

**ABSTRACTS FOR PAPERS**



Abd el-Latif Hassan Afandy  
(King Saud University, Saudi Arabia)

INVESTIGATION AND CONSERVATION OF SOME ARABIC POPYRI  
HOUSED IN AIN SHAMS UNIVERSITY, EGYPT

The study deals with some Arabic popyri housed in Ain Shams University, Cairo, Egypt. The popyri have suffered from deterioration due to poor storage conditions.

Decay of papyrus components and agents, as well as mechanisms of deterioration, were studied using a Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM) and Atomic Absorption and Elemental analysis (C-H-O). Microbiological investigations were carried out on samples of different popyri in order to identify the fungi that have been developing on them and to apply optimal disinfection methods. The microorganisms isolated and identified were *Cladosporium fulvum*, *Aspergillus niger*, *Penicillium Sp.*, *Fusarium Sp.*, and also some insects including silverfish and cockroaches.

The conservation techniques used will protect popyri in the Ain Shams University collection from further degradation.

Alissa Abrams  
(Yale University)

LEGAL HETEROGENEITY IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

Analysis of legal popyri from Ptolemaic Egypt indicates a heterogeneity and dynamism of law and of legal systems under Ptolemaic rule that has been under-investigated. Through examination of legal documents written in both Greek and demotic, originating from a variety of times and places, this paper will explore the nature of legal heterogeneity under the Ptolemies and the mechanisms by which such heterogeneity arose. Our understanding of these issues has important implications for the nature of Ptolemaic rule, as well as for the role that law and the administration of justice played in mediating relationships between the Ptolemies and their diverse subject populations.

María Jesús Albarrán Martínez  
(Universidad de Alcalá – CNRS Paris)

ARCHIVES D'APA SABINOS  
DANS LE FONDS COPTE DE LA SORBONNE

La collection de l'Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne abrite un groupe de papyrus coptes qui font apparemment partie d'un même dossier. Ce dossier provient d'un établissement monastique situé dans la montagne d'Antinoopolis, nommé monastère d'apa Sabinos. Ces archives sont déjà connues par plusieurs textes grecs, publiés ou inédits, et elles ont été le sujet d'une première étude publiée par Jean Gascoü en 2011.

Aux papyrus grecs s'ajoutent plusieurs pièces en copte. Ces papyrus coptes, comme les grecs, sont principalement des documents juridico-économiques. L'étude des papyrus coptes permet une meilleure connaissance de l'établissement monastique et des personnages qui y sont rattachés. Elle permet aussi de comparer les conditions de production des documents coptes et grecs pour un même site et de reprendre la question de la chronologie du dossier.

Michele Alessandrelli  
(Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche,  
Istituto per il Lessico Intellettuale Europeo e Storia delle Idee, Rome)

*P. HERC.* 1020 (ANONYMOUS STOIC AUTHOR,  
UNKNOWN WORK): ANATOMY OF THE ROLL  
AND SEQUENCE OF FRAGMENTS

*P. Herc.* 1020, transmitting an Early Stoic text (probably by Chrysippus), was unrolled between 1803 and 1804 and is preserved in 13 pieces, which have come to us in poor condition. One piece has been proven not to belong to this papyrus on palaeographical grounds. The stratification of the pieces ranges from absent to severe. The original order of fragments was upset after some pieces were hung on the walls of the *Officina dei papiri* around 1865 and subsequently taken down at the beginning of the 20th century. It has been reconstructed both by measuring the 'voluta' of each piece and on the basis of Hayter's numeration either legible on the 'cartoncino' on which some pieces are fixed or inferable from the 'disegni'. The impossibility of identifying with certainty the text layout of the outer pieces of the roll because of the presence of multiple layers in them make it difficult to estimate with precision the length of the lost portions between them. In addition, the lengthwise compression of the papyrus roll permits only an approximation of

its original length and total number of columns. As far as the preserved text is concerned, in addition to the 8 columns previously edited by Hans von Arnim, 18 inedited columns have been read and transcribed so far. A new critical edition of the book is currently being prepared within the framework of the project ERC Starting Grant 241184-PHerc (European Commission, FP7, 'Ideas').

Alia Hanafi  
(Ain Shams University, Cairo)

#### TWO UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

##### 1. A school exercise

The papyrus is kept in the Coptic Museum under the inv. no 2436. The document written in semi-uncial hand is dated to 3.07.152 AD.

The text was divided into three paragraphs separated by two horizontal lines and containing the date, the location and the subject. The latter is an aphorism, which obviously echoes the Proverb from the Old Testament about choosing friends. The whole seems to be a school exercise.

##### 2. A Christian letter

This light yellow scrap of papyrus is preserved in the Coptic Museum under the inv. no 3452. The document, written in semi-cursive hand, has six lines on the *recto* and one on the *verso*. It can be identified as a letter and dated to the 6th or 7th c. AD.

The opening formula of the letter is lost. The preserved text begins with a reference to something the sender became acquainted with through an ecclesiastic. The letter was addressed to a layperson whose name is lost in the lacuna at the end of line seven on the *verso* and who is of high social status. The addressee apparently had given instruction to send someone to the sender. Unfortunately, we do not have the names of the sender or the recipient of this letter.

José Luis Alonso  
(University of the Basque Country, San Sebastián)

#### THE STATUS OF GRAECO-EGYPTIAN LAW UNDER ROMAN RULE

The first generation of papyrologists soon realized that the law revealed by the documents from Roman Egypt was largely not Roman, but a continuation of Hellenistic and local traditions. This conclusion, overwhelmingly confirmed by later evidence, implies also that the Roman jurisdiction had no qualms about

applying the local law, as the specifically jurisdictional evidence further corroborates. How this jurisdictional practice should be understood from a legal point of view was for a long time a subject of debate. The prevailing opinion today seems to be that the local law lacked any binding force after the fall of the Ptolemies, an opinion further supported by the cases where the Roman jurisdiction departed from the local solution to impose the Roman one. From the point of view of the Roman jurisdiction, it has been asserted, there was in Egypt a legal vacuum, to be filled at discretion. A complementary - but different - approach builds on the notion of customary law: together with the unwritten traditions, also the written law and the Ptolemaic legislation persisted simply as custom, as a merely tolerated *mos regionis*. These ideas will be reassessed, from the point of view of the nature of the Roman jurisdiction and the Roman jurisdictional practice, the roots of the doctrine of customary law, and the very idea of the law as a binding system of rules.

Serena Ammirati  
(Università degli Studi di Cassino e del Lazio Meridionale)  
Marco Fressura  
(Università degli Studi Roma Tre)

TIPOLOGIE DEL GLOSSARIO BILINGUE ANTICO:  
PALEOGRAFIA, BIBLIOLOGIA, CODICOLOGIA

Il materiale glossografico bilingue latinogreco e grecolatino, digrafico e non, di interesse papirologico sarà esaminato sotto il profilo grafico, bibliologico e codicologico e opportunamente confrontato con testimonianze di antica e continuata conservazione archivistico-bibliotecaria. L'analisi si concentrerà soprattutto su modalità di compilazione e *mise en page* dei testi, nonché sull'allestimento dei relativi manoscritti. L'indagine verterà principalmente sui testi di contenuto profano (glossari bilingui generici e tematici; glossari bilingui degli autori letterari) senza trascurare per necessari confronti alcuni fra i principali testi bilingui di contenuto cristiano.

Isabella Andorlini  
(University of Parma)

LUSO E GENERI D'IMPORTAZIONE NEI PAPIRI D'ETÀ ROMANA

Tra i generi di lusso che attestano il commercio verso l'Egitto romano, oltre a

quelli del settore gastronomico messi in luce nello studio di A. Papathomas (*ZPE* 158, 2006), meritano attenzione altri prodotti pregiati, come tessuti ed abiti di fabbricazione straniera, cosmetici e profumi costosi. Sia le notizie delle lettere private sia quelle risultanti da altra documentazione su papiro, talora collegate ai reperti archeologici e rivisitate con proposte di nuove letture, documentano un'importante circolazione di generi ricercati di varia provenienza (quelli “da Pozzuoli” in *P. Tebt.* II 413, e “da Lentini” in *P. Tebt.* II 405, il rhodinon italico in *P. Graux* II 10, il foliatum in *P. Bingen* 79), verosimilmente espressione di mentalità, gusto e status symbol delle élites romane stanziata nei villaggi della chôra egiziana.

Agathe Antoni  
Daniel Delattre  
(CNRS, Institut de recherché et d'histoire des texts, Paris)  
Annick Monet

LA RECONSTRUCTION DU *P. HERC. PARIS. 2* [PHILODÈME,  
*LA CALOMNIE*] : QUELQUES NOUVEAUTÉS TEXTUELLES

Daniel Delattre a été missionné en 2003 par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Paris) pour éditer le *P. Herc. Paris. 2*, contenant très probablement un des livres de Philodème sur les vices et les vertus opposées, qui est tout entier consacré au vice de la *διαβολή*. L'équipe qu'il a réunie autour de lui travaille activement depuis 2004 à la reconstruction de ce rouleau-puzzle ouvert à Naples (1986-1987) en 283 morceaux de tailles très inégales et fort difficiles à rapprocher les uns des autres en raison d'une multitude de *sovrapposti*. C'est le point sur l'état d'avancement du travail et surtout quelques lectures nouvelles qui seront ici présentés.

Carolin Arlt  
(University of Würzburg)

TEMPLE DOCUMENTS FROM PTOLEMAIC SOKNOPAIU NESOS

This paper gives an overview of the Demotic Griffith Papyri, which were found in Soknopaiou Nesos (Dime) in the Fayyum and are today kept in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. The texts are mainly documentary and date to the Ptolemaic period. Seventy-five of these papyri, letters, contracts, and some oracle questions, were published in 1975 by Edda Bresciani. About two thirds of the archive still await publication. As part of the project “Dime im Fayum – ein Tempel im Span-

nungsfeld von Tradition und Multikulturalität im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten” housed at the University of Würzburg, these texts are being studied and analyzed. The results will further our understanding of temple administration and temple economy in Ptolemaic Egypt. I will give an overview of the various texts in this important archive and present some preliminary results.

Rodney Ast  
(University of Heidelberg)  
Paola Davoli  
(University of Salento, Lecce)

OSTRAKA AND STRATIGRAPHY  
AT AMHEIDA (DAKHLA OASIS, EGYPT):  
A METHODOLOGICAL ISSUE

Finding an ancient dump in an archeological context is one of the dreams of some scholars, and especially papyrologists, for whom they have been a source of large numbers of texts. However, dumps are not always recognized and excavated properly. The stratigraphic method of excavation applied to these kinds of deposits allows one to collect reliable data that can be studied by specialists of different disciplines and thus interpreted in their complexity.

At Amheida (ancient Trimithis), in Dakhla Oasis, attempts have been made over nearly a decade of fieldwork to document very precisely the stratigraphy of the site. Several deposits turned out to be dumps or formed by dumped materials (these are not identical situations). What has begun to emerge is a fairly clear picture of how materials were reused, particularly for construction purposes. These materials include typical building components such as baked- and mud bricks, but also ostraka, which papyrologists often do not associate with construction materials. The use of ostraka in foundation layers and in the masonry of walls has permitted a better understanding of the different construction phases. Moreover the careful documentation of the stratigraphy of the ostraka has allowed us to establish a more precise chronology of the surviving written records.

The purpose of this paper is to raise methodological issues about the collection of data during archeological excavations that can deeply affect interpretation of both the archeological and papyrological data. Two excavated areas in Amheida (areas 2.1 and 2.2) will provide a case study.

*See also* Julia Lougovaya, Alexander Lifshits, Rodney Ast, ‘Codex Tischendorfianus I, recovered and revisited’



Thomas Backhuys  
(University of Cologne)

EIN KÖNIGSEID  
AUS DER KÖLNER PAPYRUSSAMMLUNG

Das gut erhaltene, im Jahr 257 v. Chr. aufgesetzte *σύμβολον* enthält einen Königseid, der das spärliche Material aus der frühen Ptolemäerzeit bereichert, da nur vier weitere Dokumente dieser Art existieren, die entweder früher oder auf dasselbe Jahr wie unser Text datieren. In für das erhaltene Material singulärer Weise verpflichtet sich in dieser Urkunde der Schwörende gegenüber den Empfängern, den Gefängniswärtern von Herakleopolis, sich Tag für Tag persönlich bei ihnen einzufinden. Die Besprechung soll sich mit der Frage nach Grund und Art der Inhaftierung und demzufolge der Bedeutung des Gefängnisses für den Aussagewert dieser Urkunde, daneben auch einigen sprachlichen Beobachtungen, befassen.

Danai Bafa  
(University College, London)

HYBRID LITERARY SCRIPTS  
IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Greek literary scripts in Late Antiquity are classified into four main types: Sloping pointed majuscule, Upright pointed majuscule, Biblical majuscule, and Alexandrian majuscule (Cavallo – Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period, A.D. 300-800*, 1987). After an overview of these basic styles, handbooks of palaeography will also refer to literary hands that do not follow the standardised types, such as scripts that imitate styles favoured in earlier times or even Latin scripts used for Greek texts.

There is yet another category of formal literary styles outside the common classification: the so-called ‘hybrid scripts’. Palaeographers have accepted the existence of such hands as combinations of individual forms but any further reference to hybrid scripts is only very brief. Consequently, the tendency to focus on the main styles has been a source of confusion; an editor will most probably assign a literary hand to one of the standard styles without considering the possibility of a hybrid form.

This paper seeks to explore various examples of hybrid scripts and address questions such as: in which way and degree can a certain literary style have an effect on another? Can we talk about mere influence, or, if the blend is very

extensive, should we treat these cases as hybrid scripts? And if a certain combination of styles reappears with consistency, could this script be properly considered as a separate style? Finally, are hybrid literary scripts in Late Antiquity exceptions or an integral part of the history of Greek writing?

Roger S. Bagnall  
(New York University)

#### ILLEGITIMACY IN ROMAN AND LATE ANTIQUE EGYPT

In his brilliant and passionate contribution to the volume in honor of Claire Préaux, Herbert Youtie argued that the status described in many texts as *apator*, “without a father”, and elsewhere in the papyri with other terms, was largely an artificial product of Roman regulations, particularly those prohibiting legal marriage between some groups in the society of Roman Egypt and those banning marriage for soldiers on active duty. Although there have been a number of important contributions to the vocabulary of illegitimacy, Youtie’s basic argument has not been seriously challenged. But it has an important flaw, in not taking account of the evidence after the early third century, when these Roman barriers to marriage vanished but illegitimacy did not. We will look at the evidence for the phenomenon in the period from the third to sixth century and ask what the social context of illegitimacy is and how we should interpret it.

Constantinos Balamoshev  
(University of Warsaw)

#### RECONSTRUCTING A CRIME SCENE: AN UNPUBLISHED PTOLEMAIC PROSANGELMA

The form and the function of the *prosangelma* in the Ptolemaic period has been thoroughly examined in the classic M. Hombert and C. Préaux, “Recherches sur le *prosaggelma* à l’époque ptolémaïque”, *CdÉ*, 17 (1942). In the ensuing years, new texts were published to contribute to the already available material, e.g., Aly (1958), Mosallamy (1971), Parca (1984) and a further discussion in Parca (1985). Texts published later include *P. Köln* V 216, *SB XVIII* 13160, *P. Köln* VI 272, *SB XVI* 12813 and 12823, *P. Erasm.* I 4, Gonis (1992), and most recently *SB XXII* 15803 and *P. Phrur. Diosk* 1.

The papyrus I am going to present belongs to the collection of the University of Giessen. It is a fragment of a report of a burglary committed by unknown indi-

viduals in a house of undefined location, but as the purchase history suggests it might come from Medinet el-Fayum. The report is submitted in the said form of a *proselma*, which implies a certain handling process and addresses particular officials (most commonly a *phylakites* or a *komogrammateus*). Moreover, the form of a *proselma* is gradually expanded in the Ptolemaic period, beginning with a short report in the 3rd century BC and increasing its length by adding more details to the main body in the 2nd century BC. Therefore, aside from the palaeographical factor the text can be dated on the basis of the phraseology used (if of course there are no other indicators) and, particularly, by analyzing the appearance of some reoccurring technical expressions: διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι in this case, as well as other linguistic aspects. This is what this paper will attempt to examine.

Carla Balconi  
(Università Cattolica di Milano)

PAPIRI DELLA COLLEZIONE DELL'UNIVERSITÀ  
CATTOLICA DI MILANO PROVENIENTI DALLA GRANDE OASI

Solo dopo la pubblicazione dei papiri di Kellis si è potuto stabilire che un certo numero di documenti appartenenti alla collezione di papiri dell'Università Cattolica di Milano provengono senza dubbio dalla Grande Oasi. Di questi papiri editi ed inediti tratterò nel mio intervento al congresso di Varsavia.

Blanca Ballesteros Castañeda  
(University Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona)

THE INCENSES AND FLOWERS  
OF THE SEVEN STARS (PGM XIII, 343-646)

The magical universe of plant substances in Greek magical papyri has important astrological connotations, as we can see in this fragment of the *Sacred hidden book of Moses*. The text presents an apparently well-known classification of sacred plants and incenses offered to stars, but nothing is said about which is propitious to which star. Why? Was this relationship already known to magicians, or was there a secret code that conveyed it? Our paper presents a botanical and magical analysis of each plant and cites occurrences in other *PGM* spells, as well as in Egyptian, Assyrian and Greek herbals and astrological works, in order to establish a coherent list of substances and relationships between plants, incenses and stars.

Paul Bartels  
 Fabian Reiter  
 (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)  
 Marius Gerhardt  
 Anna Monte  
 (Humboldt University, Berlin)

BERLINER PAPYRUSDATENBANK (BERLPAP)  
 (IN GERMAN)

The aim of the Berliner Papyrusdatenbank (BerlPap) (<http://smb.museum/berlpap/>) is to provide an efficient and effective means of searching the Berlin papyrus collection and to present the most important information concerning each papyrus. Our presentation outlines the results achieved so far. First, we give a short description of the development of the project and the methods and technology used. Secondly, we demonstrate how BerlPap works by explaining the search tool and showing the homepage. Finally, we discuss future developments.

Krystyna Bartol  
 (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

HOW TO SERVE A GIANT FISH?  
 P. DUK. F 1984.7 = FR. 1146 K.-A.: SOME TEXTUAL PROBLEMS

The paper explores the problem of doubtful readings of lines 34-35 in a comic passage (possibly from Archippus' *Fishes*) on a papyrus retrieved from a mummy cartonnage now in possession of the Duke University (P. Duk. F 1984.7 = fr. 1146 K.-A.). The lines to be discussed form part of a description of the preparation of a huge fish, a *silouros* (sheatfish), for a banquet, specifically of the moment when the cooking dish is carried in. Its size, shape and appearance are described using a particularly extravagant and evocative set of expressions. Scholars seek to reconstruct the author's original text by assuming that the description of the "casserole" (*lopas*) is conditioned by the contrast of its girth and depth. Thus, they read at the beginning of line 34 either γῦρον ἀλλητοῦ (Austin prob. Willis) or γῦρον ἀλλήτου (Luppe) in order to provide "a fine example of chiasmus with κολουμβητοῦ βυθόν" at the end of the line. I propose a different reading of the beginning of line 34, which seems to be a presentation combining the speaker's expertise in cooking and knowledge of fish. Since by suggesting an alternative *lectio* of this line I hope to shed new light on the interpretation of the next verse of this comic discourse, I will also reconsider the reading of line 35.

Stephen M. Bay  
(Brigham Young University)

#### NEW FRAGMENTS OF ILIADIC SCHOLIA

In this short paper I shall present a new edition of P. Mich. Inv. 3751. This papyrus is composed of two separate pieces of a papyrus scroll which appear to present fragments of a text of Iliadic scholia.

Amin Benaissa  
(University of Oxford)

#### A 'WRITING PRACTICE' WITH ECHOES OF ROMAN LAW AGAINST \*RAPINA\*?

Presentation of a curious scrap of papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, a “writing practice” carrying the opening hemistich of the *Iliad*, a phrase with apparent echoes of Roman law against violent theft and sedition, and some personal names.

Lajos Berkes  
(University of Heidelberg)

#### VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION IN JEME

The numerous mostly Coptic ostraca and papyri from Jeme are among our most important sources for the Late Antique countryside not only in Egypt, but also in the Eastern Mediterranean. The abundant material allows the study of different aspects of village life: the present paper deals with village administration in late Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt. Apart from the basic framework of local organization, no clear picture has emerged so far. One of the main obstacles is the complex terminology. However, recent developments in reading and dating relevant texts contribute to detecting patterns and changes in the use of administrative vocabulary over time. The focus of this paper will be on the use and relationship of the different titles for village officials, viz. διοικητής, μείζων, πρωτοκωμήτης, στρατηγός, λαϝανη and απε. A close look at our sources hints at several reforms in the 7-8th centuries, which will be discussed in the wider context of Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt. Furthermore, the documents from Jeme show par excellence the functioning of the village community (κοινόν/κοινότης) characteristic for this period. It will be argued that the case of Jeme

can be regarded as more or less typical for the local organization of Egyptian villages in Late Antiquity.

Andrea Bernini  
(University of Parma)

#### NOTA SULL'AREA SEMANTICA DI ΨΑΛΛΙΔΙΟΝ

In due papiri di età tarda, *P. Oxy.* X 1289 e *P. Prag.* II 182, compare il raro sostantivo ψαλλίδιον, che si ritiene derivi da ψαλῖς nell'accezione di "paio di forbici". Tuttavia, sulla base di osservazioni lessicali e di testimonianze archeologiche si propone di identificare il termine come diminutivo di ψάλιον nei due papiri presi in considerazione. Per quanto riguarda il lessico dei due testi, si può notare come il conto privato conservato in *P. Oxy.* X 1289 contenga due oggetti che fanno chiaramente riferimento all'ambito equestre: l'espressione μάχαιρον στρογγύλον e il sostantivo σιμαρίδιον. La prima identifica un oggetto analogo alla μάχαιρα σπειραντική di *P. Dryton* 38, che a sua volta appartiene all'equipaggiamento di un cavaliere, mentre il secondo "appears to be part of a horse's trapping", come asserito da *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>. In *P. Prag.* II 182, una lista di oggetti che presenta notevoli difficoltà interpretative, il sostantivo σιμαρίδιον viene tradotto con "Stecklinge", ma una valutazione delle interpretazioni lessicografiche induce a pensare che si riferisca agli speroni. Relativamente alle fonti archeologiche, e in particolare sulla base dei reperti provenienti da Vindolanda, sappiamo che già nel II secolo a.C. vi erano ψάλια di diverse dimensioni, il che è coerente con la compresenza di ψαλίδια e ψαλίδια μεγάλα in *P. Oxy.* X 1289. Tali osservazioni supportano l'idea che all'interno del campo semantico di ψαλλίδιον vi sia anche l'accezione di "piccolo ψάλιον" (conservata in *P. Oxy.* X 1289 e *P. Prag.* II 182), in riferimento a quello specifico finimento del cavallo precursore dell'odierno hackamore.

Katherine Blouin  
(University of Toronto)

#### PAPYRI À PARIS: THE GREEK PAPYRI COLLECTION IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

Since 2007, a collaborative project between the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) and the École Pratique des Hautes Études aims at valorizing the Greek papyri collection housed in the BnF's Département des manuscrits grecs. Constituted between 1822 and 1980, the collection consists of c. 350 documents, the

majority of which remains unpublished. These include both literary and documentary papyri, leathers, ostraca, and tablets written mostly (but not exclusively) in Greek and roughly dated from the 2nd c. BCE to the 8th c. CE.

Over the past years, I have undertaken, under the auspices of Jean-Luc Fournet (EPHE) and Christian Förstel (BnF), a complete inventory of the collection, together with operations of restoration, cataloguing, conditioning, and digitalization. Our hope is that the whole collection will be made available online by 2014, and we are currently working on the first volume of the *P. BnF*. After providing an introduction to the history and nature of the collection and examining its relation to the other papyrus collections housed at the BnF and elsewhere, this paper will present the results of the work undertaken so far and discuss some documents that are currently being edited.

Lincoln H. Blumell  
(Brigham Young University)

A DOXOLOGY AND A FRAGMENT  
FROM THE DIDASCALIA CCCXVIII PATRUM NICAENORUM

In this paper I will present on two unpublished Christian papyri in the Michigan collection. The first is a long strip of papyrus that contains a three line doxology on the verso wherein “the life-giving spirit” is invoked and on the recto contains drawings of some unusual animals. The second piece consists of eleven partial lines of text that contains a version of what came to be known as the *Didascalia CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum*. This piece is especially unique since this treatise is otherwise unattested in the papyri and it contains some variants that are not present in the received version of this treatise. Furthermore, this papyrus is important since it may shed some additional light on the date, transmission, and reception of the *Didascalia CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum* in Late Antiquity.

Isabella Bonati  
(Università degli Studi di Parma)

BETWEEN TEXT AND CONTEXT: *P. OSLO* II 54 RECONSIDERED

This contribution concerns *P. Oslo* II 54, a papyrus briefly published by Samson Eitrem and Leiv Amundsen in 1931, which contains a private letter requesting a medicine chest and some remedies. A direct inspection of the document that I was able to carry out in the Oslo University Library thanks to the Yggdrasil grant

offered by the Research Council of Norway points to a revision of the text with regard to provenance, date, reuse and terminology. Noteworthy is in particular the earliest extant occurrence of the word *φαρμακοθήκη*, a semantically transparent compound poorly attested in Greek. The results of the investigation on this term, focused on a comparative analysis of textual and archaeological evidence, will be codified as a lexical entry of *Medicalia Online* – an electronic glossary of ancient medical terminology currently under construction on the University of Parma website in collaboration with the University of Oslo.

Ljuba Merlina Bortolani  
(University of Heidelberg)

THE CONCEALING METRE: GLIMPSES OF EGYPTIAN TRADITION  
IN A GREEK MAGICAL HYMN (*PGM* III 198–230)

When Karl Preisendanz assembled the Greek magical papyri known to him (*Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, I-II, Stuttgart 1928-31, *PGM*), he omitted the demotic sections and thus contributed to confusion between Greek language and Greek culture, as a result of which the *PGM* was mainly studied by classicists. The turning point came at the end of the 20th century, when the essential unity of Graeco-demotic magic was recognized, and it became clear that, despite other influences (e.g. Jewish), the main components of the *PGM* are Greek and Egyptian, and that most papyri as we have them are the result of a long process of collection and reworking of earlier material (probably started in the 1st c. BC/AD) which must have involved the Egyptian priesthood. This paper investigates one of the so-called magical hymns: the metrical sections of the *PGM*, which, owing to their metre, were considered for a long time as the most “authentically Greek” contribution. Though the hymn to Helios (*PGM* III 198-230, early 4th century) contains some unambiguously Egyptian elements (such as the god addressed as “scarab”, ll. 207-208), the Egyptian tradition has not been given proper consideration when analyzing the hymn as a whole. In particular, there are two passages (ll. 216, 224-6), the meaning of which remains obscure despite earlier restorations/emendations (or maybe owing to them). However, if we consider only the extant text in the light of Egyptian tradition and hymnography, these verses seem to make more sense.

These examples, together with many others, testify that, despite the Greek metre, the Egyptian background may underlie the magical hymns more often than it appears and that (as it started happening for the rest of the *PGM*) it should be taken into higher consideration in further studies aimed at shedding light on the authorship, transmission and nature of these compositions.



Anne Boud'hors  
(CNRS, Paris)

APPRENDRE À LIRE ET À ÉCRIRE :  
DEUX NOUVEAUX DOCUMENTS COPTES

Deux ostraca coptes provenant de la région thébaine et aujourd'hui conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de France apportent quelques informations nouvelles sur l'apprentissage des lettres dans l'Égypte chrétienne aux alentours du 7<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les deux documents, qui se rapportent à la même affaire et sont désignés comme *hypobolè*, semblent concerner la rupture d'un contrat d'enseignement. La présentation tentera d'explorer les différents points d'intérêt (social, culturel, juridique) de ces deux ostraca.

*See also* Jean Gascou, Anne Boud'hors, 'Un nouveau cas d'archives bilingues : le monastère antinoïte d'apa Dorotheé'

Alan Bowman  
(Brasenose College, University of Oxford)

A DATABASE OF THE KARANIS TAX-ROLLS

This paper will offer a demonstration of the structure and research potential of a database of the Karanis tax-rolls, constructed in the context of the Oxford Roman Economy Project (OXREP).

Benedetto Bravo  
(University of Warsaw)

*P. OXY. XXII 2321, FR. 1, LL. 1-12*  
(ANACREONTE, *POETAE MELICI GRAECI* 346/1, FR. 1, LL. 1-12):  
UNA SOLUZIONE SPIRITOSA DI UN *PROBLĒMA* SIMPOSIALE

Shortly after *P. Oxy. XXII 2321*, containing fragments of Anacreon, was published by E. Lobel, B. Snell put forward the idea that the *παῖς* to whom the song fr.1, ll. 1-12, is addressed and whose feats are narrated, should be identified as Eros. Based on this idea, the present paper proposes some new restorations and interprets the poem as a sympotic song, a witty answer to a sympotic *πρόβλημα*.

Yanne Broux (Catholic University, Leuven) – *see* Silke Vanbeselaere, Yanne Broux, ‘Authority and social interaction in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Social network analysis and the Zenon Archive’

Ari Bryen  
(West Virginia University)

#### MORE ON THE ACTA ALEXANDRINORUM

The study of the *Acta Alexandrinorum* has been advanced significantly by the recent study of Andrew Harker (*Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt: The Case of the Acta Alexandrinorum*, 2008). In this study, Harker tackled the thorny question of the political content of the Acta, comparing them not only with Christian martyr acts, but additionally with other forms of Greek provincial literature. He argued that the Acta were consistent with broad trends in 2nd/3rd century Greek high culture – the culture of *paideia* in particular. As such, Harker argued that the Acta were attempts to elevate Greek (Alexandrian) culture at the expense of other (Roman, Jewish) cultures.

This paper attempts to complicate parts of this thesis. On the basis of a close-reading of the Acts of Isidorus and Lampon I argue that the Acta emerge from an increasingly law-conscious provincial milieu that makes an increasingly articulate set of claims about the importance of formality and rule-of-law for judging cases. Egypt provides the richest and most high resolution example of what was becoming a shared legal culture in the eastern provinces more generally. The Acta (like their Christian and Jewish counterparts) made normative claims about the centrality of rule-based institutions in daily life and about the judge as a rule-bound actor. They used the image of confrontation between emperors and subjects as the highest stakes example of an interaction that should be rule-based. What is more, the Acta share the same basic assumptions about the importance of rules and precedents that petitioners make starting in the second century. To see them primarily through the lens of cultural politics and elite learning obscures this more important context of provincial legal culture.

Ursula Bsees  
(University of Vienna)

#### A DOCUMENT WITH “MIXED FORMULAE?” GOING DEEPER INTO *APEL* V 339 *VERSO* (P. CAIR. EG. LIB. INV. 885 *VERSO*)

When studying the fifth volume of Grohmann’s edition of papyri in the Egypt-

ian Library, I noticed that the verso of his *APEL* 339 is depicted on a plate, but no edition of it has been presented so far. During the preparation of the edition, some peculiarities in the text were too obvious to be tacitly ignored. These lie mainly in the formulae employed, but there are also several open questions on the background of the document, its protagonists and its scribe, which deserve at least an attempt to answer them.

P. Cair. Eg. Lib. Inv. 885 verso is a legal document showing the signatures of witnesses at the bottom. It begins, like a great number of other Arabic papyri, with a mention of its type right at the beginning: *dhikr ḥaqq* (written obligation). Only as one continues reading, one notices the heavy use of formulae typical for an Islamic sale, as well as formulae for *iqrār* (declaration, statement; category partially overlapping with *dhikr ḥaqq*). This deserves our attention, because the document is definitely not a sale contract, but neither is it a *dhikr ḥaqq* in the strict sense. It is very likely that it is an addition to a sale contract, the necessity for which arose after the contract had been concluded.

The other aspect we must address is the setting in life (“Sitz im Leben”) of the papyrus. It was written on the back of a business letter. How can a legal text be written on the back of a business letter? What can this tell us about the scribe(s) of recto and verso? I attempt to answer these and several other questions on content, formulary and background of the papyrus in my paper.

Elizabeth Buchanan  
(University of Oxford)

#### HOLY BURIAL OFFERINGS AND PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD

Egyptian testamentary documents such as wills and donations *mortis causa* changed radically in both tone and content between the mid-fourth century and the end of the fifth century CE. In summary, in Egypt in the first three hundred and fifty years of our era (Roman Egypt), there were no testamentary gifts for religious institutions or specific provisions for religious burial offerings of any kind. Inheritances and gifts went to children, spouses, siblings and other family members and close friends, roughly in that order. From the mid-fourth century to the mid-seventh century (Byzantine Egypt), most testamentary documents contain provisions for Christian intercessory offerings, and churches and monasteries are major beneficiaries, especially in the absence of children. The tone also changes from a largely prosaic matter-of-fact tone to a more calculating and rhetorical tone.

This paper examines the various influences on this change, including the development of the Christian doctrine of purgatory and intercessory prayer, offi-

cial support for and legal benefits of religious institutions, and the role of priests and deacons in planning funeral arrangements and then subscribing the testamentary documents as witnesses.

Adam Bülow-Jacobsen  
(Institut de Papyrologie, Sorbonne, Paris)

#### OSTRACA FROM XERON PELAGOS – A FIRST IMPRESSION

Four seasons of excavation (2009–2013) at Xeron Pelagos, a praesidium on the road from Coptos to Berenice, have yielded some 1300 ostraca, mostly Greek. The texts are from the 2nd–3rd c. AD and most are of course of the kind normally found in desert praesidia: letters concerning vegetables and other daily necessities, lists of personnel, guard-lists, receipts, and accounts. A rarity, namely a reply to a letter that was already known from the neighbouring praesidium Dios, has already been published. A large archive of orders to deliver grain to “Barbarians” dates from a period when the Romans collaborated with the nomads coming up from the South. A surprisingly large number of literary and subliterate texts clearly of local production will be briefly described.

Richard Burchfield  
(Macquarie University, Sydney)

#### THEBAN MONASTERIES IN THEIR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

The monastery of Apa Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahri and the monastery of Apa Paul at Deir el-Bakhit were the two largest monasteries on the Theban west bank during the sixth to eighth centuries CE. Although they were situated in an area in which monasticism was widespread, their size and spiritual significance attracted visitors from well beyond their immediate surrounds. These external interactions are particularly visible in the wealth of documentary material which relates to the region. Donations of children and property to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, for instance, are made by people from as far afield as Koptos or Armant.

The considerable wealth gathered by and donated to the monasteries put them in a strong position to positively influence the economic life of western Thebes. The secular town best positioned to benefit from this was Jeme, built in the remains of Medinet Habu approximately two kilometres to the south. This

paper aims to assess the extent to which the monasteries' connections with towns beyond western Thebes benefitted the region, and the town of Jeme in particular, and to situate their role within a socio-economic framework.

Rodolfo Pedro Buzón  
(Universidad de Buenos Aires/CONICET)

DIE ANWENDUNG VON PHYSISCHER GEWALT  
IM PTOLEMÄISCHEN ÄGYPTEN

Keine Gesellschaft ist vom Vorkommen zwischenmenschlicher Konflikte, die in das Gebrauch von physischer Gewalt münden, frei. Diese können zwischen Verwandten, zwischen Einwohnern oder zwischen Beamten und Einwohnern entstehen. Die Gewalt kann von einer Person – oder von mehreren – auf eine in der Auseinandersetzung direkt verwickelte Person, oder auf einen Dritten ausgeübt sein, die an der Streit selbst nicht teilnimmt, aber mit dem Angegriffenen in Verbindung steht. Der Angriff hinterlässt im Betroffener Stigmen, die ein Zeichen dessen werden, was er erlitten hat. Wer Gewalt erleidet, fühlt sich gedemütigt, auch wenn er es nicht ausdrücklich äußert. Die Ursachen sind verschieden: Raube, Xenophobie, Rassismus, Willkür der Beamten u.a.

Das ptolemäische Ägypten war keine Ausnahme. Die Papyri haben Beispiele dieser Gewalt, die von ein paar Schlägen bis zum Tod reichen und die oft mit Schaden an das Eigentum verbunden sind, aufbewahrt. Vorwiegend handelt es sich, um Anfragen an die Behörden, in denen man eine Entschädigung für die erlittenen Schaden nachsucht. Der Zweck dieser Untersuchung besteht darin, die Ursachen zu erforschen, die zur Gewalt Anlass geben, die Reaktion der Opfer, wer die Beteiligte sind und die Art und Weise, wie sie Gewalt auszuüben, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der zwei Ersten.

Mario Capasso  
(Centro di Studi Papirologici, University of Salento, Lecce)

NUOVI RINVENIMENTI DI PAPIRI E OSTRAKA  
A SOKNOPAIU NESOS/DIME 2010–2012

La Missione Archeologica del Centro di Studi Papirologici, impegnata nello scavo di Soknopaiou Nesos (Fayyum, Egitto) dal 2003, nel corso di dieci Campagne ha lavorato prevalentemente nell'area del temenos della kome, portando interamente alla luce il monumentale tempio in pietra dedicato al dio cocodrillo

Soknopaios. Tra i risultati più importanti è il rinvenimento di centinaia di papiri greci, figurati e demotici, di ostraka greci e figurati e di un intero archivio di ostraka demotici. Nella comunicazione vengono resi noti i materiali scritti (papiri, ostraka ed iscrizioni) rinvenuti nelle Campagne del 2010 e del 2012.

Mario Capasso

(Centro di Studi Papirologici, University of Salento, Lecce)

FRAMMENTI INEDITI  
DEL *DE ADULATIONE* DI FILODEMO (*P. HERC.* 1092)

Del *P. Herc.* 1092, tuttora inedito, rimangono la “scorza”, vale a dire la parte residua dello svolgimento cui esso fu sottoposto, e il disegno “napoletano” di cinque frammenti. Esso contiene un testo molto verosimilmente facente parte di uno dei due libri dedicati alla kolakeia, con i quali Filodemo apriva il suo importante trattato I vizi e le contrapposte virtù. Per la prima volta viene proposto il testo leggibile sulla “scorza” e sui disegni e si propone di far risalire il papiro al rotolo originario contenente il libro primo del trattato, al quale sono da riferire una serie di papiri, tra cui il *P. Herc.* 222, che contiene la parte iniziale con il titolo e il *P. Herc.* 1675, che è la parte finale, il così detto “midollo”.

Livia Capponi

(Newcastle University, Newcastle-upon-Tyne)

C. CALPURNIUS PROCULUS  
AND GREEK STENOGRAPHY UNDER AUGUSTUS

A document of 12 BC, first published in 1981 in the *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology* and stored in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, preserves the accounts of an unidentified Roman called C. Calpurnius Ptolemaeus. The *editio princeps* describes the document as “a polyglot shopping-list”, written in Greek, Latin, a difficult demotic and in a fourth unidentified language (in ll. 7-12). On the back of the papyrus a Latin subscription describes the content as *rationes C. Calpur(nii) Ptol(emaei)*. The presence of a Roman *praenomen* and *nomen* has suggested that he was an Egyptian soldier in the Augustan army. However, a closer reading suggests that the subscription must be resolved as *Rationes C. Calpur(nii) Procl(i)*. This document could help to cast further light on the nomenclature and function of the high official called Proculus featured in *BGU XVI 2558* of the Augustan period. The other point of interest is that the unattested fourth lan-

guage in the aforementioned Bodleian document must be reinterpreted as an early form of Greek stenography.

Nathan Carlig  
(Université de Liège)

SYMBOLES ET ABRÉVIATION CHRÉTIENS DANS LES PAPYRUS  
LITTÉRAIRES GRECS À CONTENU PROFANE (IV<sup>E</sup>-VII<sup>E</sup> SIÈCLES)

Bien attestés dans les papyrus documentaires et dans les inscriptions, les symboles chrétiens †, ‡, ¶ et ⌘, et l'abréviation  $\chi\mu\gamma$  n'ont jamais fait l'objet d'une enquête systématique dans les papyrus littéraires grecs et latins à contenu profane. Ce sont les résultats de celle-ci, entreprise dans le cadre de nos recherches doctorales sur les papyrus grecs et latins à contenu composite profane et chrétien, que nous nous proposons d'exposer. Après avoir précisé la terminologie relative à la croix (†), au staurogramme (‡), au staurogramme avec appendice (¶) et au chrisme (⌘), on passera en revue les 31 entités bibliologiques (dont 21 provenant des archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité) contenant à la fois un texte littéraire profane et un symbole chrétien ou l'abréviation  $\chi\mu\gamma$  (IV<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> siècles), et on examinera leur forme, leur mise en page, et la nature de leur contenu en vue de contribuer à restituer leur contexte de production et d'utilisation.

Angelo Casanova  
(University of Florence)

NOTE SUL LESSICO DELLA RHESIS DI PANFILE (MEN., *EPITR.* 801-835)

Cornelia Römer ha pubblicato nel 2012 (in *ZPE* 182 e 183) due nuovi frammenti di P.Mich. degli *Epitrepontes* di Menandro. Il primo contiene i vv. 786-823 S., cioè la parte finale del discorso di Smicrine alla figlia Panfile e l'inizio della risposta di lei.

I nuovi frammenti vanno ad aggiungersi alle parti pubblicate da Gronewald (1986), da Koenen e Gagos (1995) e nei *P. Oxy.* 3532 e 3533 (Turner). Questi versi sono già stati ampiamente studiati e commentati: recentemente nell'edizione di W. Furlley (2009). I nuovi frustoli consentono di migliorare molto la nostra comprensione di un brano che è fondamentale nell'economia della commedia e nella definizione dei valori umani e del messaggio di convivenza civile che Menandro vi ha posto.

Una puntuale analisi filologica del lessico usato da Panfile nella sua risposta al padre consente di scegliere tra le diverse interpretazioni finora proposte dalla

critica e mette in luce significative consonanze del testo menandro da un lato con il lessico della filosofia (in particolare con l'etica aristotelica) e dall'altro con quello della tradizione retorica già ampiamente impiegata nel teatro, sia tragico (Euripide) che comico (Aristofane).

Emanuele Castelli  
(University of Heidelberg)

AT THE BEGINNING THERE WAS NO TITLE.  
GENESIS AND HISTORY OF GOSPEL TITLES IN THE LIGHT  
OF THE EARLIEST GREEK MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE  
AND THE MOST ANCIENT PATRISTIC SOURCES

The original title of the canonical Gospels is today an open question and the subject of heated discussion. The recently published new edition Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (28th rev. ed., 2012) offers the following *inscriptions*: Κατὰ Μαθθαῖον, Κατὰ Μάρκον, Κατὰ Λουκᾶν, Κατὰ Ἰωάννην.

In contrast, four ancient New Testament papyri (henceforth P): P<sub>4</sub> (late 2nd-early 3rd century), P<sub>66</sub> (late 2nd/early 3rd century), P<sub>75</sub> (late 3rd century), perhaps P<sub>62</sub> also (early 4th century), agree with the *Codex Alexandrinus* and other sources in supplying the following titles: *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαθθαῖον*, *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν*, *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην* (the papyri do not contain evidence for the title of the Gospel according to Mark; *Codex Alexandrinus* supplies *Τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον*).

All this leads to the question: was the term *εὐαγγέλιον* originally the title of the most important books of the N.T.? Furthermore, what value does the testimony of the papyri have with respect to the readings of other testimonies? In my paper I intend to investigate the origin and history of the Gospel titles and I want to answer these and other questions.

Guglielmo Cavallo  
(Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome)

LA PAPIROLOGIA LETTERARIA  
TRA BIBLIOLOGIA E PALEOGRAFIA. UN CONSUNTIVO DEL PASSATO  
E UNO SGUARDO VERSO IL FUTURO

Il rapporto della papirologia letteraria con la bibliologia, intesa come storia della struttura materiale del libro antico, e con la paleografia, intesa come storia dei



segni grafici nella loro morfologia, risale già alla fine del secolo XIX. Sotto l'aspetto bibliologico basti pensare all'opera di Theodor Birt del 1882, e sotto l'aspetto grafico al pionieristico lavoro sulla paleografia dei papiri di Frederic G. Kenyon del 1899. Anche nel corso del secolo scorso non sono mancati interventi al riguardo, sia di carattere generale, con Wilhelm Schubart in prima linea, sia di carattere particolare nel commento all'edizione di singoli papiri. E tuttavia in questi studi primitivi vi sono stati dei limiti. Per quanto concerne la conoscenza delle tipologie librerie sotto l'aspetto specificamente bibliologico, questi limiti sono dipesi soprattutto dalla mancanza di certi materiali: Birt era fortemente condizionato dalla scarsa conoscenza di papiri che si aveva ai tempi suoi, prima della scoperta e della pubblicazione dei grandi ritrovamenti tra lo scorcio dell'Ottocento e l'inizio del Novecento; e quanto a Schubart, questi, che pur ci ha lasciato ricerche in parte ancora valide sulla manifattura del rotolo, non disponeva tuttavia delle collezioni di codici greci e copti acquisiti in tempi successivi, sicché molto di quel che egli ha scritto sull'argomento si può considerare superato. D'altra parte l'approccio della papirologia alla paleografia è stato condizionato da una visione troppo particolaristica, rivolta all'analisi o al confronto di singoli testimoni, senza tener conto dello svolgimento delle diverse scritture. Kenyon e i suoi contemporanei si fondavano soprattutto sul criterio delle cosiddette "test letters", le quali, prese singolarmente e avulse dal contesto scrittorio in cui si collocano, non sono affidabili per ricavarne datazioni; o ancora Schubart e altri separavano nettamente la scrittura libraria (Schönschrift) da quella documentaria (Geschäftsschrift), con la conseguenza di spezzare l'unitarietà del fenomeno grafico.

E' negli ultimi cinquant'anni che vi è stato uno slancio notevolissimo nello studio dei papiri letterari sia come prodotti librari con le loro varietà materiali all'interno della distinzione di fondo tra rotolo e codice, sia come veicoli delle diverse manifestazioni e del processo evolutivo della scrittura greca nella sua fase maiuscola. A questo slancio hanno non poco contribuito gli studi sui papiri ercolanesi, non solo perché molti databili entro limiti piuttosto stretti e perciò suscettibili di proficui confronti bibliologici e paleografici, ma soprattutto perché hanno permesso di conoscere, più di qualsiasi altro sito fuori d'Egitto, libri e scritture librerie nella più vasta area mediterranea. E sempre a questo slancio hanno contribuito, almeno per quanto concerne il libro nella specie di codice, nuove scoperte e studi sulle tavolette sia cerate sia a inchiostro: si pensi in particolare a quelle latine di Vindolanda, pur se di contenuto documentario, o per il mondo greco a codici di tavolette di uso scolastico.

In questa nuova e fiorente stagione di studi condotti sui papiri letterari con criteri bibliologici si inquadrano ricerche su struttura materiale e tipologia del rotolo, sull'origine, la tipologia e la diffusione del codice, sul rapporto papiro/pergamena, sui caratteri paratestuali dei prodotti librari. Altrettanto o forse anche più ampio e articolato è stato l'apporto degli studi su quanto i papiri

letterari (ma anche documentari, insieme a tavolette e ostraca) rivelano sulle mani da cui sono stati scritti, e dunque sulle consuetudini, sulle caratteristiche e sulla storia inerenti alle pratiche grafiche antiche. Su questi argomenti non sono mancati studi di carattere generale, monografie su singole scritture normative o su determinati stili, raccolte di facsimili fornite di introduzioni, commenti e ausili di carattere paleografico, contributi sui modi stessi di apprendimento dei segni grafici al livello sia elementare sia professionale, studi sull'interpunzione e sui segni diacritici. Sotto l'aspetto della conoscenza e della valutazione delle scritture, tuttavia, la papirologia letteraria non può essere considerata autosufficiente: per dare migliori risultati paleografici essa si deve agganciare da una parte alle scritture epigrafiche e dall'altra alle scritture documentarie, utili sia per datare gli stessi papiri letterari sia anche per conoscere le diverse maniere di scrivere in essi adoperate, le quali – come già ricordava Ulrich Wilcken – dipendono non solo dalla educazione grafica di chi scrive ma pure da altri fattori (tipo di testo, destinazione, circostanze in cui l'oggetto scritto è eseguito). Inoltre, solo agganciando la scrittura dei papiri letterari a quella di epigrafi e documenti si può comprendere pienamente lo svolgimento stesso della scrittura greca attraverso i secoli.

In conclusione, bibliologia e paleografia hanno dato e possono continuare a dare un contributo assai valido allo studio dei papiri letterari intesi come manufatti scritti; ma d'altro canto non va sottovalutato il contributo che la stessa papirologia letteraria ha dato e può dare a quelle discipline. Nel suo rapporto con la bibliologia, infatti, la papirologia letteraria ha permesso di giungere a una approfondita conoscenza della struttura materiale e delle tipologie del libro antico; e nel suo rapporto con la paleografia essa, ben oltre il suo scopo primario della corretta edizione dei testi, inquadrando necessariamente i materiali, quando possibile, nel contesto archeologico di riferimento, si pone come insostituibile testimonianza di modi e tempi di conservazione che a loro volta sono di ausilio all'indagine paleografica sotto l'aspetto sia cronologico sia ambientale.

Infine, negli ultimi anni vi è stato un ulteriore 'salto di qualità' nel senso di un aggancio di tipologie librarie e forme grafiche alla storia socioculturale, sicché la papirologia letteraria deve essere intesa ormai non solo come filologia ma anche come storia: storia della cultura scritta e della circolazione dei testi in relazione alle fasce sociali e agli interessi individuali o collettivi che l'hanno prodotta e utilizzata.

Ruey-Lin Chang

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#### COUNTING FISH OR A CASE OF NUMEROLOGY?

An unpublished Byzantine order for delivery of pickled fish presents some fea-

tures relating to a Jewish community in the Arsinoite nome. A peculiar figure is inserted between the dating formula and the names of the signatory. This paper will discuss whether it can be considered as a religious practice or as a counting device.

Marie-Pierre Chaufray  
(University of Würzburg)

ACCOUNTS OF THE TEMPLE OF SOKNOPAIOS  
IN ROMAN DIME

The numerous demotic accounts from the temple of Soknopaios in Roman Dime, which are kept in museum collections in Berlin, Vienna, and Paris, shed light on the daily administration of the temple and the use of goods for the religious and administrative activities of the priests. They provide insights into the economic life of this village, its links with other villages in the Fayyum, and the relationship between the temple and the Greek administration. This paper aims at giving a preliminary overview of the different demotic accounts studied in the DFG project: “Dime im Fayum – ein Tempel im Spannungsfeld von Tradition und Multikulturalität im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten”, directed by Prof. Dr. Martin Stadler (University of Würzburg). Their value as sources will be exemplified by a case study: the recto of a long roll of papyrus kept in Berlin (P. Berlin 8043), which contains a daily register of at least 24 columns, listing expenses of the temple over several months, presumably in the 2nd century AD.

Malcolm Choat  
(Macquarie University, Sydney)

STICHOMETRY AND SCRIBAL PRACTICE  
IN DOCUMENTARY TEXTS FROM ROMAN EGYPT

In Diocletian’s “Edict on Maximum Prices”, promulgated in 301, rates of pay were set out for scribal activity of the best, second quality, and documentary variety, in a sliding scale from 25 to 10 *denarii* per hundred lines. That stichometry was the basic unit of bibliometry in Antiquity has long been recognised, and the stichometric counts of poetic works (in particular Homer) and the New Testament and Septuagint have been closely scrutinized. As part of a wider research project at Macquarie University funded by the Australian Research Council (“Knowledge Transfer and Administrative Professionalism in a Pre-

Typographic Society: Observing the Scribe at Work in Roman and Early Islamic Egypt”) this paper investigates the manner in which texts were duplicated in a quotidian documentary context, asking in particular how a “line of text” was assessed in everyday situations, and to what degree the system envisaged in the Edict on Maximum prices formed the basis for the everyday textual economy of Roman Egypt.

W. Graham Claytor  
(University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)

#### THE “THRESHOLD ARCHIVE” OF KARANIS

The image of worm-eaten rolls lying within a wooden threshold has often been reproduced, and has become somewhat of a symbol for the prospect of integrating papyrological and archaeological evidence. The contents of this “threshold archive” from Karanis, however, have never been clearly identified and only two texts have been published to date. This paper establishes the contents of the archive and argues that it belonged to the manager of Karanis’ *grapheion* in the early second-century CE.

With one exception, everything found in the threshold contains columns of an *anagraphe*, a day-by-day register of contracts drawn up in Karanis’ *grapheion*. This *anagraphe* records the *grammatikon* (writing fee) paid for drawing up each document, which means it was a private financial document belonging to the manager of the *grapheion*. This type of document is best paralleled by *P. Mich.* II 123 *recto*, covering receipts of *grammatikon* in Tebtunis’ *grapheion* in 45/6 CE, with accounts of expenditures on the other side. The Karanis text, however, incorporates expenditures into the structure of the *anagraphe* and diligently balances these expenditures against the receipts of *grammatikon* on a daily and periodic basis. It can thus be seen as a hybrid and streamlined version of the Tebtunis roll.

The one outlier in this archive is a magical or astronomical text that appears to have little to do with the *grapheion*. One side, however, has been washed clean and I argue that it was introduced into the archive for eventual re-use. In fact, the two published texts from the threshold, *P. Mich.* VII 430 (Latin sayings) and *P. Congr. XV* 15 (*episkepsis*) were pasted together to form a long roll bearing columns of the *anagraphe* on the other side. Far from a multifunctional archive, therefore, the threshold texts were assembled by a frugal *grapheion* manager for a single purpose.

Nahum Cohen  
(Achva Academic College, Israel)

P. BERL. INV. NO. 21676  
– A LEASING CONTRACT WITH SOME POINTS OF INTEREST

This light brown papyrus is unpublished as yet. It is a partly preserved lease contract of a house and yards. Many fragments of the text were lost mainly at the top and bottom of the papyrus sheet. Still, the extant parts permit to identify it as a lease contract. The text shows several points of interest. To begin with, the fragmentary state of P. 21676 and its elegant hand compel the papyrologist to try and learn as much as possible about this document. This manuscript tells the reader several things that other house leasing contracts do not, which is another point of interest. The main part of the text (ll. 8-15) lists the obligations which the landlord and the tenant reciprocally undertake to perform during the agreed upon term of the contract. These specifications are found in only a small group of house leases and they are absent from most others, as the paper will seek to demonstrate. In addition, the obligations of both sides will be discussed. Other interesting points will be emphasized, such as the similarity (in some respects) between modern and Roman Egyptian house leases. The date and the provenance of this papyrus are also a mystery, which might be divulged with the assistance of the listeners to this paper.

Daniela Colomo  
(University of Oxford)

A HANDBOOK FOR TEACHING DECLAMATION:  
*PSI* II 148 + *P. LOND. LIT.* 140 + *P. OXY. INV.* 115/A(22)B

This text consists of three original fragments of papyrus roll, of which two have separately been published as *PSI* II 148 and *P. Lond. Lit.* 140, while the third – *P. Oxy. Inv.* 115/A(22)b – is hitherto unpublished. The two already published fragments join physically and preserve a substantial part of two columns and remains of a third column, while the third fragment – although it does not join directly with the two others – probably represents the lower section of the third column. On the basis of script and content I have no doubts in ascribing the three fragments to the same roll and work: a second century handbook for teaching declamation, which contains a theoretical treatment of declamation topics illustrated through concrete examples of actual exercises. The first section concerns the rape of a priestess and takes into consideration the possible lack of awareness of

the rapist about the status of his victim. It follows the treatment of another case of rape, which combines two already known *leges scholasticae*: on the one hand, the law according to which the victim has the choice between the death of her rapist or marriage to him without dowry; on the other hand, the law according to which the rapist who does not obtain the forgiveness of his victim's father and his own father within thirty days, should be condemned to death. Furthermore, the third case, unparalleled in the surviving Greek and Latin declamatory tradition, concerns the right of the son of a disinherited father to inherit from his grandfather. In this paper I will focus in particular on the striking similarity of this text to Hermogenes' *Staseis* in terms of articulation and logic developments of the argumentation as well as in the use of *termini technici*.

Andrew Connor  
(University of Cincinnati)

ROYAL TEMPLE LAND?:  
TEMPLE LAND MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES  
IN THE PTOLEMAIC FAYUM

The 2nd century BC was a time of extraordinary stress on Egyptian temples (e.g., *P. Tebt.* 3.790: petition of priests for protection from rampaging villagers). A new examination of temple accounts shows that temple administrators reacted to these challenges to shore up the economic health of the temples in their care. This paper will focus on evidence for such practices in the southern Fayum, especially around Kerkeosiris. Temples themselves zealously guarded the independence of the administrative structure they created in this period (*P. Tebt.* 1.5.50-61; 1.6.44-46: royal decrees protecting temple rights). As the rapid growth of new land in the Fayum slowed in the 2nd century and the area was convulsed by administrative and criminal turmoil, temple administrators were forced to innovate beyond the traditional (and path dependent) economic strategies of their predecessors. It is likely that traditional revenue-boosting tactics, including the eviction of squatters (*P. Tebt.* 1.6.31-34), were combined with more innovative (and less well attested) strategies, such as the use of inundated temple land as sacred crocodile pens. Leases of royal land by temples represent one type of these innovations. Records from the Menches archive (e.g., *P. Tebt.* 1.93: list of tenants) show that by the end of the 2nd century BC, temples in the southern Fayum could, in some instances, take leases on royal land. The men recorded as paying rent on the royal land leased by the temple are known otherwise only as

paying rent, apparently for themselves, on other plots of royal land. This suggests, therefore, that temples stepped into a new role between the state and semi-permanent tenants on royal land. Based on the evidence from this period, then, I argue that temple administrators, with the cooperation of the state, played an active, innovating role in economic practice in the southern Fayum in the 2nd century BC.

Eleonora Conti  
(Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», Florence)

#### UNA LETTERA PRIVATA IN SCRITTURA LIBRARIA

Scopo di questo intervento è presentare un papiro inedito della collezione dei PSI: PSI inv. 1816. Il frammento, contenente la parte finale di una lettera privata, è vergato in una scrittura che tenta, con qualche difficoltà, di riprodurre le caratteristiche della Maiuscola Biblica, fenomeno abbastanza insolito per un testo documentario. L'aspetto più significativo di questo frammento risiede proprio nel rapporto tra la scrittura incerta e irregolare del testo e le forme del Canone, preso nella sua fase di decadenza.

Aurora Corti  
(Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche,  
Istituto per il Lessico Intellettuale Europeo e Storia delle Idee, Rome)

#### *P. HERC. 454: A 'SCORZA' OF EPICURUS, ON NATURE XXV (P. HERC. 1420/1056)*

*P. Herc. 454*, consisting of three fragments, two of which were edited in 1901 by Wilhelm Crönert, has generically been ascribed to Epicurus' *On Nature* on thematic and palaeographical grounds. A detailed bibliological and palaeographical analysis has shown that *P. Herc. 454* is a 'scorza' belonging to the volume whose 'midollo' is represented by *P. Herc. 1420/1056*. The latter contains one of the three copies transmitting Book XXV of Epicurus' *On Nature* and has been edited by Simon Laursen in 1995 and 1997. A new critical edition of *P. Herc. 454* (the first one for fr. 2), based on autopsy of the original manuscript and the Neapolitan 'disegni', is also provided in this paper together with an Italian translation.

James M.S. Cowey  
(University of Heidelberg)

#### REPORT ON PAPHYRI.INFO

At the last Papyrology Congress in Geneva there was a presentation concerning the Papyrological Navigator and the Papyrological Editor, both parts of papyri.info, the new access to material provided originally by the separate projects, DDbDP, HGV, APIS, BCD, BP and Trismegistos.

In this presentation there will be a report upon the progress of work done through the use of the Papyrological Editor. New aspects and further developments of papyri.info will be illustrated and considered.

Lucia Criscuolo  
(University of Bologna)

#### QUEENS' WEALTH

Queens' role in the Ptolemaic monarchy has been recently explored and the direct influence that many queens had on the political life both in the third and second centuries has been stressed as well. But even a more determined and authoritative queen needed to be supported by people that not only believed in the strength of the sovereign, but had, or hoped to have, some advantages. To be relevant in political life has always been expensive, so a historian has to wonder first how some queens were able to afford their political influence and second, if some peculiar economic features that are documented in papyri (like the barges or the land of the Queen), especially from the 2nd c. BC, can be connected to this evolution in Hellenistic kingship in Egypt and what was the possible juridical status of this patrimony.

Jennifer Cromwell  
(Macquarie University, Sydney)

#### AN 8TH CENTURY COPTIC TESTAMENT IN TWO COPIES: EXAMINATION OF THE PROCESS OF DUPLICATION AND THE REASONS BEHIND IT

There are few examples of Coptic legal documents that exist in duplicate copies. One such rare example is the testament of Susanna daughter of Moses, from early



8th century Djeme (West Thebes), two versions of which are known: *P. KRU 66* and *P. KRU 76*. While mostly the same, these are not exact copies, and the differences in their content have previously been discussed by other scholars (including by Sofia Schaten at the 21st International Congress of Papyrology in 1997). Many questions remain concerning the nature of these duplicates, including why they were made and why differences exist between them. In their original publication, their editor, Walter Crum, mistakenly notes that they are written by two different scribes, Shenetom son of Mena and Komes the priest, when Komes in fact wrote both. This removes the possibility that one scribe misinterpreted the text of another, or added his own touches to the version that he wrote, and introduces an extra dimension to the questions posed, namely why the same scribe would make changes to the document. This paper will examine the processes involved in producing the duplicate copies, analysing variations in formulary and lexical choices, as well as differences in stichometry and the use of superlination and abbreviations, through examination of the original manuscripts (British Library Papyrus CII and Papyrus Berlin P. 3138). In doing so, I will address the issue of which is the original manuscript, why a copy was made, and why the differences between them occur.

This paper is set within a wider research project at Macquarie University, funded by the Australian Research Council: “Knowledge Transfer and Administrative Professionalism in a Pre-Typographic Society: Observing the Scribe at Work in Roman and Early Islamic Egypt”.

Hélène Cuvigny  
(IRHT, Institut de Papyrologie, Sorbonne, Paris)

A BIBLICAL SCENE ON AN OSTRACON  
FROM THE EASTERN DESERT OF EGYPT

The ostrakon (reign of Domitian or Trajan) was found in the rubbish-dump of the praesidium controlling the quarries at Umm Balad (near Porphyrites). The drawing was probably made by one of the local Jewish workers.

Hélène Cuvigny  
(IRHT, Institut de Papyrologie, Sorbonne, Paris)

FRUMENTUM PRAETERITUM

A parallel provided by an ostrakon from Mons Claudianus and an infrared photograph of *CbLA XVIII 662* allow a reinterpretation of the latter. It is neither

the remnant of a military book of receipts, nor, as Marichal thought, a Latin receipt followed by its Greek translation, but an application to withdraw outstanding rations of wheat from previous months. O. Claud. Inv. 7235 is a formula for such an application.

Sonja Dahlgren  
(University of Helsinki)

EGYPTIAN TRANSFER ELEMENTS IN THE GREEK  
OF ROMAN PERIOD EGYPTIAN SCRIBES

Non-standard orthography in the Greek texts from Roman period Egypt is a well-known subject, but a thorough analysis regarding the different factors behind the numerous misspellings is still lacking. The phonological development of Greek probably caused some of them if the scribe knew Greek pronunciation well enough for the divide between the spoken and written forms of the language to affect him. In other cases, an inadequate command of Greek might have been a factor, as a scribe who was not used to writing vowels in his mother tongue had to do so when writing Greek. The possibility of Egyptian phonology affecting the choice of some of the vowel graphemes has been mentioned before but not studied in depth. The situation is quite clear regarding the interchangeable usage of voiced and voiceless plosives, but becomes rather more complicated regarding non-standard vowel orthography. In this paper I will show that while some of the misspellings can indeed be attributed to the changes in vowel quality caused by the phonological development of Greek, others can be traced back to be the impact of Egyptian phonology. Good examples of how the Egyptians perceived Greek vowels can be seen in some of the Coptic spellings of Greek loanwords.

Jerzy Danielewicz  
(Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

EARLY GREEK LYRIC AND HELLENISTIC EPIGRAM:  
NEW EVIDENCE FROM RECENTLY PUBLISHED PAPHYRI

New papyrological finds of lyric and epigrammatic texts – although the former are represented by short fragments only – have proved to be of great value for literary studies. The paper concentrates on two lyric pieces by Sappho, from which one can be restored almost fully, and the preserved part of a longer narrative elegy by Archilochus. In spite of their fragmentary state, these poems shed new

light on some specific features of early Greek lyric – among other things, on composition, especially the role of mythical and historical examples, intertextuality, and the problem of the individual vs. conventional.

The importance of the other find, the Milan Posidippus papyrus, an extensive anthology of epigrams published in 2001, is difficult to overestimate. It brings our knowledge of Posidippus' poetic oeuvre to a new stage and, more generally, extends the panorama of the known sub-categories of the epigrammatic genre, as well as our understanding of the process of compiling single-author collections and their relationship to other, Hellenistic and later, anthologies.

Paola Davoli (University of Salento, Lecce) – *see* Rodney Ast, Paola Davoli, 'Ostraka and stratigraphy at Amheida (Dakhla Oasis, Egypt): A methodological issue'

Alba De Frutos Garcia  
(C.C.H.C. – C.S.I.C., Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas  
del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo, Madrid)

#### VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

The main aim of this paper is to present one of the topics of my PhD, which deals with voluntary associations in Ptolemaic Egypt. In this case, I will take groups of funerary workers as an example. I will focus on the networks created between the funerary workers and the strategies they adopted in order to protect those networks and guarantee their continuity. For this purpose I will analyze the rules of the association of the *choachytai* of Thebes in the light of the documentation that forms part of the archives related to these funerary workers.

Magali De Haro Sanchez  
(Université de Paris-Sorbonne [Paris IV], Paris)

#### L'AMULETTE : UNE LETTRE MAGIQUE ? COMPARAISON ENTRE LA TYPOLOGIE DES LETTRES ET CELLE DES AMULETTES EN ÉGYPTE GRÉCO-ROMAINE ET BYZANTINE

Dans le cadre de ma thèse de doctorat à l'Université de Liège, j'ai analysé les caractéristiques externes et internes des amulettes iatromagiques grecques et latine provenant d'Égypte (I<sup>er</sup> av. J.-C. – VII<sup>e</sup> apr. J.-C.), mettant en évidence une série de critères qui permettent désormais de les distinguer d'autres types de papyrus.

Un pan de mes recherches post-doctorales consiste à appliquer cette analyse méthodique aux autres catégories d'amulettes en vue de l'établissement d'une typologie des papyrus magiques grecs et latins d'Égypte. Entre autres résultats, mes recherches ont montré que les amulettes iatromagiques grecques conservées sur papyrus et parchemin présentent, avec les lettres de la même époque, plus d'un point commun, tant en ce qui concerne le matériau, la forme et la taille du support, et le type de main, que pour l'articulation du contenu et sa mise en page.

Je propose donc de présenter les résultats de cette comparaison inédite entre une catégorie de papyrus magiques, les amulettes, et une catégorie de papyrus documentaires, les lettres, en vue de contribuer à une meilleure compréhension de l'objet magique.

Janneke H.M. De Jong  
(Leiden University)

#### THE LAST CENTURY OF GREEK PAPHYRI

The Arab conquest of Egypt marks a significant turning point in Egypt's history. Among other things, the new rulers brought their own language into the areas that came under their control. The papyrological record shows that Arabic was used in documents immediately after the Muslims arrived. The number of Greek papyri, on the other hand, declined steadily. Nevertheless, until the late eighth century Greek was used in documents. This paper discusses the status of the Greek language in Early Islamic Egypt. It aims to shed light on the disappearance of the Greek language from Egypt's papyrological record through a survey of documents and contexts in which Greek remained in use and by taking into account the political, social and linguistic situation in Early Islamic Egypt.

Janneke H.M. De Jong  
(Leiden University)  
Marie Legendre  
(University of Oxford)

#### ONOMASTICA ARABICA: ARAB PERSONAL NAMES IN EGYPTIAN PAPHYRI FROM THE PTOLEMAIC TO THE EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD

Contacts between Egypt and Arabia appear in papyri from the earliest time onwards and mentions of Arabia and Arabs take on a variety of forms: Arab

marks on camels, Arab tribes, as well as a number of Semitic names that can be linked to the Arabian peninsula. With the development of the Arabic language and the Muslim conquest of Egypt, the Arab presence in papyri begins to exhibit a greater diversity of forms. Mentions of Arab and Muslim names become extremely common and sometimes present challenges for the editors of Greek and Coptic documents from the early Islamic period. Tools like the Leuven Trismegistos database facilitate onomastic studies and our aim is to produce a whole corpus of Arabic names that appear in papyri. In this paper, we will present our project to catalogue Arabic personal names in Greek and Arabic papyri. The catalogue will permit the investigation of early Islamic naming practices and contribute to our understanding of the formation of Arab and Islamic identity. With the inventory of Arabic personal names in Coptic already well on its way, our study shows in which contexts, areas or social and professional groups Arabic names tend to appear. It also reveals a number of naming patterns already identified for earlier periods, such as double names or irregular filiations. Our final goal will be to isolate examples with information of context, allowing to develop our understanding of the formation of Islamic administrative milieus, as well as Islamic communities and their means of representation.

Alain Delattre

(Université Libre de Bruxelles – Leiden University)

Paul Heilporn

(Université Libre de Bruxelles – Université de Strasbourg)

LA BIBLIOGRAPHIE PAPHYROLOGIQUE :  
NOUVEAUX DÉVELOPPEMENTS

La communication sera consacrée aux évolutions récentes de la *Bibliographie Papyrologique*, telles que la mise en ligne des données sur le site [www.papyri.info](http://www.papyri.info) et la prise en compte plus large des publications relatives aux documents d'Égypte écrits dans d'autres langues que le grec et le latin, en particulier le démotique, le copte et l'arabe.

Daniel Delattre (CNRS, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, Paris) – *see* Agathe Antoni, Daniel Delattre, Annick Monet, 'La reconstruction du *P. Herc. Paris. 2*, [Philodème, *La Calomnie*] : quelques nouveautés textuelles'

Gianluca Del Mastro  
(Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II)

#### SULLA RICOSTRUZIONE DI ALCUNI ROTOLI ERCOLANESI

Negli ultimi anni, le nuove acquisizioni nel campo della ricostruzione dei rotoli carbonizzati hanno permesso di calcolare le misure originarie e la sequenza dei frammenti di molti papiri ercolanesi. A questi progressi si aggiungono gli sviluppi delle conoscenze paleografiche e lo studio rinnovato della documentazione d'archivio che hanno consentito di accorpate parti di rotoli prima considerati come volumina diversi. In questo lavoro viene mostrata l'applicazione di questi nuovi strumenti ad alcuni papiri della collezione ercolanese.

Mark Depauw  
(Catholic University Leuven)

#### PAPHYROLOGY AND BIG DATA: THE CASE OF IDENTIFIERS

Size is relative. Although the total amount of papyrological data may seem gigantic ('Big Data') to some, to others it will seem rather small. And not everyone may agree that 'Big is Beautiful' ...

This paper reflects on the place of large data sets in current papyrological practice, with attention to open-access editing, crowdsourcing and linked data, as well as the bibliometric environment in which most of us (have to) operate. In particular it explores the potential of large data sets in longue durée studies, focusing on identifiers in the Trismegistos People database. Breaking down disciplinary, geographical and chronological boundaries through cooperation will be essential to map how their use evolves over time, influenced by the political, social and religious context.

Agata Deptuła  
(University of Warsaw)

#### BYZANTINE ROOTS OF CHRISTIAN NUBIAN HYMNOGRAPHY

The liturgy of Christian Nubia is still, in many aspects, obscure to scholars. The most important sources are manuscripts and inscriptions discovered within the territory of Medieval Nubian Kingdoms. A considerable number of finds correspond to the Saint Mark/Cyril liturgy characteristic for the Egyptian church, but

on the other hand there are some elements, among them liturgical hymns, directly connected to Byzantine traditions. Thus far, only several examples of liturgical chant are known from Nubia, but all of them are written in Greek and most probably originate from Constantinople. What seems to be crucial for expanding our knowledge in this field are the recently discovered hymns from the Baganarti church, the edition of which I am currently preparing. There are at least four chants written on the wall of the Lower Church. Although they are partially preserved, it is possible to recognize enough of the texts to draw some conclusions about their character. Not only do they attest that the set of hymns used in the Nubian church was adopted from the Eastern Empire, but they also indicate that the time of their import was no later than the 8th century, when Nubia is believed to have detached itself from the rest of the Christian World.

Tomasz Derda  
(University of Warsaw)

OSTRACA FROM MAREA,  
OR HOW IN THE 5TH CENTURY A BIG BASILICA WAS BUILT

The set of ostraca found during surface clearance carried out to the north of the basilica in Marea (some 40 km west of Alexandria) consists of ca. 150 pieces. Still during the field season, some of them were joined to form larger texts. The biggest specimens consist of five or six fragments (registered under separate inventory numbers).

Most of the ostraca were written by a single hand, well-trained although essentially not very cursive. Nevertheless, the scribe used some ligatures and abbreviations. The hand is difficult to date; palaeographically, both the 5th and the 6th century AD are possible.

The ostraca contain accounts related to the construction of a building. Given the place of discovery, the building may have been the basilica. The documents follow one basic pattern. An entry begins with a work disposition, which fills the first line (only exceptionally it continues in the second line). The text starts from the left-hand margin. Syntactically, it always begins with *εἰς* followed either by a noun (notably with no article) or an infinitive describing the particular task. This is followed by one, two, three or even four lines listing the workers needed for completing the operation. The craftsmen enumerated here are accompanied by assistants (*ὑποργοί* regularly misspelled with *οι-* at the beginning). That these lines belong to the same entry is indicated by the very layout of the text – the lines are indented to the right by ca. 1 cm.

The workers and/or craftsmen are followed by numerals (from one to six) indicating the number of hired individuals. Next comes a *mu* with a superlinear stroke, a symbol for myriades of denarii. This is followed by a number, clearly the result of multiplication of the number of workers by their salary. It can be assumed that the salary was reckoned on a daily basis. In some lines continuing further to the right, there is an abbreviation  $\pi\iota()$  followed by a number, but its meaning remains unclear.

The bottom part of each document contains totals recorded after a two- or three-line break.

Francesca De Robertis  
(University of Bari)

P. MICH. INV. 918  
E LA TRADIZIONE DELLA TERZA FILIPPICA DI DEMOSTENE

Alla Michigan University Library è conservato un foglio di pergamena (P. Mich. Inv. 918 = Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> 266) contenente i paragrafi 29-35 e 61-68 della Terza Filippica di Demostene. Datato tra la fine del IV e gli inizi del V secolo d.C., P. Mich. Inv. 918 fu acquistato da Harold Idris Bell nel giugno del 1922 presso l'antiquario cairota Maurice Nahman. Il testo, che contiene in totale otto colonne di scrittura, riporta in inchiostro più scuro accenti e correzioni. Nell'ambito dei numerosi testimoni antichi (papiri e pergamene) che si sono conservati e che attestano l'ampia circolazione dei discorsi di Demostene nell'Egitto di età imperiale, P. Mich. Inv. 918 costituisce una testimonianza particolarmente importante per la storia della tradizione del testo, sia perché documenta uno dei più antichi codici dell'oratore attico, sia soprattutto perché documenta - accanto alla redazione brevior rappresentata dal *P. Fayum* 8 (del II secolo d.C.) - la circolazione anche della redazione amplior del IX discorso del corpus.

Jitse H.F. Dijkstra  
(University of Ottawa)

THE 'ALEXANDRIAN WORLD CHRONICLE' RECONSIDERED:  
PLACE IN THE LATE ANTIQUE CHRONICLE TRADITIONS,  
DATE AND HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS

Ever since its publication in 1905, the 'Alexandrian World Chronicle' (sometimes referred to as *P. Golenischev*), a fragmentary illustrated papyrus codex in



Greek dating to Late Antiquity, has generated much scholarly interest. Most attention by far has concentrated on the best-preserved leaf, folio VI, which contains a list of consuls or *consularia* from 383 to 392 CE, including the iconic image of Theophilus on top of the Serapeum. Recently, this text has even been deemed of the highest historical importance by J. Hahn (*Historia* 55 [2006] 368-83), who uses the historical entry accompanying the picture as the main argument for dating the so-called ‘destruction’ of the Serapeum at Alexandria, one of the most defining moments in Late Antique history, to 392.

In this paper, the ‘Alexandrian World Chronicle’ will be reconsidered in the light of a large-scale project on the chronicle traditions from the late Republic to the early Middle Ages directed by my colleague Richard W. Burgess, collaboration with whom has already resulted in the re-edition of another Late Antique illustrated *consularia*, this one on parchment, the ‘Berlin Chronicle’ (*APF* 58 [2012] 273-301). In the current paper, we shall start by discussing the genre of the ‘Alexandrian World Chronicle’ and its place in the Late Antique chronicle traditions. We shall then proceed with a description of fol. VI, including recent insights into its palaeographical date, which conforms to the date that appears from the place of the work in the chronicle traditions, and offer a complete re-edition of fol. VI. With the foregoing study in mind, we shall finally re-evaluate the historical implications of the text, in particular for the date of the destruction of the Serapeum.

Tasha Dobbin-Bennett  
(Yale University)

#### A NEW *VESTIS MILITARIS* TAX RECEIPT

Dating to the final years of Trajan’s reign, P.CtYBR Inv. 1590 is a short but informative unpublished papyrus from the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Written in a legible documentary hand, in Greek, P.CtYBR Inv. 1590 records the delivery to the ‘receivers of public clothing’ of cloaks – probably destined for military use. The military administration’s issuance of clothing to soldiers was a necessary component of military service in the Roman Empire. The large stipend removed from soldiers’ wages required that the clothing be consistent, reliable, and readily available. The requisitioning methods of the Roman army in Egypt have been well documented and required ongoing imperial edicts to minimize unauthorized requisition. However, one area of supply that appeared to have regulatory procedures in place was the furnishment of clothing. A limited number of papyri from the second century C.E. deal with the requisition of public

clothing, predominately for the supply of soldiers abroad on campaigns such as Judaea and Cappadocia. P. CtYBR Inv. 1590 presents an opportunity to add to the small corpus of receipts and other texts dealing with the requisition of clothing, paralleling the two published papyri, on which most of the discussion is based. Further, at this time, P. CtYBR Inv. 1590 appears to be the earliest attestation of this type of receipt.

Anna Dolganov  
(Princeton University)

LOAN-MARRIAGES AND DEPOSIT-DOWRIES:  
LEGAL STRATEGY UNDER ROMAN RULE

This paper explores a curious pattern in the papyrological evidence for marriage and dowry. A series of first-century loan contracts from Oxyrhynchus have been identified by Gagos *et al.* (1992) as marriage contracts in disguise, the most famous example being the temporary loan of 72 drachmas between Tryphon the weaver and Saraeus (*P. Oxy.* II 267) to seal a provisional marriage. In fact, the evidence for this practice is much broader: a very similar phenomenon is observable in the papyri from the Judaeian desert, including Babatha's own marriage contract, where part of her dowry was transferred in the form of a deposit (*paratheke*) in *P. Yadin* 5. Further insight into this practice is provided by the use of loan and deposit for covert "dowries" transferred between soldiers and their consorts that we discover in *P. Catt. recto*.

Why were loan and deposit popular modes of sealing marriage and transferring dowry in the early Roman period? This legal strategy, as well as its decline in the second century CE, must be understood both in terms of legal instruments evolving under Roman rule, and in terms of an evolving legal culture and mentality. The instrument of deposit was for a long period evidently believed to provide the best guarantee of enforcement in a Roman court, by virtue of being 'legible' to Roman authorities and independent of the complexities of diverse cultural practices of marriage and divorce. Additional incentive was provided by the advantageous penalty of double-damages under the Roman law of deposit (the most convincing interpretation of the muchdebated *nomos tôn parathekôn* cited in Egyptian and Judaeian papyri as late as the third century CE). Thus, the use of deposit for dowry was an instance of provincials taking advantage of a Roman remedy that had been made generally available by the Roman administration — an interesting case-study for the problematic of imperial vs. local law in the provinces.

Raymond Korshi Dosoo  
(Macquarie University, Sydney)

MAGICAL DISCOURSES, RITUAL COLLECTIONS: CULTURAL TRENDS  
AND PRIVATE INTERESTS IN EGYPTIAN HANDBOOKS AND ARCHIVES

While many scholars (e.g. Ritner 1995; Pernigotti 1995) have recognised the important continuities in Egyptian magico-religious practice from the Pharaonic through to the Coptic period, others have noted the equally striking differences in the types of rituals attested by the surviving evidence. Assmann (1994-1995) comments that the Greek and demotic papyri from the Roman period contain a “magical discourse” which is “fundamentally different from that of the traditional Egyptian sources”, and similar observations have been made by Borghouts (1974), Brashear (1995), Frankfurter (2000) and Dielemann (2003), among others. These commentators note the more “aggressive” nature of the Roman-period material, consisting largely of love spells, divination procedures and curses in contrast to the generally apotropaic and medical character of Pharaonic rituals, linked perhaps to a shift from the temple to the private sphere. Similarly, a further change seems to take place within Coptic texts, in which we find less of a focus on divination relative to the Roman-period, and a greater attestation of practices such as exorcism. These generalisations hold true for the largest English language collections from the three periods – Borghouts (1978) for Pharaonic, Betz (1992) for Roman, and Meyer and Smith (1999) for Coptic – but the contents of these three collections are all to some extent affected by the accidents of survival and the selection criteria of their respective editors; in particular, we might note that three quarters of the material in Betz may derive from a single archive. This paper will critically examine the question of changing ritual practice in Egypt by analysing the contents of ritual collections constituted in antiquity – archives and handbooks on papyrus and parchment – in order to understand how far these may reflect the tendencies of their period on the one hand, and the personal interests of their authors and owners on the other.

Gunnar R. Dumke  
(Technical University, Chemnitz)

PTOLEMY I SOTER  
IN THE POLITICAL COMMUNICATION OF HIS SUCCESSORS

Under Ptolemy IV Philopator the deified couple Ptolemy I and his wife Berenice I are incorporated as Theoi Soteres in the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies in

Alexandria. This late affiliation with the dynastic cult is normally explained with the new construction of a mausoleum for Alexander the Great and the deceased Ptolemaic kings and queens. The only sources we have regarding the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies are official papyri, in which the eponymous priests serving in this cult are mentioned. But if we take a look at the coinage under Ptolemy IV Philopator, we may be able to understand the circumstances more precisely: Here the portrait of Ptolemy Soter disappears almost completely after it had been the main badge of the dynasty's silver-coinage. Therefore I would like to see both events, the construction of a new dynastic mausoleum and the disappearance of Ptolemy Soter's portrait from the coins, as references to a changed perception of the dynasty founder's role in the political communication of Ptolemy IV Philopator.

Likewise further changes in the Ptolemaic dynastic cult under Ptolemy V Epiphanes and Ptolemy VI Philometor can be brought into correlation with developments in the respective king's coinages and thereby we are able to win a more comprehensive view on the political meaning of the dynastic cult.

Dorota Dzierzbicka  
(New York University – University of Warsaw)

#### HOW MUCH WINE FOR THE WOLF? WINE SUPPLY FOR THE ROMAN ARMY IN EGYPT

At the time of Octavian's conquest of Egypt vineyards were already present in many locations throughout the Nile Valley, but after the integration of this province into the Roman Empire wine production increased, and changes occurred in its geographic distribution. Among the factors that contributed to this was the appearance of new wine-drinking population groups. One such substantial body of potential consumers was the Roman army. A soldier's standard daily wine ration, likely introduced under Diocletian, amounted to about 1 litre of wine. However, before 297, when soldiers obtained wine through purchase or from relatives and friends, consumption was smaller or, indeed, negligible.

In order to assess the true impact of the military on the Egyptian wine economy in the Roman period, I examine papyri and archaeological evidence from the Eastern Desert and the Nubian border. Texts and amphora finds alike indicate that the overall volume of wine delivered to Roman troops was insignificant compared to Egypt's total production. Nonetheless, the need for a steady supply of wine to the Roman army appears to have triggered the development of the wine economy of the Coptos region in the Early Imperial period.

El-Sayed Gad  
(University of Tanta)

CIRCUMCISION IN ROMAN EGYPT RECONSIDERED

The documentary papyri on the subject of circumcision in Roman Egypt mostly come from Tebtunis and go back to the second century AD. It is usually concluded on the basis of these documents that circumcision was a prerequisite for becoming a priest in Roman Egypt. This paper adopts a prosopographical approach in studying the available sources on the subject and argues that circumcision, which continued to be a sign of social differentiation between native Egyptians and descendants of the Greek settlers, acquired some religious significance for those seeking Egyptian priestly offices. Considering the particular contexts of *P. Tebt.* 292 and 293, the study also demonstrates that permission to be circumcised to become a priest was needed for those who were of mixed Graeco-Egyptian origins and thus served as a further means of social control, on the part of the Roman administration, of the holders of these offices within the Greek population. This last point is further supported by the evidence for purchases of vacant priestly offices in the same period and region.

Eman Ahmed Aly Mohamed  
(Ain Shams University, Cairo – University of Athens)

TWO *PENTHEMEROS* CERTIFICATES:

This paper presents two *penthemeros* certificates from the Cairo Museum. The papyri are dated to AD 161 and 192 and were found by Grenfell and Hunt at the site of Euhemeria. Both certificates are unsigned, but this is not extraordinary, since the overwhelming majority of these certificates are not signed. The lack of a signature may indicate that the certificates were issued as private copies.

The *πενθήμερος* was an obligation to work *ὑπὲρ χωματικῶν ἔργων*; as its name implies, the obligation was five days of work per year. The *penthemeros* was a Roman institution, though it is quite possible that similar obligations were in existence earlier.

1. P. Cairo Mus. C.G. 10819 = *P. Fay.* 221 descr. (AD 161): The text is a receipt for compulsory labor performed on dikes in the Fayum. The text was written by two hands, the second of which begins after the regnal year. The presence of two hands reflects the typical administrative practice for these certificates: Large numbers of them were prepared in advance (= the first hand), while the details of date, locality, and administrative unit were filled in on the spot (= the second hand).

2. P. Cairo Mus. C.G. 10838 = *P. Fay.* 289 descr. (AD 192): The text is a certificate for work done on the embankments from Pachon 28 until Payni 2. It may have been issued to a certain Heron. Three hands were involved in this particular text. The first is a bureaucratic cursive, slightly crabbed; the second is rather sprawling; and the third writes with very large and clear semi-uncials. The papyrus is dated to the thirty-second year of the emperor Commodus.

Eman Aly Sleem  
(Ain Shams University, Cairo)

PSENHARPSENËSIS,  
A FERTILE AREA AT KARANIS

The name of the area of Psenharpsenêsis occurs in more than 95 documents and ostraca. As already H. Geremek observed (*Karanis, Communauté rurale de l'Égypte romaine au IIe-IIIe siècle de notre ère*, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków, 1968, 22–23) it appears as *kome* or as *pedion*; in *P. Mich.* 372 it seems to be situated northwest of Patsontis and in *P. Grenf.* 2. 53g this *pedion* seems to extend up to Philadelphia. This area was rich in agricultural production of wheat, fruits, dates and olives.

My research includes a new papyrus from Karanis (a petition addressed to the *strategos* Θεόδωρος) and an inspection of the area nowadays.

Shimon Epstein  
Nicola Reggiani  
(University of Heidelberg)

DATA PROCESSING AND STATE MANAGEMENT  
IN PTOLEMAIC AND ROMAN EGYPT: THE PROJECT “SYNOPSIS”

The proposed paper is meant to present preliminary results of the research project “Synopsis: Data Processing and State Management in Late Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt (150 BCE – 300 CE)”, launched in January 2013 and conducted by Professor Andrea Jördens of the University of Heidelberg and Dr. Uri Yiftach-Firanko of the Hebrew University under the auspices of the German Israel Foundation. The project is focused on analysing the organization of data in reports produced by state officials with the purpose of submitting these reports to higher instances. At this stage, the project focuses in particular on the study of data relating to land and population, especially of those produced in, or processed by, the office of the komogrammateus. One excellent test case is

provided by the archive of Menchês son of Petesouchos, who acted as the village scribe of Kerkeosiris roughly between 119 and 110 BCE.

During his period in office, Menchês and his subordinates issued multiple reports, surveying the population of the village, its land, as well as the land's productivity and the expected revenues for the state. In the proposed paper we will study: a) the officials and personnel within the office of komogrammateus that issued the reports; b) the dates of composition of the reports; c) the known and assumed addressees of the reports; d) the procedure by which data from earlier reports were converted into later ones. The paper will consider, for the sake of comparison, also the data provided by the offices of other komogrammateis examining the existence of a routine procedure by which the information was documented, processed and forwarded to other instances, in the office of the komogrammateus in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

Holger Essler  
(University of Würzburg)

#### WILCKENS BRIEFE

Die Briefe Ulrich Wilckens haben sich zum Teil in einem Briefkopierbuch in seinem Nachlass, zum Teil bei den jeweiligen Empfängern erhalten. Beide Gruppen werden anhand von Beispielen ausgewählter Briefe an englische Papyrologen vorgestellt. Sie zeigen Bedeutung und Geist des internationalen Austausches im papyrologischen Tagesgeschäft.

*See also* Daniel Riaño Rofilanchas, Holger Essler, "Aristarchus 2.0" and Philodemus: Digital linguistic analysis of a Herculanean text corpus'

Fatma Hamouda  
(Mansoura University)

#### "BOULE-PAPYRI" FROM KARANIS

The paper presents an unpublished official letter from Karanis. The letter is dated to the early 4th c. AD and sheds some light on the council of Arsinoe and its relationship to the village of Karanis.

Starting from this new text and considering the already known evidence, the study will try to offer a clearer picture of the council-members of Arsinoe in Karanis and their role.

Maria Rosaria Falivene  
(Università di Roma Tor Vergata)

RETRACING PTOLEMAIC BOOK COLLECTIONS.  
FROM ARCHIVES TO LIBRARIES – OR VICEVERSA

This paper will concentrate on papyri from mummy cartonnage that date from the Ptolemaic period and bear a literary text on one side, and a documentary text on the opposite side.

Jose Antonio Fernández-Delgado  
(University of Salamanca)

CONTRIBUTION OF THE NEW PAPHRI  
TO THE HISTORY OF HESIOD'S TEXT

Following West's editions of *Theogony* (1966) and *Works and Days* (1978), at the time of whose publications the known papyri were 28 and 21, and after the edition of the whole Hesiodic work by F. Solmsen (1970), who used the 38 papyri known at the time (including five of the *Scutum*) for the triad of works transmitted under Hesiod's name, the number of papyri of these three works (that is to say, leaving aside on this occasion the significant number of papyri of *Ehoiai*) has increased by at least 26 (11 of *Theogony*, 11 of *Works and Days* and 5 of the *Shield*). This paper aims to examine the new testimonies attending not only to their allocation to the three works and the degree of coincidence with the text transmitted by the manuscripts, but also to their datation, the material on which they were copied, their contents (commentary, glossary, quotation...), and their provenance, since the new material seems to furnish some novelties in all aspects of the reception of the Hesiodic text.

Mariacristina Fimiani  
(Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II)

CONTRIBUTO AL TESTO DEL P. HERC. 1423  
(FILODEMO, *RETORICA*, LIBRO IV)

Il P. Herc. 463 fu aperto prima del 1832 da Francesco Casanova, autore nello stes-



so anno dell'unico disegno che possediamo: un frammento che non corrisponde all'originale superstite.

L'attuale *P. Herc.* 463 corrisponde a quello che è stato il *P. Herc.* 462 fino al 1993. Dopo questa data, in seguito alle operazioni di restauro compiute sui frammenti, si è generata una confusione nelle numerazioni che è stata solo recentemente risolta da Agnese Travaglione, la quale ne ha dato conto nel suo Catalogo descrittivo dei Papiri Ercolanesi, pubblicato a Napoli nel 2008.

Nel 2012 ho condotto un'indagine tra i frammenti della biblioteca ercolanese finalizzata all'individuazione dei testi da riferire al *P. Herc.* 1423, il rotolo che ci conserva il I tomo del IV libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo di Gadara. Riflettendo sulla paleografia, sulle caratteristiche bibliologiche, sulla anatomia dei pezzi e sui contenuti, ho potuto attribuire a questo volumen i *P. Herc.* 221, 245, 452 (*olim* 463) e 463 (*olim* 462). I primi tre frammenti erano stati già riconosciuti come appartenenti al *P. Herc.* 1423 da altri studiosi, mentre il *P. Herc.* 463 (*olim* 462) è stato individuato per la prima volta da me.

Il papiro è inedito e nel mio intervento voglio soffermarmi su alcuni spunti che il suo testo offre.

Matilde Fiorillo  
(University of Trieste)

CONSIDERAZIONI SUL TESTO DEL *P. HERC.* 1004  
(FILODEMO, *RETORICA*, LIBRO VII)

Il *P. Herc.* 1004 conserva il settimo libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo di Gadara. Svolto tra 1805 e 1806 e conservato in 14 cornici, fu disegnato da Carlo Orazi (disegni oxoniensi) e da Antonio Lentari (disegni napoletani). La prima e unica edizione a stampa complessiva è quella di S. Sudhaus (1892): tutti gli studi successivi sono stati parziali. Fino a oggi l'attenzione degli editori si è soffermata solo su 94 colonne e 8 frammenti; restano ancora notevoli porzioni di testo del tutto inedite perché interessate da problemi di collocazione e stratigrafia. Nel libro, Filodemo polemizza contro due avversari, lo stoico Diogene di Babilonia e un filosofo non ancora identificato di nome Aristone, che avevano condannato la retorica come arte immorale e ingannatrice per natura. Secondo l'Epicureo, invece, la retorica è malvagia solo se se ne fa un uso scorretto, ma può arrecare vantaggi se utilizzata con onestà. Nel mio intervento intendo proporre l'analisi di alcune colonne rilevanti per aspetti contenutistici e particolarità grafiche.

Christelle Fischer-Bovet  
(University of Southern California, Los Angeles)

EGYPTIANS IN THE EARLY PTOLEMAIC ARMY  
AND NAVAL ACTIVITIES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

This paper addresses two issues that at first might not seem connected: to what extent invaders integrated indigenous soldiers into their army and to what extent a “thalassocracy” was feasible and worthwhile in the third-century Mediterranean, which has been described as an “anarchic interstate system” by Eckstein (2006). It first examines the role of Egyptians in the early Ptolemaic army as reported by papyri, inscriptions and Greek authors. It suggests that continuity from the Late Period (664–332 BC) to the first Ptolemies is perceptible in the fleet – building on the fundamental article on the Ptolemaic fleet by van ’t Dack and Hauben (1978). Yet Egyptians’ functions were not restricted to this area since for example an Egyptian garrison commander is found on early third-century Elephantine (*SB III 6134*), Ptolemy II chose Egyptians as guards (Mendes stela), and *machimoi* served as guards or soldiers in the countryside. Second, a survey of the naval activities of the Ptolemies in the Mediterranean aims at assessing their success and explaining their naval defeats as well as at specifying what is meant by “thalassocracy”. It shows that the use of Egyptian light infantry on warships in the Chremonidian war (267–62 BC) was not an odd decision on the part of Ptolemy II and that the presence of Egyptians cannot account for naval defeats. This presentation also aims to connect the study of naval and land warfare and to integrate more thoroughly the research conducted by papyrologists on the Ptolemaic army into the scholarship on ancient warfare.

Kilian Fleischer  
(University of Würzburg)

NEW READINGS IN PHILODEMUS’ *INDEX ACADEMICORUM*  
(*P. HERC.* 1021, COL. XXXIII-XXXV)

A lot of valuable information about Philo of Larissa’s and Antiochus’ of Ascalon biographies is only preserved at the very end of the *Index Academicorum* (*P. Herc.* 1021, col. XXXIII–XXXV) where Philodemus presents the lives of the two philosophers and casually embeds interesting autobiographical facts. Within the last two decades these three columns have been a subject of many interpretational discussions, as well as textual improvements. After Dorandi’s edition (1991), which revolutionized the research on *the Index Academicorum*, some quite remarkable new

readings and interpretations were offered by Puglia (2000) and Blank (2007), from which we learn, most importantly, that Philodemus lived in Alexandria for a while and was a personal friend of Antiochus of Ascalon. However, several problems in those difficult and fragmentary columns are still unsolved and further improvements seem possible. This paper presents new readings on three different passages in the columns mentioned above using multispectral images. The re-reading of two passages in col. XXXIII changes the age of Philo at his death significantly, which is not without consequences for the understanding of his biography and development. In addition, a unique, artificial bracket is identified for the first time in the papyrus and shows us “Philodemus at work”. Furthermore, another reading confirms beyond doubt that the Stoic Mnesarchus was a teacher of Antiochus Ascalon. Finally, an astonishing reading provides us with a useful *terminus ante quem* for the Index Academicorum and reveals some points of interest about Philodemus’ “social networks”, the development of Antiochus’ Old Academy and the purpose of Philodemus’ self-references. The new readings will be presented and their implications briefly discussed.

Jean-Luc Fournet  
(École pratique de hautes études, Paris)

#### CULTURE ET DOCUMENT DANS L'EGYPTE BYZANTINE

La culture littéraire de l’Égypte gréco-romaine ne s’appréhende pas seulement à travers les papyrus littéraires, mais aussi à travers les papyrus documentaires. C’est particulièrement vrai de la période byzantine qui a accentué les tendances à une culture envahissante et démonstrative. Celle-ci se manifeste par l’usage d’un vocabulaire recherché, par le recours à des citations d’auteurs, mais aussi — plus formellement — au niveau de la présentation du document et de son écriture. C’est d’ailleurs une tendance de la papyrologie de ces dernières décennies d’essayer d’appréhender le phénomène de la culture littéraire de façon globale en ne se limitant pas au seul domaine de la papyrologie littéraire. Cette communication sera l’occasion de faire un bilan des travaux menés dans cette perspective et de tracer quelques pistes à suivre à l’avenir.

*See also* Simona Russo, Jean-Luc Fournet, ‘La cultura materiale nei papiri: un nuovo studio lessicografico’

Marco Fressura (Università degli Studi Roma Tre) – *see* Serena Ammirati, Marco Fressura, ‘Tipologie del glossario bilingue antico: Paleografia, bibliologia, codicologia’

Jaakko Frösén  
(University of Helsinki)

FROM CARBONIZED PAPHRI  
TO THE MONASTERY OF SAINT AARON AT PETRA –THE “LAST WILL”  
OF MR. OBODIANOS, P. PETRA INV. 6A

In the body of P. Petra Inv. 6a (AD 573), there are six copies of a gift after death (*donatio mortis causa*) offered by a layman Obodianos son of Obodianos, who is lying sick and promises all his belongings to the House of the Saint Martyr Kyrikos. The representatives of the these two institutions are Kyrikos son of Petros, presbyter and superior (*ἡγούμενος*) of the House of Aaron, and for the hospital, Theodoros son of Obodianos, probably the younger brother of our Obodianos and the main figure of the Petra archive. Theodoros was the archdeacon of the Church of Virgin Mary, where the carbonized papyri were found in 1993.

According to prevalent tradition, Mt. Aaron, within sight of the city of Petra, is the burial place of the High Priest/Prophet Aaron, Moses' brother. An Islamic shrine built over the remains of an earlier church on the summit during the 14th century symbolizes the mountain's sacred status for the three monotheistic faiths. A building complex on a terrace just below the summit was the House (pilgrimage centre) of St. Aaron, of which we have the earliest mention in our carbonized scroll.

A Finnish archaeological project was carried out in order to obtain a full understanding of the topography, history, epigraphy, and environment of the mountain and its immediate surroundings. The first volume of the final publication (*The Church and the Chapel*) appeared in 2008. The second volume (*The Nabataean Sanctuary and the Byzantine Monastery*) and the third volume (*The Survey of Jabal Harun and its Neighborhood*) are due to appear in 2013.

Kevin Funderburk  
(University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia)

PRIESTS FACING THE ROMAN REGIME:  
DEBT, LAND, AND THE URBAN – RURAL DIVIDE

At least two different scholarly voices concerning the positions of traditional Egyptian priestly families during the Roman period have emerged since Bagnall (1993) and Frankfurter (1998) traced the decline of temples in Late Antiquity. Monson (2012) revises our views of the harsh tax pressures and new fiscal regime of temple lands that developed in the early Principate, which put priests at a

severe disadvantage compared to previous ages; Dijkstra (2008) portrays what seems a direct result of these pressures when he argues that the cult of Isis and temples of Khnum collapsed under their own weight, *i.e.* with no imperial or Christian intervention in the fifth century AD. But Hickey (2009) presents a preliminary investigation of the archive of the priests Kronion and Isidora and posits a link, if only a ‘weak tie,’ between them and the wealthy propertied descendants of Patron (Laches). Even if these are not contradictory voices their resolution is unclear, and the question of how priests acted within imperial administrative constraints may repay further inquiry.

This paper investigates priestly responses to the new tax and fiscal regimes of the Empire, particularly through examination of family archives from the Arsinoite. I explore three hypotheses: (1) the *eiskritikon* tax on purchasing sacred offices and maintaining such offices accelerated practices of lending among the priestly caste; (2) opportunities for owning or leasing lands were more restricted for rural priests than for urban proprietors because of their dependence on supplies and rents from temple lands or imperial subventions (*syntaxeis*); and (3) these two sets of limits pushed priests of rural origin to become consistent debtors, reliable lessees and contact points for attracting agricultural labor for the developing propertied classes of the nome metropoleis.

Alan Gampel (New York) – *see* Celine Grassien; Alan Gampel, ‘P. Duke inv. 766 : le plus ancien témoin papyrologique d’un Canon poétique avec annotations musicales ?’

Iain Gardner  
(University of Sydney)

THE SETHIAN CONTEXT TO ‘A HANDBOOK OF RITUAL POWER’  
(P. MACQUARIE I)

This magical handbook in Coptic (P. Mac. Inv. 375) has now been published by Malcolm Choat and Iain Gardner (Brepols, Turnhout 2013). One of our major assertions is that the ‘Invocations Text’ (pp. 1-11 in the handbook) shows clear evidence of a ‘Sethian substratum’, many fragments of which can be identified in the text as it now stands. They thus form an important part of the redactional history of the text, as well as being a valuable witness to the Sethian literary corpus as it is currently known. The identification of two other versions of the same text in London Ms. Or. 5987 and P. Berl. Inv. 5527 emphasises the currency of this material in the ancient world, and provides a unique opportunity to study details of the redactional process in different contexts.

The broad assertion of a Sethian context has been made in prior conference papers on the handbook, but we are aware that some scholars remain sceptical or uncertain about what exactly is being claimed. In this paper I will make a focused attempt to illustrate what I believe to be unequivocal evidence about the matter, with a detailed examination and analysis of certain passages of the Coptic text. I will also use the opportunity to introduce some new details of my research on the topic, made since the edition was submitted to the publisher.

Esther Garel  
(École pratique des hautes études, Paris)

THE OSTRACA OF VICTOR THE PRIEST  
FOUND IN THE HERMITAGE TT 1152

Theban Tomb 1152 was, like many others, reused in Christian times, when monks converted it into a hermitage. This hermitage has been excavated since 2003 by a team from the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, led by Tomasz Górecki. A little over 300 Coptic ostraca have been found in the course of these excavations. Among them are four letters, written on limestone (inventory n° 79, 155, 174, 180), sent by « Victor the priest », who was the head of the monastery of Saint Phoibammon, located in the Pharaonic temple of Deir el-Bahari in the first half of the 7th century. Three of those letters are addressed to Apa Ezechiel and Apa Djôr, who were probably the inhabitants of the hermitage at that time. These four ostraca were written by the hand that W.E. Crum calls « hand D », belonging to the scribe David, who often writes for Victor. The study of these documents will also provide an opportunity to examine Victor's dossier of ostraca, and to look at the different hands that it contains.

Jean Gascou  
(Université de Sorbonne, Paris)  
Anne Boud'hors  
(CNRS, Paris)

UN NOUVEAU CAS D'ARCHIVES BILINGUES :  
LE MONASTÈRE ANTINOÏTE D'APA DOROTHÉE

Un papyrus inédit de la Sorbonne (P. Sorb. Inv. 2277), qui porte au recto un bail de terre en grec daté de 571 et au verso deux lettres coptes, a trait aux affaires d'un monastère antinoïte de saint Dorothée déjà connu grâce par *P. Sorb.* II

(618/19 ou 633/34). Cela nous a donné l'occasion de rassembler le dossier bilingue de cet établissement. La partie grecque comporte deux textes (P. Sorb. Inv. 2277 r° et P. Strasb. Inv. K 686). La partie copte, qui semble plus étoffée, comprend une partie littéraire (Martyre d'apa Ptolémée) et un pan documentaire, qui inclut peut-être *P. Mich. Copt.* 1 et, plus sûrement, plusieurs papyrus conservés à la Pierpont Morgan Library, publiés par L. MacCoull dans *BSAC* 24. La communication discutera la terminologie de l'établissement (*topos, monastêrion, petra, oros*) et de ses desservants, l'identité du saint éponyme, et reviendra sur l'institution du *hiereus*, attestée par deux des documents coptes.

Christian Gaubert  
(Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo)

UN APERÇU DES PAPIERS ARABES FATIMIDES  
DU MONASTÈRE DE NAQLUN AU FAYYOUM

Les fouilles menées depuis 1986 par une mission du Centre polonais d'archéologie méditerranéenne, dirigées par W. Godlewski dans le complexe monastique à Naqlun (Oasis de Fayoum) ont mis à jours nombreux documents arabes rédigés sur parchemin et papier. Le lot le plus cohérent, l'archive de la famille Girga, été déjà étudié par Jean-Michel Mouton et moi-même, et les résultats de ce travail seront présentés dans un ouvrage collectif de deux volumes, intitulé : *Hommes et villages du Fayyoub au Moyen Âge dans la documentation papyrologique arabe* – actuellement sous presse à l'EPHE. En complément de cette publication je présenterai un aperçu de quelques documents n'appartenant pas à cette archive : il s'agit essentiellement de lettres commerciales, de feuilles de comptes et reçus de taxes ainsi que de correspondance privée. Cette documentation éparse, souvent fragmentaires et dont la relation avec le monastère n'est par toujours établie, contribuent toutefois à compléter la connaissance du contexte économique de la région en ce début de domination fatimide.

François Gerardin  
(Yale University)

ON THE STIPULATION CLAUSE IN THE POPYRI BEFORE 212 AD:  
*P. OXY.* VI 905, *P. DURA* 31 AND THE BABATHA ARCHIVE

The paper re-examines instances of the stipulation clause in one Egyptian marriage contract, *P. Oxy.* 6905, a deed of divorce from the Near East, *P. Dura* 31,

and six documents from the archive of Babatha, *P. Yadin* 1, no.17, 18, 20, 21, 22 and 37. These papyri are all dated before the Antonine Constitution: does it make sense, then, to take this clause to reflect the Roman *stipulatio*, as it is assumed in the common literature for documents from Egypt dated after 212 AD? Since the parties are not Roman citizens and therefore not subject to the rules of *ius civile*, this paper argues, creating an obligation cannot motivate them in the first place to insert the clause in their contracts. It follows that, in each case, the stipulation clause is an imitation of the Roman *stipulatio*, a pseudo-stipulation. We suggest, then, that instances of the stipulation clause in the papyri before 212 AD show a singular factor at work in the making of contracts, namely notarial pedantry.

Marius Gerhardt  
(Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

#### SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT *P. BINGEN* 45

*P. Bingen* 45 – an official act by the last Ptolemaic queen Cleopatra VII - is probably one of the most exciting documents from the late Ptolemaic period. The aim of my paper, based on a new inspection of the original papyrus and a close reading of the text, is to summarise and evaluate existing views and to shed some new light on the nature of the document and its context.

*See also* Paul Bartels, Marius Gerhardt, Anna Monte, Fabian Reiter, ‘Berliner Papyrusdatenbank (BerlPap)’

Włodzimierz Godlewski  
(University of Warsaw)

#### MONASTERY OF NEKLONI. SCRAPS, SHEETS, CODEXES, AND ARCHIVES

The monastery of Nekloni (Deir el-Malak) in Fayum was initially (5th–7th c.) a hermitage settlement, which later (11th–13th c.) developed into a small medieval monastic unit. This development occurred in a peculiar political and social landscape resulting from Egypt’s administrative dependence on the bigger and more complex political structures of first the Byzantine Empire and then the caliphates of the Omayyads, Abbasids and Fatimids. It also went hand in hand



with the economic evolution of Egyptian society, including changes in land-ownership, and its ideological transformation linked to ongoing processes of Islamisation. This evolution is well illustrated by sets of documents uncovered in the ruins of abandoned monastic buildings and in the refuse dump. The main aim of the paper is to give a “physical” description of all uncovered documents and to place them within archaeological context.

Amaia Goñi Zabalegui  
(University of Salamanca)

COMPLETING THE DIALOGUE:  
PRIVATE LETTERS ADDRESSED TO WOMEN FROM ROMAN EGYPT

Bagnall and Cribiore’s *Women’s letters from Ancient Egypt 300BC-AD800* (2006 and 2008) presents an anthology of “all of the letters known to us (...) preserved on papyrus or ostrakon (...), that can be identified as having been written by women in Egypt”, offering invaluable material for the study of women’s lives in the light of their private correspondence. This paper will argue for the need to take into consideration not only letters sent by women but also the ones that they received -even written by men- in order to achieve a more rounded historical understanding of their daily life. From a methodological perspective, the inclusion of these letters increases considerably the number of sources to be analyzed and provides new contexts for the letters’ interpretation as it comprises new archives and dossiers. The paper aims to show through several concrete examples the additional insights that we can obtain from letters addressed to women, which include inter alia men’s views of and attitudes towards women.

Celine Grassien  
(Paris)  
Alan Gampel  
(New York University – Université de Paris-Sorbonne)

P. DUKE INV. 766 :  
LE PLUS ANCIEN TÉMOIN PAPYROLOGIQUE D’UN CANON POÉTIQUE  
AVEC ANNOTATIONS MUSICALES ?

Docteur en Papyrologie de la Sorbonne, préparant l’édition du corpus papy-

rologique des hymnes chrétiennes liturgiques de langue grecque et doctorant à l'Institute for the Studies of the Ancient World at New York University, travaillant sur l'histoire des notations musicales au premier millénaire, nous présentons nos découvertes récentes sur un papyrus inédit de l'Université de Duke datable du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle et contenant une hymne chrétienne liturgique. Elle se compose de petites strophes sur le thème de l'Annonciation. En tête des strophes les mieux conservées, nous avons identifié les initia des Odes bibliques 3, 4, 6 et 7, 8, 9, ce qui pose la question de l'existence en Egypte d'une forme de Canon poétique, une forme que les hymnographes André de Crète et Jean Damascène auraient perfectionnée plutôt qu'inventée. Nous montrerons comment quelques papyrus plus lacunaires, d'une part, et les sources liturgiques palestiniennes, d'autre part, permettent d'appuyer cette hypothèse et d'en préciser l'usage liturgique. Nous discuterons aussi de la présence de signes interlinéaires qui, placés en début de strophes, servaient très probablement d'indications musicales, d'aide-mémoire, pour l'exécution du chant du Canon.

Christian-Jürgen Gruber  
(University of Vienna)

HOW LONG DID *EKLOGISTAI* STAY IN OFFICE  
AND WHAT ABOUT THEIR SUCCESSORS?

In Roman times, *eklogistai* were responsible for the two most important aspects of the financial administration of Egypt, namely the assessment of the taxes and the control of the tax yield. In order to accomplish their tasks, they did not only need to have the necessary data, but also, and most importantly, the experience and knowledge to handle the data. As experience and knowledge grow with time, it seems that long terms in office are better for the financial administration than short terms. The few known *eklogistai* give hints, like spotlights, on how long such terms could be and on how the necessary knowledge was transmitted from one *eklogistes* to his successor. Starting with the edict of Ti. Julius Alexander (*OGI* 669 = *IGR* I 1263, *ITemple of Hibis* 4, *SB* V 8444, *IPros.Pierre* 57B; 68 CE), I will therefore investigate the careers of Achilleus, son of Akusilaos (34-23 BCE; e.g. *P. Ryl.* II 69; Arsinoites), the two individuals named Ailios Nikias (148-185 CE; e.g. *P. Meyer* 3; *SB* XXVI 16725; Arsinoites), and Potamon (195-204 CE; e.g. *P. Oxy.* I 57; Antaiopolites). These careers show some of the important features for the tenure of office and the transmission of the necessary knowledge and experience.

Jürgen Hammerstaedt  
(University of Cologne)

BETWEEN THE LEIDEN SYSTEM  
AND THE DCLP (DIGITAL CORPUS OF LITERARY PAPYRI):  
CRITICAL SIGNS AND APPARATUS IN EDITIONS OF HERCULANEAN  
PAPYRI AND OF LITERARY PAPYRI IN GENERAL

Besides the conventional critical signs in editions of papyrological (and epigraphical) documents, which were agreed upon at the Congress of Orientalists at Leiden in 1931, editors have had to deal with peculiarities of the textual tradition of certain documents by using further critical signs. In many recent editions of the Herculanean papyri such a need for new critical signs arises due to new methods of recomposing entire papyrus rolls not only from extant fragments but also from *disegni*, where their assignment to the roll is often the result of (very plausible) conjectures. The individually-used signs are normally explained in the prefaces to the individual editions. Nevertheless, the plan to present all literary papyri in one Digital Corpus requires a higher degree of unification of additional critical signs and of the apparatus. As a starting point, this paper compares and discusses the different uses of critical signs and conventions for the apparatus in recent editions of the papyri of Herculaneum, which form the largest corpus of literary papyri. Therefore, these issues are also important for all editions of literary papyri in general.

Ann Ellis Hanson  
(Yale University)

GREEK INTO LATIN:  
THE PROMINENCE OF PAPYRI OF MEDICAL CONTENT

Isabella Andorlini and Anastasia Maravela convened the conference 'Medical Texts in Antiquity: Genres and Purposes' at the University of Oslo in September 2010. Papyrologists were but a subordinate cadre in the midst of the larger group with varying interests in and involvements with ancient medicine and science. The number of subliterate genres surveyed was large. While some speakers were concerned with specific medical authors, named collections, and known authors whose writings were tangential to medicine and science, those concerned with materials written on papyrus dealt for the most part with texts lacking an author, the *adespota*. My paper surveys the anonymous question-and-answer medical texts on papyrus, isolating the papyrus examples into two quite different

types, based not only on the kind of relationship the texts enjoyed with non-medical ones from Late Antiquity and beyond, but also on the fact that the pedagogic question-and-answer texts on papyrus were translated into Latin, the others apparently not.

Dorota Hartman  
(Università degli Studi di Napoli l'Orientale)

SCRIBES AND WITNESSES  
IN THE BABATHA ARCHIVE

The Babatha archive was discovered in 1961 in the Judean Desert in the Cave of Letters at Nahal Hever, where a group of Jews sought refuge from the Romans during the Bar Kokhba revolt. It consists of 35 legal papyri written between 93-4 and 132 AD, belonging to Babatha, a Jewish woman from Mahoza, a Nabataean village which in 106 AD became part of the new Roman province of Arabia. The Babatha papyri, known as *P. Yadin*, are various deeds and contracts written in three languages, and are for the most part the so-called double documents or "double deeds".

The coexistence of Greek, Aramaic and Nabataean is an interesting feature of the Babatha archive. The legal documents, previously written in the local vernaculars, after 106 AD were intended for Roman courts, and needed to be composed in Greek, the language of Roman administration in the eastern provinces. Therefore, professional scribes who mastered Greek were employed.

The present paper deals with questions related to the problem of the identity and plurilingual skills of scribes who wrote the Babatha documents, and of the witnesses who put the signatures and subscriptions in Aramaic and Nabataean.

Michael W. Haslam  
(University of California, Los Angeles)

GLEANINGS FROM *P. OXY.* 3722, COMMENTARY ON ANACREON

*P. Oxy.* 3722 consists of multitudinous remnants of a learned commentary on a book (or books) of Anacreon. This paper approaches it in its own right as a commentary rather than just as a potential source for new bits of Anacreon. Various points of interest are raised, problems confronted, and some suggestions made.

Rosalia Hatzilambrou  
(University of Athens)

*HYPOTHESES*  
TO ORATORICAL TEXTS ON PAPYRUS

The paper aims to analyze the *hypotheses* (arguments) to oratorical texts preserved on papyrus. Paleography and codicology are the first aspects to be considered, namely format, layout, scripts, abbreviations, etc. The content of the texts will be described in detail, while comparison with *hypotheses* to oratorical texts, which survived through the medieval manuscript tradition, will illustrate possible relationships, but also assist the assessment of the information provided in the *hypotheses* on papyrus, and reveal what failed to be included. Critical judgments and rhetorical remarks made, as well as sources employed (whether named or identified), will be pointed out and commented on. Other aspects such as length, structure and style will be thoroughly considered. Assessment of the aforementioned features of the *hypotheses* to oratorical texts attested on papyrus will help address the issues of function and readership of these texts. At the same time, it will shed some more light on the reception of attic orators and the available scholarship on them in post Ptolemaic Egypt.

Hans Hauben  
(Catholic University, Leuven)

BOATS AND SKIPPERS  
IN THE SERVICE OF APOLLONIOS AND ZENON

The Zenon archive still has its unexplored niches. Although Apollonios' logistic, commercial and communication network depended largely on water transport, as did Zenon's after he settled in Philadelphieia, the matter has never been thoroughly investigated. Yet, what we know about the multiple tasks and duties of a boat captain working in Ptolemaic Egypt's private sector is essentially based on the Zenon papyri. Building on a former study concerning the stolarch Kriton (*AncSoc* 36, 2006: 175-219), the present paper aims to provide an overview of the different boats that made up the dioiketes' private flotilla and/or were put in by the (former) manager of the Fayyum estate, as well as of the Greek and Egyptian boatmen called upon during the consecutive periods covered by the archive.

Brendan Haug  
(Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)

THE TOPOGRAPHY  
OF THE LATE ANTIQUE FAYYUM

Compared to the earlier Ptolemaic and Roman periods, the Late Antique Fayyum (6th–8th centuries CE) is poorly documented. Less than 2000 late papyri survive from the ancient city of Shedet (modern and medieval Medīnat al-Fayyūm) and many received only rudimentary publication in the early days of papyrology, most notably in Karl Wessely's *Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde*. These texts thus remain inaccessible and underutilized, surely none more so than the small corpus of administrative village lists from the early Arab period. These lists can be divided in two major subgroups: alphabetical lists by initial letter (e.g. *SPP* XX 229), and lists for which no organizing principle is immediately apparent (e.g. *SPP* X 151). It is this latter subgroup with which this paper is concerned. Considering their central, administrative provenance, it is clear that these lists were organized according to some logic. Close readings reveal that they preserve geographically-related village clusters from which one can reconstruct the topography of the late antique Fayyum. Building upon Wessely's pioneering *Topographie des Faijūm* and the recent work of Jairus Banaji in *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity* this study proceeds as follows. First, fixed points of reference are identified—villages such as Phentimin or Pisais, which have survived from antiquity to the present day (as Fidimīn and Ibshawāy, respectively). Second, uncertain villages that frequently appear in the lists in connection with these known locations are considered to have been located nearby. Finally, these numerous village clusters are combined to produce a “relational” topography of the entire region. By utilizing this small corpus of underappreciated papyri, this project represents the first sustained attempt to chart the spread and density of Fayyum settlement in a period that is otherwise obscured by a lack of evidence.

Hazem Hussein Abbas Ali  
(Beni Suef University)

WORDS AND PHRASES OF ARABIC PAPHYRI:  
ARE THEY SYSTEMATIC?

Casual observations on Arabic documents, especially Arabic papyri, give false interpretations of the wording of documents as if they were written with no governed conventions. However, research shows that every type of Arabic docu-

ments employs certain words and phrases relevant to their content. The words and phrases of the initial protocol of marriage documents, for example, are quite different from those used in *Waqf* documents. Similarly, the wording of final protocols varies significantly depending on content. In this respect, this paper investigates the rules that govern the writing of the names of people, letters and numbers, and dates. The paper also examines the procedures that should be followed when documents have mistakes in spelling and words are repeated or missing.

Paul Heilporn

(Université Libre de Bruxelles – Université de Strasbourg)

UN FRAGMENT LYRIQUE INÉDIT  
(P. STRAS. INV. GR. 2374 RECTO)

L'un des premiers articles de N. Lewis (*EtPap* 3 [1936] p. 46-92) portait sur quelques papyrus littéraires de Strasbourg, ville où il séjourna en 1933, au tout début de sa carrière. Il y publia notamment le verso de P. Stras. inv. Gr. 2374, un résumé en prose, enrichi d'extraits, du chant VI de l'*Illiade*, qu'il datait paléographiquement du IIIe s. av. J.-C. Du recto, il se contentait de dire qu'il s'agissait d'un fragment de lettre, citant les mots *σῶν* et *κυναγῶι*. Ce texte de douze lignes – toutes incomplètes – s'avère appartenir à un (ou plusieurs) poème(s) lyrique(s). Il sera étudié du point de vue de la paléographie, du contenu, du dialecte et de la métrique.

*See also* Alain Delattre, Paul Heilporn, 'La *Bibliographie Papyrologique* : nouveaux développements'

Sarah Hendriks

(University of Oxford)

A MATCH MADE IN HERCULANEUM:  
P. HERC. 78 AND THE BODLEIAN DISEGNI

*P. Herc. 78*, identified as Caecilius Staius' *Obolostates sive Faenerator* (Kleve, 1996), has long been considered a perplexing papyrus. Difficulties relating to the legibility of the papyrus have contributed largely to the lack of any published edition of this literary fragment.

Recently, while analyzing a Bodleian Library disegno (MS. Gr. Class. C.7, 7, fol. 158r) in Oxford, I observed similarities in the shape, spacing and size of the text to that of *P. Herc. 78*. Further investigation revealed that this disegno is, in fact, a drawing of a surviving six-line portion of *P. Herc. 78*, cornice 8, made when the papyrus was first unrolled c.1800.

Comparing the disegno with the original papyrus illuminated two main insights:

Firstly, the comparison reveals a high degree of accuracy in the disegno, in both letter size and shape.

Secondly, the disegno provides what is effectively another copy of this portion of text, affording further opportunity for paleographic and textual analysis. The comparison gave rise to a re-evaluation of both the script and the content of the papyrus, resulting in a new transcript of this portion of text. This textual reconstruction has prompted a re-examination of the current interpretation of both this fragment and the text as a whole (Kleve in Carosi, 2006).

Matching PHerc.78 and the disegno provided a rare opportunity to compare an original Herculaneum literary papyrus with a drawing contemporary to the time of unrolling. This in turn provided a new way in which to understand the relationship between the disegno and *P. Herc. 78*. The findings of this comparison have implications for the reliability and interpretation not only of this disegno, but also for the other Bodleian disegni. This relationship also has implications for the interpretation and analysis of the remaining cornici of *P. Herc. 78*, the results of which I intend to publish as an edition of the text.

Joachim Hengstl  
(University of Marburg)

#### NOCH EINMAL: ZUM ERFAHRUNGSPROFIL DES APOSTELS PAULUS AUS RECHTSHISTORISCHER SICHT

Zur Person der Autoren des Neuen Testaments ist – neben der einen oder anderen sagenhaften Äußerung – nicht mehr bekannt, als sich dem Neuen Testament entnehmen läßt. Aus dem Blickwinkel des Rechtshistorikers gilt eine solche Analyse nicht zuletzt der Frage, welche rechtlichen Aspekte sich im Neuen Testament spiegeln, und was für Rückschlüsse sie auf Bildungsgang und Rechtserfahrung der Verfasser erlauben. Bei einer derartigen Untersuchung sind das Wortmaterial der der gräkoägyptischen Papyri und die in diesen Urkunden belegten Sachverhalte von unschätzbarem Wert zur Erschließung, Vergleichung und Illustration. Eine erste, bereits veröffentlichte Analyse des Referenten zum Apostel Paulus anhand vor allem des Philemon-Briefs hat gezeigt, daß Paulus



sich der auch in den griechischen Papyri überlieferten Alltagssprache mit all ihren Aspekten bedient hat. Daneben aber ließ sich plausibel machen, daß Paulus in seinem Metier keineswegs nur ein Lehrjunge gewesen ist, sondern eine herausgehobene Position bekleidet hat, vielleicht sogar als Mitinhaber einer Manufaktur. Dieser Gedankengang soll im vorliegenden Beitrag anhand der anderen als original-paulinisch eingeschätzten Briefe weiter nachgegangen werden (Römer-Brief, 1. und 2. Korinther-Brief, Galaterbrief, Philipperbrief, 1. Thessalonicher-Brief).

W. Benjamin Henry  
(University College London)

#### TWO MEDICAL POETS ON PAPYRUS

The papyri have contributed disappointingly little so far to our knowledge of medical poetry in antiquity. A notable exception is the long-neglected figure of Servilius Damocrates, whose text can now be established on a firmer basis following the publication of the Galen codex *P. Ant.* III 186. In this paper I shall set out new advances in the study of Damocrates' verses. I shall then present an addition to the corpus of medical poetry: some fragmentary hexameter verses copied on a scrap of papyrus dated to the second century CE.

Todd M. Hickey  
(University of California, Berkeley)

#### GOODSPEED OF CHICAGO: AMERICA'S FIRST PAPYROLOGIST. PART II: AN OXFORD SUMMER

This paper is the sequel to James Keenan's presentation, which covered the period from E.J. Goodspeed's first exposure to a Greek papyrus while a student at the University of Chicago through his visit to Grenfell and Hunt's camp at the site of Tebtunis. Keenan's account related Goodspeed's acceptance of Grenfell and Hunt's invitation to participate in the publication of their Tebtunis finds, specifically the Roman papyri that would eventually appear as volume two of the *Tebtunis Papyri* (1907). The present contribution largely concerns the summer of 1900, which Goodspeed spent in Oxford in fulfillment of his commitment to the "Dioscuri." Goodspeed's voluminous and vivid correspondence with his father, mother, and brother Charles during this period furnishes precious insight into

the creation of *P. Tebt. II* and, perhaps more interestingly, Grenfell and Hunt's method of work. The letters also reveal a transformation in Goodspeed himself. He arrives in Oxford eager and grateful to Grenfell for "the chance he really thrust upon me" but also anxious regarding his abilities; by the time he departs, his engagement with papyrology has become casual, diminished, one might suggest, by a combination of the Oxonians' high expectations, the summer heat, and failing eyesight. By 1910, Goodspeed's withdrawal from editorial work would be complete. His departure marked the beginning of a fallow period in American papyrology, one that would close only in the 1920s with the rise of the discipline at institutions other than Goodspeed's Chicago.

Andrew Hogan  
(Yale University)

BILINGUAL PARTICIPANTS  
IN DEMOTIC AND GREEK LEGAL PROCEEDINGS:  
P. BM 10591 VO I-IV

In this paper I argue that bilingual officials are more prevalent than hitherto understood in the Ptolemaic bureaucracy. As a case study, I examine Ptolemaic law and compare the vocabulary between some texts in a well-known archive of demotic trial documents from Asiut and parallels in Greek legal texts that I demonstrate exhibit a number of functional equivalences. Traditional, *prima facie* stances on the Ptolemaic bureaucracy have long considered the two systems as disparate entities, but mediation between the two must have existed. As such, these mediators who operated between the Greek and Egyptian spheres functioned to form the Ptolemaic legal system over time.

Francisca A.J. Hoogendijk  
(Leiden University)

AN ORACULAR PAPHYRUS FROM KELLIS

Presentation of an unpublished Greek papyrus found in Kellis (Dakhleh Oasis) with an incomplete series of numbered predictions, each attributed to a god or goddess. The papyrus, written on both sides and probably a page from a codex, may be dated to the fourth century on the basis of the handwriting. The contents seem to be unique in Egypt, but the text shows similarities to the astragal or dice oracles found in inscriptions from Asia Minor.

Giovanni Indelli  
 Francesca Longo Auricchio  
 (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II)

IL P. HERC. 1471 (FILODEMO, *LA LIBERTÀ DI PAROLA*)  
 NELLE CARTE VOGLIANO

Tra le numerose Carte di Achille Vogliano, relative soprattutto all'impegno dello studioso riguardo ai Papiri Ercolanesi, che sono conservate a Firenze nella sede dell'Accademia Fiorentina di Papirologia e di Studi sul Mondo Antico, cinque cartelle contengono diversi fogli con interventi sul testo e appunti relativi all'opera *Περὶ παρηγίας*, di Filodemo di Gadara, conservata nel P. Herc. 1471, che Vogliano non ha mai pubblicato. Di questo interessante materiale inedito viene data una descrizione, con alcuni esempi delle proposte e delle annotazioni dello studioso.

Marek Jankowiak  
 (University of Oxford)

PASCHAL LETTERS OF THE EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD:  
 THE MIAPHYSITES AND THE CHALCEDONIANS IN THE FIRST DECADES  
 AFTER THE ARAB CONQUEST

Four of five paschal letters dating from the first century of Islamic rule are currently known from the papyri. The recently improved reading of *P.Köln* V 215, which is thought to have been written by a Coptic patriarch of Alexandria in 663 or 674, has thrown unexpected light on their theology (*ZPE* 178, 2011). U. and D. Hagedorn identified four patristic quotations that were otherwise used in the context of the Chalcedonian debate on the operations and wills of Christ, the so-called Monothelete controversy. What is more, the so-called *Doctrina Patrum*, a 7th-century Dyothelete *florilegium*, identifies them as the key patristic testimonies supporting the Monothelete position. Given that the Monothelete debate is thought to have been ignored by the Coptic church, the emphasis of *P. Köln* V 215 on one 'theandric' operation and one will, echoed half a century later in *P. Berol.* 10677, is surprising. It probably testifies to hitherto unknown theological exchanges between the Egyptian Miaphysites and the Chalcedonians. I will offer a tentative context for such exchanges on the basis of another paschal letter, *P. Grenf.* II 112. If my argument that it should be dated to 672 rather than

to 577 is accepted, its enigmatic prayer for the emperors (in plural) may be taken as an indication of a much stronger Byzantine influence in the post-conquest Egypt than usually thought. In the light of these texts, I will review the little we know on the relations between the Miaphysite and the Chalcedonian churches in Egypt in the first decades after the Arab conquest.

Alexandra Jesenko  
(University of Vienna)

DIE *TOPOTERETAI*  
IM SPÄTANTIKEN UND FRÜHARABISCHEN ÄGYPTEN

Die Funktion des *topoteretes* ist durch circa drei Dutzend Dokumente – Papyri, Ostraka und Inschriften – vom 6. bis zum 8. Jh. n. Chr. für Ägypten, insbesondere die Thebais, belegt. Die Bezeichnung *topoteretes* bedeutet wörtlich Stellvertreter. In dieser Funktion erscheint er auch in den Belegen. In der Zeit vom 6. Jh. bis zur arabischen Eroberung im Jahre 641 n. Chr. scheint er in der Thebais als der Stellvertreter des *dux et Augustalis Thebaidis* (die höchste zivile und militärische Autorität in der Thebais) fungiert zu haben. Zudem findet sich in den Quellen ein *topoteretes*, dem das stark befestigte Grenzgebiet im Süden der Thebais unterstellt war (*τοποτηρητής τοῦ λιμίτου*). In der früh-arabischen Zeit hingegen scheint der *topoteretes* als möglicher Stellvertreter des Emirs keine militärischen Funktionen mehr gehabt zu haben.

Im Vortrag werden die Funktion der *topoteretai*, ihre Stellung innerhalb der Verwaltung und Gesellschaft sowie deren Zuständigkeitsbereiche im spätantiken und früh-arabischen Ägypten erörtert und diskutiert.

Andrea Jördens  
(University of Heidelberg)

ROMS HERRSCHAFT ÜBER ÄGYPTEN

Lange Zeit hatte die *provincia Aegyptus* in der althistorischen Forschung als Privatbesitz des Kaisers gegolten, dem das Nilland bloßes Ausbeutungsobjekt gewesen sei – eine Schafherde, die man besser nicht umbrachte, solange man sie nur

nach Belieben scheren konnte. Seit den 1970er Jahren hat sich jedoch allmählich die Einsicht durchgesetzt, daß die Verwaltungsprinzipien keineswegs grundsätzlich anders als in den sonstigen Provinzen waren. Rom hätte demnach auch hier auf eine Kooperation mit den einheimischen Eliten gesetzt und die Befriedigung seiner Bedürfnisse eher ‘durch Geld und gute Worte’ zu erreichen gesucht als durch die Anwendung von Zwang; von Eingriffen in die inneren Strukturen sei daher so weit wie möglich abgesehen worden. In jüngster Zeit sind allerdings wieder vermehrt Stimmen laut geworden, die sich erneut für einen sehr viel entschiedeneren Zugriff Roms auf die Ressourcen des Landes aussprechen, ja auf bestimmten Handlungsfeldern sogar einen bewußten Gestaltungswillen der fremden Herrscher am Werke sehen. Die verschiedenen Interpretationsansätze sollen hier noch einmal vorgestellt und einer kritischen Revision unterzogen werden, um auf diese Weise zu einem besseren Verständnis von der römischen Herrschaft über Ägypten zu gelangen.

Jay Johnston  
(University of Sydney)

RELATIONS OF IMAGE,  
TEXT AND DESIGN ELEMENTS IN SELECTED AMULETS AND SPELLS  
OF THE HEIDELBERG PAPYRI COLLECTION

This paper will present an analysis of the interrelationship of image, text and design elements in several examples of spells and ‘magical’ handbooks found in the Heidelberg Papyri Collection. This contains a sizeable body of amulets and handbooks in Coptic on parchment, dating from the 10th century. Art, design and script evidence a common workshop origin. These pieces are rich with images and have only been sporadically studied, and indeed only partially published.

This paper will contribute to the analysis of this material by demonstrating a new methodological approach that considers both text and image elements as of equal importance for scholarly analysis and as necessarily integrated with one another. It will propose an interpretation of the role, function and meaning of iconographic and design elements. It will do this by bringing into dialogue concepts of the ontological image, esoteric and religious aesthetics, with the relevant philosophical and religious discourses of the period. The latter will provide the concept of subjectivity, metaphysical realms and divine agency necessary to gain a fuller understanding of viewer–image relations. Thus the problem of the image — its role and agency — will be investigated in relation to the objects themselves and also their production and use.

Jorma Kaimio  
(University of Helsinki)

DIVISION OF LANDED PROPERTY IN *P. PETRA 17*

*P. Petra 17* (Inv. 10), a division of property among three brothers, forms the whole second volume of *The Petra Papyri*, which will be out at the time of the Congress. The final edition, prepared by Ludwig Koenen and Robert Daniel from the Michigan team of the Petra project and Maarit and Jorma Kaimio from the Helsinki team, brings forth some new interpretations compared with the preliminary reports.

The property to be divided, mainly from an inheritance coming probably from the mother, consisted of three house complexes, one in Petra and two in the village of Serila, agricultural facilities connected with them, two slave couples, and a large number of vineyard and grainfield plots in Serila and an area called Ogbana. The division was made by casting lots, after the property was first split into three portions of equal estimated value.

The division and listing of the plots seem to shed new light on the agricultural practices and the registration of landed property in Byzantine Palestine. The remarkable number and the small size of individual plots belonging to the inheritance must be noted. Each brother receives some thirty separate plots, the average of the preserved plot sizes being under two *iugera*. It seems that the landed property had been split generation after generation into smaller and smaller plots, which barely supported effective cultivation.

Practically all plots bear a name, in the form  $\tau\acute{o}(\pi\omicron\varsigma)$  + toponym. All names are Arabic—an important source for the pre-Islamic Arabic dialects. The practice of naming separate fields is well known from other parts of the Roman and Byzantine Empire. In the Petra area, the plot names may have also had an identifying function in the land cadasters. The neighbors of a plot are listed only when an old plot was divided between two or among all three brothers. Most of the vineyard plots were under lease or working contract, whereas such contracts were rare for grainfields.

Anna Maria Kaiser  
(University of Vienna)

DIE NUMERI DACORUM UND SEXTODALMATARUM IN ÄGYPTEN

In der *Notitia Dignitatum* werden die Einheiten der *Daci* und *Sextodalmati* als *legio palatina* bzw. *vexillatio comitatensis* unter dem Kommando des *magister militum praesentalis II Orientis* aufgelistet (*Not. Dign. Or.* VI, 37; 3 = 43).

Beide Truppenkörper sind bislang je einmal papyrologisch belegt: *SPP XX 139* (531 n. Chr.) nennt einen Soldaten der *Daci*, *P. Cair. Masp. II 67126* (541 n. Chr.) einen Soldaten der *Sextodalmati*.

Die *numeri Dacorum* und *Sextodalmatarum* finden sich zudem in zwei unedierten Dokumenten der Heeresversorgung der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (P. Vindob. G 27293; P. Vindob. G 30121). Nach einer kurzen Vorstellung der beiden Dokumente wird auf die beiden elitären Truppenkörper aus dem comitatensischen Heer und mit ihnen auf die spätantike militärische Aufstellung in Ägypten näher eingegangen werden.

James G. Keenan  
(Loyola University Chicago)

GOODSPEED OF CHICAGO: AMERICA'S FIRST PAPYROLOGIST.  
PART I: FROM CHICAGO TO TEBTUNIS

Edgar J. Goodspeed (1871–1962) first glimpsed a papyrus in fall 1897 when he was a young graduate student at the newly refounded University of Chicago. The papyrus in question was the mathematical papyrus now known as the Ayer papyrus after its purchaser, Chicago businessman Edward A. Ayer. Goodspeed's enthusiasm was immediate, leading soon to an exchange of letters with his far more accomplished contemporary, Bernard P. Grenfell. This and subsequent correspondence with Grenfell, and Hunt, are now housed in the Edgar J. Goodspeed Archive at the University of Chicago. The exchange of letters initiated what would become, from Goodspeed's perspective, a genuine friendship with Grenfell, eventuating in two invitations issued by Grenfell with Hunt's seeming approval: first, to visit the excavation site at Tebtunis in the winter of 1899/1900; second, to participate in the editing of the papyri of Roman date that were subsequently discovered at that site. Goodspeed's record of the results of those invitations are generously and elegantly recorded in letters written to his father, mother, and brother, bound together in a volume labeled "Student Travel Letters vol. 2," in Box 48, folder 1, into which separate packets of letters to two female friends, Sarah and Sue, have been sheaved. Goodspeed eventually published brief accounts of his visit to the Tebtunis excavation site, February 1900, but the correspondence includes a lengthy letter to his mother with even more details, some of which are illustrated by archival photographs. This paper will cover this early phase of Goodspeed's engagement with papyrology and Grenfell through the visit to Tebtunis; Todd Hickey's will cover Goodspeed's "Oxford Summer" and his eventual withdrawal from the field.

Déborah Kott  
(École pratique des hautes études, Paris)

FROM APOLLONOPOLIS MAGNA TO WARSAW,  
A LOOK ON THE DEMOTIC TEXTS FROM EDFU  
IN THE POLISH COLLECTIONS

From 1937 to 1939, three excavation campaigns – conducted by the University of Warsaw and the IFAO – took place in Edfu. They led to the discovery of more than 700 demotic ostraca and 400 Greek ostraca. The Greek ostraca have been roughly published in the excavations reports, but only 20% of the demotic ones have been published so far. Twenty-three demotic and bilingual ostraca are now kept in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw. They have been presented by Tadeusz Andrzejewski in two papers in 1953 and 1957.

This set of ostraca, although it represents only a small fraction of the whole Edfu collection, is representative of the overall content of the corpus, mainly tax receipts dated from the 3rd century BC to the 1st century AD, which is studied within the framework of my PhD dissertation at the ÉPHE under the supervision of Michel Chauveau.

The aim of this paper is to present, using the Edfu ostraca from Warsaw, the main characteristics of the demotic Apollonopolite corpus and to address some problems raised by this documentation, in particular regarding the Jewish community of Edfu. In his preliminary work, Andrzejewski mentioned the existence of several *ἰουδαῖα τελέσματα* in demotic. They are actually capitation receipts from early Roman time, issued to people bearing « Jewish » names. Usually Jewish tax-payers appear in Greek *λαογραφία* receipts. These demotic receipts provoke questions concerning the degree of Egyptianisation and the fiscal status of Jews in Edfu.

Marcin Kotyl  
(University of Wrocław)

DUE ELENCHI DI NOMI DI PERSONE:  
UN PAPIRO GRECO DI GIESSEN (P.B.U.G. INV. 247)

Nel mio intervento vorrei presentare un papiro greco inedito della collezione papiracea di Giessen registrato come P.B.U.G. inv. 247. Si tratta di un frammento abbastanza lungo (c. 22.2 cm x 9.6 cm), scritto su entrambi i lati. Il *recto* contiene resti di tre colonne; in ogni colonna, preceduta da un nome di mese egiziano (rispettivamente Choiak, Tybi, Mekhir), appaiono i nomi di alcune per-



sone con il loro patronimico. Inoltre, nella seconda colonna, prima di ogni nome appare un simbolo enigmatico. Non si può indicare con certezza a cosa si riferisca quell'elenco. Non si esclude, comunque, che si tratti di una lista di persone soggette a una particolare tassa, o forse di un elenco di alcuni funzionari (nella terza colonna troviamo l'abbreviazione  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\mu()$  per  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , che significa "ex", e.g.  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma \pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\omega\rho$  "ex-esattore"). Sul *verso* è riportata una serie di ventuno nomi seguiti da un simbolo di dracma e dai numerali 4, 8 e 20. Questo è senza dubbio l'elenco delle persone soggette alla tassa c.d. *laographia* (testatico). Prima di tutto, però, il papiro è importante quale ricca fonte per la ricerca sulla *prosopographia* greco-egizia.

Sophie Kovarik  
(University of Cologne)

#### DIE PAGARCHEN DES ARSINOITES UND DIE FAMILIE DER APIONEN

Die Liste der namentlich bekannten Amtsträger für das Amt des Pagarchen im Arsinoites ist bescheiden. Einige neue unedierte Testimonien bringen nun Bewegung in die Fasten der arsinoitischen Pagarchen, werfen aber auch neue Probleme auf. Die Belege des 6. und 7. Jh. sollen nun in diesem neuen Lichte betrachtet werden. Dabei stehen vor allem prosopographische Aspekte und etwaige verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen der Amtsträger zueinander im Mittelpunkt. Von besonderem Interesse scheint hier eine mögliche Involvierung der bekannten Großgrundbesitzer-Familie der Apionen aus dem Oxyrhynchites.

Thomas Kruse  
(Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna)

#### ZU DEN KOMPETENZEN DES ADMINISTRATIVEN HILFSPERSONALS DER ENCHORISCHEN BEAMTEN IM RÖMISCHEN ÄGYPTEN

Die Bedeutung des administrativen Hilfspersonals (vor allem *boethoi* und *grammateis*) der enchorischen Gaubeamten (Gaustratege, Königlicher Schreiber, Archivbeamten etc.) für den reibungslosen Ablauf der bürokratischen Routine und die Kontinuität der Amtsgeschäfte in den einzelnen Verwaltungsbehörden dürfte unbestritten sein. Im Fokus des Vortrags sollen Aufschlüsse über die Größe der Bürostäbe und die Kompetenzen des Hilfspersonals und seines Verhältnisses zu den jeweiligen Amtschefs stehen, die anhand einer detaillierten

Untersuchung der Subskriptionen und sonstiger amtlicher Vermerke dieser Personen gewonnen werden können, wie sie sich in Dokumenten der administrativen Routine finden, so vor allem in den diversen Typen von *apographai* (sog. „Zensusdeklarationen“, Besitzdeklarationen etc.).

Rob Kugler  
(Lewis & Clark College)

JUDEAN LEGAL REASONING  
IN *P. POLIT. IUD.* 3-5: A RESEARCH REPORT

Three petitions in the collection of Judean politeuma papyri from Herakleopolis concern marriage and related matters (*P. Polit. Iud.* 3-5). While *P. Polit. Iud.* 4, with its striking allusion to Deuteronomy 24, has featured in several discussions of the politeuma papyri (e.g., Menahem Kister, “From Philotas to Hillel: ‘Betrothal’ Contracts and their Violation,” *SCI* 21 [2002]: 57-70; Joseph Méléze Modrzejewski, “La fiancée adultère. À propos de la pratique matrimoniale du judaïsme hellénisé à la lumière du dossier du politeuma juif d’Hérakléopolis [144/3 – 133/2 avant n.è.],” in: *Marriage: Ideal – Law – Practice. Proceedings of a Conference Held in Memory of Henryk Kupiszewski in Warsaw on the 24th of April 2004*, ed. Zuzanna Sluzewka and Jakub Urbanik [JJPSupp 5; Warsaw: Fundacja im. Rafała Taubenschlaga, 2005], 141-160), the secondary literature evinces little scholarly interest in the other two texts. This paper summarizes and reports on a comprehensive analysis of the legal arguments invoked by the petitioners in all three documents within the context of the various legal systems available to them—Judean, Greek, and Egyptian. The paper then builds on the insights gained from the analysis, and from theoretical perspectives on law and culture, to consider the question of what the complex legal reasoning regarding marriage and related matters of these Judean petitioners tells us about their own ethnic self-understanding in the pluralistic world of second-century Hellenistic Egypt.

Jan Kwapisz  
(University of Warsaw)

P. HEID. INV. G 310A REVISITED:  
HELLENISTIC SOTADEANS, HEXAMETERS, AND MORE?

The importance of P. Heid. inv. G 310a lies in the fact that it was retrieved from

the same mummy cartonnage as P. Heid. G 310, a third-century BC anthology of moralising choliambic verses which attracted considerable attention of classicists after its publication by G.A. Gerhard in 1909. However, P. Heid. G 310a remained unpublished until 2002, when C. De Stefani produced an edition of this severely damaged papyrus and suggested that what it contained were early-Hellenistic sotadean verses on mythological themes. Despite different contents, the two companion papyri have obviously much in common, and according to Rosa Maria Piccione (personal communication), they are written by the same hand. The aim of my paper is to reexamine the contents of P. Heid. Inv. G 310a and to reconsider De Stefani's interpretation. I will show that although there can be little doubt that at least two lines are in sotadean metre, the preserved text is unlikely to be metrically uniform, and I will argue for the presence of hexameters. Additionally, I will suggest that several peculiar properties of the text (I owe a part of these observations to Rosa Maria Piccione) may be taken to be traces of scholarly activity. In sum, there is much to suggest that this papyrus deserves more attention than it has hitherto received. When viewed together, the two Heidelberg papyri constitute a unique set of testimonies of the intellectual life of the third century BC.

Thomas Landvatter  
(University of Michigan)

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND PAPYROLOGICAL INQUIRY AT KARANIS:  
PROBLEMS AND POTENTIALITIES

The combined analysis of text and object in context has been a focus in papyrological research in the past two decades, presenting the apparent opportunity to link buildings and objects in the archaeological record to named individuals in the papyrological record. This has nowhere more been the case than at Karanis. However, once we consider how papyri entered a specific archaeological context, as well as the often obscure methods of recording used in the Karanis excavation, the difficulties of making such links becomes clear. Focusing on a single *insula* at Karanis, located in the southeastern part of the excavated area, demonstrates the complexities of dealing with this material. In this paper, I will demonstrate why we must treat objects from this *insula* as coming from the period of its abandonment, rather than of its occupation. This has important implications for our understanding of the papyri from this *insula*, in particular those from B224, the so-called "house of the Nilometer."

The archaeological realities of Karanis make a connection between the text of papyrus to the context of its find difficult if not impossible in most cases. However, the understanding of a papyrus document as an archaeological object is undertheorized, and explicitly considering papyri as archaeological objects offers the potential to understand how a papyrus entered a given context. On a holistic level, archaeological and papyrological data complement each other, and their combination is essential for our understanding of Karanis and other towns, allowing us to conduct social and historical analyses not possible otherwise or elsewhere. Thus, the combination of archaeological and papyrological inquiry is still vital and fruitful, based on an approach which considers both archaeological context on a specific level and Karanis and other sites more holistically.

Micaela Langellotti  
(King's College, London)

CONTRACTS AND PEOPLE IN EARLY ROMAN TEBTUNIS:  
A COMPLEX AFFAIR

Contracts in Roman Egypt were not straightforward agreements. They were often associated with other transactions so as to form a specific economic arrangement. Some links are patent and well-attested, such as loans of security, where a sale was associated to a loan in order to form a mortgage, and antichretic leases, while some others are not so easy to spot.

In this paper I present and discuss some evidence from the mid-first century *grapheion* archive of Kronion from Tebtunis, where three registers attest over 1,100 transactions drafted in AD 42 and 45/6. My focus is three contracts drawn up on separate days in July and not registered as a group – a deposit, a receipt of salary and an agreement (*P. Mich.* II 121 verso VI 16, 20; VII 2) – all involve the same parties and clearly formed one more complex economic arrangement. Based on a detailed study of the entries, I will show that contracts are very often connected with other transactions, and some contracting parties are involved in several contract types within a short period of time. I argue that all links between contracts need to be re-examined to reconstruct the actual financial dealings, and to appreciate their real economic significance.

Marie Legendre (Oxford) – *see* Janneke H.M. De Jong, Marie Legendre, 'Onomastica Arabica: Arab personal names in Egyptian papyri from the Ptolemaic to the early Islamic period'

Florence Lemaire  
(Paris)

AURELIUS PHOIBAMMÔN SON OF TRIADELPHOS REVISITED

L'apparition à la fin des années 1930 d'un ensemble de papyrus en provenance de Kûm Ishqâw en Moyenne-Égypte (antique Aphrodité) – contemporain des Archives de Dioscore (VIe s. apr. J.-C.) découvertes en 1905, avec lesquelles il entretient des liens prosopographiques – a révélé l'importance d'une figure relativement marginale dans le premier ensemble de textes : Aurelius Phoibammôn fils de Triadelphos, identifié comme un cousin par alliance de Dioscore (*P. Mich. Aphrod.* 1-3).

Depuis l'article de J.G. Keenan "Aurelius Phoibammon son of Triadelphos: a Byzantine Egyptian Land Entrepreneur" (*BASP* 17, 1980), plusieurs textes ont été publiés, qui ont fait progresser notre connaissance du statut et des activités de ce personnage, à tel point que Keenan ("Byzantine Egyptian Villages", dans R.S. Bagnall (ed.) *Egypt in the Byzantine World*, 2007) et G. R. Ruffini (*Social Networks in Byzantine Egypt*, 2008) sont récemment revenus sur certains aspects de sa carrière. Mon intention est de proposer un état des lieux complet sur cet habitant d'Aphrodité,

Je m'appuierai principalement sur la réédition – réalisée dans le cadre de ma thèse de doctorat – de ses contrats de location et reçus de loyer agricole car ces deux types documentaires représentent plus de la moitié de son "dossier" au sein des Archives de Dioscore (38 textes selon G. R. Ruffini, *A Prosopography of Byzantine Aphrodito*, 2011). Après une mise au point sur ses antécédents (position sociale de son père et identification de sa mère), je reviendrai en détail sur sa carrière d'entrepreneur agricole (type d'activité – locataire non exploitant et propriétaire foncier ; zone d'implantation privilégiée – *pedias* orientale d'Aphrodité et *pedias* de Phthla ; "absentee landlords" de prédilection – établissements religieux).

Giuliana Leone  
(Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II)

L'EDIZIONE DI EPICURO, *SULLA NATURA*, LIBRO II

La ricostruzione virtuale dei rotoli carbonizzati, spesso smembrati in più parti a seguito di complesse vicende di svolgimento e di conservazione, si è rivelata negli ultimi anni uno degli aspetti ormai ineludibili, e nello stesso tempo più promettenti, dello studio dei papiri ercolanesi. La recente edizione critica del II libro *Sulla natura* di Epicuro (*P. Herc.* 1149/993 e 1783/1691/1010), che qui viene presentata insieme al CD-ROM che la accompagna, offre un chiaro esempio della validità delle nuove prospettive della ricerca.

Yaacov Lev  
(Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel)

EGYPT'S RURAL WORLD IN TRANSITION  
FROM BYZANTINE TO MUSLIM RULE

The aim of this paper is to discuss the profound changes that took place in Egypt's rural society and agriculture following the Arab conquest of the country. The two major social changes involved the settlement of Arab Muslim population in Egypt and Islamization of the local Christian population. The main change in the agricultural life involved the introduction of sugar cane and the way the grain surplus was handled by the authorities. The paper concludes with Ibn Hawqal's description of the Delta (the second half of the tenth century), which clearly illustrates these changes and their significance.

Sandra Lippert  
(University of Tübingen)

NEW DEMOTIC SOURCES FROM GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

The paper is going to give an overview about recent publications of new demotic papyri, ostraca and other inscriptions from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

Alexander Lifshits (Moscow) – *see* Julia Lougovaya, Alexander Lifshits, Rodney Ast, 'Codex Tischendorfianus I, recovered and revisited'

Francesca Longo Auricchio (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II) – *see* Giovanni Indelli, Francesca Longo Auricchio, 'Il P. Herc. 1471 (Filodemo, *La libertà di parola*) nelle Carte Vogliano'

María Paz López Martínez  
(University of Alicante)  
Consuelo Ruiz Montero  
(University of Murcia)

THE PARTHENOPE'S NOVEL:  
P. BEROL. 7927 + 9588 + 21179 REVISITED

Our aim is to provide a new edition with translation and commentary of the

three fragments that comprise the P. Berol. 7927 + 9588 + 21179. This is the most important papyrus conveying a lost novel known as *Metiochos* and *Parthenope*. The original, perhaps one of the first Greek novels, gave rise to a long and complex tradition with versions in prose and verse, a Christian martyrology and translations into different languages, such as Greek, Arab, Persian and Coptic. Our text comprises two columns, we are dealing with the first one, which is badly preserved and difficult to read. Although it has been edited and studied before (Zimmermann [1936], Maehler [1976], López Martínez [1994, 1998], Stephens Winkler [1995] and Hägg-Utas [2003], among others), our contribution offers new proposals of reading and allows a better understanding of the novel and its rich literary context.

Julia Lougovaya  
 (University of Heidelberg)  
 Alexander Lifshits  
 (Moscow)  
 Rodney Ast  
 (University of Heidelberg)

#### CODEX TISCHENDORFIANUS I, RECOVERED AND REVISITED

In 2012, during a regular revision of the manuscript department of the Moscow State University Library, departmental employees were surveying archival papers of the Library of the Imperial Moscow University, mostly documents from the second half of the 19th and early 20th century, when deep in the vault they discovered a bundle wrapped in kraft paper with no apparent inventory number. Inside the kraft wrapping were two glass frames with what the head of the MS department immediately recognized as parchment inscribed with uncial script. The finding turned out to be four folios from the so-called *Codex Tischendorfianus I* (=0106 Aland), a New Testament manuscript usually dated to the 7th c. and containing parts of the Gospel of Matthew, which are known to be housed in four collections, in St. Petersburg, Leipzig, Birmingham, and Mt. Sinai. The folios recovered in Moscow are those that Constantine Tischendorf brought “from the East” (read “Sinai”) in 1844 and deposited in Leipzig where they were kept as *Cod. Gr. 7*. Although it cannot be conclusively proved, it seems likely that the manuscript was taken from Leipzig at or shortly after the end of World War II; how and when it ended up in the Library of the Moscow State University remains unclear.

We would like to use the opportunity of the Warsaw Congress to announce the rediscovery of this important manuscript, evaluate the accuracy of the existing tran-

scription and studies, and discuss its significance, in particular with regard to lectional signs and marginalia not fully reported in Tischendorf's original publication.

AnneMarie Luijendijk  
(Princeton University)

THE OLDEST SEPTUAGINT PAPHYRUS IN CONTEXT (*P. RYL. III 458*)

Compared to the clear presence of Jews in the documentary papyri collected by Victor Tcherikover in the *Corpus papyrorum judaicarum*, we have only few Jewish literary papyri from Egypt. One of them, *P. Ryl. III 458* (Rahlfs-Fraenkel 957), consists of fragments of a scroll with parts of at least four columns that span Deuteronomium 23-28. Dating to the mid-second century BCE, it is our oldest Greek manuscript of a book of the Torah, and entire Hebrew Bible for that matter. Before ending up as cartonnage, the scroll was reused for documentary purposes. British papyrologist Colin H. Roberts edited these fragments, now at the John Rylands Library in Manchester, in 1936. My paper analyzes the use and disuse of the papyrus and proposes a possible provenance.

Adam Łukaszewicz  
(University of Warsaw)

DOUBLE GREETINGS IN *P. BREM. 5*  
AND SOME OTHER REMARKS ON HADRIAN'S EGYPT

*P. Brem. 5* edited by Wilcken is an interesting and very carefully written document from the archive of Apollonios. That text illustrates the procedures accompanying the activities of *beneficarii* in Roman provinces. The date of the text indicates its connection with the situation in Egypt in the early years of Hadrian.

Some aspects of Roman policy in Egypt under Hadrian will be discussed in this paper.

John Lundon  
(University of Turin)

ONE (BYZANTINE) *ENTAGION* IN SEARCH OF AN ANSWER (OR TWO)

*P. Köln inv. 4968* is a roughly square piece of papyrus of small format, probably



coming from fifth-century Oxyrhynchus. It contains in six lines an entagion (first word of the document) written in a conspicuously large and somewhat idiosyncratic hand. Α πραιτώριον (*praetorium*) is mentioned. Though the text is well-preserved and apparently complete, uncertainty surrounds several basic matters, above all what exactly was received from whom and for what specific purpose. Behind these difficulties lie in part the reading of one word (perhaps unattested) and the expansion of the abbreviation for another. Nevertheless, it appears not unlikely that the receipt might add something to our knowledge of the running of a facility in Byzantine Oxyrhynchus. After a brief presentation of the papyrus and discussion of its date and provenance, I shall concentrate on the problematic points and suggest some possible solutions. Members of the audience with expertise in the area will no doubt be able to help.

Roger T. Macfarlane  
(Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah)

RECOVERING PALIMPSEST UNDERTEXT ON CODEX TURAH V  
(P. BYU – DIDYMOS)

P. BYU – Didymos is a palimpsest papyrus. The unique, fifth-century text of Didymos the Blind's *Psalms Commentary* is an overtext. Each of the folios was repurposed from an earlier documentary text. No previous editor has published any of the undertext, because it is essentially invisible to the naked eye. Multi-spectral imaging performed by the Ancient Textual Imaging Group at BYU provides a tool for reading the text lying beneath.

P. BYU – Didymos is a set of five bifolia (the complete η quinion) plus one folio (rv from quaternion ις). These codicological elements come from the self-same Turah Codex, housed now in Cairo, the Bodmeriana, the British Library, and University of Cologne. All other elements of the *Psalmenkommentar* were published in *PTA* 4, 6, 7, 8, and 12 (1968 – 1970) by Gronewald and Doutreleau. Blumell's edition of the overtext (forthcoming) will fill the *Commentary*'s hole.

Gronewald reported attempts made in 1968 through forensics at University of Cologne to read some of the palimpsest that was then known. In the interim, the pursuit after this undertext has ceased in oblivion. Indeed, in my recent visits, no awareness of the underlying text persists. My own autopsy of the leaves of Turah Codex V—i.e. all known leaves except those in Cairo—has confirmed that the palimpsest is present in the locations that an understanding of the codex's architecture anticipates.

In my paper, I will demonstrate where the leaves of P. BYU–Didymos, and indeed all of Turah Codex V, manifest an undertext that is discernible with mul-

tispectral imagery. I will demonstrate briefly the technology we use to illuminate the lost undertext. And I will also offer an edited text recovered from the leaves of P. BYU–Didymos. My hope is that the Warsaw presentation will produce evidence necessary to pursue a broader imaging project that considers all the elements of the same codex in the other libraries that own it

Magdy A.I. Aly  
(Mansoura University)

#### A BYZANTINE CONTRACT

This contract is kept in the Egyptian Museum under Inv. No. 46254. It is clear that all the “big” wormholes in the papyrus follow the same pattern, which means that they were made when the papyrus was still folded. The contract dates back to the second half of 6th century, between 560 and 573 CE, during the consulate of Flavius Ioustinus, who is mentioned in lines 25 and 26. Line 1 of the document makes clear that it belongs to the village Phthla, Antaiopolite nome, Thebaid region. The hand is slow and careful and it has the characteristics of the 6th century CE. The contract is written in 36 lines, some are complete and many are incomplete. The contract has some legal terms such as the repeated term: *τῆς ἐννόμου ἡλικίας*.

Rachel Mairs  
(University of Reading)

#### POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONTINUITY IN BACTRIA, IN THE LIGHT OF NEW DISCOVERIES OF ARAMAIC AND GREEK DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

In recent years, there have been several major new publications of documentary texts from Bactria, in present-day northern Afghanistan, in the Aramaic, Greek and Bactrian languages. Although few in number, these span a period from the fifth century BC through to around the ninth century AD. They allow us to begin, tentatively, to trace the administrative history of Bactria through successive regime changes, as it moved from being a province of the Achaemenid empire, to an independent Graeco-Bactrian state, to the heartland of the Kushan empire. The Aramaic and the Greek documents offer remarkable parallels with contemporary material from Egypt, and indicate that administrative

(and scribal) practices at opposite ends of the Achaemenid and Hellenistic empire(s) had much in common.

Matt W. Malczycki  
(Auburn University)

P. UTAH. AR. INV. 280:  
A LOST POEM OF THE COURTIER ABŪ DULAF AL-‘IJLĪ  
(D. 225AH/840CE)

Abū Dulaf al-‘Ijlī (d. 225/840) was an Abbasid emir, courtier, poet, and patron of the arts. He was often present at the court of the caliph al-Mā’mūn (r. 189/813-218/833), and he was a boon companion of the princes (and, later, caliphs) al-Mu‘taṣim (r. 218/833-227/842) and al-Wāthiq (r. 227/842-232/847). Ibn al-Nadīm, the great cataloger of Abbasid literature, credits Abū Dulaf with six books and a hundred pages of poetry. However, none of Abū Dulaf’s books and only a handful of his poems have survived to the present. The poem contained in P. Utah Inv. 280 is not among his known works. The text is written on a high quality papyrus measuring 38.3 x 16.9 cm. The recto is a discarded chancellery letter or decree, only the left half of which survives. The verso contains the title in one line, the poem itself in four lines, and three lines of rhymed prose. The poem was copied sometime in the second half of the third/ninth century or the first half of fourth/tenth century. The hand is clear and the text has a nearly complete set of consonantal diacritical marks. The high quality of the papyrus and the very conspicuous use of space (i.e. wide margins) suggest that the scribe had access to unlimited supplies of writing material. It seems likely that he worked in the Tulunid (254/868-292/905) or Ikhshidid (323/935-358/969) chancelleries. P. Utah. Ar. Inv. 280 is a small addition to the corpus of classical Arabic literature as well as an opportunity to explore the transmission of poetry among members of the many regional courts of the Abbasid era.

Myrto Malouta  
(Ionian University, Corfu)

ANTINOOPOLIS BY LAND AND RIVER

Travel and transportation in Graeco-Roman Egypt have been the subject of several studies, especially within the field of economic history. When it comes to land transport, the main sources used are archaeological. While significant sur-

veys and excavations have been carried out on the road network that criss-crossed the Western and Eastern Deserts, those roads and the process of travelling on them are largely absent from the documentary evidence.

For my research on Antinoopolis, I have had to consider the city as part of a network, with people and goods in constant flow. The harbour of Antinoopolis is attested both archaeologically and in the papyri, but what about the Via Hadriana, which Hadrian provided to connect Berenike and Antinoopolis? The road has been extensively surveyed in the last decade, but its exact purpose remains elusive. Apart from one inscription that specifically refers to it, it appears to be completely absent from any other documentary source. In this paper I will present the papyrological references mentioning travel, to trace the various ways that one could reach Antinoopolis or embark on a journey from there, ultimately hoping to shed some more light on the role that the Via Hadriana played in the connectivity of the city with the rest of Egypt, as well as in the economic life of Antinoopolis.

Francesca Maltomini  
(Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», Florence)

USE AND REUSE OF PAPHYRUS ROLLS:  
SOME BIBLIOLOGICAL MATTERS

The fragment containing *PSI II 120* (gnomic anthology) and *P. Pintaudi 20* (land register) was supposed to represent an example of roll written – contrary to the general rule – first on the *verso* and then on the *recto*. A reconsideration of this witness, however, leads to a different reconstruction of the multiple stages of its employment. A new survey on fragments presenting analogous features seems necessary to deepen our knowledge of how papyrus rolls were used: the paper will focus on some methodological issues, providing a preliminary case study.

Anastasia Maravela  
(University of Oslo)

NEW LIGHT  
ON EARLY CHRISTIAN LETTERS OF RECOMMENDATION

P. Oslo Inv. 1463 (3rd/4th c.) comes as an important new addition to the corpus of early Christian letters of «recommendation» on papyrus. While complying with the conventions peculiar to this type of document, this letter is clearly dis-

tinctive on account of certain unique linguistic and formal features, not least the extensive list of signatories endorsing its content.

Following a brief presentation of the papyrus and the text, the paper will discuss its similarities with and discrepancies from known representatives of this type of document and will attempt to assess how the new witness illuminates the nature and function of these letters in the context of early Egyptian Christianity as well as some of the historical questions posed and possibilities raised by its content.

Marie-Hélène Marganne  
(Université de Liège)

#### DU TEXTE LITTÉRAIRE AU DOCUMENT : LES CONNEXIONS ENTRE LES PAPYRUS LITTÉRAIRES ET DOCUMENTAIRES GRECS ET LATINS

Si l'on distingue généralement les papyrus littéraires et les papyrus documentaires grecs et latins, ces deux catégories présentent cependant, à côté du support, de l'écriture et des scribes, d'autres caractéristiques communes : certains papyrus paralittéraires présentent des traits documentaires ; d'autres papyrus sont trop fragmentaires pour être sûrement identifiés, soit comme littéraires, soit comme documentaires ; certains écrits comme les lettres et les discours peuvent, soit être liés à une profession ou à une circonstance particulière (documents), soit être fictifs (littéraires) ; des papyrus documentaires contiennent des citations ou des réminiscences littéraires ; des papyrus littéraires présentent un document sur l'autre face ; des papyrus littéraires font partie d'archives documentaires (sur ces deux dernières catégories, voir notamment G. MESSERI, *Relazioni fra papiri documentari e papiri letterari*, dans *Ampelokepion. Studi di amici e colleghi in onore di Vera von Falkenhausen II = Nea Rhome. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 2, 2005, pp. 5-23). Appliquant aux textes documentaires ou indéterminés la même grille d'analyse qu'aux textes littéraires, la nouvelle base de données du CEDOPAL permet de rendre compte de ces connexions et de les exploiter en vue de mieux évaluer les écrits concernés, les méthodes sribales mises en œuvre, ainsi que leur contexte de production et d'utilisation.

Isabelle Marthot  
(École pratique des hautes études, Paris)

#### L'IRRIGATION DES TERRES DU VILLAGE D'APHRODITÉ À L'ÉPOQUE BYZANTINE

Les études sur l'irrigation à l'époque byzantine se sont globalement concentrées sur

le réseau des canaux et digues permettant le bon acheminement de l'eau de la crue et sur la prolifération de la *s qiya*, nommée en grec *mêchanê*, pour irriguer des terres non touchées par l'inondation. Ce dernier phénomène est généralement cantonné aux grands domaines, les seuls qui seraient suffisamment riches pour se lancer dans l'investissement de telles installations. Les archives de Dioscore d'Aphroditê, vaste ensemble cohérent de documents du quotidien, fournissent un grand nombre d'informations sur l'organisation de la campagne d'un simple village de « petits propriétaires » et permettent de mettre en évidence différents aspects concrets de l'irrigation des champs, notamment la nécessité de l'arrosage comme complément indispensable à l'apport de la crue, même pour les biens ruraux les plus modestes et quelle qu'en soit la localisation par rapport au Nil. L'objet de cette présentation sera de dégager les caractéristiques du système d'irrigation de cette campagne et de préciser plusieurs termes de vocabulaire technique afin de nuancer et de compléter notre compréhension de cet aspect si fondamental des travaux agricoles.

Alain Martin  
(Université Libre de Bruxelles)

CHARLES WESSELY  
À LA "SEMAINE ÉGYPTOLOGIQUE" DE BRUXELLES

Évocation du séjour à Bruxelles de Charles Wessely, du 14 au 20 septembre 1930, à l'occasion de la "Semaine égyptologique" (dont la section papyrologique tint lieu de Ier Congrès international de Papyrologie). L'accent est mis sur la présentation par le savant viennois d'un choix de documents tirés de sa collection et sur sa contribution au déchiffrement d'un papyrus de Bruxelles.

Elena Martín González  
(National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens)

ON THE MEANING OF *ΜΟΝΟΣΚΟΡΔΙΟΝ* (PGM IV 2211)

A spell for upsetting chariots in *PGM IV 2211* contains an ingredient called *μονόσκορδον*, a *hapax legomenon* which has been usually interpreted as "lone-growing garlic" (Preisendanz 1928; Ogden 2002), "wild garlic" (Muñoz Delgado 2001), or simply "garlic" (Betz 1992). The modern Greek dialect of mountainous Pieria, in central Macedonia, offers an alternative meaning for this word, which has been preserved under the form *μουνόσκορδου* and is used at the present time for single clove garlic (*Δούγα-Παπαδοπούλου - Τζιτζιλής 2006*). The fact that this

specific variety of garlic is still considered to be an effective amulet against the evil eye in modern Greece -and in a wide array of places worldwide- seems to support this hypothesis.

In my presentation I will analyse the garlic's lexical field in the collection of the Greek magical papyri (including *σκόρδον*, *μονόσκορδον* and *σκόρδον μονογενές*), and their modern testimonies and contexts in parallel, in order to offer a more accurate definition of the term *μονόσκορδον*.

Raquel Martín-Hernández  
(Madrid)

WRITING MAGICAL POPYRI.  
THE LECTIONAL SIGNS OF *PGM VII*

The different studies devoted to the P. Lond. Inv. 121 (*PGM VII*) have focused mainly on the text it preserves while the comprehension of the papyrus as a book in its material dimension has been almost neglected. In this paper, I will revise the layout of this magical handbook and its very interesting disposition of lectional signs, both to separate the different spells and their parts, and to highlight the *barbara onomata* and *voces magicae*. As I will argue, the production of *PGM VII* was the result of a thorough planning, an approach which takes into consideration the scribal practices of the scribes of magical texts in Roman Egypt.

Chiara Martis  
(University of Cagliari)

SISTEMI DI CORREZIONE NEI PAPIRI LETTERARI GRECO-EGIZI.  
CONSIDERAZIONI PRELIMINARI

Nei papiri sono riscontrabili diverse tipologie di espunzione e di correzione degli errori ortografici: l'errore può essere segnalato includendo la parola, o il passo, tra parentesi tonde (*περιγράφειν*) come in POxy. XX 2256; mediante l'uso di un tratto - orizzontale o obliquo - o un segno a forma di croce tracciato sulle lettere o le parole errate (*διαγράφειν*), come in PSorb. inv. 2245; mettendo un punto o un tratto, sopra, sotto o in entrambi i lati - oppure con una combinazione di questi due - della lettera ad espungere, come in PLouvre inv. 7733 verso; mediante l'abrasione dell'inchiostro (PBerol. inv. 13270); due parole, o interi righi, possono essere invertite nell'ordine ponendo *β* e *α* nell'interlinea (POxy. VIII 1093); e ancora, infine, mediante l'inserimento - in margine (PKöln II 61) o supra lineam (PTebt.

I 3) – della versione corretta della parola o della lettera (che può anche essere affiancata da un punto su entrambi i lati, *επιστινζειν*, come in POxy. IX 1182) di cui, però, lo scriba può anche tentare una modifica del tracciato, allorché si accorga, contestualmente alla copia, di aver commesso uno sbaglio (P. Berol. inv. 9875).

L'indagine che propongo si prefigge, in questo primo resoconto dei dati fin qui raccolti e, più esaurientemente, nel prosieguo a più lungo termine della presente ricerca, di fornire un aggiornamento dei dati in nostro possesso – che risultano ancora largamente insufficienti – ricavati da uno spoglio minuzioso e scrupoloso dei cataloghi, le raccolte e le banche dati online delle varie collezioni di papiri letterari e paraletterari greci databili tra il IV secolo a.C. e il II secolo d.C.

Uno scandaglio così condotto su un campione il più possibile esteso di testimoni, consentirà di rilevare come l'uso di alcune tipologie, poco usate prima del II d.C., risulti attestato già nei più antichi papiri conservati.

Si cercherà, inoltre, di stabilire se sia mai esistito uno standard tipologico dei *shmei* a 'correttivi' dipendente dal contenuto, dalla tipologia e dalla cronologia del testo: cioè se esista qualche correlazione tra tipologia di correzione e genere di testo (prosa, poesia e paraletteratura).

Kathleen McNamee  
(Wayne State University, Detroit)

A NEW LOOK AT THE WÜRZBURG  
*PHOENISSAE* COMMENTARY

This problematic text is the most extensive and the latest independent commentary surviving from antiquity. Since it was first published in 1934 by Wilcken as *P. Würzb. 1*, it has received little scholarly attention: Mastronarde, Bremer, and Worp studied its lemmata while examining the text tradition of Euripides; Nicholas Athanassiou re-edited portions for his University of London dissertation on ancient commentaries on tragedy; and Herwig Maehler gave it particular attention in a pair of papers on the relation between ancient scholarship and the mediaeval scholia. The generation of new MSI images taken in 2010 at Oxford through the kind agency of Dirk Obbink was the impetus for a collaborative re-examination in the past three years by Donald Mastronarde, Holger Essler, and myself, with the aim of producing a new definitive edition and commentary (to appear this year in the *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* and, in slightly different form, in the Euripides portion of *Commentaria et Lexica Graeca in Papyris Reperta*). This paper summarizes our findings with respect to some of the text's more knotty problems. These include are issues such as the unexpected disorder of the lemmata, questions of how and why the text was composed, the men-



tality of the commentator, the relation of his work to scholia, the physical nature of the original commentary, as well as new readings.

Michael McOsker  
(University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)

TOWARDS A NEW EDITION OF *P. HERC.* 188  
(DEMETRIUS LACO, *ON POEMS* I)

C. Romeo's 1988 edition of Demetrius' work *On Poems* is generally very good, but it can be improved in several particulars. For example, she did not attempt to handle the complex stratigraphy of *P. Herc.* 188 (techniques for handling the sotto- and sovrapposti had not been perfected), and she did not have access to the infrared photographs which have given immense aid to scholars attempting to read the carbonized papyri.

In this paper, I will briefly discuss the history of the manuscript and then present the final columns of the text, which are heavily damaged and very difficult to read. To be more specific, I will discuss the stratigraphy of the papyrus as well as the reconstruction of two columns at the end of the text which Romeo was almost completely unable to read, but now can be read, thanks to the infrared photos.

The ultimate goal is a new edition of Demetrius' work *On Poems*, which will further our knowledge of Hellenistic poetics and literary criticism, as well as Epicurean philosophy.

This research is supported by a Borsa di studio from the Centro internazionale per lo studio dei papyri ercolanesi "Marcello Gigante."

Chiara Meccariello  
(University of Pisa)

TITLE, *APXH, YΠOΘΕΣΙΣ*. A STUDY OF THE HEADING  
OF THE EURIPIDEAN *HYPOTHESES* ON PAPYRUS

The papyrus findings have increased our knowledge of the narrative hypotheses of Euripides' plays both quantitatively and qualitatively. Apart from preserving a high number of more or less scattered remains of summaries of lost plays, the papyrus fragments indicate that at least in the first three centuries AD the hypotheses normally circulated in the form of an alphabetical collection separated from the texts of the corresponding plays.

One of the most significant features of the papyrus hypotheses is the use of

a tripartite heading prefixed to each summary, which includes the title of the play, the quotation of its first line (*ἀρχή*), and the formula *ἢ δὲ ὑπόθεσις* marking the beginning of the summary.

In this paper I will present an overview of the ways this pattern is used in the papyri and discuss function, parallels, and possible origin of this system. I will also reconsider some peculiar cases and possible exceptions, especially Pap. IFAO, Inv. PSP 248 (2nd century AD), where the Medea hypothesis is preceded by an enigmatic numeral, *β* (recently included in the controversial discussion of a possible double redaction of this play), of which I will attempt a new interpretation.

Moreover, I will use this system as a source of clues to understanding the nature and purpose of the collection of hypotheses, focusing in particular on the use of the word *ὑπόθεσις*, the quotation of the *ἀρχή*, and the alphabetical arrangement. Finally, these elements will be considered side by side with some internal characteristics of the summaries, especially vocabulary, style and conception of tragedy, in order to offer a fresh approach to the problem of the date of the hypotheses and their attribution to the Peripatetic Dicaearchus.

Michael Meerson  
(Princeton University)

#### MOTHER'S GUARDIANSHIP AND CARETAKING FOR MINORS

The paper will address the question of mother's guardianship for her minor children, focusing, primarily, on its economic aspect. In light of the documents from Babatha archive, the denial of the guardian's position to women combined with the seemingly contradicting requirement of caretaking for her children acquires specific criteria: The mother has to feed and clothe her children, yet her ability to use the children's inheritance is limited by the sum allowed by the appointed guardian.

The paper will examine the legal background (Jewish, Hellenistic, and Roman) and possible causes of this situation, in which the women have no control over the assets of their minor children.

The results of this examination will then be applied to documents in the Egyptian milieu, particularly addressing three questions: did the women in Egypt enjoy a greater control over the family property? Did this situation change in the middle of the second century CE, when the last woman *epitropos* was attested to in the papyri? And finally, was this change a result of the influence exercised by the Roman law in the provinces?

Joseph Méléze Modrzejewski  
(École pratique des hautes études, Paris)

MODÈLES CLASSIQUES DES LOIS PTOLÉMAÏQUES

Pour aborder l'histoire juridique de l'Égypte grecque et romano-byzantine dans l'état actuel de notre documentation à son point de départ, on propose quelques résultats d'une enquête sur les racines des sources normatives du droit ptolémaïque. On s'attache successivement aux rapports entre le droit athénien et le droit alexandrin, à la réglementation de l'organisation judiciaire et du déroulement des procès, à l'encadrement légal du contrôle de l'identité personnelle. À cette occasion, certaines conceptions de la doctrine traditionnelle subissent une inévitable critique. Ainsi l'idée que les lois alexandrines puisent à la source athénienne ne résiste pas à une relecture critique des sources invoquées à ce propos. De même, les règles qui président à l'organisation des tribunaux et à l'organisation de la procédure, consignées, selon H.J. Wolff, dans un grand *diagramma* judiciaire, ne renvoient pas à l'héliée, mais plutôt à des traités interpoliades prévoyant des jurys comparables à ceux des dicastères ptolémaïques. Une sévère protection légale encadre les composantes de l'identité personnelle : nom, patronyme, patrie d'origine (*ethnikon*), appartenance à une unité militaire. La loi royale perpétue et durcit les sanctions dont la cité classique accompagnait la protection du nom propre et du statut civique. À une exception près, celle de l'Athénien Démétrios de Phalère, nous ne connaissons pas les hommes qui conseillent le roi dans son activité de législateur et rédigent les *diagrammata* royaux, ni ceux qui assistent à l'élaboration des *nomoi* à Alexandrie. Il est certain qu'ils ne sont pas tous prisonniers du modèle athénien, mais représentent un vaste horizon du monde grec élargi par les conquêtes d'Alexandre le Grand. Comme les savants du Musée, ils sont les agents d'un vaste projet panhellénique au service d'un régime qui tient à ce que la volonté du roi législateur, même lorsqu'elle vise des objectifs incrustés dans la réalité égyptienne, soit exprimée dans des formes prolongeant les méthodes de la *nomothesia* grecque.

Giovanna Menci  
(Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», Florence)

OGGETTI ISCRITTI APPARTENENTI  
ALLA COLLEZIONE ARCHEOLOGICA DELL'ISTITUTO PAPIROLOGICO  
«G. VITELLI»

Fra i reperti appartenenti alla collezione archeologica dell'Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», formatasi grazie al *partage* che fece seguito agli scavi ad Arsinoe

(1964/1965) ed Antinoe (1965-1968), alcuni riportano monogrammi e scritte (in greco o in altre lingue) funzionali, in qualche caso, all'oggetto stesso. I reperti di questo genere non sono molto numerosi, ma rappresentativi di varie tipologie e collocabili in un ampio arco temporale, che va dall'età romana a quella araba. Si tratta di lucerne, tappi d'anfora, contenitori e altri oggetti di uso comune, talvolta legati all'ambito religioso; si segnalano in particolare, fra i reperti antinoiti, un peso monetale in vetro iscritto in arabo e un oggetto non identificato in terracotta che presenta incisi una scritta e i principali simboli ebraici. Un caso a parte sono i 268 manici d'anfora recanti timbri anforici (III-I a.C.), rinvenuti ad Arsinoe, ma di origine greca o latina, che testimoniano l'importazione del vino in Egitto. Di questi timbri Manfredi Manfredi aveva redatto un catalogo, rimasto inedito, che si spera di pubblicare in tempi brevi.

Martin Miller  
(Concordia University, Chicago)

#### A REQUEST FOR WINE FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

This small piece of papyrus was found in a Chicago antique shop in the early 1970s. The document is likely to have originated in Oxyrhynchus. One side contains the request for wine in Greek while the recto has Arabic writing. The piece may be dated to the 7th or 8th century AD. Besides the request for wine, this piece may contain the name of a previously unknown Oxyrhynchite.

Miroslava Mirković  
(Belgrade)

#### TAXES AND PEOPLES

Taxation in the Roman state consisted of public charges which influenced and could change the life of individuals in so far as reducing their personal freedom. Tax liability produced a different effect upon the social classes in the Roman state. It was a heavy burden which could lead to the flight from the land not only of landless peasants, but also of middle class landowners who, being unable to pay their taxes on time were even compelled to resign the ownership of their land and leave their domicile. Part of the middle and upper classes tried to use the taxation system to their own benefit by turning tax payment into a business transaction; the system of *patrocinium* and *autopragia* introduced by law enabled the transmission of tax payment from the *coloni* and free villagers to the big landowners. The legislation in the

Later Roman state, making the land owners liable for taxes on land and the labor force on it provided them with the tools to keep the *coloni* on the land.

Tax liability formally fell to all those who possessed any quantity of land in the provinces. However, the payment of taxes was not necessarily connected with the formal ownership. As many papyri illustrate, tax payment could be the subject of different business transactions and was contractually transferred to other people in exchange for loans or labor, gifts, dowries, or even in exchange for freedom. An important role in the indirect payment of taxes was played by *syntelestai* in sixth century Egypt.

Four topics concerning the impact of taxes on the life and freedom of individuals will be discussed in the following pages: (1.) The landlord and the taxes of the people working on his land: *metrematiai*, *coloni alieni* and similar groups. (2.) How to escape being a landowner: resigning ownership in order to avoid tax liability. (3.) Tax payment as the subject of business transactions: rent, gifts, debts and dowries. (4.) The upper class and taxes: the possibility of making a profit: a study case Ammonios Theodosiou.

Andrzej Mironczuk  
(University of Warsaw)

#### HAWARA HOMER

The first proper edition of the famous "Hawara Homer" papyrus (Bodleian Library, MS. Gr. class. a. 1 (P)/1-10), containing a small fragment of *Ilias* A and large parts of *Ilias* B.

Mohamed Ahmed Abd El-Latif Ibrahim  
(Mansoura University)

#### WHEAT TRADE IN FUSTAT IN THE EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD (1ST-3RD C. AH / 7TH-9TH AD) IN THE LIGHT OF TWO UNPUBLISHED ARABIC PAPYRI FROM THE COLLECTION OF ARCHDUKE RAINER IN VIENNA

Fustat is mentioned as the capital of Egypt and headquarters of her ruler starting with 21 AH / 641 AD, after completion of the Islamic conquest of the country. In the centuries that followed, under the caliphs in Medina (21-37 AH / 641-658 AD), the Umayyad caliphs in Damascus (37-132 AH / 658-750 AD), and the Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad (132-256 AH / 750-870 AD), it became the main center of grav-

ity in various aspects of the political and economic life on the Nile. It centred various types of commercial activities, including trade in cereals, especially wheat, of which it was a great consumer itself. A growing demand for wheat in Fustat led to the emergence of the rich and influential category of wheat traders. Their fortunes increased especially in times of crisis connected with a severe shortage of food that not infrequently affected the first centuries of the Islamic rule over Egypt.

Wheat trade in Fustat in 1-3 c. AH / 7-9 c. AD can be studied on the basis of some Arabic papyri. Especially illuminating in this respect are two unpublished papyri from the collection of Archduke Rainer in Vienna. The paper shall discuss new data on the topic under consideration provided by these two papyri.

Mohamed Gaber El-Maghrabi  
(Alexandria University)

#### A SUBLEASE OF CROWN LAND

*P. Tebt.* 496 descr., now in Berkeley, is an application addressed to a certain Heron son of Didymus from another man, whose name is lost in the lacuna and whose father's name is Orsenouphis, to sublease one aroura of domain land which the former has in Tebtynis, until the next *diamisthosis* of farmers. The applicant will pay to the state the annual taxes on the land in addition to a certain amount of wheat yearly to Heron. The application, which is comparable to *P. Tebt.* II 376, is dated in the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161-169 AD).

Annick Monet – see Agathe Antoni, Daniel Delattre, Annick Monet, 'La reconstruction du *P. Herc. Paris.* 2, [Philodème, *La Calomnie*] : quelques nouveautés textuelles'

Andrew Monson  
(New York University)

#### HARVEST TAXES ON CLERUCHIC LAND IN THE THIRD CENTURY BCE

There is consensus among papyrologists and historians of Ptolemaic Egypt that the recipients of cleruchic land were exempt from the rents, which royal cultivators paid. However, it has long been known that third-century orders for seed

loans (e.g. those found by Jouguet in the southwest Fayyum, *P. Lille I 39-50*) specify that the cleruchs had to repay them “together with the rents (*ekphoria*).” Scholars have always supposed that the phrase must mean that the cleruchs’ seed loans were due when the royal cultivators paid their rents. This paper presents an unpublished third-century land survey in demotic from the Jouguet collection in the Sorbonne, which transforms our understanding of the taxation of cleruchic land. It shows that 25-aroura and 100-aroura cleruchs owed  $5\frac{1}{4}$  artabas per aroura, which they paid together with the repayment of their seed loans. That amount is still less than the common rate of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  artabas per aroura charged on royal land according to the verso of the same papyrus but the method of assessing it was the same. It is also comparable with the harvest tax charged on private land in Upper Egypt. The rich collection of demotic papyri in the Sorbonne, now being explored by the Équipe Fonds Jouguet Démotique, promises further surprises that will shed light on early Ptolemaic administrative and fiscal institutions in the Fayyum.

Anna Monte  
(Humboldt University, Berlin)

UN PROBLEMA SENZA TEMPO: RICETTE DEL FARMACOLOGO HERAS  
CONTRO LA CADUTA DEI CAPELLI SU UN PAPIRO BERLINESE

Una sottile striscia di papiro inedita conservata alla Papyrussammlung di Berlino restituisce alcuni righe frammentari riconducibili a un prontuario di farmacologia. In una parte del testo si possono riconoscere due ricette contro la caduta dei capelli riportate da Galeno in due passi del suo trattato *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* e attribuite al farmacologo Heras di Capadocia. Attivo presumibilmente a cavallo tra I secolo a.C. e I d.C. e autore di un’opera di farmacologia perduta intitolata *Narhex*, Heras rientra nel novero dei farmacologi più stimati e citati da Galeno nei suoi trattati dedicati alla scienza dei farmaci. L’intervento si propone di analizzare il testo su papiro e di contestualizzarlo nel quadro delle testimonianze indirette e dirette di Heras, tratteggiando dunque il profilo di una delle fonti di Galeno.

Anna Monte (Humboldt University, Berlin) – see Paul Bartels, Marius Gerhardt, Anna Monte, Fabian Reiter, ‘Berliner Papyrusdatenbank (BerlPap)’

Fjodor Montemurro  
(University of Bari)

*P. BEROL. 5514* RE-EXAMINED:  
TEXTUAL AND EXEGETICAL PROBLEMS IN EURIPIDES,  
*MELANIPPE DESMOTIS*, FR. 495 KANNICHT

The scrap of the parchment codex *P. Berol. 5514*, found at Hermopolis and published independently by Blass (1880), Weil (1880) and Schubart-Wilamowitz (1907), reports a long fragment of Euripides' fragmentary tragedy *Melanippe Desmottis*. This codex, dated at the 4th or 5th century AD, stands as a very important testimony for the history of Euripidean textual transmission: it is a luxury and elegant exemplar, written in a calligraphic formal round hand and belonging to some cultivated reader or to some private library. The extant folium is written on both sides and preserves a 50-line long section of the messenger's speech describing the battle between the twin sons of Melanippe and the brothers of the queen Siris. Though the parchment has received due attention from Euripidean scholars and editors (last critical notes are by Diggle in 1995), many passages need a deeper examination. My presentation aims to sum up the most important textual problems of the codex, trying to fulfil a twofold purpose: finding a plausible explanation for some apparently metrical and grammatical oddities of some readings and, on the other hand, proposing alternative supplements and necessary corrections to another passage whose text, despite infractions to the Greek language of the 5th century, has wrongly become universally accepted. In particular, I will focus my attention on l. 4 to the expression *χωρεῖ δρομαίαν*, which is printed in all editions but, after a fuller analysis of the usage of the elliptical spatial accusative, cannot be accepted, on l. 13, to the phrase *ὡς δ' ἦε<ι> μάχη*, and on l. 40 *ἐγὼ μὲν <οὐδν> οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτω σκοπεῖν χρεῶν*, where the indirect testimony of Stobaeus seems to preserve a linguistically superior and grammatically better reading.

Federico Morelli  
(University of Vienna)

EGITTO ARABO,  
PAPIRI E PAPIROLOGIA GRECI

Dopo l'arrivo degli arabi in Egitto nel 639, il greco continua a essere usato come lingua amministrativa almeno fin verso la fine dell'VIII secolo. In particolare per il periodo fino all'inizio dell'VIII secolo, i papiri greci rimangono la nostra prin-



cipale fonte di informazione, almeno per quanto riguarda la amministrazione statale. La mia comunicazione intende presentare i seguenti punti: quadro generale sulla documentazione greca del periodo arabo, con alcune considerazioni sulle sue caratteristiche e tipologie, anche in relazione al progressivo affermarsi e prevalere delle altre lingue, copto ed arabo. Le edizioni e gli studi papirologici in questo campo, con particolare attenzione agli sviluppi degli ultimi 30 anni. Linee di ricerca perseguite, tendenze attuali, problemi aperti, prospettive per il futuro.

Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert  
(Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo)

A LA RENCONTRE DE LA PAPHYROLOGIE ET DE L'ARCHÉOLOGIE :  
LE LEXIQUE DES MOBILIERS D'ÉCLAIRAGE

Je souhaite présenter dans ma communication quelques résultats de recherches sur les mobiliers archéologiques croisées avec les études lexicographiques. Des mobiliers d'éclairage tels les lampes, les lanternes et leurs supports etc., datés des époques hellénistique, romaine et byzantine, ont été choisis pour cette étude. Les objets de ce type sont bien attestés dans le matériel issu de fouilles archéologiques, et le vocabulaire les concernant est fréquent dans les textes grecs, tant littéraires que documentaires. Malgré cette richesse et variété de sources, il n'est pas toujours aisé d'établir une correspondance entre terme et objet. L'étude proposée ici a pour le but d'essayer de préciser des désignations de quelques-unes de ces termes, comme lampas, lychnia, cheirollychnia, et de trouver les mobiliers qu'ils dénommaient. Cette recherche comparatiste permettra aussi de noter des éventuelles différences entre le grec littéraire et celui utilisé dans les textes documentaires d'Égypte, l'évolution et le changement de valeurs des mots au cours des siècles et le phénomène de la substitution d'un mot par un autre. En outre, on pourra observer l'évolution ou le changement de forme de l'objet ou de son matériau, ainsi que le cadre dans lequel on l'utilisait.

Franziska Naether  
(University of Leipzig)

DEMOTIC TEXTS FROM LEIPZIG

The aim of this paper is to give a status quo of the edition of the demotic sources

from Leipzig. Two collections house relevant objects: The University Library and the Egyptological Institute / Egyptian Museum Georg Steindorff. While ostraca from the first have been partly edited by Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, I started reading ostraca from the latter collection. During the presentation, provenance, acquisition and contents will be explored.

Fara Nasti

(Università degli Studi di Cassino e del Lazio meridionale)

THE COMPLETE EDITION  
OF PAPYRUS HAUNIENSIS *DE LEGATIS ET FIDEICOMMISSIS*  
AND THE TRANSMISSION OF JURISPRUDENTIAL *FRAGMENTA*  
OUTSIDE THE *CORPUS IURIS*

Papyrus Hauniensis *de legatis et fideicommissis* is a substantial papyrus codex fragment (more than one hundred lines) consisting of *P. Haun.* III 45, a text read by Tage Larsen and re-examined by Adam Bülow-Jacobsen (1985), and of two opisthograph fragments published in 1951 by Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz in the *Festschrift F. Schulz*.

The text is a papyrus document of vital importance for gaining a profound understanding of Roman jurisprudential thought. It contains jurisprudential fragmenta not known from the Digest or other postclassical compilations. The most frequently mentioned jurist is Papinianus, but there are also quotations from Paulus, Pomponius and Celsus, the earliest lawyer referred to in the fragmenta. Ulpianus is very frequently mentioned and cited and it is possible to identify three *Notae Ulpiani* to Papinian's *Quaestiones* or *Responsa*.

The subject matter of *P. Haun. leg. fdc.* is certainly *legata* and *fideicommissa*. The text allows for a better understanding of the system governing bequests and trusts in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. The minutely detailed casuistry indicates that it may have been a part of a work about these dispositions.

Apart from provoking questions about the genre of the work and its use, the date, and the anonymous author's sources for the responsa of the cited lawyers, *P. Haun. de legatis et fideicommissis* is of interest to at least two areas of research. One focuses on the use of jurisprudential texts beyond the *Digesta* and the study of the law of succession in the 3rd century. The other field of research explores how Justinian's compilers made use of jurisprudential works when compiling the *Corpus iuris*.

Gabriel Nocchi Macedo  
(Université de Liège)

PALAEOGRAPHIC AND CONTEXTUAL OBSERVATIONS  
ON THE JUVENAL FRAGMENT FROM ANTINOPOLIS

Published by C.H. Roberts in 1935, P. Ant. s.n. (Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> 2925, c. 500) is the only fragment of Juvenal's text found in Egypt and probably the second oldest surviving manuscript of the *Saturae* (preceded only by the palimpsest Vat. Lat. 5750). This leaf of a parchment codex presents a number of interesting features, including marginal and interlinear annotations in both Latin and Greek, written by at least 3 different hands, and a number of lectional signs and accents, some of which have so far been left unexplained. Although the parchment has been severely damaged and some parts remain completely illegible, an autopsy conducted with the help of a microscope and a Wood lamp warrants a reexamination of the paleographic characteristics of both the main text and the annotations, as well as of the signs. Furthermore, the question of the context of production and usage of the original codex will be addressed. Even if its codicological features seem to suggest that the book was imported from the West, this hypothesis cannot be proven. However, the papyrological evidence for the presence of Latin literature in Byzantine Egypt, and of Latin learning and scholarly activity in Antinopolis can perhaps help us to understand not only by whom and the circumstances under which P. Ant. s.n. must have been used, but also the presence of Juvenal's poetry in Egypt, as well as its possible readership.

Albert Nodar Dominguez  
(Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

NEW TEXTS FROM OXYRHYNCHUS:  
PALAEOGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Since the beginning of papyrology in the late 19th century, the discipline has relied largely on palaeography to assign a date to the vast majority of papyrus documents, which for the most part bore no chronological indication on them. For decades those who excavated the ancient sites of Egypt in the search for papyri showed an almost exclusive interest in their role as carriers of ancient texts rather than ancient objects. Thus, little is known about the other objects or materials alongside which the papyri were found, that is, about their archaeological context, which could have provided a basis for a more accurate dating. Oxyrhynchus is paramount to papyrology because of the vast amount of ancient

texts it has yielded to us, but also because of the lack of information about the archaeological context of those texts. Works at the site carried out over the last years by the team directed by Prof. Padró of the University of Barcelona provide such a context to contrast our methodology of approximate dating based on palaeographical analysis.

Noha A. Salem  
 Seham D. Almasry  
 (Ain Shams University, Cairo)

NEW DOCUMENTS FROM *ELAIOURGOI*  
 OF THE APHRODITO ARCHIVE

A group of ostraca housed in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, dated to the 6th–7th century CE, belongs to the so called archive of *elaiourgoi* of Aphrodito. The latter is a collection of more than 30 ostraca from *O. Heerlen*, *O. Lund*, *O. IFAO* and *O. Wilcken*, which are orders for oil delivery. The Cairo ostraca share with the ostraca from the *elaiourgoi* archive the textual formulae, as well as the names of issuers and receivers of the receipts.

The paper is intended to shed new light on this archive and add more information about it.

Noha A. Salem  
 Shereen A. Aly  
 (Ain Shams University, Cairo)

AN EDITION OF UNPUBLISHED GREEK OSTRACA  
 FROM THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, CAIRO

This paper is an edition of five Greek ostraca from the collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. It is interesting that they are all registered as coming from Elephantine. The dating of the texts spans the Roman period. Some of them have an exact date, for instance a poll tax receipt paid in the 21th year of Antoninus. One text goes back to the reign of Domitian. Other pieces are dated palaeographically.

The texts of the ostraca represent various types: there are two private letters, two receipts and another text connected with financial affairs. They shed light on different aspects of life in Roman Egypt by adding new pieces of information, and confirming or correcting others.

Maria Nowak  
(University of Warsaw – University of Geneva)

HEREDITARY RIGHTS  
OF EXTRAMARITAL CHILDREN  
IN GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

The purpose of the paper is to present the legal situation of illegitimate children in Graeco-Roman Egypt in the light of papyri concerning testaments and succession. One of the most important juridical sources regarding this problem is the Gnomon of the Idios Logos. It contains information on the law of personal status and succession in Graeco-Roman Egypt. Among these norms we find direct and indirect references to the legal situation and *testamenti factio passiva* of children born out of wedlock (i.e. § 11–13, 18, 23, 34, 35, 38, 39, 45–48, 50, 54).

The Gnomon of the Idios Logos is not entirely clear. It offers questions as well as answers. We do not know if children born in unions not recognized by Roman rulers were entitled to succession after their parents, if their status somehow implied their ability to acquire goods via wills composed by their parents, and how far (if at all) it was restricted by the rights of legitimate children. On the other hand, extramarital children are present in texts of legal practice, viz. wills from Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, which need to be compared with the legal position of extramarital children in testamentary succession as evinced in the juridical sources.

Paweł Nowakowski  
(University of Warsaw)

THE SO-CALLED ASIAN SAINTS IN EGYPT.  
THE EGYPTIAN AND ASIAN PATTERNS OF SELECTIVE  
TRANSMISSION OF CULT

According to Arietta Papaconstantinou, saints from Asia Minor were the most prominent group among the foreign Eastern saints worshiped in Egypt. Papaconstantinou enumerated 17 (or 18) Asian saints attested in papyri and inscriptions from the Nile Valley, i.e. Elpidios, Euphemia, Thekla, Theodoros, Theopompos, Ioulitta, Kalliopios, Konon, Kyrikos, Merkourios, Pantaleon, Platon, Polyeuktes, Sisinnios, Tarasios, the 40 martyrs of Sebaste, Phokas (and perhaps Dorotheos). A comparison of this list with Asian saints attested in correspon-

ding non-literary sources from Asia Minor itself reveals a major discrepancy between these two regions, as only 7 of the Asian saints venerated in Egypt appear in Asia. They are: Thekla, Theodoros, Konon, Kyrikos, Pantaleon, Platon and Sisinnios. The others are surprisingly missing.

The aim of this paper is to answer the question, what were the patterns of transmission of the cult of saints from Asia Minor to Egypt and what were the patterns of transmission from cult practice to non-literary sources. The paper also explains how these patterns differed in Asia and Egypt despite the fact that the saints were of the same origin.

Dirk Obbink  
(University of Oxford)

#### NEW PROSE AND OTHER TEXTS

This paper will isolate and discuss recently emerging methodologies for the identification and editing of literary papyri in prose, and will highlight and survey some of the finds of guiding importance of the past decade.

Grzegorz Ochała  
(University of Warsaw – University of Geneva)

#### MULTILINGUALISM IN CHRISTIAN NUBIA: CASE STUDY OF THE MONASTERY OF GHAZALI

The monastery of Ghazali (Wadi Abu Dom, Sudan), together with cemeteries surrounding it, have produced the second most abundant collection of funerary stelae from Christian Nubia (143 epitaphs in various state of preservation). Moreover, the last season of excavations on the site, carried out by the Polish archaeological mission, brought to light many inscriptions on the walls of the monastic church. To these one should add another category of sources, namely inscriptions on pottery, found during both previous (1950s) and present excavations.

The abundance of the written sources and the fact that they are mostly written in Coptic makes the monastery of Ghazali an extraordinary spot on the 'linguistic map' of Christian Nubia. In the present paper I will attempt to analyse the phenomenon of Nubian multilingualism from the perspective of the residents of and visitors to the monastery.

Rosa Otranto  
(University of Bari)

ESEGESI DEMOSTENICA  
SU PAPIRO: *P. Lit. Lond.* 179

Il primo dei quattro rotoli del *P. Lit. Lond.* 131v [Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> 163] – contenente la Costituzione degli Ateniesi di Aristotele – presenta, verso la fine (all'altezza della decima colonna, trascritta solo per metà) e in posizione capovolta, una colonna e mezza di scrittura che è stata sbarrata da due grandi X: si tratta del *P. Lit. Lond.* 179 [Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> 307]. Il testo – nonostante questi segni che denotano un cambiamento di progetto in corso d'opera – è ben leggibile e presenta nella prima parte (ll. 1-24) una 'hypothesis' (di tipo retorico) all'orazione Contro Midia di Demostene, seguita da una selezione di annotazioni esegetiche – di varia estensione e tipologia – relative alla sezione iniziale dell'orazione (§§ 1-11). Pubblicato per la prima volta da van Herwerden e van Leeuwen nel 1891 nell'ambito dell'edizione dell' *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία*, quindi ripubblicato da Kenyon come II Appendice alla terza edizione del testo aristotelico nel 1892 (successivamente studiato da Hausmann, Lossau e, in ultimo, da Gibson), *P. Lit. Lond.* 179 merita di essere riconsiderato nel suo complesso, anche in rapporto al testo aristotelico con il quale 'convive'.

Mario C. D. Paganini  
(University of Copenhagen)

DECISIONAL AND ARCHIVAL  
PRACTICES OF PRIVATE ASSOCIATIONS  
IN PTOLEMAIC AND EARLY ROMAN EGYPT

The paper investigates the different procedures and practices for voting, decision-making, and record-keeping adopted by private associations in Egypt in the time of the Ptolemies and the Julio-Claudian emperors. The main focus is on Greek sources; however, demotic material is also taken into account. Moreover, a comparison of the sources from Egypt with selected evidence from other parts of the Greek-speaking oecumene also constitutes an important means of inquiry to highlight similarities and differences. The investigation of the material relating to associations consists of two main elements: 1) an analysis of textual references to decisional practices and record keeping; 2) a study of the type and physical format of certain documents which may enlighten us about the procedures adopted for taking and recording decisions. The paper shows the extent to

which practices used by the local public administration influenced and shaped the way private associations went about recording their official business (and vice versa). Furthermore, it discusses whether private associations were (consciously) perpetuating traditions that had long been abandoned in common public practice and the possible reasons for this. Finally, it tries to assess whether the language which the associations decided to use for their official records determined, moulded, or prompted the use of specific practices and whether this led to differences in the decision-making and record-keeping processes.

Irene Pajón Leyra  
(Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Spain)

A WALKING DEAD  
IN AN OXYRHYNCHUS PAPHYRUS?

The papyrus *P. Oxy.* II 218, dated to the 2nd century CE and edited by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt in 1899, transmits a curious text, interpreted since the edition as a collection of barbarian customs. Each item of the catalogue appears accompanied by a reference to the authorities from which the information has been taken. As the editors recognized, the text is a clear example of Greek paradoxographic literature, cultivated since the Hellenistic period and consisting in the compilation of lists of rarities, normally obtained from written sources.

The best preserved section of the document transmits the remains of two descriptions of usages, both most probably corresponding to the same non-Greek community: a severe punishment of a man that does not keep fidelity to a dead woman and a curious ceremony that has to be performed after the death of a priest of Ares: the servant of the temple has to hold the sword of the god below the burning corpse in order to detect sins or transgressions of rules.

Other sections of the papyrus, however, instead of ethnographical information transmit mythographical anecdotes, so that perhaps the definition of the text, adopted by the editors and further scholars, as a “collection of barbarian customs” has to be reconsidered.

The aim of this paper is to analyse some problematic aspects of the papyrus: the attribution of the information to the quoted sources, the general interpretation of the text as a collection of barbarian customs, the interaction of mythographical and ethnographical material in the catalogue of rarities, the identification of the non-Greek people to which the barbarian customs correspond and the particular meaning of the second one.



Bernhard Palme  
(University of Vienna)

DAS SPÄTANTIK-FRÜHBYZANTINISCHE ÄGYPTEN:  
GESELLSCHAFT UND STAAT

Dieses Überblicks-Referat wird die Forschungsergebnisse der vergangenen zehn Jahre zur Verwaltungs- und Militärgeschichte, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Ägyptens vom 4. bis zum 7. Jh. n. Chr. vorstellen. Dabei sollen einerseits die speziell für Ägypten gewonnenen Erkenntnisse, andererseits die Rolle der papyrologischen Evidenz im Diskurs über die Verhältnisse im oströmischen Reich generell besprochen werden sowie bedeutende neue Quellen und methodische Ansätze im Blickpunkt stehen.

Antonio Parisi  
(Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II)

OSSERVAZIONI PRELIMINARI SUL P. HERC. 124  
(DEMETRII LACONIS OPUS INCERTUM)

Il *P. Herc. 124* fu svolto nel 1867 in sei pezzi ad opera di G. Russo, che provvide a realizzare anche i disegni dei dodici frammenti principali e della *subscriptio* con l'indicazione del nome dell'autore (*Δημητρίου*). In tutti i pezzi è individuabile il margine superiore, benché spesso, a causa della stratigrafia confusa, non sia possibile riconoscere l'estensione di una colonna e il suo ordine di successione. V. De Falco, *L'epicureo Demetrio Lacone* (Napoli 1923), pubblicò solo alcuni dei frammenti disegnati e propose, seppur cautamente, di riconoscerci un trattato sull'antropomorfismo degli dei. Dopo un'analisi dei dati paleografici e papirologici, attraverso una nuova autopsia del rotolo, supportata dal ricorso alle fotografie multispettrali, mi propongo di riconsiderare l'ipotesi proposta dal De Falco nel tentativo di comprendere la posizione di quest'opera nella produzione filosofica di Demetrio Lacone.

Nataschia Pellé  
(University of Salento, Lecce)

FRAMMENTI DELLE *HISTORIAE* DI TUCIDIDE SU ROTOLI  
RIUTILIZZATI: UNO STUDIO BIBLIOLOGICO E PALEOGRAFICO

I frammenti di volumina che restituiscono parti delle *Historiae* di Tucidide fino

ad oggi pubblicati sono 85, rinvenuti per la maggior parte ad Ossirinco da Bernard P. Grenfell ed Arthur S. Hunt tra il 1895 ed il 1907. Di essi 15 provengono da rotoli variamente riutilizzati: 9 recano il testo tucidideo sul recto ed un documento sul verso; 4 un testo documentario sul recto e Tucidide sul verso e due restituiscono frammenti delle *Historiae* sul recto ed un altro testo letterario sul verso.

La presente comunicazione offre un'analisi bibliologica e paleografica di tali papiri, che si inserisce in un più ampio studio di tutti i papiri tucididei, finalizzato ad una loro edizione critica con commento nell'ambito del *Corpus dei Papiri Storici Greci e Latini*.

Marco Perale  
(University of Oxford)

#### A HELLENISTIC ASTRONOMICAL POEM FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

*P. Oxy.* 2521 (= *SH* 922, second century AD) preserves a fragment of a hexameter poem on the constellation Engonasin (Kneeler) forging the Lyre, the Crown and the Altar. The composition, characterized by a learned and highly technical vocabulary, is far from being a didactic compendium on the constellation system. Two verses mentioning prophetic dreams (vv. 1-2) and an invocation to a Lagid (v. 9) preceded the astronomical section. The astral shape of the Engonasin, a crouching body with one arm raised and the hands extended in opposite directions, is suggestive of a number of mythological frames (e.g., amongst others, Heracles wielding a club or Salmoneus hurling torches), recorded in detail by Pseudo-Eratosthenes, Hyginus and the Aratean scholia. None of these representations appears to correspond with the profile of the Oxyrhynchus Engonasin, who is portrayed as a demiurge moulding the adjacent constellations by the *cire perdue* process. An implicit syncretism with Hephaestus is unattested. In my paper, I suggest that the crouching position may have inspired a new hybrid profile which combined the creative powers of Egyptian Ptah with the traditional elements of the 'lame blacksmith'. V. 9, omitted by the scribe and added by a second copyist in the lower margin, must have occurred in the second half of the column a few verses before v. 1 and is likely to have referred to the Kneeler. A restoration ἐκγονον] εὐχετόωντο δ[ου]ρικλειτοῦ Λαάγου would point to a prayer to Ptolemy I Soter, catasterized as Engonasin and invoked by the people of Egypt.

Marco Perale  
(University of Oxford)

THE MINNESOTA PAPYRUS COLLECTION  
(O. MINNESOTA 1-2 AND P. MINNESOTA 1-22)

Twenty-four papyri purchased by the University of Minnesota between 1933 and 1956 are stored today in two different institutions. The Special Collections & Rare Books Library owns nineteen Greek papyri; one Greek leather fragment; one papyrus fragment in hieroglyphics; two ostraka, one in Greek, the other in hieroglyphics.

The core of the Rare Books Library collection comes from two separate purchases from the Dutch dealer Erik von Scherling. Eleven of the von Scherling texts were published by Bakker, Bakkers and Worp in *BASP* 44 (2007). The remaining six (O. Minnesota 2; P. Minnesota 1, 3, 14, 15, 18), alongside with four papyri acquired from Maggs Brothers in 1939-1940 (7, 8, 9a, 9b), still await publication. A separate Minnesota papyrus originally belonging to von Scherling, *SB* XXVI 16607, was the object of a separate purchase from Frances Edwards in 1956 and is now housed at the Bell Library.

In my paper, I will summarize the current state of research on the Minnesota collections, presenting some preliminary results of my study on two unpublished von Scherling papyri, *P. Minnesota* 2 and 10. I will also give new insights on *SB* XXVI 16607, a 5th century list of toponyms delineating a path from Heliopolis to Constantinople, variously regarded as a travel memorandum for a private business trip or a pilgrimage itinerary.

Tomasz Płóciennik  
(University of Warsaw)

LATIN PAPYRI FROM QASR IBRIM  
– PALAEOGRAPHIC ASPECTS

During the 1974 season of excavations of The Egypt Exploration Society at the site of Qasr Ibrim directed by J. M. Plumley, 29 Greek papyri (both literary and documentary) and 11 Latin ones (only documentary) were discovered alongside other finds. They were all published in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 62 (1976). The following seasons, in the years 1976, 1978, 1980, produced more than

300 papyrus fragments, including more than 30 Latin. Only two texts have so far been published from this collection: the famous papyrus containing eight lines of the poetry of Cornelius Gallus (*Journal of Roman Studies* 69 [1979]) and a private letter (*P. Rainer Cent.*, 1983). The finds are stored in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and their photographic documentation is at the disposal of The Qasr Ibrim Archive in London. Based on this documentation, the author is preparing an edition of the remaining Latin papyri from Qasr Ibrim, which will be published together with the edition of the Greek papyri from this site, being prepared by Tomasz Derda and Adam Łajtar. The present paper deals with the palaeographic aspects of these texts.

Francisca Pordomingo  
(University of Salamanca)

*SCRIPTIO PLENA VS. ÉLISION DANS LES PAPYRUS LITTÉRAIRES : LES PAPYRUS PTOLÉMAÏQUES AVEC DES TEXTES POÉTIQUES*

Il a été signalé que dans toutes les périodes il a été normal, quoique irrégulier, aussi bien dans les textes poétiques que dans les textes en prose, de voir écrite la voyelle (*scriptio plena*), bien qu'elle ne soit pas prononcée, possiblement comme moyen d'aide à l'analyse des mots. La « transgression » est plus forte dans les papyrus avec des textes poétiques, où la *scriptio plena* est *contra metrum*. Perturbateur est également le fait que dans de nombreux papyrus avec des textes poétiques d'époque hellénistique, l'usage de *scriptio plena* et élision n'est pas systématique dans des textes copiés par une même main et la proportion de l'usage de l'une ou l'autre varie dans les textes copiés par différentes mains. À quoi cela est-il dû ? Aux classes de mots qui entrent en jeu ? Au type de séquence vocalique ? Au processus de copie, du fait de la place qu'occupe le mot, en milieu ou bien en fin de phrase ? Au niveau éditorial de la copie ? Est-il possible de voir une progression temporelle en faveur de l'élision au cours de l'époque hellénistique, jusqu'à arriver à être évidente en époque romaine avec l'implantation de l'apostrophe ? Pourquoi certains textes ont-ils déjà à l'époque hellénistique l'élision généralisée ? Le travail prétend documenter la pratique dans des textes poétiques hellénistiques en papyrus et apporter des réponses à ces questions. La comparaison avec ce qui se passe dans un petit *corpus* de textes documentaires et avec des textes en prose d'époque hellénistique ainsi que des textes poétiques d'époque romaine nous aidera à objectiver les réponses.

Luigi Prada  
(University of Oxford)

*P. OXY. XXXI 2607:*  
AN *ONEIROCRITICON* IN THE CONTEXT OF GRAECO-EGYPTIAN  
LITERARY PRODUCTION

In 1966, John Barns published a third century AD fragment from a Greek *oneirocriticon* in the Oxyrhynchus papyri series, *P. Oxy. XXXI 2607*. To the present day, this scrap remains the only known papyrological specimen of a dream interpretation handbook written in Greek. Despite its unique importance, however, it has mostly remained unnoticed and has escaped the attention of scholars, to the point that some of the standard publications about dream interpretation in the ancient Mediterranean world ignore its existence.

In this paper, I will offer an overview of this fragment and of its content. I will then compare it with the evidence coming from the contemporary and larger corpus of *oneirocritica* in demotic attested from Roman Egypt, and highlight the similarities and the differences between these and *P. Oxy. XXXI 2607*. Based on this comparison, I will argue that this fragment is not a typical representative of Greek oneiromantic traditions as we know them from Artemidorus of Daldis and other classical writers of oneiromancy. Quite the opposite, the origin of *P. Oxy. XXXI 2607* should be traced back to that mixed cultural milieu that produced Graeco-Egyptian literature. The possibility exists that *P. Oxy. XXXI 2607* may not even be a text originally composed in Greek under Egyptian cultural and religious influence, but a direct translation into Greek of a demotic *oneirocriticon*.

Enrico Emanuele Prodi  
(Christ Church, University of Oxford)

TITLES AND METRICAL MARKERS  
IN THE POPYRI OF CHORAL LYRIC

This paper investigates the use of poem-titles and signs marking metrical articulation (*paragraphos*, *koronis*, *asteriskos*) in the papyri of archaic and early classical Greek choral lyric, with particular emphasis on those of Pindar, Bacchylides, and Simonides. After gathering and briefly reviewing all the evidence available for each author, it examines the consistency and variation of both titles and metrical markers in terms of format, location, and hand, as well as residues of ancient critical activity on the papyri themselves, and the relationship with descriptions in other sources (signally Hephaestion's *Peri semeion*).

Nadine Quenouille  
(University of Leipzig)

THE GERONTIOS-ARCHIVE  
– A SUB-ARCHIVE OF THE ABINNAEUS-ARCHIVE?

The so-called Gerontios-Archive is a corpus of 12 ostraca in the Papyrus- and Ostraca-Collection of the Leipzig University Library. A certain Gerontios receives twelve orders from a certain Kyrillos to give a varying amount of artabae of grain to various persons or in order to sell them on the market. The context and onomastics of these ostraca lead to the assumption that these ostraca featuring Gerontios and Kyrillos have a connection to the Abinnaeus-Archive and maybe constitute a sub-archive of the latter.

Graziano Ranocchia  
(Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Rome)

*P. HERC.* 1004 ([PHILODEMUS], [*ON RHETORIC*],  
[BOOK VII]): PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION AND RECONSTRUCTION  
OF THE ROLL

*P. Herc.* 1004, probably containing a book of Philodemus' *On Rhetoric*, is the lower half of a roll opened between 1805 and 1806 and preserved in 30 pieces. The measuring of the 'voluta' of each piece provided confirmation of the current order of fragments except for the pieces in 'cornici' 4 and 5. According to the mathematical calculations made by correlating periodically recurring elements with column beginnings or ends, it was possible to estimate the extent of the lost portions both between pieces and at the beginning of the roll and, in addition, by combining these data with the information contained in the Inventory of Piaggio's time, to ascertain the original length and total number of columns. As far as the preserved text is concerned, apart from partial editions by Sudhaus and others, about one third of it remains inedited. A new comprehensive edition of this book is being prepared within the framework of the project ERC Starting Grant 241184-P.Herc (European Commission, FP7, 'Ideas').

Rasha Hussein El-Mofatch  
(Ain Shams University, Cairo)

#### WHERE IS THE PARTY?

The paper will shed light on special events and their venues in Graeco-Roman Egypt. Invitations and some private letters are the main sources for learning about occasions, hosts and guests; most of these documents come from Oxyrhynchus.

In previous articles on invitations, the editors focused on their structure and formulas, but in my paper I will study the venues of these private ceremonies and feasts in search for answers to the following questions: where were the banquets held, and was there a relationship between the kind of event and the place where it was held.

New ideas will also be presented based on a study of modern customs upheld in the villages of modern-day Egypt.

Dominic Rathbone  
(King's College London)

#### THE ROMANITY OF ROMAN EGYPT: A DECLINING CONSENSUS?

Recent work, notably the books of Livia Capponi (2005) and Andrew Monson (2012) have re-opened the debate started long ago by Naphtali Lewis (1970, 1984) about the nature and extent of the differences between Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Was Roman Egypt essentially Ptolemaic Egypt under new, maybe indifferent, management, or did Roman rule substantively, maybe proactively, alter the administration, economy and society of Egypt? In this paper I review what this ongoing debate has produced in the way of more-or-less agreed results, what important areas of dispute or ignorance remain, and how the debate might be advanced in the future. I focus on the development of a civic society, and stress the need to consider changes in Egypt in the context of wider developments in the Roman empire, including the historiography of 'Romanisation'.

Nicola Reggiani (University of Heidelberg) – *see* Shimon Epstein, Nicola Reggiani, 'Data processing and state management in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt: The project "Synopsis"'

Lucian Reinfandt  
(University of Vienna)

COPTIC AND ARAB EGYPT:  
ARABIC PAPHYROLOGY

Arabic Papyrology is flourishing again and has come back to the family. This was only made possible due to a conjuncture of fortunate circumstances: the foundation of a scholarly association and subsequent regular conferences; the establishment of electronic research facilities; the institutionalisation of teaching and research by the appointment of distinct papyrologists on prestigious chairs of Arabic Studies; a revival of interest in documentary research inside the discipline and a certain 'trendiness' of editorial work among students especially from the Middle East; challenging reconsiderations of what is a document as well as the epistemological value of textual artefacts; the support and hospitality of the other papyrological disciplines and their growing awareness in cross-lingual matters; and, of course, the enthusiasm and tenacity of the many involved. The stage is set for decisions. What direction is Arabic Papyrology to take in the next years? The fact that Arabic papyri are material remains of a culture conceived by contemporary Middle Easterners as theirs is a lucky chance, but requires careful thought. Also has the cooperation with other language groups to be expanded especially in regard to the exchange of electronic and other data. And editions have to be produced, and used. My plenary talk will give an overview of recent research in Arabic Papyrology, will discuss the value of the Arabic material for research on *Coptic and Arab Egypt*, and will drop some hint at the benefit of our field for the discipline of Papyrology in general.

Fabian Reiter (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) – see Paul Bartels, Marius Gerhardt, Anna Monte, Fabian Reiter, 'Berliner Papyrusdatenbank (BerlPap)'

Sofie Remijssen  
(University of Mannheim)

CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE RHYTHM OF LIFE?  
ON SUNDAYS IN LATE ANTIQUE PAPHYRI

On Tuesday the 7th of March 321, Constantine decreed that all officials, city people and artisans had to rest on Sunday (*Cod. Iust.* 3.12.2). Only four years later,



a papyrus documenting proceedings before the *logistes* at Oxyrhynchus shows that Sunday had spread as a day of rest to Middle Egypt: on Saturday the 2nd of October 325, a verdict had not been reached in a particular court case, so it was postponed to the 4th, as the 3rd was a Sunday (*P. Oxy.* LIV 3759). One could infer from this that the Constantinian law resulted in a quick Christianization of the rhythm of life in Roman Egypt.

Such wide-reaching conclusions should not be based on one papyrus, however. That days of the week continue to be rarely mentioned in papyri, even in the fifth and sixth centuries, warns us to be cautious. If the rhythm of life of Late Antique Egypt was determined by a recurring day off work, papyri written on Sundays should be conspicuously absent from the papyrological record, as they are from the paperwork in a modern home. This can be checked, even though papyri rarely mention weekdays, because there are about 1500 precisely dated texts written after 321. On the basis of this corpus, one can investigate what did people do on Sundays, how does this compare to their activities on other days of the week and do we see a change (the impact of Christianization) throughout the centuries? Already Constantine made exceptions for farmers, as the time for sowing and harvesting depended on natural conditions, but according to the papyri ignoring Sunday rest was more a rule than an exception, and it remained so for a surprisingly long period.

Timothy Renner  
(Montclair State University)

#### IMPERIAL SLAVE HIERARCHIES AND THE DOCUMENTS FROM BERENIKE

Between 1996-2001, approximately 260 documents, a large proportion of them ostraka dating to the later Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, were excavated at the Red Sea port of Berenike. One of the historical topics on which this material has the potential to shed new light is the organization and the activities of the *Familia Caesaris*, a number of whose members are mentioned in the Berenike texts. Although many questions also need to be asked about the nature of involvement in economic activities by imperial slaves and freedmen at Berenike, the focus of this paper is on how the new texts corroborate and extend our picture of what I would call the hierarchy of slave sub-families within the *Familia Caesaris*, especially the ownership of slaves by slaves (sometimes by slaves of

slaves) and the promotion of these *vicarii* to more direct ownership and/or grades of job responsibility. This picture can already be partially seen in Latin inscriptions from the western Roman provinces, but outside the world of funerary inscriptions it is brought to life by everyday business documents in Latin from Julio-Claudian Puteoli, by several texts in *O. Petrie*, and by a number of the Abusir-el-Meleq documents from Augustan-era Alexandria in *BGU IV*. The new evidence from Berenike provides an interesting new window on these phenomena and confirms the existence, at this remote edge of the empire, of the types of organizational and personal relationships which appear to be fundamental to many activities of the Familia Caesaris across the Roman world.

Markus Resel  
(University of Vienna)

ZAHLUNGSANWEISUNGEN  
AUS DEM TEMPEL DES SOKNOBKONNEUS IN BAKCHIAS EDITION  
VON TEXTEN AUS BERKELEY, HARVARD UND BOLTON

Auf der Papyrusrolle P. Tebt. Frag. 21, 412 aus der Sammlung der UC Berkeley sind mindestens neun Zahlungsanweisungen für Weizen des *grammateus* Zoilos an den *sitologos* Akousilaos aus spätptolemäischer oder frühromischer Zeit vereint. Während lange Zeit angenommen wurde, dass die Rolle aus Tebtynis stammt, weisen sowohl das Formular als auch die Prosopographie auf Bakchias (Kom Ūmm el-Atl) als Herkunftsort hin. Die Texte stehen in engem Zusammenhang mit jenen Zahlungsanweisungen, die von B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt und D.G. Hogarth während ihrer Grabungskampagne des Jahres 1895/1896 im Tempel des Soknobjkonneus in Bakchias gefunden und als *P. Fay.* 18 a + b ediert wurden. Im selben Band sind darüber hinaus mit *P. Fay.* 145–150 descr. Beschreibungen von sechs (teilweise nur fragmentarisch erhaltenen) Anweisungen publiziert, die sich heute in den Sammlungen der Harvard University (145 sowie 147–50) bzw. im Bolton Museum (146) befinden. Mein Beitrag wird die Edition der Rolle P. Tebt. Frag. 21, 412 und der descripta *P. Fay.* 145–150 sowie eine historische Analyse dieser Texte vorstellen. Im Mittelpunkt stehen dabei der prosopographische Kontext, die Verwaltung, die Nutzung von Tempeln als Archiv und die sozioökonomischen Verhältnisse in Bakchias während des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.

Daniel Riaño Rupilanchas  
 (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)  
 Holger Essler  
 (University of Würzburg)

‘ARISTARCHUS 2.0’ AND PHILODEMUS:  
 DIGITAL LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF A HERCULANEAN TEXT CORPUS

The paper presents the project and first results of an exhaustive linguistic analysis of the preserved works attributed to Philodemus. The analysis is carried out using the grammatical editor Aristarchus designed by Daniel Riaño. The program allows to tag morphologically, syntactically, semantically and stylistically every word of a given text and to perform very complex searches combining different parameters like morphology, syntactic function, lexical semantics, word order, referentiality, etc. Although the project focuses on the works written or attributed to Philodemus and other philosophical texts from Herculaneum, the program can be applied to any Greek or Latin text. The results are expected to play an important role in philological efforts towards the attribution of some of the “orphan” papyri. Another aim of the project is to produce a morphologically and syntactically annotated corpus that can be browsed and searched on-line.

Antonio Ricciardetto  
 (Université de Liège)

INVENTAIRE ET TYPOLOGIE  
 DES LISTES GRECQUES ET LATINES D’INGRÉDIENTS  
 PHARMACEUTIQUES CONSERVÉES SUR PAPYRUS, OSTRACON  
 ET TABLETTE (III<sup>E</sup> S. AV. J.-CHR.-VII<sup>E</sup> S. APR. J.-CHR.)

Dans la documentation papyrologique relative aux pratiques médicales de l’Égypte gréco-romaine et byzantine, le genre des listes d’ingrédients pharmaceutiques n’a encore jamais fait l’objet, ni d’un inventaire, ni d’une étude exhaustive. Dans le cadre de nos recherches doctorales sur la typologie des papyrus documentaires grecs et latins à caractère médical, c’est cette lacune que l’on se propose de combler, d’une part en cataloguant, au moyen de la fiche Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> du CEDOPAL, la trentaine de listes d’ingrédients pharmaceutiques provenant d’Égypte, écrites en grec sur papyrus et ostracon (III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-Chr. – VII<sup>e</sup> s. apr. J.-Chr.), auxquelles on ajoutera deux listes latines sur tablettes de bois, provenant du camp romain de Vindolanda (c. 100<sup>p</sup>), et, d’autre part, en analysant les aspects formels, paléographiques, textuels et contextuels de ces documents médicaux qui

peuvent correspondre, soit à un inventaire de droguiste, soit à une commande, soit à une ou plusieurs recettes dont l'état fragmentaire du support a fait disparaître les proportions. On comparera les données obtenues avec d'autres pièces papyrologiques, spécialement les nombreuses prescriptions médicales, ainsi que les comptes, les reçus de paiement ou encore les lettres privées relatives à des demandes de médicaments ou à la livraison de substances pharmaceutiques.

Tonio Sebastian Richter  
(University of Leipzig)

#### JURISTIC PAPHYROLOGY: COPTIC DOCUMENTS

The study of Coptic legal documents produced rich yields over the last years, and has appreciably furthered our knowledge of the society and legal administration of Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt; but there is still much left to be done. Coptic private legal documents bear evidence for the state of the Egyptian society and economy and their alteration shortly before and after the Arab conquest. Formulars, clauses, phrases, and legal terms used in Coptic documents of the 7th and 8th centuries are virtually identical to those of pre-conquest Greek deeds, thereby attesting not just a cross-linguistic scribal tradition, but a continuity of the legal and economic foundations of Byzantine Egypt until that time. In the course of the 9th century however, the transmission of "Greek documents in Coptic dress" fades and eventually stops, apparently as a result of changes in the legal practice, and of the transformation of social and economic realities towards a new type of society. Late Coptic legal documents reflect Arabic legal formulars and terminologies. But their *raison d'être* is questionable; they might have been lacking validity in court, although Coptic individuals by then had the choice to register their private business by means of Arabic documents, and in terms of Islamic law. The announced paper aims to provide a balance of recent achievements and future tasks in the field of Coptic juristic papyrology.

Chris Rodriguez  
(Université Paris-I Panthéon Sorbonne)

#### LE CRI D'UNE VICTIME DE LA TYRANNIE : LA THÉÂTRALISATION DES DÉBATS DANS LES *ACTA APPIANI*

Toute personne qui se risquerait à l'étude des *Acta Alexandrinorum* ne doit jamais oublier leur caractère semi-littéraire: si nous y décelons en général une base his-

torique, les exagérations ou autres détails qui ne sont jamais mentionnés dans les procès-verbaux jouent un rôle primordial dans cette littérature de pamphlet qui, par sa nature, ne peut pas s'avérer objective.

Les éléments d'exagération se révèlent particulièrement nombreux dans le texte des *Acta Appiani* (Musurillo XI = *CPJ* II 159) où ils visent à l'effet théâtral. Le procès du gymnasiarque alexandrin Appien devant Commode (vers 190), dont nous ignorons les circonstances, devient dès lors une sorte de pièce tragico-comique.

La mise en scène théâtrale des procès est assez fréquente dans la littérature grecque dès le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ces procès et les exécutions qui s'ensuivent sont un moyen soit de défier une autorité, dans le cas des condamnés, soit au contraire de renforcer l'autorité détentrice du pouvoir en écartant définitivement son adversaire. Le procès devient dès lors une tribune politique où toute l'attention est portée sur la gestuelle, le choix des mots et la préparation du discours.

Dans le cas qui nous intéresse, Appien fait penser à un héros de tragédie, prêt à se sacrifier pour sa cité. L'appel à la colère de la foule à la vue de sa condamnation en est une traduction évidente : il doit y avoir des témoins à ce sacrifice courageux. Face à lui, Commode rappelle un tyran de tragédie, intransigeant, qui à l'instar d'un Créon dans *Antigone*, pose de nombreuses questions et stimule la réflexion de son interlocuteur et du public. Il se dessine donc tout au long de cet échange une intrigue théâtrale dont le héros est Appien, à la fois symbole et personification d'Alexandrie. Au-delà des deux personnages, l'auteur du texte dépeint par ailleurs un débat politique et philosophique plus ample, directement dans la lignée de la Seconde Sophistique, où les deux protagonistes se muent en figures allégoriques de l'Hellénisme et de la Tyrannie.

Cornelia Römer  
(German Archaeological Institute, Cairo)

#### WATER FOR PHILOTERIS

After finishing the archaeological survey of Philoteris in the Themistou Meris some time ago (cf. *ZPE* 147, 2004, 281–305), I had the chance in recent years to collaborate with the team of Tomasz Herbich in a geomagnetic survey, and to do some excavation work with a team of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo.

The paper will illustrate the results of both archaeological activities focusing on the means of water supply for the village, which died in the 4th century AD; of particular interest in this respect is the construction of canals supplying water to the site, huge basins (water storage?) in the north, and clear signs of abandoned canals to the west of the village. Enigmatic features between the canals

and the basins seem to show a sophisticated system intended to make life enjoyable in the village, as long as it lasted.

Lucia Rossi  
(Université d'Aix Marseille)

NAVIRES MARCHANDS  
ENTRE LE NIL ET LA MÉDITERRANÉE: POUR UNE CONTRIBUTION  
À L'ÉTUDE DE LA MOBILITÉ COMMERCIALE SUR LE NIL

La navigation commerciale sur le Nil constitue l'un des aspects les plus significatifs de l'économie de l'Égypte lagide et romaine. Les données transmises par les documents papyrologiques et, plus récemment, par les épaves antiques, fournissent la matière à une réflexion sur les caractéristiques de la navigation commerciale sur le Nil et sur les relations, de nature économique et logistique, qu'elle entretient avec le commerce maritime. Une question particulièrement délicate a souvent été discutée par les savants : elle concerne les éléments de jonction économique et logistique entre les univers commerciaux fluvial et maritime, qui apparaissent pour la majorité catégoriquement séparés. La lecture et l'analyse attentives des documents papyrologiques révèlent des informations qui remettent en cause cette conviction et invitent à s'interroger sur la possibilité effective de connexion entre ces deux contextes commerciaux.

Dans cette perspective, je m'attarderai sur l'étude des navires marchands connus par la documentation papyrologique d'époque lagide et romaine, en portant une attention majeure à leurs caractéristiques nautiques. Cette enquête s'enrichira d'une étude comparée avec, d'une part, les informations livrées par les sources littéraires et, d'autre part, les résultats des recherches récentes en archéologie navale, en particulier concernant les épaves fouillées dans la Méditerranée orientale et en Égypte. Je proposerai ainsi une interprétation nouvelle d'un type de navire connu par la documentation papyrologique, à savoir le *kerkouros*. Plus généralement, l'approche diachronique permettra d'apprécier les transformations survenues dans les pratiques de la navigation nilotique entre l'époque lagide et l'époque romaine et d'interroger le rôle des institutions dans ce contexte.

Consuelo Ruiz Montero (Murcia) – *see* María Paz López Martínez, Consuelo Ruiz Montero, 'The Parthenope's novel: P. Berol. 7927 + 9588 + 21179 revisited'

Simona Russo  
 (Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», Florence)  
 Jean-Luc Fournet  
 (École pratique des hautes études, Paris)

LA CULTURA MATERIALE NEI PAPIRI:  
 UN NUOVO STUDIO LESSICOGRAFICO

Nell'ambito di un progetto più ampio di indagine e studio della cosiddetta 'Cultura materiale' dell'Egitto antico, si presenta qui l'organizzazione di un nuovo studio lessicografico. Suddividendo il materiale lessicografico in settori di comodo si vuole creare un vero e proprio dizionario di oggetti e beni di utilizzo quotidiano quale emerge dalla documentazione papirologica dell'Egitto greco-romano. Questo si presenta anche come il punto di partenza per un'indagine sempre più approfondita e completa sulla produzione artigianale e, più in generale, sulla vita quotidiana dell'Antichità egiziana.

Patrick Sängler  
 (University of Vienna)

THE MEANING OF THE WORD *POLITEUMA*  
 IN THE LIGHT OF THE DEUTEROCANONICAL BOOKS  
 OF THE OLD AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

The word *politeuma* is frequently used in the Greek language (from the Classical till the Late Antique Period) and has a wide spectrum of meanings. It can, for instance, refer to a 'political act' or appear as a term for 'citizenship', 'state' or 'government'. As a technical term *politeuma* can, in the context of a Greek city or polis, also refer to the political leading class of population as a sovereign body with specific rights. However, the word as a technical term is not just restricted to the political organisation of a Classical Greek polis, but can also be applied to name a specific and organised group of persons within an urban area. In this context—mainly attested by inscriptions and papyri—we are dealing with minorities whose ethnic designation points to a migrant background. The members of such a *politeuma* were concentrated in a certain district of a (at least at first) foreign town where they lived as a community and held a semi-autonomous status. Such *politeumata* we encounter in the Ptolemaic kingdom: in Egypt, for example, a *politeuma* of Boeotians, Cilicians, Cretans, Idumaeans, and of Jews is attested.

The paper intends to show that the last-mentioned semantic level can be traced back to deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament, an approach, which was never taken systematically. By analysing the use of the verb *politeuomai* in deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament this investigation will show that the word *politeuma*, deeply anchored in Greek constitutional law, was reinterpreted in Hellenism as mirrored by deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament. Still, *politeuma* was connected to institutionalised communities living in a certain place, but instead of forming the body of a Greek *polis* and thus, legally viewed, being citizens, their members were primarily defined by sharing a common origin, religion, and law without holding the citizenship of a *polis*. In this sense the Ptolemies most likely adopted the term for creating a form of organisation dedicated to population units as described above. In a final outlook we will see that also the apostle Paulus used the word *politeuma*. The exact meaning of this word in Paul's language, however, is open to debate.

Maroula Salemenou  
(British School at Athens)

SURVEY ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF DOCUMENTS  
IN DEMOSTHENES, *DE CORONA* (OR. 18)

New Demosthenes papyri invite us to reconsider the question of the authenticity of documents included in the speech *De Corona*. Many scholars reject the transmitted documents entirely, suggesting that students of rhetoric in Hellenistic or Roman times drew on information provided by Demosthenes in the speech to fabricate suitable texts. Other scholars defend –at least in part– the value of the documents; it has been ably demonstrated after thorough scrutiny in their studies that some documents are almost certainly genuine, while others present readings which might go back to the earlier stages of the transmission of the documents or even the genuine documents which Demosthenes introduced as evidence. The challenges connected with the evaluation of the authenticity of documents found in the speech *De corona* seem to require a general and more extended discussion (than could be given in the notes to the papyri editions), where I preliminarily conclude that genuine or suspicious elements are present or absent in varying degrees in virtually all documents. Study on the subject of their authenticity should be therefore based on the form and the content of each document individually before the balance can be drawn and a collective judgement passed.



Erja Salmenkivi  
(University of Helsinki)

TEBTUNIS IN 1900, BERKELEY IN 2012:  
ON RECENTLY CONSERVED CROCODILE CARTONNAGE FRAGMENTS  
IN THE CENTER FOR THE TEBTUNIS PAPYRI

It was by accident that Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt discovered the amazing fact that even the mummified sacred crocodiles were sometimes wrapped in or stuffed with papyri. This happened on January 16th, 1900. After the excavation season in Tebtunis, the papyri were shipped to Oxford, and after their publication, they arrived at Berkeley, because the Tebtunis expedition had been made possible by the generosity of Phoebe Apperson Hearst on behalf of the University of California. In winter 1900 in Egypt, Grenfell and Hunt were busy both deciphering the texts and packing the papyri and cartonnage fragments into tin boxes for transportation. One of the boxes (numbered ominously 13) was tagged: “Includes substantial roll of private accounts, disintegrating. Note: from the same cartonnage as *P. Tebt. 177*.” *P. Tebt. I 177* is only described in the first volume of the Tebtunis Papyri: “10.1. Height 23 cm. Six columns of an account in a large thick hand, chiefly dealing with wine. A *περίδειπνον* and *ξένοι* occur (cf. 118), and a *κεράμιον* of wine is priced at 2400 and 2300 dr. The sixth year is mentioned, i.e. BC 112–1 or 76–5.” This paper will give an overview of the conservation of the cartonnage fragments in the tin box 13 in Berkeley in 2012. Furthermore, the contents of *P. Tebt. I 177* and the new fragments of private accounts will be discussed.

Michael C. Sampson  
(University of Manitoba, Winnipeg)

A NEW RECONSTRUCTION OF SAPPHO 44  
(*P. OXY. X 1232* + *P. OXY. XVII 2076*)

Sappho’s forty-fourth poem, the so-called ‘wedding of Hector and Andromache’ has long proved as controversial as it was captivating: upon the publication of its first fragment (*P. Oxy. X 1232*), for example, no less an authority than Wilamowitz questioned the attribution to Sappho. The publication of a second papyrus (*P. Oxy. XVII 2076*) thirteen years later laid such doubts to rest, but the poem remains enigmatic—particularly for how it obfuscates the relationship between the Aeolic lyric and Ionic epic traditions. Because its opening is lost and a central portion is lacunose, literary interpretation has enjoyed considerable liberty in handling the poem.

Despite the labors of editors as talented as Aloni, Lobel, and Voigt, the text has not changed much since Hunt's *editiones principes*, separated by a period of thirteen years. A reevaluation of the papyrological evidence is now overdue, and in this paper, I propose a new reconstruction of *P. Oxy.* X 1232 in light of the testimony of *P. Oxy.* XVII 2076. The resulting reconstruction of the fr. 44 as a whole, which more precisely fixes the poem's beginning and the size of its central lacuna, sets the poem on a firmer foundation and provides parameters for its future interpretation.

Carlos Sánchez-Moreno Ellart  
(University of Valencia)

GERICHTSAKTEN  
IN DER SAMMLUNG DER UNIVERSITÄT TRIER

Im Zentrum des Vortrags stehen neue Gerichtsakten aus Herakleopolis vom Anfang des 2. Jhs. vor Chr. aus der Trierer Papyrussammlung. Es handelt sich um Vorladungen, Verträge, Zeugenaussagen und Signalements von Ladungszeugen aus demselben Archiv wie *P. Heid.* VIII 412–417 und *P. Mil. Vogl.* inv. 1297 (vgl. G. Cavallo/H. Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands*, Berlin, New York 2008, S. 70, Nr. 39).

Marco Antonio Santamaría  
(University of Salamanca)

THESEUS' AND PIRITHOUS' CATABASIS  
IN *P. IBSCHER* COL. I (HES. FR. 280 M.-W.  
= MINYAS FR. 7 BERNABÉ)

*P. Ibscher* col. I contains a fragment of an archaic Greek epic poem, in which a hero, probably Theseus, talks to the soul of Meleager in Hades. This latter hero explains how he died and asks Theseus why he has descended to the realm of the dead. He answers that he planned to kidnap Persephone so that Pirithous should marry her. It is not clear whether this fragment belonged to Pirithous' *Catabasis* attributed to Hesiod (Merkelbach and West included it as fr. 280 in their *Fragmenta Hesiodica*) or to the epic poem called *Minyas* (fr. 7 Bernabé). This paper tries to shed light on this question and to analyse the influence of *Odyssey* II in the structure and motifs of the fragment.

Panagiota Sarischouli  
(Democritus University of Thrace)

*BKT* IX 158 REVISITED:  
NOT A PROSE FRAGMENT BUT AN EXTRACT  
FROM JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS

Re-edition of *P. Berol.* 21254r, a badly damaged fragment broken on all but one side with remains of a literary or semi-literary text written in black ink; the text displays interlinear corrections in red ink made by some ancient *diorthotes*. A short description and provisional transcription of the papyrus was published by G. Ioannidou, *BKT* IX 158 = *LDAB* 4982 = Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> 2797.88. The text is set out as prose; we seem to have a dialogue within a framing narrative. Unfortunately, the remains cannot be identified with an otherwise extant text. This paper tries to determine the precise nature of the fragmentarily preserved contents of this interesting and intriguing papyrus text.

Antonia Sarri  
(University of Heidelberg)

HANDSHIFTS IN LETTERS

Examination of letters in the combined papyrological databases of HGV and DDBDP in the Papyrological Navigator shows that about 13% of the published letters have been described by the editors as containing at least one handshift (i.e. change of handwriting); however, it is often recognised that it is difficult to tell a true change of hand from a change of style of handwriting by the same scribe. The phenomenon of changes of hands in letters has received scholarly attention, but discussion is usually limited to subscriptions in private letters and relevant references in literary or New Testament letters. This paper presents the results of the examination of a large sample of letters from Graeco-Roman Egypt, which includes not only private letters, but also official and business correspondence. Attention is paid to the palaeographical characteristics of handshifts, their position, content and style, as well as their function within the type of letters to which they belong. In this way, similarities and variations are identified and correlated with the typology of letters, the status and relationship of the correspondents, and the habits of letter-writers over time.

Maria Chiara Scappaticcio  
(Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II)

CONIUGARE NELL'UNA E NELLA ALTRA LINGUA.  
SONDAGGI DALLE FLESSIONI VERBALI GRECO-LATINE  
SU PAPIRO

Soltanto due sono i papiri bilingui greco-latini che contengono tavole flessive di verbi, in cui le forme di una lingua sono trascritte in parallelo a quelle dell'altra; sporadici resti di più asistematiche flessioni verbali, invece, si trovano all'interno di papiri contenenti testi da glossari bilingui di vario argomento.

Un'analisi tra il sistema flessivo dell'inedito P. Oxy. Inv. 103/182a (II d.C.) e quello del P. Strasb. Inv. G 1175 (IV d.C.), alla luce di quanto è altrimenti noto dalla tradizione grammaticale greca e latina in cui si argomenta delle coniugazioni nonché dai glossari bilingui raccolti nel *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* di Georg Goetz e Gotthold Gundermann dove non mancano sequenze di verbi coniugati, punta ad isolare una serie di elementi comuni e che rientrano all'interno di una specifica tradizione grammaticale.

Schafik Allam  
(University of Tübingen)

HIRING AND BUYING A DONKEY IN PHARAONIC EGYPT

Texts and depictions from Pharaonic Egypt reveal that donkeys played a substantial role in the daily life of the people; the animals were used as means of transport and for cultivating the land. Though donkeys were so common in everyday life, scientific attention was hardly devoted to them till recently – when written documents appeared, giving us insight into the dealings of people who engaged in legal disputes over donkeys.

Pertinent texts came down to us from the community of workmen at Deir-el-Medineh (in Thebes-West) during the 13th-12th centuries BC. They clearly show donkeys being hired out for work during a limited period or being sold through changing hands of the persons in question. Hiring a donkey or buying it entailed not only handing over the payment, which the interested persons negotiated beforehand. Legal responsibilities were equally at issue, as different clauses were to be agreed upon regarding the liability of each partner. Furthermore, court minutes attest to many conflicts arising between the interested persons, who eventually went to the law seeking to settle their differences by means of a court decision.

Gesa Schenke  
(Institute for Area Studies, Leiden)

RASHID IBN CHALED AND THE RETURN OF OVERPAYMENTS  
MADE INTO THE STATE TREASURY

An early 8th century London papyrus preserves a legal agreement drawn up between the presbyter of a village in the district of Hermopolis and Rashid, amir (pagarch) of the city of Hermopolis, concerning the return of money overpaid into the state treasury. The document is dated to the 17th of April 716 or 731 and sheds further light on the career of the well-attested eighth-century Muslim official Rashid ibn Chaled, who was a pagarch of Heracleopolis at one point and of Hermopolis at another.

Sandra Scheuble-Reiter  
(Technical University, Chemnitz)

NEUES ZUM HIPPARCHIENSYSTEM DER PTOLEMÄISCHEN  
REITEREI – EIN UNPUBLIZIERTER PAPYRUS DER TRIERER  
PAPYRUSSAMMLUNG (P. UB TRIER S 77-43)

Ein noch unpublizierter Papyrus (P. UB Trier S 77-43), der aus sieben nicht aneinander passenden Fragmenten besteht, soll vorgestellt werden. Der Text stammt vermutlich aus dem Arsinoites und gehört in die zweite Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Der Papyrus ist von großem Interesse: Neben den aus anderen Papyri schon gut bekannten nummerierten Hipparchien werden hier erstmals die ethnischen Hipparchien der Makedonen, Thessaler, Thraker, Perser und Myser in hierarchischer Ordnung aufgelistet. Für solche ethnische Hipparchien besitzen wir bislang nur einige wenige Einzelbelege. Neben einer allgemeinen Vorstellung des Papyrus' und seines Inhaltes soll der Versuch unternommen werden, die einzelnen Fragmente in einen Zusammenhang zu bringen und eine Interpretation des Dokumentes sowie eine historische Einordnung vorzunehmen.

Francesca Schironi  
(University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)

ORIGEN AND *P. GRENF.* I 5

I would like to present a paper on *P. Grenf.* I 5, a fragment from a papyrus codex

containing Ezekiel 5.12–6.3. This papyrus from the latter half of the third century CE has been neglected by scholars; however, because it shows significant textual differences from the Septuagint and because it carries the critical signs used by Origen, this fragment is very important for the reconstruction of Origen's work on the Bible. In my talk, I will first briefly compare the data offered by *P. Grenf. I 5* with two important witnesses of Origen's *Hexapla* – the *Cairo-Genizah Palimpsest* (7th century) and the *Mercati Palimpsest* (9th–10th century) – to address the debated question of where Origen used his critical signs: whether in the fifth column of the *Hexapla*, or in a separate edition containing the Greek text only. In the second part of my talk, through a synoptic analysis of *P. Grenf. I 5* and the *Codex Marchalianus* (*Vat. Gr.* 2125), a 6th century CE codex of the Septuagint preserving Origen's critical signs, I will show that *P. Grenf. I 5* better preserves the original system invented by Origen for his edition of the Septuagint; and, consequently, that it has a unique value for the study of Origen and for the influence of his work.

The goal of my talk is twofold. First, I will bring to attention a papyrus that is highly significant for the study of ancient scholarship on the Bible but which has somehow been neglected both by papyrologists and scholars of the Bible. Second, I would like to show how a comparative approach, which combines tools from different (but related) disciplines – papyrology, history of Greek scholarship, and Biblical studies – can yield interesting, new results concerning one of the most fascinating philological enterprises of Late Antiquity: the synoptic edition of the Bible by Origen.

Paul Schubert  
(University of Geneva)

#### ANOUBION, POÈTE ÉLÉGIAQUE ET ASTROLOGUE

Anoubion de Diospolis Magna (Thèbes ; Ier–IIIe s. ap. J.-C.) a composé un poème élégiaque de contenu astrologique dont nous ne possédons que des fragments transmis par la tradition indirecte et par des papyrus. Dirk Obbink a publié plusieurs nouveaux fragments papyrologiques avant de rassembler l'essentiel du matériel (édition Teubner) ; son travail a aussi fait l'objet d'un important compte rendu par Stefan Heilen. Nous nous proposons de produire une nouvelle édition commentée, en examinant dans le détail tous les témoignages et en étendant le corpus. Ce cours exposé constituera l'occasion de présenter une brève étude de cas, laquelle aboutira à l'amélioration du texte d'un fragment en particulier (*P. Schubart* 15 = F6 Obbink).

Seham D. El-Masry (Ain Shams University, Cairo): *see* Noha A. Salem, Seham D. El-Masry, New documents from *elaiourgoi* of Aphroditis archive

Shereen A. Aly  
(Ain Shams University, Cairo)

AN EDITION OF UNPUBLISHED  
GREEK OSTRACA FROM ELEPHANTINE

This paper is an edition of three Greek ostraca in the collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. They are all registered as coming from Elephantine. The dating of the texts spans the Roman period. They are receipts for various taxes, such as the poll-tax and *merismos*, dating back to the reign of Trajan (98–117).

The texts illuminate different aspects of life in Roman Egypt by adding new pieces of information and confirming or correcting previous data.

*See also* Noha A. Salem, Shereen A. Aly, ‘An edition of unpublished Greek ostraca from Cairo Museum’

Aneta Skalec  
(University of Warsaw)

THE WALL – BGU VIII 1844 RECONSIDERED

This contribution concerns BGU VIII 1844 (50–49 BC), a papyrus published in 1933 by Wilhelm Schubart and Diedrich Schäfer, containing a petition (probably to a strategos) concerning a problem with a wall. An analysis of a digital photograph of the document, available to me courtesy of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin, points to new readings of certain parts of this interesting and unique papyrus, especially in its beginning, with the intention of clarifying its context. This reinterpretation might shed some light on one of most obscure questions of neighbourhood relationships in Egypt, namely the use of one and the same wall by adjoining houses. In Egypt, this practice is confirmed by archaeological finds, but in papyri only few references to such a situation can be found. They are generally identified by the occurrence of the terms *ὁ κοινὸς τοῖχος*, *ὁ μεσότοιχος*.

The papyrus under discussion is one of only two documents in Greek directly confirming the existence of agreements related to walls of buildings, but unlike

the other one (*P. Münch. I 16*), dated to the 5th century AD and containing regulations similar to those known from the Roman law, it has not been a subject of any further studies since its publication. However, its role in the understanding of this problem is not to be underestimated, as it is the only document that gives us a glimpse of problems that might have arisen in case of violation of an agreement related to walls.

Gavin Smith  
(London)

FROM TAGS TO PAPHYRUS  
– CHANGE IN ATTITUDE TO LITERACY IN EARLY EGYPT

The development of writing in early Egypt revolves around the use of recognisable hieroglyphic devices known as ‘tags’ and pottery marks found in extant tombs of the nobles and rulers of the proto-dynastic and early dynastic. But what do they tell us about the emergence of writing as a response to improving literacy and the way in which these early symbols came to form the basis for papyrological usage as a pro forma response to socio-political change?

Literacy, common or elite, underpins the way in which information is disseminated and in the form it takes. Evidence of literacy in common form is almost apparently non-existent and literacy in elite forms omnipresent. So what does this tell us about the development of socio-political forms? Furthermore, what does it tell us about the development of papyrological writing as a response to these improvements? Thus, is it more important to understand ‘who is reading what and why’ as opposed to ‘who is producing it and for what purpose?’ If your average non-elite Nile Valley resident possessed little or no literacy; then, what ultimately was the purpose of producing unreadable texts and elaborating knowledge which served little or no essential purpose at this early stage?

Suzanne Soliman  
(Ain Shams University, Cairo)

THE POOR IN GRAECO-ROMAN AND ARABIC EGYPT

The word *πτωχοί* (beggars) occurs in Greek documents from the Ptolemaic through to the early Arabic period in Egypt. The way in which poor people presented themselves, changed over the centuries, but so did the attitude of those who cared for them.



Emilija Stankovic  
(University of Kragujevac)

#### GALERIUS, THE CO-EMPEROR OF DIOCLETIANUS

Diocletian was one of the Roman emperors who significantly marked the times in which they lived. Yet, he owed his success to his co-emperors, among which Galerius had a special place. They had a lot in common. They were both Illyrians, ruthless and brave warriors, and they built magnificent palaces in their birthplaces. Galerius' palace near Gamzigrad (Serbia), Felix Romuliana, could compete in its grandeur with Diocletian's palace, as well as with the imperial residences in Nicomedia, Antioch and Constantinople (although it is not as well preserved).

Diocletian chose Galerius to be his Caesar and officially granted him the title in 293 AD. In order to strengthen his bonds with Diocletian, Galerius married his daughter Valeria. He was put in charge of Oriens and Illyricum and chose Sirmium for his headquarters.

Diocletian made his assistants, one Augustus and two Caesars, real partners in performing the emperor's duties. The tasks of managing the state were divided between four rulers. Each of them had his own seat in another city, his own army, executive power and his own assistant in the form of a praetorian prefect. Thanks to Galerius and his skills as a warrior, the Illyricum borders were successfully defended despite constant Barbarian attacks. He was also known for his success in making new settlements by land clearing and cutting down trees. This land was settled by the Vandals who had been attacking the Empire: Marcomanni, Sarmatians, etc. Diocletian was very fond of his Caesar Galerius, always giving him instructions and full support. On the other hand, it is believed that Galerius' influence on Diocletian was enormous and that Diocletian's Great Persecution of Christians was undertaken under Galerius' influence.

Matthias Stern  
(University of Vienna)

#### “DAS GEFÄNGNIS EURES BERÜHMTEN HAUSES” – WELCHE GEFÄNGNISSE KONTROLLIERT DER PAGARCH?

Das Amt des Pagarchen im spätantiken Ägypten begegnet zumeist als Institution der Steuer- und Finanzverwaltung, doch finden sich auch Texte, in denen der Pagarch im Interesse des öffentlichen Sicherheitswesens agiert. Die Auswertung dieser Papyri erfolgt im Kontext des an der Universität Wien angesiedelten Forschungsprojekts „Police Authorities in Late Antique Egypt“ und bildet das

Thema meiner MA-Thesis. Im Rahmen meines Vortrags möchte ich einen der in dieser Arbeit untersuchten Aspekte herausgreifen, nämlich die Frage nach der Verantwortlichkeit des Pagarchen für das öffentliche Gefängniswesen. Dabei greife ich auf Modellkategorien von ‘öffentlichen’ und ‘privaten’ Handlungssphären zurück, wie sie auch in unserem Forschungsprojekt Anwendung finden. Die konsequente Verwendung dieses Modells ermöglicht eine differenzierte Sichtweise auf die Bedeutung des Pagarchen für die staatliche Verwaltung. Insbesondere die Textgattung der sogenannten Enthaltungsbürgschaften – als Sonderform der byzantinischen Gestellungsbürgschaften – spielt hierbei eine besondere Rolle.

Joanne Stolk  
(University of Oslo)

LANGUAGE CHANGE IN THE PAPHYRI:  
DATIVE BY GENITIVE REPLACEMENT IN GREEK

The papyri offer a valuable source for the development of the Greek language after the Classical period. One of the important changes at that time is the so-called “decline of the dative”. Since the last publication on the subject, J. Humbert’s *La disparition du datif en Grec* (1930), many more examples of ‘confusion’ between the dative and genitive cases have been uncovered in newly published papyri and ostraka. This makes it possible to give a more detailed analysis of the constructions in which the confusion arises. There are several types of evidence for language change in the papyri, such as the case corrections made by ancient writers on the papyrus itself and the corrections that were suggested by papyrologists. I compare the results of these approaches with an analysis of the usage of the first person singular genitive pronoun in papyri from the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine period. When does the genitive start to take over the functions of the dative? In which constructions is confusion most often found? Apart from individual and contextual explanations, the examples point to several factors that might explain the interchange of the dative and the genitive cases in papyrological Greek.

Marco Stroppa  
(Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», Florence)

I PAPHYRI GRECI DELL’*ASCETICON* DELL’ABATE ISAIA

L’*Asceticon* fissa per iscritto insegnamenti e riflessioni, in particolare per l’educazione dei monaci, attribuiti all’abate Isaia; le prime copie di questo testo prob-

abilmente cominciarono a diffondersi subito dopo la morte dell'abate Isaia all'inizio del VI secolo. L'*Asceticon* ebbe in seguito una grande diffusione nel mondo bizantino e orientale, tanto che fu tradotto in copto, siriano ed etiopico; per il testo greco è conservata una ricca tradizione testuale manoscritta risalente al medioevo. I testimoni più antichi sono tuttavia due frammenti su papiro, risalenti al VI/VII secolo, un'epoca molto vicina alla composizione dell'*Asceticon*. Il primo è un frammento di un codice papiraceo, custodito presso l'Archivio di Stato di Firenze; la sua provenienza è ignota, dal momento che risulta a Firenze già nel XVIII secolo e precedentemente fu forse oggetto di studio all'Accademia del Cimento. Contiene una porzione dell'inizio del *Discorso XXI, Sulla penitenza*, e un altro brano non identificato. Recentemente una nuova trascrizione condotta sull'originale ha portato alla scoperta e decifrazione di impronte speculari che rivelano parte del testo perduto.

Il secondo testimone è un papiro conservato presso la Columbia University di New York (*P. Col.* VIII 192), un frammento abbastanza ampio, proveniente da un rotolo usato verticalmente. Si legge parte del *Discorso IV, Sulla coscienza di quelli che vivono in cella*. Sull'altro lato del rotolo è contenuta la parte finale di un contratto per la vendita di un terreno (*P. Col.* VIII 244).

In entrambi gli esemplari siamo di fronte a copie che probabilmente non contenevano la raccolta di discorsi nella forma e nella struttura in cui sono attestati dai codici medievali, ma si tratta di libri in cui il materiale dell'*Asceticon* era riportato verosimilmente per *excerpta*. Quindi sono una testimonianza antica di come ciascun discorso abbia potuto avere una circolazione e una tradizione autonoma e disgiunta rispetto all'intero *corpus*.

Zsuzsanna Szántó  
(Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

#### CONTRIBUTION À L'ONOMASTIQUE DES JUIFS DE L'ÉGYPTE HELLÉNISTIQUE

Concernant les recherches sur les Juifs de l'Égypte hellénistique l'onomastique constitue un facteur très important. Certaines questions (comme les noms hébraïques et sémitiques) ont déjà été étudiées, et avec la publication du troisième volume de l'encyclopédie de Tal Ilan intitulé « Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity » nous avons la possibilité de confirmer ou de modifier les suppositions faites à ce jour concernant la pratique onomastique des Juifs d'Égypte. Le but de l'étude est de réviser toutes les sources disponibles et d'examiner quelle contribution nous pouvons fournir à l'aide de cette encyclopédie. Nous nous appuyerons avant tout sur des sources papyrologiques et de temps en temps sur des sources

épigraphiques et littéraires. La palette des noms portés par les Juifs d'Égypte est très large, nous y trouverons des noms hébraïques aussi bien que des noms sémitiques communs, grecs et même égyptiens. Nous tenterons de donner une image complète de ces noms en les plaçant dans l'Égypte hellénistique chronologiquement et géographiquement autant que possible, et enfin nous essayerons de trouver une explication sur la popularité ou la non-popularité de certains noms.

Valeria Tezzon  
(Humboldt Universität zu Berlin)

THE SYMPOTIC SONGS OF ELEPHANTINE P. BEROL. 13270 (MERTENS-  
PACK<sup>3</sup> 1924: LDAB 6927): A NEW PROPOSAL

*P. Berol.* 13270, found in 1906 by Otto Rubensohn during a campaign on the Egyptian island of Elephantine (Aswan), contains on the *recto* 21 lines of Greek text. The first eleven lines of continuous undivided lyric text are separated from the following 10 by a *paragraphos*. The text under the *paragraphos* records a sympotic elegy. On the left margin of the column, close to line 7-9, there are three words written one below the other *ΜΟΥΣΑΙ ΕΥΦΩΠΑΤ[. . .] ΜΝΕΜΟΣΥΝΗ*. The text appears to be written by two different hands. The papyrus from *Elephantine* has been the subject of several editions, translations and studies. In the light of the recent studies my paper aims to propose a new interpretation of the text based on the analysis of contents, language and stylistic peculiarities. The differences recognized in the handwriting will be examined in order to verify a possible explanation for the problematic presence of two writers.

Christoffer Theis  
(University of Heidelberg)

KOPTISCHE BIBELTEXTE AUS DER PAPYRUSSAMMLUNG  
DER UNIVERSITÄT HEIDELBERG UND IHR EINSATZ IN MAGIE

Im Vortrag werden einige ausgewählte koptische Bibeltexte aus der Papyrusammlung der Universität Heidelberg vorgestellt, die bisher noch unpubliziert sind. Die hierauf erhaltenen Passagen aus dem Alten Testament sind als beliebtes Textgut in magischen Werken bekannt, um den Worten durch die Macht der Heiligen Schrift Nachdruck zu verleihen. Es soll der Frage nachge-

gangen werden, für welche Zwecke die einzelnen Passagen eingesetzt werden konnten und ob hierbei ein Zusammenhang zwischen dem eigentlichen Text und dem Verlangen des Zauberspruchs bestehen muss. Die Epochen und Schriften, aus denen eine Verwendung selbiger bekannt ist, sollen mit in die Diskussion einbezogen werden, um einen möglichst weiten chronologischen wie kulturellen Kontext des Gebrauchs von kleinen Texten zu gewinnen.

Johannes Thomann  
(University of Zürich)

AN EARLY ARABIC HOROSCOPE ON PARCHMENT  
WITH A SQUARE DIAGRAM (P. VIND. INV. A. PERG. 236)

A parchment fragment with a diagram known from Arabic horoscopes was discovered recently in the Vienna Papyrus Collection. It contains the lower right quarter of the diagram with the names and positions of Mercury, the Moon and Mars. These data and the absence of other planets in the preserved part point to September 1002 CE. The date is further confirmed by the remark that Mercury was retrograde and the name of Jupiter was in the central field. At this date, Mercury was moving backwards and Jupiter was in an astrologically favorable position and might have been mentioned as the dominant planet in the horoscope.

Square horoscope diagrams with diagonal divisions of the corner fields were used in Arabic and Judeo-Arabic horoscopes from the Cairo Geniza in the 12th century. The earliest Greek square diagram for a horoscope is found in a codex from the 11th century, while in antiquity Greek horoscopes on papyrus and in inscriptions had exclusively circular diagrams. The Arabic example from 1002 CE further corroborates that this diagram type in Byzantine astrology was dependent on Arabic models.

Dorothy J. Thompson  
(Girton College, University of Cambridge)

A PTOLEMAIC HISTORIAN AMONG THE PAPYRI

In my paper I aim to draw attention to a range of recent (mainly Greek) texts and work of importance for the history of the Ptolemaic period. I am interested especially in the role that papyri can play when set against other forms of historical evidence.

Claudia Tirel Cena  
(University of Turin)

#### WHO HIDES BEHIND THE GOD DJEME?

In the demotic documents concerning Memnonia we often find the god Djeme, a god known only from these sources who does not seem to have left any traces in stelae, reliefs and epigraphical documents from Western Thebes, despite his importance. In fact, Djeme is attested in many ostraka from Memnonia. He had a temple called “pr”, i.e., a temple with an estate, as well as clergy: we know his pastophoroi and his prophets, who were in charge of the notary office of the Memnonia.

This paper will examine the attestations of the god Djeme through priestly titles, occurrences in onomastica, formulas of oaths and fines to be paid to the god. This material will be compared with evidence of the main deities attested in the temple reliefs from Western Thebes in order to clarify the nature of this god.

Sofía Torallas Tovar  
Amalia Zomeño  
(Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid)

#### NEW DISCOVERIES FROM SYENE: THE OSTRACA OF THE SWISS INSTITUTE, ASWAN

Since 2001, the Swiss Institute has excavated various areas of the modern city of Aswan, and especially a permanent area of excavation around the temple of Isis. Ever since the first campaign archaeologists have been unearthing ostraka, which now number almost 1400. These ostraka span from the Persian period up to the Fatimid period and are written in Greek, Coptic, Arabic, Latin, demotic and Aramaic. Most of the collections of papyri and ostraka have reached us through the antiquities market and therefore lack archaeological context. This is not the case of the ostraka of the Swiss Institute in Aswan, because we can trace where and in which context they were found. In this presentation we will explain the project and provide a general survey of the most important pieces of the collection. In addition, we will present the perspectives for the future of the project and show how these texts can be of great importance for the reconstruction of the history of Aswan.

Sven Tost  
(University of Vienna)

POLIZEILICHE ERZWINGUNGS- UND VERWALTUNGSSTÄBE  
IM SPÄTANTIENEN ÄGYPTEN

Da im spätantiken Ägypten die Leitung lokaler polizeilicher Aufgaben zur Aufrechterhaltung der öffentlichen Sicherheit liturgischen Amtsträgern oblag, waren diese zur Durchsetzung von Recht und Ordnung im besonderen Maße auf einen eigenen Apparat von Hilfs- und Exekutivorganen, Wach- und Schreibpersonal angewiesen. Die papyrologische Dokumentation der lokalen, städtischen und dörflichen Behörden gibt allerdings oft nur punktuell über den Einsatz, Aufbau, Charakter und die Aufgabenverteilung dieser Erzwingungs- und Verwaltungsstäbe Auskunft. Der Vortrag unternimmt den Versuch einer Synthese, welche sich auf eine Auswertung und Systematisierung der im inneramtlichen Schriftverkehr verstreut auftretenden Daten stützt und auf Ergebnisse des an der Universität Wien angesiedelten Forschungsprojekts "Police Authorities in Late Antique Egypt" Bezug nimmt.

Yvona Trnka-Amrhein  
(Harvard University)

SOME CONNECTIONS BETWEEN SESOSTRIS AND MEMNON

The warrior-kings Sesostris and Memnon were two heroic characters with distinct legendary traditions that belonged to different genres of Greek literature. While Sesostris was a culture hero and conqueror who inhabited the pages of Greek histories of Egypt and featured as the protagonist of a Greek novel, Memnon was an epic hero of the Trojan War and a semi-divine figure linked to the exotic and mysterious Ethiopians. However, despite these different literary contexts, there are scant but intriguing points of contact between the two figures when they appear as candidates for the disputed identity of a monument (Herodotus 2.106; Pausanias 1.42) or when they are remembered in the same place (Strabo 17.1.42 and Abydos graffiti Perdrizet & Lefebvre 31, 32, and 563). This paper explores these elusive connections and suggests that the association was inspired in part by the position Sesostris and Memnon came to hold as exemplars of their civilizations in the Greek and Roman view of Egypt. In particular, it argues that although Memnon was undoubtedly the more visible char-

acter who was connected with various places and monuments in the Egyptian landscape, Sesostris was an important figure whose legend was salient and recognizable enough to contend with Memnon. Without confronting the controversy behind the 'origins' of these figures, I suggest that they were both fictional characters with similar legendary accomplishments which served as useful paradigms for Greek and Roman constructions of an ideal Egyptian king.

Alexandros Tsakos  
(Bergen)

THE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS DISCOVERED AT THE MONASTERY  
OF QASR EL WIZZ, LOWER NUBIA

In 1964 and 1965, the Oriental Institute of Chicago excavated a number of sites on the border between Egypt and Sudan and on both banks of the Nile. One of these sites had a special significance for the Medieval Christian societies of Nubia: Qasr el Wizz, located in the immediate vicinity of the Bishopric of Pachoras, was the first securely identified monastery of the Christian Nubian world.

Among the discoveries from Qasr el Wizz, the textual finds are of unique importance. More than 200 inscribed objects have been unearthed, half of them manuscripts on parchment and papyrus.

Although no monograph on the site has been produced, two major textual finds have already been published: The only complete codex in Coptic ever found in Nubia (Hubai 2009) and a long bilingual (Old Nubian and Greek) graffito from the walls of the church at the monastery (Barns 1974).

Since 2011, a new project was initiated by Dr. Obluski from Warsaw, which envisions the preparation of a monograph on the monastery of Qasr el Wizz in the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition publication series. I am responsible for writing the chapter on the textual finds and in this communication I propose a first public presentation of the four Greek manuscripts found there.

Giuseppe Ucciardello  
(University of Messina)

NEW LIGHT ON P. STRASB. GR. 1406-1409

P. Strasb. Gr. 1406-1409 contain scattered papyrus fragments, probably to be dated to the 2nd-3rd cent. AD; they were assigned to Simonides' epinicians by



B. Snell in his *editio princeps* (*Euripides Alexandros und andere Strassburger Papyri*, "Hermes Einzelschriften" 5, 1937, 98-101). Snell's conclusions, previously accepted by C. Gallavotti (*RFIC* 66, 1938, 60) and A. Lesky (*DLZ* 49, 1941, 16), were subsequently challenged by other scholars: A. Körte (*APF* 13, 1938, 91-2) suggested that these fragments might contain some lost parts of Pindar's *Isthmians*, E. Lobel (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XXV*, London 1959, 45 n. 2) rejected the Simonidean attribution and B. Gentili (*RCCM* 2, 1960, 113-23) plumped for Bacchylides. In more recent times, no one has attempted to fathom these fragments, thus they have merely been reprinted among the *fragmenta adespota* by D.L. Page (*PMG*, fr. 921) and D.A. Campbell (*Greek Lyric V*, fr. 921). A fresh inspection of the fragments and new readings in some key-points of P. Strasb. 1407, col. ii allow me to identify the text behind these scattered pieces: they do not contain Simonides or lyric poetry, but an anonymous text of wisdom literature written no earlier than the end of the second century AD.; these fragments are, therefore, the oldest witness of this text. In my paper I wish to present (a) a general survey of previous scholarship on these papyri; (b) my new reading in the key-points; (c) the identification of the text, which will be discussed in detail.

Jakub Urbanik  
(University of Warsaw)

IT IS EASIER FOR A CAMEL...  
*EMPHYTEUSIS* AND THE ECONOMY OF HEAVEN AND EARTH

Among Late Antique papyri there is a large number of documents relating to emphyteusis – some deeds and an abundant quantity of receipts for emphyteutical rent. This relative popularity of emphyteusis is also reflected in the normative sources. The phenomenon is usually explained by the practicality of this legal figure from the economic and legal point of view. Thus, e.g. Gascou, who interpreted many lease-agreements as emphyteutic contracts, suggested the rise of emphyteusis be due to the system of management of large estates in Late Antiquity. Yet, if we follow Banaji's sound criticism of Gascou's interpretation of many simple lease contracts as emphyteutic grants, what we are left with is a predominant presence of various church persons (monasteries, pious associations, etc.) among the grantors of emphyteusis. In my paper I will try to re-examine the issue, confronting the Egyptian evidence of Greek and Coptic documents with some Latin deeds of the Ravennate church.

Usama Gad  
(Cairo – University of Heidelberg)

WHO WAS WHO IN BYZANTINE OXYRHYNCHUS  
(P. CAIR. SR 3049/56)

This paper presents a fragment of a Byzantine document stored in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo under the Special Register 3049/56. The fragment, which is very small, incomplete and undated, gives us a third “snapshot” of the late Oxyrhynchite aristocracy. Comparison with our other two snapshots (*P. Oxy.* XVI 2020 and 2040) suggests a date in the 580s or later. The papyrus preserves seven lines of what could have been a civic account of considerable size. It attests assessments in wine as well as gold; wine is a new fiscal medium in these accounts. The elites appearing in the account are 1) Ptolemaios ἐνδοξότατος (his heirs); 2) Ioustos ἐνδοξότατος (his heirs); 3) ἐνδοξότατος Ioannes στρατηλάτης; and 4) Theodoulos περίβλεπτος (his heirs). Most of these individuals are known only from *P. Oxy.* 2020 and 2040, but a small dossier exists for Ioannes (*P. Oxy.* XIX 2239 and LXIX 4955).

Yousry Deyab  
(Assiut University)

LAISSEZ-PASSERS IN THE LIGHT OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE  
FROM MONS CLAUDIANUS 98-117 AD

Mons Claudianus lies in a remote part of the Eastern Desert of Egypt, some 500 km south of Cairo and 120 km east of the Nile, at an altitude of c.700 m in the heart of the Red Sea Mountains. The site itself is a quarry settlement known for its granodiorite, which was used for imperial building in Rome during Roman rule in Egypt. It consists of a fort and its annexes (hydreuma, stables, baths, Sara-peion). The archaeological remains show that the most intense occupation of the site occurred during the late first and second centuries AD.

Between 1987 and 1993, the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale in Cairo conducted work by permission of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation. The work resulted in the discovery of 9200 ostraka from the period of Roman rule in Egypt. Jean Bingen, Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, E.H. Walter, E.A. Cockle, and Van Rengen published some of these ostraka in a book entitled *Mons Claudianus, Ostraca graeca et latina I* (*O. Claud.* 1 à 190), Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1992.

The current study aims at casting a closer look at thirty-five of these pub-

lished ostraka which form a hitherto unknown genre within the category of military documents. These thirty-five ostraka, as the publisher concludes, are passes allowing people to use the desert roads leading to the quarries, all of them dated to the reign of Emperor Trajan (98–117 AD).

After reading the contents of these passes, some questions arose. Who is the issuer of the laissez-passer? Who is the addressee? What is the formula used in the communication between the issuer and the addressee? Who is allowed to pass? What information do the laissez-passers contain about the travelers and the journey along the Claudianus quarries roads? Why are people forbidden to travel along the quarries roads without a laissez-passer? What is the purpose and significance of this ban?

Until now, all that has been determined is that a laissez-passer is a letter from the administration machinery of Mons Claudianus issued to all foreigners, who are not to approach the personal property of the Roman emperor, that is, Mons Claudianus, without a laissez-passer.

Silke Vanbeselaere  
Yanne Broux  
(Catholic University, Leuven)

AUTHORITY AND SOCIAL INTERACTION  
IN PTOLEMAIC AND ROMAN EGYPT. SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS  
AND THE ZENON ARCHIVE

The project ‘Authority and Social Interaction in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt’ aims to explore and visualize social networks and their development in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Starting from letters, petitions and contracts it studies horizontal and vertical relations as well as the different communicative strategies used. Graeco-Roman Egypt lends itself optimally to social network analysis because of the rich papyrological documentation, in which interpersonal connections are abundant. The database Trismegistos ([www.trismegistos.org](http://www.trismegistos.org)) with almost half a million attestations of personal names will serve as a starting point.

In a first stage, which we will present here, the project focuses on the archive of the Greek manager Zenon, with its 1,127 letters and 5,013 attestations of people. We will study connections between individuals, not only their direct ties, but also their shared presence in a papyrus. The conversion of a two-mode network (papyrus-actor link) to a one-mode graph (actor-actor link) will permit us to visualize the social relations of this well-known archive. On the basis of the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* and the principles of social network analysis, we will be

able to measure the centrality of particular people and groups, as well as the overall density of the network and compare this to modalities of interaction in the archive.

The combination of a dynamic digital platform with the visualization of social relations permitted by social network analysis will in itself already be a major step forward. It is in the quantitative study of social relations and their evolution, however that the most important advances can be made. This combination of quantitative and qualitative methods may lead to a refreshing view of the well-known archive of Zenon firstly and of social interaction in Ptolemaic Egypt in general.

Lorelei Vanderheyden  
(École pratique des hautes études, Paris)

LETTRES GRECQUES ET LETTRES COPTES  
DES ARCHIVES DE DIOSCORE D'APHRODITÉ

Les archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité (VI<sup>e</sup> s., Moyenne Egypte) qui sont le plus gros lot de papyrus documentaires que l'on connaisse pour la période byzantine, ont un contenu composite. On y a découvert la bibliothèque, les papiers d'affaires, mais aussi la correspondance de ce petit notable de l'Antaioupolite.

La correspondance de Dioscore était bilingue : il a écrit et reçu des lettres en grec, en copte et certaines de ces lettres ont été écrites dans les deux langues. A priori, il paraît clair que si le grec était davantage voué à des échanges administratifs, le copte était surtout employé au quotidien dans des sphères d'influences plus restreintes. De ce fait, les spécialistes ont longtemps pensé que les lettres coptes des archives étaient forcément des lettres d'ordre « privé », par opposition aux lettres administratives obligatoirement écrites en grec. Or en étudiant la documentation dans son ensemble, nous verrons que ces catégories sont plus perméables qu'il n'y paraît.

Je me propose de faire ici l'inventaire de toutes ces lettres grecques et coptes et de procéder à une étude comparative de ces deux dossiers qui jusqu'à présent se tournaient le dos. Le contexte d'envoi, les qualités et professions des expéditeurs et destinataires, la datation, de même que les contenus et la langue de ces lettres, nous apportent des informations qu'il faut mettre en regard les unes par rapport aux autres. Il s'agit en réalité d'une seule et unique communauté villageoise s'exprimant dans deux langues différentes. Car, loin des classifications que nous posons sur ces langues, les lettres grecques et les lettres coptes des archives ne sont en fait les deux faces d'une même médaille. Il faut donc étudier le dossier dans son ensemble afin d'en saisir toute la complémentarité.

Jacques Van der Vliet  
(Leiden University – Radboud University, Nijmegen)

COPTIC DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI AFTER THE ARAB CONQUEST

Although Coptic papyri appear from the fourth century onwards, the bulk of Coptic documentary texts is to be dated to the seventh-eighth centuries, and more in particular to the period following the Arab conquest of Egypt in the middle of the seventh century. After the year 800 the stream of Coptic documents seems to grow thinner quite quickly. The prolonged demise of Coptic as a language of written communication begins, leading to the disappearance of documentary Coptic in the eleventh century.

The picture briefly sketched here raises a number of questions that only recent research has started to address. These questions concern, for instance, the material basis of the assumption that the year 800 marks a stark decline in the use of Coptic. To which extent is this picture biased by the focus on a few regional centres or by a lack of scholarly interest in late paper documents? More interestingly, broader historical questions concern the sociological and sociolinguistic backgrounds of the development sketched above. The traditional paradigm offers insufficient explanation for the major changes in scribal habits, language selection and linguistic behaviour, including language death, that mark the period between the seventh and eleventh centuries.

The present paper looks both backward, by reviewing a number of recent publications that address these and similar questions, and forward, by pointing out some of the open issues in the study of post-conquest Coptic.

Peter Van Minnen  
(University of Cincinnati)

FROM POSIDIPPUS TO PALLADAS AND BEYOND:  
WHAT HAVE LITERARY PAPYRI DONE FOR US?

This paper will survey recent developments in literary papyrology broadly defined. How have they affected us, papyrologists? How has the editing of literary papyri informed the editing of other kinds of papyrological texts? How have new literary papyri enriched the study of Greco-Roman Egypt? What difference have new literary papyri in languages other than Greek made? And what can literary papyri still do for us?

Naïm Vanthieghem  
(Université Libre de Bruxelles)

LES PAPHYRUS ARABES DE STRASBOURG

La collection papyrologique de la BNU de Strasbourg abrite un bel ensemble des pièces arabes, au nombre desquelles les plus célèbres sont les *entagia* bilingues de Qurra ibn Šarīk publiés par C.H. Becker en 1906 dans *P. Heid. Arab. I*. Malgré l'intérêt qu'elle présente, cette collection est restée largement inexploitée et aucune étude d'ensemble n'en a jamais été proposée. Mon exposé donnera un aperçu de l'histoire de la collection et en montrera quelques pièces maîtresses. Pour clore mon exposé, je présenterai un décret inédit daté du mois de *dū al-qa da* de l'année 164 (juin-juillet 781): le P. Stras. Inv. Ar. 431.

Naïm Vanthieghem  
(Université Libre de Bruxelles)

LE VOYAGE DE JEAN BINGEN  
EN ANGLETERRE EN 1947

En 1947, le jeune Jean Bingen visite le British Museum à la recherche d'inédits des archives d'Héroninos, sujet de la thèse d'agrégation qu'il prépare. Dans ma communication, j'évoquerai la rencontre de Jean Bingen avec les papyrologues anglais. Je présenterai enfin une pièce inédite des archives du stratège *Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίανος*, découverte lors de ce voyage.

Christian Vassallo  
(Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Italy)

*PRAESOCRATICA HERCULANENSIA.*  
TOWARDS A COMPREHENSIVE EDITION  
OF THE EVIDENCE FOR PRESOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY  
IN THE HERCULANEUM PAPHYRI

This paper presents a method for collecting and systematizing the evidence for the Presocratics in the Herculaneum papyri. A catalogue of these sources (Cat-PrHerc) is the first step of a comprehensive edition with commentary of the wit-

nesses concerning the Presocratic philosophers contained in the Herculanean texts. They can be organized following the chronological succession of either the so-called Presocratic 'schools' (Milesians, Eleatics, Atomists, etc.) or individual philosophers (e.g. Heraclitus and Empedocles). In the *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (even before, in the *Doxographi Graeci*) Hermann Diels included roughly one hundred passages from the Herculanean papyri, mainly extracts from the works of Epicurus and Philodemus. Obviously Diels relied on now out-of-date editions. Thanks to the new editorial methods, the number of these witnesses is now likely to increase up to about two hundred items or even more. They can be divided in four classes: a) *Fragmenta*, i.e. passages directly belonging to Presocratics' works; b) *Testimonia*, i.e. indirect witnesses on their life and thought; c) *Nomina*, i.e. polemical or doxographical contexts where just the name of a Presocratic is mentioned; d) *Reminiscentiae*, i.e. Herculanean texts where a Presocratic's influence on a certain writer or on the source he paraphrases can be proved. The *CatPrHerc* aspires to help complete the *traditio Praesocratica* and possibly to be a substitute for the relevant sections of Diels-Kranz concerning the Herculanean evidence for Presocratic philosophy.

Natalia Vega Navarrete  
(University of Cologne)

*ACTA APPIANI:*

GERÜCHTE ÜBER DEN KAISERLICHEN HOF IN ALEXANDRIA

Die Fragmente *P. Oxy. 33* + *P. Yale Inv. 1536* (3 Jhdt. n. Chr.) erhalten auf dem Verso die sogenannten *Acta Appiani*, die zu dem *Acta Alexandrinorum*-Corpus gehören. Es handelt sich um eine Verhandlung vor dem Kaiser Commodus in Rom, in der der alexandrinische Gymnasiarch Appianos zum Tod verurteilt wird. Zwar beruht die Erzählung auf einen historischen Rahmen, die Fiktion und literarische Bearbeitung des Textes ist aber wahrscheinlich. Alexandrinischer Stolz, Patriotismus und Feindseligkeit gegen den Kaiser werden hervorgehoben. Am Ende stellt der Alexandriner wahrscheinlich die adelige Abkunft des Kaisers in Frage. Kleopatra, vermutlich die berühmte Kleopatra VII, wird in diesem Zusammenhang erwähnt. Ist das ein historischer excursus oder einfach in Alexandria verbreitete Gerüchte über die römischen Kaiser, die die anti-römischen Alexandriner in ihren propagandistischen Texten benutzt haben? Das Yale-Fragment, das fast 35 Jahre später als den *P. Oxy.* entdeckt wurde, kann nützlich für die Deutung des restlichen Textes sein. Hier wird versucht, die schwierigen Stellen zu diskutieren und durch den *P. Yale* und die historischen Belege den Text zu interpretieren.

Arthur Verhoogt  
(University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)

KARANIS GRANARY C123:  
CURRENT RESEARCH AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

Recent research projects at the University of Michigan have refocused on the second largest granary in Roman Karanis, known as C123. The projects include a 2012 undergraduate Honors Thesis that has reassessed the archaeology of the structure and has attempted a reconstruction of abandonment processes at work (Lash 2012). In addition, there are a number of forthcoming papers from Michigan graduate students that publish individual texts from C123 (Claytor, forthcoming; Lash-Verhoogt, forthcoming), and a 2013 graduate seminar has studied in detail a small selection of further papyri from C123, which shows the breadth of the documentary record in this structure. Ongoing cataloging efforts in the light of the APIS project have further shown that C123 is without doubt the structure that yielded the most texts from Karanis, with at least three boxes containing hundreds of fragments included among the 133 inventory numbers assigned to the texts and fragments from C123 (cf. Heilporn 2010: 249, n. 3). At the same time it has become clear that not all texts from the granary are related to the two family archives identified by Husselman as belonging to the possible dwellers in the structure (*P. Mich.* 9, Introduction).

This paper will summarize the initial findings from the various projects and try to tie them all together to present a fuller picture of the archaeology and papyrology of C123. The ongoing research, combined with what is going on in other structures in Karanis (Landvatter, in progress, on the insula including B224, the so-called “house of the Nilometer”), will provide an exciting platform for reassessing the excavations of, and the archaeological processes at work in Karanis.

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Herbert Verreth  
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#### TOPOGRAPHY OF EGYPT ONLINE

The Trismegistos database ([www.trismegistos.org](http://www.trismegistos.org)) keeps on growing and so do our tools for the topographical study of Egypt from the 8th century BC till the 8th century AD. Three years ago, we gave a first presentation about the geographical files available in the database. Now we want to give an update for the work that has been done since. We are still listing all toponyms known from Egypt in this period, providing for each place the basic information and an elementary bibliography. The main improvement is the addition of all the toponyms occurring in the 15362 demotic and abnormal hieratic texts listed in Trismegistos. Secondly, we are still collecting the references to all these toponyms in the Greek, Latin, demotic and Aramaic sources about Egypt, both literary and documentary. We no longer wait for the publication of each new *Sammelbuch* volume, but immediately enter the texts published in the major papyrological journals and refer to the toponyms they contain. Thirdly, we gathered information for the more than 120.000 documents from Egypt already listed in Trismegistos about the place where they have been found and/or written. This year, our database left the boundaries of ancient Egypt and broadened its scope - within the EAGLE project - for all Latin inscriptions from the Roman Empire, including the Etruscan and Italic material. This means that also every place in the ancient world where a (Latin) inscription has been found is entered into our geographical file. The work is far from complete and the choices to be made are not always easy, so every form of feedback is always more than welcome.

Marja Vierros  
(New York University)

#### STUDYING GREEK LANGUAGE IN THE POPYRI - A NEW TOOL IN PREPARATION

This paper presents the beginnings of the project SEMATIA: Linguistic Annotation of the Greek Documentary Papyri. The aim of the project is to apply linguistic annotation to papyrological material in connection with the already existing digital tools such as the Papyrological Navigator and Ancient Greek Dependency Treebank (Perseus). I will explore the new research possibilities opened by linguistic annotation as well as discuss the challenges due to the fragmentary nature of the material.

Sofie Waebens  
(Catholic University, Leuven)

*P. BAD. IV 72 AND THE INHERITANCE PROBLEMS  
OF SOLDIERS' ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN IN ROMAN EGYPT*

Starting from Augustus' reign, soldiers were subject to a marriage ban, prohibiting them to contract legal Roman marriages while serving in the army. A large number of soldiers nonetheless ignored this marriage ban and engaged themselves into long-term relationships with women. Although the Roman government took no punitive actions against such relationships, the effects of legal marriage were denied to them. Children born from soldiers' unions were therefore illegitimate and had no legal right to claim their fathers' inheritance – at least until Hadrian's reign, when they were granted the right of *bonorum possessio unde cognati*, allowing them to inherit intestate from their father (*BGU I 140* of 4 August 119). In this paper, I aim to reconsider the inheritance problems these children encountered through the reading of a particular text, *P. Bad. IV 72* (dating after 117), an inheritance dispute involving Sarapas and his elder sister, the illegitimate children of M. Longinius Valens. The papyrus is fragmentary but their claim on their father's inheritance was apparently challenged because he had changed his name from Psenamounis to M. Longinius Valens when joining the army, probably as a legionary. The key problem, which will be discussed in this paper, was whether his name change reflected a status change.

Thomas Wayment  
(Brigham Young University)

*P. OXY. LXIV 4405 AND THE EUSEBIAN CANONS*

*P. Oxy. LXIV 4405*, arguably one of the earliest fragments on papyrus to contain a portion of the Gospel of Matthew, preserves a previously overlooked feature that has implications for the dating of the manuscript. This fragment of Matthew 23:30–34; 35–39 was originally edited by Peter Parsons under the designation *P. Oxy. XXXIV 2683* (*TM* no. 61784), and subsequently the papyrus was reedited together with *P. Oxy. LXIV 4405* (*TM* no. 61784) when another fragment belonging to the same manuscript was identified and edited by J. David Thomas. Both of these editions passed over the system of versification that is noted in the manuscript through lines in the left hand margin and through the use of enlarged spaces. These primitive verse divisions in the manuscript agree

with the system of versification developed by Eusebius. The system of versification of *P. Oxy. LXIV 4405* will be compared to other systems of verse division that arose in the third and fourth centuries as well as the Eusebian canons known from the fourth century. Additionally, this presentation we re-assess the paleographic comparanda offered in the ed. pr. in light of this new evidence and how both of these new considerations suggest an alternate dating.

Laura Willer  
(University of Heidelberg)

#### DIE HANDHABUNG MAGISCHER AMULETTE IM RÖMISCHEN ÄGYPTEN

Aus dem römischen Ägypten sind mehrere Hundert Papyrusamulette bekannt, deren Inhalte (Bibelstellen, *voces magicae*, etc.) immer wieder Gegenstand der Forschung waren. Weniger im Blickfeld lag bisher dagegen der Umgang mit den Amuletten, ihre Wahrnehmung als Gegenstand, der produziert werden musste und ins tägliche Leben integriert war. Dementsprechend wurden sie in der Antike abhängig vom chronologischen, geographischen und sozialen Kontext rezipiert, wobei sie sich von anderen Amuletten aus Pergament, Edelsteinen (Gemmen) oder Holz unterschieden. Es soll Fragen nachgegangen werden, die eine solch praktische Handhabung der Amulette betreffen, wie z. B. wer in einer Gesellschaft mit hoher Analphabetenrate als Hersteller und Rezipient der meist nur von außen sichtbaren Amulette überhaupt in Frage kam, wie Amulette in den Alltag integriert waren und welches Wissen notwendig war, um Zugang zu diesen magischen Objekten zu erhalten.

Ewa Wipszycka  
(University of Warsaw)

#### LA GRANDE PERSÉCUTION: NOUVELLES SOURCES, NOUVELLES HYPOTHÈSES

La Grande Persécution est l'un de ces sujets de l'histoire de l'Église en Égypte dont l'étude est rajeunie par la publication de nouvelles sources, qui obligent à modifier les idées fixées dans les manuels. L'une de ces nouvelles sources, c'est un texte exotique, éthiopien. Il risque d'échapper à l'attention des savants qui s'occupent de l'Égypte. Ceux-ci auraient pourtant intérêt à tenir compte de la lit-

térature éthiopienne, car elle offre de nombreuses traductions d'ouvrages nés en Égypte et appartenant à plusieurs genres littéraires. Un codex éthiopien découvert récemment et contenant des textes liturgico-canoniques nous fournit, d'abord, de nouvelles listes d'évêques égyptiens du III<sup>e</sup> siècle – listes qui augmentent considérablement le nombre des diocèses attestés. En outre, il nous fournit la date exacte du martyre de Philéas et les noms des villes où trois évêques qui furent martyrisés avec lui exerçaient leurs fonctions – ce qui rend possible de renouveler la discussion sur le début et le caractère du schisme méli-tien. Enfin, par le fait d'indiquer le nombre de ceux qui subirent le martyre en Égypte pendant la Grande Persécution, ce texte éthiopien peut nous servir de guide dans l'utilisation d'autres textes, qui, pour la plupart, ne sont pas trop dignes de confiance en ce qui concerne le nombre des martyrs.

Marzena Wojtczak  
(University of Warsaw)

LEGAL ASPECTS  
OF DISPUTE RESOLUTION IN LATE ANTIQUITY  
– THE CASE OF *P. MICH. XIII 659*

*P. Mich. XIII 659*, published in 1977, forms a part of the extensive Aphrodite papyri collection and constitutes a significant example of settlement of claims as a way of dispute resolution. Even though the document was discussed on several occasions, its legal aspects still need further elucidation.

The papyrus provides a lengthy description of a dispute, which involved numerous persons on both sides. The defending party consisted of: Apollos, Paulus and Mary – children and heirs of a certain John, represented by the presbyter Victor, son of Besarion, and by Senutes, son of Apollos, whereas the prosecuting party was formed by: Psaios, son of Musaeus, and his wife Talus, daughter of Heraclius.

Issues that were dealt with – as duly noted by the editors – concerned:

- 1) payment of a price of fifty nomismata for a holding by John probably to Psaios and his wife;
- 2) the sale of two other holdings conducted by Psaios to the benefit of the defending party;
- 3) the controversy over the grain and money allegedly claimed by Apollos by way of taxes;
- 4) the pledge established by Psaios for the sake of the defending party in connection with a court fee and further provisions concerning this matter.

The document in question presents several difficulties when discussing its content from the legal perspective. Such matters as the complexity of the concluded sale, established pledges, probable reference to *longi temporis praescriptio*, indirect inheritance issues, potential appearance of the guarantee against eviction and depiction of these institutions in legal practice, as well as the applied means of dispute resolution form a subject of inquiry. Moreover, the problem of accordance of the applied solutions and description of undertaken measures with provisions of Roman law will be addressed. Consequently, a comprehensive legal interpretation of the papyrus' content will be offered.

Uri Yiftach-Firanko  
(Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

QUANTIFYING LITERACY  
IN THE EARLY ROMAN ARSINOITÊS: THE CASE  
OF THE ARSINOITE *GRAPHEION* DOCUMENT

Documents composed at the *grapheia* of the Arsinoite nome in the early Roman period were supposed to embed the parties' autograph confirmation of the terms of the contract. If the parties happened to be illiterate, their autograph confirmation was written by someone else, in which case their illiteracy had to be stated in the text of the confirmation. It is not surprising that most autograph confirmations that came down to us on contracts from the early Roman *grapheia*—roughly 75% of the total of 315 confirmations—contain the illiteracy statement. What is perhaps surprising, indicating at first sight a pretty high literacy rate, is that a quarter of all users of the *grapheion* documents were able to write their confirmation in person. In the proposed paper I will examine three issues: (1) not all those who are able to draft a very short text are equally capable of flawlessly drafting a longer, more complex text of everyday Greek prose; the first objective of the proposed paper is to assess the share of these 'flawless writers' among all literate users of the *grapheion* document. (2) As not all segments of the population were equally inclined to use the *grapheion* document, one should ask to what extent the abovementioned figures are indicative of literacy rate among the population of the early Roman Arsinoitês in general. A survey of other types of documentary genres that required autograph confirmation—in particular lease *hypomnêmata* and census declarations—may provide an answer. (3) Autograph confirmations are *essentiale negotii* in legal documents from the Ptolemaic and Byzantine period as well. Are their users as extensively literate as those of the early Roman *grapheion* document? Does the literacy rate fluctuate through time?

Rachel Yuen-Collingridge  
(Macquarie University, Sydney)

LEGIBILITY IN THE GREEK MAGICAL PAPYRI:  
THE TREATMENT OF FORMULAE IN *PGM* IV AND VII

It has often been presumed that scribes modified the legibility of their text in accordance with the use to which it would be put. The large hands identified in some early Christian manuscripts have been attributed by some to the use of such texts for recitation. The conditions which may have provoked the use of a large script are multiple, as has been recognised. The use of other lectional signs likewise cannot be taken as proof of recitation. Without a source body certainly used for such purposes, we cannot be decisive about the significance of these physical modifications to the text.

The transcription of magical practices onto papyrus would seem to offer an opportunity to observe a scribal attentiveness to recitation. Formulae and *voces magicae* had to be pronounced exactly to ensure the efficacy of the rituals involved. Therefore the accurate transmission and presentation of such phrases was more significant than in other textual traditions. Nevertheless, the textual variability apparent suggests that this sensitivity did not necessarily result in fewer corruptions to the text. Yet the frequent use of lectional signs and other techniques used to mark out such phrases attests to a concern for legibility. By examining the treatment of formulae and *voces magicae* within two compilations of magical material, *PGM* IV and VII, this paper will try to isolate the ritual pronouncements in order to test whether passages for recitation promoted a specific scribal treatment. This work forms part of a wider investigation of scribal practice within the scope of an Australian Research Council project 'Knowledge transfer and administrative professionalism in a pre-typographic society: Observing the scribe at work in Roman and Early Islamic Egypt'.

Amalia Zomeño (Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo, Madrid) – see Sofía Torallas Tovar, Amalia Zomeño, 'New discoveries from Syene: The ostraka of the Swiss Institute, Aswan'

**ABSTRACTS FOR POSTERS**





George Bevan  
Mitchell King  
Ian Longo  
(Queen's University)

#### INFRARED IMAGING OF OSTRAKA

The Royal Ontario Museum is home to a collection of about 1000 ostraka from Egypt. The ages of the ostraka vary widely, with some dating to Ptolemaic times and others recording Roman era taxes. These ostraka were not excavated by professional archaeologists, but were rather purchased by Charles Currelly and J. G. Milne. The collection has been studied by a number of scholars, and much of it has benefited from infrared imaging. For a low cost, we were able to produce high quality infrared images of the entire collection in a relatively short time. The current publication of the ROM's ostraka is split between two works, *Death and Taxes, Ostraka in the Royal Ontario Museum I*, and *Ostraka in the Royal Ontario Museum II*. These publications included ordinary visible light photographs of the ostraka collection. While much was accomplished in both of these works, there have since been improvements in infrared photography which allow much more to be achieved. Using these photographic techniques, a new and complete set of high quality images of these ostraka has been produced. A number of words and names have not yet been read with certainty, and these techniques will increase their legibility and allow for a better understanding of these artifacts.

Alexandra Evdokimova  
(Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences  
Indo-European Studies, Moscow)

#### ACCENTUATION IN THE GREEK AND BYZANTINE POPYRI

The poster shall deal with accentuation cases from Greek Byzantine graffiti and their interpretations using different cases from Greek popyri. A classification of the accentuation systems in popyri will be offered.

Déborah Kott  
(École pratique des hautes études, Paris)

#### RESEARCH IN PROGRESS: EFJD'S PROJECT

Since September 2009, a team of PhD students, post-doctoral scholars, and professors (Équipe Fonds Jouguet Démotique, EFJD) has been working on the demotic papyri of the Jouguet collection in the Papyrological Institute of the University of Paris-Sorbonne, Paris 4. These papyri come from mummy cartonnage and were excavated by Pierre Jouguet in the Fayyum in 1901 and 1902. Around 400 Greek and demotic documents have already been published but more than 1000 fragments are still unpublished. Most of the papyri date to the 3rd century BC and come from administrative archives. They include contracts and letters but most of all accounts, lists and land surveys, which help to understand the tax system and economic policy developed by the first Ptolemies in the Fayyum. The use of both Greek and demotic is also interesting for the study of interaction between Egyptians and Greeks in the administration. The fragmentary state of the documents and their deterioration caused by the plaster of the cartonnage make them difficult to read. However, infra-red photos and restoration work have led to substantial improvements. The aim of this poster is to give an overview of the Jouguet collection, focusing on the demotic documents, a description of EFJD's project and our preliminary results.

Leslie S.B. MacCoull  
(Society for Coptic Archaeology [North America])

#### NOTES ON OSTRACA IN THE COPTIC MUSEUM

Many of the Coptic texts on ostraca published by Crum in *P. Mon. Epiph.*, found in 1912-1914 (1:188-190), remain not at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York but in Cairo, formerly at the Egyptian Museum (as can be seen by the designations "MMA" and "Cairo" in vol. 2) and now in the Coptic Museum. Others were published by Crum in *O. Crum*, by Engelbach and Hengstenberg in journals, and by Cuvigny and Wagner in *O. Douch*. The publication in 2009 of S. Kent Brown's *Ostraca of the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo* provides 376 pages of descriptions (images are online; I thank the author for digital disks) with many texts still designated "unpublished." In this poster (to honor the 100th birthday of Paulinus Bellet) I try to connect some of the latter with their already known counterparts and relatives. More can be known of the correspondence of the monk-superior Elias, Epiphanius' third successor, who may have inhabited "Cell B" at

the Epiphanius site and left a Greek graffito on his wall; some of his ostraca are kept also in Cairo, at the IFAO (F. Calament in *Études coptes IX* [2006]). We also find Apa Petros, a Papnoute, Kal(l)inikos, and a bishop Joseph who can perhaps be added to Worp's checklist of bishops in *ZPE* 100. As the chronology of the Epiphanius site has been rearranged and extended later in time (by C. Thirard also in *Études coptes IX*), we can further contextualize this ascetic settlement by analyzing the personal and social networks that promoted the cult of a local holy man and his followers and successors until at least the mid-seventh century.

Roger Macfarlane  
(Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah)

MULTI-SPECTRAL IMAGING OF DAMAGED PAPYRI:  
*P. COL., P. MICH., P. TEBT., AND BEYOND*

A repository of specialized digital images that enhance the legibility of damaged papyrological texts has been made publically available by virtue of National Endowment for the Humanities Preservation and Access Grant (PW-50427-09). Access became public in June 2012 at <http://lib.byu.edu/sites/scholarsarchive/college-of-humanities/byu-multi-spectral-imaging-project/> a site that will be maintained perpetually by the Digital Initiatives administration in the Harold B. Lee Library of Brigham Young University. Collaboration with the curators and librarians at three American universities — the University of Michigan, Columbia University, and the University of California-Berkeley — resulted in the collection of this digital repository and will provide enhanced usage of that repository for years to come.

The Ancient Textual Imaging Group (ATIG) at Brigham Young University has pioneered developments into digital enhancement of deteriorated and damaged papyri using multi-spectral imaging (MSI). This process has rendered legible many stained, discolored, or faded portions of ancient documents through a non-invasive process of digital preservation. In effect, the process has restored the documents to a state of legibility that they have not possessed since antiquity. The repository represents the three-year collaboration between the ATIG and the partner institutions to capture, process, and provide public access to high-quality MSI of over four hundred legibly problematic ancient documents written in Greek on papyrus and ceramic fragments.

NEH Grant PW-50427-09 (\$349,000) was a two-year grant awarded in Spring 2009, extended by request for cost-free extension into 2012, and completed at the end of April 2012 when the Lee Library's site was opened to public access.

Mario C.D. Paganini  
(University of Copenhagen)

#### THE COPENHAGEN ASSOCIATIONS PROJECT

This poster presents the Copenhagen Associations Project (CAP), the first modern systematic investigation of private associations in Classical Greece, the Hellenistic world, and the Roman East (ca. 500 BC – AD 300). The project is based at the University of Copenhagen and directed by Prof. Vincent Gabrielsen. It involves the compilation of a comprehensive inventory of all known associations from the Greek-speaking world, as attested in inscriptions, papyri, and literary sources. The inventory will appear in a printed volume, whereas an electronic database will make the material available online. The inventory is organized in a way that straightforwardly conveys the information available for individual associations: they are recorded in individual entries, divided into thirteen main fields. The various fields record information pertaining to several aspects of the life of ancient associations, highlighting their internal structure and organisation, membership profile, financial dealings, diverse activities, and interactions at a local or inter-regional level. In addition to the inventory, members of the CAP team work on a series of individual sub-projects that examine the role and significance of private associations from various angles, chiefly religion, economy, socio-cultural life, and politics. These projects investigate the characteristics and historical significance of specific associations and contribute to a better understanding of the *fenomeno associativo* across regions and time. The Copenhagen Associations Project seeks to contextualize the presence and activities of associations, in order to elucidate their role in, and the degree of interaction with, the communities within or beside which they existed.