

en ligne en ligne

# BIFAO 119 (2019), p. 51-77

Anne Boud'hors, Esther Garel, Christine Ayad, Hadeer Belal, Fatma El-Gebali, Muhammady Fathy, Girgis Ibrahim, Ahmed Nakshara, Adel Rashed, Youhanna Reda, Hagar Saad Eldien, Amr El-Sharkawy

Ten Coptic ostraca at the IFAO

#### Conditions d'utilisation

L'utilisation du contenu de ce site est limitée à un usage personnel et non commercial. Toute autre utilisation du site et de son contenu est soumise à une autorisation préalable de l'éditeur (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). Le copyright est conservé par l'éditeur (Ifao).

#### Conditions of Use

You may use content in this website only for your personal, noncommercial use. Any further use of this website and its content is forbidden, unless you have obtained prior permission from the publisher (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). The copyright is retained by the publisher (Ifao).

## **Dernières publications**

9782724710922 Athribis X Sandra Lippert 9782724710939 Bagawat Gérard Roquet, Victor Ghica 9782724710960 Le décret de Saïs Anne-Sophie von Bomhard 9782724710915 Tebtynis VII Nikos Litinas 9782724711257 Médecine et environnement dans l'Alexandrie Jean-Charles Ducène médiévale 9782724711295 Guide de l'Égypte prédynastique Béatrix Midant-Reynes, Yann Tristant 9782724711363 Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger (BAEFE) 9782724710885 Musiciens, fêtes et piété populaire Christophe Vendries

© Institut français d'archéologie orientale - Le Caire

# Ten Coptic ostraca at the IFAO

ANNE BOUD'HORS, ESTHER GAREL
IN COLLABORATION WITH CHRISTINE AYAD,
HADEER BELAL, FATMA EL-GEBALI, MUHAMMADY FATHY,
GIRGIS IBRAHIM, AHMED NAKSHARA, ADEL RASHED,
YOUHANNA REDA, HAGAR SAAD ELDIEN, AMR EL-SHARKAWY

### **RÉSUMÉ**

Publication de dix ostraca coptes par un groupe d'étudiants égyptiens sous la direction des auteurs. Ils comprennent trois exercices de piété, quatre lettres, deux textes juridiques et un compte. Ils proviennent, à une ou deux exceptions près, de la région thébaine.

Mots-clés: anthroponymes, Bible, copte, formules épistolaires, formules juridiques.

#### **ABSTRACT**

Publication of ten Coptic ostraca by a group of Egyptian students under the direction of the authors. They include three devotional exercises, four letters, two legal texts and one accounting document. They originate, except for one or two, from the Theban region.

Keywords: anthroponyms, Bible, Coptic language, letter-writing formulas, juridical formulas.

æ

BIFAO 119 - 2019

#### INTRODUCTION

Anne Boud'hors, Esther Garel

This article is the result of an initiation workshop to the edition of Coptic ostraca that was held in January 2017 at the Ifao and aimed at training ten Egyptian students.¹ Besides theoretical lectures given in the morning, each participant received an unpublished ostracon to be studied and edited, a task which could be continued over the following months thanks to digital images. The IFAO collection was particularly suitable for this experience, as it includes, besides hundreds of unpublished ostraca (usually very fragmentary), some nice pieces identified by Chantal Heurtel during her different missions.² It also provides a good sample of various texts, as we will see hereafter. Since the ostraca from Baouit and Edfou have already been published,³ it is very tempting to suppose that those remaining come from the Theban area, the primary producer of such texts. For some of them, there is no doubt as they bear a number and indications linking them to the excavations carried out by Bernard Bruyère at Deir el-Medina.⁴ Others call for caution, as the circumstances that brought them to the IFAO are often unknown. Some may have been bought, but such information is rarely mentioned. Even in such cases, the Theban region remains the most probable origin, although the resemblance between ostraca from Thebes and those from Edfou can be misleading.

The group of ten ostraca published below starts with three exercises of piety, probably connected with monastic life: once again they show how Biblical wisdom books were important to the piety of the monks. Next come four letters that are most probably Theban considering their content and the formulas used therein. Actually, rather than letters, those texts are emergency messages, lacking any polite form of address. The majority are difficult to elucidate in detail and reflect the day-to-day concerns of the local inhabitants, monks, clerics and lay people to get food supplies and various items. Finally, two legal texts are presented that can be identified and partially reconstructed despite their fragmentary state, thanks to usual known formulas. The last text is a kind of account, written in a dialect (Fayyumic) that contradicts a Theban origin.

The type of pottery used for the writing also varies greatly. Sylvie Marchand, who is responsible for the ceramic studies at the IFAO, spent some time with the participants, to familiarize them with the terminology and give them information on their respective ostracon; this was a precious aid for which we would like to thank her.

Ostraca bear a main inventory number "OC" (ostracon copte). In a previous inventory, a "C" number was also indicated. However, the receivership number figuring on numerous items is not mentioned here.

<sup>1</sup> Workshop mentored by Anne Boud'hors, Esther Garel and Chantal Heurtel, in the frame of a "specific action" financed by the IFAO.

<sup>2</sup> Among which OC 131, 216, 256, 317 have been published in HEURTEL 2017, OC 244 and 277 in Heurtel 2018.

<sup>3</sup> O.BawitIfao et O.EdfouCopte.

<sup>4</sup> That is the case with the limestones, see *O. Theb.Ifao*, but also with some potsherds.

<sup>5</sup> Some information on the ostraca is available online at: http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/.

# 1. PSALMIC CONCORDANCE FOR THE WORD "PRINCE"

Adel Rashed

Ifao, Inv. OC 181 (C 1851)
10 × 10.5 cm
Provenance unknown
8th cent.

[FIG. I]

Following a pattern well attested in Coptic ostraca (see O. EdfouCopte 3-6, O. CrumST 7 & 10, O. Mon.Epiph. 16)<sup>6</sup> this small text is a kind of concordance of the word  $\Delta P \times \Omega N$  in the Psalms. Some mistakes or repetitions in the quotations show that it was a matter of personal practice, perhaps a way of simultaneously meditating and exercising scribal skill.

The ostracon bears only a small sample of the occurrences of the word apxwn in the Psalms, since there are more than 20 attestations contained in 18 Psalms.<sup>7</sup>



Fig. 1. Ifao, Inv. OC 181 (C 1851).

<sup>6</sup> On Psalm quotations in ostraca see Delattre 2012, Heurtel 2017 (no. 3 in her publication is another example of a concordance), and Delattre forthcoming.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bosson 1997, p. 278.

The text is written on a Marl pottery, with a yellow-brown surface. The bottom part of the ostracon was probably broken. The script is globally bilinear, sloping, and rather skilled. It is thicker in the three central lines of the text, which may be due to the reed.

 traces α

 αναρχων σωούς

 αγει εγμά μογωτ

 αναρχων πωτ επχιν 

 απρναστε εαρχων ούάε [εωη-]

 δ μόσμε « μναρχων

 μομος « μναρχων

 10 [αναρχ] ών άλωαχε

 [ --- ] traces

- The ink of this line is very faded, and it is difficult to determine if it has been erased. One is tempted to read Δρχων again, but it is very uncertain.
- 2-3 The rulers gathered themselves, they came to the same place: Ps. 2,2 (the Coptic version does not have ayei).
- The rulers persecuted (me) without a cause: Ps.118,161 (the Coptic version gives ν̄cωï after πωτ, see Budge 1898, p. 134).
- 5-6 The rulers they sat. They sat (and) spoke: cf. Ps. 118,23 (ΔΝΔΡΧϢΝ 2ΜΟΟς ΔΥϢΔΧΕ ΕΡΟΪ). There was enough space to write ερΟΪ, but no trace can be seen.
- 7-8 *Trust not in rulers nor in the children of men:* Ps. 145,3. This quotation is isolated by the use of  $\approx$  at the beginning and at the end.
- 8-9 The reason for the repetition of NNAPXWN here is not clear.
- 10 The rulers, they spoke.

#### 2. PSALMIC PRAYER

Girgis Ibrahim

Ifao, Inv. OC 91 (C 1907)
13.5 ×13 cm
Provenance unknown
7th-8th cent.

[FIG. 2]

The text seems to be composed of short quotations from the Psalms.<sup>8</sup> Even though some sentences could not be identified as coming from the Psalms, their meaning is consistent with the general theme of the text, that is to say, salvation from sin. It may be interpreted as a personal prayer. Such compositions are well attested in the Theban region, as well as in Edfu (see *O. EdfouCopte* 3-6). Given the non-typical nature of the pottery, it is difficult to propose a provenance.

Fragment of an African "bag-shaped" amphora (Upper-Egyptian production), with three horizontal broad incisions and decoration at the upper part. Upper and right margins are preserved. The script is majuscule and slightly sloping; H has a minuscule form, as well as one of the M (l. 6); H is big; H has a kind of serif at the bottom part. The end of line 3 is filled with vertical strokes.



Fig. 2. Ifao, Inv. OC 91 (C 1907).

8 On the so-called "Psalmic compositions", see Delattre 2012; Delattre forthcoming.

```
[ --- ]ХОСІС ПТОК ПЕ ПАВОНООС
   [---] ΝΟΑ ΠΑΦΦ ΜΠΡΤΡΑΜΟΥ
   [ --- ] and achenho mirkaat nowk ce
5 [ --- ΜΑΤΑλ60] ΝΤΑΨΥΧΗ ΧΕ ΑΙΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΕΡΟΚ
   [ --- MUE ] KMTO EBOY ALO MN KEMY \overline{M}
   [ --- ]XOEIC NA2MET
   [ --- ] OYON
Ι βοηθός || 4 ἀσθενής || 5 ψυχή
   [...] Lord,??, You are my strength (Ps. 39,18 [Budge 39,17], ou Ps. 70,7)
   [...] to my cry, don't let me die!
   [...] ...
   [...] I am weak (Ps. 6,3 [Budge 6,2], don't abandon me because (Ps. 70,9-10)
  [... Heal] my soul for I sinned against You! (Ps. 40,5 [Budge 40,4])
   [...] before you (passim in the Ps.) and there is no other place of
   [...] Lord. Lord, save me! (Ps. 139,2 [Budge 139,1])
   [\ldots] \ldots
```

7-8 Between these two lines, traces of two letters written one above the other can be seen but not interpreted.

## 3. EXERCISE WITH BIBLICAL CITATIONS

Youhanna Reda Elia Matta

```
Ifao, Inv. OC 99 (= C 2014)

II × 8.2 cm

Provenance unknown

Imported amphora
7th-8th cent.
```

Potsherds served many uses in daily life, serving as a cheap writing material when a more expensive one (papyrus) was not needed. In the case of this ostracon, it seems that we are dealing with a draft, possibly written by a monk, as is suggested by the three unrelated texts that it contains. The main text, on the recto, is a citation from the canonical Book of Proverbs of Solomon (27,5-6). We can easily assume that the scribe was reciting the biblical verses from memory, not copying them from a book in his hands, as we can observe some orthographic variations not attested in any published version of the canonical Book.

9 Which have been already published in many publications in different attested versions (see CIASCA 1889, p. 187; WORRELL 1931, p. 93)

It is impossible to be sure why this particular verse was chosen: was the scribe of this ostracon experiencing a similar experience of dishonesty or betrayal from someone who showed him kindness, and consoling himself with the biblical verses? Or simply reciting the biblical verses as a mean of retaining them in his heart and mind?<sup>10</sup>

After this quotation, the scribe started writing a sentence that sounds like an introduction of himself, "I am the miserable...", but he stopped without giving his name. Then, after a space, two lines are written in a smaller script at the bottom of the ostracon. It is the beginning of an epistolary formula, where the name of the sender is Souai. If the script is the same as in the main part (see below), Souai may be the name of the scribe. Finally, the same scribe probably used the verso of the ostracon to start writing a Psalm verse, again interrupted. All these texts show that the scribe of the ostracon was simply using it as a draft or a personal notebook where he could freely express what was on his mind.

The ostracon bears writing on both sides. There are traces of water damage on the recto. The script is globally bilinear, even though some letters are bigger (B, 2); H has the shape of a "h"; there are some ligatures ( $\lambda G$  in l. 8). The use of superlinear strokes is not consistent (note the two long strokes on recto l. 5 and verso l. 1: maybe an "essai de plume"?). Even though the script of the last two lines on the recto and of the verso looks different from the main script, it could well be the same hand ( $\lambda$ ,  $\gamma$  and 2 have the same shape).

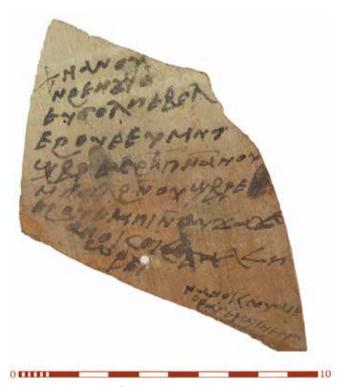


Fig. 3. Ifao, Inv. OC 99 (= C 2014) recto.

10 As the simple expression of keeping the Lord's commandment in Deuteronomy 11, 18–20: "You shall take these words of mine to heart and keep them in mind... Write them up on the door-posts of your houses and on your gates."

## Recto (outside)

- $\{n\}$  senx/ $\overline{u}$ /10 = 4 nanoy = 4 nanoy
- 5 ФВР ЄСЗНП NANOY МПШАЗ NOYФВРЕ 620YE МПІ NOYXAXE ANOK ПЕТАЛЕП-ФРЕІ
- 10  $\{N\}$  anok coyal 6 < I > c2ai eiwine et*exit*



Fig. 4. Ifao, Inv. OC 99 (= C 2014) verso.

Verso (inside)
+ πνούτε αλώ υποείς
αμμούτε εμ<κ>ας εβολ
εννήμε εxit

5 фвр: фвир Worrell || 6 Noyфврє: Noyфвир Worrell || 8-9 ταλαίπωρος

(Recto) + Better is the open rebuke than a secret (5) friendship. Better are the wounds of a friend than the kiss of an enemy (Prov. 27, 5-6).

I am the humble one...

(10) I Souai, I write and greet...

(Verso) + God and the Lord called the earth from the...

#### Recto

- 2 {n}26ηχπιο: 26ηχπιο Worrell 1931, p. 93; Ciasca 1889, p. 187; Greek ἔλεγχοι (without article).
- the N before anok maybe by confusion with the word NaNOγ as it is repeated in the first two previous sentences of the biblical quotation).

#### Verso

Free and incomplete quotation from Ps. 49,1: ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΔΥϢΔΧΕ ΔΥΨ ΔΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΠΚΑΣ ΕΒΟΛ 2N ΜΜΑ ΝϢΑ ΜΠΡΗ ϢΑ ΠΕΥΜΑ NZWTH, The God of gods, the Lord, has spoken, and called the earth from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof.

## 4. MESSAGE REGARDING A CHURCH VESSEL

Christine Ayad

Ifao, OC 252 (C 1906)

II × II cm

Western Thebes

Late Roman Amphora 7
7th cent.

The text is a letter from a certain Petros to an unknown recipient. Petros is somewhere in Western Thebes, and his "father" sent him to Ape regarding the matter of the church vessel of Apa Mena. Petros writes to settle a meeting between him and the addressee. The message is very brief (there are no greetings), and the difficult construction in line 7 makes it somewhat unclear.

The letter shows three points of interest. The first one is that the letter mentions Ape (= Louxor), which ensures the Theban provenance of the ostracon. Second, the ostracon mentions a church of Apa Mena, thus new evidence for his cult in Ape. Third, the text provides a new attestation of the word KYMHAION, which most probably means "church vessel". Another comparable letter is *P. Mon.Epiph*. 282, where the sender Ananias writes to some priests asking them to hurry regarding the pay for church vessels.

The handwriting is a skilled sloping majuscule and could be assigned to the 7th century. The M has two shapes. Besides the usual place of the superlinear stroke, the scribe put such a stroke on the final consonant of some words.

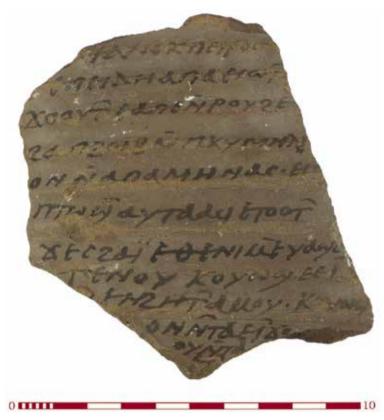


Fig. 5. Ifao, OC 252 (C 1906).

 $^{2}$  ἐπειδή  $\parallel$  4-5 κειμήλιον  $\parallel$  7 l. εγογλως

I am Petros. My father sent me to Ape in the evening regarding the matter of the church vessel (5) of Apa Menas. Here is the order that was given to me: "Write whatever manner they want." Now (if) you want to come to the north, come. And (if) you prefer (10) me to come, send (for me) and I will come.

- 3 **ΔΠ6** See Timm vol. 1, p. 133.
- 4 κγμηλίον This term borrowed from the Greek κειμήλιον (also κοιμηλίον, cf. Förster, WB, p. 400) designates a church vessel; see Muyser 1937.
  - Such objects have been preserved, for example a silver chalice that has an inscription on its head stating that it is a sacred vessel (kymhaion) dedicated to a certain church in a Fayoum village (Louvre Inv. OA 11311; cf. Bénazeth, Rutschowscaya 2000, p. 181). An article gathering all the new attestations of this word is under preparation by A. Boud'hors.
- апа минас The text doesn't specify the type of religious institution (church, sanctuary, monastery). A. Papaconstantinou points out Thebes in general as a cult center for Apa Mena, mentioning in particular Jeme, the mountain of Jeme and Armant, but not Ape (Papaconstantinou 2001, р. 161). Four documents from Thebes in relation to a cult of Apa Mena can be identified. O. Crum 45 is a letter addressed to Apa Abraham about the appointment of a deacon to the service of a church of Apa Mena. In P. KRU 75, a monk and priest of the topos of Apa Mena on the mountain of Jeme acted as a scribe for the will of Jacob and Elias, the heads of the monastery of Epiphanius. O. Vind. Copt. 294 is another letter from Jeme mentioning a steward (oikonomos) of Apa Mena. Lastly a witness of P. CLT 9 is priest of "saint Apa Mena" (this information was gathered from the Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity database). Furthermore, two recently published ostraca from the mountain of Armant mention a (topos) of Apa Mena (O. Lips. Copt. II 10 et 11, see Krueger 2019).
- 7 C2AÏ EΘΕ NIM EYAGC This sentence poses two difficulties. First the translation of the verb C2AI, employed here in an absolute construction: does it simply mean "write"? Or could it mean "make the inscription", referring to an inscribed chalice like the object from the Louvre? Besides, the use of the definite article (ΘΕ) prevents us from understanding NIM as an indefinite pronoun. One of the possibilities is to understand NIM as an interrogative, and to interpret the whole sentence, with an anacoluthon, as "write the manner: which one do they want?". However, the sentence remains too allusive to fully understand what is at stake.

<sup>11</sup> http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/

#### 5. LETTER FROM A SICK MAN

Hagar Saad Eldien Mostafa Saad

Ifao, Inv. OC 275 (C 1917) 16 × 10 × 1.2 cm Theban region Late Roman Amphora 7 7th–8th century [FIG. 6]

This letter is addressed by Antonios to Petros. The lack of greetings at the beginning may indicate that the sender was irritated, or in a hurry, or simply ill, as he says on l. 6. He is asking for money (l. 5), perhaps to buy a drug. However, as is usual in this kind of text, the details of his request remain obscure. Ll. II—I2 could concern salt that had dried (and thus become useless?). Various sorts of salt were used in recipes.<sup>12</sup>

Even though the provenance of the ostracon is unknown, the type of pottery, as well as the form Mei- for the Negative Perfect (l. 6 and l. 10, instead of Miei-),<sup>13</sup> point to the Theban region.

The text is almost complete, except for some letters on the left side. From l. 8 till l. 13, there are probably between two and four letters missing at the beginning. The script, a slightly sloping bilinear majuscule, looks quite skilled, although irregular and loose. There are some ligatures (ai, εi, εp, εt, οy), y is short. The language is standard Sahidic, except for some peculiar spellings (anawnioc and anaonioc for antwnioc, γn- for εn- on l. 10 and probably 7), and Negative First Perfect Mei-.

<sup>12</sup> See Till 1951, p. 91 (no. 132).

<sup>13</sup> See O. Frangé, introduction, p. 31; BOUD'HORS 2018a, pp. 294–295. For another new attestation of this form, see text 7 in this article.

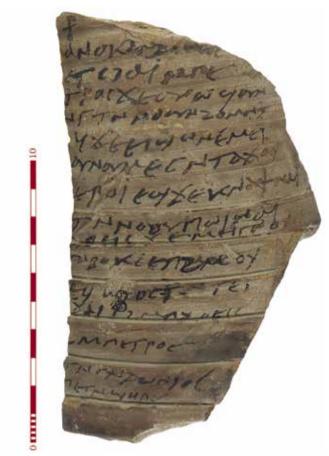


Fig. 6. Ifao, Inv. OC 275 (C 1917).

петифире

4 οὖν  $\parallel$  7 νοῦμμος  $\parallel$  9 τηνοού cott. ex τηνού  $\parallel$  11 επέμου cott. ex επμ ού?  $\parallel$  12 boct cott. ex ψοού ε

It is me Antonios who is writing to Petros. Please, then, (5) send me the money, for I am sick and I did not find a nummus to spend for me. Since you are going to give me [...], send me mine (10) [... my] lord, for I did not find [...] to add to the salt [...] it is dried out in this [way]. Hail in the Lord! To give to Petros (15) from Antonios your son.

- 7 ΝΟΥΜΕC νοῦμμος generally refers to a coin of small value. Till 1946, relying on a passage of Chassinat 1921, no. 93, proposed that the word could have the meaning of "tablet", perhaps by analogy with the round form of a coin. As we are in a context of illness, this meaning should perhaps be considered here. Nevertheless, since copper coins are mentioned on line 5, money remains plausible.
- 8 [εβολ] εροϊ is a plausible reconstruction for the beginning of the line.
- 8-9 If TNNOOY is an Imperative with an apodotic function, a negation an may be required in the lacuna: "since/if you are not going to give me [?], send me mine", but what does "mine" refer to?
- 10 πλ]xOGIC can be proposed for the beginning; but it remains uncertain whether or not there was something else.
- A feminine word is expected in the lacuna, because of the feminine suffix in BOKC, unless this suffix has a neutral function here: perhaps only ON, as the end of OY|[ON?
- Why did the scribe correct **ΦΟΟΥ** into **BOC** ? The former is indeed frequent, and occurs, among many other contexts, in several recipes (drying out was part of the process); **BOC** is much rarer, but is attested in a Theban collection of recipes for preparing parchment (Crum 1905); these two leaves of papyrus are part of *P.Bodmer* 58, which has been recognized as a Theban manuscript: see Boud'hors 2018b): in this case, as in our text, it may be a more technical or pejorative word to indicate that something (parchment, salt or salt-composed product) is so dry that it cannot be used.

## 6. LETTER REQUESTING LENTILS

Ahmed Nakshara

Ifao, Inv. OC 104 (C 1916)
10 × 9.5 cm
Theban region
7th cent.

[FIG. 7]

The letter is addressed by a certain Psmoei to a deacon. First announcing the repayment of a due *tremissis*, Psmoei then asks his correspondent to send him a measure of lentils. No other clue is given in order to identify the correspondents or their locations. All that is known about the origin of the ostracon is that Bernard Bruyère either found it during his excavations on the western bank of Thebes or bought it from an Egyptian dealer between 1922 and 1951.

© IFAO 2025

There are, however, indications of a 7th century Theban origin. The mention of a certain Psmou, who is involved in a matter of money —one *tremissis*— in *P. Mon.Epiph.* 288,<sup>14</sup> in addition to the regular mentioning of *Psmou* in the correspondence of apa Pisentius<sup>15</sup> concerning the marriage of Psmou's daughter. Another issue that reinforces this hypothesis is the use of the mere title (deacon) to refer to the addressee. This usage raises the question about the possibility of the existence of just one deacon in the sender's zone that makes him famous enough to be addressed only by his title.

Fragment of a red Pseudo-Aswanese Late Roman Amphora. The letter is written on the recto only. The script is a skilled sloping majuscule, the size of the letters being somewhat irregular; note the ligature ak in Nak (l. 5, l. 7).

Non-standard Sahidic forms are **λιπε** (for **οιπε**), typical for Southern texts, κω, κν- instead of εω, εν- (see Crum, Winlock 1926, p. 243), and the doubling of ν in ννερωιν.

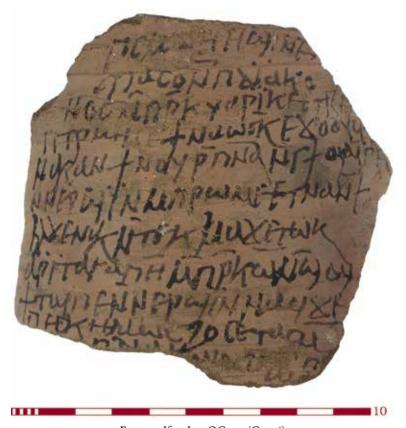


Fig. 7. Ifao, Inv. OC 104 (C 1916).

15 P. Pisentius 15.1; 16.1,2,3,4; 35.1,2.

<sup>&</sup>quot;I went to the dwelling of Psmou, that I might receive the money. He brought me unto a man and said, 'He hath (?) not paid thee money.' If thou wouldst have the gold tremis and that I take it from [...] and bring it unto [...] will (?) bring the remainder of the money. I have not leisure [...] Farewell in the Lord" (transl. W.E. Crum).

ΠCΜΦΕΙ ΕΪΦΙΝΕ
ΕΠΑΣΟΝ ΠΑΪΑΚΟΝΟΟ ΜΠΡΚΝ ΑΡΊΚΕ ΕΤΒΕ
ΠΤΡΜΗCΕ ΤΝΑΦΟΚ ΕΧΟΟΥ4
5 ΝΑΚ ΑΝ ΤΝΟΥ Ρ ΠΝΑ ΝΓΤ ΟΥΑΪΠΕ
ΝΝΕΡΦΊΝ ΜΠΡΦΜΕ ΕΤΝΑΝ ΤΒΑΧΕ ΝΑΚ ΝΤΕΚΜΑΧΕ ΤΦΚ
ΑΡΊ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΜΠΡΚΦ ΝΦΟΥ
Τ ΤΑΪΠΕ ΝΝΕΡΦΊΝ ΝΑЧ ΧΕ
10 ΠΕΟΚΗΑΜΦΟ 20CE ΤΑ<Α>C Μ
ΠΑΙΑΚΟΝΟĊ 2!ΤΝ ΠC[M-]
ΦΕ[1]

2-3 διάκονος || 4 τριμήσιον || 8 ἀγάπη || 10 σκυλμός || 11 διάκονος

- (1) Psmoei, I am greeting my brother the deacon. Do not blame (me) for the tremissis, I will not delay sending it (5) to you. Now, please give the measure (oipe) of lentils to the man who will bring you this ostracon, according to your own measure (maje). Be so kind, do not abstain from giving the measure (oipe) of lentils to him, because (10) the travel is difficult. Give it to the deacon from Psmoei.
- Inchies eigine This introductory formula is problematic in two respects: first, the lack of a cross at the beginning, second the construction <name + ειψίνε> (one expects <name + ετψίνε> or <ανοκ + name + ειψίνε>). It might be reasonable to assume that the first line, with † ανοκ, has disappeared. Another issue is the form of the name προμφεί, not otherwise attested. προμφής ωμω is a variant of προμφή, and one could be tempted to think that the scribe has simply repeated the syllable εί before είψίνε. However, the very end of the ostracon could well be reconstructed as πρίμιψε[ί], although πρίμιψε is not to be excluded. It is therefore difficult to decide. If the name of the sender is προμφεί, is this another variant of προμφή?
- 5-7 Ογλιπε ΝΝΕΡΟΪΝ oipe is a measure of grain smaller than the artab (PTOB: cf. Crum, Dict. 256a). Obviously, this measure was subject to local variations. This is probably why the sender asks the recipient to use his "own measure" (ΜλΧΕ), which probably means that people had not completely standardized measurements for goods such as corn, lentils, etc.
- 8 Μηρκω νωογ For this typically Theban expression, see Crum, *Dict.* 601a.
- пескнамос госе Usually the Greek word σκυλμός is used in Coptic texts (mostly Theban) preceded by an auxiliary verb such as p, вωκ, nex, cωκ, †, in expressions often translated by "Take the trouble (of coming and/or doing something)...". However, here, the word is used alone, and it seems to have its original meaning, "travel", as in O. Frangé 647. This is a way to urge the recipient, as travels were always considered difficult and dangerous in this region.

### 7. LETTER ABOUT SENDING VARIOUS GOODS

Amr el-Sharkawy

Ifao, Inv. OC 270 (C 1879) 17 × 11 cm Thebes? Pseudo-Aswanese pottery 7th–8th cent.

[FIG. 8]

The letter published here concerns the exchange of various commodities (crops, vegetables, dates, a type of leguminous plant called *arax*, oil). At least four individuals (sender, addressee, Elias, David) are involved in these exchanges. This text reflects the complexity of sending and receiving goods, a process which regularly takes the form of barter.

The letter bears no opening formulae or greetings, nor the names of either the sender or addressee. This indicates that the sender is either upset or in a hurry.

The word "ACHAT" can be read at the bottom of the sherd, indicating that it was bought on the antiquity market. However the text could be attributed to the Theban region on internal criteria (subject, phraseology), when compared to ostraca from other dossiers (*P. Mon.Epiph.*, *O. Frangé*).

The sherd is complete. The writing is bilinear and upright, resembling a bookhand, which is confirmed by the use of diacritical signs (coma, semicolon). The text is written in standard Sahidic. Note the form of negative perfect MG4TAAY (see text 5).

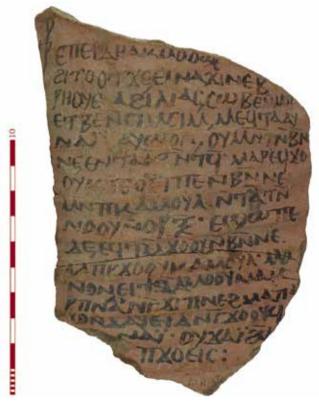


Fig. 8. Ifao, Inv. OC 270 (C 1879).

🕇 епетдн акмоофе 2ITOOT XE, EINAXI NEB-**ΡΗΟΥЄ Δ2ΙΧΙΔ**C, CWBE MMOI ETBE NCIMCIM, METALY 5 ΝΑΪ · ΑΥΨ ON, OYMNT NBN-ΝΕ, ΕΝΤΑΪΟΝΤΊ · ΜΑΡΕΊΧΟ-OY NTEOGING NBNNG ΜΝ ΠΚΑΜΟΥΑ · ΝΤΑΤΝ-ΝΟΟΛ ΝΟЬΣ · εΦισμε 10 A6, GALMXOOA NRNNE. ΜΠΡΏΟΟΥ ΚΑΜΟΥΑ · ΜΟ-NON, EIT MMOOY NAK Ρ ΠΝΑ` ΝΓΧΙ ΠΝЄ2 ΜΑ ΠΑ-CON ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΝΙΧΟΟΥΑ 15 NAÏ · OYXAÏ 2M пхоеіс:

+ Since you left me, (saying) "I shall take the crops", Elias laughed at me concerning the vegetables, he did not give them (5) to me. And as for a measure of dates that I found, may he send the measure of dates with the camel, in order that I may send the arax. And if (10) he does not send the dates, do not send a camel. Only when I give them to you, be so kind and take the oil at my brother David's place and send it (15) to me. Hail in the Lord!

## 8. AGREEMENT

Hadeer Belal

Ifao, Inv. OC 248 (C 1875)

9 × 5 cm

Deir el-Medina

This ostracon provides the end of a legal deed, involving an agreement (l. 6 cymφωνον). This term most often designates a work contract, especially in texts from the Fayyum and Middle Egypt. Here the nature of the deed is not easily identified, since the document is designated through different words that don't specify the type of transaction (ll. 1–2 εγγράφν, l. 10, 12 χαρτης). Furthermore, the fact that ΝΙCYMΦωνον is a plural form seems to indicate that it doesn't refer to the type of document, but rather to agreements that led to its drawing up.

On the back of the ostracon, the indication "N. E. T. 46" (= north east of the temple) shows that it comes from Bernard Bruyère's excavations of the temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina.

The text is written on a fragment of an imported African amphora (undetermined family), with a yellowish surface. The text is written on the recto, the upper and the right parts are missing. It is difficult to evaluate the loss in the first lines since the ostracon could have had an irregular shape. The script is majuscule, regular, slightly sloping, and very similar to well-known Theban hands from the 7th century, such as hand D;<sup>16</sup> H has a minuscule shape.



Fig. 9. Ifao, Inv. OC 248 (C 1875).

16 See O. Crum, p. xv; GAREL forthcoming.

```
10 ΠΙΧΑΡΤΗC Α[NOK ± 7]

†CΤΟΙΧЄ Єξ[ШВ ΝΙΜ ЄЧСΗ2]

ЄΠΙΧΑ[ΡΤΗС --- ]

Έγρ(άφη)[ --- ]
```

2 ἔγγραφον  $\parallel$  7 σύμφωνον  $\parallel$  8 οὐγκία, πρόστιμον  $\parallel$  10 χάρτης  $\parallel$  11 στοιχεῖν  $\parallel$  12 χάρτης  $\parallel$  εγρ ostr

[...] deed [...] on the tewenty-[?] day [of the] month Paone [...] (5) David, the [...] of Jeme. Whoever will [...] these agreements [...] ounce of gold [as a fine], and he shall recognize [all] the things [written in] (10) this document [...] I, [...], I agree with everything written in this document. Written [...].

# 1-3 $\epsilon \Gamma \| \Gamma PA \Phi W N N T \epsilon [--- \epsilon] \| PHY$

NTA[---] should be expected here, but is difficult to read; in that case, we could supply NTA[NΠΙΘΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕ]ΡΗΥ / ΝΤΑ[ΥΠΙΘΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕ]ΡΗΥ, understanding the verb as temporal perfect, or NTA[NCMNT4 ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕ]ΡΗΥ / ΝΤΑ[ΥCMNT4 ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕ]ΡΗΥ. Both solutions seem a little long for the size of the lacuna.

- 4-6 N[---] | AAYEIA NU)A[ --- ] | NXHME
  - We could have here the mention of two officials from Jeme, David and somebody else in the presence of whom (l. 4-5 N[ $\lambda$ 2PN + 1st name] MN |  $\lambda\lambda\gamma$ 61 $\lambda$ ) the contract was drawn up. However no known official titles begin with  $\omega\lambda$ [.
- 6-8 ΠΕΤΝ[Δ --- ] | ΝΙCYMΦωΝ[ON --- ] | ΟΓΓΙΔ ΝΝΟΥΒ [ΜΠΡΟCΤΙΜΟΝ] The penal clause, without having any exact parallels can be reconstructed as such on the base of similar documents:

ΠΕΤΝ[ΑΠΑΡΆΒΑ Ν-] OF ΠΕΤΝ[ΑΕΙ ΕΒΟΆ  $\epsilon$ -] (see Richter 2008, pp. 196–197) ΝΙΟΥΜΦωΝ[ΟΝ ΝΥ $\dagger$ / $\epsilon$ 4ΝΑΤΙ ΝΟΥ-] (or another amount) ΟΓΓΙΑ ΝΝΟΥΒ [ΜΠΡΟCΤΙΜΟΝ] (see P.KRU 21,70; 74,92).

8-9 NASWN ESMB [NIM EACHS  $\epsilon$ ] | LIXALTHC

For a parallel, see *P. KRU* 105, 13. On the verb 2001, see Richter 2008, pp. 335–336. The word xapthc, "papyrus", is used, although the text is written on a potsherd, which could indicate that it is a copy or a summary of a document written on papyrus. The same phenomenon is known from the archive of Abraham, bishop of Hermonthis (see Fournet 2018, p. 200).

# 9. END OF A SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTE (?)

Muhammady Fathy Muhammed

Ifao, Inv. OC 329 (C 827) 16 × 16.5 cm Theban region? 7th–8th cent. [FIG. 10]

The text preserved here is the end of a legal deed whose nature is not completely clear. However, the presence of certain words such as AMAZTE, "possess" (l. 7), P XOGIC, "own" (ll. 11-12) suggest that the transaction involves a transfer of property. Furthermore, the use of the reciprocal pronoun NEYEPEOY (l. 3) and the distributive noya noya (l. 4, l. 8?), as well as the use of an expression such as "according to what God/justice inspired to our heart" (ll. 8-9), are strong clues that we deal here with a settlement of a dispute concerning a property.

The document is written on a red ribbed pottery sherd (Pseudo-Aswanese type). The text is broken in its upper, left and right part; only the last three lines are complete, indicating that the upper part of the sherd must have been much broader. The script is bilinear and slightly sloping, without any ligatures. Supralinear strokes regularly take the form of a slanting stroke (cf. l. 6, l. 7, l. 12). The scribe spells  $\Delta OYET[1]$ ,  $\Delta EICZ \Delta II$  instead of the usual  $\Delta Y \Delta ITEI$  and  $\Delta ICZ \Delta II$ . Note that the spelling peculiarity and mistakes are more numerous in the scribe's signature.

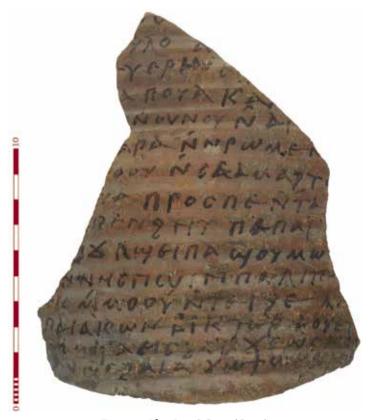


Fig. 10. Ifao, Inv. OC 329 (C 827).

```
| 12 PR (1) CSAI AA (X) Ф ДО WWNTE [6] |
|--- |--- |--- |--- |--- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |
|--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |
|--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |
|--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |
|--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |
|--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |
|--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |---- |--- |---- |--- |--- |---- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |--- |---- |---- |--- |--- |--- |--
```

4 κατά || 6 παρά || 7 ΝCE corr ex ΝCA || 8 πρός || 9 ΠΕ corr ex ΠΑ? || 13 διάκονος αἰτεῖν || 14 νοεῖν

[...] they stopped and they [...] with each other [...] each of them according to [...] at the hour of [...] against/except the men [...] and they will possess [...] each of them according to what [...] our heart [...] son of Pashoumo and Ioannes son of Palite own them in this way. I, the deacon Victor, they asked me and I wrote because they don't know how to write, and I am witness.

- 2 [---] γλο vac. λ[---]
  - A form of the verb **x0**, "to cease" (or "to be healed"), should be supplied here, probably **ayxo**, followed by another form of First Perfect after the short *vacat*.
- 5 [---] ΝΟΥΝΟΥ NAi[ ---]

A word of the family of AIKAION could be reconstructed after the break.

- - We expect an expression such as "according to what God/justice inspired to our heart". For a parallel see Heurtel 2013, p. 82; πε παϊ [ --- ] could be a mistake for the expression ετε παϊ πε which is rather expected here. See, however, another formulation in *CPR* IV 50,12 (Fayyumic): πετεα[γτ]! επεν2ΗΤ πει πε.
- 10-11 ПШЕІ ПАЩОҮМШ [MN] | [IM(2)]ДNNHC ПШІП ПАЛІТЕ

The division of words between the two lines is not clear, given the irregular shape of the ostracon. Another solution would be חשפּו חמשָסץאש [און [צ] | [צ] אוא וועה חשואד.

It is the first attestation of the name πλωογμω, which should be identified as a new form of the name Pachom. The name πλιιτε occurs in a funerary stela (SBKopt. I 748,5) without known provenance.

#### 10. ACCOUNT

Fatma el-Gebali

Ifao, Inv. OC 192 (C 1897) 15 × 9,5 cm Fayyum ? 7th–8th cent. [FIG. II]

Given the layout of the text, which contains anthroponyms sometimes associated with numbers, it probably can be identified as an account, or a fiscal list, especially if the word λογος can be read on line I (see commentary). Names are generally followed by their patronyms. Some of them are familiar, others are not, but almost all have a Fayyumic colour, either from their spelling or because they are especially attested in the Fayyum. Moreover the mention of πιλκογ on line II, be it a title ("deacon") or, more likely, a proper name, 17 definitely points to the Fayyumic dialect. This text is puzzling, since ostraca in Fayyumic are rare. 18 There is no information about the provenance of the ostracon. However, the pottery itself is peculiar and does not resemble what is usually found in Thebes. It is thus tempting to suppose that the ostracon comes from the Fayyum (perhaps brought by Jouguet during his excavations at Medinet Ghoran?). 19

Fragment of an Aswanese red pot (*sigillata*, group 0), of a type in use from the Byzantine period onwards. Part of the basis is preserved, with a rib. The text is almost complete, except for some loss on the left side. The script is a small and upright majuscule; the upper part of  $\lambda$  is sometimes open; the last line is written with bigger letters, but the hand could well be the same.

<sup>17</sup> See GAREL 2018.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. O. Crum 500-510.

<sup>19</sup> See Jouguet 1901.



Fig. 11. Ifao, Inv. OC 192 (C 1897).

P NOY AK N παλέου βέλε επού α ΠλειλΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙ ΠΑλΕΟΥ 5 ΝΑΣΡΑΟΎ ΑΠΙΟΎ [.]ωριω πρλογ [?]ереміас [м]акарі ппас ιωςηφ ολενααδί 10 калат папноүт [?]ак $\omega$ ч піако $\gamma$ + ??? Paleou Bele Heou Pahilou Makari Paleou Nahraou Apiou Horion? Praou

Eremias

Makari Pnas Ioseph Ouenafri Kalati Papnouti [.]akouf Piakou

<sup>1</sup> Πλ<sub>0</sub>ΝΟΥ ΑΚΑΜ Perhaps read ΠλΟ(ΓΟC) N with a small O under λ: "account of", followed by the name of a village or an individual?

## 2 ΠΑλΘΟΥ ΒΕλΕ 2ΗΟΥ

BEAE: Greek BEAE is attested in Upper Egypt (TM 26935), but it could also be a variant form of nbare, "the blind" (TM 27411). This is the only occasion in the text of somebody having three names: is it related to the fact that the following line has only one name?  $\lambda$  ("I") is written on the base rib.

3 Πλειλογ

This name is not otherwise attested.

5 ΝΑΡΡΑΟΥ ΑΠΙΟΥ

Is aπιογ similar to the name aπιογκ (Ἀπίων) attested SBKopt. II 802, 38?

6 [ ]ωριω πρλογ

The first name could be reconstructed [2] ωριων (see *NBKopt*. s.v.). For a name πρλογ, see *SBKopt*. II 825, 18-19.

7 [?]<del>ереміас</del>

There is a long stroke between lines 6 and 8, on which line 7 seems to have been written. In this second part of the text numbers no longer appear. Another possibility is that line 7 was crossed out, but the stroke goes until the end of the line and looks like a mark of division.

8 [м]акарі плас

A name  $\pi N \lambda C$  is attested in a Fayyumic document, BKU III 352, 2 and 11 (written  $\pi N \lambda$ ). Traces of one letter are visible after the name, but the letter seems to have been washed out.

10 καλα παπνογή

The name καλα $\uparrow$  could not be identified elsewhere. A Greek name Καλατιος is found in *CPR* I 4, a text from the Fayyum, dated to the 1st cent. CE, corrected in the more common name Καλα $<\tau$ υ $>\tau$ ιος.

11 [ ?]δκω4 πιδκογ

Is [ ] AKW4 a form of IAKWB? The presence of a letter at the beginning of the line is doubtful.

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

BÉNAZETH, RUTSCHOWSCAYA 2000

Bénazeth, D., Rutschowscaya, M.-H., L'art copte en Égypte: 2000 ans de christianisme. Exposition présentée à l'Institut du monde arabe, Paris, du 15 mai au 3 septembre 2000 et au Musée de l'Ephèbe au Cap d'Agde, du 30 septembre 2000 au 7 janvier 2001, Paris, 2000.

Bosson 1997

Bosson, N., Wörterverzeichnis zu Gawdat Gabras Ausgabe des Psalters im mesokemischen (oxyrhynchitischen/mittelägyptischen) Dialekt des koptischen (Mudil-Kodex), Leuven, 1997.

Boud'hors 2018

Boud'hors, A., "Copyist and Scribe: Two Professions for a Single Man? Palaeographical and Linguistic Observations on Some Practices of the Theban Region According to Coptic Texts from the Seventh and Eighth Centuries", in J. Cromwell, E. Grossman (eds.), Scribal Repertoires in Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Early Islamic Period, OSAD, Oxford, 2018, pp. 274–295.

Boud'hors 2018b

Boud'hors, A., "Le P.Bodmer 58 comme témoin de la vie culturelle et religieuse dans la région thébaine au début du VII siècle", in Conference acts *The Coptic Book: Codicological Features, Places of Production, Intellectual Trends, Adamantius* 24, 2018, pp. 106–117.

**BUDGE 1898** 

Budge, E.A.W., *The Earliest Known Coptic Psalter*, London, 1898.

CHASSINAT 1921

Chassinat, É., *Un papyrus médical copte*, MIFAO 32, Cairo, 1921.

Ciasca 1889

Ciasca, A., Sacrorum bibliorum fragmenta coptosahidica Musei borgiani : iussu et sumptibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, vol. II, Rome, 1889. CRUM 1905

Crum, W.E., «A Coptic Recipe for the Preparation of Parchment», *PSBA* 27, 1905, pp. 166–171.

CRUM, WINLOCK 1926

Crum, W.E., Winlock, H.E., *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, Part I: *The Archaeological Material* (by H.E. Winlock), *The Literary Material* (by W.E. Crum), MMAEE 3, New York, 1926.

Delattre 2012

Delattre, A., "Ostraca des Musées de Berlin portant des extraits des Psaumes en copte", in V. Lepper (ed.), Forschung in der Papyrussammlung: Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum, Berlin, 2012, pp. 387–398.

Delattre forthcoming

A. Delattre, «Between Education and Religion: Quotations and Compositions of Psalms Verses in the Theban Area», in A. Maravela, Á.T. Mihálykó (éd.), New Perspectives on Religion, Education, and Culture at Christian Western Thebes (VI-VIII), Oslo (forthcoming).

FOURNET J.-L. 2018

Fournet, J.-L., "Sur les premiers documents juridiques coptes (3): Les «archives» d'Apa Abraham", in A. Boud'hors, C. Louis (eds.), Études coptes XV. Dix-septième journée d'études (Lisbonne, 18-20 juin 2015), CBC 15, Paris, pp. 199–226.

**GAREL 2018** 

Garel, E., "Le titre ΠΙΑΚΟΥ dans les documents coptes fayoumiques", in M. Nowak, A. Łajtar, J. Urbanik (eds.), *Tell Me Who You Are: Labelling Status in the Graeco-Roman World*, Uschyłku starozytnosci. Studia zródłoznawcze 16 (2017), Warsaw, 2018, pp. 57–71.

GAREL forthcoming

Garel, E., "The Hand D and David the Monk", in A. Maravela, Á.T. Mihálykó (eds.), New Perspectives on Religion, Education and Culture at Christian Western Thebes (VI-VIII), Oslo (forthcoming).

HEURTEL 2013

Heurtel, C., "Trois ostraca supplémentaires de la main de Marc", in A. Boud'hors, C. Louis (eds.), Études coptes XII. Quatorzième journée d'études (Rome, 11-13 juin 2009), Paris, pp. 77–84.

HEURTEL 2017

Heurtel, C., "Extraits de psaumes dans quatre ostraca de l'Ifao", *ChronEg* 92, 2017, pp. 181–190.

HEURTEL 2018

Heurtel, C., "D'un Victor l'autre: deux nouveaux ostraca thébains", in A. Boud'hors, C. Louis (eds.), Études coptes XV. Dix-septième journée d'études (Lisbonne, 18-20 juin 2015), Paris, 2018, pp. 255–261.

JOUGUET 1901

Jouguet, P., "Fouilles du Fayoum: Rapport sur les fouilles de Médinet-Mâ'di et Médinet-Ghôran, Ghôran", BCH 25, Paris, 1901, pp. 380–411.

Krueger 2019

Krueger, F., "The Papyrological Rediscovery of the Monastery of Apa Ezekiel and Bishop Andrew of Hermonthis (6th Century). Preliminary Report on the Edition of the Coptic Ostraca at the Leipzig University library", *JCoptS* 21, 2019, pp. 115–162.

Muyser 1937

Muyser, J., "Des vases eucharistiques en verre", Bulletin de l'Association des Amis de l'Art copte 3, 1937, pp. 9–28.

Papaconstantinou 2001

Papaconstantinou, A., Le culte des saints en Égypte, des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes, Paris, 2001.

TILL 1946

Till, W.C., «Koptische Rezepte», *BSAC* 12, 1946, pp. 43–49.

TILL 1951

Till, W.C., *Die Arzneikunde der Kopten*, Berlin, 1951. Worrell 1931

Worrell, W.H., The Proverbs of Solomon in Sahidic Coptic According to the Chicago Manuscript, Chicago, 1931.