

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

**«زوجي سيكون مالك كل قراييني»
وصية بالخط القبطي لتسيبلي ابنة جاباتيوس، P. KRU 69**

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ملخص

يتناول هذا البحث دراسة وصية فريدة من نوعها، عُثِرَ عليها في منطقة كاسترون جيمة (طيبة الغربية/ الأقصر)، مكتوبة على بردية تحمل رقم P. KRU 69، تؤرخ بالقرن الثامن الميلادي، ومُسجَل عليها الوصية الأخيرة لسيدة تُدعى 'تسيبلي ابنة جاباتيوس'، التي جعلت زوجها مالكا على ممتلكاتها المنقول منها والثابت؛ لينفقها على قرايينها المقدسة بعد وفاتها؛ لأنه فرغ وكرس نفسه لخدمتها وإدارة أعمالها، بالإضافة إلى رعايتها هي شخصياً باهتمام وبحنان 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 Hackney¹. 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 Münch², 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,³ on the shelf number Cod. Copt. 1. A⁴. The papyrus was purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913) in 1912. It is kept in Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, where it is currently kept under no. Amh. Egy. Pap. 72⁵. It also bears the no. 69 in P.KRU collection⁶.

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 mm⁷.

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 Crum⁸ but it was translated in a sort of joint venture by Crum, Till and MacCoull⁹. 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?

Ⲫ ρⲙ ⲡⲣⲀⲛ ⲛⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉ-
ⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲃ ρⲙ ⲡⲟⲟϩ ⲛⲉⲟⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲥⲟϥ ρⲟϥ-
ⲧⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲙⲉⲥⲟϥⲣⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ¹ ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲉⲕⲁ-
ⲧⲏ ⲛ^{ⲧⲉⲕ}ⲁⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲉⲣⲛ ⲛⲧⲓⲙⲉⲓⲱⲧⲁⲧⲟⲥ
5 ⲗⲉⲟⲛⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲛⲗⲁⲱⲛⲓϥ ⲛⲡⲕⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟ ²
ⲛϥⲏⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲧⲥⲓⲃⲗⲉ ⲧϥⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲛⲁ-
ⲡⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ ρⲉ ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲉ ⲁⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲁϥϥⲱ-
ⲛⲉ ⲉϥⲉⲟⲥⲉ ⲁⲓⲣ ρⲟⲧⲉ ρⲉ ⲙⲏⲡⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲡ-
ⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ϥⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲟⲗ ρⲛ ⲡⲉ-
10 ⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲛⲡⲁⲉⲟⲱⲃ ⲉϥⲱ ⲛⲁⲡⲏⲉⲧⲟⲣⲛ
ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲱⲥⲑⲟⲣⲁ ⲁⲓⲧ ⲡⲁⲟϩⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲓⲁ-
ⲗⲓⲁⲛⲏⲕⲉ ³ ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲧ-
ϥⲗⲗⲉⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲉⲣ ρⲟⲟϩⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲧⲁϥⲣⲟ
ⲛⲙⲟⲥ ρⲓⲧⲛ ρⲛ ⲙⲉⲛⲧⲣⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲉⲗⲓⲟⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ
15 ⲁϥⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲟϥⲣⲉϥⲕⲉⲉⲗⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲕⲉⲉⲗⲁⲓ ρⲁⲣⲟⲟϥ
ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲁⲉⲛⲧ ⲥⲙⲟⲛⲧ ⲉⲓⲉⲙⲟⲥ ρⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲁ-
ⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⁴ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲓⲟⲛⲉⲧ
ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲁⲗⲟⲉⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲁϥⲣⲏϥ ⲁⲓⲣ ρⲟⲧⲉ ρⲉ-
ⲙⲏⲡⲟⲧⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲁⲡⲟⲑⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲧⲁⲉⲟⲓ ρⲱⲧ ⲛⲟⲉ
20 ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲡⲗⲟⲥ
ρⲱⲣⲁⲉ ⲛⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲧⲏ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲏⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲗⲁⲛ
ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲕ ⲟϥⲕⲁⲉ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉⲕ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲉ ⲁⲓⲧⲓ
ⲡⲁⲟϩⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲓⲁⲛⲏⲕⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ρⲉ ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲉ
ⲉⲡⲁⲉⲗⲁⲓ ⲉϥⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉϥⲏ ⲁⲣⲟⲓ ρⲛ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲥⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲉϥ
25 ⲁϥⲱ ⲉϥⲑⲟⲗⲟⲕⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲣⲟⲓ ρⲛ ⲙⲏⲧⲕⲁϥⲟⲛ ⁵
ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉϥⲑⲁⲗⲡⲉ ⲛⲙⲟⲓ ρⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲑⲟⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲉⲥ
ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲥ ρⲉ ⲙⲏⲡⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲓ
ρⲓ ⲡⲉϥⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲗⲁ ρⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲥⲉ
ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟⲥⲑⲟⲣⲁ ⲧⲛⲟϥ ⲑⲏ ⲧⲕⲏⲗⲉϥ ⁶ ⲛⲧⲉⲉⲛ
30 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲧⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲏⲏⲥⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲁⲉⲗⲁⲓ ⲛⲁ-

βίτου νεϋτααυ νπροςφορα γαροί αγω он
 памерос еннї нтаϋеї аϋωї га паеїωт
 ми памнрос⁶ νεїωϷ вервωте ерепаϷаї
 наϷωπε Ϸω нϋоеїс ерооϋ еϷнаϣї теϋ-
 35 ϋми нтот^Ϸ ннаϷннϋ νεϷтас нпροςφορα γαροί αγω
 он етве нескеϋе нтаϋеї аϋωї га па-
 еїωт еїωрек нпноϋте [пан]тоϋκρα-
 τωρ Ϸе меїт лаϋе нпаϷаї нϷнтоϋ н-
 нелаϋе нρωме еϷ бм бом енеї а-
 40 вол арок ѡа анеϷе га лаϋе нпрофа-
 сїс нϷїмеїне оϋте сон оϋте сωне
 оϋте Ϸωме Ϸωлес епωї пе оϋте
 нток оϋте нетннϋ тнроϋ мннсωк
 кан тїноϋ кан ѡа оϋоеїϷ нїм пет-
 45 натωлма епараве ндїдїаөнке
 оϋте ѡммω оϋте Ϸωме епωї пе етве
 тапροςφοϋра ми панаϷ нтаїорекнϷ
 алла ерепаϷаї наϷωπε еϷω нϋоеїс
 аϣн тапροςφορα тнрес Ϸн θοτε
 50 нпноϋте еϷнатїнке нмρс ϣе ннел-
 аϋе нρωме еϷ бм бом ндїнке нмос
 нсавллнϷ еїωрек нпноϋте панто-
 ϋκρατωρ Ϸе лаϋе нархон нїм Ϸї
 лаϷане Ϸї тнпос нїм еϷϷа еїооϋ
 55 еϋооϷет наϷ еϷ^{на}ϣωмеϷ адїдї-
 өнке⁷ етрϷϷарнϷ арос ката өн ет-
 снϷ ϣе енϷїстї наї етраρ пеїтеϷ-
 наї Ϸм пїте пωї пе петнатωлма
 епараве нмос нϷωρεп мен нне-
 60 петнмаϷ тї Ϸнϋ нлае⁸ алла пϷωρεп
 нтнпос мнн еϷнаϷωπε еϷω нϷм-
 мо епанаϷ етоϋаав ет[оϷм-]
 Ϸе наϷ пеїωт [м]н пϷεре ми пнаϷ-
 [м]а етоϋаав агω он еϷнаϣт пплогос
 65 нϷωмет е[н]онгїа ннов неϷапнте
 нм[о]Ϸ Ϸн теϷϷїпостасїс мннсωс нсе-
 параскеϋезе нмоϷ тарεϷϷων ат-
 бом нтїдїаөнке ми тсїмїа
 нплаϷане нпкнрос етнмаϷ тї-
 70 дїаөнке оϋн еснаϷωπε естаϣρη[Ϸ]
 анок тсївле тентасϷрп сϷаї тπε⁹
 стнхн атїдїаөнке ми Ϸωв нї-
 їн¹⁰ еϷснϷ арос ево¹¹ ϣе аϋοϋϷес
 //////////////// арої аїсотме^с менτρнκнме
 75 агω он аїпаракале ноϋρεϷсϷаї
 ми Ϸенкоϋннтре етρεнарτнресϷаї
 γαροї аїκος авол ωс прωкетн ϋ

ϣ анок антреас пϷнре нпма-
 карїос фовамωн ϋω мннтре
 80 + анок геωргїос пϷнре мпмаκ,
 самοϋнл ϋω мннтре ϣ анок [. . ε]
 пϷнре мпмаκ, ϣан ϋω мннтре
 анок θεωπισтос панагнωстнс
 напа кϋριακος аїсϷаї γαρωοϋ Ϸе
 85 μεϋνοι нсϷаї +
 + анок сеϋнрос пϷнре нпмаκа-
 Ϸреїос самοϋнл аїсϷаї нтетї-
 аөнке нтабїϣ прос тнτї-
 сїс нпетсмїне нмос +

Apparatus

1. нтернтеромпе the scribe repeated нтер, correct form is нтеромпе.
2. кастро the scribe forgot letter н, the correct form is кастрон.
3. The scribe repeated the first three letters дїа of дїадїаөнке, which ended with ε not η as usual, but Förster put this form, the first form of the word “will” but with ? This form of the word does not occur in any other texts¹⁰.
4. өнкоте error in the last letter, the correct form is өнкотκ¹¹.
5. Crum transcribed it мнткаϋο in P.KRU collection¹², and papyri.info website; while was transcribed мнткаϷа, he pointed out that the word was incorrect, and the correct form is мнтϷаϋон, but what is written on the papyrus is мнткаϋон. In his dictionary, word мнткаϋон and мнтϷаϋон means “servant”¹³.
6. The correct form is what was written in the previous line μερос.
7. The scribe forgot letter α, the correct form is дїадїаөнке.
8. The scribe forgot the letter Ϸ, the correct form is лаϋе.

9. It is usual in the Coptic wills that the scribes write ΠΕΝΤΑ¹¹ ὄρσιζαι ντιπτε.
10. The scribe repeated letter ι, the correct form is ΝΗ.
11. The scribe forgot the last letter λ, the correct form is ΕΒΟΛ.

The translation

ⲫ 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 business¹⁴ (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 courtyard¹⁵, 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 upon¹⁶ 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 testament¹⁷ 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 +

ⲫ I Andrew, the son of the late Phoibammon, I am witness. (80) ⲫ I George the son of the late

that the twelfth indications are in 729, 744, 759, 774, or 789.³³ Another system of date formula is the regnal and consular which is represented here by the two *lashanes* “magistrates” ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΣ ΜΗΜΗΝΑ ΝΛΑΩΝΙΥ ΝΙΚΑΣΤΡΟ ΝΧΗΜΕ “Leontios and Mena, magistrates (*lashanes*) of Kastron Jeme.” Crum said, “unfortunately none of the magistrates recur in other manuscripts”³⁴. Turner³⁵ said: “Sometimes there are two rulers for one city, which here is Kastron Jeme”³⁶. According to the Till’s *Lashanes* list, both Leontios and Mena were magistrates in 743/744³⁷.

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 $\psi\omega\nu\epsilon\ \epsilon\psi\lambda\omicron\sigma\epsilon$ which may have led her to death as it was previously believed that any disease could end by death without any warning³⁸. Tsible believed in death so, she quoted in her Will, the relating passage from Genesis 3:19 which is described here as “decree” ἀποφασίς (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 offering³⁹ προσφορά on her behalf, and it is that makes this Will special, if not unique.

The word προσφορά in Greek is προσφορά means a donation to a religious institution; monastery or church⁴⁰, as it is observed in some documents relating to the Monastery of Phoibammon in particular referring to the area that Tsible had been its resident. In the *Testament of Jakob*, the monk, P.KRU 65 Jakob defined in his description the property of the Monastery which was in its main body consisting of donations. People donated part of their property to a religious institution for prayers and funeral

rituals in favor of the spirit of the deceased and memorial masses⁴¹. In addition to this, a lady called Tbasbes drew up her Will, P.KRU 70, donating her property to a clergyman named Shenouda and his son in exchange of handling her offerings after her death for about twelve years. Besides these Wills indicating this kind of donations there is the Will of a monk, O. Crum ST 56, who transferred his property to two monks in the Monastery in favor of offering $\eta\ \alpha\beta\eta\lambda\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\ \bar{\eta}\pi\alpha\sigma\omicron\nu\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\mu\ \rho\bar{\eta}\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\eta\iota\ \tau\eta\rho\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon\bar{\tau}\tau\epsilon\nu\epsilon\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\iota\tau\iota\ \eta\rho\omicron\gamma\eta\ \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\kappa\ \epsilon\tau\omega\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\gamma\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\tau\tau\alpha\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\eta\bar{\alpha}\ \rho\alpha\rho\iota\ \epsilon\iota\tau\iota\ \pi\rho\sigma\phi\omicron\rho\alpha$ “I write 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.”⁴²

According to her Will, Tsible’s property consists of four termesia “ $\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\gamma\ \eta\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\eta\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ ” which corresponds to $\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa\ \eta\eta\ \omicron\gamma\tau\rho\eta\eta\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ “solidus and termesion”, calculating that one solidus (equals)= 3 termesia⁴³. Moreover, her real estate consists of her portion of a house that she inherited from her father $\pi\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\eta\eta\bar{\iota}\ \eta\tau\alpha\psi\epsilon\bar{\iota}\ \alpha\chi\omega\bar{\iota}\ \rho\alpha\ \pi\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota}\omega\tau$, and her portion of the family courtyard $\pi\alpha\mu\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon\bar{\iota}\omega\zeta\ \nu\epsilon\rho\upsilon\omega\tau\epsilon$, declaring that her husband shall be the master of them, to get their price from her brothers and give the money as offering on her behalf $\eta\epsilon\psi\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \eta\pi\rho\sigma\phi\omicron\rho\alpha\ \rho\alpha\rho\iota$. Tsible left also household goods (chattels) $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$, which she swore not to give them or anything of them to her husband, by this implying he has not been privileged to have any of them $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\omega\rho\epsilon\kappa\ \eta\eta\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\ [\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\eta]\tau\omicron\gamma\kappa\ [\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho\ \chi\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\bar{\iota}\ \lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \eta\eta\pi\alpha\zeta\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \eta\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ “I swear by God Almighty that I am not giving anything of them to my husband”. These things are from her father $\eta\epsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\ \eta\tau\alpha\psi\epsilon\bar{\iota}\ \alpha\chi\omega\bar{\iota}\ \rho\alpha\ \pi\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota}\omega\tau$. Considering all of these, Tsible’s husband is to give what she declares to be donated as offering on her behalf $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\pi\alpha\zeta\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \eta\alpha\upsilon\bar{\iota}\tau\omicron\gamma\ \eta\epsilon\psi\tau\alpha\alpha\gamma\ \eta\pi\rho\sigma\phi\omicron\rho\alpha\ \rho\alpha\rho\iota$. The word $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ or $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\gamma\eta$ as

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 68, 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 mother⁴⁴ implying that this was a just retribution.

Tsible told us only her name and her father's $\lambda\omicron\kappa\ \tau\sigma\iota\beta\lambda\epsilon\ \tau\omega\mu\eta\rho\epsilon\ \epsilon\eta\gamma\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 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, MacCoull said "Is this Tsible the Tsible related to Paham the monk's family in P.KRU 67?⁴⁵". 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: $\eta\eta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\omega\delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\omicron\mu\ \epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\ \lambda\beta\omicron\lambda\ \lambda\rho\omicron\kappa\ \omega\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\zeta\epsilon\ \chi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \eta\pi\rho\omicron\phi\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma\ \eta\lambda\iota\mu\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\omega\eta\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \chi\omega\lambda\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\omega\iota\pi\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \eta\tau\omicron\kappa\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\chi\ \tau\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\eta\eta\kappa\omega\kappa\ \kappa\alpha\eta\ \tau\iota\eta\omicron\gamma\ \kappa\alpha\eta\ \omega\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega\ \eta\iota\mu$ "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: $\chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\eta\zeta\iota\varsigma\tau\iota\ \eta\lambda\iota\ \epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\rho\eta\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\zeta\ \eta\lambda\iota\ \chi\mu\iota\tau\epsilon\pi\omega\iota\pi\epsilon$ "that it is lawful for me to do what pleases me with what is mine." In her Will P.KRU 66, Susanna said: $\chi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\omicron\eta\zeta\ \epsilon\iota\eta\lambda\omega\omega\pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\omega\ \eta\pi\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \eta\pi\epsilon\tau\omega\sigma\omicron\pi\ \eta\lambda\iota\ \tau\eta\rho\upsilon$ "Because I am alive, I will be the owner of all that is for me."⁴⁶ In Paham's Will P.KRU 67: $\chi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\eta\kappa\omicron\kappa$

πετκελεγε νροσον ειονη “I am the one who gave orders while I am alive.” In the Will of Tbasbes, P.KRU 70: ειονη ειωωπε ειο νχοεισε επετεπωπε κατα ννομος νδικαιον “I am alive being the owner of what is mine according to the just laws.”⁴⁷ The complete form that is in Paul’s Will, P.KRU 74: χεετι ειονη εινωωωπε ειο νχοεισε επετπω τηρφη κατα ννομος νδικαιον ετρεπωμε ωωπε εφο νχοεις επετεπω τηρφη ετααυ μηετφογαωυ αγω εααυ ντροπος νην κατα ποωωω τηρφ ντεφγγχη “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.”⁴⁸

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 ενζϊστϊ, εξεσται in P.KRU 65, this word is Greek ἔξεστι means “it is permitted, lawful, possible.”⁴⁹ This word occurs in the *Gospel of Matthew* 12:10; 14:4 as εξεσται. This means what comes after it is authorized by law νομος 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, He shall not profit in anything. Furthermore, He will be stranger to the Holy Oath: ννεπετμμαυ τϊ ρηγ νλα[γ]ε αλλα πωωρεπ ντηπος μην εϕναωωπε εϕω νωμμο επαναω ετ[ο]γααβ ετ[ο]γωμ]ωε ναϕ πεϊωτ [μ]ν πωερε μη πναγ[μ]α ετογααβ “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: εϕναϕ ππλογοσ νωωμετ ε[ν]ονγια ννοβ νεραπητε μη[ο] ρ ρη τεϕϑιποστασις “He will pay the amount of three ounces of gold, and they shall receive it from his property.” *ounce* ονγια or οργια in other texts are similar in meaning and pronunciation, it equals 6 solidus which weighs 4.5 gm of gold⁵⁰. 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 Tbasbes 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*): $\text{ΝΕΠΑΡΑΚΕΥΕΖΕ ΝΜΟϸ ΤΑΡΕϸΖΩΝ ΔΤΒΟΜ ΝΤΑΔΔΙΔΘΗΚΕ ΜΝ ΤΣΙΜΙΑ ΝΠΛΑΨΔΝΕ ΝΠΚΗΡΟϸ ΕΤΜΜΔΥ}$ “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 $\text{ΝΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΝΤΟΥΚΡΑΤΩΡ}$. 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:

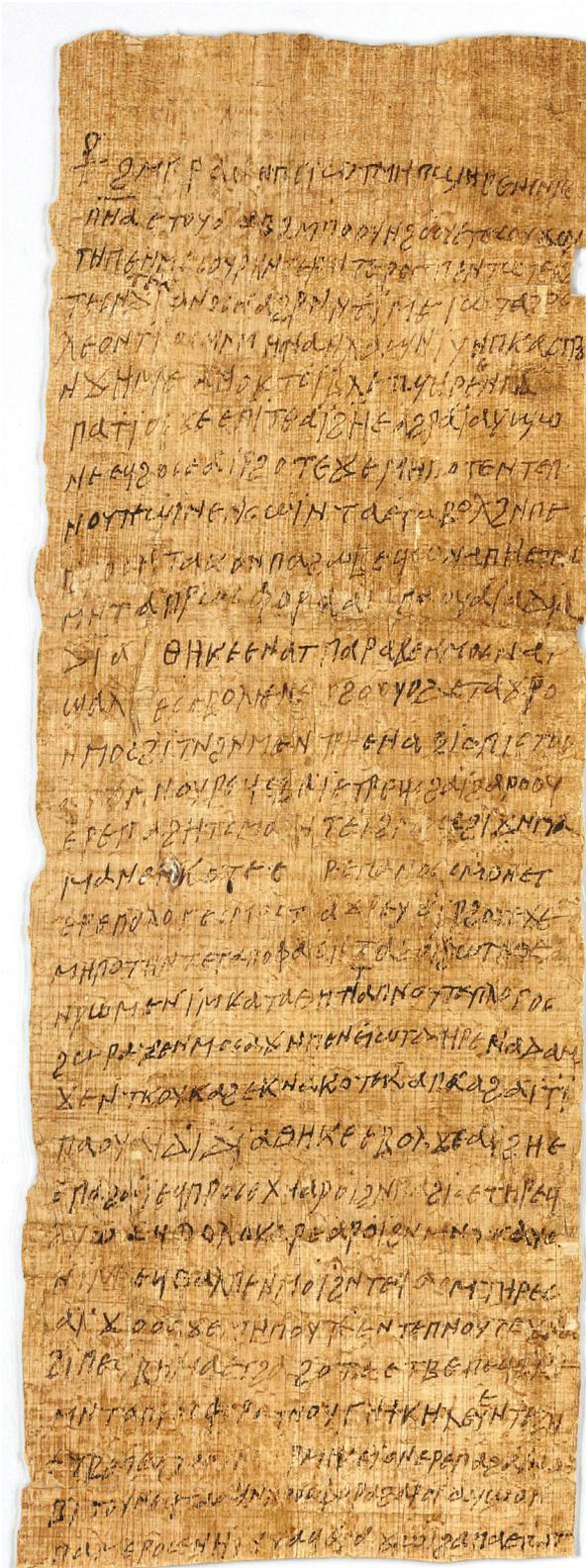
- Drawing up a testament required validity of mind not of body, so, she said: “my mind being firm, and my reasoning established”.
- The just law of inheritance was that a person is the owner of everything he has during life and gives it to whoever wants it after death, so, she said: “It is legal for 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.

ΚΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΚΑΝΥ ΔΟΥΣΙΣ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤ
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 ΟΥ ΤΕ ΥΜΜΩΟΥΤΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΕΠΩ Ι ΠΕΤ ΒΕ
 ΤΑ ΠΡΟΦΟΥΡΑ ΜΗ ΠΑΝΔΩΝΤΑ Ι ΟΡΕ ΚΗΥ
 ΑΛΛ ΔΕ ΡΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΙΝΔΩΟΥ ΠΕ ΕΦΩ Ν ΧΟΙΣ
 ΔΑΝΤΑ ΠΡΟΦΟΥΡΑ ΤΗΡΕΣ ΖΗΘΟΤΕ
 Ν ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΥΝΑΤΙ ΗΚΕΝ ΜΟΣ ΧΕΝ ΜΕΛ
 ΔΥΕΝ ΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΩ ΜΟΛΟΜΝ ΔΙ ΗΚΕΝ ΜΟΣ
 ΝΟΣ ΔΕΛΛΗΝ ΕΙΩΡΕ ΚΗ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΝΤΟ
 ΥΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΔΕΛΑΥΡΕ ΝΑΡΧΟΝ ΝΙ Μ ΖΙ
 Λ ΔΩ Δ ΝΕ ΖΙ ΤΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΝΙ Μ ΕΦ Δ ΕΙ ΟΟΥ
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 Μ Τ Η Π Ρ Ο Σ Μ Η Ν Ε Φ Ν Δ Σ Ω Π Ρ Ε Ε Φ Ω Ν Ο Υ Μ
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 Ο Υ Ε Ν Δ Ο Υ Π Ε Ι Ω Τ Ι Μ Ν Π Ο Υ Ε Ρ Ε Μ Ν Π Ν Ο Υ
 Μ Δ Ε Τ Ο Υ Δ Α Β Δ Ο Υ Ο Ν Ε Φ Ν Α Π Λ Ο Γ Ο Ο

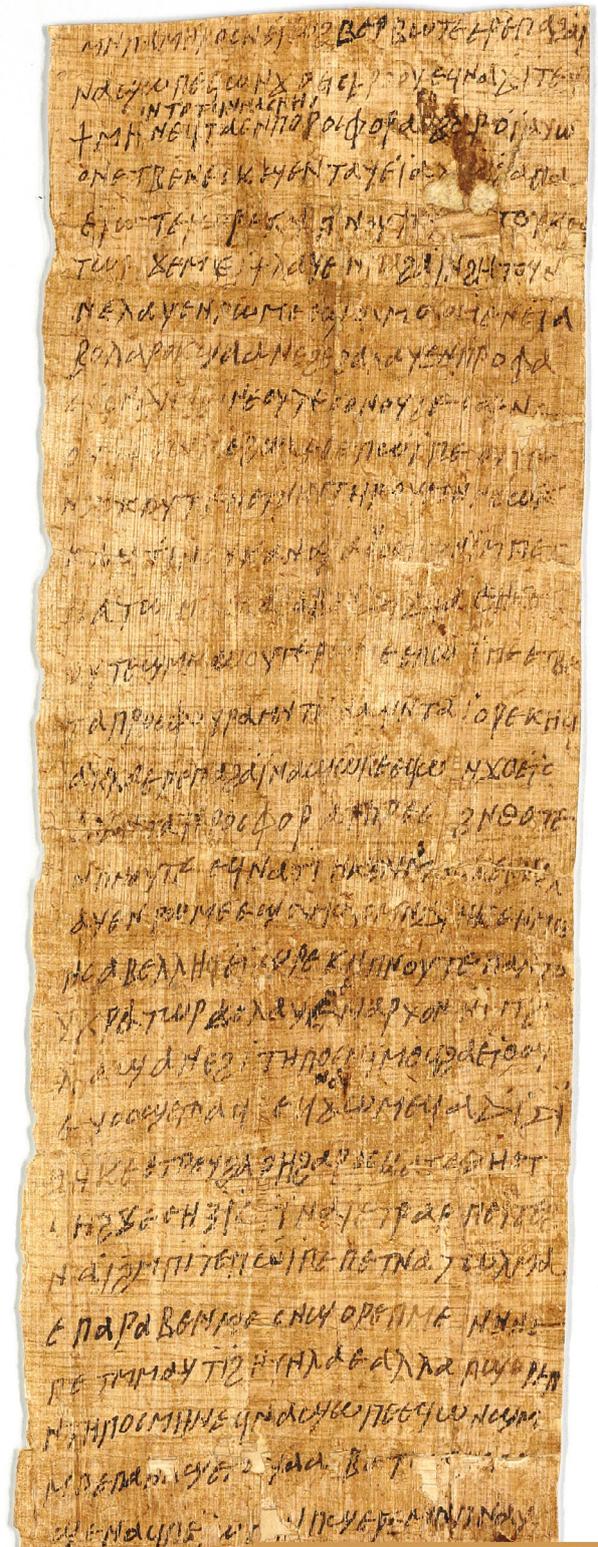
(Fig. 1.3) Facsimile of the Testament of Tsible daughter of Gapatios, Cod. Copt. 1. A, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Münch, (lines 44-64).

Η ΨΟΜΕΤΕ ΚΟΝ ΤΙ ΔΗΝΟ ΒΗΝ ΣΑ ΠΗΤΕ
 Ν Μ Ο Υ Ζ Ν Τ Ε Φ Ζ Ι Π Ρ Ο Σ Δ Ε Ι Σ Μ Ν Η Σ Ο Ϊ Σ Ι Σ Α
 Π Α Ρ Α Κ Ε Υ Ε Ζ Ε Ν Μ Ο Υ Τ Α Ρ Ε Φ Ω Ν Δ Υ
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 Μ Π Λ Α Σ Δ Ρ Ε Ν Π Κ Η Ρ Ο Σ Ε Τ Μ Μ Δ Υ Τ Ι
 Δ Ι Δ Θ Η Κ Ε Ο Υ Ν Ε Σ Ν Δ Ψ Ω Π Ε Τ Ο Τ Α Χ Ρ Η
 Δ Ν Ο Κ Τ Ι Β Λ Ε Τ Ε Ν Τ Α Ο Υ Ρ Ρ Ε Ζ Α Ι Τ Π Ε
 Ζ Η Τ Η Χ Η Λ Υ Τ Ι Δ Ι Δ Θ Η Κ Ε Μ Ν Ζ Ω Ρ Ι Σ Ι
 Ι Μ Ε Φ Ο Η Ζ Α Ρ Ο Σ Ε Ρ Ο Χ Ε Δ Ο Υ Ο Υ Ε Β
 Δ Ρ Ο Ι Δ Ι Ο Τ Μ Ε Τ Ε Ν Τ Ρ Μ Ν Κ Η Μ Ε
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 Ζ Α Ρ Ο Ι Δ Ι Κ Ο Δ Β Ο Χ Ω Π Ρ Ω Κ Ε Τ Η +
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 Κ Α Ρ Ι Ο Σ Φ Ο Β Α Μ Ω Η + Ω Μ Ν Τ Ρ Ε
 Φ Α Ν Ο Κ Ε Φ Η Ρ Η Ο Σ Π Η Ρ Ε Ψ Ω Μ Δ Ο
 Ο Μ Ο Υ Η Λ Φ Ε Ψ Ω Μ Ν Τ Ρ Ε + Δ Ν Ο Κ Φ Ε
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 Μ Ο Ν Ο Ψ Ο Φ Ο Υ +
 + Δ Ν Ο Κ Ε Φ Η Ρ Ο Σ Π Ψ Η Ρ Ε Μ Π Μ Ο Σ
 Ρ Ε Ψ Ω Ε Δ Μ Ο Υ Η Λ Δ Ι Ε Ζ Α Ι Ν Τ Ε Τ Ι
 Δ Θ Η Κ Ε Ν Τ Α Ο Ι Χ Ρ Ρ Ο Σ Τ Η Τ Ι
 Σ Ι Σ Ν Π Ε Τ Ε Μ Ι Ν Ε Ν Η Μ Ο Σ +

(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

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- 1 W.E. Crum, 'Papyrus no. LXXII,' in P.E. Newberry (ed.), *The Amherst Papyri* (London, 1899), 59–61; W.C. Till, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen auf Grund der koptischen Urkunden*, Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 229.2. (Wien, 1954), 183–185; W.C. Till, *Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Theben*, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 244 (Wien, 1964), 143; <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.kru>, 69.
 - 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 Djéme (Theben)*, (Leipzig, 1912), 221.
 - 7 <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/77192> (accessed 7 January 2020).
 - 8 Crum and Steindorff, *Koptische Rechtsurkunden*, 221–224; Crum, 'Papyrus no. LXXII', 59–60.
 - 9 Crum, 'Papyrus no. LXXII', 60–61; Till, *Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Theben*, 183–185; L. S. B. MacCoull, *Coptic legal documents: law as vernacular text and experience in late antique Egypt, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 377, *Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (ACMRS)* 32 (Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies: Turnhout, 2009), 138–140.
 - 10 H. Förster, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Wörter in den Koptischen Dokumentarischen Texten, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 148 (Berlin, 2002), 179.
 - 11 W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 224b.
 - 12 Crum and Steindorff, *Koptische Rechtsurkunden*, 222.
 - 13 Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, 835b.
 - 14 The word Ⲫⲓⲥⲉ 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 ⲡⲉⲘⲪⲓⲥⲉ the possessive adjective ⲡⲉⲘ refers to Tsible's husband who worked for her.
 - 15 Both Crum and MacCoull translated ⲉⲓⲱⲗ 'field' only of ⲉⲓⲱⲗ ⲃⲉⲣⲃⲱⲧⲉ but there is ⲉⲓⲱⲗ-ⲃⲉⲣⲃⲱⲡ and ⲕⲁⲗ-ⲃⲉⲣⲃⲱⲡ which means 'unoccupied land': T.O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Sahidic Coptic* (Mercer University Press, 1983), 323. So, ⲉⲓⲱⲗ ⲃⲉⲣⲃⲱⲧⲉ means yard or court which appeared in a number of testaments as ⲁⲛⲗ.
 - 16 ⲉϥⲛⲁⲗⲁⲓⲱⲙⲉϥ '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 ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲟⲨⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲉϥⲉⲗⲉ ⲛⲙⲟϥ ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥⲗⲟⲛ ⲁⲧ ⲃⲟⲙ ⲛⲧⲓⲁⲓⲁⲛⲏⲕⲉ Crum translation: 'Afterwards they shall see to it that he conforms to the authority of this testament', MacCoull translation: 'Subsequently, after furnishing that, he is to appear and acknowledge the validity of this testament'. Crum translated the Greek verb ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲉϥⲉⲗⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲕⲉⲛⲁϥⲱ '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.
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