Theodora, daughter of Maximus and NN, whom I shall present whenever she is required, without any dispute. Otherwise may I be subject to the divine oath and the danger bound therewith. The note of hand . . . I have given to you for security in a single copy . . . is valid, and in response to the formal question I so declared.

Consulship of Flavius Philippus, *clarissimus praefectus sacro praetorio*, and Flavius Salia, *clarissimus magister equitum*, Phaophi 10 (?).'

2 β': e.g., restore υἱῷ NN] (δευτέρου).

3 ]ος may be the ending of Melas' patronymic or metronymic. If so, nothing was written between these letters and χαίρειν.

7 Αὐρηλίαν (?): at this date only the names Flavia and Aurelia need be considered likely. As an Aurelius was sufficient guarantee for the appearance of this person, the probability that she herself belonged to the Flavii, who had a higher standing, is extremely slight. See in general J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33-63 and 13 (1974) 283-304.

11 For the restoration cf. e.g. P. Leipz. 46.17. The commoner expressions τῷ περὶ τούτου κινδύνῳ and τῷ ἐπηρτημένῳ περὶ τούτου κινδύνῳ are respectively too short and too long.

12-3 Possibly δ] ἀπλοῦν γραφέν | [τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ ἐξεδόμην (Brussels MS). One might also think of simply ἀπλοῦν γραφέν, | [δ καὶ ἐξεδόμην, though that is rather short for the lacuna in l. 13.

## 66. LETTER FROM PATESE TO ABARAS

VII 5<sup>c</sup> + 6<sup>c</sup>

9 × 23.7 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

A business letter, mostly concerned with sheep and wool, written in reasonably good Greek in a fluent but not especially elegant

hand. A photograph taken when the cover of the codex was first opened has been useful in reading some places which were damaged when the cartonnage was separated. The back is blank.

- τῷ κ[υ]ρίῳ [μου ἀδελ-]  
 φῶ 'Αβαρᾶτι Πα-  
 τέσε ἐν Κ(υρίο)υ  
 χαίρειν
- 5 πρ[ο]ηγουμένως προσ-  
 αγορεύω σε. σπούδασον  
 κείραι τὰ πέντε ἐρ[...]  
 Κάρια ἐριδίων καὶ ἄφες  
 παρὰ σοὶ ἕως ἂν καταλά-  
 10 βω σε. σπ[ο]ύδασον μὴ  
 πωλῆσαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἕως  
 ἂν καταλάβω σε, ἐπειδή-  
 περ οὐ δύναμαι ἐλθεῖν  
 νυνὶ διὰ τὴν ταραχὴν
- 15 τῶν τειρώγ[ων. σ]πούδα-  
 σον λαβεῖν τὸ ἐγίδιον  
 καὶ τὸ προβάτιον ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 ποιμένος ἡγίκα ἂν κεί-  
 ρης τὰ ἕτερα, καὶ τὸ ἀργύ-  
 20 ρ[ι]ον λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Ιω-  
 άνου [π]ερὶ τοῦ ὄνου ὃν {πε}  
 πέπ[ρα]κα Πεκυσίῳ, καὶ  
 [λ]αβεῖν [ἐν] ἀπὸ Παφῶβ τὸ ἀρ-  
 [γύριον], τοῦτ' ἔστιν παρὰ  
 25 [.....], καὶ λάβε ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 [.....] .[.]ου τὰ Μακαρίου  
 [ ἐρ]ρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι  
 [πολλοῖς χρό]νοις.

3 ενκυ 8 καί: κ corrected from α 16 αἰγίδιον 17 προβάτιον: π corrected.

'To my lord brother Abaras, Patese, greeting in the Lord. First and foremost I greet you. Be sure to shear the five Carian . . . of wool, and keep them with you until I meet you; make sure not to sell any of them until I meet you, since I am not able to come at present because of the disturbance of the recruits. Make sure to

take the goat and the sheep from the shepherd whenever you shear the rest, and to take the money from John in the matter of the donkey that I sold to Pekysios, and to take the money from Paphob, that is, from . . . And take Makarios's . . . from the . . . I pray for your health for many years.'

2 The name Ἀβαρῶς is new, but Ἀβαρος is found in the *NB* and *Onomasticon*.

2-3 Πατέσε: a hitherto unattested variant of Πατῆσις or Πετεῆσις.

7-8 At first sight P. Princ. III 155 R.6 seems to suggest ἐρ[ικᾶ] | Κάρια, which would presumably mean 'Carian measures of wool', but L. C. Youtie's revision of the text in *ZPE* 23 (1976) 120ff. leaves no possibility of a parallel here, and no 'Carian measure' is known: *WB* I s.v. κάριον records such a term, but it is wrongly abstracted from δισκάριον, actually derived from δίσκος. Possibly ἐρ[ίφια] | Κάρια, 'sheer the Carian goats of their hair', though the construction with the genitive is odd.

14-5 In the lack of a precise date it seems hopeless to try to connect this disturbance among the recruits with a known historical event. It is further unclear whether one should deduce from this statement that Patese had some official connection with the army, or whether he means that travel had become unsafe because of marauding troops.

21 δν {πε}: or ὄνπε<ρ>.

27 It is uncertain whether a word should be supplied before ἐρ]ρῶσθαι, as τὰ Μακαρίου (26) could by itself mean 'Makarios' things'.

## 67. LETTER

VII 7<sup>c</sup>

14.5 × 22.5 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

Neither sender nor receiver of this mutilated business letter can now be identified. A monk's dwelling of some type, if that is indeed the meaning of μονάχιον, is mentioned in l. 8; cf. *Intro.* pp. 7-8.

→ [ . . . . ] λο[  
[ . . . . ] ηνε[  
α[ . . . . ] πεγ[  
ἀδελφός ὕπα[  
5 γράψαι σοι . . [ . . . . ] . [ . . . . ] ἀδελφ[ . . . . . ] .  
λου οπε[ . . ] . [ . . . . ] παραγένηται ἐκεῖ. δέδωκ( )

εἰς τὸ πλοῖον [τὸ]ν ὀλίγον σῖτον. ποιήσης  
 αὐτὸν μεταχ[ομί]ζεσθαι εἰς τὸ μονάχιον διὰ  
 τῶν ὑμετέρων [ν] κτηνῶν καὶ θεῖναι αὐτὰ  
 10 εἰς σιρόν. πρόσθες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, ἐπειδὴ  
 περ . . . λω φέρει. ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ ἀμελήσης.  
 τοὺς παρὰ σοὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ  
 πάνπολλα προσαγορεύ[ωμ.] 'ο'μεν. ἐρρωσθαι  
 15 ὑμᾶς εὐχομα[ι]  
 πολλοῖς χρόνοις.  
 Back → τῷ ἀγαπητῷ [μου] ἀδελφῷ . . . . [

(1. 6) ' . . . arrives there. I (?) put the small quantity of grain on the boat; make him transport it to the monk's dwelling with your asses and put it in the storage bin (*or*, vessel). Reckon a few days in addition, since he carries it . . . See to it that you are not negligent. I and those with me give many greetings to the brothers who are with you. I pray for your health for many years.

(Back) To my beloved brother . . .'

6 οπε[: apparently not ὀπό[τ]ην, but ὀπην[ι]χ' ἔν] might do.

δέδωχ( ): person and number of the subject are not specified.

'I (?)' in the translation above is only *exempli gratia*.

7 ποιήσης: for the jussive subjunctive see Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 554ff.

8 μονάχιον: apparently the first certain attestation of this word; cf. A. Lumpe, "Beiträge aus der Thesaurusarbeit: monachium (Cod. Iust. I, 2, 13)", *Mus. Helv.* 17 (1960) 228-9. It is presumably equivalent to μοναστήριον. Cf. πατριαρχεῖον for the residence of a patriarch (Du Cange, s.v.).

10 σιρόν: see pp. 7-8 with notes 16 and 17.

11-2 The Brussels MS reads ἐπειδὴ περιχύκλω φέρει and translates 'since he carries it by a circuitous route'. I have found no satisfactory parallel for the expression and it is palaeographically dubious on the photograph. The word division may be ἐπειδὴπερ κτλ.

## 68. LETTER FROM HARPOCRATION TO SANSNOS

VII 8<sup>c</sup>

12.5 × 24 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

This business letter is the first of eight texts in Codex VII addressed to a man named Sansnos, who, if the references are all to the same person, is elsewhere called monk (72.1-2) and presbyter

(78.15); he may also be mentioned in C8 a 14 and c 2, and may be the writer of the following letter. See Introd. pp. 7-9.

An appeal to the love of Christ in l. 12 is noteworthy.

→ [τῷ] ἀγ[απ]ητῷ μου πατρὶ Σανσνῶς  
 Ἀρποκρατίων πλ(εῖστα) ἐν K(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν.  
 Πέτρον τὸν ἐνοχλοῦντα τῷ ἀδελ[φῷ]  
 Ἀππιανῷ διὰ τοὺς περὶ Παπνού[τιον]  
 5 τῶν ἐκφορίων ἔνεκεν ποιήσον  
 ὀλίγας ἔτι ἀνασχέσθαι ἡμέρα[ς]  
 ἕως ἂν καιρὸν εὕρωσι ἐλθεῖν  
 πρὸς σέ καὶ ἀπαλλάξαι τὸ  
 καθ' ἑαυτοῦς. οὕτω γὰρ ἡξίωσαν.  
 10 ἀλλὰ σπούδασον, ἀγαπητέ, παρὰ[σσης]  
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ. οὕτω γὰρ πρέπε[ι]  
 τῇ ἐν Χρηστῷ σου ἀγάπῃ.  
 εἰ δὲ ἀβαρές σοί ἐστιν, περιποίη[σον]  
 ἡμῖν ἀχύρου ἀγώγια δέκα κ[αί]  
 15 πέμψον ἡμῖν ἐκ πόσων π[ι-]  
 πράσκεται. προσαγορεύω  
 [πάν]τας τοὺς ἀδελφούς μεθ' ὧν [εἰ.]  
 ἐρρωμέν[ον]  
 καὶ εὐθυμο[ῦντα]  
 20 διὰ τέλους σ[ε]  
 φυλάξειεν[

Back: → τῷ ἀγαπητῷ μ[ου] πατρὶ Σα[νσνῶτι]  
 Ἀρποκρα[τίων]

1 Σανσνῶτι (cf. note ad loc.)

2 πλ', κῶ

5 τῶν added in left margin

12 Χριστῷ.

'To my beloved father Sansnos, Harpocraton, very many greetings in the Lord. Make Peter, who is harassing brother Appianus through Papnoutios' people in the matter of the rents, desist for a few more days until they find opportunity to come to you and settle their problem; for so they have requested. But be diligent, beloved, and come to the assistance of the brother; for thus it behooves your charity in Christ. If it is not burdensome to you, contrive to obtain for us ten loads of chaff and inform us of the

selling price. I greet all the brothers with whom you are. May (God?) keep you in health and good spirits continually.

(Back) To my beloved father Sansnos, Harpocraton.'

1 Σανσνῶς: the name is also left undeclined in 69.17 and should perhaps so be restored in the address of this text, l. 22.

4 In *Prel. Rep.* p. 13 it was suggested that this Papnoutios may have been the οἰκονόμος of Pachomius; cf. above, *Intro.* p. 10 n. 21.

12 Χρηστῶ: this misspelling of Χριστῶ is common throughout the Byzantine period (cf. e.g. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *NT Grammatik* § 24). G. M. Browne informs me that in Coptic the opposite error (ΧΡΙCΤΟC, or even XC, for *χρηστός*) is sometimes found.

21f. Supply [ὁ Θεός, or perhaps [ἡ θεῖα πρόνοια.

22 Cf. 1 note.

## 69. LETTER FROM SANSNOS TO APHRODISIOS

VII 9<sup>e</sup>

13 × 25.5 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

A letter concerning various agricultural matters, written with such indifferent use of spelling and grammar that the sense of some passages is doubtful. The back is blank. For the correspondents cf. *Intro.* pp. 8-9.

- τῶ ἀγαπτῶ ἀδελφῶ 'Αφροδισίῳ]  
 Σανσνῶς ἐν Κυρίῳ χ[αίρειν.]  
 καθῶς ἐξῆλθας ἀφ' ὑμῶ[ν πρὸς]  
 τὰ πεδία χωρὶς τρωφῆ[ς κ]αὶ σύ,  
 5 'Αφροδίσιος, ὅτι πέμψομεν αὐτοῖς  
 τροφὴν, οὐδὲν ἔπεμψας αὐτοῖς.  
 καὶ σύ, 'Αφροδί<σι>ος, ὁμολόγυσας  
 ὅτι ὑπ' ἡμῶν διτομεῖ τὰ πρόβα[τα]  
 καὶ τὰ ἐγίδια. νῦν οὖν οὐδὲν ἔπεμ-  
 10 ψας τοῖς πεδίας. καὶ πάλιν ἔγρα[ψα]  
 ἅπαξ ἔπεμψας πρὸς σέ.  
 ἐζύτησα παρὰ τοὺς ποιμένας  
 περὶ τῶν κτηνῶν, καὶ εἶπαν  
 οἱ ποιμένος ὁμολόγυσαν  
 15 ὅτι οἱ <ἐ>χοντες τὰ πρόβατα  
 καὶ τὰ θρέματα αὐτοὶ πλυρῶσιν.



καὶ ἐζύτησα παρὰ Σανσνῶς  
 ποιμένος ὅτι πῶς ποιούμεν  
 περὶ τῶν θραμάτων, καὶ εἶπα·  
 20 Σανσνῶς ὅτι ὀλοιπάσδου πρόβατα  
 καὶ ἐγίδια, καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτοῖς  
 εἴκοσι θαρις. οὐδὲν ποιούμεν.  
 περὶ τὸ ἰδίους πέμψον μοι καὶ  
 μάθω. καὶ ἀσπάζομεν Ἀρακλῦς  
 25 καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τὰ τέκνα  
 Ἀρακλῦς.

ἐρ[ρ]ῶσθ[αί σε]

[εὐχομαι]

[πολλοῖς χρόνοις.]

1 ἀγαπητῶ 3 ἐξήλθες, ἡμῶν 4 παιδία, τροφῆς 5 Ἀφροδίσει  
 6 τροφήν 7 Ἀφροδίσει, ὠμολόγησας 9 αἰγίδια 10 παιδίοις  
 11 ἐπεμψα οἱ πέμψας 12 ἐζήτησα, τῶν ποιμένων 14 ποιμένες, ὠμολόγησαν οἱ  
 ὁμολογοῦντες 16 θρέμματα, πληροῦσιν οἱ πληρῶσιν 17 ἐζήτησα, Σανσνῶ-  
 τος 19 θρεμμάτων, εἶπε 20 ἐλοιπάσθη 21 αἰγίδια 23 τῶν ἰδίων οἱ  
 τοῦ ἰδίου 24 Ἀρακλῦς, l. acc. 25 τοὺς ἀδελφούς 26 Ἀρακλῦς, l. gen.

‘Sansnos to his beloved brother Aphrodisios, greeting in the Lord. As you too left us for the lads without food, Aphrodisios, because we shall send the food, you sent them nothing. You too, Aphrodisios, agreed that we should bring the sheep and goats down . . . Well now, you have sent nothing for the lads. And I wrote once again sending for you. I enquired of the shepherds about the animals, and the shepherds agreed that the men who have the sheep and lambs will pay themselves. And I enquired from Sansnos the shepherd how we are managing in regard to young animals. He said we have sheep and goats left, and I gave him twenty . . . We are doing nothing. Send to me about our own (affairs? people?) for my information. We greet Haraklys and the brothers and the children of Haraklys. I pray for your health for many years.’

2-10 If I understand these lines correctly, Aphrodisios had failed to bring food for the *παιδία* because he understood that Sansnos and his friends were to do that, whereas Sansnos is of the opinion that Aphrodisios should have brought food too because of the agreement concerning the sheep and goats (7-9), which presumably caused extra work for all concerned. In the Brussels MS it was suggested that *εἶπες* or a similar verb has fallen out after Ἀφροδίσιος in l. 5.

In that case the complaint would be that Aphrodisios had not kept his word.

2 ἐξῦλθας, l. ἐξῆλθες: for other instances of the interchange of η and υ, frequent in this text, see Gignac, *Phonology* 264-5. For the verb ending cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb* § 317(6).

5 Ἀφροδίσιος: nom. for voc. Cf. Kühner-Gerth II.1 47, 2; Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *NTGrammatik* § 147; Mayser II.1 55, 2.

8 ὑπά'γ'ωμεν: of animals usually means 'yoke', but that is clearly unsuitable for sheep and goats, so I suppose it means simply 'bring them down'.

διτομεῖ might mean 'separately', though the word has not previously occurred. In this text a misspelling of a personal name such as Διδύμη would seem possible. At the end of the line προβά[τια] might be read instead of πρόβα[τα] (so 66.17), but ll. 15 and 20 have πρόβατα.

10-1 πάλιν . . . ἄπαξ: cf. P. Abin. 32.12, ἄλλω ἄβαξ (ἄλλο ἄπαξ). Some more similar expressions are collected in 70.12 n.

The parallel with ll. 13-4, εἶπαν . . . ὁμολόγυσαν (= ὁμολόγησαν) suggests that the scribe intended to write ἔγραψα . . . ἔπεμψα with the sense 'I wrote and sent for you'.

16 πλυρῶσιν: one might interpret this form either as πληροῦσιν or πληρῶσιν, in both cases with future meaning; cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 214ff., 541.

17 Σανσνῶς: similarly undeclined in 68.1.

22 θαρῖς: the simplest explanation phonologically is θαρρῆς as jussive subjunctive (Mandilaras § 554), 'have no fear: we are doing nothing' (against your interests, without consulting you, etc.). If it is felt that a noun object of ἔδωκα (21) should be seen in this word, I have nothing better to offer than the suggestion of the Brussels MS, θαλλία, comparing P. Bala'izah II 191.4 (ΘΑΛΛΙC).

23-4 πέμψον μοι καὶ μάθω: καὶ = ἵνα; cf. Blass-Debr.-Rehk. § 442.3.

24 and 26 Ἀρακλῦς: not in NB or *Onomasticon*. Cf. Ἡρακλῆς.

## 70. LETTER FROM CHENOPHRES TO PHENPSETYMES

VII 10<sup>c</sup>

10.5 × 25 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

A badly spelled letter with some interesting colloquial language, three new names and a new word.

→ [τῷ ἀγαπητῷ μου ἀ]δελφῷ Φεν[ψε-]  
[τύμη Χενοφρῆς] ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρει! [v.]

[προηγούμενως σ]ε προαγορεύ[ω]  
 [καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ] κατὰ ὧν[ο-]  
 5 [μα c. 13] α ὄσπριον  
 [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] καὶ λαχ[ᾶ-]  
 νου ἀρτάβας τρεῖς[ς] ὕμισέ μοι  
 καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δύο. ἀπ[ο-]  
 [δ]όσης 'αὐτά' Πεβῶτος {σ} ἥνα ἀπο-  
 10 φέρι μοι αὐτά. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ  
 ἀποδόσης αὐτά, ἀπετόση[ς]  
 τὸν ναῦλον δύο ἄπαξ. νῦν  
 ἐμέλησεν τὴν προθησ-  
 μία<ν>, ἀλλὰ ἀπόστειλόν μοι[ι]  
 15 τὰ ὄσπρεον ἐπ<ι> τάχιον.  
 καὶ φιλοπόνησον τὴν  
 Βοάις καὶ θάλπισον τὴν  
 θυγατέρα αὐτῇ<ς>. δῖξον  
 Πεβῶτος 'τὸν υἱὸν μου' τὴν Βοάις.  
 20 ἐρρωσθαι σε εὐχο-  
 μαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

Back → [Φεν]ψετύμης X παρὰ Χενοφρῆς

4-5 ὄνομα 7 τρεῖς ἡμισυ 9-10 Πεβῶτι ἵνα ἀποφέρῃ 11 ἀποδόσης,  
 ἀποδώσεις 13 ἀμέλησον (?), προθεσμίαν 14 ἀπόστειλον 15 τό 17  
 Βοάιν 18 δεῖξον 19 Πεβῶτι τῷ, Βοάιν

'Chenophres to my beloved brother Phenpsetymes, greeting in the Lord. First and foremost I greet you and those in your household by name . . . mixed produce . . . and three and one-half artabs of vegetables to me, and two talents of silver. Give them to Pebos so that he may bring them to me; if you do not give them, you will pay the freight charge twice. Now pay no attention to the deadline (?), but send me the produce as quickly as possible. Look after Boais and be nice to her daughter. Point out Boais to my son Pebos. I pray for your health for many years.

(Back): Phenpsetymes, from Chenophres.'

1-2 Φεν[ψε|τύμη Χενοφρῆς: cf. l. 22. Neither name is recorded in *NB* or *Onomasticon*, but for the second cf. Χονοφρῆς.

5 ὄσπριον: in l. 15 the form ὄσπρεον is used, a "late spelling . . . rejected by *EM* 635.48" (*LSJ* s.v.). To judge from the entries in the *WB*, both spellings are about equally common in the papyri;

other examples of the interchange of ι and ε are listed by Gignac, *Phonology* 249ff. At this date the word means 'mixed produce', which may include grain; see P. Cair. Isid. 76.12 n. ὀσπριον is marginally preferable to ὀσπρίου, though one expects a measure to follow.

9 ἦνα for ἔνα: cf. Gignac, *Phonology* 238.

12 ναῦλον: from ναῦλος if the preceding τόν is to be taken seriously. I do not find the masculine form in papyrological lexica, but it is recorded in *LSJ*. The neuter is so much more common in Egypt, however, that one might think of reading τὸ{ν} ναῦλον.

δύο ἄπαξ 'two times': cf. P. Mich. VIII 482 = Naldini, *Cristianesimo* 1.5, ἄλλο ἄπαξ; P. Abin. 32 = Naldini 40.8, τοῦτω τὸ ἄβαξ, *ibid.* 1. 12 ἄλλω ἄβαξ; P. Ryl. II 435.2, ἄλλα ἄπαξ; Wilcken, *APF* 6 (1920) 379-80; S. G. Kapsomenakis in *Münchener Beiträge* 28 (1938) 50-1.

13 ἐμέλησεν, read probably ἀμέλησον: for interchange of α and ε see Gignac 278ff., for that of η and ο *idem* p. 293. I take it that the writer fears his correspondent may claim to have no time to carry out his request and is attempting to forestall his objection; cf. in a general way P. Fay. 114.21-2, μὴ ο<ϣ>ν ληρήσης τὸν ἐκτιναγμόν σου. ἡμέλησας would also make sense, but while omission of the temporal augment is common (cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 253ff.; ἐμέλησε occurs in PSI XIV 1413.5), such a misspelling at the end of the word would be phonologically inexplicable.

15 ἐπ<ι> τάχιον: not very satisfactory, as the phrase appears to be unparalleled. Perhaps rather ἐν τάχιον for ἐν τάχει.

17 Βοάις: not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*.

θάλπισον: from θαλίζω, a new word based on θάλπω.

## 71. LETTER FROM HORION TO —ARIOS AND DORKON

VII 11<sup>c</sup>

10.6 × 20.3 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

A polite letter to two presbyters, concerning skins and dates.  
Cf. *Introd.* p. 9.

→ [ . ι καὶ τυχεῖν . [   
 [ . . . . . θέλω] ὑμᾶς γινῶναι, γλυχ[ύτα-]   
 [τοι π]ατέρες, περὶ ὧν ὑμῖν ἔγραψ[α]   
 [ . . . ὅ]τι χρεῖα ἐστὶν μοι δύο δερμά[των]

- 5        τ . . . . . ιατ . τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ [ . . . . . ] .  
           . [ . . . . . ] αὐτ[ . ] . [ . ] . . . . . [ . ]  
           ἀξιῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς ὅπως πανταχόθε[ν]  
           ζητήσητε καὶ ἀγοράσητέ μοι αὐτά. δ[έομαι]  
           δὲ δέρματος μάλα σφόδρα. ἰδοὺ ἀ[πέ-]  
 10        [σ]τα[λκα] ὑμῖν δύο ἀρτάβας φοινίκ[ων].  
           καὶ μάθε ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν τιμὴ[ν]  
           τῶν δύο ἀρταβῶν καὶ τῶν δύο δ[ερμά-]  
           των, ὅπως γράψητέ μοι καὶ ἀ[ποστεί-]  
           λω πάραυτῶ πάλιν τῷ πρόλοιπας.  
 15        ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς πάντας κατ' ὄνομα.  
           ἐὰν δὲ θέλητε, πέμψαι τὰ δέρματα δ[έ]  
           ἐὰν δὲ μή, γράψαι με ὅπως μάθω.  
                   ἐρρωσθαι ὑμᾶς  
                   εὐχ[ο]μαι ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ.

Back: →

- 20        ]αρίῳ πρ(εσβυτέρῳ) καὶ Δόρ Χ κωνι πρ(εσβυτέρῳ)  
           π(αρά) Ὀρίωνος.

10    ιν in ὑμῖν corrected from ας    11    μάθετε    14    πάραυτα, πρόλοιπον  
 17    μοι

‘. . . I want you to know, my sweetest fathers, the matters about which I wrote you . . . that I have need of two skins . . . of the brother . . . I request of you therefore that you seek everywhere and buy them for me. I am very greatly in need of a skin. Look, I have dispatched to you two artabs of dates; and learn from these people the price of the two artabs and of the two skins, so that you may write to me and I may dispatch the balance at once. I greet you all by name. If you wish, send me the skins . . . otherwise, write me so that I may know.

I pray for your health in the Lord.

(Back) To —arios, presbyter, and Dorkon, presbyter, from Horion.’

11    μάθε: one expects μάθετε. The writer may have forgotten for the moment that he is writing to more than one person, or it may be simply a scribal slip. In the latter case, μάθε <τε> should be read.

τούτων: presumably the persons who are charged with the delivery of the letter and the dates.

16-7 πέμψαι, γράψαι: for the imperativial infinitives see Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 756ff., esp. § 765.

16 At the end perhaps δέσματα δ[ύο] (Brussels MS), but the word order would be odd and there are other possibilities, e.g. δ[ιὰ NN].

## 72. LETTER FROM PROTERIA (?) TO SANSNOS AND PSAS OR PSATOS

VII 12<sup>c</sup>

10.5 × 16.4 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

A request to two monks to find some chaff that can be purchased for use as fodder. Cf. *Introductio*. p. 7.

→ Σανσνώτι καὶ Πσάτος  
 μοναχοῖς Προτερ[ί]α χέρ(ειν).  
 εἰ δυνατόν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐστὶν  
 τὸ ἐραυνῆσαι ὀλίγον  
 5 ἄχυρον πρὸς τὴν ὑπη-  
 ρεσίαν τῶν ἐμῶν κτηνῶν  
 διότι ὑστεροῦσι, καὶ οὐ-  
 χ εὐρίσκω ἐνταῦθα ἀγο-  
 ράσαι. ἐπὶ δὲ εὐρηγε,  
 10 πέμψατέ με ὑπὲρ τὴν  
 τιμὴν ὅτι πόσον τὴν  
 ἁμαξάν ἀχύρου, καὶ ἵνα  
 ἔρχεται τὸ πλοῖον . . .  
 [ . . π]λί[στ]ας χάριτας ὑμεῖν

Back→ Προτερία Σανσνώτι καὶ  
 Πσάτος.

1 Πσάτος, 1. dat. 2 μοναχοῖς: ς added above the line (?); χάρειν 5-6 η  
 in ὑπηρεσίαν corr. from ε 6 κτηνῶν 9 ἐπὶ 10 μοι 10-11 τῆς τιμῆς  
 11 σ in πόσον corr. from ι; τῇ 14 πλείστας, ὑμῖν 16 Πσάτος, 1. dat.

'Proteria (?) to Sansnos and Psas (or, Psatos), monks, greeting. If it is possible where you are, seek out a little chaff for the use of my asses, because they are short of it and I find none to purchase here. If you find some, send to me about the price, how much it is per waggon-load of chaff, and so that the boat may come . . . (so that I may express to you) the utmost gratitude. (back) Proteria (?) to Sansnos and Psas (or, Psatos).'

1 Πσάτος: the same dative is used in l. 16. In the nominative, Ψῶς and Ψάτος are both found; see *NB* and *Onomasticon*.

2 Προτηρ[ία]: Προτερία in l. 15, if rightly deciphered in both places. The feminine of this name does not appear to be known elsewhere, but an Alexandrian patriarch lynched in 457 A.D. was named Προτέριος.

4 τὸ ἐραυνῆσαι: the writer appears to have contaminated two constructions, the imperatival infinitive which should appear without the article and the articular infinitive as subject of ἐστίν.

9ff. For a more grammatical enquiry about the price of chaff cf. 68.13ff.

12-3 ἵνα | ἔρχεται: for ἵνα with the indicative cf. e.g. *LSJ* s.v. B III.

13 After πλοῖον perhaps ὅτι altered to ὥσ[τε]. After l. 14 ὁμολογήσω or the like, governing χάριτας, has been lost.

73. VII 13<sup>c</sup> (7.9 × 6.1 cm.) + 14<sup>c</sup> (1.6 × 7.5 cm.). Two adjoining fragments of a letter. One of the persons addressed may be Sansnos, but the name is badly damaged.

→ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφ[ῷ]  
 Σαγσνῶτι καὶ Ἀπο[  
 τοῦ ἁ]δελφοῦ . . . [ . . ] . [

Back→ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ

'To my beloved brother Sansnos (?) and Apo— . . . of the brother . . . (back) To the beloved . . .'

74. VII 15<sup>c</sup>. 5.5 × 23.5 cm. A fragmentary letter from one Peteesis. The recipient's name is lost, unless Παῖσς in l. 24 is vocative.

→ τῷ κυρίῳ μο[υ ]  
 Πετεῖσις [ ]  
 ἐν πρότοις . . [ εὖ-]  
 χωμαι τῷ Κ(υρί)ῳ [περὶ τῆς σῆς σωτη-]  
 5 ρίας. προσ[ ]  
 τῆς . . . φ[ ]  
 του[ ]

(4 lines almost entirely lost)



12	μεν[	]
	[[ . . ]]	]
	μ . . [	]
15	ου ταῦτα η[	]
	Πεκύσι[	πεν-]
	τήκωντα κ[	]
	σίτου ἀρταβ[	]
	εὐρίσκεις πα[	πε-
20	ρι τῆς ἀπεθῆ[	]
	ἀρτάβης . [	δη-
	μύσια ερ[	]
	ἔδωκεν σο[	]
	Παῖσε πραξ[	]
25	ἐριδίω ω . [	]
	ὅτι 'δί'δωμι χάρι'ν [	]

Down left margin: ↓ αὐτῷ μετα[ . . . . . ] . . . . . παράβαλλε ἡμᾶς

Back → ἐάν εὐρίσκεις εὐτένος ἀνθρώπος ἀπόστιλὼν μ[οι]

τὰ πρόβατα . [

3 πρώτοις 3-4 εὐχομαι 16-17 πεντήκοντα 24 Παῖσε: the epsilon has either been remade or corrected from another letter 28 εὐτόνους ἀνθρώπους ἀπόστειλον.

(Back) 'If you find sturdy fellows, send me the sheep.'

4-5 σωτη][ρίας: or ὀλοκλη][ρίας.

15 ου: οὔ, οὐ, or the end of a word from the preceding line.

21-2 δη][μύσια: if the μ is correct there can hardly be any doubt about the restoration, as the only other word in -μοσιος listed by the Kretschmer-Locker *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch* is συνωμόσιος, which has not so far appeared in papyri. It remains uncertain whether the word here is an adjective or refers to δημόσια in the sense of 'taxes'.

## 75. LETTER FROM BESARION TO SANSNOS

VII 16<sup>c</sup>

6.7 × 7.6 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

Top portion of a letter including instructions that an ἀδελφός, brother or friend of the writer, be given five artabs of wheat. The back is blank.

→ [τ]ῷ κυρίῳ μου  
 [π]ατρὶ Σανσνώτι  
 [B]ησαρίων χαίρειν.  
 [ . . . . ] σε δῆλα ποσῶ[  
 5 [ . . . . ] . ὦ ἐρχωμένῳ  
 [ . . ] ῥτων σῖτον [  
 [ . . ] . δοῦνε τῷ ἀδελφῷ  
 [μο]ῦ Πρήτ σίτου ἀρτάβα[ς]  
 [π]έντε, γί(νονται) (ἀρτ.) ε  
 10 ] . ἄσ[

5 ἐρχομένῳ 7 δοῦναι

‘Besarion to my lord father Sansnos, greeting . . . you clear . . . when he comes . . . wheat . . . to give my brother Pret five artabs of wheat, total 5 art. . . .’

4-7 Convincing supplements for these lines have not occurred to me. If δῆλα ποιέω can be used as δῆλον ποιέω one might think of something on the order of [θέλω] σε δῆλα ποιή[σειν] τῷ ἐρχωμένῳ | [πρὸς τῶν (l. τὸν) σῖτον [ᾧστε] | [συ]νδοῦνε κτλ., ‘I want you to make it clear to the man who comes for the wheat that he is to contribute five artabs to Pret’. There would be no insuperable palaeographic objection to this, but it does not present the most obvious interpretation of the traces, and as the Greek is also uncertain the correct solution may lie in some quite different direction.

## 76. LETTER FROM MAKARIOS TO SANSNOS

VII 17<sup>c</sup>

9.5 × 16.2 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

Fragment from the beginning of a letter the subject of which cannot now be determined. The back contains faint traces of ink, no longer legible.

→ [τῷ ἀγ]απητῷ υἱῷ Σανσνώτι  
 [Μα]κάριος ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν.  
 [ . . . . ] . οὔνται ἡ γυνή μ[  
 [ . . . . . ] αι εἰς Σύρου  
 5 [ . . . . . ] . μετ[αλ[ . ] ια .  
 ]υ  
 ]ων

1 υἱῷ

2 κῶ

'Makarios to his beloved son Sansnos, greeting in the Lord . . . wife (or, woman) . . . to Syros's . . .'

1 Σανσνῶτῃ: not Σανσνῶς, though the undeclined form is sometimes used (68.I n.).

2 [Μα]κάριος: J. W. B. Barns writes as follows of this text in *Prel. Rep.* p. 14: "The name Macarius is so common in monastic circles that its occurrence as that of the writer of the fragmentary letter in VII would hardly be worth noting, were it not for the fact that he addresses Sansnōs . . . , called 'father' or 'brother' by all his other correspondents, as 'my son'; this suggests that [Ma]carius here is a person of high seniority; we note that a Macarius was the successor of Sourous as head of the monastery of Pachnoum."

There is some reason to doubt whether the monk and presbyter Sansnos (assuming that these are in fact one person and identical with the Sansnos here) was a member of a Pachomian organization (cf. *Introd.* p. 7), but he could of course have recognized a particularly holy man within that organization as his spiritual superior nonetheless. But the term "son" may mean nothing more than that Sansnos was strikingly younger than Macarius; or, indeed, that he was his son.

3 -οῦνται is presumably the ending of a verb of which the subjects are ἡ γυνή and something lost in lacuna. The construction of ll. 3-4 may have followed the general lines of [διαν]ροῦνται ἡ γυνή μ[ | [καὶ NN ἔρχεσθ]αι εἰς Σύρου, but if ἔρχεσθ]αι was the verb used in l. 4 I can think of no name short enough to have preceded it. The word after γυνή may be the name of the woman or her husband, or the pronoun μ[ου].

4 εἰς Σύρου: i.e., to Syros's home or to a place called Syrou. There was a Σύρου χωρίον in the Fayum (*WB* III 330), but that will hardly be meant here.

## 77. LETTER FROM ZACCHEOS, COM—, AND PECHENEPHNIBIS TO SANSNOS

VII 18<sup>c</sup> + 19<sup>c</sup>

(18) 5.2 × 17.1 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

(19) 6.2 × 20.5 cm.

Two fragments of a letter to Sansnos from three presbyters, concerning among other things the removal of some wood or brush and the introduction of some persons who had been recommended

by a bishop. It seems very probable that Sansnos, whom the presbyters address as ἀδελφός, is the Σανσινῶς πρεσβύτερος of 78.15, if not also the monk of 72.1-2; cf. 68 introd. VII 18 contains the left side of the letter, VII 19 the right; a strip in the middle has been lost. Cf. Introd. p. 6, n. 13.

→ [ ] .  
 [ ] . ε  
 . [ . . . ] . ρα [ . . . . . ] . . . . ἀδελ-  
 φοῖς ἡμῶν [ . . . . . ] . ἐνεγυήθη  
 5 παραγεν[ήσεσθαι ἕνεκεν τ]ῆς ἐκκοπῆς  
 ὀλίγων [ . . . . . ] θων συνέσ-  
 τησεν α[ὐτοὺς ἡμῖν] διὰ γραμμάτων  
 ὁ πατήρ ἡμ[ῶν ὁ . . . .] ς ἐπίσκοπος Ἰγα  
 μὴ ἀμ[ελήσης προ]σδέξασθαι αὐτοὺς  
 10 καὶ Ἰγα ὁ [ . . . . . Βη]σαρίων τὸ πλοῖον  
 ἀνενοχ[λητον ἔχη. π]ροσαγορεύομεν  
 πάντας τοὺς παρὰ σοὶ (?) ] ἀδελφοὺς κατ' ὄνομα.  
 [ἐρρωσθαί] σε εὐχόμεθα  
 [πολλοῖς χρόνοις,  
 15 ἀδελφε.

back → [τῷ ἀγαπητῷ] ἀδελφῷ Σανσινῶτι Ζακχέος καὶ Κόμ[ καὶ]  
 17 Πεχενεφνῖβις πρεσ[βύτεροι].

'... our brothers ... he (?) was put under surety to be present to cut down a few ... Our father, the ... bishop, recommended them to us in a letter, so be not negligent in receiving them, and let ... Besarion keep the boat undisturbed. We greet by name all the brothers who are with you (?). We pray for your health for many years, brother.

(Back) Zaccheos, Com—, and Pechenephnibis, presbyters, to brother Sansnos.'

5 The subject of ἐνεγυήθη is not expressed in the text. It may be impersonal, 'a guarantee was taken'.

7 α[ὐτοὺς: when John Barns described this text in *Prel. Rep.* p. 13 he stated that the commendation in this letter was for "an individual". That must go back to an earlier restoration α[ὐτόν which was later rightly abandoned (Brussels MS) because of αὐτοὺς in l. 9.

ἡμῖν]: it seems to me most probable that the presbyters are

informing Sansnos of a letter which had been written to them; the following *ἵνα* clauses are then to be taken imperatively (cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 585ff.). It would also be possible to restore σοι here, followed by final clauses. That would presumably give a scolding tone to the letter: 'the reason that the bishop wrote you recommending the men was that you should receive them diligently (and you have not done so)'. The Brussels MS reads ὑμῖν here and ἀμ[ελέσητε in l. 9, following *Prel. Rep.* p. 13 ("a group of the brethren"). Only one person is mentioned in the address, however, and the singular is used in ll. 13 and 15.

8 To judge from the entries in *WB* III 400 s.v. ἐπίσκοπος the most likely adjectives for the lacuna are ἄγιος and ὁσιος. Lampe cites more examples of the former word applied to bishops than of the latter.

10 In the lacuna restore ἀδελφός, μοναχός, ἰδιος ἡμῶν, or the like.

12 το[ὺς παρὰ σοι (?)] ἀδελφούς: the restoration is taken from 67.12-3, τοὺς παρὰ σοὶ ἀδελφούς ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντολλα προσ-αγορεύομεν (cf. also Naldini, *Cristianesimo* nos. 19.9, 20.9, 28.7, 29.13 etc.), but there are other possibilities as well. The Brussels MS suggests ἡμετέρους.

16 Ζακχέος: usually spelled Ζαχαῖος or Ζαχέος. Barns has pointed out that a man of this name was "one of Pachomius's most responsible subordinates" (*Prel. Rep.* p. 14).

Κομ[: the length of the name to be restored cannot be accurately estimated. The *NB* and *Onomasticon* together list 36 masculine names which begin with Κομ-; of these, Κόμων appears to be the most common. The suggestion on p. 12 of *Prel. Rep.* that this person may be the same as the Aurelius Comes of our 64.4 is based on an earlier restoration Κόμ[ης here. Even if that should be correct the identification would be doubtful.

17 Πεχενεφνῖβις: not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*.

πρεσ[βύτεροι rather than πρεσ[βύτερος because that form would refer to Pechenephnibis alone, whereas Zaccheos too is called a presbyter in 78.15.

## 78. LETTER FROM ZACCHEOS TO SANSNOS

VII 20<sup>c</sup> + 21<sup>c</sup>

(a) 7 × 6 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

(b) 10.3 × 16.5 cm.

Two non-contiguous fragments of a letter introducing one Herakleios to Sansnos. For the correspondents see 77; cf. *Introd.*

p. 8. A bibliography on such letters of introduction is given by O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* (Torino, 1973) 243.

→ τ[ῷ ἀγαπητῷ μου ἀδελφῷ Σανσνῶτι]  
 Ζακχέος ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ χ[αίρειν.]  
 ἐν πρώτοις ἀναγκαῖο[ν ἡγησάμην]  
 προσειπεῖν σου τὴν ἔμ[φυτον ἀγά-]  
 5 πην, ἔπειτα καὶ γράφειν [σοι ἵνα]  
 προσδέξῃ τὸν ἀδελφὸν [ἡμῶν]  
 Ἡράκλειον παρ[  
 προ[ . . . ] . [  
 — — — — —  
 . [  
 10 . [  
 συνεσ[  
 [  
 ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὖ-]  
 χ[ομαι,  
 ἀγαπητὲ ἀδελφε.

10 cm. blank.

Back →

15 τῷ ἀγαπητῷ [μου ἀδελφῷ] Σανσνῶτι πρεσβυτέρῳ Ζα-  
 χέος πρεσβύτ[ερος.]

‘Zaccheos to my beloved brother Sansnos, greeting in the Lord. Before all I have thought it necessary to address your inborn love, and then to write you that you may receive our brother Herakleios . . . I pray for your health, beloved brother.

(Back) Zaccheos presbyter to my beloved brother Sansnos presbyter.’

4-5 τὴν ἔμ[φυτον ἀγά]|πην: cf. P. Cair. Masp. I 67020v.1.

11-2 I have printed the minimum restoration, but as other texts from this codex use a lengthier closing formula one should perhaps rather think of something on the order of ἐρρῶσθαί σε | πολλοῖς χρόνοις εὖ|χ[ομαι. For the word order in that case cf. e.g. P. Herm. Rees 4 = Naldini, *Cristianesimo* 38.11-3. Still longer formulations, as in P. Lugd-Bat. XI 26 = Naldini 13.21-4, are also possible.

## 79. LETTER

VII 23<sup>c</sup> + 24<sup>c</sup>

(23) 3.2 × 15.5 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

(24) 2.8 × 1 cm.

Two fragments from the center of a letter which begins with a request for some meal, whether for the writer or for some other person. The concluding half consists of greetings to various people. The back is blank.

→	]ονδα Παθε[
	] χα[ίρειν.
	] Παθερμουῖθι[
	] χρείας ἔνεκε[ν
5	] περιποίησιν [
	] ἀλεύρου ἀκαν[
	ὅ]τι χρείαν ἔχ[
	]τηδεως ποί[
	]ων καὶ τὴν α[
10	ἀδ]ελφούς ἀσπ[άζομαι
	] κατ' ὄνομα α[
	ἀσπάζο]μαι Μαιουμ[
	ἀσπάζομαι τοὺς α[
	]θιν τὸν ἀδ[ελφ
15	ο]υς κατ' ὄνομ[α
	] ἐρρω[σθαί σε]
	[εὖ]χομαι π[ολλοῖς]
	[χρόνοις] ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ,
	[ἀ]γαπητέ [μου ἅδ]ελφ[ε . ]

12 ο in Μαιουμ[ corrected from ι

Except for the concluding 'I pray for your health in the Lord for many years, my beloved brother' the text is too mutilated for translation.

1 As the writers of the letters in this codex elsewhere put their own names after that of the addressee we should probably print ]ονδα as dative, followed by a patronymic or the name of the writer.

6 The obvious restoration is ἀλεύρου ἀκαν[θίνου, 'acacia flour', but the substance is not otherwise known and it is not clear to me from the description of the uses of the acacia in *RE* I 1159-62 from what part of the plant flour would be made nor what purpose it would serve: the likeliest would perhaps be a powder of hard gum for medicinal use (cf. C. Preaux, *CE* 31, 1956, 140; L. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 23, 1976, 126). One can, however, think of supplements which

render this speculation idle: e.g., περιποίησον [ἡμῶν | ὀλίγα μέτρα] ἀλεύρου· Ἀκαν[θῶν | γὰρ λέγει ὅ]τι χρεῖαν ἔχ[ει αὐτοῦ, 'Get a few measures of flour for us; for Akanthon says that he needs it'.

12 The only name beginning Μαιουμ- in *NB* or *Onomasticon* is Μαιουμᾶς (one occurrence, SPP XX 147.6).

14 ]θιν: or ]ᾶιν.

19 ἀ]γαπητέ is on a separate fragment (VII 24), and it is not certain that it should be positioned here.

## 80. LETTER

VII 27<sup>c</sup> + 28<sup>c</sup> + 29<sup>c</sup> (a) 4 × 8.5 cm. 4th cent. A.D.  
 (b) 2.8 × 4 cm.  
 (c) 2.5 × 4 cm.

Three fragments of a letter, the first from the top, the third from the end, and the second someplace in between. Apart from a few isolated words and phrases only the concluding wish for the addressee's health is now intelligible.

(a) →	]	.	[	
	]	ιωμ	.....	[
	]	.	ις καὶ καλ	[
	]	ωνις	πολλ	[
5	γινώ]	σκιν	σε θέλ	[
	]	χρίαν	[	
	]	ρευσωγ	[	
	]	ννιο	[	
	]	τῷ ἀδελφ	[	
	—	—	—	—
(b)	—	—	—	—
10			]	[
			]	προδοσι
			[	σινιταυ
			]	ἐπιδῆ δ
			[	ενιου
15			]	δῶ
	—	—	—	—
(c)	—	—	—	—
			]	μοι
			]	ω καὶ





6-7 ἡ ἀδελ|φή or τ]ῆ ἀδελ|φή. If the latter, the thought may have been 'give so-and-so's sister the things that I deposited with you'.

9 The end of the line is obscured by an ink blot.

## 82. ACCOUNTS

VII 31<sup>c</sup>

9.8 × 6.9 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

One side of this papyrus records amounts collected in kind by various persons, while a single line in the same hand on the other side mentions an amount of money. I print first the more extensive text, which is written against the fibers.

	—	—	—	—	—	—
↓	]	... α . . . . .				[
	]	..[...]				[
	]	. ε δια' Ἐπωνύχου καὶ Παμε . . .				[
	]	. οτου Σαχαρίου δια' Σανεῖς πρ( ) .				[
5	]	δια' Σοισοεις . ᾱ				
	δ]ιὰ	Μουσῆς . α				
	δ]ιὰ	ᾠρίων . ᾱ {α}				
		]αλθιβ μά(τια) ἕ				
		] . εις . ᾱ				
10		] . μά(τια) ἕ				

Col. ii

	δι' Ἀθανα[
	δια' Σιλβα[
	δια' Παυλε[
	δια' Βῆμις τ[
15	δια' Παχρύμ[ιος
	δια' Σιεν[

Back →

]ερ ζ̄ ὁμοίος ἀργυρίον (τάλαντ ) . [

6 cm. blank

4ff. read gen. after δια' 17 ὁμοίως ἀργυρίου

3, 5-7, 9 The thing collected in these lines is represented by a symbol which I do not recognize, <sup>L'</sup>. The Brussels MS suggests σ(ίτου ἀρτάβη) or σ(αργάνη). It may be simply (ἀρτάβη).

4 Σαχαρίου: usually spelled with Ζ.

Σανεῖς: cf. Σάνις, Σαννεύς etc.

5 Σοισοιεύς: cf. Σοισόις in O. Tait II 1764.6.

17 The first word was probably ὑπ]έρ. If so, translate 'for the 6th [i.e., indiction?] likewise, (so many) talents of silver'.

## 83-142

Small fragments of texts from the fourth century A.D., for the most part probably remnants of personal letters.

83. VII 25<sup>e</sup>. 2.6 × 5.8 cm. There are faint traces of writing on the back as well.

—	—	—	—
→		]τοι ἀδελφο[	
—	—	—	—

84. VII 26<sup>e</sup>. 1.2 × 1.8 cm. The back is blank.

—	—	—	—
→		] χαιρ[	
		] . ενομ[	
—	—	—	—

1 Perhaps χαίρ[ειν, but there are other possibilities, such as the name Χαιρ[ήμων.

2 The first letter could be ι or ν, but not γ.

85. VII 33<sup>e</sup>. 12.7 × 5 cm. The back is blank.

—	—	—	—	—	—
→		γενα ἀπαντῆσαί σοι δι' ἀγκάρας χρ[			
		Παχοῦμις Ἀπσηνᾶς			
		Ψεκῆς Ψεκῆτος			

1 γενα: the ending of a word from the line lost above. ἀγκάρας, if rightly read, is new. It may be a name.

2 Ἀπσηνᾶς: not in NB or *Onomasticon*.

86. VII 32<sup>e</sup>. 1.4 × 4.6 cm. Back blank.

—	—	—	—
→		]περγρα[	
		] . ομι[	
		] . υθ . [	
		] τῆς β[	

5           ]βαι[  
             ]. [

87. VII 34<sup>c</sup>. 7.4 × 2.8 cm.

Σιλβανῶ καὶ Πλη[  
.. [ . ] .. [

88. VII 35<sup>c</sup>. 4.4 × 1.1 cm.

]ομένου σίτ[ου

89. VII 36<sup>c</sup>. 5 × 5.6 cm.

]την[  
τετ[

90. VII 37<sup>c</sup>. 2.5 × 2.9 cm.

] Αὐρηλι[  
] ι . . . . [

91. VII 38<sup>c</sup>. 2.8 × 2.5 cm.

] . . [ . . ] . . [  
] ἀδελφοι[

92. VII 39<sup>c</sup>. 1.5 × 4.5 cm.

→           ]τιφ . [  
             ]. ἑπτὰ . [  
             ] (Space for 1 line)  
             ]. ωσθ[

5                    ] . σχον[  
                              ]ιθ[

5    could also be read as εχον.

93. VII 40<sup>c</sup>. 5.2 × 1.2 cm.

—                    —                    —  
                              π]αρ' ὕμω[ν  
—                    —                    —

94. VII 41<sup>c</sup>. 2.5 × 1.2 cm. The back contains traces of two letters.

→                    —                    —                    —  
                              ]ελουσ[                    —  
—                    —                    —

95. VII 42<sup>c</sup>. 1.7 × 2.1 cm.

—                    —                    —  
                              ] Α[ὕ]ρ[  
                              ]αγαθο . [                    —  
—                    —                    —

The specks which appear on the plate below line 2 are not writing.

96. VII 43<sup>c</sup>. 2.9 × 2 cm. Smudges on the back are probably not writing.

—                    —                    —  
                              ] . . . . . [  
                              ] επειτα α . [  
                              ] . τοπαλε[  
—                    —                    —

2    Two possibilities are ἐπειτα α . [ and ἐπεὶ τὰ α . [.

97. VII 44<sup>c</sup>. 2.6 × 9.6 cm.

—                    —                    —  
                              ] . α . [  
                              ] . ειαλο[  
                              ]λα[  
—                    —                    —

98. VII 22<sup>c</sup>. 2.5 × 1 cm.

—      —      —  
→      ]θξ  
—      —      —

99. VII 110<sup>c</sup>. 0.5 × 3.6 cm. Text: → ]ε[.

100. VII 106<sup>c</sup>. 2.9 × 11.1 cm. Account. The recto contains the ends of 9 lines, of which the following can be read: → <sup>4</sup>] . ον <sup>7</sup>]ο. On the back, in a different hand, are traces from the beginning of 8 lines. Text: ↓ <sup>2</sup>ξ or θ, <sup>8</sup>ε[.

101. VII 107<sup>c</sup>. 4.5 × 3.7 cm. The recto contains the letters απορχω[ (i.e., ἀπόρχω[μεν *vel sim.*) and traces of a further line. On the verso stands διοσπολ[. This may mean Diospolis, the Diospolite nome, or a man from Diospolis; but a different word division would give Δῖος πολ[, i.e., Dios son of Pol—, Dios the councilman (πολ[ιτευόμενος]), or the like.

102. VII 108<sup>c</sup>. 3 × 1.7 cm. Text: → <sup>1</sup>] . ιο . [ <sup>2</sup>] . πᾶν[.

103. VII 109<sup>c</sup>. 4.5 × 5.6 cm. The text is written against the fibers, the other side being blank: ↓ <sup>1</sup>]αφ[ <sup>2</sup>] . . [ <sup>3</sup>]κ . [.

104. VII 112<sup>c</sup>. 1.8 × 4.2 cm. The text is written against the fibers, the other side being blank: ↓ <sup>1</sup>] . ω [ <sup>2</sup>]περιπ[. Traces of 2 more lines.

105. VII 113<sup>c</sup>. 1.7 × 3.5 cm. Text (front): → ]μεν[, one more line. On the back are only scattered traces.

106. VII 114<sup>c</sup>. 2.5 × 3.9 cm. Text: → <sup>1</sup>]ν <sup>2</sup>] . νκω <sup>3</sup>]πητι.

107. VII 51<sup>c</sup>. 1.9 × 1.2 cm. Text: → ]ειγ[.

108. VII 121<sup>c</sup>. 1.5 × 2.2 cm. Text: → <sup>1</sup>] . του[ <sup>2</sup>] . [.

109. VII 122<sup>c</sup>. 1.3 × 2.3 cm. Upper margin preserved. Text: → <sup>1</sup>]ρο . [ <sup>2</sup>]π'π[.

110. VII 124<sup>c</sup>. 1.2 × 0.7 cm. Text: → <sup>1</sup>]υον[ <sup>2</sup>] . ογ[.

111. VII 125<sup>c</sup>. 0.8 × 2 cm. Text: → <sup>1</sup>]αλα[ <sup>2</sup>] . η . [.

112. VII 127<sup>c</sup>. 1.2 × 2.1 cm. Text: → <sup>1</sup>] . [ <sup>2</sup>]εκπ[ <sup>3</sup>] . ξοϥ [ <sup>4</sup>] . [.

113. VII 128<sup>c</sup>. 1.8 × 1.1 cm. Text: → ]πρι[.

114. VII 129<sup>c</sup>. 1.5 × 1.6 cm. Text: → <sup>1</sup>] . [ <sup>2</sup>]ωντα[. Illegible traces on the other side.

115-123 may all be fragments of a single document.

115. VII 134<sup>c</sup>. 1.6 × 0.2 cm. Text: → ] . απον[.

116. VII 135<sup>c</sup>. 1.5 × 0.5 cm. Text: → ]ταμ . . [ . On the back, slight traces of one line.

117. VII 136<sup>c</sup>. 2 × 0.3 cm. Text: → ]αρχτοιου[ (e.g., π]αρχ τοιού[του).

118. VII 137<sup>c</sup>. 1.5 × 0.5 cm. Text: → ]ρος.

119. VII 138<sup>c</sup>. 1.6 × 0.7 cm. Text: → <sup>1</sup>] . . οι . . [ <sup>2</sup>] . . . [.

120. VII 139<sup>c</sup>. 1.3 × 0.7 cm. Text: → <sup>1</sup>] . ρλλ[ <sup>2</sup>] . [.

121. VII 140<sup>c</sup>. 1.1 × 0.2 cm. Text: → ιρ . [.

122. VII 141<sup>c</sup>. 1.4 × 0.4 cm. Text: → ] . εα[.

123. VII 142<sup>c</sup>. 1.2 × 0.3 cm. Trace of one letter on the front side.

124. VII 130<sup>c</sup>. 1.2 × 0.5 cm. Text: → ]πε[. On the back are faint traces which may not be writing.

125. VII 143<sup>c</sup>. 2.1 × 1.6 cm. Text: → ] . τι[.

126. VII 144<sup>c</sup>. 1.9 × 2.1 cm. Text (front) → ] . Β . [ . On the back are scattered traces. It is uncertain whether the front text is Greek or Coptic.

127. VII 145<sup>c</sup>. 4.2 × 2.3 cm. Text: → <sup>1</sup>]επεν . . [ <sup>2</sup>]ενταυ[.
128. VII 146<sup>c</sup>. 6 × 4.9 cm. Top margin preserved. Text: → <sup>1</sup>ευσα[ <sup>2</sup>δι' Ωσι . [ <sup>3</sup>Πανύτιος [.
129. VII 147<sup>c</sup>. 2.2 × 1.5 cm. Text: → ]νο[.
130. VII 148<sup>c</sup>. 1.1 × 1.1 cm. Text: → <sup>1</sup>]αι[ <sup>2</sup>]σα[ <sup>3</sup>] . υσ[.
131. VII 149<sup>c</sup>. 1.5 × 1.5 cm. Text: → ]π[.
132. VII 150<sup>c</sup>. 2 × 2.1 cm. Text: → <sup>1</sup>]οσ[ <sup>2</sup>] . [ <sup>3</sup>] . . . π . [.
133. VII 80<sup>c</sup>. 1.5 × 1.1 cm. Text: → ] . μο[.
134. VII 152<sup>c</sup>. 1 × 1 cm. Text: → ] δ(ιχ) [. Back: traces.
135. VII 153<sup>c</sup>. 1.5 × 0.6 cm. Text: → ]ποι[.
136. VII 154<sup>c</sup>. 1.6 × 0.7 cm. Text: → ]πρυ[.
137. VII 155<sup>c</sup>. 0.9 × 1.0 cm. Text: → <sup>1</sup>] . [ <sup>2</sup>]επα[.
138. VII 156<sup>c</sup>. 0.7 × 0.2 cm. Text: → ] . ε . [.
139. VII 157<sup>c</sup>. 0.5 × 0.7 cm. Text: → ]απ . [.
140. VII 158<sup>c</sup>. 1 × 0.7 cm. Text: → ]ο . [.
141. VII 159<sup>c</sup>. 0.7 × 0.6 cm. Text: → ]στο[.
142. VII 160<sup>c</sup>. 1.1 × 0.7 cm. Text: → ]ε . ο[, plus traces on the back.

In addition to the texts described above and the Coptic documents **C2-14**, the cover of Codex VII contained thirty-four tiny fragments most or all of which were written in Greek, but which are too mutilated for transcription.



## CODEX VIII

### 143-4. IMPERIAL ORDINANCES (?)

John Barns has described the documents printed here as **143-4** as follows (*Prel. Rep.* p. 11): "VIII contains, besides a few scraps of letters in Greek and Coptic [**145, C15-9**], fairly extensive, though tantalizingly incomplete, remains of two texts in Greek which seem to be without an exact parallel among the papyri. They are evidently copies of imperial ordinances, applying not particularly to Egypt, but to the Empire as a whole. Their style is reminiscent of the letters of Constantine preserved in Eusebius,<sup>[1]</sup> but they are evidently concerned not with religious matters, but with administrative and fiscal abuses and reforms. They are couched in the most general terms, and there is nothing in them which points to particular occasions<sup>[2]</sup> or to the authorship of particular emperors; but the mention in one of them of *exactores* and *praepositi* [**144(h).6**, 16; cf. **143(a).11**] indicates a date after A.D. 309. I cannot identify them with any of the extant ordinances of Constantine or his immediate successors in the Roman legal codices." For the date A.D. 309 Barns refers (*ibid.* n. 2) to J. D. Thomas, "The Office of Exactor in Egypt", *CE* 34 (1959) 124ff., who cites P. Giess. 103r of A.D. 309 as the earliest reference to the *exactor* in Egypt.

That the texts contain directives of some nature is certain: cf. προσετάξαμεν in **143(a).10**, the imperatives in **143(b).10**, 17, (f).3, 13; **144(a).20**, and the repeated references to "our decisions" (**143(b).5**, **144(a).4**, (h).17; cf. (a).9). The authority which issued them plainly stood higher than exactors and praepositi, and while those terms can have various meanings it is most natural in this context to take the first as the nome exactors who replaced strategoi in the fourth century and the second as praepositi pagi. Moreover, **144(h).19**, mutilated though the passage is, very probably indicates that the author(s) of these papyri ranked higher than the governors of provinces. There can hardly be any doubt that Barns is correct

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[<sup>1</sup> Listed by I. A. Heikel, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte: Eusebius Werke*, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1902) lxxi-ii.]

[<sup>2</sup> A possible exception is **143(b)**, which may refer to a war.]

in attributing these regulations to emperors: whether one should seek a single emperor or a group of colleagues is doubtful, as the plural which is consistently used may be a plural of majesty.

Again, as Barns reported, there is nothing in the preserved portions of the texts which seems to refer to specifically Egyptian conditions. On the other hand, there are several references to "provincials" (**143(b)**.6, (**f**).18, **144(a)**.24, perhaps **143(f)**.13); and if, as seems likely, **144(h)**.19 contains a regulation affecting various provincial governors, then the ordinances were at least in part aimed at an area larger than any one of the Egyptian provinces and may well have covered the Empire as a whole.

If these regulations affected an area wider than Egypt, that fact would disturb the terminus post quem which Barns offered, for the date of the introduction of the exactor may not have been the same in all provinces; nevertheless, the early to mid fourth century remains a reasonable date for the texts. The stylistic comparison which Barns makes with the letters of Constantine should, however, not be pressed so far as to attribute the regulations to him on those grounds, as we have not sufficient text preserved to make an accurate judgement. **143-4** use a number of *recherché* words and phrases, and employ the optative (**143(b)**.17, **144(a)**.6, 7, 9), but these are common traits in educated Greek of the period.

It is quite uncertain how many fragmentary regulations these papyri preserve, and still more so how many they contained when complete. There is no indication as to whether all the ordinances were issued at one time or even within a single reign. The subject matter of the various fragments, so far as it can still be determined, is discussed in individual introductions. It may be said in general that it is never clear what specific problem a regulation is intended to solve, nor what the solution ordered was. The texts are not well enough preserved that one could state with confidence whether this uncertainty is due to vague rhetoric in the drafting of the documents, or simply to the extremely fragmentary nature of their remnants.

**143** shows a change of hand in col. ii of fragment (**f**). Portions of the text written in this second hand have therefore been printed after (**f**), but otherwise there is no indication of the relative positions of the various fragments and the order chosen for reproduction is arbitrary. A few of the pieces have been left adhering to the cover of the codex, written side up. Their removal would have damaged the cover, and as the backs of all the detached pieces except **143(a)**

are blank this damage is unlikely to have been compensated by any scholarly gain; cf. *Prel. Rep.* p. 11 n. 3.

Revision of the texts on the originals would be desirable.

## 143

(a) VIII 1<sup>c</sup>. 6.1 × 22.5 cm. To judge from the mentions of shamelessness (5), robbery (7), exactors (11), storehouses (14), and registers (16, 18), this fragment was concerned with fiscal reform, probably including more careful control over the warehouses where goods collected by the state were kept.

An upper margin of 4.5 cm. is preserved, and a lower of 4.3 cm. On the back is a mirror image of the first 9 lines of the Coptic text **C16**, frag. a.

→                   ] . ἀποδ[  
                      ] . . υ καὶ [  
                      ] ἐπειξ[  
                      ] τῶν λοιπ[  
5                   ἀνα]ισχύντων . [ . ] μβ[  
                  ] ἄλλ' εἰσὶν καὶ συ[χο]φά[ν]τα[ι  
                      ] των διαρπαξ[ . . . . . ] . . [ .  
                      ] μὲς ἀκριβ[ . [ .  
                      ] . αὐτοὺς καὶ [ .  
10                   ] προσετάξαμεν [ . . ] ω ἐπ[  
                      ] ητων ἐξαχ[τ[ό]ρων ε[  
                      ] . πρόφασιν ἐχ[ε] [ γ] ἄρ κ[  
                      ] π[ο]λλή προθυμ[ί]α . . . [ . . [ .  
                  ] πρ[ό]ς ἀμιλλαν τὰς ἀποθήκας  
15                   ] ωνητης ἀδικείας α . [ .  
                      ] εν ἀναγράφει ἐν τῷ [ .  
                      ] ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐπινεμησ[  
                      ] ἀναγραφῇ διδάξει [ .  
                      ] . τι τῷ ἔθνει ὑπ' ὀψει[ν

15 ἀδικείας

(l. 5) ' . . . shameless . . . they are informers too . . . having robbed . . . exact(ly) . . . we have ordered . . . of the exactors . . . excuse; for he has . . . much zeal . . . in competition the storehouses . . . injustice . . . he shall register in the . . . year, apportion(ment) . . . register will show . . . for the province under the eyes . . . '

1 The first letter may be α. Then ἀποδ[ suggests a form of ἀποδίδωμι or ἀπόδοσις, but the word division could be ἀπὸ δ[ or ἀπ' ὃδ[.

3 From ἐπείγω or a compound.

4 λοιπ[ῶν, λοιπ[αζομένων or the like.

6 Perhaps simply τῶν διαρπαξ[άντων, but something like τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐ]τῶν διαρπαξ[αντες is also possible.

8 ἀκριβ[. [: from ἀκριβής or a related word.

9 The first letter may be σ. That suggests e.g. πρὸς αὐτούς or το]σαύτους.

11-2 144(h).16 suggests τῶν πραιποσίτων] ἡ τῶν ἐξαχτ[όρων]. On the exactor see J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Egypte de l'avènement de Diocletien à la création du diocèse* (284-382) (Brussels, 1964) 118-26; J. D. Thomas, "The Office of Exactor in Egypt", *CE* 34 (1959) 124-40.

The sense of these two lines may have been 'let no-one of the praepositi or exactors do such-and-such on any pretext (with κατὰ μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν in l. 12); for he has (e.g., sufficient salary without this, and in addition risks such-and-such a punishment)'.  
 13 E.g., ἔστω οὖν πολλὰ προθυμί[α ὑμῖν], 'be therefore very zealous (to carry out your appointed tasks)'.

15 Letter spacing suggests (but does not impel) a word break between ων and η. Among the possibilities then are ἡ τῆς ἀδικείας ἀρχή, 'the beginning of the injustice' and ἡ τῆς ἀδικείας ἄρχεσθαι, 'or to begin injustice'.

16 The most obvious supplements are καθ'] ἐν ἀναγράψει ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, 'he shall register in the records in detail'. The subject of the verb may be the same as that of ἔχε[ι in l. 12 (the praepositus or exactor? cf. n. there), or may have changed.

17 In this context ἐπινέμησις in the sense of 'indiction' or 'tax assessment', or a form of ἐπινέμω, seems more probable than a reference to ἐπινέμησις as forced land assignment.

18 The general idea is presumably that records kept according to this decree will accurately reflect deliveries to and from the storehouses. It seems simplest to take ἀναγραφὴ as the subject of διδάξει, but doubtless a construction with τῇ] ἀναγραφῇ and a different subject could also be found.

19 In view of the frequent mentions of ἐπαρχιῶται, 'provincials', in this text (listed above, p. 88), ἔθνος in the sense of 'province' (*WB* s.v. 3) seems likely.

(b) VIII 2<sup>c</sup>. In two parts, which join: (a) 4.7 × 18.5 cm., (b) 6 × 9 cm. (a) has not been removed from the cover, but has been photographed together with (b), which contains the ends of ll. 14-21, in the *Facsimile Edition*. A lower margin of 4.5 cm. is preserved. L. 1 may be the first line of the column.

The subject of this fragment is most unclear. Mentions of enemies (l. 14) and dangers (15) could be references to a real war, ll. 18 and 20 plainly refer to tax collection. Regulations for some sort of military levy, perhaps? On a more banal, and therefore more probable view, the decree may be aimed at rapacious officials who treat their own countrymen as if they were enemies, unmindful of the danger of punishment they thereby incur.

→		] . . σ . [
		] . . . ψα . . ασι [
		] . . σησεισφ . . [
		] . . . . ἀπο . . τω [
5	]α τῆς ἡ[μ]ετέρας κρίσ[εως	
	]ου τῶν ἐπαρχιωτ[ῶν	
	] . . τὴν μὲν τῶν [	
	] . ου λόγον ἀπαιτ[	
	]μ[ . . ] . ἀντουργήματα[	
10	] υ φυλαττέσθω . [	
	] . . . . μων ἔχου[	
	] . . ρω καὶ ἐμφυλιο[	
	] . . ας ἑαυτῶν ὑπερ[	
	] καὶ πολεμίους τε καὶ . . . [	
15	] . . κιγδύνους τε καὶ αμ . [	
	] πρὶν τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ποιει[	
	] . ἰν πειραθείη ἔστωσαν τὰ[	
	] ἐκτὸς τῆς ὀρισμένης ποσότη[τος	
	] . . μασιγ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ἀπεφην[	
20	] . . . . τες ἔν τε ταῖς ἀπαιτήσεσιν α[	
	]η προρροεικνυα . [ . ]εξων τοὺς αλ[	

(l. 5) 'our judgement . . . of the provincials . . . that of the . . . account . . . own deeds . . . intestine . . . their own . . . both enemies and . . . both dangers and . . . should be attempted, let them be . . . apart from the prescribed quantity . . . the fitting . . . both in the collections . . . the proper . . .'

5 Perhaps δι]ά.

8 At the end, a form of ἀπαιτέω, ἀπαίτησις, ἀπαιτητής, or a related word.

9 αὐτουργήματ[ the only previous instance in the papyri is P. Cair. Masp. II 67244.

10 φυλαττέσθω . [ or φυλαττέσθωσ[αν: context does not show the subject, nor whether the middle or the passive sense is required. For other examples of the Attic form in -ττ- see Gignac, *Phonology* pp. 152-3.

12 ἐμφύλιοι or ἐμφυλίοι[ς. This is the only mention of the word in documentary papyri to date.

14 At the end, perhaps ἐχθ[ρούς.

15 A letter may have been lost between καί and αμ . [.

21 προσεικυῖα or προσεικυῖα. Two letters may be lost in the lacuna before ἐξων.

(c) VIII 3<sup>c</sup>. 2.5 × 3.7 cm. Fragment from the bottom of a column of indeterminable context. Cf. (d).

—      —      —      —  
→                    ] αμ αιω[  
                         ἐ] πι μελη[  
                         ] ε τ ω σ κ . [

*c. 2.5 cm. blank*

2 A form of ἐπιμελέω, ἐπιμελητής, or a related word, unless one should divide ἐ] πὶ μελη[.

(d) VIII 4<sup>c</sup>. 4.5 × 7 cm. Fragment from the bottom of a column, possibly the same column as (c), but if so the relative positions of the two pieces can no longer be determined.

—      —      —      —  
→                    ] . ε . [                     
                         ] α ς [                     
                         ] . ω ν κ α [                     
                         ] . τ ω ς ε ι . [                     
5                    ] . τ η ν χ α ρ τ [                   

*c. 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> cm. blank*

5 If την is the article τὴν or the end of an adjective modifying the following word, then only χαρτ[ηράν or one of the variant

spellings reported in *LSJ* s.v. is possible. This would then be the latest mention of the charge, on which see most recently N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1974) 135-9. But there may be no grammatical connection between  $\chi\alpha\rho\tau[$  and the preceding word.

(e) VIII 5<sup>c</sup>.  $2.6 \times 4.1$  cm.

→ ] . α[  
] . ατοσα[  
]αι καθη[  
]κεκινη[  
5 ] ἐν τοῖς ἐπ[ . ]ρ[  
]ων) ἄνθρωπ[π

(f) VIII 6<sup>c</sup> + 7<sup>c</sup>. 22.8 × 11.6 cm. Adjoining fragments of two columns, the second of which is in a different hand from that of the pieces of **143** printed up to here. That this edict was intended to check the greed of certain individuals can hardly be doubted (l. 14, *πλεονεξίαν*), but just what legal offense it was meant to counter is not clear to me. Mentions of 'habitual evil' (9, 10), plotting (13), outrages (15), return (of what? 11), and persons who had never attempted to obtain something through the law courts (12) may point to informers or abuse of the law in connection with debts.

→ ]ται . ρ . ρτι . [  
] . ων ἔμψεως γα[  
]αι ὀπλι'ζέ'σθω κατὰ τῷ[v  
]σαν[ c. 9 ]πάρχουσιν λοιπόν [

5 ] αλλοισ[ c. 9 σ]υντεταγμένα νῦν [  
] . ομι . [ c. 10 ] ἡμᾶς ὑμῖν παρεῖναι[  
]ζομε[ c. 10 ]τέρας συνμετρίας ὑμῖν[  
] δικαίων [ c. 10 ]ων βάλλοντες καταχῳασα[τ  
]ατε καὶ γ[c. 8 [συ]γτροφῷ κακειά[η γένους ἐκ τῶν [

10 ]τινω ὑλα[ c. 9 σ]υγτροφῷ κακειά η τῆς ἰδίας  
]λομεγ[ . ἀν]αγκάζοντες ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς ἀποδόσεως  
]εῖσθαι ἡμεῖς γάρ τοῖς μηδὲν ἐκδικηκόσιν οὐδεμίαν  
] παυσάσθωσαν ἐπιβουλεύοντες τοῖς τῶν ἐπαρ-







]τ[. ]υτω .[... ]ο[... ] .ρ[  
 ]θησατε[... ]αισπαν[  
 10 ]ε τῶ[ν ἀν]θρώπων [  
 ]... τ[ῶν ἀ]νθρώπων[ν  
 ] .[... ] . λογοί[. ] . .[  
 ]ρχ[... ] .[. ] . . . . . απ[  
 ] . α .[  
 15 ]οί[

*traces of 3 lines*

5 πρὸς and another word, or some compound with προσ-, if the reading is correct.

6 Presumably a form of ἀπαιτέω or ἀπαίτησις.

7 A form of ἐπιτάσσω seems likely.

(h-l) The following fragments are the largest and best preserved of a number of bits from 143, none of which is well enough preserved to yield a single certain word.

(h) VIII 10<sup>c</sup>. 1.3 × 2.4 cm.

—————  
 ] . υρι[  
 ]ατου[  
 ]θειη[  
 ]τοι[  
 —————

(i) VIII 11<sup>c</sup>. 1.3 × 1.2 cm.

—————  
 ]θου[  
 ] .[  
 —————

(j) VIII 12<sup>c</sup>. 0.8 × 1.1 cm. Text: ]τω[.

(k) VIII 15<sup>c</sup>. 1.8 × 2 cm.

—————  
 ] .[  
 ]χε . .[  
 ] . α [ . ] .[  
 —————

(l) VIII 19<sup>c</sup>. 3.3 × 6.7 cm.

— — — — —  
 ] . [  
 ] χαρθαδ[  
 ] μουγ[  
 ] . σοι . [  
 5 ] . ενατον . [  
 ] . ιατιον[  
 ] ετη . [  
 ] γα[  
 — — — — —

5 The word division is presumably ] . ἕνα τον . [ or ] . ἕνατον . [.

# 144

(a) VIII 20<sup>c</sup>. 20.5 × 13 cm. Mentions of law courts and debts in this comparatively large but puzzling fragment may indicate a theme related to that handled in 143(f). Part of the papyrus has been left adhering to the cover of the codex, as it could not have been removed without damaging the binding; cf. pp. 88-9. At the top a margin of ca. 2.5 cm. is preserved.

→ ] . ν λίθοις κ[εκ]ελευ[  
 ] . εθέντος τ . . . . [  
 ] φου μένειν ἐχο[  
 ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ] μεν ἡμετέρα κρίσει κα[  
 5 ] τος εστ . . [ . . . . δη]μοσίῳ . ραφ . . ε τὴν τε[  
 ] . . . ατος . [ . . . . ] θαι δύγοιτο καὶ εἶπε[  
 ] . . ἀγροίκων ὀφέλειαν ἐπὶς ὀπλίζοι' γ' το[  
 ] μηδὲν ἀργὸν μηδερενεα[  
 ] χοινῆς κρίσεως φανείη πε . . . [  
 10 ] . . . γοτέραν λο . . . τεροῖσ . . . [  
 ] . . λομένων πάντων, ὁ δὲ πέραν [  
 ] . ἄμ' ἀκέραστοι καὶ ἐνεργεῖς τὰ παγ[  
 ] . . . . λεις αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ ἀποβαλεῖν [  
 ] τος . . . . . [ . . . . ] . ἐγνων . . . [  
 15 ] . νομένων δικαστηρίων ἀλλ' ἐν μ[  
 ] ρας ἀπονοίας κλοπαῖς ἐσχόλαζεν νυ . [  
 ] . ειν πρέπον κατεφαίνετο συνορᾶν ἡ α[  
 ] . ιν ὅταν μάλιστα ὁ τῆς ἀδικείας α[  
 ] μόνα ὅσαπερ ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις κομιζ[

- 20                   ]αι γένους καὶ ἀποσχίσεσθε τῶν δικασ[τηρίων  
                       ] γάρ ὅτι τοῦ λοιποῦ αἱ μὲν συνήθεις ὑμ[ων  
                       ]ς ἤρτηται [ . . . ]οι γῶν σφόδρα δίκαιον κατ[  
                       ]οι δόσεσιν τῇ λίσαν ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ [  
                       ] . ἡμῖν ἐπαρχιώτας ἀποτετολμημένοις ἀνθρ[ωπ  
 25                   ]ασις οὐ φανερόν ῥύβδην ἀεὶ μεριζομένους [  
                       ]χοι . . . . . [

18 ἀδικίας

' . . . stones, ordered . . . remain . . . our judgement . . . public . . . he should be able to and . . . debt of the country people . . . should arm themselves . . . nothing slack or . . . common judgement may appear . . . of all (that is owed?), but he (who goes?) beyond . . . at once insatiable and energetic . . . and also discard their . . . courts, but in . . . foolishness devoted himself to theft . . . it appeared proper to consider . . . especially when the . . . of the injustice . . . such as in the public . . . type, and stay away from courts . . . for . . . that in the future your customary . . . has been hung upon . . . now very just . . . contributions by the excessive . . . in past time . . . for us, provincials, ventured, men . . . not clear, always distributed freely . . . '

4 Perhaps τῇ] μὲν ἡμετέρῃ κρίσει, but μεν may be a verb ending.

5 δη]μοσίῳ τραφεῖς looks somewhat better than γραφῆς.

6 δύνοιτο: I have not found this form elsewhere, but it is formed correctly from δύνομαι, a common by-form of δύναιμαι (cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb* § 96). The preceding -θαι is presumably the end of an infinitive governed by this verb. At the end of the line εἰ πε[, εἴπε[ρ, εἴπε[ν come into consideration.

7 ὁπλίζοι'ντο: cf. ὁπιζέσθω in 143(f).3. The preceding traces are puzzling. Perhaps ἐπισοπλίζοιντο for ἐπεισοπλίζοιντο, but the compound is not attested elsewhere.

8 μηδέν at the beginning of the line suggests μηδέ after ἀργόν, but μη δέον is also a possible word division.

11 Since debts are mentioned in l. 5, ὅφ]εῖλομένων πάντων is tempting. In the translation above I have treated πέραν at the end of the line as an adverb, but it may be the accusative of πέρας.

12 ἀχέραστοι is a more attractive reading than ἀπέραστοι.

16 It is not clear from the context whether the subject of

ἐσχόλαζεν is a particular individual or 'the evil-doer' in general. At the end of the line perhaps νῦν or νύχ[τωρ].

18 ὁ τῆς ἀδικείας ἀρχηγός or the like would seem reasonable.

19 μόνα may be from μόνος, or it may be the end of a word such as ἡγε]μόνα. Then perhaps ὅσαπερ ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις κομίζεται ἀποθήκαις. If that should be right, cf. in general 143(a).

24 ἀποτετολημμένοις: the perf. pas. part. of ἀποτολμάω is attested in both an active and a passive sense (*LSJ* s.v.); I cannot tell which is meant here. It may agree with ἡμῖν (or ἀνθρ[ώποις, if that is the supplement) or be used substantively.

25 ῥύβδην: here for the first time in a papyrus. It is not clear whether μεριζομένους should be understood as middle or as passive.

(b) VIII 21<sup>c</sup>. 1.1 × 1.5 cm. A few letters from the beginning of two lines. Text: κτ[ <sup>2</sup>η η[.

(c) VIII 22<sup>c</sup>. 1.1 × 1.6 cm. Text: ] . [ <sup>2</sup>τεῖν[ <sup>3</sup>]τελε[.

(d) VIII 23<sup>c</sup>. 1.5 × 0.6 cm. Text: ] . τα . [.

(e) VIII 24<sup>c</sup>. 1.7 × 0.5 cm. Text: ] . οἰπα[.

(f) VIII 25<sup>c</sup>. 3.7 × 6.5 cm.

		—	—	—	—
				]	[ . . . . ] α
				]	ην προαν-
				]	ων ἐμπρο-
				]	ιδόντες
5				]	νδεθέντων
				]	τωνετος . .
				]	ων ἐπιστρεφ[ . ]
				ᾗ]	λλω τρόπω
				]	αις συλων
10				]	βολήν αρα[
		—	—	—	—

8 o in τρόπω corr.

2 προαν-: or πρὸ αν-.

3 The words beginning with ἐμπρο- that have hitherto occurred in papyri are ἐμπροσθεν, ἐμπρόθεσμος, and ἐμπροθέσμως.

4 I.e., ἰδόντες or a compound thereof.

5 I.e., συ]νδεθέντων, ἐ]νδεθέντων, ]ν δεθέντων, ]ν δὲ θέντων.

9 συλων: συλῶν if from συλάω or σύλη, σύλων if from σῦλον. Of

these three words, only  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$  is attested in papyri published up to now.

(g) VIII 26<sup>e</sup>. 3.8 × 2.5 cm.

— — — — —  
 ]ο ὀφθαλμ[ . . ]  
 ]ρου χρησίμου  
 ] . εντα ἐπενο-  
 ἐ]πειδὴ ἡ ἀπο  
 — — — — —

2 χρησίμου: or perhaps  $\chi\rho\tilde{\eta}\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ , but the first person singular is not elsewhere used in the preserved portions of 143-4 and it is hard to think of a plausible context for  $\chi\rho\tilde{\eta}\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\upsilon$  in a document of this nature. I suppose  $\chi\rho\tilde{\eta}\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\upsilon$  need not be considered.

4 ἀπὸ, ἀπ' ὁ-, or the beginning of a word continued in the next line.

(h) VIII 27<sup>e</sup>. 5.5 × 15.8 cm. Not enough of this fragment remains for us to determine the nature of the malpractices of which it speaks. Exactors and praepositi are mentioned, but it is not clear whether they are regarded as malefactors or agents for restoring observance of the law.

— — — — —  
 ] . ρ[  
 ]ν ταῖς τε κεφαλαῖ[  
 ]κον οὐκ ἂν οὕθ' ὕ . [   
 ] καὶ συμφέροντος [   
 5 ]μεν ἰάματα προσ[   
 ]ατων τε ἐξακτόρ[ων   
 ]ἄξιαν ἐστὶν ἐναγῆσ[   
 ]ησελεῖν ὑπέχεσθαι[   
 ]ων ἀνομοτάτων τ[   
 10 ] . [ . ] ὑμᾶς οὐ παυον[   
 ]ατήσαντες βου[   
 ]ας τούτων κατατ[   
 ]σιων τυγ'χάνουσ[   
 ]ν νόμων καὶ τη[   
 15 ]ν ἀτοποτάτω [   
 ἐξάκτ]ωρ (?) ἥ πραιπόσιτος [

] ἡμετέρα διορίσει ἐπ[  
 ]θεν πλημμέλημα[  
 ]αι τοῖς παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμ[ο .  
*c. 3 cm. blank*

2 The most obvious supplements at the end of the line are κεφαλαί[αις and κεφαλαί[ώδεσι, but there are other possibilities as well. The word is not necessarily dative: an expression such as ταῖς τε κεφαλαί[ωτῶν ἀδικίαις cannot be excluded.

5 The word ἵαμα appears to have occurred previously in papyri only in P. Laur. II 27v.2, if the reading is correct there.

6 Perhaps ]α τῶν τε ἐξακτόρων καὶ τῶν πραιποσίτων; cf. l. 16 and 143(a).11-2 n.

7 The word at the end is probably ἐναγής, though a construction for ἐνα γῆς could perhaps also be found.

10 If the correct supplement is ὑμᾶς οὐ παύον[τας, the general sense will probably have been 'seeing that despite repeated warnings you do not cease from your misdeeds, we have determined to take the following measures'; but a different form of παύω with some quite other idea may have been written.

14 In this context νόμων in the sense of laws seems reasonably certain. Then perhaps τῇ[ς δίκης.

16 ἐξάκτ[ωρ (?): in view of the mention of exactors in l. 6 above and 143(a).11 this supplement appears natural. Of thinkable alternatives, πράκτ[ωρ is probably excluded by the date: the latest reference to a practor in N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (New Haven, 1968 = ASP 3) is A.D. 265. κουράτ[ωρ and κτήτ[ωρ, however, are perhaps just possible.

17 διορίσει: apparently not found elsewhere in papyri. LSJ s.v. cites the definitions 'separation' and 'division'; here 'pronouncement' or 'decision' seems to be called for.

18 πλημμέλημα rather than πλημμελήμα[τα on the assumption that the preceding ]θεν is part of an adjective or participle modifying this word; but there are other possibilities, e.g. ὅ]θεν πλημμελήμα[τα γίνεται.

19 ἡγεμ[όσι, ἡγεμ[ονικοῖς, or a participle of ἡγεμονεύω. The idea may have been that the perpetrators of certain crimes are to be handed over to the agents of provincial governors, or that certain things are to be reported to them.

## 145. LETTER

VIII 28<sup>c</sup> + 29<sup>c</sup>(a)  $8 \times 10.5$  cm.

4th cent. A.D.

(b)  $3.3 \times 10.1$  cm.

Two fragments of a private letter, too mutilated for translation. Frag. (a) preserves part of the left margin; the relative position of (b) can no longer be determined.

(a)

— — — — —  
 → [.] [...] [...] πεληψ[  
 ο[ὐ]κέτι παγεντα[  
 αἱ τῷ ἐνὶ τῇ τας[  
 τὰ νῦν τε ἡύρε[  
 5 [.]ων [...] νον ιθ[  
 [.]ου εξολατης[  
 κατὰ ὄνομα κα[.]  
 [.]ε νῦ[ν] τὰ μῆλ[  
 [.] . . . ὅτι ἡ τ[  
 10 [.] . . . [.] . ια σου [  
 [.] ὀλλῶ . . μῆν[  
 — — — — —

(b)

— — — — —  
 [.]ων . . [  
 ]απεληψ[  
 ]αζομε[  
 15 ]ωθ μετα[  
 [.]ν ποιειτ[  
 [.]μασητη[.]  
 ]α οὔτε τη[  
 [.]νῦν τε[  
 20 ]ου σίτου [  
 [.]παρημελη[  
 — — — — —

Back:

→ [.] πατρί μου Ἡριγαμ[.]μ[.]  
*traces of 1 more line*

7 x in κα[.] [corr. from α 9 ἡ corr. from α

- 2 παγὲν τα[ or παγέντα, if γ is correct.
- 4 At the end, ηὔρέ[θη or the like.
- 5 Perhaps τέχνον or τὸ λίνον before ιθ[.
- 6 εξολατης: if a single word, the term is new, and the derivation is not obvious. If οὐεξολάτης should be written together, a connection with Latin *vexillum* might be considered, but the phonology is rather remote. Possibly the word division is ξξ, ὁ Λάτης; for Lates as a personal name cf. P. Teb. IV 1139.5.
- 8 E.g., τὰ μῆλ[α, τὰ μῆλ[οκοπικά, τὰ μῆ λ[, if η is in fact correct.
- 14 The letters preserved are suitable for a form of ἀσπάζομαι, but the following lines do not suggest greetings. A word such as λοιπ]αζόμε[να may therefore be more probable.
- 15 ]ωθ suggests an Egyptian name, such as the month Θώθ or Φαμενώθ.
- 22 No name beginning with Ηριγαμ- is recorded in the *NB* or *Onomasticon*, but the reading is very doubtful.

In addition to **143-5** and the Coptic texts **C15-9**, the cover of Codex VIII contained 83 bits of papyrus too fragmentary for transcription.



## CODEX IX

Fifty small bits of papyrus written in hands of the late third or early fourth century A.D. Only seven are large enough to preserve a few words. The backs are blank unless otherwise noted.

**146.** IX 1<sup>c</sup>.  $4.6 \times 2.8$ . Written in a hand very similar to, and perhaps identical with, that of **44** and **45**. It may further be part of the same text as the following fragment. A top margin seems to be preserved.

→            φιλουμ . [   
            —            —            —

The Brussels MS reads φίλου μο[υ. On the plate the proper name Φιλούμε[νος also appears to be possible.

Back:

↓            ] . . . . [   
            ] Φαῖρις α[

**147.** IX 2<sup>c</sup>.  $5 \times 2.8$  cm. Possibly from the same document as **146**.

→            ] υιος[   
                    *c. 1.8 cm. blank*   
            ] . α[            ] . [   
            —            —            —

ι υίος or part of a word or name such as Φλαο]υιος.

Back:

↓            Φαῖρις ἀδελφός[ς   
                    *c. 1.5 cm. blank*   
            . [            ] κελ[   
            —            —            —

**148.** IX 3<sup>c</sup>.  $4 \times 2$  cm. Account. The right margin seems to be preserved.

	—	—	—	—
→	]	αριω . . ιανος		
	]	κελει πόλεως		
	]	όμοϋ		
	—	—	—	—

2 It does not seem possible to read the name of any known city in this line. Possibly we are dealing with the collection of taxes, with a distinction made between sums owed by villagers and those owed by residents of a nome capital; cf. e.g. P. Oxy. XLIV 3169 introd.

**149.** IX 4<sup>c</sup>. 5 × 2.8 cm. The top margin is preserved.

→	]	δι' ἡμῶν τω[		
	]	οτε . [		
	—	—	—	—

**150.** IX 5<sup>c</sup>. 3.6 × 1.5 cm. Possibly in the same hand as **149**. The first word preserved, a form of μετρέω or a compound, suggests a connection with grain.

	—	—	—	—
→	]	μετρησαν[		
		ον . . . . [		
	—	—	—	—

**151.** IX 6<sup>c</sup>. 3.6 × 2 cm. The text is written against the fibers, the other side being blank. Text: ↓ ] . . ξαυς . [, traces of 2 more lines.

**152.** IX 7<sup>c</sup>. 4.4 × 1.8 cm. Evidently part of an account. Text: → ]β/ εχγ . [.

# CODEX XI

## 153. LETTER

XI 1<sup>c</sup>

9.8 × 7 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

Little apart from the greeting of this fragmentary letter is still intelligible.

→ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Π[  
 Φ . . . ἤχῃς . [  
 πρὸ μὲν πάντων [εὐχομαι τῷ Θεῷ]  
 περὶ τῆς σῆς δλοκ[ληρίας  
 5 ἀπημ . . . ] τῇ  
 ουκαλ . . . ] εμοι[  
 ἐπεστῆλ[  
 . ἡσα . [  
 — — — —

Back: → Φ . . . ἤ]χῃς Χηνοβωσχίτ(ης)

9 Χηνοβοσκήτης

‘To my lord brother P-, Ph . . . echis. First of all I pray to God concerning your well-being . . . (Back): (To P-), Ph . . . echis from Chenoboskia.’

2 The trace at the end of the line slightly favors π[λειῖστα or π[ολλὰ χαίρειν over simply χ[αίρειν or ἐ[ν Κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν.

3 εὐχομαι τῷ Θεῷ (or τῷ Κυρίῳ) is the minimal supplement. Longer formulations such as εὐχομαι τῷ ὑψίστῳ Θεῷ are also possible.

6 Two possible ways of understanding this line are οὐκ ἄλλ[ως] ἐμοί and οὐ καλῶ[ς] ἐμοί.

7 The traces would suit an aorist from ἐπιστέλλω spelled with iotacism after τ, but something like ἐπέστη λ[ is also possible.

9 The word for ‘an inhabitant of Chenoboskia’ appears to be new.

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οἱ δεσπόται ἡμῶν αἰώνιοι Αὐγουστοι **65.5-6** See also II, A.D. 346.

Uncertain

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**62.4-5** (? See p. 52, n. 3).

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b = brother of

d = daughter of

f = father of

gd = granddaughter of

gf = grandfather of

gs = grandson of

m = mother of

n = nephew of

s = son of

sis = sister of

u = uncle of

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PART TWO  
THE COPTIC PAPYRI

BY

J. W. B. BARNS† AND GERALD M. BROWNE



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## PREFACE

In preparing this edition of Coptic papyri from the covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices, I have had the good fortune to have at my disposal the preliminary transcripts and notes of the late Professor J. W. B. Barns. What he accomplished before his untimely death greatly aided my work, and the quality of the present edition is significantly enhanced by his contribution. I have examined the originals twice in the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, once in the summer of 1974, and again in December 1976. The first visit to Cairo was funded by the Smithsonian Institution through the sponsorship of the American Research Center in Egypt, the second by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; to each organization I am grateful for the financial support which made the completion of this edition possible.

Gerald M. Browne  
Urbana, Illinois  
26 February 1979

## CODEX I

### 1 COPTIC FRAGMENT

Inv. I 13<sup>c</sup>: 2 × 2 cm.

The only piece in codex I which is in Coptic is a tiny fragment of which only two letters can be read; the first seems clearly a **ϣ**, while the second may be an **ⲁ**. The verso is blank.

→      -----  
         ] . . [  
         ]ϣ . ⲁ . [  
         -----

## CODEX VII

### 2 GENESIS 32.5-21 AND 42.27-30, 35-38

Inv. VII 89<sup>c</sup>: 11 × 8.5 cm.; 90<sup>c</sup>: 11 × 16.5 cm.; 91<sup>c</sup>: 6 × 10 cm.; 92<sup>c</sup>: 0.75 × 0.25 cm.; 93<sup>c</sup>: 1.00 × 0.60 cm.

With the exception of the exiguous fragments 92<sup>c</sup> and 93<sup>c</sup>, this text was first published by R. Kasser, "Fragments du livre biblique de la Genèse cachés dans la reliure d'un codex gnostique," *Le Muséon* 85 (1972) 65-89; to this article the reader is referred for a detailed treatment of the problems involved. The present re-edition provides a revised transcription, equipped with translation, and the commentary indicates the differences between the new transcript and Kasser's. Throughout we have substituted the more conventional dots for Kasser's half brackets (<sub>1</sub> and <sub>1</sub>); these signs he uses for letters which are damaged but certain as well as for those whose reading is in doubt. In the re-edition we employ a dot only where the letter cannot be read with certainty, and we usually do not record the reading of Kasser's text if it differs from ours only in the case of dotted letters.

Kasser regarded the two folios which the text comprises as parts of a double leaf, of which 89<sup>c</sup> and 90<sup>c</sup> came from one half and 91<sup>c</sup> from the other. On the basis of this assumption he proceeded to give a reconstruction of the entire codex, and he believed that the first folio bore the page numbers 31-32 and the second 69-70 (see pp. 72-74 for his discussion). Only horizontal fiber alignment between the two folios would demonstrate the correctness of Kasser's assumption, and despite repeated autoptic examination of the text in Cairo, we have been unable to detect any indication of such alignment. Consequently the hypothesis that the text comes from a double leaf is hardly possible, and in the re-edition we have preferred to adopt a neutral position and have labeled the two folios as X and Y respectively.

We have had no success in placing the tiny fragments 92<sup>c</sup> and 93<sup>c</sup>. They cannot fit in with the text lost in folio X, and they may have come from the lost portion of Y.

The text should probably be assigned to the late third or early fourth century of our era; see Kasser, 76.

In the commentary, we use the following abbreviations: K = Kasser; Ceugney = C. Ceugney, "Quelques fragments coptes-thébains inédits de la Bibliothèque Nationale," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 2 (1880) 94-105; Ciasca = A. Ciasca, *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica Musei Borgiani* 1 (Rome 1885).

## FOLIO X

## Recto

↓ 89 <sup>c</sup>	αϥϩωη ετο[ο]τοϥ εϥχω μμοc ·	32.5
	χε ται τε θε εтетηαχοос π	
	παχοεic ηcαϥ χε ται τε θε ε	
	τϥχω μμοc · χε πεκζμζαλ ι	
5	ακωβ χε αειοϥωζ μν λαβαν	
	αειωcκ · ψα ρραϊ εποοϥ αϥψω	6
	π[ε] ναϊ νβι ρενεcοοϥ μν ρεν	
	[εζο]οϥ ρνζμζαλ νζοοϥτ μν	
	[ρεν]ζμζαλ νcζime · αειτν	
10	[νοο]ϥ εχει ποϥω νηcαϥ παχο	
	[ει]c · χε ερε πεκζμζαλ · ρε εϥ	
	[ρ]μοτ μπекμто εβολ · [[ . ]] αϥκο	7
	[το]ϥ νβι νϥαιψιne ψα ιακωβ	
	[εϥχω] μ[μοc χε ανωκ ψα] π[εκ]	
15	[con ηcαϥ αϥω ειc ρηητε нтоϥ]	
	[ϥηηϥ ετωμнт ерок μн ϥтеϥ]	
	[ψε нρωме нμμαϥ α ιακωβ δε]	8
90 <sup>c</sup>	[ρ] ροτε εματε αϥω αϥρ ρβ[α]	
	αϥπϥω μπλαοc εтнμμαϥ	
20	μν νεζοοϥ μν неcοοϥ επ	
	[π]αρεμβολη cнте · αϥω πε	9
	χαϥ νβι ιακωβ · еρψα ηcαϥ	
	ει · ετωорп · μπαρεμβολη нϥ	
	[б]εχбωбт тμερcнте нϥω	
25	πε εcοϥοοx · πεχαϥ δε νβι ι	10
	ακωβ · χε πноϥте μπαιωт	
	αβραζαμ · αϥω πноϥте μπα	
	ειωт ιcαακ · παχοεic πноϥте	
	пентаϥχοοc ναϊ · χε βωκ ερ	
30	ραϊ επκαρ · ентаϥχпок ρραϊ	

35  $\bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$   $\tau\alpha\bar{\rho}$   $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\gamma\gamma$   $\eta\alpha\kappa$   
 $\alpha\rho\iota$   $\eta\alpha\psi\tau\epsilon$ ·  $\eta\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\lambda$   $\zeta\bar{\eta}$   $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota$  11  
 $\alpha\sigma\upsilon\eta\eta$   $\eta\iota\mu$ ·  $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\lambda$   $\zeta\bar{\eta}$   $\mu\epsilon$   
 $\eta\iota\mu$ ·  $\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\alpha\gamma$   $\mu\bar{\eta}$   $\pi\epsilon\kappa\zeta\bar{\mu}$   
 $\zeta\alpha\lambda$ ·  $\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$   $\gamma\alpha\rho$   $\zeta\bar{\eta}$   $\pi\alpha\beta\epsilon\rho\omega\beta$   
 $\alpha\iota\chi\iota\alpha\alpha\alpha$   $\bar{\eta}\pi\iota\alpha\alpha\alpha\eta\eta\eta\varsigma$   $\dagger\eta\alpha\gamma$   
 $\alpha\epsilon$   $\alpha\epsilon\iota\bar{\rho}$   $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\mu\beta\alpha\alpha\eta\eta$   $\varsigma\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$   
 $\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\chi\alpha\alpha\epsilon\iota$   $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\lambda$   $\zeta\bar{\eta}$   $\tau\beta\iota\chi$ · 12  
 $\bar{\eta}\eta\varsigma\alpha\gamma$   $\pi\alpha\varsigma\alpha\eta$ ·  $\chi\epsilon$   $\dagger\bar{\rho}$   $\zeta\alpha\tau\epsilon$   $\alpha$   
 40  $\eta\alpha\kappa$   $\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$   $\mu\eta\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$   $\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota$

## Verso

→ 89<sup>c</sup>  $\epsilon\rho\omega\zeta\tau$   $\mu\mu\alpha\alpha\epsilon\iota$   $[\alpha\gamma]\omega$   $\mu\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma$   $[\epsilon\zeta]$   
 $\rho\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\chi\bar{\eta}$   $\eta\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta\eta\epsilon$   $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\kappa$   $\alpha\epsilon$  13  
 $\alpha\kappa\chi\alpha\alpha\alpha$   $\eta\alpha\iota$   $\chi\epsilon$   $\dagger\eta\alpha\bar{\rho}$   $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha$   
 $\eta\alpha\gamma\gamma$   $\eta\alpha\kappa$ ·  $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\dagger\eta\alpha\kappa\omega$   $\bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\kappa$   
 5  $\varsigma\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha$ ·  $\bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon$   $\bar{\eta}\pi\psi\omega$   $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\theta\alpha$   
 $\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$ ·  $\pi\alpha\epsilon\iota$   $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$   $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\alpha\gamma$   $\zeta\bar{\eta}$   
 $\pi\epsilon\gamma\alpha\psi\alpha\epsilon\iota$ ·  $\alpha\gamma\bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\eta}[\pi\mu\alpha]$  14  
 $\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\gamma$   $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta$   $\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\mu$   $[\alpha\gamma]$   
 $\alpha\gamma\chi\iota$   $\bar{\eta}\zeta\epsilon\eta\alpha\omega\rho\alpha\eta$   $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\lambda$   $\zeta[\eta]$   
 10  $\eta\epsilon[[\tau]]\eta\tau\alpha\alpha\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\alpha\gamma$   $\alpha\gamma\chi\alpha\alpha\gamma$   $[\varsigma\alpha\gamma]$   
 $\bar{\eta}\eta\varsigma\alpha\gamma$   $\pi\epsilon\gamma\alpha\alpha\eta$ ·  $\psi\eta\tau$   $\bar{\eta}\beta\alpha$  15  
 $\alpha\mu\pi\epsilon$ ·  $\alpha\gamma\omega\tau$   $\bar{\eta}\beta\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ ·  $\psi\eta\tau$   $\bar{\eta}$   
 $\epsilon\varsigma\alpha\alpha\gamma$ ·  $\alpha\gamma\omega\tau$ ·  $\bar{\eta}\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ ·  $\mu\alpha$  16  
 $\alpha\beta$   $\bar{\eta}[\beta]\alpha\mu\alpha\gamma$   $\epsilon[\gamma\tau\varsigma]\bar{\eta}[\kappa\alpha]$   $\bar{\eta}$   
 15  $[\eta\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta\eta\epsilon$   $\zeta\mu\epsilon$   $\eta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$   $\mu\eta\tau]$   
 $[\mu\mu\alpha\varsigma\epsilon$   $\alpha\gamma\omega\tau$   $\eta\epsilon\iota\omega$   $\mu\eta\tau]$   
 $[\eta\varsigma\eta\beta$   $\alpha\gamma\tau\alpha\alpha\gamma$   $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\lambda$   $\zeta\iota\tau\eta]$  17  
 90<sup>c</sup>  $\eta[\beta]!$   $[\chi]$   $\eta\eta\epsilon[\gamma]\zeta\mu\alpha\alpha$ ·  $\pi\alpha\alpha\epsilon$   
 $\pi\alpha\alpha\epsilon$   $\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha\gamma$ ·  $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma$   $\alpha\epsilon$   
 20  $\bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\gamma\zeta\mu\alpha\alpha$ ·  $\chi\epsilon$   $\mu\alpha\psi\epsilon$   $\zeta\alpha$   
 $\tau\alpha\alpha\eta$ ·  $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\bar{\eta}\epsilon\iota\epsilon$   $\bar{\eta}\eta\alpha\gamma$   
 $\pi\omega\rho\chi$ ·  $\bar{\eta}\tau\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$   $\bar{\eta}\eta\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha\epsilon$   
 $\epsilon\gamma\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ ·  $\alpha\gamma\alpha\eta$   $\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha\gamma$   $\bar{\eta}\pi$   
 $\psi\alpha\eta$   $\epsilon\gamma\alpha\eta$   $\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\alpha$ ·  $\chi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\rho$   
 25  $\psi\alpha\eta$   $\eta\varsigma\alpha\gamma$   $\pi\alpha\varsigma\alpha\eta$   $\tau\omega\mu\bar{\eta}$ ·  
 $\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa$ ·  $\eta\alpha\chi\eta\alpha\gamma$   $\epsilon\gamma\alpha\eta$   $\bar{\eta}\mu[\alpha\alpha]$   
 $\chi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\kappa\eta\eta$   $\epsilon\eta\mu$ ·  $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha$   
 $\epsilon\tau\omega\eta$ ·  $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\eta\alpha$   $\eta\iota\mu$   $\eta\epsilon$   $\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota$



	ΕΤΜΟΨΕ ΖΑ ΤΕΚΖΗ· ΕΚΕΧΟ	19
30	[Ο]Ϛ ΝΑϞ ΧΕ ΝΑ ΠΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ Ι ΙΑ[Κ]Φ[Β ΝΕ] Ν[Δ]ΩΡΟΝ ΝΕΝΤΑϞ ΤΝΝΟΟΥΣΕ ΜΠΕϞΧΟΕΙC ΗCΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΙC ΖΗΗΠΕ· ΖΩΩϞ ϞΟΥ ΗΖ ΝCΩΝ· ΑϞΖΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤῒ	20
35	ΜΠΨΟΡΠ· ΜΝ ΠΜΕΥCΝΔΥ ΑΥΩ ΠΜΕΖΨΟΜΤ ΜΝ ΟΥΟΝ Ν[Ι]Μ ΕΤΟΥΗΖ· ΝCΑ ΝΤΒΝΟΟΥ[Ε] Ε[Ϟ]ΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΙΨ[Α] ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΕΨΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΗCΑΥ	
40	ΖΜ Π[Τ]ΡΕΤΕΤΝΤΩΜΤ ΕΡΟϞ· ΑΥ[Ω] ΝΤΕΤΝΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΕΙϚ ΠΕΚ	21

## FOLIO Y

Recto

(ca. 26 lines lost)

→ 91 <sup>c</sup>	[ΠΜΑ ΕΝΤΑΥΟΥΕ]Ζ [ΝΑΥ ΝΖΗΤϞ] [ΑϞΝΑΥ ΕΤΜΕΕ]ΡΕ [ΜΠΕϞΖΑΤ ΑΥΩ] [ΝΕCΖΙΖΡ]Α[C ΝΤ]ΒΟΟ[ΥΝΕ ΠΕΧΑϞ Ν] [ΝΕϞC]ΝΗΥ ΧΕ ΑΥ[† ΝΑΙ ΜΠΑΖΑΤ] 5 [ΑΥΩ] ΕΙC ΖΗΗΠΕ Ϟ[ΖΝ ΤΑΒΟΟΥΝΕ] [ΑϞΠ]ΩΨῚ ΝΒΙ ΠΕ[ΥΖΗΤ ΑΥΩ ΑΥ] [ΨΤ]ΟΡΤῚ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜ[ΟC ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ] ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ ΕΝ[ΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΑϞ] [Ν]ΑΝ ΑΥΕΙ ΨΑ ΙΑ[ΚΩΒ ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ] 10 [ΕΖΡΑΙ Ε]ΠΚΑΖ ΝΧ[ΑΝΑΑΝ ΑΥΧΩ] [Ε]ΡΟϞ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ [ΕΝΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ] ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜ[ΟC ΧΕ Α ΠΡΩ] ΜΕ ΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΝ [ΠΧΟΕΙC Μ] ΠΚΑΖ· ΝΖΕΝΨΑΧΕ [ΕΥΝΑΨΤ]	42,27 28 29 30
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Verso

(ca. 26 lines lost)

↓ 91 <sup>c</sup>	[ΤΕϞΒΟΟΥΝ]Ε Α[ΥΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΕΠΕΥ] [ΖΑΤ ΝΤΟΟΥ Μ]Ν Π[ΕΥΕΙΩΤ ΑΥ] [Ρ ΖΟΤΕ ΠΕΧΑ]Ϟ ΔΕ Ν[Α]Υ Ν[ΒΙ ΙΑ]	35 36
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[κωβ πεγειω]τ· χε ατετν[αατ]  
 5 [νατψηρε ι]ωσχηφ ψοοπ[αν]  
 [συμεων ψο]οπ αν πκε[βε]  
 [νιαμιν τ]ετ̄νναχιτ̄̄ να[ι]  
 [τηροϋ ντα]γει εζραϊ εχω[ι]  
 [πεχε ρροϋβ]ην δε μπερ[ειωτ] 37  
 10 [εϋχω μμοc] χε μοϋοϋ[τ μπα]  
 [ψηρε cναϋ] εειψαντ̄μ[εντϋ]  
 [ψαροκ † μ]μοϋ εζραϊ εναδ̄[ιχ]  
 [αϋω ανοκ] †̄ναεινε μμοϋ εζ[ραι]  
 [ψαροκ ντοϋ] δε πεχαϋ χε παψ[ηρε] 38

	92	Recto		Verso
		-----		-----
→		] . ε . [	↓	]ε . [
		-----		-----
	93	Recto		Verso
		-----		-----
→		]αα[	↓	]†ε[
		-----		-----

*Folio X Recto:* (32.5) And he commanded them, saying, "Thus you are going to speak to my lord Esau: thus your servant Jacob says, 'I have dwelt with Laban and have stayed up to today, (6) and there have accrued to me sheep and cattle, male servants and female servants, and I have sent to announce to Esau my lord, in order that your servant may find favor in your presence.' " (7) And the messengers returned to Jacob, saying, "We went to your brother Esau, and behold, he himself is coming to meet you with four hundred men with him. (8) And Jacob became greatly afraid, and he became distressed and divided the people who were with him and the cattle and the sheep into two companies. (9) And Jacob said, "If Esau comes to the first company and slaughters it, the second will be safe." (10) And Jacob said, "God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, Lord God who said to me, 'Go to the land in which you were born, and I shall do what is good for you,' (11) be a protector for me through all justice and through all truth which you did with your servant; for with my rod I crossed the Jordan, but now I have become two companies. (12)

Save me from the hand of Esau my brother, because for my part I fear him lest he come *Verso*: to strike me and the mothers over their children. (13) And for your part you said to me, 'I am going to do what is good for you, and I am going to make your seed like the sand of the sea, which cannot be counted in its abundance.' " (14) And he slept in that place in that night and took gifts from what he brought and sent them to Esau his brother: (15) two hundred she-goats, twenty he-goats, two hundred sheep, twenty rams, (16) thirty camels who were giving suck to their offspring, forty cattle, ten calves, twenty asses, ten foals, (17) and he gave them through the hands to his servants, each flock apart. And he said to his servants, "Proceed before me and make a separation between flock and flock." (18) And he commanded the first, saying, "If Esau my brother meets you and asks you, saying, 'To whom do you belong, and where are you going, and whose are these which proceed before you?', (19) you will say to him, 'They are those of your servant Jacob; they are the gifts which he has sent to his lord Esau, and behold, he also follows behind us.' " (20) And he commanded the first and the second and the third and all who followed behind the beasts, saying, "In accordance with this speech will you speak with Esau when you meet him, (21) and you will say, 'Behold, your . . . ' "

*Folio Y Recto* (42.27) . . . the place where they stayed, he saw the bundle of his money, and it was on the mouth of the sack. (28) And he said to his brothers, "My money has been given to me, and behold, it is in my sack." And their heart was amazed, and they were disturbed, saying to one another, "What is this which God has done to us?" (29) And they came to Jacob their father, to the land of Chanaan, and told him everything that had befallen them, saying, (30) "The man, the lord of the land, spoke harsh words with us . . . "

*Verso* (35) . . . his sack, and they saw their money, themselves and their father, and they became afraid. (36) And Jacob their father said to them, "You have made me childless: Joseph does not exist; Symeon does not exist; even Benjamin you are going to take. It is upon me that all these things have come." (37) And Reuben spoke to his father, saying, "Kill my two sons, if I do not bring him to you. Give him to my hands and for my part I will bring him to you. (38) But for his part he said, "My son . . . "

## Folio X Recto

1 **αϥζω[η ε]το[οτογ]** K. **αϥ** is on a piece once folded over on the verso and now lost; only a speck of the **α** is visible. The **η** of **ζωη** and the **ε** of **ετο[ο]τογ** are also on a section formerly folded over on the verso and now restored to its proper place.

Note that **αϥζωη** should be classed as a "hyposyndetic perfect," here corresponding to *καὶ ἐνετείλατο* in the Greek. Throughout we have used "and" when we translate such perfects.

**ἡμοc**: a high point, not noted by K, is visible; the fiber alignment shows that it is not an extension of **c**.

4 **ἡμοc** K (sine puncto).

**χε**: read **ηδ**; see K ad loc.

8 **ζῆζαλ**: **α** seems to be corrected from **λ**; K believes that it was rewritten (see note ad loc. and p. 78).

11 **[εic]** K. Though faint, **c** followed by a high dot can be discerned under magnification.

12 On the letter, apparently canceled, after **εβολ**, see K p. 78.

13 **[τ]ο[γ] ἡδὶ ἡγα[γ]ωινε** K; in the case of **ωιν**, the fibers have been stripped off and only the barest vestiges of ink remain.

14 **ἡ[μοc]**: only the supralineation remains (cf. K ad loc.).

**π[εκ]**: K did not read the **π**, of which traces of the horizontal survive.

20 f. **επ[π]αρεμβλον**: see K ad loc. and p. 75 n. 12.

21 **cḡte**: there is a faint high dot after **ε**, not noted by K.

29 **ηαἱ** K (sine puncto). Of the diaeresis, only the left dot remains.

34 **πεκζῆ** K; there are faint traces after **η**, but they may only be smudges of ink.

35 **[ζ]αλ** **[ζ]παἱ** K.

36 **[α]ἱχιοορ** K.

39 The stroke over the final **α** is not recorded in K's text, but he mentions it on p. 79.

## Verso

1 **ἡ[μ]ααγ** K.

1 f. **[ζ]/παἱ**, K's reading, is perhaps better suited to the lacuna; but with **[εζ]/παἱ**, line 1 would be no longer than line 7, the text would conform to Ceugney and Ciasca, and the word division would be unobjectionable (cf. **εζ/παἱ** in X R 29 f.).

9 **[ζη]** K.

10 **NE**[[**Τ**]]**ΝΤΑϞ**:- for the cancellation of the **τ**, see K p. 79.

**ΑϞΧΟΟϞ**[**COY**]: or **ΑϞΧΟΟϞ**[**CE**] (see K ad loc.).

11 **ΜΒΑ** K; in this hand, it is at times hard to distinguish between **μ** and **ν**, but we should prefer to read **ΝΒΑ** (for the form, cf. the first letter of **ΝCΑ** in line 37 below). Unfortunately, the text provides no other instance of **Ν** + **Β**.

12 **Χ**[**Ο**]**ΥΦΤ** K.

13 **Μ**[**Α**] K.

14 Only the supralineation is visible in the case of the last two **ν**'s in this line (so K ad loc.).

15 **ΖΜΗ** K; Ciasca has **ΖΜΕ**.

18 **Ν**[**ΒΙΧ**] **ΝΝΕ**[**ϞΖ**]**ΜΖΑΛ** K.

21 **ΝΝΟΥ**: see K ad loc.

24 **ΕΡ**: the **ε** seems to have been corrected from **ρ** (not noted by K).

26 **ΝϞΧΝΟΥΚ** K; but there is no stroke over the **υ**: the fibers are damaged so as to give the impression of supralineation.

28 **ΕΤΩΝ**·: the high dot, which is almost completely invisible except under magnification, was not reported by K.

30 [**OC**] K.

30 f. **Ι**/**ΙΑ**[**ΚΩΒ ΝΕ ΝΔ**]**ΩΡΟΝ** K; for the word division, see K p. 75 n. 12.

33 **ΖΗΗΠΕ**·: K does not record the very faint point.

35 **ΠΜΕΥCΝΧΥ**: i.e. **ΠΜΕΖCΝΑΥ**; see K ad loc.

36 **ΠΜΕΖΩΟΜΤ**: the first **μ** was added above the line (so K); K reads a high dot after **τ**, but we cannot discern it on the original.

37 **Ν**[**ΙΜ**] K.

39 [**ΕΤ**]**ΕΤΝΕΨΑΧΕ** K.

40 [**ΠΤ**]**ΡΕΤΕΤΝΤΩΜΤ** K.

41 **Ν**[**ΤΕΤ**]**ΝΧΟΟC** K.

**ΕΙϞ**: written over **ΝΑ**? (see K ad loc.)

## Folio Y Recto

1 [**ΜΠΜΑ** (**Ε**)**ΝΤΑΥΟΥΗ**]**Ζ** K; there seems to be insufficient room for **μ** at the beginning of the line unless **ΝΤΑΥ**- is read; but **ΕΝΤΑΥ**- would correspond to the spelling elsewhere found in the text (X R 30, 34; Y R 8). The form **ΟΥΗΖ** should be corrected to **ΟΥΕΖ**; for the expression **ΟΥΕΖ ΝΑ**≠, see Crum, *Dict.* 506b.

2 **ΤΜΕΕ**] **ΡΕ**: so K; for the form, see his *Compléments* ad 182a. The **ρ**, however, is most uncertain and appears to resemble rather

a 2; but we have been unable to find a Coptic word ending in -2ε and corresponding to the Greek, which here has εἶδεν τὸν δεσμόν.

3 2P]α[c: this is entirely in a lacuna in K's transcript.

5 4[2N: though damaged, 4 appears to be certain, despite K's reservations in his note ad loc.

7 M[MOС K.

9 Presumably after [N]אנ there was a mark of punctuation which can no longer be recovered, followed by a space for one letter, then by אγει. K prints [N]אנ [ . א]γει.

12 [MM]OΟΥ K; of the first M only the supralinear stroke survives.

απ(ι)ρω]με K; apparently in his entertaining the possibility of πι, he was overly influenced by the Bohairic, which here has πρωμι.

13 At the end of the line, K prints [(ετε) πχοεις (πε) M]. With ετε and πε, the restoration would be too long, and consequently we have preferred the shorter [πχοεις M], which corresponds to the Bohairic (πбс мпикази).

14 K prints [εγναωτ (αγω)], but there is probably not enough room for the conjunction.

#### Verso

1 [αγναγ K.

4 πεγ(ε)ιω]τ K; presumably he thought the full spelling would be slightly too long for the space available, but we believe that the lacuna can accomodate ειωτ, which is also the form found elsewhere in the text (X R 26 and 28).

7 [Nαι] K.

8 [τηρογ (ντ)α]γει K; of the two witnesses to this text, one reads αγει, and αγει is restored in the other (cf. K ad loc.). With the first perfect, the restoration is too short; the second perfect, which suits the space available, effectively renders the emphasis implicit in the Greek (ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐγένετο πάντα ταῦτα).

ε[χωι] K.

13 †ηα-: η corrected from κ?

### 3 HOMILY OR EPISTLE

Inv. VII 100<sup>c</sup>: 8 × 8.1 cm.

This text is written in a careful uncial hand; the α at times has a peculiar form, with a long and almost vertical tail.

The content is somewhat puzzling; the text is cast in homiletical or epistolary form, but the absence of customary formulas seems to make it unlikely that it is a personal letter like the others in cover VII. The fact, however, that the verso is blank suggests that it is not from a literary codex. Perhaps it is a copy of an individual homily or letter from a person in high authority circulated to monastic communities. The text evidently exhorts its readers to the pursuit of virtue; the last line may well have contained a citation from a prophet, but the reading is uncertain. For the suggestion that the text may have been written by Pachomius, see *Intro.* 10-11.

→ ]ΝΖΝCΗΥ ΖΜ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ Τ . [   
 ]ΑΙΤΙΑ ΖΜ ΠΙCΤΡΑΗΛ ΕΔΥ . [   
 ] . ΤΕΒΗΥ ΕΘΒΙΗΥ ΕΘΝ . [   
 ] . ΔΕΙΟΥΩΨΕ Ω ΝCΗΥ Ζ[   
 5 ΝΤΕ]ΡΙCΖΑΕΙ ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕ ΨΩΠΕ Ν[   
 ] . . . ΠΩΤ ΝCΩϞ ΝΤΕΤΝΠΩ[Τ   
 Π]ΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΘΔΥ ΜΝ Π[   
 Ν]ΤΑ ΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑ ΜΠΝΟ[ΥΤΕ   
 ]CΑΖΟΥ . CΕΚΟΝΔΘΡΟCΖ . [   
 -----

1 ΖΕΝ-; last letter in line either **Ο** or **Ω** 2 ΠΙCΤΡΑΗΛ 3 Of the first letter only a faint speck remains: perhaps **Ρ** or **Ζ** (**Ε**]ΤΤΒΒΗΥ cannot be read); **ΕΤΕΒΒΙΗΥ** 4 First letter: **Ι**, **Η**, **Ν**, or **Π**; not **Ε**; -ΟΥΩΨ; **ΝΕCΗΥ** 6 Probably **Μ**]ΠΕΡΠΩΤ 7 ΠΕΘΟΟΥ 9 After **Υ**, apparently a high horizontal, e.g. **Τ**; at end of line **Ζ** could also be read as **Β**.

... brothers in spirit ... cause in Israel ... pure, who are (?) humble ... I wished, o brothers ... when (?) I wrote to you, saying "be ... do not (?) run after it (?) and run ... run from evil and ... which the prophecies of God ...

#### 4 LETTER OF DANIEL TO APHRODISI(OS)

#### 5 LETTER OF APHRODISI(OS) TO SANSNOS

Inv. VII 94<sup>c</sup>: 16.2 × 21 cm.; 95<sup>c</sup>: 2.3 × 2.4 cm.; 96<sup>c</sup>: 1.5 × 1 cm.

These two letters are written, along the fibers, on both sides of a nearly complete sheet of papyrus of fair quality. Photographs taken at the preliminary stage of separating the contents of this cover show parts of the recto text subsequently lost; these have



been incorporated in the photographic reproduction in pl. 51 of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Cartonnage* (Leiden 1979).

The text on the recto (4), a letter from Daniel to Aphrodisi(os), is in a crude style in terms of orthography; but the composition is grammatical and competent, and there are only a few serious spelling errors, though we find occasional lapses from the correct Sahidic at which the writer evidently aims. He expresses concern at the recent illness of his correspondent, and relief at the news that he is on the way to recovery, with an apt quotation from the Epistle to the Hebrews. The letter ends with expressions of loyal affection for Aphrodisios and the hope that the writer will be reunited with him. Both sender and recipient are evidently members of religious communities, and the latter, who is perhaps identical with the Aphrodisios mentioned in Greek text 69,<sup>1</sup> is addressed in terms of high regard and would appear to have been of some standing; this fact makes the standard of literacy shown by the text on the verso the more surprising. Someone—presumably Aphrodisios himself—has defaced the writing on the recto by scratching it out with his pen and has made several blots.

The text on the verso (5) is a letter from Aphrodisios himself; its addressee, despite the variant spelling of his name, may be the Sansnos with whom much of the correspondence from cover VII is concerned.<sup>2</sup> It is written in very large, square, thick letters, labored and badly spaced; the impression it gives of semi-literacy is amply borne out by its atrocious spelling and grammatical aberrancies, which in more than one place make interpretation uncertain. We therefore first give a purely diplomatic transcription, to which we then add an attempt at a correct text of all but the fragmentary last line; it is upon this second text that the tentative translation rests. It appears that Aphrodisios asks Sansnos to postpone the dispatch of some wheat which he has requested, since he is too ill to deal with the matter; in fact, he does not know whether he will survive. He also gives instructions about some money transactions.

We have not been able to place the tiny fragment catalogued as inv. VII 96<sup>c</sup>. It is too small to warrant transcription.

<sup>1</sup> But see Introd. 9.

<sup>2</sup> See Introd. 7-9.



## 4

1 ΔΑ[ΝΙ]ΗΛ ΠΕΤCΖΑΪ ΜΠΕQΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΦ[Ρ]ΟΪCΙ [ΖΜ]  
 ΠΧΟΕΙC· ΧΑΙΡΕ· ΖΑΘΗ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΨΙΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ [ΜΝ]  
 ΝΕCΝΗΟΥ· ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΕΤΨΟΟΠ· ΖΑΤΗΚ· ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΥΡ[ΑΝ ΟΥΑ]  
 ΟΥΑ· ΤΕΝΟΥ ΒΕ· ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΝΕΙΩΤ ΚΩ ΝΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ [Μ]  
 5 ΠΕΚΖΗΤ· ΤΗΡQ· ΑΪCΩΤΜ· ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΑΚΨΩΝΕ Ζ[Ν ΟΥΝΟΒ]  
 ΝΨΩΝΕ· Α ΠΑΖΗ[Τ Μ]ΚΑΖ· ΕΜ[ΑΤΕ . . . . .] . [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ]  
 [Ζ]ΟΜΨC ΔΕ ΑΝΟΚ· ΟΥΘΩΒ ΝΤΑΛΑΙΠΩΡΟC ΝΡ[ΕQΡ] ΝQ[ΒΕ]  
 ΜΠΙΜΨΑ· ΑΤΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΚΑΑΤ· ΕΤΕΙCΜΟΤ . . [ . . . . . ]  
 10 ΝΙΜ· ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΠΕΤCΟΟΥΝ· ΠΕΤΖΜ ΦΗΤ· ΝΝΟΥ . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 ΧΕ ΝΤΑΡΕΙCΩΤΜ Α ΠΑΖΗΤ· ΜΚΑΖ ΕΕΙΨΙΝΕ ΒΝ [ΠΕΚ]  
 ΟΥΩ ΕΠΙΔΗ· ΝΚΟΥΕ ΕΤΜ ΠΗΙ ΕΤΝΕΜΜΕ ΔΙΑ[ . . . . . ]  
 ΕΥΡ ΨΑΥ· ΚΑΛΟC· ΤΕΝΟΥ ΒΕ ΕΡΕ Π[Ε]ΚΟΥΩ· ΝΑΛΟ Ε[ . . . . . ]  
 ΜΜΟΚ· ΑQΤΕΚ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΕΜΑΤΕ [Ε]ΠΕΤΙΨΙΝΕ Ν[CΩQ]  
 15 ΕΕΙΟΥΩΨΕ· ΕΘΝ· ΠΕΚΟΥΩ· ΤΕΝΟΥ ΒΕ ΠΑΧΟΕΙC [ΝΝ]  
 ΕΙΩΤ ΕΠΙΔΗ ΕΑ ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝCΟΝ· CΟΥΡΟΥC ΤΑ[ΜΟΙ]  
 ΧΕ ΑΚΤΙ ΑΤΖΗ· Α ΠΑΖΗΤ ΜΜΤΟΝ ΕQCΗΖ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ [ΠΕΤΕ]  
 ΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΜΕ ΜΜΟQ ΨΑQΠΕΔΕΥΕ ΜΜΟ[Q] ΨΑQ[ΜΑC]  
 ΤΙΚΟΥ· ΝΨΗΡΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤQΝΑΨΟΟΠΟΥΙ ΕΡΟQ [Ε]ΠΪΔΗ [ΠΑ]  
 20 ΜΕΡΙΤ· Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΟΥΝΟCΚ ΓΧΑΚΑΜ ΖΜ Π[ . . . ] ΝΟ . [ . . . . . ]  
 ΝΟΒΕ· ΕΕΙΕ· ΤΩΚ· ΝΖΗΤ ΝΤΑΩΖΕ· ΕΡΑΤ· [ . . . ] Τ . [ . . . . . ]  
 †ΖΕΛΠΙC ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ CΕΝΑΤΑΤ ΝΜΑΚ· ΑΡ[Ι Ζ]ΜΟΤ [ΝΓ]  
 ΝΕΧ ΨΛΗΛ ΝΝΤΟΚ ΜΝ ΝΕΚΜΑΚ[ΑΡΙΟC ΝCΟ]Ν Ε[ΤΩ]  
 ΟΟΠ· ΖΑΤΗΚ· ΤΕΝΟΥ ΒΕ ΝΑΜΕΡ[ΑΤΕ . . . . . ]  
 25 ΖΝ ΝΕΤΝΨΛΗΛ ΝΑΧΙCΟΟΥΕ· ΝΑC . [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ]  
 ΜΑ ΝΤΑΧΡΟ ΜΝCΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ †ΤΗ[Τ Ν]ΖΗΤ [ . . . . . ]  
 ΜΜΑ ΖΜ ΠΚΟCΜΟC· ΕΝΨΑΕΙ ΒΕ ΕΚ[ΝΑ]ΨΩΠΕ [ . . . . . ] 2]  
 ΜΟΤ †ΝΑΩΝΖ Χ[ . . . ΖΜ] ΠΧΟΕΙC

1 ΝΕΙΩΤ; ΑΦΡΟΔΙCΙ(ΟC)      4 ΝΕΙΩΤ; ΝΑΚ      9 ΜΠΙΜΨΑ  
 ΕΤΡΕ      10 ΝΝΟΥ; Ν<sup>2</sup> added above the line      11 ΝΤΕΡΙ-; -ΨΙΝΕ  
 ΕΒΝ      12 ΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΖΜ; ΕΤΝΜΜΑΙ      13 ΚΑΛΩC      15 -ΟΥΩΨ  
 15f. ΝΕΙΩΤ      17 ΕΘΝ; ΜΤΟΝ      18 -ΠΑΙΔΕΥΕ      18f. -ΜΑCΤΙΓΟΥ  
 19 ΕΤQΝΑΨΟΠΟΥ      20 ΚΧΟΚΜ      22 †ΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ (see note ad  
 loc.); -ΤΑΑΤ ΝΜΜΑΚ      23 ΝΤΟΚ      26 ΜΝΝCΑ      27 ΕΝΨΑΝΕΙ  
 (see note ad loc.)

It is Daniel who writes to his beloved father Aphrodisi(os), in the Lord, greetings. Before everything I greet you and all the brothers who are with you, each by name. Now then, my lord

father, be relieved with your whole heart. For I heard that you fell sick with a serious sickness, and my heart was much grieved . . . But nevertheless I am a wretched, sinful weakling; I was not worthy that God should set me in this role. [For] who [am I?] It is God who knows what is in the heart [of everyone.] For when I heard, my heart was grieved, while I sought to get news of you, since the others who are in the house with me continue (?) to be greatly benefited. Now, therefore, since news of you will . . . you, it cheered my heart greatly concerning what I was searching after, desiring to get news of you. Now, therefore, my lord father, since my lord brother Sourous has told me that you have improved, my heart has been relieved. For it is written: "Whom the Lord loves, he is wont to chastise; he scourges every son whom he will receive to himself." Since, my beloved, God has raised you up, you are cleansed by the sin[less blood]; then be of good cheer, and I shall stand [with you, for] I put my hope in God that I shall be set with you. Have the goodness to send up prayers, both you and your blessed brothers who are with you. Now, therefore, my beloved [brothers, remember me] in your prayers; my [ascetic] lords, [you are our] strong refuge, after God. I am convinced [that if we are in any] place in the world, when we then come, you will become [a] blessing [for me], and I shall live. Be [strong] in the Lord.

1 ΔΔ[ΝΙ]ΗΛ: despite damage and cancellation, the restoration seems certain; ΔΔ[ΟΥ]ΕΙΔ cannot be read.

4 f. ΚΩ ΝΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ [Μ]ΠΕΚΖΗΤ: see Crum, *Dict.* 715b for comparable expressions.

9 f. Perhaps ΑΝ[ΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΓ] ΝΙΜ, "For who am I?" But ΝΙΜ might not be interrogative, but indefinite: "any."

10 At the end of the line perhaps {Ν}ΝΟΥΘΝ ΝΙ[Μ], "of everyone."

12 Perhaps ΔΙΑ[ΤΕΛΕΙ], "continue."

16 For Sourous, see *Introd.* 9.

17-19 The quote is from *Hebr.* 12.6.

20 f. Perhaps ΖΜ Π[ΕC]ΝΟΥ [ΝΑΤ]ΝΟΒΕ, "by the sinless blood."

21 At end, perhaps [ΖΑ]ΤΗ[Κ ΧΕ], "with you, for . . ."

22 †ΖΕΛΠΙC: i.e. †ΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ; the use of a Greek noun in place of a verb is not uncommon in Coptic; compare the following examples from E. A. E. Raymond and J. W. B. Barns, *Four*

*Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices* (Oxford 1973): Paese and Thecla 51 R i 29 f. **ΒΟΗΘΙΑ ΕΡΟΙ** (see edd.'s note ad loc.), Shenoufe 112 V i 7 **ΝΗΤΡΕΥΘΥΣΙΑ** (which, despite the edd.'s note, need not be corrected to -Ρ ΘΥΣΙΑ), Shenoufe 120 V ii 32 **ΑΦΒΟΗΘΙΑ ΕΡΟΝ**, Colluthus II (App.) 17 v i 19 f. **ΝΤΧΡΙΑ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΝ** (which the edd. needlessly emend to -Ρ ΧΡΙΑ).

24 Perhaps **ΝΑΜΕΡ[ΑΤΕ ΝCΟΝ ΑΡΙ ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ]**, "my beloved brothers, remember me."

25 Possibly **ΝΑCΚ[ΙΤΗ]C Ν[ΤΕΤΝ ΠΕΝ-]**, "... ascetic, you are our ..."

26 At end perhaps **[ΧΕ ΕΝΖΝ ΛΑΛΥ]**, "... that if we are in any ..."

27 **ΕΝΨΑΕΙ**: for the form of the conditional, see 2 X R 22, and Kasser's comments in "Fragments du livre biblique de la Genèse cachés dans la reliure d'un codex gnostique", *Le Muséon* 85 (1972) 83.

At end possibly **[ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΖ]/ΜΟΤ**, "a blessing for me."

28 The last words are written large; probably **Χ[ΡΟ ΖΜ] ΠΧΟΕΙC** "be strong in the Lord."

## 5

→ . ΑΠΡΟΤCΕΠΕΖΕΙΝΖΑΝCΝΕΟΥCΝΧΑΕΙCΧΕ[  
 ΧΕΡΕΖΑΘΗΝΖΒΝΙΜ†ΨΙΝΕΑΡΑΚΜ[[Ι]]ΝΝΕΤ  
 ΝΜΕΚΧΕΕΤΤΒΕΝΚΟΥΕΙΝCΟΥΟΝΔΑ[  
 ΧΟCΝΕΚΕΤΒΗΤΟΥΧΕΤΑΟΥCΕΑΡΙΠ . [  
 5 ΤΟΡΖΜΕΨΑΝ†ΤΝΝΑΟΥΝΖΩΟΥΧΕ[  
 †ΨΩΝΕΑΖΝΧΩΜΕΧΙΧΟΥΧΑΜΔΕ[  
 ΒΙΒΩΡ·ΝΔΟΟΤ . ςΝΝΑΒΡΑΜ†ΜΗΤ[  
 ΜΩCΗC†CΑΟΥΝΑΠ'ΟΛΟΝΖΗΤ . . [  
 ΧΕ†CΑΟΥΝΕΝΧΕ . ΥΠΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ[  
 10 ΝΜΑΕΙΕΙΔΕ . ΕΕΙΖΗΝΨΩΜ·Α'ΕΔΕΕΙΩΝ[  
 ΝΕ . ΒΑ . . . . . ΕΜΕΑΥ . ]

1 The line begins with what appears to be merely a blot, but if so, it was made before the letter was written, since the writing begins a little to the right. 4 At end: **Ε, Θ, Ο, C**, or **Ω** 7 **ΝΔΟΟΤ . ς**: **Τ** added above the line 8 Last two letters probably **ΟΥ** 9 **ΧΕ** added in left margin 10 **ΕΙΔΕ** : after **Ε**<sup>2</sup> perhaps **Ο** corrected to **Ε**, or **Ο** canceled

ΑΦΡΟΔΙC(ΙΟC) ΠΕΤCΖΑΙ ΝCΑΝCΝΩC ΖΜ ΠΧΟΕΙC {ΧΕ}  
 ΧΑΙΡΕ . ΖΑΘΗ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ †ΨΙΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΝ ΝΕΤ  
 ΝΜΜΑΚ· ΧΕ (?) ΕΤΒΕ ΝΚΟΥΙ ΝCΟΥΟ ΝΤΑΙ

5        ΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΚ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ ΧΕ ΤΟΟΥΣΕ, ΑΡΙ Π. [   
       ΤΟΡΖΜΕ (?) ΨΑΝ†ΤΝΝΟΟΥ ΝCΩΟΥ, ΧΕ   
       †ΨΩΝΕ ΕΖΕΝΘΩΩΜΕ (?). ΧΙ ΧΟΥΤΑΓΤΕ [N]   
       ΒΙΝΘΩΡ ΝΤΟΟΤQ ΝΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ† ΜΗΤ [M]   
       ΜΩΥCΗC {†CΟΟΥΝ} ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ†   
       ΧΕ †CΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ   
 10        ΜΜΟΙ, ΕΙΤΕ ΕΙΕΕΙ ΖΜ ΠCΩΜΑ ΕΙΤΕ ΕΙΕΩΝ[Ζ]

It is Aphrodis(ios) who writes to Sansnos, in the Lord, greetings. Before everything, I greet you and those with you. Concerning the small quantities of wheat concerning which I said to you, "buy them," . . . until I send for them, because I am sick with cramps (?). Take twenty-four talents from Abraham; give ten to Moses {I know} out of them. For I do not know what is going to befall me, whether I shall come out of the body or I shall live . . .

1    ΖΑΝCΝΕΟΥC: doubtless a writing of the common name CΑNCNΩC.

3    ΧΕ: apparently redundant; perhaps an ellipse is involved: "[know] that . . ."

4 f. The end of line 4 and the beginning of 5 yield no obvious sense. Perhaps ΑΡΙ ΠΕ[ΖΜΟ]Τ ΟΥΩΡΖ (for ΟΥΩΖΡ) ΜΜΟΟΥ, "be good enough to set them aside." ΟΥΩΡΖ, "set free, open, renounce" (cf. Dem. *wrh*, "set free, admit") and ΟΥΩΖΡ, "put aside, save, spare?" (possibly to be equated with *whr*, "take care of, provide")<sup>1</sup> seem at times to have interchanged; cf. Ryl 368 n. 6. For the spelling without ΟΥ-, cf. BКУ III 403.4 and 10 ΑΙΟΡΕΖQ.

6    †ΨΩΝΕ ΑΖΝΧΩΜΕ (= ΕΖΕΝΘΩΩΜΕ?): the interpretation of this phrase is very doubtful. If ΘΩΩΜΕ is right, it should mean something like "cramps"; the meaning "perversion" listed in Crum, *Dict.* 818a is hardly appropriate.

8    It seems likely that †CΑΟΥΝ is here mistakenly written in anticipation of the same word in the next line.

10    At the beginning of the line, the writer seems to intend ΝΜΜΑΙ, but this itself appears to be a mistake for ΜΜΟΙ. ΜΜΟ= is regularly used with ΨΩΠΕ in the sense of "befall, happen to" (Crum, *Dict.* 578b).

ΕΙΕΙΖΝΠΨΩΜ·Α (= ΕΙ ΖΜ ΠCΩΜΑ), "to come out of the body," is one of the many euphemisms for "to die."

<sup>1</sup> See J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge 1976) 216 and 223.

## 6 LETTER OF PAPNOUTE (PAPNOUTIOS) TO PAHOME (PACHOMIOS)

### 7 LETTER OF PAPNOUTE

Inv. VII 97<sup>c</sup> (6): 12.6 × 15.2 cm.; 98<sup>c</sup> (7): 7.5 × 7 cm.; 99<sup>c</sup>: 1.5 × 1 cm.

We here publish two large fragments, with a small scrap (Inv. VII 99<sup>c</sup>) which might belong to either. Although the two main pieces are plainly in the same hand, a large, rather clumsy semi-cursive, they can hardly belong to the same document, since, if they did, the writing on one side might be taken to run in three different directions.<sup>1</sup> In 7 we cannot determine which side was written first, and consequently we designate the two surfaces simply as "a" and "b" rather than "recto" and "verso." It may be remarked that in 7 a 5-7 the writer seems to be discussing the same matter as in 6.13 ff.; in both places a conversation is reported. In both fragments the body of the letter is continued on the verso; in 6, however, there is also an address on the verso, which, if our reading of it is correct, furnishes a significant indication of the identity of the addressee, and consequently of the sender and perhaps the other individuals mentioned in 6 and 7. It is tempting to assume, though it cannot be proven, that 6 is addressed to the great Pachomios himself by his *oikonomos* Papnoutios, the writer of both of these letters. But see above, Introd. 10-11.

Apart from the introductory formula, too much of the body of each letter has been lost to enable us to gather much about the contents. The orthography is quite good, and the dialect pure Sahidic.

### 6

→ ΜΠΑΜΕΝΡΙΤ ΝΙΩΤ ΠΑΖΩΜΕ  
ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΕΡΕ  
ΖΑΘΗ ΝΖ[Ω]Β ΝΙΜ †ΨΙΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ  
ΜΠΟ[ΟΥ †ΨΙ]ΝΕ ΕΠΑΣΟΝ Η . [  
5 [ . ] . [Ν†Μ]ΠΩΑ ΠΑΜΕΝΡΙΤ  
[ΝΙΩΤ . . . ] . ΕΨΙΝΕ ΕΡΩΤΝ  
[ ΙΨΤ ΜΑΚΑΡΙ †ΝΘ . ]

<sup>1</sup> See Plate 54 of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Cartonage* (Leiden 1979).



8 Perhaps  $\tau\iota/[\mu\omicron\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma]$ ; cf. line 17.

Verso

2 Probably  $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{]} \mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{a} [\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{n}$  (cf. R 5).

2 f. may be tentatively translated as "I am not] worthy [of (an honor, aut sim.)] of this magnitude."

Address

6 f. We may possibly restore:  $[\tau\alpha\alpha\varsigma \mathfrak{m}] \mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}[\omicron]\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{t}[\mathfrak{h}\varsigma] \mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t} [\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{e} \mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m} \mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y}]\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{e}$ , "deliver it to my prophet and father Pahome, from Papnoute." Mr. James Goehring has called our attention to the fact that Pachomius is frequently referred to as "our father, the prophet Apa Pachomius," in an Arabic text published by A. van Lantschoot, "Allocution de Timothée d'Alexandrie," *Le Muséon* 47 (1934) 13-56 (see, e.g., the opening section on p. 26). Further, the phrase  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t} \mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{h}\varsigma$  is regularly used by Besa in his *Life of Shenoute* as a designation of his master (J. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii vita bohairice* [CSCO Copt. 2.2]; see, e.g., 14.10).

# 7

→ a -----

] . [

]  $\mathfrak{n}$  . . [

] . [ . ]  $\mathfrak{e}$   $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{q}$  . . [

]  $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{e} \mathfrak{x}\mathfrak{e} \mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{e}$  . [

5 ]  $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{m}$

] . .  $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{w} \mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{x}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{q}$

] .  $\mathfrak{x}$   $\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{o}\varsigma$   $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{n}$

] . .  $\mathfrak{w}$   $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{w}$

] .  $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{x}$

-----

→ b -----

] . [

] .  $\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{a}$  [ . ]

]  $\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y} \mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{w}$

]  $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{i} \mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{e}$

5 ]  $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i} \mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$

]  $\mathfrak{e} \mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{o}\varsigma$

]  $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{n}$

$\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{i}]\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{e} \mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{n} \mathfrak{m}$

] .  $\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{a}$  . .

-----







5 [†]ψι[η][ε] επαίωτ πανεχα[  
 ηνπχοεις πμανοϋτε ηνα[γαθος]  
 πηαντ †ψινη απλαος . [  
 †ψινη ηηςνηοϋ τηρ[ο]γ α[  
 ετοϋρει[ ] .. θ[  
 10 . μεγ . [ ] .. η[  
 [...] .. [ ] ρα .. [  
 ..... [ ] ψαρα . η[  
 [...] . η[.] . [ ] σοc αππα ρα[  
 ετηη οϋψηη εβρε ψελδα[μ  
 15 ηη οϋψηη ενεϋβρε .... [  
 παειωτ cанcηω πετεβε . [  
 χρ ... ημοϋ τῆηαϋ ηπ[  
 αϋψ тетηcη† ηηηπετηη[  
 εοϋχαι ημπχοεις [

b -----  
 ] . ηι . [  
 ] . αππα cанcηω ρ[  
 ] ηηηεб ψληλ[  
 -----

c -----  
 ] ηῆηηοϋ . [  
 ] .. εμ . [  
 -----

d -----  
 ] παcηη . [  
 -----

Verso a

→ τ]εεc εμπαιωτ [ ] πψψc .. ψψον  
 ψαϕεηη ηονοχοc

a 2 cφ ... : apparently not cанcηη[ω 3 ημπχοεις? So also in  
 line 6 below 4 ηαγαθος, as in line 6 6 ημαιοϋτε 7 επλαοc  
 8 ενεcηηϋ 12 Above ψαρα, η an illegible supralinear addition  
 13 Possibly ρα[ηcηω 14 ετηε (?); εβρα (η)ψλδοη 15  
 ενεϋβρε: ηεβρα 17 Possibly χρια, followed by θ[ε] 18  
 тетηcηηε 19 οϋχαι 2η ηχοεις

b 1 First letter probably η; last might be ρ 2 απα 3 ηεχ

c 1 Last letter possibly η

verso a τααc ημπαειωτ; after this a blot; there may well have been  
 a space before the name of the addressee 2 ηοναχοc

a

2 The line may well have begun [†ϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱ]† ϣⲟ . . . [, "I greet my father So---." But if so, the spacing seems to require some further designation of the recipient at the beginning of the next line.

3 Perhaps πⲛⲟ]ϩ ⲛⲛⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓ[ϣ (i.e. ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓϣ), "the great one of the Lord." Whatever the word may have been, it may have followed πⲁⲛⲉⲭⲁ[ in line 5 as well.

4 (cf. 6 f.) The expression πⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲑⲟⲥ πⲛⲁⲛⲧ is somewhat puzzling. At first sight it could appear to qualify the person in each case: "the good, God-loving one, the compassionate." ⲁⲓⲁⲑⲟⲥ, however, is generally an epithet of God himself; and if ⲁⲓⲁⲑⲟⲥ and ⲛⲁⲛⲧ are applied to the same person, it is hard to see why the writer should not have joined the epithets with the attributive ⲛ. Possibly, therefore, the expression means "the lover of the good God, the compassionate one."

5 πⲁⲛⲉⲭⲁ[ : the name πⲁⲛⲉⲭⲁⲧⲏⲥ is not uncommon; see *NB* and *Onomasticon*, s.v.

7 Perhaps restore ⲁⲡⲗⲁⲟϥ †[ⲏⲣⲓ ⲁϥⲱ, "(I greet) all the people and . . ."

9 Perhaps a relative clause.

14 f. Although the reading of line 15 is by no means certain after ⲉⲛⲉϥⲃⲣⲉ, it is not impossible that we have ⲉⲛⲉϥⲃⲣⲉ ϣⲉⲗⲑ[ⲁⲙ, a repetition in phonologically fuller form of ⲉⲃⲣⲉ ϣⲉⲗⲑⲁ[ⲙ in line 14.

In *Prel. Rep.* 15, this text was described as follows: "Another Coptic letter seems to compare the growth of the particular community to which it was addressed to that of a grain of mustard seed." This description was made before the piece was assembled in its present form; formerly it was believed to contain the phrase ⲁϥϥⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲛϥⲛ† ⲛⲟ[ⲉ ⲛⲟϥⲑⲣⲟⲑ (?) ⲙⲛ ⲟϥϣⲏⲙ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲃⲣⲉ ϣⲉⲗⲑ[ⲁⲙ, "your foundation has been set like a seed and a little grain of mustard." What was then interpreted as ⲁϥϥⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲛϥⲛ† ⲛⲟ[ⲉ has been shown to be misread, and the fragment to which it belongs has been fixed as the beginning of line 18: ⲁϥⲱ ⲧⲉⲧⲛϥⲛ† ⲛⲉⲛⲡⲉⲧⲛ[.

b

3 -ⲛⲉⲑ ϣⲗⲏⲗ: cf. 4.23.

## 9-14 MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

We here give a transcription of some of the tiny Coptic fragments which are found in this cover but which we have not been able to identify. We include only the larger fragments or those which contain at least one identifiable word.

## 9

Inv. VII 111<sup>c</sup>: 4.7 × 2.8 cm.

(Upper margin?)

→ ] . . . ωβετϥ

] . . . ωβετϥ

-----

(The verso is blank)

## 10

Inv. VII 115<sup>c</sup>: 2.5 × 3.8 cm.

→ ]ϣαβω[

-----

(The verso is blank)

1 ]ϣαβω[: e.g. †νατ]/ϣαβω[τη, "I shall teach you."

## 11

Inv. VII 117<sup>c</sup>: 4 × 0.8 cm. (Which side preceded the other is unknown.)

a -----

→ ]θεικα[

-----

b -----

→ ]ϣ[

]η[

(One line lost)

] . [

]ϭ[

-----

a

1 ]θεικα[: perhaps the personal name θεικα?

## 12

Inv. VII 118<sup>c</sup>: 2.5 × 0.7 cm.

→ ] . εηαιϛ[

(On the verso: faint traces, perhaps of writing)

1 The demonstrative pronoun **ηαι** may have been intended here.

## 13

Inv. VII 120<sup>c</sup>: 1.5 × 1.8 cm.

Δε . [

(The verso is blank)

## 14

Inv. VII 126<sup>c</sup>: 1.6 × 1.7 cm.

] . ε . [

] πανς[ε

(The verso is blank)

## CODEX VIII

### 15 LETTER OF ISAAC, PSAI, AND BENJAMIN TO MESOUER(IS)

Inv. VIII 46<sup>c</sup>: 6.8 × 8.2 cm.

The hand is of an uncial type, and irregularity in size and shape shows that the writer is not very expert. Too little remains of the text to enable us to restore more than the opening formula or to judge the general standard of the orthography. The dialect seems to be standard Sahidic. The verso preserves no trace of an address.

	[ICA]AK M[N] ψΑΙ ΜΝ ΒΕΝ[ΙΑΜΙΝ ΝΕΤ]
	[C2]ΑΙ ΜΕCΟΥΗΡ[(IC) ΧΑΙΡΕ. 2ΑΘΗ Ν]
	[2Ω]Β ΝΙΜ ΤΝΩΙΝΕ [ΕΡΟΚ
	[...]Ν ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC Μ[N
5	[...]ΝΕ ΝCΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟ[Υ
	[N]ΕΤ2Α2ΤΗΚ Ε. [
	[...] ΜΝ ΠΜΝΤΦ[ΥΕ
	[...] ΝΑΚ ΜΝ . [
	[...] ΜΝΤ. [
10	[...]ΦΟΥCCE[
	[...]ΕΡΗ[Υ (?)

-----

It is Isaac, Psai, and Benjamin who write to Mesouer(is), greetings. Before everything we greet you . . . who is (?) good and . . . all the brothers . . . who are with you . . . and the eleven . . . to you and . . . each other (?) . . .

1 ψΑΙ: Ψάι(ς) is common in the papyri; see *NB* and *Onomasticon*, s.v.

2 ΜΕCΟΥΗΡ[(IC): cf. Μεσουήρις in *NB* and *Onomasticon*. The scribe may have written simply ΜΕCΟΥΗΡ.

### 16 PRIVATE LETTER

Inv. VIII 41<sup>c</sup> (a): 3.5 × 10.5 cm.; 42<sup>c</sup> (b): 1.5 × 1.5 cm.; 43<sup>c</sup> (c): 3 × 1.5 cm.; 44<sup>c</sup> (d): 2.3 × 2.3 cm.; 45<sup>c</sup> (e): 3.5 × 3.1 cm.

Five fragments survive of this text. The first line of fragment a contains part of the standard epistolary formula. The relative

position of b and c can be established by fiber correspondence with a,<sup>1</sup> but how much has been lost between the three pieces we cannot determine. Part of the left margin appears in a, and c preserves some of the right. Fragment d cannot be placed, but e, with its lower margin intact, represents the end of the letter, or at least the last part of a column. The hand is neat and practiced and bears strong resemblance to an early fourth-century book hand. Although too little remains to justify a translation, it is clear that this letter is written in standard Sahidic, with good orthography. The papyrus is extremely thin, and some of the writing on the recto has penetrated through to the verso.

The verso of the Greek text published as 143a contains a mirror image of the first nine lines of fragment a.

→ a	-----		
	ϩαϑη νϩ[ωβ νιμ		
	†νοϥ δ[ε		
	μεετα[		
	νασϣε[	b	-----
5	οϥηπε[	].[	c
	εβωκ ν[	]μενν . [	]πϣϩ νσϩαί
	ϣαεινρ . [	]ταϩε[	] . τῃεαειν
	οϥωϣ[	]αϩεϩ[	]αληϑωσ
	ερηϥ[	-----	-----
10	[		
	[...]. [		
	ωκαν . [		
	ιμπια[		
	ταίσαϩ[		
15	φϥσιν[		
	ωϣταα[		
	μπεϩβεϩ[ε		
	ναίχ . [		
	β . [		

<sup>1</sup> On Pl. 67 of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Cartonnage* (Leiden 1979), the position of the fragments must be slightly adjusted: 42<sup>c</sup> and 43<sup>c</sup> are to be moved up one line in respect to their alignment with 41<sup>c</sup>; see J. M. Robinson's remarks in his Preface, xxi.

d -----  
 ] . κζ . . α[  
 ]ωψ̄ το[  
 ]εχογωτ[  
 ]ης μν[  
 5               ]κ[  
 -----  
 e -----  
                   ]ρ . [ . ] . [  
                   ςνη]γ τηρογ ε[  
                   ψι]νε ερωτην [

a

1 Probably the addressee and sender were named in the preceding line(s). After ζαθη νζ[ωβ νιμ, restore †ψινε ερωτην vel sim. (cf. e 3), "before everything I greet you."

13 The first letter appears to be iota with the left dot of a diaeresis.

e

3 ψι]νε: probably †ψι]νε (cf. a 1), "I greet you."

## 17 PRIVATE LETTER

Inv. VIII 37<sup>e</sup> (a): 6 × 8.5 cm.; 38<sup>e</sup> (b): 3.8 × 5 cm.; 39<sup>e</sup> (c): 2.3 × 5.4 cm.; 40<sup>e</sup> (d): 3.2 × 6.8 cm.

This letter is preserved in four fragments, of which the first (a) contains a greeting formula and doubtless came near the beginning; it also displays part of the left margin. The position of the remaining pieces cannot be established. No writing is visible on the versos.

→ a -----  
                   . ατε[  
                   †ψιν[ε  
                   νγαρ ν . [  
                   ... επ[  
 5               επβ ... [  
                   νοχφ[  
                   ραψε[  
                   νακ . [  
                   . εν ... [  
 10              .. [  
                   -----

b

-----  
 ] Traces of 2 lines [  
 ]ΝΠΡΕΖ[  
 ] . ΟΟΥΘΜ . [  
 5 ]Υ[ . . ]Ϟ[ . ] . [  
 -----

c

-----  
 ] . [  
 ] . ΝΑ[  
 ] . . ΡΑ[  
 ]ΗΝ[  
 5 ] . . [  
 ] . Τ . [  
 ]Ϟ[  
 -----

d

-----  
 ]ΡΑ[  
 ]ΖΟ[  
 ] . . . Τ[  
 ] . ΠΖΟΘ[  
 5 ]ΒΕΛΟΚΕ[  
 ] . ΕΡΦ[  
 ] . Φ[  
 ]Ν[  
 ] . [  
 -----

a

3 ΝΓΑΡ: i.e. γάρ; for the spelling, see, e.g., P. E. Kahle, *Bala'izah* (Oxford 1954) I 102.

## 18 PRIVATE LETTER

Inv. VIII 30<sup>c</sup> (a): 10.2 × 2.1 cm.; 31<sup>c</sup> (b): 3.5 × 1 cm.; 32<sup>c</sup> (c): 5.5 × 7.8 cm.; 33<sup>c</sup> (d): 1.9 × 6.8 cm.; 34<sup>e</sup> (e): 1.3 × 3.7 cm.; 35<sup>e</sup> (f): 1.5 × 2.7 cm.; 36<sup>e</sup> (g): 0.8 × 3.5 cm.

We publish here several scraps of what is evidently a private letter, although the first line (a 1) contains nothing recognizable as a personal name or intelligible as a formula of greeting. Fragment a bears the upper margin; we have not been able to establish the



relative position of the other pieces. The writing is large and fairly fluent. There is part of a line of writing, probably an address, on the verso of e.

→ a ]ϣ . . οΥΕΕΝΑΕΙΜΑΨΑΡΑΞΙ[  
-----

b -----

]ΑΓΑΠΗ[  
] . [ . . ] . Η[  
-----

c -----

κ]ΑΤΑ ΘΕΤΗΝ[  
] . ΗΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ[  
]ΤΙΝΟΥ ΤΙΣΖ[ΑΙ  
]ΑΧΕΨΩ . [

5 ]Ν̄ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Α[  
]ΥΡΕ . [ . ] . [ . ] ο . [  
] . [ ]†ΖΑ[  
]ΖΝ Π[  
] . ΕΙΠ[  
-----

d -----

]ΞΕΙΧ[  
]ΟΥΝΑ[  
]ΩΚΑΤ[  
]ΝΕΙΜ[

5 ] . . ΤΙΜ[  
-----

e -----

] . . [  
] . . [  
]ΕΤ[  
] . Α[  
-----

f -----

] . ΑΤ[  
]ΝΝ[  
]ΖΕ[  
-----

g -----  
 ]τ[  
 -----

Verso e -----

→ ] ... ογχ[αι (?)

- a 1 Perhaps ]**μ**εϝοϥε (i.e. **μ**εεϥε) ε**ν**αει, "he is thinking of these"  
 g First letter possibly **κ**  
 c 2 **η** corrected from **ει**  
 d 5 Perhaps **ε**]π**ι**τ**ι**μ[α (ἐπιτιμᾶν)

### 19 PRIVATE LETTER (?)

Inv. VIII 58<sup>c</sup> (a): 7 × 2.5 cm.; 59<sup>c</sup> (b): 2 × 2.3 cm.

This text, perhaps a private letter, consists of two fragments; their relative position cannot be determined. The versos are blank.

a -----  
 ] . [   
 ]ηηκαζ [   
 ]τϣωωϣω[   
 -----

b -----  
 ] . [   
 ]χιχι . [   
 ] . . [   
 -----

## INDEXES

N.B. 1) Except when we quote individual words, our method of citation does not differentiate between words actually read in the papyrus and those wholly or partially restored. 2) Only in the case of ambiguity is a translation given in the indices. 3) For No. 5 we employ our interpretative transcript and do not record the orthography of the diplomatic transcript.

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αγω 2 X R 15, 18, 21, 27, 33, V 1, 4, 27, 28, 33, 36, 41, Y R 2, 5, 6, V 13; 7 a 6, b 3; 8 a 18

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βεκε 16 a 17

βωλ

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ε- 2 X R 6, 10, 11, 16, 20, 23, 30, V 1, 23, 27, 28, Y R 2, 10, V 1, 12; 4.9 (α-), 9, 13 (?), 14, 15, 22; 5.6 (?); 6.4; 8 a 5, 7 (α-), 8 (see app.); 16 a 6

ερο- 2 X R 16, V 26, 40, Y R 11; 4.2, 19; 5.2; 6.3, 6; 7 b 8; 15.3; 16 e 3

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ειω ass 2 X V 16

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κε- 2 Y V 6; 4.12 (κοϣε)

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mn- with 2 X R 5, 7, 8, 16, 20, 34, V 35, 39, Y V 2; 3.7; 4.2, 23; 5.2; 6.11; 8 a 15; 15.1, 4, 7, 8; 16 d 4

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моуp

мppe 2 Y R 2 (мее]pe; see note ad loc.)

мice

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мнт- 15.9 (мнт.1)

мнтоϣe 15.7

mate greatly

емате 2 X R 18; 4.6, 14

мhte 2 X V 22

мto 2 X R 12

мтон 4.17 (mmton)

мay

етммay 2 X V 8

маay 2 X V 1

mayaa- 2 X V 19

моϣоϣт 2 Y V 10

мооϣe 2 X V 20 (моϣe), 29 (моϣe)

моу2 fill

ме2сnte 2 X R 24

ме2сnay 2 X V 35 (меу-)

ме2ϣомнт 2 X V 36

**n-** attributive part., passim

**mmo-** 2 X R 1, 4, 14, V 1, 24, 26, 38, Y R 7, 12, V 10, 12, 13; 4.14, 18; 5.10; 8 a 17

**n-** dative prep., passim

**na-** 2 X R 7, 29, 31, 32, V 3, 4, 30, Y R 1, 4, 9, V 3; 3.5; 4.4 (nnaκ); 5.4; 6.9; 7 b 7; 15.8; 17 a 8

**n-** negative pref. 6.5; 7 b 5

**na** have pity

**naht** 8 a 4, 7

**na** go 2 X V 27

**nove** 4.8, 21

**nkotk** 2 X V 7

**nim** who? 2 X V 27, 28; 4.10 (?; see note ad 9 f.)

**nim** every 2 X R 33, 34, V 37, Y R 11; 4.2, 10 (?; see note ad 9 f.), 19; 5.2; 6.3; 15.3; 16 a 1

**nanoy-** 15.4

**petnanoyq** 2 X R 31, V 3

**noyte** 2 X R 26-28, Y R 8; 3.8; 4.9, 10, 20, 22, 26; 18 c 5

**mainoyte** 8 a 4, 6

**ntok** 2 X V 2; 4.23 (nntok)

**ntooy** 2 Y V 2

**ntoq** 2 X R 15, Y V 14

**naγ** look 2 Y R 2, V 1; 8 a 17 (?)

**nψot** 2 Y R 14

**naψte** 2 X R 32

**noγxe** 4.23; 8 b 3 (ne6)

**no6** 4.5

**n6i** 2 X R 5 (xe), 7, 13, 22, 25, Y R 6, V 3

**oeile** 2 X V 13

**oze** 2 X V 18, 19, 22, 23

**π- τ- n-** defin. art., passim

**πα- τα- na-** poss. pron., passim

**πα- τα- na-** poss. art. 2 X V 28, 30

**παι ται ναι** 2 X R 2 (ταει), 3 (ταει), V 6 (παει), 28 (ναει), Y R 8, V 7; 6.10

**πει- τει- νει-** 2 X V 38; 4.9; 6.11 (πει-), V 3

**πε τε νε** copula 2 X R 2, 3, V 28, 31, Y R 8

**πωρχ** 2 X V 22

- πωτ 3.6, 7  
 πωψ 2 X R 19  
 πωψс 2 Y R 6  
 πωϷ 16 с 6 (?)  
 πεχε- 2 Y V 9  
     πεχα- 2 X R 21, 25, V 19, Y R 3, V 3, 14; 6.15; 7 a 6  
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     nca- 2 X V 37  
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 со  
     †co 6.14  
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     d 1; 15.5; 16 e 2  
 cωnt found  
     cnte 8 a 18 (cн†)  
 cнаγ 2 Y V 11  
     cnte 2 X R 21, 37  
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     μεϛcnte 2 X R 24  
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 cϷime 2 X R 9  
 cнб 2 X V 17  
 † 2 X V 17, Y R 4, V 12; 4.17 (т1), 22 (та-); 5.7; 6.14; 8 a V 1  
     (т]εε-)  
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 твнн 2 X V 37

τωκ be strong 4.14, 21

ταμο 4.16

τωmt meet 2 X R 16 (τωmmt), V 25, 40

των where?

ετων 2 X V 28

тнноу 2 X R 9, V 32; 5.5

тнр= 2 Y V 8; 4.3, 5; 8 a 8; 15.5; 16 e 2

торе

етоот= 2 X R 1, V 23, 34

нтоот= 5.7

зитн- 2 X V 17

тснко 2 X V 14

тот 4.26

тоу buy 5.4

тоунос 4.20

тоухо 2 X R 38

евбио 3.3 (евбинг)

таχρο 4.26

оу- зен- indefin. art., passim

оу what? 2 Y R 8; 5.9

оуа one

оуа оуа 4.3

мнтоуе 15.7

оуω news 2 X R 10; 4.12, 13, 15

оуон some 2 X V 36

оуноу

†ноу 2 X R 36; 16 a 2; 18 c 3 (тиноу)

теноу 4.4, 13, 15, 24

оуω wish 3.4 (оуωω); 4.15 (оуωω); 16 a 8

оуωн

нтеуωн 2 X V 8

оуω 2 X R 5, V 33, 37, Y R 1

оухαι vb. 2 X R 25 (оуоох)

nn. 8 a 19 (еоухαι; sic); 18 e V 1 (?)

ω 3.4

ωн 4.28; 5.10

ωп 2 X V 6, 27

нпе 16 a 5 (?)



ωск 2 X R 6

ωze ерат- 4.21

ωа- 2 X R 13, 14, Y R 9

ωаро- 2 Y V 12, 14

See also зраі

ωе hundred 2 X R 17

ωω 2 X V 5

ωληл 4.23, 25; 8 b 3

ωлбom 8 a 14 (ωелбл[м])

ωнм 8 a 14, 15

ωomт 2 X V 36 (ωomт)

ωine 4.2, 11, 14; 5.2; 6.3, 4, 6; 7 b 8; 8 a 5, 7, 8; 15.3; 16 e 3;  
17 a 2

qaiωine 2 X R 13

ωωne vb. 4.5; 5.6

nn. 4.6

ωωп 4.19 (ωоопоуі, i.e. ωопоу)

ωωпe 2 X R 6, 24, Y R 11, V 5, 6; 3.5; 4.3, 23, 27; 5.9

ωнpe 2 X V 2, 15, Y V 11, 14; 4.19

атωнpe 2 Y V 5

ωωpп

ωорп 2 X R 23, V 24, 35

ωнт 2 X V 11, 12

ωтортp 2 Y R 7

ωау profit 4.13

ωахе vb. 2 X V 39, Y R 13

nn. 2 X V 38, Y R 14

q1

qaiωine 2 X R 13

qтооу

qтeу- 2 X R 16

хоутаqтe 5.6

за- See зн, знт

ze fall 2 X R 11

ze way

неe 2 X V 5

- ται τε Θε 2 X R 2, 3  
 2H fore part  
   2HT= 2 X R 40  
   † εΘΗ 4.17 (τι ατ2H)  
   2αΘΗ 4.2; 5.2; 6.3; 15.2; 16 a 1  
   With poss. adj. 2 X V 20 (2α τα2H), 29 (2α τεκ2H)  
 2I- See τωρε, 20, χω=
- 2O  
   212pa= 2 Y R 3  
 2ωω= 2 X V 33  
 2ωβ 2 Y R 11; 4.2; 5.2; 6.3; 15.3; 16 a 1  
 2βα 2 X R 18  
 2αλ servant  
   2M2αλ 2 X R 4, 8, 9, 11, 34, V 18, 20, 30  
 2με 2 X V 15  
 2μοτ 2 X R 12; 4.22, 27  
 2N- 2 X R 32, 33, 35, 38, V 6, 7 (N-), 9, 40, Y R 5; 3.1, 2, 7; 4.1,  
   5, 10, 12 (M-), 20, 25, 27, 28; 5.1, 10; 6.2; 18 c 8  
   N2HT= 2 X R 31, Y R 1; 5.8  
 2ωN order 2 X R 1, V 23, 34  
 2HHTε See ειc  
 2pa1 upper part 2 X R 30, 35  
   ε2pa1 2 X R 29, V 1, Y R 10, V 8, 12, 13  
   ψα 2pa1 2 X R 6  
 2ατ 2 Y R 2, 4, V 2  
 2HT heart 2 Y R 6; 4.5, 6, 10, 11, 14, 17, 21, 26  
   2α(2)TH= 4.3, 24; 15.6  
 2HHTε See ειc  
 2OTE fear 2 X R 18, 39, Y V 3  
 2OOU day  
   MPOOU 6.4  
   ψα 2pa1 εPOOU 2 X R 6  
 2OOU be bad  
   πεθOOU 3.7 (πεθαυ)  
 2OOUT 2 X R 8
- xe- 2 X R 2-4, 5 (= N61), 11, 14, 26, 29, 39, V 3, 20, 24, 27, 30,  
   38, 41, Y R 4, 8, 12, V 4, 10, 14; 3.5; 4.5, 11, 17, 22; 5.1, 3  
   (?; see note ad loc.), 4, 5, 9; 6.9; 7 a 4  
 xi 2 X R 10 (xei), V 9, Y V 7; 5.6

χω say 2 X R 1-3, 14, 29, V 3, 24, 26, 29, 38, 41, Y R 7, 10, 12,  
V 10; 5.4; 6.9

χω-

εχN- 2 X V 2

εχω- 2 Y V 8

χωκM 4.20

χνογ 2 X V 26

χπο 2 X R 30

χοειC 2 X R 3, 10, 28, V 32, Y R 13; 4.2, 4, 15, 16, 18, 25, 28;  
5.1; 6.2; 8 a 3, 6, 19

χοογ 2 X V 10

χογωτ 2 X V 12, 13, 16; 16 d 3

χογταγτε 5.6

βε 4.4, 13, 15, 24, 27; 16 a 2

βιε 2 X V 12 (βειε)

βββε

βωB 4.8

βωωμε 5.6 (see note ad loc.)

βαμογλ 2 X V 14

βινε 4.11, 15

βινβωP 5.7

βερωB 2 X R 35

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βιx 2 X R 38, V 18, Y V 12

βοxβ(ε)x 2 X R 24

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