"My husband shall be master over my whole offering"
The Coptic Testament of Tsible, daughter of Gapatios, P. KRU 69

«زوجي سيكون مالك كل قرابيني»
وصية بالخط القبطي لتسبيلي ابنة جاباتيوس، 69

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Muhammad Fathy*

ملخص

يتناول هذا البحث دراسة وصية فريدة من نوعها، عُثر عليها في منطقة كاسترون جمية (طيبة الغربية/الأقصر)، مكتوبة على بردية تحمل رقم P. KRU 69، تورّع بالقرن الثامن الميلادي، وُُسجل عليها الوصية الأخيرة لسيدة تُدعى "تسبيلي ابنة جاباتيوس"، التي جعلت زوجها مالكًا على ممتلكاتها المنقول منها والثابت؛ لينفقها على قرابينه المقدسة، بعد وفاتها؛ لأنه فرَّغ وكرَّس نفسه لخدمتها وإدارة أعمالها، بالإضافة إلى إهتماميه وبحنانه في مرضها.

يتناول هذا البحث دراسة لغوية وتحليلية لوصية السيدة تسيبلي ابنة جاباتيوس.
The topic of this paper is the re-editing of the final draft and last recorded Will of a Coptic lady under the name of Tsible, daughter of Gapatios, and resident of the Egyptian village of Kastron Jeme. This text exists on the papyrus number LXXII (72) that is part of a private collection at Amherst of Hackney. The papyrus had been a piece in the library of the French orientalist Etienne-Marc Quatremère (1782-1857), however, when his collection was purchased in 1858 by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Bavarian State Library) in Münch, it came into the Library’s ownership and a facsimile of the papyrus is kept in the Department of Handwriting and Old Prints, alas in a poor condition, on the shelf number Cod. Copt. 1. A.

The text is complete, with the dimensions of the papyrus being ca. 111 cm long by 16 cm wide. The transcription of the text consists of nine slides. It is worth noting that the text is written on the recto on the horizontal fibers in 89 lines, while being composed on eight slides. Observing it, we remark that the handwriting appears to be clear, consistent and without ligatures. However, it appears from the photographs, that the researcher purchased, as an attempt to study this Will in French and it might be considered that this could be a scholarly effort by Etienne-Marc Quatremère himself. The original papyrus consists of three pieces: 355 x 155 mm; 370 x 160 mm; 380 x 160 mm.

The text is written in Sahidic dialect with some features of Akhmemic dialect, without ligature. It seems Crum did not pay enough attention to the writing concerning the superlineation that occurs over abbreviated words or tremas, which we note occurring over iota, in the whole text. I have transcribed the text according to the original papyrus noting that it was also transcribed by Crum but it was translated in a sort of joint venture by Crum, Till and MacCoull. Once this was conducted without any further study, the author will present the lingual and analytical study of the text and the context, correcting some of the readings while referring to the observation of the overall textual structure and commenting on aspects that were not mentioned in its previous studies.

P. KRU 69                   H. x W. = 111 x 16 cm

western Thebes, AD 729? or AD 744?

P. KRU 69                   H. x W. = 111 x 16 cm
The scribe forgot the letter "�" in the last letter, the correct form is ινητοφρονήμενε.

2. The scribe forgot letter η, the correct form is καστρον.

3. The scribe repeated the first three letters ταν of αλλαθονε, which ended with η not ι as usual, but Förster put this form, the first form of the word "will" but with ι. This form of the word does not occur in any other texts.

4. The scribe repeated the first three letters ταν of αλλαθονε, which ended with η not ι as usual, but Förster put this form, the first form of the word "will" but with ι. This form of the word does not occur in any other texts.

5. The scribe forgot letter ι, the correct form is καστρον.

6. The scribe forgot letter ι, the correct form is καστρον.

7. The scribe forgot letter ι, the correct form is καστρον.

8. The scribe forgot the letter γ, the correct form is λαγε.
9. It is usual in the Coptic wills that the scribes write ωⲛⲧⲁ ωⲣⲧⲣⲧⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ. The scribe repeated letter ϊ, the correct form is ωⲛⲃⲫ.

11. The scribe forgot the last letter ϊ, the correct form is ṡⲧⲟⲩ.

The translation

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Today, which is the 25th day of Mesore, in this year of the 12th Indiction. In presence of the most honorable (5) Leontios and Mena, magistrates (lashanes) of Kastron Jeme. I, Tsible, daughter of Gapatios, lest I fall into a serious sickness, I was afraid lest God should seek after me and I should go out of (10) this life and I leave my property uncared for and my offering, I gave my single testament, untransgressable and indestructible we (sic) have further confirmed it by means of trustworthy witnesses, (15) and with a scribe who would write on their behalf, while my heart fixed, sitting upon my sleeping place (bed), my mind being firm and my reasoning established. I was afraid lest the decree come upon me also like (20) all people as God the word defined it upon common father, Adam, saying: You are earth, to the earth you shall return [Genesis 3:19]. I gave my single testament because I recognized that my husband devotes himself for me in all my business (25) and looks to my interest in all service, looking after me with all his might. I said, lest God bring me before his fearful tribunal concerning his labor and my offering. So now I order in this way: (30) concerning the four teimosia; my husband shall take them and shall give them as an offering on my behalf. Moreover, my portion of a house that came to me from my father, and my portion of the courtyard (35), my husband shall be master of them, he shall get their (35) price from my brothers and give it as offering on my behalf. Again, concerning the household goods (chattels) which came to me from my father, I swear by God Almighty that I am not giving anything of them to my husband. (40) No anyone shall be able to proceed against you ever upon any allegation at all, as follows: neither brother nor sister nor anyone at all of mine neither you, whether it be now or at any time. Who (54) shall dare to transgress this testament, whether stranger or person of mine (relative), concerning my offering and the oath that I swore, but my husband shall be master over my whole offering in the fear (50) of God, he shall administer it, so that no man shall have power to administer it except him. I adjure by God Almighty every governor and magistrate (lashane), and every honorable, (55) worshipful personage who shall happen upon this testament, that he keeps it, according as it is written that it is legal for me to do what pleases me with what is mine. The one who shall dare to transgress it, firstly, that man shall not (60) prosper (profit) in anything, but chiefly he will be stranger to the holy oath which they serve (is served): The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; and also, he will pay the amount (65) of three ounces of gold, and they shall receive it from his property. Afterwards he would be brought to acknowledge the validity of this testament (70) and the penalty of the magistrate (lashane) of that time. This (70) testament shall be established. I Tsible, that wrote above, do agree to this testament and to all things that are written in it, because they have read it (it was read) to me, I heard it in the Egyptian. (75) Moreover, I asked a scribe and witnesses to witness for me. I published it as it stands above +

I Andrew, the son of the late Phoibammon, I am witness. (80) I George the son of the late...
Samuel, I am witness. I — the son of the late Psan, I am witness. I Theopistos(?), lector of Apa Kyriakos, I wrote for them as (85) they did not know (how) to write + Ｐ I Severus the son of late Samuel, I wrote this testament with my hand, at the request of her who authorized it +

**Lingual commentary**

This Will is linguistically characterized by the presence of words written differently from what is customary met in the texts of the other Coptic Wills and this may be mainly due to the impact of the Akhmimic dialect, as well as the presence of specific words that are not mentioned in other Wills. Referring to the Akhmimic dialect, where the region of Thebes was the center of it, it is noted that it appears to be evident in few prepositions and words as follows:

- ⲁϩⲣⲁⲓ “upon” in line 7, ⲁⲩⲣⲁⲓ in Sahidic dialect;
- ⲅⲓⲃⲟⲗ in line 9, ⲉⲃⲟⲗ in Sahidic;
- ⲁⲣⲟ // in line 24, ⲉⲣⲟ // in Sahidic;
- ⲁⲫⲱ //, ⲉⲫⲱ // in Sahidic;
- ⲁⲫⲛ in line 49, ⲉⲫⲛ in Sahidic.

This reveals converting letter ⲁ in Sahidic into ⲁ in Akhmimic. In addition to this, ⲛⲟⲩⲥ for ⲛⲟⲥ, ⲛⲟⲩⲃ for ⲛⲟⲃ “gold”, in these words the syllable ⲝⲓ turns to ⲝ.

The verb φολοκαρε is the Greek verb φιλοκαλέω, that in our case it has been presented in the Coptic texts in three forms φιλοκαλει, φελοκαλε, and the form of this Will.

- ⲣⲉⲡ ⲟⲃⲉⲡⲧⲉ “unoccupied land”. The verb μαρτηρεωω “witness”, in line 76, did not occur in any other texts, verb ωλληνε, and the word ⲣⲉⲡ “penalty”, the original of this Greek word is ζημια according to Förster, or επιτιμα according to Crum, its equivalents to the Coptic word ⲝⲉ have been present in P.KRU 67, the Will of Paham the monk.

The verb ṭερκ “swear” which is written usually ⲝⲉⲣ.

**The Analytical Study**

The Coptic testament is a documentary text that uses a combination of standard formulae, such as invocation, dates, and identification of parties, disposition of estate, inviolability of the will, penalties, witnesses and notary signature.

The text begins with an opening formula, an invocation:

Ｐ ρⲃⲣⲛⲏ ⲛⲭⲣⲉⲣⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲝⲛⲡⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲝⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲝⲣⲟⲥ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩⲦⲓ ⲛⲩⲧⲉ ⲜⲩⲠⲅⲓ ⲟⲧⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲝⲣⲟⲥ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲑⲩ ⲛ().'
that the twelfth indictions are in 729, 744, 759, 774, or 789. Another system of date formula is the regnal and consular which is represented here by the two lashanes “magistrates” Λεωντῖος Ιησοῦς Πασᾶς Ιεράρχων “Leontios and Mena, magistrates (lashanes) of Kastron Jeme.” Crum said, “unfortunately none of the magistrates recur in other manuscripts.” Turner said: “Sometimes there are two rulers for one city, which here is Kastron Jeme.” According to the Till’s Lashanes list, both Leontios and Mena were magistrates in 743/744.

Tsible thought of drawing up her own testament to dispose her estate to be spent on offering for her soul after death when she fell in a serious illness which may have led her to death as it was previously believed that any disease could end by death without any warning. Tsible believed in death so, she quoted in her Will, the relating passage from Genesis 3:19 which is described here as “decree” ἀπόφασις (Greek ἀπόφασις) it is the fate of the human beings.

In the Coptic Wills, there is a testator/testatrix who transfers the property to hei(s), but in this Will Tsible as a testatrix stated that her husband shall be the master, not the owner, of her property to spend it as a memorial offering to my brother with all my possessions that are outside or inside. You are their owner and give them to me as a charity; an offering.

According to her Will, Tsible’s property consists of four termesia “πτοχοῦ ἐγγίνεσσαν” which corresponds to ἀνατριχίαν “solidus and termesion”, calculating that one solidus (equals)=3 termesia. Moreover, her real estate consists of her portion of a house that she inherited from her father ἀνατριχίαν ἐπισπόρω ὑπακούει ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ὑπάκουος ἐν ἡμῖν ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖται ἡγεῖτα
it occurs also in the Will of Paham, P.KRU 67, consists of objects of silver, gold and bronze, besides clothes. This does not surprise us, as it is what has been taking place in contemporary Egypt so far. It is in the form of a requirement relating to the tradition of marriage in our time that the bride and the bridegroom are involved in the structure or furnishing of the marital home, so, she the bride (or rather her father) are expected for example to be buying all the electrical appliances and kitchen utensils or other household furnishings as it may be agreed with the future couple and their parents.

Consequently, in this Will, apart from dealing with the moveable goods that may have come to be as family heirlooms or items of a dowry and wedding presents, the principal role assigned to the husband is to be a mediator in converting all the property of his wife designated to money for spending them on the offering. We may also be justified in inferring from the evidence provided by the Will text that Tsible had no offspring as there is no reference indicating the opposite. She did not give anything from her possessions bound to be donated to the monastery or church to her husband, despite the fact that she is grateful to him for taking good care of her and her interests at the time of her illness. This may be justified on the grounds that this was in the realm of a husband’s duties in the area. In case we attempt to further this speculation, we may suppose that the property to be donated is part of a common property and not all of it has been in advance into prior to the agreement with the husband prior to the execution of the Will. In order to have an insight on the customary trends in the region, another Will recording is brought to attention where there is a lady named Elisabeth who on the contrary to what Tsible prescribes recommended in her Will, P.KRU 66, that her inheritance is to be assigned to her second husband and denied George, her son from the first marriage any right to it on the grounds that her second husband spent money from his property on her and her old mother implying that this was a just retribution.

Tsible told us only her name and her father’s ΔΝΩΚ ΤΣΙΒΛΕ ΤΩΝΗΡΕ ΧΙΓΙΝΑΙΩΝ but in other texts the testator/testatrix tells us his/her name, the name of his/her father, the name of his/her mother and the name of the heir(s). So, it is not possible to know Tsible’s family. However, MacCoul said “Is this Tsible the Tsible related to Paham the monk’s family in P.KRU 67?” By studying the Will of the monk Baham, P.KRU 67, it is possible to say that Tsible is the sister of Susanna, Paham’s wife, Gera, John and Pesantheus. This may explain the extent of her donation probably to the local monastery and the terms to safeguard it although she respects and trusts her husband excessively. It was obligatory for the testator to protect the heir against any person to sue him at anytime and anywhere. This is called inviolability of the Will: ΝΙΩΛΧΥΕ ΠΡΩΝΗ ΕΠΩΝΗΩΗ ΕΝΕΙ ΑΒΟΛ ΔΡΟΚ ΑΒΛΗΡΕ ΒΑΛΑΙΗ ΗΝΠΡΟΦΑΚΗ ΝΑΙΒΗΝΕΙ ΟΥΤΕ ΣΟΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΣΩΝΗ ΡΟΝΗ ΡΑΛΛΕΚ ΕΠΩΝΗ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΤΙΝΗ ΤΙΡΟΥ ΝΙΝΑΙΚ ΚΑΙΝ ΤΙΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΝ ΟΔΟΙΟΝΗ ΝΗ “No anyone shall be able to proceed against you ever upon any allegation at all, as follows: “neither brother nor sister nor anyone at all of mine neither you, whether it be now or at any time.”

One of the most distinguishing features of this Will is the saying of Tsible: χε ενοικη χια ετραφείς για γηπετεύνει “that it is lawful for me to do what pleases me with what is mine.” In her Will P.KRU 66, Susanna said: δειετε ενοικη ειναι για ειναιευ ειναι ηπετεύει για γηπετούν για για “Because I am alive, I will be the owner of all that is for me.” In Paham’s Will P.KRU 67: χεανοκ
I am the one who gave orders while I am alive.” In the Will of Tbsbes, P.KRU 70: \textit{ἐἰς όρισμα εἰς ἱλασία επιτάκτων κατὰ νομοὺς ἱλασίων “I am alive being the owner of what is mine according to the just laws.”} The complete form that is in Paul’s Will, P.KRU 74: \textit{ἐἰς όρισμα ἐπιτάκτων ἱλασίων εἰς ἱλασίαν τῆρης κατὰ νομοὺς ἱλασίων ἀντίπραγμα ἤδη ἐπιτάκτων τῆρης ἐτὰς ἡπετρογυμνή ἄνω ἐξαι τροποι πῦ ἡ κατὰ ποιμαντή τῆρη ἀντίπραγμα “being alive, I will become owner of all what is mine, according to just laws, such that man who becomes and is owner of all that is his, can give it to whomever he wishes and deal with it in any manner, according to the whole desire of his soul.”}

In light of these equations, the laws that were portrayed as just expressed that everybody possesses his property while he is alive and may offer it to whomever he pleases. This may very well be called as the law of legacy. In the Will of Tsible she said \textit{ἐαςτὶ ἐπετῶ}$^{48}$, this word is Greek \textit{ἐξεστί} means “it is permitted, lawful, possible.” This word occurs in the Gospel of Matthew 12:10; 14:4 as \textit{ἐπετῶ} ἐξεστί. This means what comes after it is authorized by law νομὸς and it is fair and just.

Along these lines and the Will text under study what was legal for Tsible to do by law satisfying her soul and heart is to dedicate her property or part of it as her offering. We may very well wonder what this law was really about, how and when was it decreed and phrased or defined so as to give liberty to individuals, men and women alike. We may be pondering on whether it was an imperial decree or a local one embodying some custom relating to donations to monasteries and churches. However, we may have to wait for further evidence supporting this kind of speculation and accepting it as it is recorded, bearing in mind that whatever it might have been it appears to have been recognized and widespread among individuals in that period and in that region. We realize through the study of the texts of the Coptic Wills, including this Will, that there were laws concerning the contractual parts and contracts, or conditions establishing and defining restrictions that must be met in the person of testator/testatrix, who for example must be free, adult and of good sound mind.

Tsible confirms and indicates her ownership of all that she recommended while at the same time providing information of how it reached her or came to her possession. Tsible has set the conditions so that her Will not to be transgressed by anyone and by setting these conditions or penalties implying the curse of the deceased if anything of what is set maybe disrespected: firstly, \textit{ὅτι ὁ ἐπιτάκτως ἄνω ἐξαι ὁμοιότατος ἐτὸς ἰερᾶς ἡμῶν ἰερᾶς Ὀσίος ὁ Σορός ἀντίπραγμα} “that man shall not prosper (profit) in anything, but chiefly he will be stranger to the Holy Oath which they serve (is served): The Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.” Secondly, pay a fine: \textit{ὅτι ὁ ἐπιτάκτως ἀντίπραγμα} “He will pay the amount of three ounces of gold, and they shall receive it from his property.” 

\textit{ounce} or \textit{ορίσια} in other texts are similar in meaning and pronunciation, it equals 6 solidus which weighs 4.5 gm of gold. So, the fine value is: 3 ounces = 3 x 6 = 18 solidi and weighs 18 x 4.5 = 81 gm of gold. We note that this is the same value as the fine in the Will of lady Tbsbes P.KRU 70. This seems customary again then, and the ending is predictable with the acknowledgment.
of the validity of the testament and the penalty of the magistrate (lashane): “he would be brought to acknowledge the validity of this testament and the penalty of the lashane of that time.”

Finally, regarding the oath formula we read that Tsible swore in God almighty, παντοκράτωρ. Then the ending formula follows in which Tsible expresses herself again, following her declaration that the Will was read to her with the language she understands: the Egyptian. Then she asked a notary to write it on her behalf, and witnesses to testify to her Will while she declared her desire to be realized the manner she prescribed as previously mentioned. Reaching to the part of the witnesses, it is to be noted that there are only three witnesses mentioned by name and listed in the Will of Tsible certifying and establishing it as lawful and binding.

Conclusion

Paleographically, although the text was written in Sahidic dialect, it has some features from the Akhmimic dialect. The list of the magistrates of Kastron Jeme of Till, the debate over the date of the papyrus could be settled, it is 744 CE. In this Will, Tsible stated that her husband shall be the master, not the owner, of her property to spend it as a memorial offering on her behalf. She did not give anything from her possessions to her husband, despite the fact that she is grateful to him for taking good care of her and her interests at the time of her illness, she also did not donate anything to the monastery or church, she focused on her memorial offering after death.

The laws of Will and inheritance according to this Will are:

- Drawing up a testament required validity of mind not of body, so, she said: “my mind being firm, and my reasoning established”.
- The just law of inheritance was that a person is the owner of everything he has during life and gives it to whoever wants it after death, so, she said: “It is legal for me to do what pleases me with what is mine”.
- There were penalties against whoever wants to transgress what was written in the Will. It varied between material (physical), which is paying three ounces of gold from his property as a fine; and religious (spiritual), by being a stranger to the Holy Oath and Trinity.
- The testament be established by assenting of the legator and signatures of number of witnesses, here are three witnesses.
(Fig. 1.1) Facsimile of the Testament of Tsible daughter of Gapatios, Cod. Copt. 1. A, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Münch, (lines 1–21).

(Fig. 1.2) Facsimile of the Testament of Tsible daughter of Gapatios, Cod. Copt. 1. A, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Münch, (lines 22–43).
(Fig. 1.3) Facsimile of the Testament of Tsible daughter of Gapatios, Cod. Copt. 1. A, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Münch, (lines 44-64).

(Fig. 1.4) Facsimile of the Testament of Tsible daughter of Gapatios, Cod. Copt. 1. A, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Münch, (lines 65-89).
(Fig. 2.1) The Testament of Tsible daughter of Gapatios, Amh. Egy. Pap. 72, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, (lines 1-32).

(Fig. 2.2) The Testament of Tsible daughter of Gapatios, Amh. Egy. Pap. 72, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, (lines 33-63).
Endnotes

* Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University; Muhammady.fathy@cu.edu.eg.


2 H. Rebhan, Die Wunder der Schöpfung: Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek aus dem islamischen Kulturkreis (Wiesbaden, 2010), 11.

3 The author would like to acknowledge Sophie Schrader and Juliane Trede, in the Department of Handwriting and Old Prints, in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, for providing valuable information. The author is grateful to colleague Ghada Sayed for her assistance in purchasing photos of the transcription of this testament which is retained in the Bavarian State Library. Appreciation Thanks to Dr. Ahmed Mekawy, Associate Lecturer at the Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University; and Georgina Kouti (from Greece) for their revision of this article.

4 J. Aumer, Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis 1, 4 (Verzeichniß der orientalischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München), (München, 1875), 99 (http://bavarica.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb11313369_00135.html)

5 https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/77192 (accessed 7 January 2020).

6 W.E. Crum and G. Steindorff, Koptische Rechtsurkunden des Achten Jahrhunderts aus Djême (Theben), (Leipzig, 1912), 221.

7 https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/77192 (accessed 7 January 2020).


12 Crum and Steindorff, Koptische Rechtsurkunden, 222.


14 The word ἐκς means ‘business’, which Crum used, and ‘pains’, which MacCoull used, each meaning matches with the context, but it means also labor: Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 712b. Which is more appropriate to the context because in line 28 τοῦκος the possessive adjective τοῦ refers to Tsible’s husband who worked for her.

15 Both Crum and MacCoul translated εἰςου ‘field’ only of εἰς χώρα καὶ χώρα but there is εἰς χώρα and χώρα which means ‘unoccupied land’: T.O. Lambdin, Introduction to Sahidic Coptic (Mercer University Press, 1983), 323. So, εἰςου χώρα means yard or court which appeared in a number of testaments as αὐρ.

16 οὕτως ὁ λαλῶν ‘who shall happen upon’, it may mean, as it is familiar in the Egyptian common language nowadays ‘come upon’ someone means to injustice, take from his right.

17 οὕτως συνεέχεται ὁ λαλῶν αὐτῷ τὸν καταλλήλον κατ οὗς ἠγγίκασε Crum translation: ‘Afterwards they shall see to it that he conforms to the authority of this testament’, MacCoul translation: ‘Subsequently, after furnishing that, he is to appear and acknowledge the validity of this testament’. Crum translated the Greek verb συνεέχει τοῦτον ἀναθέτει ‘see’, but Schiller translated it ‘bring’ in P.CLT 1, 93; 2, 14; ‘appear’ in P.CLT 5, 133 and ‘produce’ in P.CLT 7, 62. The phrase ‘after furnishing that’ of MacCoull does not occur in the Coptic text.


29 A.A. Schiller, *Ten Coptic Legal Documents* (New York, 1931), 12.


33 Crum, ‘Papyrus no. LXXII’, 61.

34 Crum, ‘Papyrus no. LXXXII’, 61.


