

A Toronto Sahidic Addition to the Pakhom Dossier (Fisher A 1, ff. 1 - 2)

Among the remains of the 20 Sahidic literary texts currently being catalogued for the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto are two fragments that deserve special presentation. They form a single document concerning Pakhom, one of the great teachers of early Christianity, and it is therefore fitting tribute to offer this newly identified text in honour of the thirty-fifth anniversary of R. J. Williams' teaching career at Toronto.

Fisher A 1 exhibits a hand very similar to that of Clarendon Press, ms. copt. b.5, fr. 57, ff. 16 - 19, a Sahidic version of the *Vita Pachomii* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The particular details will be enumerated below. Whether the Fisher leaves were once part of the Clarendon Press text cannot be determined because the latter is fragmentary as well, and no logical linkage is apparent. Further, the Fisher texts have been trimmed and any pagination that may have existed is now lost.

The content of the new manuscript is attested nowhere in the various translations of the *Vita* whether Bohairic or Sahidic (Lefort, 1925, 1933, 1936, 1941; Coquin, 1979; cf. BHO. 180 - 181 = Société des Bollandistes, 1910), Greek (Halkin, 1932, 1978, 1979; Draguet, 1957; cf. Festugière, 1965; van Cranenburgh, 1969), Latin (Boon, 1932; van Cranenburgh, 1969; de Vogüé, 1972), Arabic (Amélineau, 1889b; cf. de Vogüé, 1973b) or Syriac (Bedjan, 1895: 122-176; Budge, 1904: 189-191, 214-219, 432-484, 620-621, 703, 1020). The Arabic version in the Vatican Library (ms. ar. 172 ff. 1-98^V) remains unpublished and has not been consulted (cf. Coquin, 1979: 233 and nn. 3-4). It does not appear in the Pachomian extracts of the *Lausiac History of Palladius* (Amélineau, 1887; Butler, 1904). It is unlikely that the Fisher text derives from the letters of Pakhom (Boon, 1932; Lefort, 1956; Quecke, 1974a, 1975 a & b) because he is mentioned in the third person. Neither does it duplicate passages in the letters of his disciples (Boon, 1932; Lefort, 1956; Kropp, 1968; Quecke, 1975b; Orlandi and de Vogüé in Gribomont, 1977) nor in the *Vita Theodori*, a Sahidic biography of one of his followers (Amélineau, 1889a). Different Greek adaptations exist (cf. Halkin, 1979: 5), and it is quite possible that several Sahidic recensions also circulated. That the complete Sahidic *Life* has yet to be assembled has been demonstrated by the recent publication (Coquin, 1979) of 12 Sahidic pages known otherwise only from the Bohairic and Arabic versions. The numerous affinities with the Clarendon Press fragment strongly suggest that the Fisher text at the very least came from the same scriptorium and perhaps from the same manuscript. The existence of the *Life of Theodore* also suggests that biographies of other disciples may have been written as well. The prominence given to Cornelius in the Fisher fragment could be significant in this regard.

The fine beige to light brown vellum is covered with a neat, round, and carefully written uncial, as is the case with the Clarendon Press text. The surface has been stained in many areas. Perhaps for this reason the margins have been trimmed,

presumably in recent times, a fact that is particularly conspicuous on the verso of f.2 at the top of the left column. A l f.1 is 18.0 cm high and 15.3 cm wide. The maximum height and width respectively of the columns on the recto left and right are 15.4 cm and 15.8 cm while the tallest and widest letters are .5 cm and .8 cm. The width includes the cross strokes of *n*, *τ*, and *x*. The height of the columns left and right is 15.4 cm and 14.7 cm. The maximum width of the columns is 5.4 cm. The tallest and widest letters on this side are .5 cm and .7 cm. Again, the width is measured as specified above.

A l f.2 is 16.0 cm high and 14.0 cm wide. The left and right columns of the recto are 12.4 cm and 14.4 cm high. The maximum width of the columns is 5.5 cm on the left and 5.7 cm on the right. The tallest letter is .8 cm while the widest is .7 cm. On the verso the maximum width of the columns is 5.5 cm both left and right. The tallest letter is 1.0 cm while the widest is .8 cm. Any pagination that might have existed on either leaf has been lost in trimming.

On both the Fisher and Clarendon Press fragments there is a careful contrast of thick and thin strokes. *e*, *o*, *æ*, and *ω* are quite rounded. The diagonals of *m* and *n* as well as the cross lines of *e*, *æ*, and *h*, the caps of *n* and *τ* and the base bar of *x* are so fine as to be hair strokes. *γ* features a small triangular base and long, crossed diagonals. In this respect *γ* somewhat resembles *x*, but the latter has a larger triangle, shorter diagonals, and a long bar at the base. This writing of *γ* is to be distinguished from *χ* which appears as of the late ninth century for *oy* (Quecke, 1974b: 277).

The Fisher and Clarendon Press mss. were checked closely. In numerous instances corrections have been inserted in minuscule either between neighbouring letters or above the line or at the end of the line. Examples in the Fisher text are: *λ* - f.1 rt. 12, 16, 24; f.1 vs. 12; f.2 vs. 34; *ε* - f.1 vs. 9; f.2 rt. 10; *m* - f.2 rt. 32; *n* - f.1 vs. 8, 31; f.2 rt. 14; f.2 vs. 18; *o* - f.1 rt. 23, 34; f.1 vs. 14, 41; f.2 vs. 8; *me* - f.2 rt. 38; *op* - f.1 vs. 49; *oc* - f.1 rt. 26; *oye* - f.1 rt. 38; *λn* - f.2 vs. 7; *o* over *n* - f.1 vs. 20; *o* over *γ* - f.2 rt. 21.

Supralineation is used sparingly in both manuscripts. A point is employed either between words or at the end of a line, placed either halfway between the tops and bottoms of neighbouring letters or above, as in the case of f.1 rt. 6, vs. 6; f.2 vs. 33. A point sometimes replaces a supralinear stroke over *n* (f.1 vs. 30) and *h* (f.2 rt. 40). The supralinear stroke is written over both initial *m* and *n* and between two consonants indicating a vocalised *e*.

The circumflex is generally confined to *o*, the qualitative of *εipe* in the enumeration of the brethren in charge of the various monastic communities, although it appears twice over *τ* (f.1 rt. 15, vs. 35), once over *p* (f.1 rt. 38), twice over *i* (f.2 vs. 18, 35), and once between *o* and *γ*. *i* is occasionally double dotted. A single point is used infrequently at the end of lines.

Occasionally a dipole is found in the left margin in between lines (f.1 rt. 9, 22, 48; vs. 24, 27; f.2 rt. 38, 39; vs. 3, 6, 38). The dipole is also found in the Clarendon Press fragment. At the bottom of the left column on the verso of f.1 is a simple decorative pattern consisting of a row of short horizontal strokes with an upward flourish to the left and one downwards to the right. Below this line is another consisting of two very short horizontal strokes connected by a diagonal pointing downwards to the left. At the right end of the lower horizontal is a downward flourish. Some initial

letters are written slightly larger than others, and they are also placed slightly to the left in the margin. Absence of this capitalisation and ekthesis is said (Quecke, 1972a, 1972b: 17-18, cf. 1977: 13, 87-88) to be an indication of an early fifth century date. The enlargement and ekthesis in the Fisher and Clarendon Press leaves is not so marked as in later embellished manuscripts. They are different from the majority of the copies of the *Vita Pachomii* which come from the White Monastery at Sohag (cf. Coquin, 1979: pl. 49; Munier, 1916: 54-60, nos. 9245-9257 & pls. 11-12).

The three most interesting letter shapes are those of Υ described above and \downarrow for ω (f.2 rt. 40) and \downarrow for ω (f.1 rt. 32, 34; f.2 vs. 6, 8). These also appear in the Clarendon Press text, which has been assigned to the late fifth or early sixth century (Hyvernât, 1888: pl. 2.2; Stegemann, 1936; Pl. 5), and in a homily on the dead assigned to the sixth or seventh century (Stegemann, 1936: pl. 8).

A 'patch' appears at the top of the right column of the verso of f.1. The hand is the same as that of the two leaves, but the letters do not fit the context, and hence its placement may be accidental. In the following copy the letters of this patch have been placed in parentheses. As can be seen in the plates, slight enlargement of initial letters is concomitant with ekthesis. Since the transcription was made, a piece of the manuscript corresponding to f.2 rt. 46-47; vs. 22-23 has been lost.

TRANSLATION

A1. f1. rt.

... (2), of the vine - palm^A so that I might become familiar with its fruit ($\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\rho}\acute{o}\varsigma$), (but) I wasn't allowed to do so. I was told, 'You won't be able to (10) know it. (Now) be gone!' He told^B us that there were some columns^C ($\sigma\tau\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) which had been erected upon the ground, the covering ($\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\mu\alpha$) passed over (20) upon them. It had been placed specifically for the testing of the men beneath him (or 'it', i.e. the $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\mu\alpha$?) It was dark outside the columns ... (27) the covering passed over (30) upon them so that none of the men would be able (to) emerge from the spaces (between) the columns in order to go forth. He was about to go far off (40) all the way^D to Tmoushones,^E to the sound of broad (?) water in which there was ...^F There was no person surpassing him in (50) authority ($\epsilon\acute{\xi}\theta\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$). ... there was a ... earth(?) ...

A1. f1. vs.

... (1) the L(ord?) ... (3) some archons ($\alpha\rho\chi\omega\upsilon\varsigma$) in charge of it^G ... (5) of (?) the archons who were upon (in charge of?) the land. They were archons not of (10) this land but of that land. (They were) the ones who controlled it. He said to us, who ever will die upon (in?) the land that (20) observes the law ($\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$) that keeps the commandments ($\epsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}$) that will be received here ...^H (28) Apa (Pakhom)^I ... (29) (will?) happen (30) to the brethren of Phnoum and Sne^J in the time of Apa (Pakhom), my father Papnoute being^K at the head of Pboou^L (but) under^M Apa (Pakhom), (40) while Pakhom, the brother of Sourous was at the head of Tabennese,^N Apa Horsiese being at the head of Sheneset,^O Apa Cornelius (50) being at the head of T(moushones).

A1 f.2 rt.

... (2) my father Samuel being at the head of Shmin,^P Apa Apollonius being at the head of Tbeûe,^Q (10) my father Sourous being at the head of Phnoum, Apa Petronius (being at the) head of Tsmine^R ... (19) Phnoum ... (23) southwards to assist the bishops ($\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$) of Sne with the expulsion of the brethren from Phnoum. When Apa (Pakhom) (31) had heard (this request), he sent Apa Cornelius south so that he

might know what the reports were or the certainty of the deed that had (supposedly) been done. When Apa (41) Cornelius had gone thereafter to (the place) of the bishops...

A1 f.2 vs.

(1) 'It is the matter about which we have spoken to you.'^s He was told, 'We will not be able to divest ourselves of our ...^t (for?) three (10) days and give them to you so that you might take them from your attire (σχευή).' When Apa Cornelius had reached the north, he related (20) the whole affair to Apa (Pakhom) and Apa (Pakhom) spo(ke to God, 'O Go)d ...' (27) ... (After) the meeting with these worthies, then you should go south and peace will be with you.' Apa (Pakhom) (35) acted in accordance with that which the angel had said to him. When he had reached Phnoum...

NOTES

A. f.1 rt.2: a backformation and simplification from $\epsilon\lambda\omicron\omicron\epsilon$? Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 517 a-b notes that ω is sometimes replaced by $\omicron\omicron$ as in $\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$ 'to eat'. Cf. further the references in Browne, 1979: 45, n. on 10 to Murray, 1904: 39 & pl. 25.2.

B. f.1 rt. 12-13: surely Pakhom is the speaker.

C. f.1 rt. 17-31: from the *Lausiac History of Palladius* (32.1099c = Butler, 1904: 88.1-3) it is known that Pakhom was deemed worthy by the angels to make prophecies and to receive visions. The incident involving the columns recalls the vision described in the Bohairic *Vita* (Lefort, 1925: 130.27-132.11; Veilleux, 1980: 142-143) in which Pakhom sees some of his disciples going round a single column in darkness, groping for a light said to be just in front of them. There is no mention of a $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\mu\alpha$ and the interpretation of the Fisher passage is difficult. The meaning of both this word and the verbal duplex $\sigma\gamma\omega\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\lambda\omega\mu$ are uncertain.

In Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* 1257a the meanings listed for $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\mu\alpha$ are 'solid body', 'cube', 'foundation', 'firmness', 'steadfastness', and 'firmament of heaven'. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 68b & 463b notes that the Greek word is rendered in Coptic by $\epsilon\omega\epsilon\omega$ '(astrological) influence' and $\tau\alpha\chi\tau\omicron$ 'firmness', 'strength', 'solidity'. In addition to the Biblical references cited for the latter word, cf. Col. 2:5. When the Greek word itself is used, and not a Coptic rendition, the meaning is usually 'firmament of heaven' or less often it refers to the earth. Examples are: *heaven-Vit. Pach.* (Lefort, 1925: 97.16; *idem.*, 1933: 21.9,16; 159.18; 263.11); *Mart. Geo. Diospol.* (Balestri and Hyvernât, 1924: 246.27-28; 252.9-10; 258.2); *Enc. Geo.* (*Ibid.* 304.20); *Ep. Besa* (Kuhn, 1956: 39.18-19); *Installation of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel* (Müller, 1962: 44.20-22; 45.19-20, 29-35); *Mart. Claud.* (Godron, 1970: 64.27-28); Nag Hammadi Codex 6 (Krause and Labib, 1971: 162.32-33; 163.5-6); Shenoute (Leipoldt, 1913: 198.15-16); *Discourse on the Cross by Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem* (Budge, 1915: 215.11-12); *Enc. Merc.* (*Ibid.* 285.1-2); *Apoc. Paul* (*Ibid.* 538.26); *Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle* (*idem* 1913: 2.23-24; 12.2-3); and the *Mysteries of St. John and the Holy Virgin* (*Ibid.* 73.13-14); *earth - Discourse on the Cross* (*idem*, 1915: 192.29-33); *Prayer of St. Athanasius* (*Ibid.* 504.6-7; 510.12); and *Apoc. Paul* (*Ibid.* 561.26-27). Two references in which the meaning is uncertain are Budge, 1913: 28.12; 70.19-20.

Is $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\mu\alpha$ used here in the sense of 'firmness', generally confined to patristic Greek, or in the Coptic sense of 'firmament', and if the latter, does it refer to heaven or earth? An answer to at least the latter question is fairly obvious. It is hardly likely that the earth would be upon ($\epsilon\lambda\omega\mu$) the columns. The Greek word is used in the singular while there are several columns. It does not seem probable that the columns were positioned upside down with their bases ('firmaments') upon them. Thus the choice would seem to narrow between 'firmament' or 'firmness'. Unfortunately, the verbal group offers no help, as already mentioned. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 97b lists only the meaning 'to transfer (from one vessel to another)' i.e. 'to pour'. In its other meanings $\sigma\gamma\omega\tau\epsilon$ denotes 'to change', 'to pass through'. If $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\mu\alpha$ refers to the stoutness or solidity of the columns, perhaps the verbal group means 'endowed through', that is, the columns were completely solid. Otherwise,

the meaning might be that the 'firmament' extended over the columns.

Yet another complication is the reference to the examination of the men. What had been positioned for this purpose, the columns or the σπερώμα or both? Again, there are several columns. The singular pronoun in the verbal group in 21 and in the prepositional phrase in 23 either refers to σῦλος or it is perhaps a mistake. It is tempting to think that σπερώμα refers to a cover, a tarpaulin stretched over the columns such that there was complete darkness within, but the word is not known to have this meaning. Further, the darkness is said to be without, not within the columns. Also, the use of the definite article suggests that something well-known was intended. To mention a tarpaulin with the definite article without prior reference would be abrupt. If the sky were meant, however, there would be no such problem.

On the other hand, darkness outside the columns would imply darkness within. There is no light specified anywhere. The matter of the σπερώμα being passed over the columns is repeated in reference to the inability of the men to escape. This would be highly unusual were σπερώμα simply the sky, but it would be quite logical were it a covering that enhanced the gloom within the enclosure, preventing the men from escaping. Consequently, despite the number of difficulties involved, this is the idea preferred.

Lastly, it should be noted that this particular form of testing persons is not found elsewhere in Coptic literature. The idea of examining the dedication or fortitude of a person prior to his acceptance as a disciple of some holy man or to his career as an ascete is common enough (MacDermot, 1971: 283-290), but ⲭⲱⲛⲓⲣ is not used nor are such artificial means elsewhere described.

D. f.1 rt. 38-39: the vision appears to be over; the reference is probably to Pakhom, not to one of the persons within the columns, and the verbal form is second future, not future circumstantial.

E. f.1 rt. 39-40: for the possible location of this monastic community cf. Lefort, 1939: 399-401 and Coquin, 1979: 241-242.

F. f.1 rt. 44: corrupt? Perhaps = ἄρκτος 'bear' or (σ)ἄρξ 'flesh' though neither word would make much sense. The form here with the meaning 'bear' is found in the *Life of St. Anthony* (Garitte, 1949: 14.21-24) and the *Apocalypse of Paul* (Budge, 1915: 556.29). The reference to the water is unclear. It is not paralleled in other occurrences of the name for this monastic community.

G. f.1 vs. 4: the ⲛⲉ is confusing. If the sense is 'there were archons' ⲟⲩⲛ would have been used, not the copula.

H. f.1 vs. 26-29: as noted above the letters on the 'patch' do not fit with those on the page. ⲱⲁⲭⲉ is fortuitous.

I. f.1 vs. 34: Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 13b notes that Apa is often used alone in reference to Pakhom.

J. f.1 vs. 31-32: Phnoum was in the vicinity of Sne, which is the modern Esna. According to the *Sahidic Vita* (Lefort, 1933: 230. 1-5), Pakhom was told in a vision to go there and found a monastery. There are two such communities near Esna, Deir es - Khûkada or Deir Ammonios, 5 km to the southwest, and Deir el - Fakhuri, 9 km to the north, but neither has sufficient remains to trace occupation back to the fourth century (Lefort, 1939: 404-407).

K. f.1 vs. 35ff.: despite the point at the end of 32 ⲡⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ seems to be part of the preceding sentence and all the following verbal forms with the prefix ⲉⲣⲉ- are circumstantial rather than second present. Otherwise a very awkward string of 'emphatic' sentences would result, each with prominence laid upon the monastery of which each person specified was in charge.

L. f.1 vs. 38: Pboû was the second of the Pakhomian communities. It is specified in the *Sahidic Vita* (Lefort, 1933: 228. 14-20) as being to the north of Tabennese. It became the residence of Pakhom himself and of his successors. Its importance is suggested here by its position at the head of the list. It may have been in or near the modern village of Faoû el-Qibli ('the southern Faoû'), the name of which might also preserve the Coptic (Lefort, 1939: 388-393; Coquin, 1979: 240).

M. f.1 vs. 38-39: see below for the reference of one brother being subordinate to another.

N. f.1 vs. 43-44: Tabennese was the first of the monastic settlements, founded ca. 323 (cf. Lefort, 1925: 18.6ff = *idem.*, 1933: 100.4 ff). The exact place is unknown although it may be near the modern Tafnis, some 16 km north of Esna (Sauneron, 1968: 21-24 with all refs.). The Ptolemaic and later texts of the temple at Esna mention an *ḥbt* 'chapel', which might be short for *t3cbt nt 3st* 'the chapel of Isis', known from a demotic ostrakon found at Gebelein. It is possible that blocks from a Ptolemaic or Roman temple to the southwest of Faoû el-Qibli (see note before last) might have been part of an Isis complex. The ancient Egyptian name thus might have given rise to the Coptic and ultimately the Arabic toponyms (*Ibid.* 24; cf. Wipszycka, 1978: 634 & n.2).

O. f.1 vs. 47-48: Sheneset (Chenoboskion) has been identified with Qasr wa es-Saiyed not far from Nag Hammadi (Gauthier, 1905: 42-43, 57-59; Lefort, 1939: 383-387).

P. f.2 rt. 7: Akhmim; perhaps one of the most certainly identified of the Pachomian communities (Gauthier, 1905: 45).

Q. f.2 rt. 10-11: Tbe(o?)ûe, more often spelled Tbeûe (cf. Coquin, 1979: 240), may have been on the left (west) bank of the Nile at or near the modern Abu Khûkhe, 18 km north of Farshut and 8 km south of Baliana, near Abydos (Lefort, 1939: 402-403).

R. f.2 rt. 17-18: Tsmine was near Akhmim (Gauthier, 1905: 63-69; Lefort, 1939: 403; Coquin, 1979: 241).

S. f.2 vs. 3: the verb is uncertain. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 749a does not list the sense 'to speak' for $\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\omega$ except in one uncertain instance - 'to appeal to'. Furthermore, $\chi\iota$ is transitive, and the form $\epsilon\tau\chi\iota\epsilon$ would be more in order. The verb (Crum, CD 754a) does not take $\chi\iota$ in the absolute, unless the form here is a variant of $\chi\epsilon\rho\omega$ 'to mean' (*Ibid.* 755b). It is possible that the verb is $\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\omega$ but no verbs with χ and ρ in the absolute form of the infinitive have a meaning that would fit the context. Therefore, the second possibility has been selected.

T. f.2 vs. 8: again, uncertainty surrounds the translation. There is a discrepancy between the singular definite article in 8 and the plural suffix in 11. $\tau\omega\upsilon$ could mean 'decision' but used here with the particular verb, which has the basic meaning 'to strip naked' (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 101a), satisfactory sense cannot be obtained.

There is no immediately apparent episode in any version of the *Vita* into which the Fisher fragment would fit. The most interesting features are the enumeration of the heads of the various cenobitic communities and the reference in f.1 vs. 38-39 to Papnoute's control over Pboû though he was subordinate to Pakhom.

The list of monastic superiors here is more complete than that in any other translation of the *Vita*. Further, it is interesting that Pboû is specified first, indicating its importance, while Pakhom still resides at Tabennese. As mentioned above, Pakhom later moved to Pboû as chief. His successors, too, chose this place as their domicile. This detail may be of some use in determining the relative position of the Fisher text within the Sahidic *Vita*.

The reference to Papnoute's subordinate rank could well mean that he was the second-in-charge, an office mentioned nowhere else in the various translations of the *Vita*, but found in the *Lausiaca History of Palladius* (Butler, 1904: 90.5-7; 94.1-3) and in St. Jerome's Latin translation of a work ascribed to Horsiese, one of Pakhom's followers (Boon, 1932: 117.17-18.2). Whether the office existed in Pakhom's time is uncertain. It has been noted (de Vogüé, 1971: 293-294) that the *Lausiaca History* might well exhibit influences of non-Pachomian sources, presumably from elsewhere in the Near East, and the same could be said for the Fisher manuscript as well as Horsiese's work. It is quite possible that the *Vorlage* of both documents had no such references. The mention of seconds-in-charge could be an interpolation. Or, if this office was indeed specified in the original works, which were of course written after Pakhom's death, there is still no certainty that it existed as a part of the original administration of the various monastic communities.

On the other hand, the mention of the 'second' in the Fisher text necessitates a re-consideration of the reliability of the passages in the *Lausiaca History* and the purported Horsiese work. Could the silence in the Pakhom dossier over the 'seconds-in-charge' result from protocol, that is, from apologetic reasons? Perhaps it was felt improper to mention anyone next to Pakhom as the chief of a community. This reasoning is valid, however, only for Tabennese and Pboû. There would be nothing indelicate about mentioning the second-in-charge of another monastery, subordinate to another abbot, if such a second rank office existed. Whatever, the Fisher text contributes new information towards a reconstruction of the administration among the earliest Christian cenobitic groups in Egypt.

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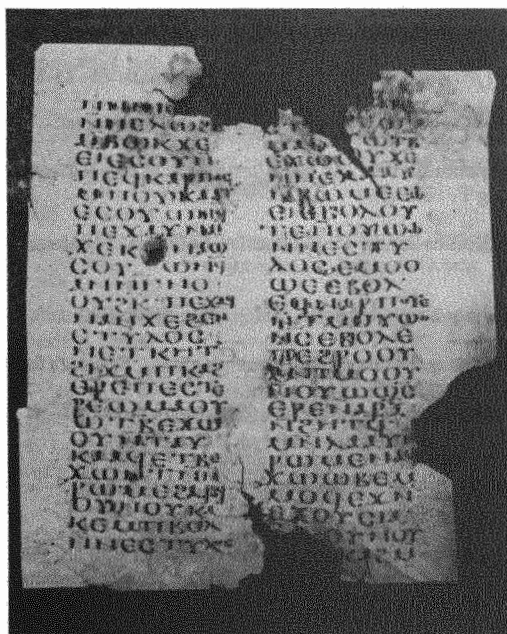
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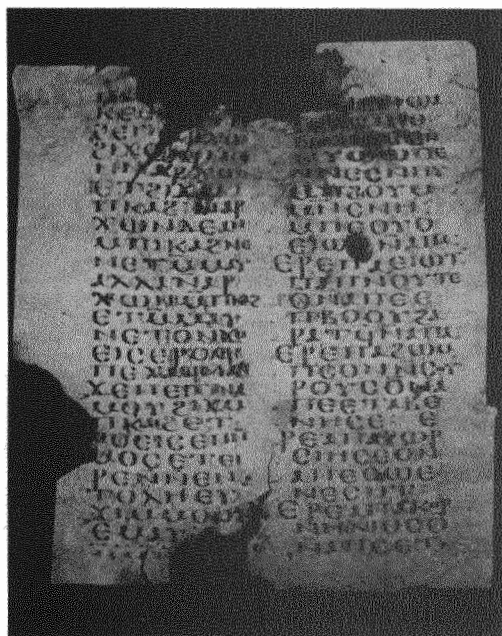
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A1 f.1 rt.

	ΠΗΗΙC[]]ne
	ΠΗΕΜΩΕ		CT[ε]pεω
	ΑΪΘΟΚ ΧΕ	30	ΜΛΟΥΩΤΕ
	ΕΪΕCΟΥΠ		ΕΩΠΟΥ ΧΕ
5	ΠΕΥΚΑΡΠΟC		ΠΗΕΛΛΑΥ
	ΠΠΟΥΚΑΛΤ		ΠΡΩΜΕΩΠ
	ΕCΟΥΩΠΗ		ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥ
	ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΪ	35	ΤΕΠΟΥΩΠ
10	ΧΕ ΚΗΜΠ		ΠΗΕCΤΥ
	CΟΥΩΠΗ		ΛΟC, ΕΜΟΟ
	ΑΝ ΠΓΝΟ		ΦΕ ΕΒΟΛ*
	ΟΥΓΚ· ΠΕΧΑΥ		ΕΥΗΑΡΠΟΥΕ
	ΝΑΝ ΧΕ ΓΕΝ	40	ΠΓΜΟΥΠΟ
	CΤΥΛΟC		ΝC ΕΒΟΛ Ε
15	ΝΟΤΚΗΤ		ΠΕΓΡΟΥ
	ΕΙΣΠΗΚΑ2		ΠΠΜΟΥ
	ΕΡΕΠΕCΤΕ		ΠΟΥΩΠC
	ΕΡΕΠΛΟΥ	45	ΕΡΕΠΛΑ
	ΩΤΕ ΕΩΠ		Π2ΗΤ*
20	ΟΥ ΠΤΑΥ		ΜΗΛΛΑΥ Π
	ΚΑΛΑ ΕΤΕ		ΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΥ
	ΧΗΜ Π		ΧΗΜΕ Π
	ΡΗΜΕ ΓΑΡΟΥ	50	ΜΟΥ ΕΩΠ
	ΟΥΠΟΥΚΑ		ΕCΟΥCΙΑ·
25	ΚΕ ΠΠΒΟΛ		Ε[]ΟΥΠΟΥ
	ΠΗΕCΤΥΛΟC		[...]ΚΑ2 Π



A1 f.1 vs.

	Π[ε]C[ ]		]ΗCΠΔ
	ΚΕC[.]]Η		(ΧΕ Τ[.])ΠΠΟ
	ΓΕΝΑΡΧΩ		(ΜΑΠΛ) ΓΕΝ
	ΕΙΣΠΗ	30	(Π)ΛΥΠΩΠΕ
5	ΠΠΑΡΧΩ*		ΠΠΕCΠΗΥ
	ΕΤΕ ΙΩΠ		ΠΠΕΝΟΥΠ
	ΠΚΑ2· ΠΑΡ		ΠΠCΠΗ*
	ΧΗΜ ΔΕ ΑΝ		ΠΠΕΟΥΟ
	ΠΠΚΑ2 ΝΕ		ΕΚΩ ΠΑΠΑ:
10	ΝΕΤΠΜΑΥ	35	ΕΡΕΠΛΕ ΩΠ·
	ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΡ		ΠΠΠΟΥΠΕ
	ΧΗΜ ΠΠΚΑ2		ΩΠΠΕ Ε
	ΕΠΠΜΑΥ		ΠΠΟΥ ΓΑ
	ΝΕΤΠΚΩ	40	ΡΑΥ ΠΑΠΑ
15	ΕΙC ΕΡΟΥ		ΕΡΕΠΛΑΠ
	ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΝ		ΠCΟΝ ΠCΟΥ
	ΧΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ		ΡΟΥCΩ ΠΑ
	ΜΟΥ ΕΙΩΠ		ΠΕ ΕΤΑΒΕΝ
	ΠΚΑ2 ΕΤ	45	ΠΠCΕ:Ε
20	ΡΟΕΙC ΕΠΠΟ		ΡΕΛΠΛΑΥ
	ΜΟC ΕΤΕΙ		CΠCΩ Π
	ΡΕ ΠΠΕΝ		ΑΠΕ ΩΠΕ
	ΠΟΛΗ ΕΥ		ΠΠCΠ:
25	ΧΙ ΠΠΜΟΥ	50	ΕΡΕΠΛΑΚΟΡ
	ΕΜΑΥ:		ΠΠΠΟCΩ
	ΣΥΣΣΥ		ΠΠΠΕ ΕΤ

Al f.2 rt.

	[]	25	ey[.]e
	[..]		pnc ofito
	]tc[.]		otoy mh
5	[ep] epae iwt		[n] episco
	canoy na		nos wcnh
	o na ne e	30	eneche:
	omh: e		omh eba
	peanaa noa		emhnoy
	adno o		ana de ite
10	na ne ete e		reaym
	[o] ye: ere	35	achoy n
	[na] e iwt coy		anacornh
	[p] oyc o na		aios ernc
	[n] e enno, ym:		xe eceime
15	[ere] ana ne		xe oy ne n
	[tr] onioe	40	omh eba
	[o] na ne et		px amh
	[om] ne:		etoyere
	] na n		amh a
20	] tay		anacornh
	n] enoy	45	aios de n
	] oy		[te] reaym
	] ney		[nm] caq a
	[]		[ma] mte
			[ni] c kopoc



Al f.2 vs.

	] ne *		[]
	neoe etw		[]
5	xi erwtw		n an[.]
	ne mte	30	ncooy
	neay naq		mneay
	xe tinnay		re etw
	katnytn an		naq nmo
	empentoy		omh ernc
	omh n		ayw tr m[.]
10	zoooy ntn	35	na' omh
	+ amoy		nak ana [de]
	nntn ax		ayere k[a]
	te tnoy		taoe en[ta]
	oy emh		na gte [loc]
15	tncknye	40	xooc n[ay]
	ntereana		nter [eq]
	cornha		bock a[e]
	oc de ei en		enno[oy]
	znt ayay		ne [ay]
20	ee tntc	45	en[
	ana ayw		en
	aaay [xe]		c[
	ozai [ennoy]		p[
	te xe [w pnoy]		[]
25	te ek [.	50	[]

