

**“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، توّرخ بالقرن الثامن الميلادي، ومُسجَل عليها الوصية الأخيرة لسيدة تُدعى 'تسيبلي ابنة جاباتيوس'، التي جعلت زوجها مالكا على ممتلكاتها المنقول منها والثابت؛ لينفقها على قرايئها المقدسة بعد وفاتها؛ لأنه فرّغ وكرّس 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 Hackney<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>, 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,<sup>3</sup> on the shelf number Cod. Copt. 1. A<sup>4</sup>. 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. 72<sup>5</sup>. It also bears the no. 69 in P.KRU collection<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> but it was translated in a sort of joint venture by Crum, Till and MacCoull<sup>9</sup>. 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 ⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ ρⲙ ⲡⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲟⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲥⲟϥ ρⲟϥ-  
ⲧⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲙⲉⲥⲟϥⲣⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ<sup>1</sup> ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲉⲕⲁ-  
ⲧⲏ ⲛ<sup>ⲧⲉⲕ</sup>ⲁⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲉⲣⲛ ⲛⲧⲓⲙⲉⲓⲱⲧⲁⲧⲟⲥ  
5 ⲗⲉⲟⲛⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲛⲗⲁϣⲛⲓϥ ⲛⲡⲕⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟ<sup>2</sup>  
ⲛϥⲏⲙⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲧⲥⲓⲃⲗⲉ ⲧϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲛⲁ-  
ⲡⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ ρⲉ ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲉ ⲁⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲁϥϣⲱ-  
ⲛⲉ ⲉϥⲉⲟⲥⲉ ⲁⲓⲣ ρⲟⲧⲉ ρⲉ ⲙⲏⲡⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲡ-  
ⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲟⲗ ρⲛ ⲡⲉ-  
10 ⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲛⲡⲁⲉⲟⲱⲃ ⲉϥⲱ ⲛⲁⲡⲏⲉⲧⲟⲛ  
ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲱⲥⲑⲟⲣⲁ ⲁⲓⲧ ⲡⲁⲟϥⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲓⲁ-  
ⲗⲓⲁⲟⲛⲕⲉ<sup>3</sup> ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲧ-  
ϣⲗⲗⲉⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲉⲣ ρⲟⲟϥⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲧⲁϥⲣⲟ  
ⲛⲙⲟⲥ ρⲓⲧⲛ ρⲛ ⲙⲉⲛⲧⲣⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲉⲣⲓⲟⲓⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ  
15 ⲁϥⲱ ⲙⲛ ⲟϥⲣⲉϥⲕⲉⲉⲗⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲕⲉⲉⲗⲁⲓ ρⲁⲣⲟⲟϥ  
ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲁⲉⲛⲧ ⲥⲙⲟⲛⲧ ⲉⲓⲉⲙⲟⲥ ρⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲁ-  
ⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲉ<sup>4</sup> ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲙⲟⲛⲉⲧ  
ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲁⲟⲗⲉⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲁϥⲣⲏϥ ⲁⲓⲣ ρⲟⲧⲉ ρⲉ-  
ⲙⲏⲡⲟⲧⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲁⲡⲟⲑⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲧⲁⲉⲟⲓ ρⲱⲧ ⲛⲟⲉ  
20 ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲡⲗⲟⲥ  
ρⲱⲣⲁⲉ ⲛⲙⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲛⲣⲉⲛ ⲁⲗⲁⲛ  
ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲕ ⲟϥⲕⲁⲉ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉⲕ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲉ ⲁⲓⲧⲓ  
ⲡⲁⲟϥⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲓⲁⲟⲛⲕⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ρⲉ ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲉ  
ⲉⲡⲁⲉⲗⲁⲓ ⲉϥⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉϥⲏ ⲁⲣⲟⲓ ρⲛ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲥⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲉϥ  
25 ⲁϥⲱ ⲉϥⲑⲟⲗⲟⲕⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲣⲟⲓ ρⲛ ⲙⲏⲧⲕⲁϥⲟⲛ<sup>5</sup>  
ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉϥⲑⲁⲗⲡⲉ ⲛⲙⲟⲓ ρⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲑⲟⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲉⲥ  
ⲁⲓϥⲟⲥ ρⲉ ⲙⲏⲡⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲓ  
ρⲓ ⲡⲉϥⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲗⲁ ρⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲥⲉ  
ⲙⲛ ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟⲥⲑⲟⲣⲁ ⲧⲛⲟϥ ⲑⲏ ⲧⲕⲏⲗⲉϥ<sup>6</sup> ⲛⲧⲉⲉⲛ  
30 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲧⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲏⲛⲥⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲁⲉⲗⲁⲓ ⲛⲁ-

βίτου νεϋτααυ νπροςφορα γαροί αγω он  
 памерос еннї нтаϋеї аϋωї ρα παείωτ  
 ми памнрос<sup>6</sup> νεїωϷ вервωτε ерепаϷаї  
 наϷωπε Ϸω нϋоеїс ерооϷ еϷнаϣї τεϷ-  
 35 ϋμη<sup>нτοгϷ ннаϷннϷ</sup> νεϋтас нпροςφορα γαροί αγω  
 он етве нескеϷе нтаϷеї аϋωї ρα па-  
 еїωт еїωрек нпноϷте [пан]тоϷкра-  
 τωρ Ϸе меїт лаϷе нпаϷаї нϷнтоϷ н-  
 нелаϷе нρωме еϷ бм бом енеї а-  
 40 вол арок ѱа анеϷе ρа лаϷе нпрофа-  
 сїс нϷїмеїне оϷте сон оϷте сωне  
 оϷте Ϸωме Ϸωлес епωї пе оϷте  
 нток оϷте неτннϷ тнроϷ мннсωк  
 кан тїноϷ кан ѱа оϷоеїϷ нїм пет-  
 45 наτωлма епараве ндїдїаөнке  
 оϷте ѱммω оϷте Ϸωме епωї пе етве  
 тапροςφοϷра ми панаϷ нтаїореκнϷ  
 алла ерепаϷаї наϷωπε еϷω нϋоеїс  
 аϣн тапροςφορα тнрес Ϸн өоте  
 50 нпноϷте еϷнатїнке нмρс Ϸе ннел-  
 аϷе нρωме еϷ бм бом ндїнке нмос  
 нсаβλλнϷ еїωрек нпноϷте панто-  
 Ϸкратωρ Ϸе лаϷе<sup>ε</sup> нархон нїм Ϸї  
 лаϷане Ϸї тнпос нїм еϷϷа еїооϷ  
 55 еϷооϷет наϷ еϷ<sup>на</sup>ϷωмеϷ адїдї-  
 өнке<sup>7</sup> етрϷϷарнϷ арос ката өн ет-  
 снϷ Ϸе енϷїстї наї етраρ пеїтеϷ-  
 наї Ϸм пїте пωї пе петнаτωлма  
 епараве нмос нϷωρεп мен нне-  
 60 петнмаϷ тї ϷнϷ нлаε<sup>8</sup> алла пϷωρεп  
 нтнпос мнн еϷнаϷωπε еϷω нϷм-  
 мо епанаϷ етоϷаав ет[оϷм-]  
 Ϸе наϷ пеїωт [м]н пϷεре ми пнаϷ-  
 [м]а етоϷаав аγω он еϷнаϣт пплогос  
 65 нϷωмет е[н]онгїа ннов неϷапнте  
 нм[о]Ϸ Ϸн теϷϷїпостасїс мннсωс нсе-  
 параскеϷεϷе нмоϷ тарεϷϷων ат-  
 бом нтїдїаөнке ми тсїмїа  
 нплаϷане нпκнρος етнмаϷ тї-  
 70 дїаөнке оϷн еснаϷωπε естаϣρη[Ϸ]  
 анок тсївλε тентасϷρп сϷаї тπε<sup>9</sup>  
 стнхн атїдїаөнке ми Ϸωв нї-  
 їм<sup>10</sup> еϷснϷ арос ево<sup>11</sup> Ϸе аϷоϷоϷεс  
 //////////////// арої аїсотме<sup>с</sup> менτρнκнме  
 75 аγω он аїпаракале ноϷреϷсϷаї  
 ми ϷенкоϷннтре етρεнарτнресϷаї  
 γαροї аїκος авол ωс прωκεтн ϋ

ϋ анок антреас пϷнре нпма-  
 карїос фовамωн ϋω мннтре  
 80 + анок геωργїос пϷнре мпмаκ,  
 самоϷнл ϋω мннтре ϋ анок [ . . ε]  
 пϷнре мпмаκ, Ϸан ϋω мннтре  
 анок өеωπισтос панагнωстнс  
 напа кϷριακος аїсϷаї ϷарωоϷ Ϸе  
 85 меϷної нсϷаї +  
 + анок сεϷнρος пϷнре нпмаκа-  
 Ϸреїос самоϷнл аїсϷаї нтетї-  
 аөнке нтабїϣ прос тнτї-  
 сїс нпетсμїне 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 texts<sup>10</sup>.
4. өнкоте error in the last letter, the correct form is өнкотκ<sup>11</sup>.
5. Crum transcribed it мнткаϷо in P.KRU collection<sup>12</sup>, and papyri.info website; while was transcribed мнткаϷа, he pointed out that the word was incorrect, and the correct form is мнтϷаϷон, but what is written on the papyrus is мнткаϷон. In his dictionary, word мнткаϷон and мнтϷаϷон means “servant”<sup>13</sup>.
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 лаϷе.

9. It is usual in the Coptic wills that the scribes write ΠΕΝΤΑ<sup>11</sup> ὄρσιζαι ΝΤΠΕ.

10. The scribe repeated letter ι, the correct form is ΝΠΠ.

11. The scribe forgot the last letter λ, the correct form is ΕΒΟΛ.

### The translation

Ⲡ In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. Today, which is the 25<sup>th</sup> day of Mesore, in this year of the 12<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>14</sup> (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<sup>15</sup>, 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<sup>16</sup> 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 Ghost; 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<sup>17</sup> 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 +

Ⲡ I Andrew, the son of the late Phoibammon, I am witness. (80) Ⲡ 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 + Ⲣ 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<sup>18</sup>, it is noted that it appears to be evident in few prepositions<sup>19</sup> and words as follows:

ⲁⲗⲣⲁⲓ “upon” in line 7, ⲉⲗⲣⲁⲓ in Sahidic dialect; ⲁⲃⲟⲗ in line 9, 77, ⲉⲃⲟⲗ in Sahidic; ⲁⲣⲟ<sup>//</sup> in line 24, 25, 40, ⲉⲣⲟ<sup>//</sup> in Sahidic; ⲁⲗⲟ<sup>//</sup>, ⲉⲗⲟ<sup>//</sup> in Sahidic. ⲁⲗⲏ in line 49, ⲉⲗⲏ in Sahidic. ⲉⲛⲉⲗ for ⲁⲛⲉⲗⲉ. This reveals converting letter ε in Sahidic into λ in Akhmimic<sup>20</sup>. In addition to this, ⲛⲟϥⲥ for ⲛⲟⲥ, ⲛⲟϥⲃ for ⲛⲟⲃ “gold”, in these words the syllable ⲟϥ turns to ⲟ<sup>21</sup>.

The verb ⲫⲟⲗⲟⲕⲁⲣⲉ is the Greek verb ⲫⲱⲗⲟⲕⲁⲗⲉⲱ, that in our case it has been presented in the Coptic texts in three forms ⲫⲱⲗⲟⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ, ⲫⲉⲗⲟⲕⲁⲗⲉ, and the form of this Will<sup>22</sup>.

ⲉⲓⲱⲗ ⲃⲉⲣⲃⲟⲩⲧⲉ “unoccupied land”. The verb ⲛⲁⲣⲧⲏⲣⲉⲥⲟⲁⲓ “witness”, in line 76, did not occur in any other texts<sup>23</sup>, verb ⲟⲁⲗⲡⲉ<sup>24</sup>, and the word ⲥⲓⲛⲓⲁ “penalty”<sup>25</sup>, the original of this Greek word is ζⲏⲛⲓⲁ according to Förster, or ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲓⲛⲓⲁ according to Crum, its equivalents to the Coptic word ⲟⲥⲉ have been present in P.KRU 67, the Will of Paham the monk.

The verb ⲟⲣⲉⲕ “swear” which is written usually ⲟⲣⲉⲕ.

### 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<sup>26</sup>.

The text begins with an opening formula, an invocation:

Ⲣ ⲗⲙⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲓⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲃⲃ  
its original is Egyptian except the abbreviated word ⲡⲛⲁ is Greek ⲡⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲙⲁ. This formula occurs in just two other Coptic Wills: P.KRU 73 and O. Crum ST 60, while the rest of the other complete Wills begin with the Greek original version: + ⲉⲛ ⲟⲛⲟⲙⲁⲧⲓ ⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲒⲒⲁⲥ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲗⲟⲱⲟⲡⲱⲓⲟϩ ⲟⲛⲟⲟϩⲥⲓⲟϩ ⲧⲣⲓⲁⲃⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲕⲓⲟ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲒⲒⲓⲟϩ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲙⲁⲧⲟⲥ. Its original: ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ζωοποιοῦ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος πατρός και υἱοῦ και ἁγίου πνεύματος<sup>27</sup> “In the name of the Holy and life-giving, consubstantial Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost.” This formula is complete in the Will of Elisabeth, P.KRU 68; the Will of Tbasbes, P.KRU 70; P.KRU 71 and incomplete in the Will of Paham, P.KRU 67. This is the most used form in the Coptic documentary texts that came out of the region of Jeme<sup>28</sup>.

The date formula: ⲗⲙⲡⲟⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲟϩⲗⲟϩⲧⲏⲡⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲟϩⲣⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲉⲕⲁⲧⲏ ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ “Today which is the 25<sup>th</sup> day of Mesore, in this year of the 12<sup>th</sup> Indiction.” Schiller said this text cannot be dated and also the texts nos. P.KRU 19; 64 were written by the scribe Severos son of Samuel<sup>29</sup>. However, Trismegistos website determined its date either 729 or 744 CC.<sup>30</sup> MacCoull dated the papyrus to a fixed date 18 August 729<sup>31</sup>, Förster dated the papyrus to same year 729<sup>32</sup>. Crum said

that the twelfth indications are in 729, 744, 759, 774, or 789.<sup>33</sup> 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”<sup>34</sup>. Turner<sup>35</sup> said: “Sometimes there are two rulers for one city, which here is Kastron Jeme”<sup>36</sup>. According to the Till’s *Lashanes* list, both Leontios and Mena were magistrates in 743/744<sup>37</sup>.

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  $\Upsilon\omega\omega\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\psi\lambda\omicron\sigma\epsilon$  which may have led her to death as it was previously believed that any disease could end by death without any warning<sup>38</sup>. 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 offering<sup>39</sup> 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 church<sup>40</sup>, 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 masses<sup>41</sup>. 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  $\mathfrak{N}\ \mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{L}\ \mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\ \mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{N}\ \mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{M}\ \mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}\ \mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{Q}\ \mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{L}\ \mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{I}\ \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{N}\ \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{K}\ \mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{O}\ \mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}\ \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Y}\ \mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{A}\ \mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{I}\ \mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{I}\ \mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{A}$  “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.”<sup>42</sup>

According to her Will, Tsible’s property consists of four termesia “ $\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y}\ \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{N}$ ” which corresponds to  $\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{K},\ \mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{H}\ \mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{N}$  “solidus and termesion”, calculating that one solidus (equals)= 3 termesia<sup>43</sup>. Moreover, her real estate consists of her portion of a house that she inherited from her father  $\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{C}\ \mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}\ \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\ \mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{I}\ \mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{A}\ \mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{T}$ , and her portion of the family courtyard  $\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{C}\ \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Z}\ \mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{E}$ , 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  $\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{C}\ \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{A}\ \mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{I}$ . Tsible left also household goods (chattels)  $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{E}$ , 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  $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{K}\ \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{E}\ \mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{P}\ \mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{E}\ \mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{F}\ \mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{E}\ \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\ \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y}$  “I swear by God Almighty that I am not giving anything of them to my husband”. These things are from her father  $\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{E}\ \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\ \mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{I}\ \mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{A}\ \mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{T}$ . Considering all of these, Tsible’s husband is to give what she declares to be donated as offering on her behalf  $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\ \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y}\ \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Y}\ \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{A}\ \mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{I}$ . The word  $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{E}$  or



σκεϋη 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 mother<sup>44</sup> implying that this was a just retribution.

Tsible told us only her name and her father's ΔΝΟΚ ΤΣΙΒΛΕ ΤΩΗΡΕ ἘΝΓΑΠΑΤΙΟΣ 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?<sup>45</sup>". 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: ΝΗΕΛΛΥΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΩΘΜΘΜ ΕΝΕΙ ΔΒΟΛ ΔΡΟΚ ΩΔΑΝΕΞΕ ΖΔΔΛΥΕ ΝΠΡΟΦΑCΙC ΝΔΙΜΕΙΝΕ ΟΥΤΕ CΟΝ ΟΥΤΕ CΩΝΕ ΟΥΤΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΖΩΔΕC ΕΠΩΠΕ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΤΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΗΝCΩΚ ΚΑΝ ΤΙΝΟΥ ΚΑΝ ΩΔΟΓΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ "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 ΕΗΖΙCΤΙ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΡΑΡΠΕΥΤΕΞ ΝΑΙ ΖΜΠΥΡΕΠΩΠΕ "that it is lawful for me to do what pleases me with what is mine." In her Will P.KRU 66, Susanna said: ΧΕΕΙΤΕ ΕΙΟΝΞ ΕΙΝΑΩΠΕ ΕΙΩ ΝΠΧΟΕΙCΕ ΝΠΕΤΩΟΟΠ ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΥ "Because I am alive, I will be the owner of all that is for me."<sup>46</sup> In Paham's Will P.KRU 67: ΧΕΔΝΟΚ

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

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 ενζϊστι, εζεσται in P.KRU 65, this word is Greek ἔξεστι means “it is permitted, lawful, possible.”<sup>49</sup> This word occurs in the *Gospel of Matthew* 12:10; 14:4 as εζεσται. 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 τι ρηη νλα[γ]ε αλλα πωωρεπ ντηπος μην εφναωωπε εφω νωμημο επαναω ετ[ο]γααβ ετ[ο]γωμηωε ναυ 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: εφνατ ππλογοσ νωωμετ ε[ν]ονγια ννοβ νεραπητε μη[ο]υ ρ ρη τεφζιποστασις “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 gold<sup>50</sup>. 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*): ΝΕΠΑΡΑΚΕΥΕΖΕ ΝΜΟϢ ΤΑΡΕϢΖΩΝ ΔΤΒΟΜ ΝΤΑΔΔΙΔΘΗΚΕ ΜΝ ΤΣΙΜΙΑ ΝΠΛΑΨΔΝΕ ΝΠΚΗΡΟϢ 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 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.

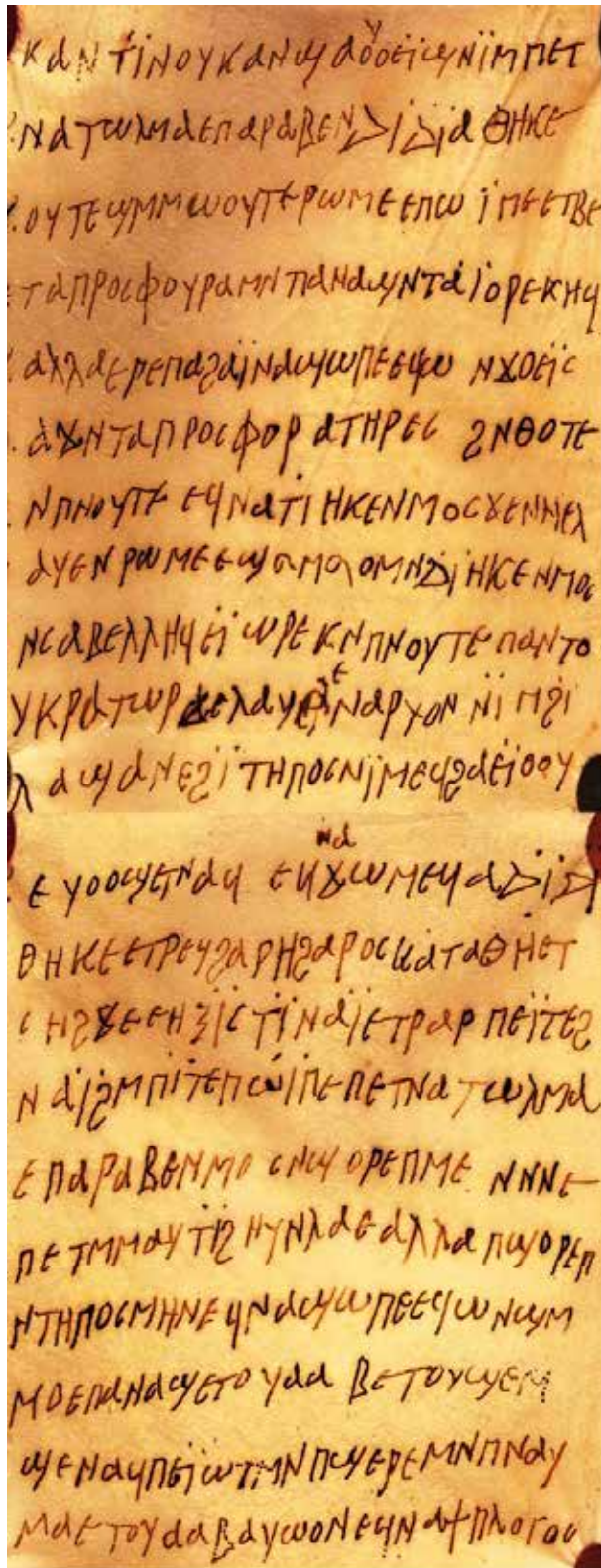
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<sup>ⲧⲉⲕ</sup>  
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ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲉⲥⲉⲣⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥⲙⲟⲛⲉⲧ  
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ⲉⲣⲁⲃⲁⲓⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲕⲛⲁⲣⲟⲓⲉⲛⲡⲁⲥⲓⲉⲧⲛⲣⲉⲩ  
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ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲩⲑⲁⲗⲡⲉⲛⲙⲟⲓⲉⲛⲧⲉⲩⲟⲙⲧⲛⲣⲉⲥ  
ⲁⲓⲥⲟⲥⲥⲉⲙⲛⲡⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩ  
ⲉⲓⲡⲉⲣⲉⲛⲙⲁⲥⲧⲁⲃⲟⲧⲉⲥⲧⲣⲉⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲉ  
ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟⲥⲟⲣⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲕⲛⲗⲉⲩⲛⲧⲉⲥⲛ  
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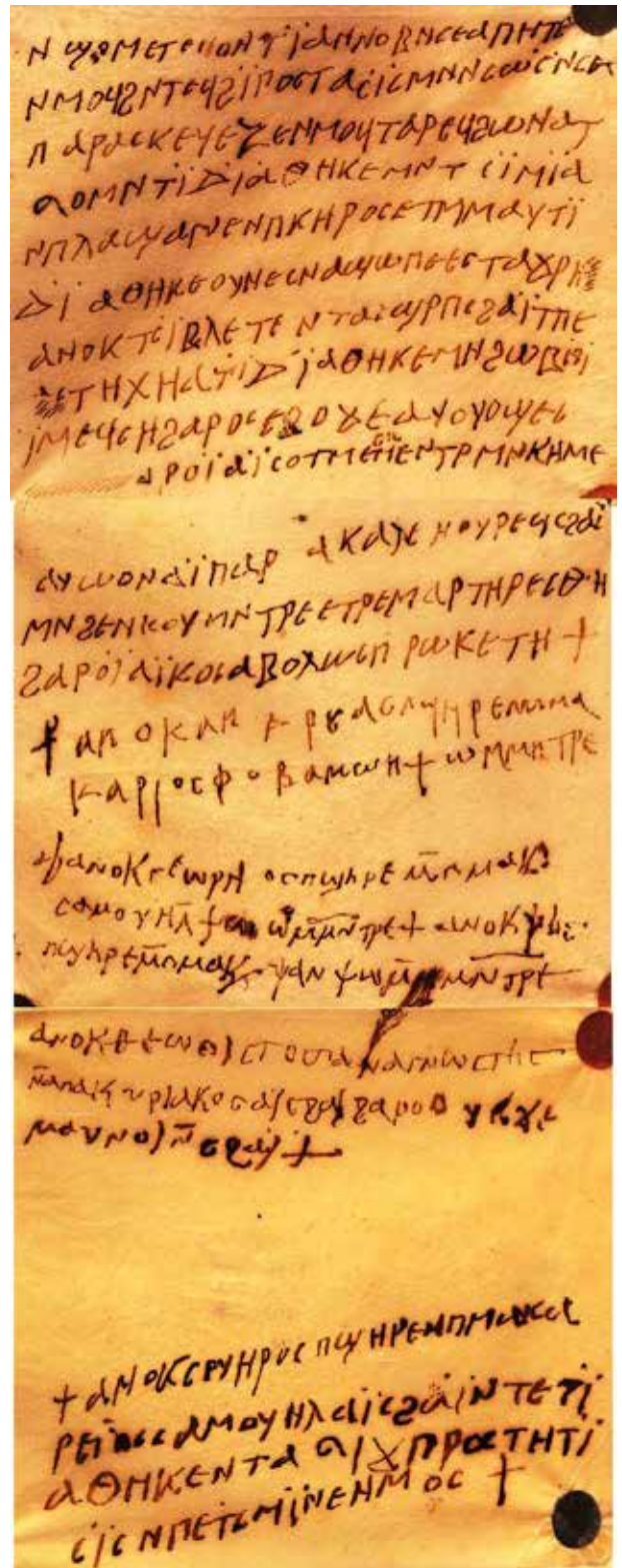
(Fig. 1.1) Facsimile of the Testament of Tsible daughter of Gapatios, Cod. Copt. 1. A, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Münch, (lines 1–21).

(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).

## Notes

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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.
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  - 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](http://bavarica.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb11313369_00135.html))
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  - 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  $\text{ϩice}$  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  $\text{ⲡⲉϩice}$  the possessive adjective  $\text{ⲡⲉϩ}$  refers to Tsible's husband who worked for her.
  - 15 Both Crum and MacCoull translated  $\text{ⲉⲓⲱϩ}$  'field' only of  $\text{ⲉⲓⲱϩ ⲃⲉⲣⲃⲱⲧⲉ}$  but there is  $\text{ⲉⲓⲱϩ-ⲃⲉⲣⲃⲱⲧ}$  and  $\text{ⲕⲁⲗ-ⲃⲉⲣⲃⲱⲧ}$  which means 'unoccupied land': T.O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Sahidic Coptic* (Mercer University Press, 1983), 323. So,  $\text{ⲉⲓⲱϩ ⲃⲉⲣⲃⲱⲧⲉ}$  means yard or court which appeared in a number of testaments as  $\text{ⲁⲛⲗ}$ .
  - 16  $\text{ⲉϥⲛⲁⲗⲁⲓⲱⲙⲉϥ}$  '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  $\text{ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲱⲄ ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲉϥⲉⲗⲉ ⲛⲙⲟϥ ⲧⲁⲣⲉϥⲗⲱⲛ ⲁⲧ ⲃⲟⲙ ⲛⲧⲓⲁⲓⲁⲛⲏⲕⲉ}$  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  $\text{ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲉϥⲉⲗⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲑⲉⲛⲁϩⲱ}$  '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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- 45 MacCoull, *Coptic Legal Documents*, 138.
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