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JENNIFER CROMWELL

## Identifying New Scribes in Old Documents:

P.KRU 34 and 55

(Tafel 7–9)

Thebes during the early Islamic period provides an excellent opportunity to study the work of Coptic scribes in the main village in the area, Djeme (Medinet Habu). Not only is there a vast amount of written material dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, many documents are signed, allowing the study of the dossiers of individual scribes. At the time of their original publication, some of these scribes were not identified. This includes the men who wrote *P.KRU* 34 and 55. Re-examination of these papyri corrects this situation, enabling the two men responsible – Paulos son of Kabiou and Shenoute son of Elias – to be added to the growing number of known scribes and writers from this region. This study includes new editions, commentaries, and the first published images of both documents.

Of the Coptic documents from Djeme<sup>1</sup> published as P.KRU, 36 are listed as anonymous – that is, they are unsigned and the editor could not attribute them to known scribes.<sup>2</sup> Re-examination of several of these documents changes this situation. Two documents in the collection of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which were published as ‘anonymous’, do in fact preserve the name of the scribe responsible for them: P.KRU 34 and 55. The second of these was not available to the editor of the texts, Walter Ewing Crum, who instead incorporated the text based on an unpublished transcription, which will be discussed further below. This paper provides the opportunity for complete new editions of these texts, correcting various mistakes in the originals (including the non-identification of the scribes involved), accompanied by the first published images of these papyri.<sup>3</sup> In so doing, it improves the current state of knowledge of scribes from 8<sup>th</sup> century Thebes.

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<sup>1</sup> The village built in and around Medinet Habu, which was the site of a bustling Coptic community during the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. For a general introduction to the site, see T.G. WILFONG, *Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt*, Ann Arbor, 2002, p. 1–22.

<sup>2</sup> See P.KRU Index V “Schreiber”. I use the term ‘scribe’ here in a general sense, neither as an indication of the writer’s proficiency nor as a professional title.

<sup>3</sup> W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden*, Wien, 1962, p. 12 was the first to note that many of the early editions of Coptic documentary texts (which remain the sole publications of most of this material) contain mistakes and that while those by Crum (e.g. *P.KRU*) are the most dependable they are not error free. This was repeated by H. FÖRSTER, “Corrigenda zu P.KRU,” in: *GM* 179, 2000, p. 107, who does not, though, provide corrections for either P.KRU 34 or 55.

*l. P.KRU 34*<sup>4</sup>*Paulos son of Kabiou*

MS.Copt.e.8(P) 125 mm (w) × 105 mm (h)

15.01.713<sup>5</sup> 18 mm (w) × 23 mm (h)

The text does not refer to this document as a deed of sale (πρασις/πρᾶσις), but simply as a papyrus-document (χαρτης/χάρτης). It records a transaction involving a silver item, the nature of which is unclear (see commentary to l. 3). This appears not to be a true sale but the confirmation of an earlier sale: there is no sale price and a lack of standard formulae, as found in longer documents, with the acknowledgement of payment followed by heavily abbreviated clauses.<sup>6</sup>

The document is written on a small rectangle of papyrus and the text fills the entire surface, from edge to edge, with only the bottom 15 mm left empty. There are three holes in the top centre, which have destroyed part of the text here, and smaller holes throughout the rest of the papyrus. The left edge is intact, but the fibres of the first five lines are frayed. The right margin is not preserved; a small rectangular fragment (18 mm wide) belongs to the end of lines 1–5, but this does not provide all the lost text. Based on the approximate amount missing, the papyrus' width would have been at least 180 mm originally.

The same person, Paulos son of Kabiou (see below), wrote the entire document. The hand is a competent bilinear, which is somewhat untidy in places, with few ligatures. Lines are written closely together, possibly due to the small size of the papyrus. The scribe makes consistent use of diacritics (the superlinear stroke and diaeresis), which are omitted in the ed. princ.

<sup>4</sup> A German translation is available in: W.C. TILL, *Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Theben*, Wien, 1964, p. 132. The most recent translation is provided by L.S.B. MACCOULL, *Coptic Legal Documents: Law as Vernacular Text and Experience in Late Antique Egypt*, Arizona, 2009, p. 60–1. For the acquisition history of this and the other three Djeme documents in Oxford, see J. CROMWELL, “Djême Documents in the Bodleian Library, Oxford,” in: ZPE 168, 2009, p. 286.

<sup>5</sup> For this date, see the commentary to l. 13.

<sup>6</sup> See L. BOULARD, “La vente dans les actes coptes,” in: *Études d’histoire juridique offertes à Paul Frédéric Girard (par ses élèves)*, Paris, 1912, p. 1–94 for a discussion of the formulae of sale documents. A similar treatment for donation documents, which include much of the same formulae, is provided by A. BIEDENKOPF-ZIEHNER, *Koptische Schenkungsurkunden aus der Thebais: Formeln und Topoi der Urkunden, Aussagen der Urkunden, Indices*, Wiesbaden, 2001.

## Recto

- 1 [+] ἀνοκ μαρτυρία τῶερε ν̄βικτωρ τρ̄μ̄χ[ημε εἰςραἰ]  
 2 [η]ἱερημιας πῶηρε ν̄μῶγςης πρ̄μ̄χημε ραπ̄η[ομος νογῶτ αιτ]  
 3 [νακ] εβολ ἡπαῶωπ ἡρατ εακτ̄ τεγτιμ̄[η] ναἰ ἡἡ[...]  
 4 [±3] ῶωπ ἡτοκ ετο ἡπεγχοεις ἡγκααγ νακ [...]  
 5 [ηγα]αγ ἡτρῶπος ἡμ̄ εκογαῶγ̄ εἰῶαντε[...]  
 6 ραφῶβ ἡπῶωπ ἡρατ ετ̄μ̄μαγ εἰδε ἀνοκ ε[ἰδε λααγ ἡρῶμε]  
 7 εχειρε ἡπαπρῶσοπῶν ποτε κερῶ ρ̄ηλαγε ἡ[...]  
 8 [ε]ροῖ ἡτατ̄ σναγ ἡρολοκο/ ἡπρῶστιμῶν ἡτ̄α[εἰ ερογῆ ἡτ̄αρῶν]  
 9 ἐπιχαρτης εγῶρχ̄ αἰςμ̄ἡπενγραφον ρο[ρχ̄ ... ρμ̄-]  
 10 μα ἡμ̄ εγ̄ναἡφανιζε ἡμογ̄ ἡμαγ̄ αχ̄χ[νογῑ αιρομολογει]  
 11 ρος προκο/ ἀνοκ μαρτυρίᾱ τεπταῶρ̄π̄ςρα[ἰς τ̄στοιχει ἀνοκ]  
 12 παγλος̄ καβιογ̄ πρ̄μ̄χημε̄ ἀσπαρακαλει [ἡμοῑ αιςραἰ ...]  
 13 ἡσογ̄κ̄ ἡτῶβε ἡτρομπε̄ ἡτεκατης̄ ἡηΔ/ ἡἰ [...]  
 14 ἀθανασιος̄ ἡπετρος̄ τ̄ο ἡμαρτυρος̄ + ἀθανα[σιος̄ ...]

## Verso

- 15 [... πενγρα]φον ἡταμαρτυρίᾱ ρραἰγ̄ ἡἱερημιας̄ ραπε[σῶωπ]  
 16 ἡρατ̄ ἡταγῶρ̄π̄γ

1. ῶερε *l.* ῶεερε. 2. ν̄μῶγςης *l.* ν̄μῶγςης. 5. τρῶπος *l.* τροπος. 6. ἡπῶωπ *l.* ἡπαῶωπ. 7. κερῶ *l.* καιρω. 7. λαγε *l.* λααγ. 8. ρολοκο(ττινος). 9. ἐγγραφον *l.* εγγραφον. 10. ἡφανιζε *l.* ἐμφανιζε. 11. ρος̄ προκ<sup>ο</sup>/ *l.* ὡς̄ προκει(ται). 13. ἡτεκατης̄ *l.* ἐνδεκατος. 13. ἡηΔ(ικτιῶνος).

## Recto

“[+] I, Martyria the daughter of Victor, from Dj[eme am writing to] Jeremias the son of Moses, from Djeme, in the η[ome ... I sold to you] my silver ῶωπ-item, as you have given its pric[e] to me [...] item. You are its owner, and keep it [...] <sup>(5)</sup> [and u]se it in any way that you want. If I [sue you] about that silver item, either me o[r anyone] acting as my representative, any time, in any [...] me, and I give 2 holokottinoi as the fine and [enter into and comply with] this document. As a surety, I have drawn up this document. It is se[cure ... in] <sup>(10)</sup> every place in which it may be produced. [I] was a[sked, I agreed], as laid out.

*Enchoria* 34, 2014/15

I, the abovementioned Martyria [sign.] She asked [me], Paulos (son of) Kabiou, from Djeme [and I wrote ...] 20<sup>th</sup> Tobe, year 11, (i.e.) indiction 11. [...]  
(I), Athanasios (son) of Petros, am witness. + Athan[asios ...]”

Verso

“[... the docu]ment that Martyria wrote for Jeremias concerning her silver [item] that he had purchased.”

1. This is the only attestation of Martyria daughter of Victor.<sup>7</sup>

1&2. τ-/π-ΡΜΧΗΜΕ is rare in papyrus documents, as χΗΜΕ is mostly referred to in full as ΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΧΗΜΕ (passim. P.KRU). Only P.KRU 59.2–3 otherwise uses this when introducing the two parties (ΑΝΟΚ ΣΟΥΑΙ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΠΜΑΚ/ ΠΑΧΑΜ ΠΡΜΤΣΗ ΕΤΣΖΑΙ ΝΦΑΝΗ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΡΜΧΗΜΕ “I, Souai son of the late Pacham from Tsê, write to Phanê son of Petros from Djeme). There are two further examples where this construction is used by witnesses: P.KRU 37.117–8 (... ΠΡΜΧΗΜΕ “from Djeme”) and 75.100 (... ΠΡΜΡΜΟΝΤ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΗΖ †ΝΟΥ ΖΗΧΗΜΕ, “... from Ermont, now living in Djeme”). However, it is more common in ostraca, where reduced formulae are required due to the lack of available space. The small size of this papyrus would therefore account for the abridged writing.<sup>8</sup>

1. [εΙΣΖΑΙ] is reconstructed without hesitation in the ed. princ., immediately after τΡΜΧ[ΗΜΕ]. However, as the toponym following Jeremias’ name is expanded at the end of l. 2 with ΖΑΠΝΟΜΟΣ ..., it is possible that the same expansion was required here, in which case the lacuna should also include ΖΑΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΕΡΜΩΝΤ, or variations thereof. Against this suggestion are the lengths of the suggested reconstructions in the lacunae of ll. 6, 8, 10 and 11, which, if correct, indicate that nothing else is in fact lost.

2. This is the only attestation of Jeremias son of Moses.<sup>9</sup>

2. ΠΝ[ΟΜΟΣ ΝΟΥΩΤ], “the same nome”, or ΠΝ[ΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΡΜΟΝΤ], “of the city Ermont”, or both, are expected, but there only appears to be room for the former.

2–3. Only the adverb, ΕΒΟΛ, survives of the statement of sale. ΑΙ† ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ, “I sold to you”, is preferable to Ε†† ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ, “I sell / am selling to you”, in a document confirming

<sup>7</sup> W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie*, p. 138.

<sup>8</sup> My thanks to Richard Burchfield (Macquarie) for supplying me with his statistics concerning the distribution of this location designator in Theban texts, as taken from his recently completed PhD thesis (Macquarie University).

<sup>9</sup> W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie*, p. 105.

a sale after the fact. The following use of the circumstantial I Perfect, εαϭⲧ in l. 3, supports this. However, it must be borne in mind that in sale documents, while the declaration of sale is in the present tense, the money is always recorded as having already been handed over; cf. e.g. P.KRU 9: εϭⲧ εβολ ϩαϭ “I am selling to you” (l. 32–3), ϫεαϭⲧⲧ[εϭ]ⲧⲓⲙε ϩαι ϩⲟⲓϫ εⲟⲓϫ “as you have given me its price, from hand to hand” (l. 81–2). The situation is therefore not clear-cut.

3. In the original publication, the editor Walter Crum labelled this the sale of a silver “Gerät” while Till referred to it by the more generic “Gegenstand,” but left the term untranslated, as *Schop*, in his translation.<sup>10</sup> Only Wilfong provides a slightly more precise definition, as “jewellery”.<sup>11</sup> CD 576b translates ϩⲱⲡ as “a metal object, mostly of silver, necklet, bracelet”.<sup>12</sup> In P.KRU 66.39–41 and 76.42–44 it appears amongst a list of objects inherited by three brothers from their grandmother: ϩⲟⲙⲛⲧ ϩⲕⲗⲗ ϩⲉⲛⲧ ⲙⲛⲱ[ⲟ]ⲙⲛⲧ ϩⲱⲡ ϩⲉⲛⲧ ⲙⲛⲱⲟⲙⲛⲧ ϩⲕⲓⲣⲱⲛ, etc., “three silver chains, three silver *schop*, three candlesticks, etc.”, in P.KRU 76.42–3 it is modified by ϩϭαⲧ, “bridal”; here, Till qualifies “Schôp” as “Schmuckstück”.<sup>13</sup> The main text of P.KRU 30 records the transfer of a bridal gift (specifically, a house), but in an addendum to the text, which appears amongst the witness statements at the end, there is reference to a silver *schop*: [εⲧ]βεⲛⲕⲟϥⲓ ϩⲱⲡ ϩⲉⲗ[ⲧ ϩⲧα]ⲛεⲕεⲓⲱⲧ ⲧααϭ ϩⲧ[αⲙααϥ ... ϩ]ⲛεⲣⲱⲙε εϩεⲛαⲓⲉ ϩαϭ ... “concerning the small silver *schop* that your father gave to my [mother ...] no-one is able to sue her ...” (P.KRU 30.34–5). The transfers of the objects occur from a woman to a man (P.KRU 34, 66, 76) and from a man to a woman (P.KRU 30). This provides no gender distinction to aid in identifying the object, e.g. as an object only used by women.

It is named in O.Crum 183.7 and 477.7, lists of various objects, both of which are too damaged to enable an identification of the item.<sup>14</sup> Silver ϩⲱⲡ-objects ([ϩ]ϩⲱⲡ ϩⲉⲗⲁⲧ)

<sup>10</sup> W.C. TILL, *Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden*, p. 132: “[Ich verkaufe dir] meinen silbernen Schop.” L.S.B. MACCOULL, *Coptic Legal Documents*, p. 60 follows suit referring to it as a “silver item” and “silver object.”

<sup>11</sup> T.G. WILFONG, *Women of Jeme*, p. 142 (this is not a translation of the document but part of a summary of sales involving women from the village).

<sup>12</sup> CD = W.E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1939. The Coptic word is derived from earlier Demotic *šp(e)* “a type of circular ornament” (CDD Š p. 104) [CDD = J.H. JOHNSON (ed.), *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* ([http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/cdd\\_sh.pdf](http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/cdd_sh.pdf))].

<sup>13</sup> W.C. TILL, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen auf Grund der koptische Urkunden*, Wien, 1954, p. 164.

<sup>14</sup> CD 576b also refers to a gold *schop*, ϩⲱⲡ ϩⲛⲟ(ϥ)ⲃ, that appears in Till’s copies of ostraca excavated by Chicago (Ostra.Chicago 29 1930), but no other details pertaining to it are known. This compound is also attested in Demotic, cf. CDD Š p. 104.

appear in a list of pledged articles, mainly of metal, in O.CrumST 439.5.<sup>15</sup> But this does not serve to elucidate the matter, either. P.Mon.Epiph. 545 (ostrakon) is an extract from a will containing yet another list of articles. While the function of the *schop* here listed is not described, its value is stated as 2 holokottinoi – ογῶπι ἄρατ κναγ ἄρολοκ(οττινος) – a pricey sum!<sup>16</sup> This is the same as the penalty recorded in the current document and, as the penalty was set at a higher price than the item in question (in order to act as a true deterrent for violating the deed), the price of the ῶπι in P.KRU is certainly less than this. The list also includes clothing, a mat, knives, bowls, and a candlestick, which is the second most expensive item, but half the cost of the ῶπι at only 1 holokottinos.<sup>17</sup> Till translates it in this instance as “Armband”, providing yet another translation of the term, this time more precise still. In his translations we see the following progression: Schop > Schmuckstück > Armband (i.e. untranslated > general category > specific item). There is nothing in the text that indicates this is correct.

ῶπι also appears in O.Medin.HabuCopt. 28, an account containing names of men and women followed by measurements. Three measurements are included: ἄπτ (CD 176a) and ἄαε (CD 213a) are both grain measures, and ῶπι. While it is possible that this is in error for ῶπι, a unit of measure of four fingers, i.e. a palm (CD 574b), it may instead be connected with the ῶπι heretofore discussed. P.Mon.Epiph. 293.4 refers to a ῶπλακ, a compound comprising ῶπι- and λακ, ‘bowl, cup’ (from λοκ, CD 138a–b) as a measure, but the ostrakon is incomplete and further details are lost.<sup>18</sup> Could our ῶπι also refer to a unit of measure? If so, ῶπι may be a vessel of some kind, of a specific size, derived from a unit of measure. This is speculative, and it is questionable whether something so seemingly mundane would have such a high value, unless ‘vessel’ is taken to mean a chalice of

<sup>15</sup> This list also includes other metal objects, in bronze (κναγ ἄχι κρομῆτ; ογῶρη ἄρομῆτ; ογῶι ἄρομῆτ [ῶ]ηη) and copper (ογλακκῆν βαρωτ). L.S.B. MACCOULL, in her discussion of this text, “Further Notes on ST 439,” *ZPE* 96 (1993), p. 229–233, treats ῶπι as “receptacle”.

<sup>16</sup> This is on a par with the value of real estate from the village, where divisions of a house sell for less than this; cf. e.g. in P.KRU 13, one-quarter of two buildings is sold for only 1 holokottinos.

<sup>17</sup> P.Mon.Epiph. 545.5–16: ογῶπι ἄρατ κναγ ἄρολοκ λοτιζ κναγκη κεις ἄλικνε ἄρομη κντε κροτε ἄκνε κσιμε ογκρων κρορολοκ, ογκροκροκ κροτερμηκιο[η] ἄπτ κρολλ ἄκα[.] ἄκακε ογπρω [κροτερ]ἄκιο κντε [η.]κροτε κει κροατρε κει κροατρε ογκροκ κροατρε κρολοκ, “a silver ῶπι worth (lit. ‘for’) 2 *holokottinoi*; (a) valuable blanket (λωδιξ); (an)other 9 *likna* of money; 2 women’s dyed garments; a candlestick, worth 1 holokottinos; a jug, worth 1 tremi[s]; 10 [?] loaves; a mat [worth 1 tre]mis; 10 knives; 9 bowls; a *lau*-blanket, worth half a holokottinos”. Cf. W.C. TILL, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*, p. 96–7.

<sup>18</sup> Only a description is provided of P.Mon.Epiph. 293, a letter involving women. In this, Crum notes the measure as on l. 5, but consultation of the original (available on the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s online catalogue, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/>) shows that ογῶπλακ is at the end of l. 4.

some description. In this light, the translation most closely agrees with that suggested by MacCoull for O.CrumST 439, i.e. ‘receptacle’ (cf. n. 15).

I believe it most likely that in P.KRU 34 the term refers to a form of jewellery, but there do appear to be two different nouns,  $\omega\omega\pi$ , in use at Thebes at this time, the second referring to a unit of measure or container of some kind. With this in mind, I have adopted a generic translation here.

3–4. MacCoull reconstructs the lost text as “[I am selling] you my silver object. You gave its price to me; [I have transferred] the object [to you]” (note: the use of square brackets is my own to indicate reconstructed text).<sup>19</sup> This ignores the circumstantial prefix  $\epsilon$ - and therefore its subordinate relationship with either what precedes or what follows.

5.  $\epsilon\omega\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon$ [...: Till supplies “Wenn ich [gegen dich auftrete] in Angelegenheit jenes silbernen Schop”. The usual idiom found at Djeme is either  $\epsilon\iota$   $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$   $\epsilon$ - or  $\epsilon\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon$   $\mu\eta$ -. This is not the case here, as  $\tau\epsilon$ - is certain, unless  $\tau$  is read as a mistake. If,  $\epsilon$ - is a mistake for  $\epsilon\rho$ -, this is the prenominal prefix,  $\epsilon\rho\omega\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon$ -, for which a parallel exists in P.KRU 4.64:  $\epsilon\rho\omega\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\alpha\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$   $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$   $\eta\mu\mu\alpha\kappa$ , “If my siblings sue you”.

6.  $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$   $\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  is the most common variant found before  $\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$   $\mu\pi\rho\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\eta$ . The second most common variant is  $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$   $\chi\omicron\lambda\omega\varsigma$ , but unique examples are also found, e.g.  $\chi\iota\tau\eta\kappa\epsilon\omicron\gamma\alpha$   $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$   $\mu\pi\alpha\mu\pi\rho\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\eta$  “through another acting as my representative” (P.KRU 28.41);  $\mu\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\uparrow$   $\mu\epsilon\phi\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota$   $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$   $\mu\pi\epsilon\phi\eta\rho\omega\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\eta$  “the one who will proceed, acting as his representative” (P.KRU 68.80);  $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$   $\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$   $\epsilon\pi\tau\eta\rho\gamma$   $\epsilon\phi\eta\eta\gamma$   $\mu\eta\eta\kappa\omega\iota$   $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$   $\mu\pi\alpha\mu\pi\rho\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\eta$  “anybody, at all, coming after me, acting as my representative” (P.KRU 74.78–9). The last of these, or anything akin to it, is too long.

7. The closest parallel (presuming that the lacuna at the end of l. 5 refers to legal action against the second party) is P.KRU 45.49–50:  $\mu\omicron\tau\epsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omega$   $\mu\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\mu\alpha$   $\chi\eta\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$   $\eta\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\eta\phi\epsilon\iota$   $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$   $\epsilon\rho\omega$  “Any time, the one who will dare, in any time, sue you”. However, the switch to the first party as object at the beginning of l. 8 –  $\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota$  not  $\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$  – means that this is not applicable here.

8. Compliance with the original terms of the contract is standard at the end of the penal clause, following the financial penalty, and is typically expressed with the Conjunctive, as here. The most common formula is reconstructed here. The use of 1st person singular pronouns is again unusual.

<sup>19</sup> L.S.B. MACCOULL, *Coptic Legal Documents*, p. 60.



9.  $\varphi\theta[\rho\alpha\chi \dots]$  for  $\varphi[\theta \ \nu\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma]$  (ed. princ.). This is another set formula in legal documents, which states the validity of the document and which normally comprises two or more elements.  $\theta \ \nu\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  is found in initial position only in P.KRU 55.23–4 ( $\alpha\iota\varsigma\mu\eta\pi\tau\epsilon\iota\epsilon\gamma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\theta(\nu)$   $\epsilon\varphi\theta \ \nu\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ) and O.CrumST 429.8 ( $\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma\phi\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha \ \varsigma\omicron\gamma \ \chi\omicron\iota\varsigma \ \tau\epsilon$ ). When  $\theta \ \nu\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  appears in second place, it is as a variant of  $\sigma\mu\beta\omicron\mu$ , which appears more frequently, and the two appear together only twice, in P.KRU 66.64 ( $\varsigma\omicron\rho\chi \ \sigma\mu\beta\omicron\mu \ \varsigma\omicron \ \overline{\nu\chi\tau}$ ) and 105.22 ( $\epsilon\varphi\omega\rho\chi \ \epsilon\varphi\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\iota\omicron\gamma \ \lambda\gamma\omega \ \epsilon\varphi\sigma\mu\beta\omicron\mu \ \epsilon\varphi\omega \ \nu\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ). It is therefore unlikely, even without other parallels by this scribe, that  $\varphi\theta \ \nu\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  is first;  $\varphi\theta\rho\chi$  is more probable.

10. The ed. princ. reconstructs  $\uparrow\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota$ , but  $\alpha\iota\theta\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$  is expected in this formula (see the commentary to l. 13).  $\uparrow\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota$  is, instead, expected in the lacuna at the end of l. 11 (see below).

11.  $\pi\rho\alpha\kappa^{\circ}$  for  $\pi\rho\alpha\kappa$  (ed. princ.).

11.  $\tau\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\omega\rho\pi\bar{\iota}\varsigma\alpha[1]$  for  $\tau\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\sigma\omega\rho\pi\iota\varsigma\alpha[1]$  (ed. princ.): Following the relative I Perfect prefix, the pronominal subject was written as  $\epsilon\varsigma$  (3<sup>rd</sup> fem. sing.), but this was immediately corrected to  $\alpha$  (1<sup>st</sup> sing.), identifiable by its descending vertical stroke. Thus, “the one whom I already mentioned”, not “the one whom she already mentioned”.

11. The ed. princ. fails to reconstruct the text here. In P.KRU 7.59, the first party’s subscription reads:  $\alpha\ \nu\omicron\kappa \ \iota\omega\varsigma\eta\pi\iota \ \pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon \ \alpha\ \nu\theta\alpha\ \nu\alpha\varsigma\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \pi\epsilon\ \nu\tau\alpha\ \alpha\omega\rho\pi\iota\varsigma\alpha\iota \ \tau\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota} \ \tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\chi\epsilon$  “I, the above-mentioned Joseph, agree”. A variant of this – with or without mistakes ( $\pi\epsilon\ \nu\tau\alpha\ \alpha\omega\rho\pi\iota\varsigma\alpha\iota \ \tau\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota} > \pi\epsilon\ \nu\tau\alpha\ \alpha\omega\rho\pi\iota\varsigma\alpha\iota \ \eta\tau\tau\epsilon$ ) – is expected here.

12. Paulos son of Kabiu is otherwise attested in O.Crum 166.5, but only in passing. As is noted above, the document is written in a single hand and Till already recognised Paulos as the scribe of this text, labelling him as N., that is “Urkundenschreiber”, even though he is not listed as such in P.KRU Index V (Schreiber).<sup>20</sup> The identification of Paulos as the scribe is based on the reconstructed text from l. 12.

12. The use of  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$  ( $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ) is often found where the help of a writing assistant has been sought, e.g. P.KRU 68.110  $\alpha\iota\varsigma\mu\eta\pi\tau\epsilon\iota\epsilon\gamma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\ \nu\ \Delta\iota\alpha\theta\eta\kappa / \ \pi\rho\omicron\varsigma \ \theta\epsilon \ \eta\tau\alpha\sigma\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon \ \mu\omicron\iota$  “I drew up this document in accordance with what he begged of me”. This includes witnesses who could not sign by their own hand, e.g. P.KRU 65.96–7. Parallels with what survives here are found in O.Medin.HabuCopt 50.7–9 ( $\alpha\gamma\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon \ \mu\omicron\iota \ \alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha\iota \ \eta\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\chi \ \tau\epsilon\omega \ \mu\alpha\rho\tau\gamma\rho \ \alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha\iota \ \gamma\eta\varsigma\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon \ \pi\alpha\omega\ \nu\epsilon$  “I was begged and I wrote by my hand. I bear

<sup>20</sup> W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie*, p. 161.

witness. I wrote on the 20<sup>th</sup> Paone”); 56.8–9 (αφπαρακαλει μοι αιωρ (l. σοορε?) τεβλε ντασιχ “He begged me and I set up (i.e. drew up) the ostrakon by my hand”); 58.19–20 (αφπαρακαλε μοι αιεραι γαροφ “He begged me and I wr[ote] for him”); O.Crum 222.20–1 ([α]λλο παρακαλει μοι αιε[ραι] πεπλαξ “Hllo begged me and I wrote this tablet (πλάξ)”). παρακαλέω is largely synonymous with αιτέω, for which many more examples can be found. Of particular note is O.Crum 40.13–6, where it is also preceded by the date: αιαιτι μοι [αι]εραι †βλε ε ηνσογχογτωμοτε μπεβοτ μεχειρ της τριτης ινδικ/ αγω †ο μμαρτυρος “He asked me and [I] wrote the ostrakon on 23<sup>rd</sup> Mechir, the 3<sup>rd</sup> indiction, and I bear witness”. It cannot be determined whether αιεραι γαροφ or αιεραι επιχαρτης was written in the lacuna here.

13. ινΔ/ ια for ινΔ/° † (ed. princ.). The document is dated 15.01.713. An absolute date is given, despite the lack of attestations for all those mentioned in the text, based on the use of the old form of the *Stipulationsklausel*: αγχνογι αιρομολογει not νσεχνογι νταρομολογει.<sup>21</sup> This is deemed more secure than the only prosopographic evidence: Paulos son of Kabiu appears in O.Crum 166, in which Stephanos son of Johannes also appears. The latter is mentioned in P.KRU 119, but this is dated simply mid-8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>22</sup>

14. This is the only attestation of Athanasios son of Petros.<sup>23</sup>

## 2. P.KRU 55<sup>24</sup>

### *Shenoute son of Elias*

MS.Copt.b.12 (P)                      165 mm (w) × 390 mm (h)  
07.10.720 (or 735)

P.KRU 55 records a settlement between business partners in the village. Georgios son of Matthias, the first party, reaches a settlement with Petros son of Komes, the second party,

<sup>21</sup> W.C. TILL, “Die koptische Stipulationsklausel,” *Orientalia* 19, 1950, p. 82.

<sup>22</sup> W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie*, p. 22 and 41 for P.KRU 34 and 119 respectively.

<sup>23</sup> W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie*, p. 65.

<sup>24</sup> Translations of this text can be found in: W.C. TILL, *Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden*, p. 137–8, and L.S.B. MACCOULL, *Coptic Legal Documents*, p. 68–9. The document first appeared as P.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 437, which provides a description and partial translation.

concerning mutual business and payment owed by Petros to Georgios.<sup>25</sup> No particulars concerning the arrangement, i.e. the amount of money owed by Petros, are recorded.

The document was known to Crum only on the basis of Goodwin's earlier transcription (as is also the case with P.KRU 38 above), amongst whose notes it was labelled as "Joad I". Consultation of the original shows that Goodwin's transcription can be improved in several respects. Chief amongst these is the reading of the final line of the text, in which the scribe wrote his signature. This is not an anonymous document, as it appears to be in the ed. princ.

The papyrus comprises three sheets, with joins at 15 and 185 mm from the top edge. The fibres of the top sheet, which bears no text, are horizontal, and so originally must have been the top sheet and borne the Arabic protocol (as is standard practice in Theban Coptic documents). The document is preserved in full but there are several areas of damage, especially in the top half. There are some patches of discoloration, notably at the bottom of the sheet, which predate the writing of the text.

In the ed. princ. no individual hands are identified. In addition to the scribe of the main text, the first party, Georgios, writes his own subscription, and one Sergios writes for Mena son of Paham. These statements are written more closely together than the body of the text, in order that they could fit in the remaining space at the bottom of the papyrus (it may also be for this reason that Shenoute writes Daniel's statement directly after Georgios', on the same line, rather than at the beginning of a new line, as is typical). The main scribe is Shenoute son of Elias, for whom this is the only attestation (see commentary to l. 31), who writes in a cursive hand, with a right slant, and few ligatures. There are some extravagant writings, particularly  $\tau$  in the  $\alpha\tau$ -group and  $\nu$ . Lines are consistently well spaced throughout. The superlinear stroke is used, often over entire lexemes, and can have a pronounced arch (this is especially the case in l. 2, where it looks like superlinear  $\pi$  above  $\nu$ ). The diaeresis above  $\iota$  is common.

<sup>25</sup> P.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 437: "George ... recalls the division previously made of their common business and now undertakes not to make any subsequent claim as regards the fine which he had paid on Peter's behalf(?)  $\eta\tau\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\chi[c] \epsilon\chi\omega\kappa$ , since the latter had already repaid him" (although, see here the correction to l. 8). This is the only known attestation of Georgios; cf. W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie*, p. 90. Conversely, the name Petros son of Komes is attested several times at Djeme, including a *lashane* (698–719) and a *dioiketes* (724–5), amongst others, for which see W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie*, p. 171–2. It is not possible to certainly identify our Petros, from 720 or 735, with one of these.

- 1 vac.? + ἀνοκ γεωργ[γ]ιος πω[ηρ]ε . . . . [...]
- 2 [ρμπκαστ]ρον ν̄χημε πνομος ν̄τ[πολις]
- 3 [ερμον]τ̄ [ε]ιςζαι μπეტρος πωηρε μπμακ/  
4 κομετος ρμπεικαστρον νογωτ
- 5 χεεπειδη ραρηωβ ηπραγματεια ετ̄ν̄ρ-  
6 [ρ]ωβ ερος̄ μ̄[η]ενερ[η]γ̄ ἀν̄π̄ωλ̄ς̄ εβολ[λ μν-]  
7 νεερηγ̄ μπμερος̄ σναγ̄ ρ̄ν̄ρωβ̄ νιμ  
8 [...η]ν̄ ετβερηωβ̄ ντζημια νταγνοχς̄  
9 εχωκ̄ πενταϊτααγ̄ νακ̄ ακαπολογιζε  
10 μμο[γ] ναϊ̄ ογδε̄ ανοκ̄ ογδε̄ con̄ επωϊ̄  
11 ογδε̄ λααγ̄ ηρωμε̄ εφειρε̄ μπαπροσωπον̄  
12 ννεγεωεναγε̄ νακ̄ ογδε̄ ντοκ̄ ογδε̄  
13 νεκωηρε̄ ογδε̄ λααγ̄ ηρωμε̄ επωκπε̄ εβολ̄  
14 χεακαπολογιζε̄ ναϊ̄ μπετειωαϊταρογ̄ αγω̄  
15 ἀν̄π̄ωλ̄ς̄̄ εβολ̄ μ̄ν̄νεερηγ̄ ρ̄ν̄νογ̄β̄ ρ̄ν̄-  
16 ρατ̄ ρ̄ν̄ειδος̄ <sup>mm</sup> επατεηπραγματειαπε̄ εμητ̄ι  
17 επρηωβ̄ ννενασφαλειᾱ μ̄ν̄νεερηγ̄ αγω̄  
18 μντεκτις̄ ετρηβολ̄ ενωρ̄κ̄ μπνογτε̄  
19 ππαντοκρατωρ̄ μ̄ν̄πογχαϊ̄ ννεηχισοογε̄  
20 εταρχεῑ εχων̄ ρ̄ιτ̄μ̄πογερσαρνε̄ μπνογτε̄  
21 ετραραρερ̄ ετσομ̄ μπειεγγραφ̄<sup>o</sup> νατπαραβα  
22 μμογ̄ αγω̄ πετναπαραβᾱ μμογ̄ εφνα†  
23 ογλιτρᾱ ν̄νογ̄β̄ εγωρ̄χ̄ νακ̄ αῑσ̄μ̄ν̄πειεγ-  
24 γραφ̄[λ]<sup>o</sup> εφο̄ ν̄χοεις̄ εγρ/ μ<sup>h</sup> φαωφῑ ις̄ ιν̄<sup>^</sup>/ τεταρ<sup>T</sup> +  
25 <sup>Hd 2</sup> + ἀνοκ̄ γεωργιος̄ πω[ηρ]ε̄ νμακρ̄ιος̄ μαθ̄ιος̄  
26 τεστεχ̄ πενκραφον̄ μερηωβ̄ νιμ̄ εφχηρ̄  
27 ρογ̄ ν̄τασ̄ιχ̄ <sup>Hd 1</sup> + ἀνοκ̄ δανηηλ̄ π[ω]ηρε̄ μπμακ/  
28 ζαχαριας̄ †ο̄ μ̄ν̄τρε̄ + ἀνοκ̄ σενογ<sup>o</sup> ηλιας̄ αῑς̄ραϊ̄ ραρογ̄ +  
29 <sup>Hd 3</sup> + ἀνοκ̄ μ̄ηνᾱ πωηρε̄ ηπαζαμ̄ †ω̄ μ̄ν̄τρε̄  
30 [α]νοκ̄ σεργιος̄ αῑς̄ραϊ̄ ραρογ̄  
31 <sup>Hd 1</sup> + σενογ<sup>o</sup> ηλιας̄ αῑς̄μ̄ν̄τγ̄ +

3. μακ(αριος). 6. μη(ν)ενηρηγ. 10. επωι(πε). 16. εμητι *l.* ειμητι (ει μη τι). 18. εκτις *l.* εκτις(ις) ογ κτις(ις)? 21, 23. εγγραφο(ν). 24. εγρ(αφη) μη(νος) φαωφι ις ιηδ(ικτιωνος) τεταρτ(ος). 25. ημακριος *l.* ημμακαριος. 26. τεστηχ *l.* τιστοιχ(ει). 26. πενκραφον *l.* ηπεγγραφον. 26. μενζοβ *l.* ηνζοβ. 27. (ε)ροφ. 27. μακ(αριος). 28. σενογθ(ιος). 29. ηπαζαμ *l.* ηπαζαμ. 29. ω *l.* ο 29. (μ)μητρε. 31. σενογθ(ιος).

“+ I, Geor[g]ios the s[on of the late Matthias from the cast]rum Djeme, the nome of the [city Ermon]t, write to Petros the son of the late Komes from this same castrum.

<sup>(5)</sup> Concerning the business with which we are t[o]ge[th]er [in]volved, we have reached a settlement [with] each other, both parties, in every matter. [And al]so, concerning the expenditure imposed upon you, what I gave to you, you have repaid <sup>(10)</sup> to me.

Neither I nor (a) brother of mine, nor any man acting as my representative is able to sue you, neither you nor your children, nor any man of yours, because you have paid me what I am due. Moreover, <sup>(15)</sup> we reached an agreement together, in gold, in silver, in everything belonging to our business, except the matter of our deed of agreement together, and the outstanding full payment.

We swear by God Almighty and the health of our lords <sup>(20)</sup> who rule over us through the command of God to preserve the authority of this inviolable document. Moreover, the one who will transgress it will pay a pound of gold.

As a surety for you, I have drawn up this authoritative document.

Written 16<sup>th</sup> Paopi, 4<sup>th</sup> indiction.

<sup>(25)</sup> + I, Georgios the [s]on of the late Matthias, agree to the document and every matter written therein, by my hand.

+ I, Daniel the son of the late Zacharias, bear witness. + I, Shenoute (son of) Elias, wrote for him. +

+ I, Mena the son of Paham, bear witness. <sup>(30)</sup> I, Sergios, wrote for him.

+ (I,) Shenoute (son of) Elias wrote it. +”

1. The beginning of the line is either blank, possibly because of previous damage to the papyrus, or a short opening was written, which is now lost. The only likely contender is  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ <sup>o</sup> (σὺν θεῷ) “With God”, or a variant thereof, which is also found at the start of P.KRU 88.2 ( $\sigma\upsilon$ <sup>no</sup>) and 110.1 ( $\sigma\upsilon$ <sup>o</sup>). In each instance it immediately precedes  $\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa$ , although in the

first example it is written after the Greek protocol. The phrase is also found at the beginning of a number of smaller texts, including tax receipts (O.Crum 426–9, O.CrumST 67), a tax notification (P.Bal. 130 Appendix A), and orders from a superior (O.Crum 500–8).

1. The patronymic  $\mu\pi\mu\alpha\kappa/\mu\alpha\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (or a variant spelling), which is preserved on l. 25 where Georgios signs his consent, is expected at the end of the line, but it is difficult to reconstruct the extant traces to support this.

2.  $[\rho\mu\pi\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\mu]$  is omitted in the ed. princ., where the second line is indented without any indication of a lacuna or traces. The reconstruction  $\rho\mu\pi$ - rather than  $\pi\rho\mu\pi$ - is made on the basis of the parallel in l. 4,  $\rho\mu\pi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\mu$ .

6.  $\mu[\nu]\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho[\eta]\gamma$  for  $\mu\eta\eta\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$  (ed. princ.). In the first lacuna there is only space for a single letter; there has thus been a mistake by the scribe.

8. The ed. princ. reconstructs  $[\mu\omicron\omicron\omicron]\mu$ , but this is not certain and it is questionable whether there is sufficient space for it in the lacuna. An alternative reconstruction is  $[\lambda\gamma\omega\ \omicron]\mu$ , which is how I have decided to translate it.<sup>26</sup>

8.  $\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\eta\omicron\chi\varsigma$  for  $\eta\tau\alpha\iota\eta\omicron\chi[\varsigma]$  (ed. princ.). The writing here is faint, but following  $\alpha$  there is a small  $\gamma$ , of which the left diagonal stroke is visible. The interpretation of the text remains the same: Petros became in debt, as a result of unspecified expenditures ( $\zeta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ), and it was Georgios who provided the financial aid for these. This document records the settling of this situation.

10.  $\epsilon\pi\omega\dot{\iota}$  for  $\epsilon\pi\omega\iota\pi\epsilon$  (ed. princ.). There is insufficient space for  $\pi\epsilon$  at the end of the line. This is a careless omission by the scribe, who writes the same construction correctly in l. 13.

16.  $\mu\mu$  is not noted as a superlinear addition in the ed. princ.

16.  $\epsilon\mu\eta\tau\iota$  for  $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota$  (ed. princ.).

18. What  $\epsilon\kappa\tau\iota\varsigma(\iota\varsigma)$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\eta$ ) refers to is unclear: this ‘full payment’ cannot refer to the sum of money Georgios paid out on Petros’ behalf, as it is previously stated that this has been repaid. Till was also uncertain, reading “(?  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\iota\varsigma$  ?)”, and translating it as ‘Be-gleichung’.<sup>27</sup>  $\kappa\tau\iota\varsigma(\iota\varsigma)$  ( $\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ,  $\eta$ ), ‘founding’ or ‘settling’ (‘setting-up’), is also possible,

<sup>26</sup> I owe this point to the editor, Prof. Friedhelm Hoffmann.

<sup>27</sup> W.C. TILL, *Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden*, p. 138.

which would then refer to a payment made during the initial phases of the business.<sup>28</sup> Both readings are possible, but the lack of specific details and background make the selection of one over the other difficult.

24. εγρ/μ<sup>h</sup> φαωφι ις ιν<sup>Δ</sup>/ τεταρ<sup>τ</sup> for εγρ/ μ<sup>ι</sup> φαωφι ι. ινδ τεταρ<sup>τ</sup> (ed. princ.).<sup>29</sup> There is no digraphic shift in Shenoute's hand here. However, the area is damaged and none of the letters involved are those that would show clear variants between Coptic and Greek, such as β.<sup>30</sup> If this is to be treated as Greek, it is to be read ἐγρ(άφη) μη(νός) Φαῶφι ἰς ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) τέταρτ(ος).

16th Paopi, 4<sup>th</sup> indiction = 7<sup>th</sup> October 720 or 735.<sup>31</sup>

25–28. Hand 2: Georgios son of Matthias writes his own consent in an uneven bilinear hand with multiple stroke letter formations. Letters are often cramped and there is some difficulty in their formation.

27–28. This is the only known attestation of Daniel son of Zacharis.<sup>32</sup>

29–30. Hand 3: Sergios' hand is similar to Georgios', that is, thick with some difficulties maintaining an even appearance. Overall, though, letters are more rounded and it is a slightly more accomplished style.<sup>33</sup>

29. MacCoull, reads Abraham rather than Paham.<sup>34</sup> A Mena son of Abraham is attested in P.KRU 51.12, but Mena son of Paham is well attested at Djeme.<sup>35</sup>

31. Goodwin was not able to read this line – the scribe's notation, and Till misread it as Samuel, without patronymic.<sup>36</sup> The text is damaged and difficult to read, and this is exac-

<sup>28</sup> As already suggested by L.S.B. MACCOULL, *Coptic Legal Documents*, p. 70 n. 5.

<sup>29</sup> The correct reading of the date was already provided by W.C. TILL, *Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden*, p. 138.

<sup>30</sup> For this practice, see J. CROMWELL, "Aristophanes son of Johannes: An Eighth Century Bilingual Scribe?" in: A. PAPAConstantinou (ed.) *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt from the Ptolemies to the Abassids*, Aldershot, 2010, p. 221–232, especially the table on p. 227.

<sup>31</sup> W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie*, p. 25 extends this range to cover 750 as well, on the basis that none of the personnel involved can be dated, but that Mena son of Paham dates to the second quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>32</sup> W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie*, p. 72.

<sup>33</sup> A Sergios son of Victor, deacon of the holy church in Apé, writes his own witness statement in P.KRU 82.51, but it is not possible to equate the two individuals; cf. W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie*, p. 198.

<sup>34</sup> L.S.B. MACCOULL, *Coptic Legal Documents*, p. 70.

<sup>35</sup> A Mena son of Paham was a senior official in the village in the 720s; cf. W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie*, p. 141–2.

<sup>36</sup> W.C. TILL, *Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden*, p. 138: "Samuel, ich habe sie (=die Urkunde) ausgestellt".

erbedated by poor writing in cramped conditions at the bottom of the page (the witnesses left barely enough room for him to sign), and interference from l. 30 above. Comparison with his writing of his name on l. 28 confirms that the same individual,  $\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\gamma^{\circ}\ \eta\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$  (Shenoute son of Elias), wrote both. This is especially clear in the writing of  $\gamma$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\lambda$ , and final  $\varsigma$ , which are almost identical in each example. The only major differences are the writing of  $\epsilon$  and superlinear  $\theta$ . In l. 31, both letters are more extravagant:  $\epsilon$  has an ascending stroke and the bisecting horizontal stroke of  $\theta$  is much longer. This is possibly the result of Shenoute having to lift his pen from the papyrus to re-dip, as indicated by the discrepancy in colour between the horizontal stroke and the body of theta.

P.KRU 55.28



P.KRU 55.31



### 3. *New Scribes in Old Documents*

The Djeme documents have been published now for a century (P.KRU was published in 1912), but despite this, the scribes responsible for them have received scant attention.<sup>37</sup> This is, in part, due to the lack of published images of the documents and also that the location of several were largely unknown.

Neither P.KRU 34 nor P.KRU 55 was previously attributed to certain scribes, instead being included in P.KRU Index V, ‘Schreiber’, as anonymous texts. Consultation of the original manuscripts corrects this. In the first case, only one person is responsible for the writing of the entire document, and the only person to assign his name to any part of it is

<sup>37</sup> T.S. RICHTER, “Zwei Urkunden des koptischen Notars David, des Sohnes des Psate,” *APF* 44, 1998, p. 69–85 is one of the only studies to focus on a specific scribe from the village (excluding my own studies, e.g. CROMWELL, “Aristophanes son of Johannes”). Several monks, well-known from the letters written to and from them, have received more detailed study, cf. especially the monks Frange (A. BOUD’HORS / C. HEUTEL, *Les ostraca coptes de la TT 29. Autour du moine Frangé*, Bruxelles, 2010) and Pisentius (see *P.Pisentius* and concerning the life of the man, see, most recently, R. DEKKER, “Encomium on Pesynthios of Coptos. The Recently Discovered Sahidic Version from Shaykh Abd al-Qurna,” in: G. GAWDAT / H.N. TAKLA (ed.) *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt. Vol. 2: Nag Hammadi-Esna*, Cairo-New York, 2010, p. 21–31).



Paulos son of Kabiou. In the second document, Shenoute's signature can be read. These are the only attestations of each as a scribe. Indeed, P.KRU 55 is the only attestation of Shenoute son of Elias in Till's prosopographic study of Theban texts. This reference is, of course, restricted to his role as 'Schreibhelfer', i.e. ὑπογραφεύς, referring to l. 28 in which he writes on behalf of Daniel son of Zacharias, who is unable to write his own witness statement.<sup>38</sup> The reading of the final line of the papyrus makes it clear that Shenoute wrote the actual document as well.

While this brings the number of 'anonymous' P.KRU texts down to 34, the number is in fact lower, as has been noted – albeit not explicitly – in several studies since the 1960s. A number of documents lacking their scribal notation can be assigned to known scribes of other documents. Sebastian Richter, in his study of David son of Psate, attributes P.KRU 22 and 29 (two deeds of sale) to him.<sup>39</sup> P.KRU 56, a settlement over money, can certainly be attributed to Shmentsnêy (also spelled Khmentsnêy) son of Shenoute, the scribe of P.KRU 12, 13, and 106. Till had already suggested this, based on the presence of his name in a broken segment towards the end of the document: κητςνηγ πωηρε νς . . . ρογ [...πω]ηρε νςενογ<sup>τ</sup> αγειται μοι αισζαι ζαηεπροσοπον αγω αισζαις ενταβιχ “Shmentsnêy son of S[henoute? ... the s]on of Shenoute, I was asked and I wrote for these people, and I wrote it (i.e. the document), by my hand” (ll. 27–31).<sup>40</sup> This is confirmed through personal inspection of the papyri involved, all of which are written in the same hand.<sup>41</sup> Till also recognized that Markos son of Athanasios was the scribe of P.KRU 20 and 111.<sup>42</sup> Crum, who must have looked only at the last line of each edition when drawing up his scribes' index, missed Markos' notation in P.KRU 20.127–130, which is located between witness statements: ανοκ μαρκος πωηρε μπμακ / ανας<sup>τ</sup> αισμν τιπρασις ταβιχ προσ τυτισις στεφανος πωηρε γερμανος αγω τιω μητρε “I, Markos son of the late Anastasios, drew up this deed of sale by my hand, at the request of Stephanos son of Germanos, and I bear witness”. The same is also true of the donation deed P.KRU 111, where Markos' statement is followed by that of a witness: ανοκ μαρκος πωηρε μπμακ/ ανας<sup>τ</sup> αισμν

<sup>38</sup> W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie*, p. 209.

<sup>39</sup> T.S. RICHTER, “Zwei Urkunden des koptischen Notars David”.

<sup>40</sup> W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie*, p. 69.

<sup>41</sup> This is based on my own personal examination of the papyri that are part of the British Library's collection, i.e. P.KRU 12, 13, and 56. An example from the second of these texts is available in: J. CROMWELL, “Following in Father's Footsteps: The Question of Father-Son Training in Eighth Century Thebes,” in: P. SCHUBERT (ed.), *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie, Genève, 16–21 août 2010*, Genève, 2012: p. 151 (fig. 1). Indeed, P.KRU 56 was omitted from that study and should be entered into the dataset for the scribes in question.

<sup>42</sup> W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie*, p. 139.

πΑΔΩΡΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΝ [ἸΝΤΑ]ΓΙΧ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΥΤΙΟΙΣ ΕΝΩ[Χ] “I, Markos son of the late Anastastios, drew up this donation deed [by my] hand, at the request of Enoch” (ll. 31–33). The orthography and palaeography of both documents confirm they are written by the same man.<sup>43</sup>

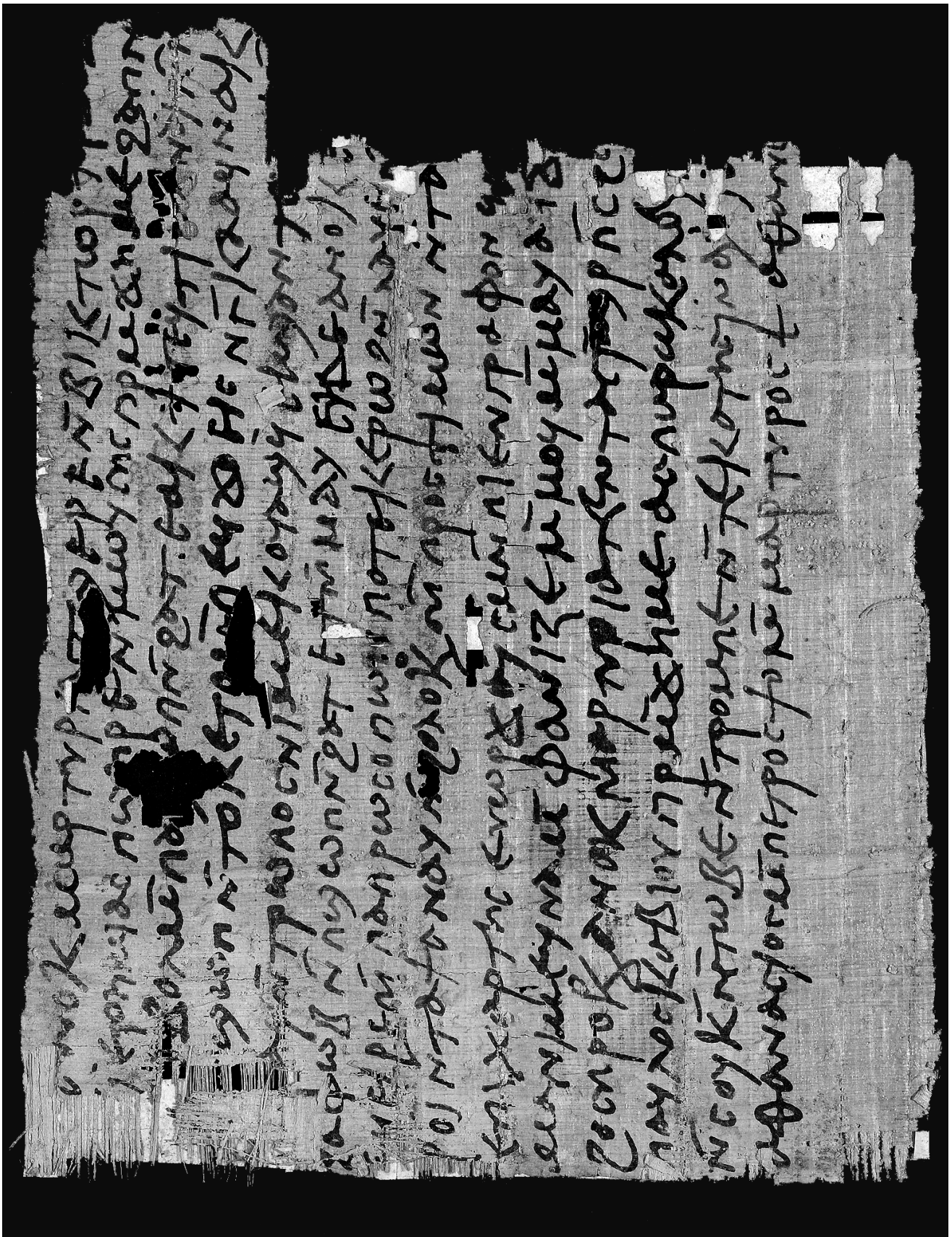
Together, P.KRU 22, 29, 56 (which can be assigned to known scribes) and 20, 34, 54, and 111 (written by men not previously identified as scribes), reduce the number of anonymous P.KRU texts from 36 to 29. In so doing, they add three men to the body of known writers who drew up documents: Paulos son of Kabiou, Shenoute son of Elias, and Markos son of Athanasios. One additional note needs to be made here. It is not only the anonymous texts that need to be examined to see if they can be assigned to certain individuals. Crum’s index of scribes is not infallible in other respects either.

Crum lists the two copies of the testament of Susanna, daughter of Tsia, P.KRU 66 and 76, under different scribes, respectively Shenetom son of Mena and the priest Komes. Shenetom did not write P.KRU 66. Indeed, as stated explicitly in the document, he was not even able to write: ϘΕΝΙΤΩΜ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΜΑΚ/ ΜΗΝΑ †Ω ΜΜΗΤΡΕ ΚΟΜΕΣ ΠΕΛΑΧ/ ΜΠΡΕΣΒΥ/ ΔΙΣΖΑΙ ΖΑΡΟΥ ΧΕΜΕΦΝΟ[Ι ΝΕΖ]ΔΙ “Shenitom son of Mena, I bear witness. Komes, the most humble priest, have written for him because he cann[ot wr]ite” (l. 85). Again, Crum looked at the final line of the document and noted that name as the scribe. The correct attestation of P.KRU 66 was also noted by Till and a detailed comparison of the two copies demonstrates that Komes wrote both.<sup>44</sup> Shenitom (of course, as an illiterate) is not attested as a scribe anywhere else. Therefore, while three scribes can be added to Crum’s list, Shenitom must be removed and P.KRU 66 assigned to Komes.

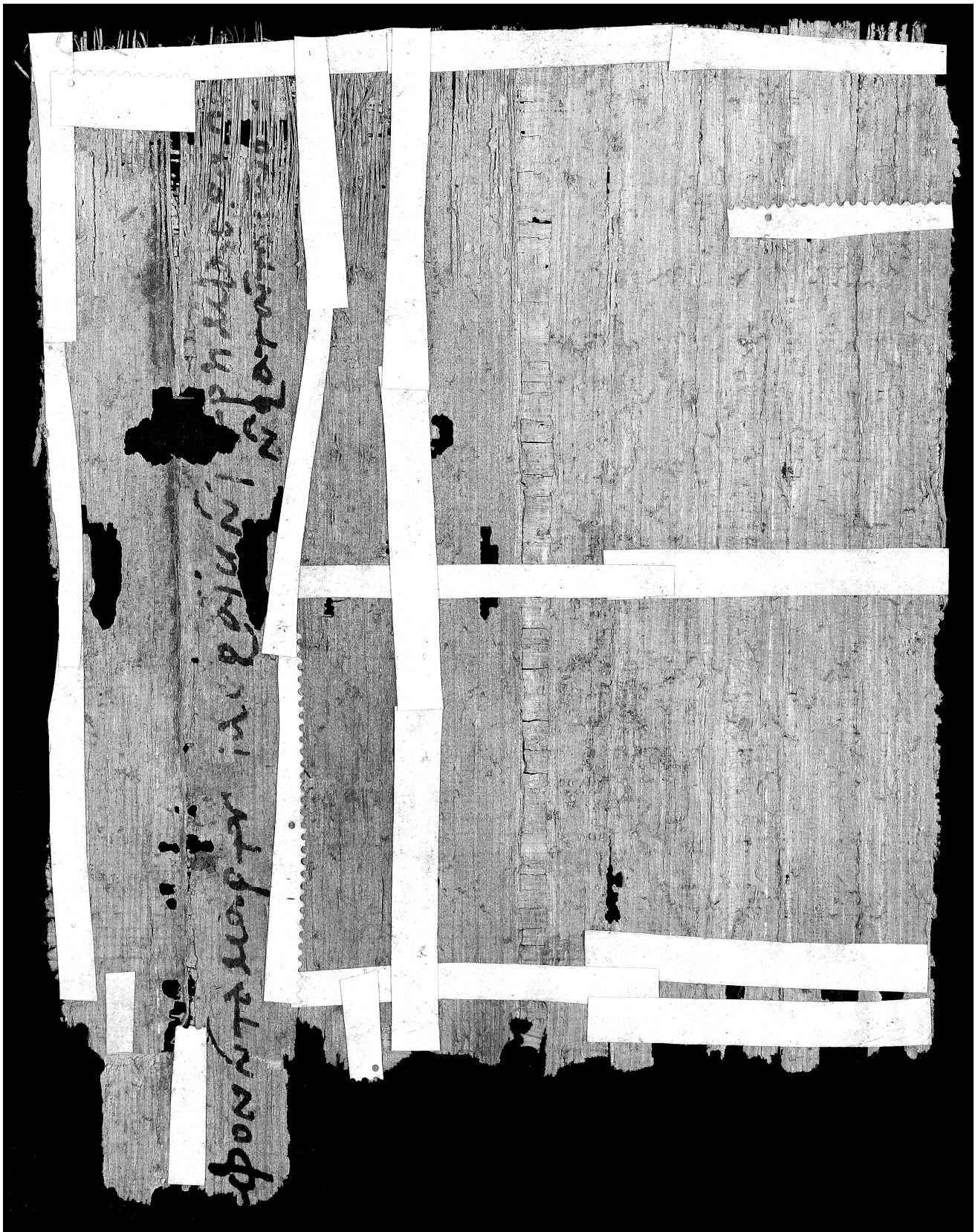
On balance, this increases the number of scribes in P.KRU Index V to 39 men and reduces the number of anonymous texts to 29 (out of 123). Many of these men are also known outside of P.KRU, amongst the vast number of non-literary texts that the village – let alone the entire Theban region – has produced. Examination of the original manuscripts of other P.KRU texts, especially in light of the amount of material that has been made available since their publication in 1912, might help to further reduce the number of ‘anonymous’ productions and identify more men who were able to – and did – draw up such documents.

<sup>43</sup> This is again based on personal analysis of the papyri, both of which are in the British Library.

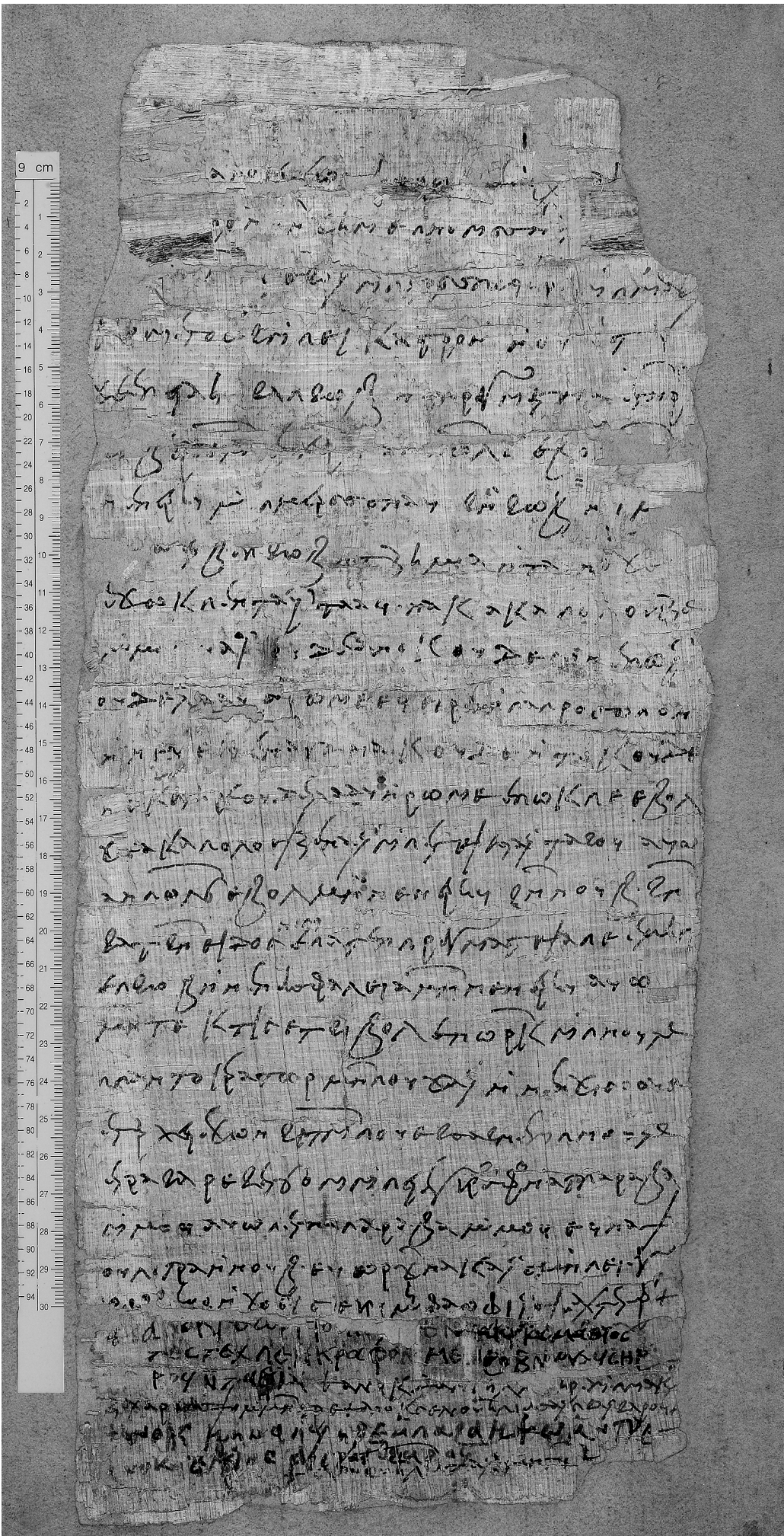
<sup>44</sup> W.C. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie*, p. 129. Komes as scribe of both documents, as well as his copying techniques and reasons for differences between the the two copies, is discussed in: J. CROMWELL, “Coptic Documents in Two Copies: Examination and Context of the Duplication Process,” in: J. URBANIK (ed.) *Proceedings of the 27<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Papyrology, Warsaw 29<sup>th</sup> July–3<sup>rd</sup> August 2013*, Forthcoming.



P.KRU 34 Recto



*P.KRU 34 Verso*



P.KRU 55