

Colophons of Coptic Manuscripts

Part One: Fayyum

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In 1929 A. van Lantschoot published *Receuil des Colophons des Manuscrits Chrétiens d'Égypte* (Louvain 1929). The description on the title page, 'Vol 1: the colophons of the Sahidic mss.', implies a second volume devoted to non-Sahidic texts, but one never seems to have been published. There are 126 texts, with 3 in an appendix. They occupy pages 1-224 of the volume (fasc. 1), the remainder of the volume (fasc. 2) containing notes, tables and indexes.

The following text contains translations of the first 20 colophons, all from the Fayyum area. In a later article I will publish 20 translations of Upper Egyptian colophons.

The texts provide information about the date of composition, the scribe, the donor and the recipient. I have not followed the admirably clear structure employed by Lantschoot but, in the words of the colophon scribes, 'I have written according to the copy that is before me' and made a continuous translation for the benefit of those who wish to read the colophon as the scribe wrote it. Lantschoot provides full notes, which I have not repeated here but which can be found in fasc. 2. For details of the texts in the manuscripts, see Lantschoot's preface to each colophon.

Colophons are not uncommon in earlier Egyptian texts. Pharaonic Egyptian texts often had colophons. Various stories of the Middle Kingdom period (c.2050-1800 BC), such as Sinuhe, have a 'standard' relatively simple undated version, which might be expanded to include a reference to the skill of the scribe: *It goes from its beginning to its end as found in writing*. Others contained dates, such as the Poem of Kadesh, a battle that took place c. 1270 between Rameses II and the Hittites, an event celebrated in many inscriptions and in the so-called poem (P. Sallier III), where a precise date of the month 2 of šmw (harvest) of regnal year 9 of Rameses II is given.

Most of the colophons translated below bear the designation **M**, which indicates that its current location is the Pierpont Morgan Library, USA. Those with **Ham.** are in the the Cairo Museum, but I do not know if this is the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo or the Egyptian Museum in the city centre.

On pages 93ff. of the second part of the book there are two lists: one that sets the texts in chronological

order and one that situates the texts according to present geographical location.

Place names.

The following is a summary of the information about the various place names attached to the monastery of Michael from note 8 (p. 18 of fasc. 2).

1. ΠΖΑΝΤΟΥ (Phantoou): does not seem to be the name of a place but rather a topographical description, used of the area where the cultivated land finishes and the desert starts, usually at a higher level, hence the word ΤΟΥ, indicating higher ground. I have ignored variant writings.
2. ΜΟΝΗ ΝΑΛΛΙ (Mône of Alli): the first word essentially refers to a 'stopping place', cf Lat. *mansio*, and of course later 'monastery'. I have ignored variant writings.
3. ΠΕΡΚΕΘΑΥΤ (Perkethaut): there are references to a village called بيرجتوت, the first word of which looks something like *brk3t* (Ar. بركة) 'lake. pool', which occurs in a number of Middle Egyptian toponyms in the New Kingdom (12th cent BC) Wilbour Papyrus, a large document with data about land ownership, taxation and so on.
4. ΣΩΠΕΖΕΣ (Sôpehes): another name of the same place, the earliest reference to which is in text 21, 6. The name used at the time, the 1890s, when Grenfell and Hunt were active in the area was Hamouli, a 'fair-sized Greco-Roman village' (B. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt and D.G. Hogarth *Fayûm towns and their papyri*, 1900 p. 64)

Cryptographic system.

The following explanation is that of Jean Doresse 'Cryptography' *Claremont Coptic Encyclopaedia*¹
27 letters/signs are divided into three double rows each of 9 letters/signs, one in normal order and one in reverse order, as can be see here:

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ
Θ Η Ζ Σ ≡ Δ Γ Β Α

The equivalent of ε is three horizontal strokes and of η three vertical strokes.

It may be pointed that, despite the physical remains of book production, the evidence for the places where the books were written has, as far as I know, not been forthcoming.²

Months.

The following list is taken from W. Till *Koptische Grammatik* (1961) pp. 87ff., a list of Coptic months with their modern western equivalents in lower case Roman numerals.

1 <http://ccdlibraries.claremont.edu/cdm/ref/collection/cce/id/2014>

2 C.C. Walters *Monastic Archaeology* (1974) refers only to Evelyn-White's publication on the history of Nitria and Scetis, which says nothing about the sites of book production. It is possible, I suppose, that specially designated places did not exist and that writing was done on portable equipment that has left no trace in any room or in any place where it was carried out.

ΘΟΟΥΤ	29 viii
ΠΑΟΠΕ	28 ix
ΖΑΘΩΡ	28 x
ΚΟΙΑΖΚ	27 xi
ΤΩΒΕ	27 xii
ΜΨΙΡ	26 i
ΠΑΡΜΖΟΤΠ	25 ii
ΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ	27 iii
ΠΑΦΟΝC	26 iv
ΠΑΩΝΕ	26 v
ΕΠΗΠ	25 vi
ΜΕCΟΡΕ	25 vii

I have reproduced the Coptic text of the first colophon with parallel English version.

1. M 579 fol. 148v

<p> ϸΥΝΘ̅ ΑΡΙΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΠΑ ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΣ ΧΕΝΤΑΠΕΙΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΨΩΠΕ Ζ̅Ν̅ΝΕϸΖΟΟΥ · ΑϸΜΝΠΕΙΚΑΙΦΑΛΙΟΝ ΝΧΩΜΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΝΤΜΟΗΗ ΝΑΛΛΙ Ζ̅Ν̅ΝΕΖΟΟΥ Ν̅ΤΕϸΜ̅Ν̅ΤΑΡΧΗΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ · ΕΡΕΠΕϸΣΟΝ ΑΥΩ ΠΕϸΨΗΡΕ Ζ̅Μ̅Π̅ϸ̅ ΧΕΛΠΑ ΑΠΑΙΟΥΧΕ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΠΑΠΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΟΣ ΠΝΟΤ[·]ϸ Ϫ̅Ζ̅ΩΒ ΝΜΜΑϸ · ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑΝΣΜ̅Ν̅Τ̅ϸ Ζ̅Ν̅ΤΨΟΡΠ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΜΠΚΥΚΛΟΣ · ΑΠΟ ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΑΝΟΣ ϸ̅Χ̅Θ̅ · </p>	<p> With God. Remember my father, Apa Damian, that this fruit³ was produced in his days. He produced this book⁴ for the monastery of Michael⁵ of the Monê of Alli in the days when he was archimandrite, his brother and his son in the Lord, Apa Paioule, the son of the late Apa Basilius the notary,⁶ working with him. We produced and donated the book in the first year of the cycle⁷. A(nno) M (artyrum) 539. </p>
<p> ΑΡΙΠΕΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΠ̅ϸ̅ ϸ̅ ΝΑΥ ΝΨΕΒΙΩ ΜΠΕΥΕΡΗΤ Ζ̅Ν̅Θ̅Ι̅Λ̅Η̅Ν̅ ΝΤΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΧΙΖΜΟΤ ΕΧΩΟΥ Ζ̅Μ̅Π̅Β̅Η̅Μ̅Α ΜΠ̅Χ̅ϸ̅ ΝΤΕΟΥΝΑ ΤΑΖΟΟΥ ΝΑΓΑΠΗ · ΑΥΩ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΤΑ Ζ̅Μ̅Π̅ΕΙΧ̅Ω̅Μ̅Ε · ΑΡΙΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΠΑ ΔΑΜΙΑΝΗ ΜΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΚΛΗΡΙΚΟΣ ΜΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΝΤΕΠ̅ϸ̅ ΧΟΚΤΕΥΖΑΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΣΡΑΝΑϸ· Ζ̅Α̅Μ̅Η̅Ν </p>	<p> Remember them that the Lord may reward their vow⁸ in heavenly Jerusalem and the archangel Michael may intercede for them at the tribunal of Christ and they may receive loving mercy. And everyone who reads⁹ this book, think of my father Apa Damian and all his clerical brothers of the monastery of Michael that the Lord may complete their end in a way pleasing to Him. Amen. </p>
<p> ΑΝΑΚ ΕΓΑΒΡΙ ΦΕΜΖΑΛ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝΨΨΗΡΕ ΝΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΕΠΦΑΝΤΑΥ · Ζ̅Α̅Μ̅Η̅Ν </p>	<p> I, Gabriel, the servant of God and son of the monastery of Michael of Phantouu. </p>

3 This metaphor, for 'book', is used frequently in the colophons

4 Vb. ϸΜΙΝΕ has a number of meanings cf. W.E.Crum *Coptic Dictionary* (1939) 337a and this is one of them. The texts vary between 'book' and 'chapter of book', and since I do not know if the former refers to the entire book, while the latter merely to a section of it, I have opted for simplicity and used only the term 'book' in all cases. The other verb used in these texts in connection with the physical object of the book is ϸΙ ΡΟΟΥΨ̅Μ̅, which Crum renders as 'provide for' CD 307b. I use the more cumbersome phrase 'be responsible for the production of'.

5 I have simplified some descriptions, and this is one of them: here as elsewhere, the full description of is 'the monastery of Michael'.

6 The word is not entirely clear: ΠΝΟΤ[·]ϸ, and it is my guess that this an abbreviated form of 'notarios'. There is no note on the word or entry in the indexes.

7 The indiction (tax) cycle of 15 years was introduced in the time of Diocletian. Copt. Vat. 69 fol. 129 v, where the scribe states that he has completed his work in year 6 of the 43rd cycle, corresponding to AD 933 AD, which makes it likely that the indiction cycles began in 297 AD. The cycle referred to here would be the 36th one. The Coptic calendar, often called Year of the Martyrs, starts with the accession date of Diocletian, AD 284. The texts often use the name of the emperor, but I have omitted it and abbreviated the whole to AM

8 Lantschoot cites a parallel passage from the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Elsewhere in these texts the figures 'hundred' and 'ten thousand' specify the amount of the reward.

9 Gk. μελετᾶν, which probably means pretty much the same as Coptic ωϣ and involves reading aloud.

2. M (?) fol. 5v

This is the life of our holy father Pachomius, the archimandrite who first established the cenobitic life and monastic rules. He died on Pachons 24. May his holy blessing be with us all. Amen.

Approach him¹⁰ in joy, jubilation, rejoicing, and righteousness and happiness, my holy fathers, father Damian, father Julius and the deacon Ammônus, and the rest of the brothers, each one according to their name,¹¹ for I do not know their names. He is a plant among you, my holy fathers. Amen.

Pray for me, my holy fathers. I am the wretched sinner, the deacon Dioscorus, the son of the late deacon Timothy, reader of St Theodore,¹² the wretched scribe, I have been taught what I have been taught and have copied the text.

3. M 588

(1) Endpaper

Cross with abbreviated names Jesus Christ (upper part) and the abbreviation **ϥϥ** (=99), a numerical writing of 'Amen' and the name of scribe, Zachary 'the wretched' (lower part). Where this device has been repeated I will merely write 'Cross'.

(2a) Fol. 31 r

Written on Phamenôth 12, indiction 5, AM 558 AH 227¹³

The next two lines are written in abbreviated Greek, which I do not fully understand:

'I, Zachary the wretched calligrapher of the monastery of Kalamôn,¹⁴ son of . . . Apaiou, also a calligrapher of Heracleopolis and his brother.'

10 I take **ϥϥ** to be an imperative of **ϥϥ**. I am not sure whether Pachomius or the book is meant. Perhaps both. Lantschoot takes it to be from **ϥϥ**, but I do not understand this.

11 Often used in letters to avoid long strings of names, but eschewed by some writers such as Pauk in Rom. 16, 3-23. The admission of ignorance is refreshingly candid.

12 A church

13 The abbreviation **ϥϥ ϥϥ** occurs in texts 3 and 4, once in Coptic form and once in Greek. In his table on pp. 114-115 Lantschoot says that that it is the Muslim calendar, which is clear enough from a simple computation, and one can only assume that the second word is an abbreviation of **ϥϥ**. The standard way of referring to the *hijra* dating system is something like **κατὰ Σαρακηνός** or **κατ' Ἀραβας**

14 In the SW of the area known as Fayyum, a lake formed by a branch of the Nile that became home to many Greek veteran soldiers in the Ptolemaic era, the monastery was founded on an earlier site in the SW Fayyum cf. N. Abbott *Monasteries of the Fayyum* (1937).

(2b) Fol. 31v

May God of the spirits¹⁵ and all flesh bless the God-loving brothers who have cared for the memory of St Mercurius and, having ordered his martyrology and miracles through their own labours, gave them to the monastery of the archangel Michael of Phantoou of the Monê of Alli to save their souls. Bless me. I make a *metanoia*.¹⁶ Everyone who reads this book, think of them. Pray for them that Mercurius might call upon the Lord for their sake to help them in this world with every good thing and prepare their way as He pleases and that, when they die, the archangel Michael might call upon God to be merciful to them at His tribunal, full of dread and trembling. So be it. Amen.

May God of the spirits and Lord of all flesh bless me in love, I the most wretched Chael, the servant of God and the archangel Michael. Pray for me in love.¹⁷ Everyone who reads this book, let him please say it so that the God of the archangel Michael might forgive me my many sins and not shame me on earth. When I die, may the Lord not reckon to me the sins which I have committed, they being innumerable, but we believe that He is merciful and compassionate and will forgive us because we have believed in Him and His birth and His resurrection and ascension for the benefit of us all. Amen.

4. M 586

Endpaper: front

Cross

Endpaper: back

With God. My holy fathers, I make a *metanoia* under the dust of your holy feet. Everyone who reads this book, think of our God-loving brother, Apa Epima, the son of the late God-loving Apa Damian that the merciful and compassionate God might regulate his life according to His holy will and bring his life to a decorous end in the midst of his brothers be merciful to him in His kingdom. For he has taken care of it¹⁸ with his own labours and given it to the monastery of Michael, the monastery of Phantoou, for the salvation of his soul. Bless me. I too make a *metanoia*. Bear with me and my little handiwork, for I am <not> very skilled. Remember me so that God might have mercy on me at His tribunal, full of fear

¹⁵ Lantschoot has a note on the biblical form of this phrase

¹⁶ Coptic uses the Gk term **ΜΕΤΑΝΑΟΙΑ**, which usually involves the physical act of prostration. Lantschoot cites the Gk forms, with the observation that there were two forms: the big one and the little one, and that two verbs 'make' and 'throw' are used with it.

¹⁷ The word **ΑΓΑΠΗ** is used here adverbially, but is also often used as part of a verbal phrase meaning 'please' (**ΑΡΙΤΑΓΑΠΗ**)

¹⁸ I take the pronoun here to refer to 'book'

and trembling. Amen. So be it.

In Greek:

Date: Mesore 12, indiction 8, AH 230, AM 561.

Scribe: Zachary of Kalamôn.

5. M 583 fol. 173 v

May Lord Jesus Christ bless the man who is responsible for the production of this book and who gave it to the monastery of Michael of Phantou for the remission of his sins so that the archangel Michael might intercede with Christ on his behalf on judgement day and be merciful to his soul that he might inherit with his holy [. . .]¹⁹ in His kingdom in heaven. Amen. So be it. The holy book was completed on Mechir 13, AM 564, indiction 11.

Bless me, who make a *metanoia*, me the most wretched of sinners on the whole earth, unworthy of the name that has been given to him, Epima, the servant of God and the archangel Michael of the Monê of Alli Perkethaut. Bear with me, for I am not very skilled. I am a mere pupil. I have written this from a copy in front of me.

6. M 588 varia

There are several colophons.

(i) Bless me. I make a *metanoia*, my holy fathers, Epima.

(ii) Bless me. Forgive me, my holy fathers. I am the wretched Epima.

Bless me. Forgive me, my holy fathers. I the wretched Theodore . . . Michael

(iii) Epima the servant of Michael

(iv) Bless me. Forgive me.

(v) Michael the Archangel and Epima the presbyter

(vi) Stephen the craftsman

(vii) Bless me, my holy fathers. Forgive me, for I am a sinner. Epima the servant of God and the archangel Michael.

(viii) Bless me, my holy fathers. Forgive me, Epima.

¹⁹ Reading uncertain. Allusion to Matt. 25, 34, quoted more directly later

7. M 599

(a) fol. 31v

With God. Please, everyone who reads this book, pray for my father Apa Cosma and my father the deacon Chael, the superiors of the monastery of Michael of Phantoou and their whole congregation, individually by name, for it is through them that this good thing has happened. May the Lord Jesus Christ bless them with every spiritual blessing in this world and save them from the snares of the devil and all wickedness. When they die, may Jesus Christ receive their soul to Him in heavenly Jerusalem, the city of all the just. Amen. So be it.

Please remember me too, my holy fathers, clerical and monastic, so that Jesus Christ might forgive me my many sins and my trespasses, me the wretched Aiôn. My holy fathers, bear with me in my little handiwork, for I am a pupil and have written according to the copy in front of me. Bless me and forgive me, my holy fathers. AM 571. Aiôn the wretched..

(b) fol. 32r

Please remember me, my clerical and monastic fathers who will read this book. Pray for me, the most wretched on earth, deacon George, the son of Andrew of Narmoute. God, be merciful to my wretched soul when I die. I wrote this on Khoiak 12, AM 618 in the days of my father, deacon Hilei, when he was archimandrite of the church, Apa Sisinius his son, Apa Paul, and each one by name.

8. M 595 fol. 148r

Lord Jesus Christ the Logos incarnate in the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary , may He give rest to the soul of the late Apa Epima and may Michael of the Monê Alli bless Apa Cosma and the deacon Thôter his brother, for they are the ones who are responsible for the production of the book and gave it to Michael for the salvation of their souls And when they die, may God reward them for their vow ten thousandfold in heavenly Jerusalem. Amen. So be it.

Pharmoute 8

AM 573

You being Kyrialos, deacon. Apa Cyrus your son (cryptography)

9. M 595 varia

1 fol. 51r: Bless me. Forgive me, my holy fathers.

2 fol. 64v: Theodore, deacon (cryptography)

3 fol. 148v: Please remember me, the greatest sinner on earth, the one who is unworthy of the name given to him, deacon Elias.

The book *Holy Resurrection* is that which was completed by me, Gabriel the priest.

10. Ham. 47562r

Lord God Amighty, help and bless the deacon Nahrau and his wife and children, for he is responsible for the production of the book. He produced it with his own labours and gave it to the churches of their fathers, the archangel Michael and the saint Apa Kyriakos and the great region of Mittaal.²⁰ Pray for him that God might reward him in heavenly Jerusalem, the dwelling place of all the just.

Remember his beloved brothers Peter and deacon Bartholomew and their children and animals that God might bless them. Amen. So be it.

Paône 12 AM 572

11. M 591 fol. 136

Recto

Lord Jesus Christ, bless the person who is responsible for the production of this book and gave it to the monastery of Michael of the Monê of Alli of Perkethaut for the salvation of his soul that God might decorously expedite his end from this world and reward his vow ten thousandfold in heavenly Jerusalem. Amen. So be it.

Mechir 20 AM 577

Verso

Remember me in love, everyone who reads these writings. Let him say: 'May Lord Jesus Christ forgive Chael the son of Michael.'²¹

I am small²²

20 See Lantschoot. For detailed notes on the place known as μάγδωλα/demotic Egyptian *n3 mqtI*), cf. http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/1284.php?geo_id=1284

21 Meaning: 'monk'.

22 This section, in a dialect not familiar to me, seems to be a quasi-aretalogical list involving opposites. My translation is often tentative.

I am great
I am sweet
I am bitter
I am weak
I am . . .
I smell
I am perfumed
I am fat
I . . .
No-one has mercy on me
Except God alone.
In the year 521. Bless me. Amen.
I am raised to heaven.
I am as broad as the earth
This year 521.
May someone write it,
Blessing me.
Forgive me. Amen

12. Ham. H (47556)

1. fol. 49v: Bless me. I make a *metanoia*. My holy fathers who read this gospel, pray for me [. . . 5 lines . . .] . . . deacon . . . the one of Toutôn²³ of the Fayyum. I wrote it when I was a sub-deacon. AM 578. Gabriel the priest, the one of Michael.

2. endpaper: [x lines] hear this voice full of joy and rejoicing: "Come²⁴ to me, blessed of my father, and inherit the good things prepared for her from the foundation of the world." Amen. So be it.

13. M 506 fol. 37r

With God, first. Being²⁵ in the mercy of God and the prayers of Mary the Mother of God, this fruit came

23 An alternative writing of the place better known to papyrologists as Tebtunis.

24 Matth. 25, 34. Here a woman is addressed

25 Lantschoot (fac. 2 p.132) understands this as ὄν, an intriguing use the nominative form of a Greek participle

about in the days of our revered lord father and superior, my father Papias. May the Lord keep the days of his life for many peaceful years and his son, the²⁶ deacon Severus, and John his brother and his other blessings in his days. We produced this book for St Epima of Pshônte²⁷ in Narmoute in the district of the Fayyum. Amen. So be it.

Papostolos deacon did the calligraphy. A. M. 588.

This fruit came about through John the weak, his brother.

Papostolos deacon (cryptography)

Pray for me in love and raise your holy hands to the Lord, revered fathers who read this, that God may forgive me my sins, I Macarius, who am unworthy of the name that has been given to me, deacon the son of the late priest John.

14. M 580 fol. 58v

Please, everyone who reads this book, pray for the God-loving archiapa Apa Epima and Wennofre his son. They are responsible for the production of it and gave it to the monastery of Michael in the district of the Fayyum for the salvation of their soul so that the archangel Michael and Saint Epima and the holy Apa Wennafre might call upon Christ the king on their behalf and forgive them their sins and reward them for their earthly activities with the things of heaven and write their name in the Book of Life and reward their vow 100fold²⁸ in heavenly Jeruslaem the city of all the just. Amen. So be it.

Bless us. We repent. Our holy fathers who read this book, remember us please when raising your holy hands that God might forgive us our sins and favour our feeble little handiwork, for we are not skilled²⁹ but are receiving instruction, I the wretched Basil and the deacon Peter my brother. Learned men of Toutôn in the Fayyum, bear with us and our little handiwork, lest we have erred inadvertently with a word. We wrote according to the copy that was before us. AM 606

Lord Jesus Christ, our true God, preserve our God-loving father, deacon John, the superior of the monastery of Michael of Phantoou, for he attended to the fruit until it was finished.

to express an equally intriguing concept: the fruit (book) 'exists' before it 'comes into existence'- I wonder if it not rather more prosaic and the combination is in fact $\Psi\text{OPII} - \text{ON}$, as is found in letters: 'first ($\text{N}\Psi\text{OPII}$) and second ($\text{M}\text{N}\text{N}\text{C}\Psi\text{C} \text{ON}$) For ΨN cf. R. Kasser *Compléments* (1964) p. 42.

26 Prefixed to the name is the title 'kyrios', equivalent to something like Mr in English.

27 According to Lantschoot, the full name was Epimachus. He came from the district known as Penkoleus near Oxyrhynchus. ΨONTE 'acacia tree' is used in other place names cf. *CD* 573a

28 The numeral is used here instead of the word.

29 Coptic:

15.

(a) M612 fol. 1v

Written by me, Isaac the priest, the most wretched.

(b) P 11965 fol. 6v

May the Holy Trinity bless and preserve the life of the one responsible for the production of this book with his own labours and gave it to the monastery of Michael of Phantou for the salvation of his soul until³⁰ the Four Creatures call Christ the King on his behalf, my brother Apostolos the monk, son of my father the deacon John, the father of the church³¹ that He may give him the reward of heavenly things for earthly things, eternal things for transitory things³² that he may be worth to hear the voice of that blessed one, saying: "Come, my blessed one. Inherit the good things that have been prepared for you from the foundation of the world." So be it for us all at the same time. Amen.

Approach him in the joy and rejoicing of the altar, my clerical fathers, each one by name. My father, the deacon John, the archimandrite. My father Apa Theodore. My father Apa Chael. My father the deacon Macarius. My father the deacon Stephen. My father and brother Mena. My brother Hylia and my brother Kabri. Pray for me that God may give me knowledge. Amen. . . .³³ instead of him.

Bless me. I make a *metanoia*, my clerical fathers. I, Isaac, the scribe who belongs to Ptepouhar.³⁴ Bear with me and feeble little handiwork, for I am not yet very skilled. I . . .³⁵ but I received instruction from your holy prayers.

AM 609.

I wrote these books, Christ being king over us. Amen.

16. Ham. 47551 (bis)r

May the Holy Trinity bless and preserve the life of our God-loving lord revered archimandrite and ascete, my brother Gabriel, for he is responsible for the production of the book with his own labours and gave it to the monastery of Michael of Phantou for the salvation of his soul so that the archangel might call upon Christ the king on his behalf that He might forgive him his sins and reward him with

30 This conjugation prefix also contains an element of purpose. The writing **Ϻ**ϺONT is unexpected. These are the creatures of Ezekiel and Revelation.

31 Sounds like a title

32 Repetition of the foregoing

33 I do not understand what **ⲕⲉⲡ** means. Perhaps it is a conjunctive after 'pray', but I do not know what the verb is supposed to mean.

34 Attested in these texts but nowhere else that I can find.

35 Coptic: **ⲁⲓϫ**, which is probably an abbreviation I do not know.

the eternal things of heaven for the transient things of earth ten thousandfold in heavenly Jerusalem, the city of all the just and that, when he dies, he might be worthy to hear the voice full of joy and all rejoicing of Christ: "Come, my beloved, and inherit these good things that I have prepared for you." So be it with us all, those who write, those who read and those who listen. Amen. So be it.

Remember our lord and great³⁶ father Cyrus. My father the deacon John, archimandrite of the monastery of Michael of Phantou that the Lord God might bless him and his brothers and all the people who belong to him and those who do not belong to him and that God might give him a long life and that He might make his face graceful before all people and those in power, blessing everyone under his authority and that He might perfect him in the holy monastic habit of the angels³⁷ and forgive his sins. Forever. Amen.

Remember me in love, everyone who reads this book. Pray for us. I Isaac who is not worthy to be called priest, and the deacon Archellites and layman John and the children of the late deacon Joseph, those of Ptepouhar of the Fayyum, pray for us and bear with our feeble little handiwork lest our mind has made a mistake with a word in it and lest I have erred against the Lord Himself. We have written according to the copy which is before us. AM 509/AH 278.

17. M 567 fol. 126r

The *Second Kingdom*³⁸ is complete.

Bless me. Forgive me.

With God, first. Lord Jesus Christ, bless the man who was responsible for the production of this book and gave it to Michael of Phantou for the salvation of his soul that the Lord might reward him for his vow in heavenly Jerusalem. Amen. So be it. AM 609.

18. M 575 fol. 76v

Please, our holy fathers. Everyone who reads or receives instruction in the antiphonary,³⁹ whether cleric or monk. Pray for our God-loving brother John son of Phoibammon, for he is responsible for the production of it and gave it to the church of the monastery of Michael of Phantou in the Fayyum so

36 This is probably the meaning.

37 According to Lantschoot, there were two habits: great (for the advanced monk) and small (for the novice).

38 Samuel II.

39 A convenient publication to consult these hymns is that of De Lacy O' Leary, published between 1920 and 1926 in two vols., *The Diftar of the Coptic Church*.

that the archangel might call upon Christ the king on his behalf and forgive him his sins and bless him and his wife and children and all his property and reward him a hundredfold for his vow in heavenly Jerusalem, the city of all the just. Amen. So be it. AM 609.

Bless me, my clerical fathers who read this book section. I am the wretched and worst sinner⁴⁰ that God may forgive me the large number of my sins. So be it.

19. M 593 fol. 50v

The completion of the *Book of the Investiture of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel*.⁴¹ May his holy prayers be with us. Amen.

Please, everybody who reads this book, pray for our God-loving brother, Theodore, for he is responsible for the production of it and gave it to the monastery of Michael of Phantoou for the salvation of his soul so that the archangels Michael and Gabriel might intercede with God on his behalf that He might forgive him sins as on the day he was born, bless him with the blessing of heaven upon heaven and his wife and children and all his property, leave His blessing and peace in all his dwellings all the days of his life, write his name in the Book of Life and reward him a hundredfold in heavenly Jerusalem, the city of all the saints. Amen. So be it.

Bless me. Forgive me, my clerical fathers who read this book. Pray for me in love that God may give me knowledge, I, John the psalmodist, brother of the deacon Mina of Toutôn. Bear with me lest my concentration has wandered and I have made mistakes. I have written this according to the copy before me. AM 609

20. M 590 fol. 68v

With God first. Lord Jesus Christ, bless the person who is responsible for the production of this book and gave it to the monastery of Michael of Phantoou for the salvation of his soul that Jesus Christ might reward his labours in heavenly Jerusalem. Amen.

40 Of the legible words one seems to 'reader' (ρεγρω)

41 C.D.G. Müller *Die Bücher der Einsetzung* CSCO 31 (Louvain, 1962)

For this good thing happened in the days of the father deacon John and my father Apa Paul and my father Thôter, the one of Shop.⁴² AM 609.

42 Coptic: **παῦσι**, which suggests that a place name is intended. Or perhaps it is semi-jocular: 'the one of the foot/palm' ?