

Abstracts for the XXV International Congress of Papyrology

Bureaucracy and Power in Diocletian's Egypt: The World of P.Panop. Beatty
Colin E. P. Adams

P.Panop. Beatty 1 and 2, dating to AD 298 and 300 respectively, contain some 87 letters and *programmata* received and issued by the office of the *strategos* of the Panopolite nome. As such, these long papyri preserve some of our most important evidence for administration in Egypt during a period of transition from the Roman to Late Roman periods. These important documents, however, have not received the attention they deserve. This paper sets out the main themes and questions raised by the two papyri, which are the focus of a forthcoming monograph: the dynamics of the relationship between state and local government, the appointment of liturgists, taxation and requisition (especially in response to Diocletian's visit to Panopolis in 298), military supply, and communication. Study of these main themes allows for an assessment of, among other things, the efficacy of Roman administration, documentary practice, and the concern of the state in administration displayed through administrative policy and concern for the local population. Finally, bureaucracy being what it is, valuable comparisons in administrative practice and ideology can be made between the nature of administration in the Beatty papyri and modern sociological theory from Weber through to Richard Sennett. The paper shows that such comparison offers a genuinely important way of thinking about Roman bureaucracy; both its nature and ultimately its failure.

A Nun's Dispute with Her Mother in the Late Sixth Century
María Jesús Albarrán Martínez

P.Lond. V 1731, dated AD 585 in Syene, is a document in which a woman named Aurelia Tsone explains that she received a sum of money from her mother, Aurelia Tapia. She had claimed this money as her own and engaged in an economic dispute with her mother.

Aurelia Tsone is a nun with the monastic title *monache*. She belongs to this family, and her claim is one of the many legal and financial documents in the Paternouthis archive. Most of the documents in this archive are transactions and legal or economic disputes, dated between AD 493 and 613, concerning the family of Kako, who is married to Paternuthis.

As the document suggests, Tsone is a nun with independent social, familial and economic relationships. What is the monastic type that she represents? Does Tsone represent the urban ascetic type? If this is the case, it could indicate that the female urban ascetic model continues to exist in late sixth century Egypt.

New Light on the katagraphe
Schafik Allam

A fragment from the *Dikaiomata* concerns the *katagraphe*, the registration of private transactions bearing on immovables before an official. It itemizes the procedures which the official had to follow: he had to write down the names of buyer and vendor, the date of their agreement, the description of the immovable property in question, etc. Our *Dikaiomata* fragment has been repeatedly interpreted in the light of Hellenistic Greek institutions, as mirroring a royal *diagramma* promulgated for Alexandria in the 3rd century BC. However, contemporary papyri from the Fayum and Oxyrhynchus attest to the existence of similar procedures in the *chora*, while Pharaonic documents dating to the New Kingdom and earlier indicate that the text should be interpreted as a continuation of pre-Greek administrative practices.

Egypt and the Medicinal Use of Papyrus According to Soranus and Other Physicians
Isabella Andorlini

In his account of the manufacture of papyrus in *Natural History* xiii. 72, Pliny makes no mention of its medical application among the miscellaneous uses popular in the Egyptian *chora*. He does, however, refer to the reputation of medicinal ash obtained from burning papyrus in a number of other places (*NH* xxi. 84; xxiv. 88; xxviii. 214; xxix. 106; xxxiv. 170). Ancient doctors too prized the medicinal application of both

the plant and the paper made from it (e.g. *PSI 1180 A.ii.11; iii.7*). The employment of papyrus in a therapeutic context is discussed by Naphtali Lewis (*Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* [1974] 31, 97), who draws on Egyptian, Greek and Arabic evidence. The present contribution focuses on the additional information supplied by the *Gynecology* of Soranus, the distinguished Roman physician who studied in Alexandria in the first and second centuries AD. Soranus' original comparison of the uterus layers with the arrangement of fibers in papyrus layers will be illustrated. Medical sources also provide evidence of learned doctors who made their way to Alexandria, often considered the cradle of advanced medical education. It will be shown how physicians visiting Alexandria and Egypt were likely to gain firsthand experience both in the anatomical schools and in the headquarters of the papyrus industry, where medical scholars and practitioners became acquainted with the usefulness of papyrus in treatment and healing.

Age Structure and Cultural Bias in Graeco-Egyptian Mummy Labels

Carolin Arlt

About one quarter of all mummy labels from the Roman Period give the age of the deceased. The majority come from the area around Akhmim and date to the second and third centuries CE. This large corpus from one place over just two centuries of Roman rule would seem to present an excellent opportunity for applying quantitative methods of demographic analysis. In this paper, I examine the age pattern that prevails in the mummy labels, separating males and females, and using statistical techniques to interpret the data. Comparing the resulting diagrams with model life tables shows discrepancies that can only be explained by assuming biases in commemoration practices. Males and females in different age groups were disproportionately likely to receive mummy labels. The age distribution that emerges from mummy labels differs surprisingly from tombstones but shows a few similarities to biases noticed in the census declarations. The quantitative analysis of such commemorations raises questions that are important for social and cultural history.

“And Tending Neither to Be a Truant nor a Fugitive” : Some Remarks on the Sale of Slaves in Roman Egypt and Other Provinces

Peter Arzt-Grabner

In addition to more than 150 documents from Egypt that refer to sales of slaves, papyri and waxed tablets from places as distant as Side in Pamphylia, Alburnus Maior in Dacia Superior, and Ravenna and Herculaneum in Italy illustrate in detail the conditions and rules that had to be followed when it came to selling or buying a slave in the Roman Empire. One particular clause, where the seller guarantees that the slave “is tending neither to be a truant nor a fugitive” is found in contracts from Pamphylia, Dacia Superior, and Herculaneum, but not in one of the many contracts drawn up in Egypt. On the contrary, some documents from Egypt attest that Egyptian slave dealers sometimes explicitly refused to give such guarantees. In this paper, I will present the most important documents, and suggest what might have been the reasons for using such divergent formulae. The contracts from Egypt seem to be a reaction to those from Italy and elsewhere rather than a mere contrast. From this perspective, the complex history of a small formula like the one in question is a very good example for the importance of papyri, ostraca, and tablets from Egypt to illustrate not only Egyptian habits but also the social and cultural history of the entire empire.

Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS): The Next Generation

Poster Session

Rodney Ast

Over the past two years the Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS) has made significant progress in the development of an integrated search and retrieval system drawing on several important papyrological projects (e.g., APIS, DDBDP, HGV). I would like to take the opportunity of the Congress to showcase what we have done. Instead of presenting our project in a paper, I wish to offer participants a chance to try out our on-line resource in one or more of the poster sessions.

Vecchi e nuovi personaggi della famiglia degli Apioni nei documenti papiracei
Late Antique Oxyrhynchus Panel, Chair, James G. Keenan
Giuseppina Azzarello

Edizioni e riedizioni di testi nonché studi specifici apparsi negli ultimi anni hanno notevolmente arricchito le nostre conoscenze sulla potente famiglia ossirinchina degli Apioni e sui suoi possedimenti. In particolare si sono aperte nuove strade interpretative in merito all'origine del casato e all'identità dei suoi membri. Su questa scia il presente contributo si propone di illustrare alcuni papiri, in gran parte inediti, che incoraggiano ulteriori riflessioni ed ipotesi sulla storia della famiglia e dei suoi rappresentanti.

An Approach to the Papyrological Understanding of Paul's "labouring night and day" (1Th 2:9)
Andreas Bammer

Since Adolf Deissmann's fourth edition of his monumental work *Licht vom Osten* (1923) the question has been raised within the academic world of how the close relationship between the everyday language of documentary papyri and the sacred texts of the New Testament can be understood. Within this tradition the *Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament* occupy a special position since, for the first time, the NT receives a systematic commentary against the background of documentary papyri. A new volume of the series will be dedicated to First and Second Thessalonians. 1 Th 2:9 describes Paul's missionary engagement towards the community as "labouring night and day". The notion *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* seems to indicate that Paul was capable of and willing to earn his living. But what does *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* mean exactly and how does the papyrological investigation of the notion's use in everyday life contribute to a proper understanding of the biblical message? In the papyri *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* regularly occurs in the context of manual work where it usually has the literal meaning of working around the clock (e.g. because of the breach of a dyke: *P. Tebt.* III 782 [153 BC]). Moreover it can be found in nursing-contracts. So the question arises if the high level of attention of both the workers and the nurses to their duties has an implication for the understanding of Paul's work.

The Syllabic Word Lists in P. Bouriant 1 Reconsidered
Nele Baplu, Marc Huys, and Thomas Schmidt

The syllabic word lists in the famous school papyrus *P. Bouriant 1*, edited more than a century ago by P. Jouguet and P. Perdrizet, have not been the subject of a detailed discussion since then, although important remarks on the readings and on the choice of the words were published by J. Bingen and A. Blanchard. However, several similar word lists have been published during the last century, including that in *P. Monts. Roca I*, recently published by S. Torallas Tovar and K.A. Worp. These new word lists provide important comparative material. Therefore, on the basis of our inspection of the original papyrus and of digital images, we have prepared a re-edition of the word list, containing some new text restorations along with a line-by-line commentary. In this paper, we will present the most important conclusions of this re-examination, in particular the reasons for word selection and word order and their relation to similar papyrus word lists and to the occurrence of the same words in other texts of scholarly nature, such as lexica or commentaries. Finally we try to specify the practical, didactic, grammatical and literary function of each word.

Secular and Christian Codices
Donald Charles Barker

Much has been written about the differences between Christian books and secular books in the first three centuries. However, as far as I am aware, those that have made these comparative observations have not distinguished between the different modes of book production. My intention is to compare like with like: the secular codex with the Christian codex. This comparison will be limited to II and II/III papyri found at Oxyrhynchus.

Multi-Spectral Imaging and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri

Stephen M. Bay

Much has been written of the improvements provided by multi-spectral imaging to the legibility of the papyri from Herculaneum and of the papyrus Church scrolls from Petra. Since the last International Congress, Brigham Young University's Papyrus Imaging Project has been invited to work with a few additional collections: the Derveni papyrus at the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki; the papyrus collection at the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri at the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley; and the Oxyrhynchus collection at the Sackler Library of Oxford University.

Because the carbonized Herculaneum and Petra papyri are as black as the ink itself, the multi-spectral enhancement is quite dramatic and the black background becomes grey and previously invisible text becomes clear. This paper will treat the results of multi-spectral imaging on non-carbonized papyri. It will focus specifically on images of several papyri from the Oxyrhynchus collection taken by the Brigham Young University team in 2005 and 2006. It will discuss which types of discoloration and/or staining appear to benefit from multi-spectral imaging and which do not. It will also report on some of the textual improvements that were obtained in this project. These improvements, while generally less spectacular than those obtained from carbonized papyri, nevertheless often succeed in restoring traces of letters, and therefore are potentially very significant.

O.Col. inv. 2178. A New Coptic Liturgical Text

Stephen M. Bay

Workshop Four: Literary or Semi-literary Papyri

This paper will present a new, nearly complete 22-line Coptic liturgical text on a 14.7 x 10 cm limestone ostrakon from the Columbia collection.

The Onomastic Evidence for the God Hermanoubis
Amin Benaissa

The personal name "Hermanoubis" is routinely subsumed under the category of double or "hybrid" theophoric names characteristic of Roman Egypt. Unlike the latter, however, this personal name refers to an independently attested god of the same name, a Hellenized version of Anubis in vogue during the second and third centuries AD. My paper will discuss the formation of the names based on this god and evaluate their chronological and geographical distribution in correlation with the relevant iconographical and documentary evidence."

The Derveni Papyrus: Problems of Edition, Problems of Interpretation

Alberto Bernabé Pajares

Panel: The Derveni Papyrus, Chair: Richard Janko

The aim of my paper will be to analyze the problems in editing and interpreting the Derveni papyrus and to explain the solutions I have adopted in my new edition of the text (Leipzig and Munich, 2007).

In brief, the problems are the following:

- a) Since the preservation of the papyrus was an exceptional case, we cannot compare this text with other similar ones.
- b) The content of the text also makes it a unique item; we cannot easily define what kind of work it is nor determine its author. The author comments both on some rituals and on an Orphic poem with philosophical and religious aims, and we can locate him only within the allegorist trend of interpretation, which we already knew through Plato, and remark on some points of contact between him and other authors.
- c) Last but not least, the Derveni papyrus contains a text in which other texts are quoted. We have, therefore, not only two levels of text and, therefore, of editing (i.e. the Orphic poem and the commentary on it), but also two levels of analysis of religious facts (i.e. the original one, given by priests and believers, and the commentator's philosophical one).

Some examples of these problems and attempts at a solution will be adduced.

Toponymy and Cartography of the Mendesian Nome in the Roman Period

Katherine Blouin

The papyrological data from the Mendesian nome, an administrative region located in the northeastern Nile delta, is rich in toponyms. Indeed, I have numbered a total of more than 150 distinctive toponyms (cities, toparchies, villages, fields, hydronyms). This precious documentation allows us to understand better the territorial organization of Egypt's 16th nome in the Roman period as well as its relationships with the local environments. Although a partial inventory of the Mendesian toponyms appears in the edition of *P.Thmouis* I and a reconstructions of the evolution of the frontiers of the nome from the Old Kingdom to the Roman period is proposed in M. Bietak's monograph on Tell el-Daba'a, no complete inventory nor cartography of the Mendesian toparchies and villages has previously been proposed. The joint analysis of the toponymic, etymological, topographical and fiscal data available in the papyrological, literary and archaeological Mendesian corpus allows me to propose the first exhaustive toponymic catalogue and the first map of this nome under the Roman Principate.

New Greek Lyric in the Michigan Collection? P.Mich. inv. 3498 + 3250a, b, and c

Cassandra Borges, Brian Calabrese, C. Michael Sampson

We offer a new working edition of P.Mich. inv. 3498, previously published independently by Merkelbach in 1973 (recto, *ZPE* 12: 86) and Page in 1974 (verso, *ZPE* 13: 105-9). The recto contains a catalogue of lyric incipits, apparently written over an earlier text; on the verso (in a different hand) there is a para-literary mythographic text. Our edition treats 3498 and further unpublished fragments from the Michigan collection (3250a-c) which have been joined to 3498 since publication, and which force a re-evaluation of several of its published readings and attributions—namely, to Sappho, Alcaeus and Anacreon. 3250a-c

have been largely ignored because they were mislabeled as Coptic in the acquisition records, yet they contain further examples of lyric first lines (most of which are otherwise unattested) and several columns supplementing the mythographic text published by Page—including references to the Simois river and the homeland of Priam. The expanded incipits list is unusual in that it includes fragments of both archaic lyric and Attic drama: two sections are labeled *παρόδων ἀρχαί* and *μελῶν ἀρχαί*. In our presentation we summarize the published readings of 3498, before offering new readings for fragments 3250a-c. Then we briefly examine the broader implications: of the poetic text qua incipits list; of the two texts' interrelationship; and of the papyri qua Hellenistic collections of earlier poetry and mythographic writing. With the addition of the new fragments, the papyri become a crucial source for archaic and classical Greek poetry and its reception in antiquity.

A Virtual Workspace for the Study of Ancient Documents

Alan Bowman

This presentation reports on a project (part of an Oxford based programme, “Building a Virtual Research Environment for the Humanities”: <http://bvreh.humanities.ox.ac.uk>) to construct a virtual workspace for research involving decipherment and textual analysis of damaged and degraded ancient documents (papyri, writing-tablets and inscriptions). It aims to provide direct access to widely scattered research resources such as dictionaries, corpora of texts, images of original documents and image enhancement tools, enabling the researcher to store, annotate and organize items in a “personal workspace”. It thus builds on the pioneering work of papyrologists in creating text and image resources such as APIS, DDBDP and the Vindolanda Tablets On-line. It will support collaboration by allowing researchers in separate locations to share a common view of the workspace in conjunction with real-time communication and to search across multiple datasets. A further dimension to this project which promises significant advances is that where the evidence is available, the documents will also be treated as artefacts with an archaeological or physical context which can be reconstructed, and will be able to benefit from sophisticated systems for registering, tracking and analysing data recorded in the field.

Christian Amulets with Biblical Inscriptions: a Catalogue in Progress

Theodore S. de Bruyn

This paper will report on an aspect of a project to prepare a catalogue of edited Greek formularies and amulets (papyri, ostraca, *lamellae*, *tabulae*) containing Christian motifs and dating from the second to the eighth centuries CE. The catalogue is preliminary to a study of the incorporation of Christian liturgical sequences into Greek formularies and amulets.

Scholars have differed in their criteria for identifying Greek formularies and amulets containing Christian motifs. Van Haelst's catalogue of Jewish and Christian papyri included amulets consisting of prayers, acclamations, or citations from the Bible or the Christian liturgy (*Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, 1976, 414), whereas these were excluded from the more recent compilations of Brashear (*ANRW* II.18.5, 1995, 3492-3; cf. 3480 n.486) and Daniel and Maltomini (*Supplementum Magicum I*, 1991, ix). Both approaches have their merits. While the latter focuses on unique or specific features of magical texts, the former is more inclusive of the entire range of materials with Christian motifs that were used as amulets.

This paper will (1) review criteria used to identify papyri inscribed with one or more biblical passages as amulets (e.g., evidence that the papyrus was folded or tied, evidence that the papyrus did not form part of a larger roll or codex, etc.); (2) present an up-to-date list of edited papyri inscribed with biblical passages and deemed to be amulets by their editors or commentators; and (3) discuss doubtful or problematic cases.

The Village is Watching: Visibility and Violence in Petitions from Roman Egypt
Ari Bryen

Petitioners complaining about violence in Roman Egypt exploited the language of visibility and publicity in their complaints to legal authorities. This paper addresses a number of features that petitioners highlight with some degree of frequency: wounds on exposed parts of the body (faces, hands, legs), the lasting visibility of these wounds (signaled by the use of the verb *fainesthai* and its derivatives), as well as on other important instances in which the consequences of violence would be available for public view (such as the tearing or stripping of clothes, which is almost always done in public). This paper investigates the rhetoric of legal complaints and tries to understand petitioners as individuals engaging with their legal system as part of a face saving ritual. I argue that while the emphasis on visible wounds certainly has an evidentiary component, we should not neglect the symbolic consequences for an individual of having on his or her body lasting marks of violence. These marks would potentially expose one's private defeat to public notice and, of course, comment. The potentially compromising situation that this could create made rapid recourse to legal authorities critical, especially as a public demonstration that one would not take one's injuries passively.

Aspects of the Influence of Legal Latin on Legal Greek in the Papyri
Matias Buchholz

Studies on the influence of legal Latin on legal Greek have largely been the domain of legal historians, while the subject has attracted clearly less attention from linguists. Moreover, existing studies on late antique or early Byzantine legal Greek (e.g., by N. van der Wal) are mostly based on literary sources (laws, writings of the jurists), rather than on documents. In this paper, I try to outline—with the help of a few examples—some of the possibilities and problems that emerge when documentary papyri are included in the material for a linguistic study of the contact of Greek and Latin legal language.

When Worlds Collide: Papyrology, Archaeology, and the Search for the Ancient "Schoolroom"
Scott Bucking

Papyrological interest in the so-called school texts from Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Egypt has existed almost since the inception of the discipline in the late nineteenth century. Historically, much of this interest has been directed towards the texts themselves, with far less attention being given to the archaeological settings from which these texts derive and the extent to which such settings can provide a physical context for educational activities. However, some recent scholarly efforts have attempted to bring together the archaeological and papyrological evidence, raising methodological questions that will be explored in this paper. Such questions underscore the importance of recognizing the identity of these texts as archaeological objects and bring us face-to-face with the fundamental archaeological problem of using static, material remains (textual or otherwise) to reconstruct the cultural dynamics of long past societies.

O.Dios inv. 568
Adam Bülow-Jacobsen
Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)

The ongoing excavations at the *praesidium* Διός/Iovis on the road from Koptos to Berenike yield ostraca from the second and third centuries. Inv. 568 is a letter from the first half of the second century. It says that the prefect of Egypt is sending reinforcements and has ordered that the men receive a σφραγίς in the shape of a wheel on the left hand “in order that we shall not fear the iron”. This paper will investigate whether or not this text refers to magical practices.

Per una ricostruzione dell'opera De vitiis di Filodemo

Mario Capasso

L'opera di Filodemo *De vitiis* costituisce l'unico tra i grandi trattati dell'epicureo di Gadara del quale non è stata finora tentata un'analitica ricostruzione, che avesse presente aspetti importanti quali: consistenza complessiva dell'opera, successione dei diversi libri, relazione tra l'analisi dei vizi e quella delle virtù, eventuale appartenenza di più papiri a singoli volumina originari. Complessivamente all'opera, che comprendeva almeno dieci libri, in alcuni dei quali l'autore si rivolgeva agli intellettuali augustei Vario Rufo, Virgilio, Quintilio Varo e Plozio Tucca, sono stati attribuiti in momenti diversi oltre 20 papiri; una decina di essi sono stati scritti da una medesima mano, di altri ci sono pervenuti per lo più soltanto *disegni*. Alcune di queste attribuzioni si sono rivelate sicuramente errate. Uno studio di tutti i materiali ha consentito una più attendibile ricostruzione dell'intera opera, nella quale vengono confermati la posizione iniziale e il ruolo fondamentale dei libri relativi all'adulazione e ai vizi ad essa affini. Soprattutto a questo trattato, da lui composto nella sua maturità, e all'altro, intitolato *I modi di vita*, Filodemo attribuiva il difficile compito di divulgare l'etica epicurea nella Roma tardo-repubblicana.

Il Soknopaiou Nesos Project: bilancio papirologico (2004-2006)

Mario Capasso

Soknopaiou Nesos Panel

La comunicazione illustra alcuni dei risultati di interesse papirologico conseguiti dalla Missione Archeologica del Centro di Studi Papirologici dell'Università di Lecce, diretta da M. Capasso e P. Davoli, nel corso della Seconda, Terza e Quarta Campagna di Scavo condotte a Soknopaiou Nesos (2004-2006). Anche in queste tre Campagne il flusso dei rinvenimenti di papiri ed ostraka è stato cospicuo. Complessivamente da quando la Missione ha cominciato a scavare sul sito (2003) sono stati ritrovati: 69 papiri greci; 15 papiri figurati magici; alcune decine di papiri demotici; un papiro geroglifico; un papiro copto; oltre 100 ostraka demotici; 5 ostraka greci; 3 titoli picti greci; un ostrakon figurato. Questi materiali sono stati rinvenuti nel cortile e in alcuni ambienti del tempio dedicato al dio Soknopaios. Tra i papiri greci notevole è ST05/251/1092, recuperato in una fessura tra un blocco del pavimento ed il muro meridionale della stanza E del tempio; il suo svolgimento è stato particolarmente difficile in considerazione della compattezza delle volute e della fragilità della superficie. Il papiro è pressoché intero, ma del testo originale si sono conservate parti di 10 linee di scrittura; si tratta di un documento, forse un testamento, risalente al quinto anno del regno di Tiberio. Sul margine superiore del papiro è ancora attaccato il sigillo in argilla, su cui è visibile il dio cocodrillo Soknopaios con la testa di falco.

Aristobulus and the hieros logos of the Egyptian Jews

Livia Capponi

My paper will try to use both the literature and the Egyptian documents to reconstruct the figure of Aristobulus, the Jewish philosopher and writer who lived in Alexandria under Ptolemy Philometor. Special attention will be paid both to the fragments of Aristobulus' own works talking about a *hieros logos* of the Egyptian Jews, and to the references to an Aristobulus operating a census of priests in the Alexandrian *katalogeion* in the papyrus preserving the so-called "Dionysian Edict" of Ptolemy Philopator. Further works of literature (e.g. 2 Maccabees) and papyri will be examined to cast light on the developments of Egyptian Judaism in the age of the Maccabean revolt.

Un nouveau fragment du Louvre qui complète partiellement BGU I 337 + BGU I 1 + P.Louvre I 4

Laurent Capron

Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)

Un fragment inédit du Musée du Louvre vient compléter le papyrus *BGU I 337 + BGU I 1 + P.Louvre I 4*. Datant d'environ 140 pC, il contient les restes de la colonne III et la partie gauche de la colonne IV des comptes du temple de Soknopaiou Nesos, à savoir le détail des dépenses de blé, de vin et d'huile pour l'année, en fonction des fêtes classées chronologiquement. Grâce au papyrus *SPP XXII 183*, qui est un

parallèle quasiment exact et dont il convient de corriger l'édition par endroits, ce nouveau fragment permet de proposer un certain nombre de lectures et de restitutions nouvelles. Toutefois, la dernière colonne pose encore des problèmes de restitution que je propose d'étudier. Aucun parallèle exact n'est possible avec *SPP* XXII 183, ni dans l'ordre des dépenses, ni dans leur énoncé, et il semble qu'il apparaisse certains éléments nouveaux par rapport au papyrus de Vienne. Enfin, les restitutions les plus probables aboutissent à supposer une largeur de colonne inférieure aux autres.

Per una nuova edizione dell'Index Stoicorum di Filodemo (P.Herc. 1018)

Maria Clara Cavalieri

La comunicazione ha lo scopo di divulgare una serie di risultati scaturiti dallo studio autoptico del P.Herc. 1018, contenente il libro della Rassegna dei filosofi di Filodemo dedicato alla scuola stoica. Il papiro, che viene fatto risalire su base paleografica alla fine del I sec. a.C.-inizio del I sec. d.C., nel corso dell'eruzione vesuviana del 79 d.C. subì un notevole schiacciamento nella parte inferiore, circostanza che comportò, al momento del successivo srotolamento, eseguito nel 1808 con la macchina di A. Piaggio, la perdita pressoché completa della metà inferiore delle 79 colonne superstiti e la perdita completa della prima parte del rotolo, ove erano verosimilmente il titolo iniziale e sicuramente le prime colonne del testo. La revisione dell'originale, nonostante le cattive condizioni complessive in cui esso ci è pervenuto, dovute anche ad irregolarità stratigrafiche, ha consentito di migliorare in alcuni punti il testo rispetto alle precedenti edizioni di D. Comparetti (1875), A. Traversa (1952), T. Dorandi (1994). Inoltre, un'attenta analisi della problematica bibliologica e paleografica del volumen ha permesso per la prima volta di ricostruire quello che verosimilmente era il rotolo prima della catastrofe vesuviana. Questo aspetto era stato quasi del tutto trascurato nelle pur benemerite edizioni precedenti.

Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Gospel of John

Juan Chapa

The observed preponderance of manuscripts of John among the earliest Christian papyri has given rise to discussion and speculation. It has been suggested, on the grounds of an alleged preference for the Fourth Gospel among gnostics, that the preponderance of papyri of John would favour Walter Bauer's thesis of Gnostic predominance in early Christian Egypt. The mystery which surrounds the origins of the early Egyptian Church allows for speculation of this kind. However, recent studies on the reception of the Fourth Gospel in the early Church and newly published papyri show that the abundance of early manuscripts is not necessarily indicative of doctrinal preferences. This paper attempts to shed additional light on the issue by comparing early papyri of John with other pieces of Christian evidence.

T. C. Skeat, p64+67 and p4, and the Problem of Fibre Orientation in Codicological Reconstruction

Scott Charlesworth

Because of the uniformity of the text, New Testament papyri are well suited to codicological reconstruction. If there are two or more pieces of papyrus from the same codex, sound reconstructions are often possible, but correct methodology involves accounting for the fibre orientation of the fragments. Flawed conclusions are the inevitable result of neglecting such analysis. T. C. Skeat erred in this direction as regards *p64+67* and *p4*. Nevertheless, his contribution in this area was substantial and enduring. It only remains for scholars to appreciate the insights that codicology can bring to the study of the NT text.

Il Soknopaïou Nesos Project: i rilievi topografici del sito

Ivan Chiesi, Nicola Raimondi, Simone Occhi

Soknopaïou Nesos Panel

Nel corso delle Campagne di scavo 2005 e 2006 effettuate a Soknopaïou Nesos dalla Missione Archeologica del Centro di Studi Papirologici dell'Università di Lecce e diretta da M. Capasso e P. Davoli sono stati realizzati ex novo il rilievo delle strutture archeologiche di superficie e l'orografia del sito. Per questo lavoro è stata utilizzata una Stazione Totale elettronica TOPCON GTS-226; i dati acquisiti sono

stati elaborati con un programma di topografia Geopro Meridiana 2006. Per la realizzazione dei rilievi ci si è avvalsi dei punti di triangolazione fissati dall'University of Michigan nel corso della loro campagna del 1931-32 e di nuovi capisaldi appositamente creati. Il rilievo delle strutture visibili permette oggi di valutare pienamente l'assetto urbano del sito, mentre la situazione archeologica attuale è ben documentata dal rilievo orografico, che è stato ottenuto grazie all'acquisizione di più di 8000 punti quotati.

Anatolios the Archiprophetes

Malcolm Choat

Better known as a friend of Theophanes, well-to-do scion of early fourth-century Hermopolis Magna and traveler to Antioch, Anatolios (who writes *P.Herm.* 2-3 and *SB XII 10803*) is one of our last known holders of the office of “Chief Prophet”. Through him (and, really, only through him), Theophanes is linked with “Hermetic” circles in Hermopolis, and with late antique Egyptian “paganism”, which his archive is held to embody. But despite the frequency with which he is cited in passing, what do we know about Anatolios? Where did he live? Of where was he chief prophet? What was his relationship to Theophanes? Why did Theophanes carry his letters? Did Theophanes, in fact, carry his letters?

The first full monograph on Theophanes (John Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, 2006), and inspection of the papyri of the archive of Theophanes in the John Rylands Library, invite consideration of these and other questions, and reflection on the place of Anatolios and his fellow worshippers of the “old gods” in the social circle of Theophanes.

Hermopolis Magna – Daily Life at a Byzantine Egyptian Metropolis: a New Collection of Papyri from the Berlin Aegyptisches Museum

Nahum Cohen

Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)

The sixteen texts composing this collection paint a vivid picture of every day life at this nome capital. Many aspects of daily life in Byzantine Egypt are referred to by one or more texts of this group; among others there are private letters, receipts for payments, leasing contracts, agreements (one dealing with divorce), and petitions. Six documents have not been fully identified as yet. Fifteen of the Hermopolite texts are dated into the Byzantine period (V-VIII centuries), one close to the end of the Roman period (III century). My talk will focus on the private letters from this unique collection of papyri, showing how they enliven our view of relationships among people in this important Byzantine town.

Antinoos' Mystery in a New Fragment from the Leipzig Collection

Daniela Colomo

In this paper I present an unpublished papyrus fragment—P.Lips. inv. 1454—containing a puzzling composition which seems to be linked to Antinoos' myth, in particular to the motif of Antinoos' flower. This motif, which goes back to the poet Pankrates, appears in verses and prose works preserved on papyrus. I try to establish the relationship between these compositions and the unpublished fragment, pointing out the interpretative difficulties of the new text.

The Customs Districts of Roman Egypt

Michel Cottier

In his *Quadragesima Galliarum. L'organisation douanière des provinces alpestres, gauloises et germaniques de l'Empire romain* (Rome, 2001), Jérôme France suggested three possible ways of setting up customs houses. First, they could be organized as a string of stations, as in the case of the *quadragesima Galliarum*. Second, that line could form a customs district by encircling an area, as in the case of the *portorium* of Asia. Finally, customs houses could be set up in specific areas where crossing was obligatory, as with the *portoria* of Syria and Judaea. Although France's aim was not to provide a complete overview of the Roman customs system Empire-wide, it is nevertheless unfortunate that he so quickly dismisses the case of Roman Egypt as atypical.

Nonetheless, when one tries to apply France's analysis of the customs structures present in Roman Egypt—taking into account the obvious geographical gap in our papyrological, epigraphical and literary documentation for this province—it is interesting to note that all the three types of organization mentioned above were present in the same provincial territory at the same time (roughly the first two centuries of our era). Thus, the first type of organization is recognizable in the customs houses established along the Nile and its tributaries for collecting the internal customs dues levied in the Delta and the Thebaid, while the Arsinoite nome is encircled by similar stations where such dues were levied before entering and exiting the area thus defined. Finally, the system established for the purpose of collecting the external customs dues levied both in the Red Sea ports and in the Mediterranean harbours of Alexandria necessitated a structure of the third type.

After a brief review of our evidence concerning the kind of structures present in this particular province, the aim of this paper is to revisit the question of an Egyptian “specificity” in the Roman Empire.

Translations of a selection of BGU I-IV texts for HGV.
James M.S. Cowey

It is my purpose to give a brief report on the results of the two year project funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) to prepare German and English translations for a selection of texts from the first four volumes of *BGU* as an enhancement to *HGV* (*Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens*). As it is intended that work on translating papyrus documentary texts, for which no translations exist, should be continued in the future, I would like to look at the prospects and plans concerning this venture.

Exhortations to Students in Epigrams from the Dakhleh Oasis
Raffaella Cribiore
Panel: Spaces for Teaching in Late Antique Egypt, Chair: Roger Bagnall

The *dipinto* in room 15 of a villa in this Oasis, which is the object of the two previous papers in this panel, preserves two columns of writing that are largely complete plus three more that are lacunose. Enough of the text survives to show that the writing, which is mostly in elegiac distichs, addresses students (*scholastikoi*, as the lemmata indicate). The teacher who wrote these epigrams on a wall was a competent writer who urged young men to ascend the hill of rhetoric through incessant study and fatigue. I will present the text of the *dipinto*, considering ancient parallels that can illuminate it, mainly the writings of the sophists Himerius and Libanius. Several questions emerge from this evidence. Was this *rhetor* copying these epigrams from a book or from his own previous writing? Or was he instead composing at the moment? How can we explain the presence of a *rhetor*-sophist in this remote Oasis, considering that these professionals usually operated in Alexandria or in large *metropoleis*? The text of this *dipinto*, in any case, is a further indication of the importance of poetry in a rhetorical context, as I have argued in a recent book about the sophist Libanius.

Aristophanes Son of Johannes: an 8th Century Bilingual Scribe?
Jennifer Cromwell

Aristophanes son of Johannes, an 8th century Coptic scribe from Jeme (on the Theban west bank in Upper Egypt) wrote 28 papyri texts and a large number of ostraca which survive. This paper will focus on his papyri. These fall into the following categories: sales, settlements, donations and receipts. The documents contain a large proportion of Greek words, a standard feature of Coptic legal texts of this period. The Greek vocabulary used falls primarily into two categories: nouns and verbs (other categories will not be addressed here). These are not employed using Greek syntax: the nouns do not appear in their declined forms and verbs are written in their Greek infinitival form, but in standard Coptic verbal constructions. There are, however, formulaic elements that appear with both Greek vocabulary and syntax. These regularly occur in three situations: the opening formulae, the repetition of the price and the scribal notation. Not only is Greek syntax employed, but the palaeography of these sections is markedly different from that of the standard Coptic sections. The papyrus with the designation British Library Or. 4664, a tax receipt published as *P.Bal.* 134, most strikingly illustrates the differences between Aristophanes' Greek and Coptic scripts.

Using these criteria, in conjunction with the socio-historic context in which Aristophanes operated, this paper will examine the extent to which he can be classified as a bilingual scribe.

Du côté de chez Zeus
Hélène Cuvigny

This paper will provide an overview of the inscriptions and ostraca found during the two first excavation campaigns at the *praesidium* of Dios on the Koptos-Berenike road.

Air-conditioned Houses in Graeco-Roman Egypt?
Robert Daniel

This paper investigates a detail in domestic architecture, the *aithrion*. Brief mention will first be made of papyrological evidence that suggests that houses in the large towns of Graeco-Roman Egypt, much like houses in the Pharaonic period, tended to face north and thus to be exposed to the cooling effect of Egypt's prevailing north/northwesterly winds. The talk will then focus on the term *aithrion*. It is familiar to many in the phrase *oikia kai aule kai aithrion*. To date there has been no convincing explanation of how the word *aithrion*, which means "courtyard" in non-Egyptian sources, came to be used for a typically Egyptian structure that differs from the *aule*, which also means "courtyard". An "Egyptian" hypothesis will be proposed. Many a house in Islamic Egypt had on its roof a shed, often called a wind-catcher (Arabic *malqaf*), that was open towards the prevailing winds and that let their cool air through an air shaft into various rooms. What is in principle the same device is attested for houses in Pharaonic Egypt as well. Does the *aithrion* in the Greek papyri—a word which would suit cool air well—point to a link between wind-catchers of Pharaonic and Islamic Egypt?

A Fourth-century House at Trimithis (Dakhleh Oasis): the Archaeological Context
Paola Davoli

Panel: Spaces for Teaching in Late Antique Egypt, Chair: Roger Bagnall

The archaeological mission of Columbia University has been working in a 4th century house in the center of Trimithis, present-day Amheida, since 2004. The excavation of the house was finished during the 2007 season. The house is characterized by the presence of painted rooms and by a room (room 15) in which a scholastic rhetorical composition in verse is painted in red on white plaster. This room was not part of the original plan of the house, but it was added to it through the opening of two doors and a corridor. Originally the room was part of another building built north of the house and probably contemporary with it. The scholastic composition and the plaster belong to the original building. Analogous texts on plaster are present in a room situated north of room 15 and originally connected to it through a door, which was later blocked. The scholastic usage of this room must be connected with the building north of the excavated house, but the texts were not destroyed when the painted room lost its function and was connected to the house.

The Soknopaiou Nesos Project: Resume of the Archaeological Investigation - the Settlement and its Territory

Paola Davoli
Soknopaiou Nesos Panel

The Archaeological Mission of the Centro di Studi Papirologici of Lecce University (Italy) began a new project at the site of Soknopaiou Nesos in 2004. The main goals of the first five years are to fully analyze and document the archaeological area, both the settlement and its territory, and to bring to light the temple of Soknopaios. The survey of the settlement was completed in the 2006 season, and some areas west and south of the site have been chosen for a magnetometer and electrical conductivity meter survey. These investigations have opened new perspectives on the evolution of the landscape of this area of the Fayyum. The archaeological investigation of the *temenos* also afforded important results. The temple of Soknopaios, built in sandstone blocks, was supposed to be decorated with painted reliefs, which were only partially

realized. The temple was severely plundered at different times and for various purposes. Nevertheless traces of late occupation were found, among them a Coptic papyrus fragment. The chronology of the temple will be discussed.

Nouveaux textes coptes d'Antinoé

Alain Delattre

Présentation des textes coptes découvertes à Antinoé lors des campagnes de fouilles 2005, 2006 et 2007 (Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli” – Università degli Studi di Firenze). On trouve parmi ces nouveaux documents de nombreux textes littéraires et documentaires ainsi qu’une série de billets oraculaires adressés au “Dieu de Saint Collouthos”. Ces derniers éclairent d’un jour nouveau les pratiques oraculaires à l’époque copte et illustrent certaines fonctions du complexe religieux situé dans la nécropole nord d’Antinoé.

Du nouveau concernant le P.Herc. Paris 2

Daniel Delattre

Ce rouleau carbonisé, qui appartenait à la série philodémienne *Sur les vices*, était consacré aux diverses formes de la calomnie. Ouvert depuis moins de 20 ans, mais de retour à Paris seulement depuis cinq ans, ce rouleau qui n'a pu être déroulé au sens propre, mais écorcé en 283 morceaux de tailles inégales, nécessitera à l'évidence un remontage long et fort délicat. Il commence tout juste à livrer ses premiers secrets, qui seront partagés pour l'occasion.

Il De conversatione di Filodemo nei papiri ercolanesi

Gianluca Del Mastro

Herculanensia Panel

Il *P.Herc.* 873 contiene il secondo libro del *De conversatione* di Filodemo. Una recente indagine di tutti i papiri svolti della collezione ercolanese ha permesso di rintracciare altri frammenti appartenenti ad altri rotoli della stessa opera. In particolare il *P.Herc.* 1399, vergato da una mano particolarmente elegante e già conosciuta nel repertorio della biblioteca ercolanese, contiene il primo libro del trattato.

Quantifying Language Shifts in Egypt (800 BC – AD 800) on the Basis of Trismegistos

Mark Depauw

The interdisciplinary research platform “Trismegistos” (www.trismegistos.org), developed by the project “Multilingualism and Multiculturalism in Graeco-Roman Egypt” (Cologne) in cooperation with the K. U. Leuven, aims to bring together metadata about all published texts dating between the early 25th Dynasty and the disappearance of Coptic as a legal language in the 2nd millennium AD. Although some epigraphic lacunae remain to be filled, for papyri the set of metadata is practically complete and the platform now allows us to quantify the preservation of documents in the various languages and scripts of Egypt (Greek, Demotic, hieratic, hieroglyphic, Aramaic, Coptic, Arabic, etc.). The first results of a study of language variation over the course of about 2000 years will be presented, and problems with the interpretation of these data will be discussed.

The Provenance of the Paternouthis Archive

Jitse H.F. Dijkstra

The fifth/sixth century CE family archive of Paternouthis from Syene (modern Aswan) has received considerable attention in the 1980s and 1990s, yet not all problems surrounding this archive have been solved definitively. One of those problems is where the archive was found, in other words, what its provenance is. Although the papyri are obviously about Syene, scholars have sometimes followed an early 20th-century account about the acquisition of the half of the archive that ended up in London, which states that the find-spot was Elephantine. Others have left the question open and refer more generally to the

Aswan region. In this paper, I will argue that the provenance of the archive in Elephantine has to be discarded. Instead, by investigating the dig diaries of the German excavators of Elephantine in the early 20th century (who were responsible for the other half of the archive that went to Munich), I will demonstrate that the actual find-spot was in Aswan. Since the discovery was made in correspondence with the archaeologists of the Swiss Institute who have excavated in Aswan since 2000, this paper will also be a plea for close collaboration between archaeologists and papyrologists.

La paraphylake dans les baux de terre byzantins du Nome Hermopolite

Marie Drew-Bear

Un ensemble composé actuellement d'une vingtaine de baux fonciers hermopolites, d'époque byzantine, concerne des terres placées sous la *paraphylake*, c'est-à-dire la "surveillance", de villages de la région d'Hermopolis Magna. Le terme de *paraphylake*, en général employé dans des contextes assez variés, apparaît ici d'un usage limité dans l'espace comme dans le temps. En effet, les villages qui exercent ladite "surveillance" sont situés à proximité de la métropole, et les baux qui les mentionnent datent du 6^e, voire du 7^e siècle. Aussi nous paraît-il intéressant, après avoir regroupé les attestations de cette formule, de dégager la nature de la surveillance qui incombe à ces villages et, si possible, d'en préciser les motifs.

An Account of Deliveries from Certain Villages

M. El-Ashiry and M. Kashaf

Workshop One: Documentary Papyri (Ptolemaic)

In this paper we will discuss an unpublished Greek documentary papyrus from a private collection deposited in the museum of the Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University, under "SEDMENT 1996, 175_6.A". It originates from Sedment and dates to the 3rd cent. BC. The document contains 49 lines and is an account of deliveries from certain villages.

Standard Koine Greek in Third Century BC Papyri

Trevor V Evans

Since the late nineteenth century, when Greek non-literary papyri from Egypt started to become available to scholars in large quantities, many writers have commented on their linguistic character. The comments have often been disparaging. One meets, for instance, numerous observations in the editions regarding "ungrammatical" usage, "bad Greek", etc. But what is good Greek in the times and places illustrated by the evidence of the papyri? There has been an unsatisfactory tendency to interpret these "bad Greek" texts in relation to literary prose of the classical period. Teodorsson employs contemporary Attic inscriptions in his *Phonology of Ptolemaic Koine* (Göteborg 1977), but even that material, remote in genre and registers, has restricted value for analysing many linguistic categories. The argument of this paper is that a more apposite point of comparison is available among the papyri themselves. The focus is mid-third century BC documents from Alexandria and the Fayum, especially the Zenon archive. Within this richly varied corpus we find many documents from educated authors. My contention is that the archive's letters from Apollonios the finance minister and his circle provide a key sample of the standard Egyptian *Koine* of the time and a crucial "control" for assessing substandard language.

Greek Anthologies on Papyrus and Their Readers in Early Ptolemaic Egypt

Maria Rosaria Falivene

I shall argue for the common origin of a number of selections of poems on papyrus dating from the mid-third century BC. This assumption, if accepted, leads to further considerations on the nature and circulation of Greek books in the Egyptian hinterland at this time. Who were the editors, compilers, readers and owners of these anthologies?

Tholthis: sede dell'ufficio di Leodamas

Lorenzo Fati

Dal cartonnage denominato da Grenfell e Hunt A 16 (vedi *P.Hib.* voll. I e II) sono stati estratti dodici documenti, dieci dei quali costituiscono l'archivio di Leodamas. Si tratta di dieci lettere che Leodamas inviò tra il 258-255/254 a.C. a cinque diversi destinatari, probabilmente uomini che lavoravano per lui: sei sono indirizzate a Lisimaco (*P.Hib.* 45, 46, 47, 48, 249, e 250), mentre una a testa è per Laomedon (*P.Hib.* 49), Teodoro (*P.Hib.* 50), Antipatro (*P.Hib.* 50) e per qualcuno il cui nome è sfortunatamente perso per metà in lacuna (*P.Hib.* 252). Non sappiamo con sicurezza quale fosse la carica pubblica ricoperta da

Leodamas, ma l'ufficiale la cui funzione meglio si accorda con i compiti da lui svolti che questi papiri ci presentano è *l'oikonomos*. In nessuna delle dieci lettere che compongono il suo archivio ci viene fornita qualche indicazione esplicita su quale fosse il luogo in cui risiedeva Leodamas. Le uniche cose sicure che sappiamo sono che egli operava nel nomo Ossirinchite e non si trovava ἐν τῇ πόλει (Ossirinco?) in cui stava Laomedon né dove stava Lisimaco, che d'altra parte era continuamente in movimento all'interno della Káto toparchia per adempiere ai compiti assegnatigli dal suo superiore. Nel mio intervento illustrerò i motivi che mi hanno portato a ritenere che egli stesse in una località dell'Ossirinchite settentrionale e più precisamente a Tholthis.

Thèmes et modèles d'exercices scolaires sur papyrus

José-Antonio Fernández-Delgado & Francisca Pordomingo

Nous allons considérer d'abord des papyrus scolaires qui prouvent que nous avons un matériel de professeur, qui pouvait être utilisé pour l'élaboration d'exercices progymnasmatiques. D'autres papyrus présentent ce qui pourrait être des exercices déjà plus élaborés, lesquels auraient pu servir de modèles à la dictée ou à la copie dans les niveaux inférieurs de l'enseignement; quelquefois le modèle est constitué par de simples énoncés. L'analyse est donc faite dans l'optique du maître et elle met en évidence la réutilisation des modèles scolaires dans des buts divers et le fait que dans de nombreuses écoles le maître était le seul responsable de l'enseignement aux différents niveaux, introduisant même les élèves à l'étude de la rhétorique. La paléographie, en particulier, et les caractéristiques bibliologiques montrent que le maître est l'auteur du texte original et de la copie. Mais certaines copies maladroites, typiques d'un élève débutant, laissent deviner la présence d'un exercice d'un niveau supérieur, qui transparaît derrière le type de texte et d'autres caractéristiques textuelles.

Army and Egyptian Temple Building under the Ptolemies

Christelle Fischer-Bovet

In this paper, I examine building dedications to Egyptian gods that reveal the interplay between the military and state financing of Egyptian temples. My aim is to bring new insight into the debate by looking at temple constructions by the army. I argue that the King's involvement was partly made through his army. Officers or soldiers were used as supervisors of temple construction for the Crown and even financed part of it to complement royal and temple funds. A survey of the sources for the Thebaid, the Fayum, and the Delta shows that, with variations in scale and time, the army served as a convenient institutional structure for royal building policy. People with both military and religious offices and officers stationed in garrisons played an essential role. I thus propose a new model of financing Egyptian temples with the army as a source of private and local funding. Three main conclusions emerge. First, the rather late date of our evidence confirms that temple building was increasingly sponsored by private and semi-private funding. Second, soldiers took on a large share of this funding because the temples were used as garrisons in Egypt and not only in the Dodekaschoinos. Third, the formation of a local elite made of Greek and Egyptian soldiers acting for the local gods challenges the idea of professional and ethnic divisions.

Philodemus' On the Good King: Political Protreptic or Homeric Scholarship?

Jeffrey Fish

Philodemus sees his way of reading Homer in *De bono rege secundum Homerum* as part of a program which he mentions in the final column of the treatise (col. 43 Dorandi). Although it is the most frequently quoted passage in the treatise, the text of the passage has undergone significant change. Since Olivieri's 1909 edition, it had been thought that *epanorthosin* was followed by *dynasteiôn* "the correction of dynasties", a reading which led several scholars to speculate that the passage could be particularly relevant to Piso as an ally of a dynast, Julius Caesar, and which in general led to a reading of the treatise primarily concerned with political protreptic. My rereading of this passage has shown that there is not room for Olivieri's reading. Moreover, new discoveries in other parts of the papyrus also show that Philodemus conceived of his work primarily as a piece of Homeric scholarship.

The Coptic Papyri of the Doresse Collection in the Vatican Library

Hans Foerster

The aim of the presentation is to give a short introduction to the Coptic papyri of the Doresse Collection. A group of Greek and Coptic texts were given to the Biblioteca Vaticana by Jean Doresse. Most of the texts of both language-groups are from Aphrodito (Kom Isqaw). The Greek texts of this collection are published, the Coptic texts, still unpublished, have already been a topic of scholarly discussion. The aim of a three year research-grant of the Austrian “Wissenschaftsfonds” (FWF) is to prepare a publication of these texts. The project started in January 2007. Thus, preliminary results of the work on the texts will be discussed.

Les tribulations d'un pétitionnaire égyptien à Constantinople. Révision de P.Cair. Masp. III 67352

Jean-Luc Fournet

La révision du *P.Cair. Masp. III 67352* m'a permis de remettre cette pétition sous son vrai jour: adressée à l'empereur Justinien, elle date d'un des séjours faits par Dioscore d'Aphrodité à la capitale pour défendre les affaires de son village (548/549 ou 551). À travers ce texte se dessine par bribes tout un milieu d'Égyptiens de Thébaïde venus à Constantinople pétitionner et s'entraînant le temps que durait leur séjour, long et sans doute difficile, à la capitale.

La révision de ce texte sera aussi l'occasion de présenter les travaux récemment achevés ou en cours touchant aux archives de Dioscore, notamment la banque des images des papyrus d'Aphrodité qui est terminée.

Security and Identity in Arabic Commercial Decrees from Early Islamic to Ottoman Times

Gladys Frantz-Murphy

Panel: Arabic Papyri in their Historical Context, Chair: Michael Morony

The formulary of legal documents and the extent to which documentary practice correlated with written Islamic legal opinions and manuals of style and formulary have been the primary focus of the examination of official pre-Ottoman documents. Careless grammar, stilted style, fossilized formularies and archaic terminology have also been found remarkable. What needs attention are inferences that can be drawn from the seemingly mundane and particular social, economic, and cultural relations unwittingly recorded in these documents. What can these prosaic details about commercial conflicts serious enough to necessitate resort to official resolution tell us about, for example, security and identity—the relation of the rulers to the populations who occasioned these documents having been drawn up in the first place?

Focusing on decrees, this research examines three separate but related issues. First, contrary to what has been written, does documentary evidence demonstrate continuity between early Islamic contracts and later decrees stipulating the conditions under which foreigners, people from outside Mamluk, and later Ottoman, territories could trade in Syria and Egypt?

Second, the formulary of these documents, though unilateral, indicates that rulers sought to relate to, to tax, and to secure the cooperation of the population they governed as well as foreign merchants by means of the construct of mutually beneficial contracts.

Finally, evidence in these documents sheds light on the legal “construction” of identity in pre-Ottoman Egypt and Syria, an identity that was not based on modern conceptions of “imagined” ethnic and religious identity.

Studies on Sketches and Models on Papyrus, Parchment and Paper

Harald Froschauer

Based on a catalogue of 30 unedited illuminated papyri, parchments and papers from the collections of Vienna and Berlin as well as the previously published material, this study should contribute to the discussion on the use of sketches and models in the visual arts and on the existence and appearance of sketch- and model-books.

P.Herc. 1423: The Case of the Missing Column

Robert N. Gaines

The standard text of P.Herc. 1423 (Phld., *Rh.* 4; Sudhaus 1892) poses a problem: the text contains nineteen columns, whereas the papyrus clearly comprises twenty. Collation of the text against the papyrus immediately suggests the location of the disparity. Sudhaus' columns I-III and V-XIX correspond to papyrus columns 1-3 and 6-20; accordingly, the difficulty arises in the relation of Sudhaus' column IV with the papyrus columns 4-5.

When the contents of papyrus columns 4 and 5 are examined, it becomes evident that Sudhaus column IV merges a large *sovrapposto* on papyrus column 4 with the remains of papyrus column 5. The column restoration created by this merger is right-minded. However, it is accompanied by two troublesome mistakes: reconstituted papyrus column 5 has been numbered IV, and papyrus column 4—apart from the *sovrapposto*—has been entirely ignored.

This paper explains Sudhaus' omission of P.Herc. 1423, column 4, with reference to the history of the text and the various textual responsibilities carried out in the "Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi" by *disegnatori* Giovan Battista Malesci and Rafaele Biondi and *interpreti* Giuseppe Genovesi and Giustino Quadrari. Within this history, it becomes clear that Sudhaus derived his text from Quadrari (1855) and that Quadrari's text was based on faulty evidence—due to a sequence of events set in motion by Biondi and Genovesi in 1852. New papyrological texts are proposed for P.Herc. 1423, columns 4 and 5.

Una citazione del IV libro Sulla natura di Epicuro nel P.Herc. 807

Laura Giuliano

Herculanensia Panel

Il *P.Herc.* 807 (Filodemo, Περὶ θανάτου) restituisce l'unica attestazione esistente del IV libro Περὶ φύσεως di Epicuro; la citazione, pubblicata negli *Epicurea* di Usener e, successivamente, nell'edizione di Epicuro curata da Arrighetti, è stata, più volte, segnalata dagli studiosi di papiri ercolanesi, sebbene la lacunosità della colonna nella quale è inserita e l'assenza di un contesto di riferimento abbia sempre impedito di formulare ipotesi, se non approssimative, in relazione al contenuto del libro perduto. Il recupero di alcune linee di scrittura, completamente inedite, consente di aprire nuove prospettive di analisi e riflessione.

Governing Oxyrhynchus in Late Antiquity

Nikolaos Gonis

Late Antique Oxyrhynchus Panel, Chair, James G. Keenan

In the early fourth century, the *curator civitatis* (Greek *logistes*) "served as the chief executive of the city and nome government and though chosen from the ranks of the local curial (council) class, was answerable to the central government" (Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* [1993] 60). In Oxyrhynchus two centuries later, the office is combined with two others, and is held in rotation by various ennobled landowners. How did things get there? The paper seeks to answer this question on the basis of old and new evidence.

Arabic Epistolography over the Centuries

Eva Grob

Panel: Arabic Papyri in their Historical Context, Chair: Michael Morony

Based on two main corpora of Arabic letters preserved from the 9th and 13th century AD (both archives of merchants, *P.Marchands* and *P.Quseir Arab.*) and editions of other letters from the 8th to the 14th century, a survey of the Arabic epistolary formula and its changes will be presented. The Arabic epistolary formula has its own peculiarities and differs in various respects from those of its surrounding cultures. Within the time span investigated, manifold developments as well as breaks in the tradition raise questions of possible underlying reasons and influences.

The Anawati Collection of Arabic Papyri and Papers in Cairo: a Preliminary Report

Li Guo

Panel: Collections and Literary Papyri, Chair: Maya Schatzmiller

Some six hundred Arabic fragments (577 papers and parchments, 49 papyri), previously owned by the late Georges Chehate Anawati (1905-1994) of Cairo, form a rare document collection from the Islamic Near East. Although its scholarly significance needs to be determined by further research, the scarcity of pre-Ottoman Arabic documents of any kinds means that the Anawati collection ought to be regarded as a “new” discovery, a welcome addition to the other known collections. I came to be aware of its existence through Dr. Donald Little of Montreal, who was kind enough to lend his own microfilm copy of the Anawati collection to the University of Chicago library. My paper is based on my preliminary examination of this microfilm: I will give a brief description of the collection, with special emphasis on its contents, date and provenance, and paleography. I also intend to present a few sample texts from the collection, with translation and analysis.

The Bilingual Protocols of Late Antique Egypt

Rudolf Haensch

Panel: Jurisdiction in Egypt during Late Antiquity, Chair: Rudolf Haensch

The bilingual *Einzelprotokolle* are thought of as a typical example of the administrative reforms of Diocletian, which made the province of Egypt more equal to other provinces. This paper will try to evaluate this hypothesis and its different elements by means of the new evidence from Egypt and other provinces, published after the now classic study of Coles (*Reports of Proceedings in Papyri*, [Bruseels 1966]), and in the light of the recent discussion of the use of Greek by Roman administrators. In particular, examples of bilingual protocols from the first three centuries will be discussed as well as the question of whether or not there was really a fundamental difference between the copies excerpted from the *commentarii*, which are thought of as typical of the High Empire and the *Einzelprotokolle* of Late Antiquity. In the end, a new and more fluent, but also more precise and more differentiated idea of the introduction of the single elements which constituted the protocols of Late Antiquity should emerge.

Christian Jensen's and Wolfgang Schmid's Unpublished Herculanean Papers: a Preliminary Report on the Content and the Relevance of the Material

Jürgen Hammerstaedt

In February 2007 Dr. Karl August Neuhausen, who recently retired from his position at Bonn University, handed over to me a suitcase containing the papers of his teacher Wolfgang Schmid. The prominent Herculanean scholar had entrusted him with these documents in 1980, shortly before his death. Most of the notes, readings and letters concerning the Herculanean papyri had previously belonged to Christian Jensen, Schmid's teacher. Schmid had retrieved them during the Second World War from Jensen's house in Berlin. A will signed by Jensen's son provides for the storage of these papers in several institutions. One of them is the Papyrus Collection at Cologne University. The work of both Jensen and Schmid achieved a high standard in Herculanean philology. Their proposals and reflections on Herculanean papyri, especially on those parts which are represented only by the Neapolitan and/or Oxonian *disegni*, are likely to give new impulse to Herculanean research. This paper aims to give a first account of the material, which regards Philodemus' *On Poems*, *On Piety*, and other writings. Moreover, I shall illustrate with some examples the relevance of this material for future editions of and commentaries on Philodemus.

Some Greek and Arabic Documents from Early Islamic Egypt

Alia Hanafi

Workshop Three: Documentary Papyri (Late Antique)

Five documents will be discussed. The first four papyri are Greek documents, of which three are receipts; one of them records the payment of five thousand gold coins, the second contains some installments, and the third is a receipt for 60 liters of an unknown product priced at 100.5 golden coins. The fourth document is an account of a large estate, which is based on a *solidus* of twenty four *keratia*, and the fractions of the

carat are a half, a quarter, and one eighth. The money was paid to some employees such as a *pronoetes*, carpenters, coppersmiths, business representatives, and the desert-guard.

The fifth document is an Arabic contract written on a ship, in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the month of Muslims' Hajj. It is a letter, including a will of manumission of a slave-girl and a house and vines for the slave-girl's benefit. The letter is official because it contains a seal and witnesses. The mention of locking the *testatrix* and others on the ship means that the government prevented them from reaching the shore because of plague or other epidemic disease. One may suppose that the message was sent by pigeon, which was the only available method of communication. The success of the pigeon post appears in both official and private messages. Various governments have established systems of communication for military, especially naval purposes, in order to send messages between coast stations and ships at sea by pigeon post.

The Men of the Family in the Julio-Claudian Tax Archive

Ann Hanson

The registers drawn from the house-by-house census submissions and compiled for tax purposes from the archive of Nemesion give full display to the male taxpayers in the village of Philadelphia during the Julio-Claudian period including their ages. The records of collections made by the *praktor argyrikon* and *cheiristai* in those same years also follow the route of the census takers through the village. As was already noted by A. C. Johnson and A. E. R. Boak, the males liable for the money taxes owed to Rome (principally *laographia*, pig tax, and dike tax) pay in family groupings, with fathers and sons paying together, and brothers together with brothers. Although proximity of kindred males in the registers does not guarantee that all invariably inhabited the same house, in many instances the texts make clear who is related to whom and how they are related. It is the purpose of this paper to examine males between fourteen and sixty-one years of age in eight of the best-attested families of Julio-Claudian Philadelphia. To be sure, little can be said about the majority of their womenfolk beyond the mothers' names and, by implication, the wives of fathers. The data available for some men is sufficient to construct family patterns and to trace those kin living in close proximity for a decade or two.

Un papyrus thébain du II^e s. apr. J.-Chr.

Paul Heilporn

Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)

Rares sont les papyrus thébains d'époque romaine à avoir survécu jusqu'à nos jours; aussi toute découverte en la matière est-elle la bienvenue. P.Stras. inv. DG. 26 est un fragment d'un registre cadastral concernant des terres clérouchiques, découpé et réutilisé au verso pour un texte funéraire en démotique (à publier par Fr. Colin); du recto, il reste deux colonnes incomplètes, d'une écriture rapide, avec de nombreuses abréviations et plusieurs ajouts qui compliquent certains points d'interprétation du texte. Parmi les voisins cités pour l'une des terres apparaissent vraisemblablement les héritiers d'une figure célèbre, à défaut d'être bien connue, du petit monde thébain du II^e s. apr. J.-Chr.

Haftungsfragen bei Liturgiestellvertretungen

Joachim Hengstl

Mit der Erledigung der Liturgien war im römischen Ägypten der Einsatz von Hilfspersonal und Vertretern verbunden. An diesbezüglichen Vereinbarungen mangelt es nicht, und das ist nicht auf bestimmte Liturgien oder bestimmte Tätigkeiten beschränkt. Offensichtlich sind bei Liturgien jeglicher Art Hilfskräfte und Vertreter herangezogen worden, wenn der Liturgiepflichtige einer Unterstützung bedurft hat. Die Vereinbarungen über Liturgiestellvertretungen stellen die Frage, wie es mit der daraus resultierenden Haftung einerseits des ursprünglichen Liturgen und der seines Vertreters bestellt ist: Blieb der Liturgie gegenüber dem Staat für die Erfüllung seiner Dienstpflcht haftbar, indem er einen Vertreter anheuerte, oder vermochte er sich auf diese Weise persönlich freizuzeichnen? Die Meinungen in der Sekundärliteratur divergieren hierzu, und dies ist Anlaß, das Klauselwerk der einschlägigen Vereinbarungen zu revidieren. Ein Schwergewicht liegt dabei auf den von A. Berger seinerzeit (1906) als "Indemnitätsverpflichtungen" bezeichneten Abreden, zu denen die Belege seither stark angewachsen sind. Die Analyse zeigt, daß die die

Vertretung bei Liturgien betreffenden Urkunden im wesentlichen in zwei Gruppen zu scheiden sind, nämlich die recht einheitlich formulierten privaten Vereinbarungen zwischen den Liturgiepflichtigen und den Vertretern und die einige sehr heterogene Zeugnisse aus dem Verwaltungsbereich. Die erste Gruppe bestätigt die von Juristen immer wieder vertretene Forthaltung des Liturgiepflichtigen bei Bestellung eines Vertreters durch privaten Vertrag; die zweite die von historischer Seite herausgearbeitete allmähliche Professionalisierung der Liturgievertretung.

A New Edition of P.Herc. 1050 (Philodemus, On Death iv)

W. Benjamin Henry

P.Herc. 1050 is one of the most important texts to have emerged from Herculaneum, and the rhetorical tour de force of the closing columns is among Philodemus' most impressive pieces of writing. But the only complete edition, that of Domenico Bassi in *Volumina Herculanensia* III.1, published in 1914, has long been in need of replacement. Bassi conscientiously reported the proposals of earlier scholars, but he was unable to advance matters much himself, and in his reports of the Oxford apographs, he depended on the engravings, which often led him astray. The most frequently cited edition, that of Taco Kuiper in his 1925 dissertation, is not only incomplete but also disfigured by the incorporation of a large number of restorations incompatible with the traces and spaces in the papyrus. Kuiper also fails to indicate where the text that he takes over from Bassi incorporates conjectural emendations of earlier scholars, and he prints doubtfully read letters without the sublinear dots that Bassi had provided. Since 1925, only partial editions have appeared, the most important being those by Marcello Gigante in his *Ricerche Filodemee* (Naples, 1983²) of the opening and closing columns. In this paper I shall illustrate some of the progress that has been achieved in establishing the text of the treatise with the aid of high-quality digital images of the papyrus (produced by MSI) and apographs.

The Extent and Expansion of the Apion Estate

Todd M. Hickey

Late Antique Oxyrhynchus Panel, Chair, James G. Keenan

The verso of *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2196, which appeared as a *descriptum* in 1940, is one of the most important papyri from the dossier of the Flavii Apiones. Recently edited in full, it provides priceless data that allow one, for example, to estimate the extent of the Apiones' grain land and to debunk the persistent myth of a large estate with an area comparable to that proposed by A. H. M. Jones (112,000 *arourai*). More interestingly, 2196 furnishes a second snapshot of Apion revenues (in specie) during the sixth century; read alongside *P.Oxy.* XVI 1918 (another account, written some forty years earlier), it enables the initiation of a concrete discussion of the growth of the estate. Although Jean Gascou realized as much over thirty years ago, his conclusions were incorrect because he was working from the incomplete information of the *descriptum*. These matters, and others, will be addressed in an exploration of this critical "new" text.

The Practice of Taxation in Three Late Ptolemaic Papyri

Francisca A.J. Hoogendijk

The so-called 1st Batch of crocodile mummies unearthed by Grenfell and Hunt at Tebtunis in 1899-1900, and now at the Berkeley Center for Tebtunis Papyri, contains both Greek and Demotic papyri from the first half of the 1st century BC, which will be published in the near future by Brian Muhs and myself. Some of these papyri deal with local tax collection. The three papyri discussed in this paper were partially published or described as *P.Tebt.* I 103, 121 and 189. They played a major role in the discussion of the word *laographia* and of the possibility of a poll tax in later Ptolemaic Egypt under the name of *suntaxis*. This paper will, however, rather focus on other details in the practice of the assessment and collection of taxes that are provided by these texts, and will end with some preliminary remarks on the place of these and other tax related texts within the larger dossier.

Therapeuteria Reconsidered

Sabine R. Huebner

In Greece and Rome, a female stood at the center of attention of her family and the outside world only at two occasions, at her marriage and at her funeral. Therefore a feast celebrated in the honor of a minor girl, recorded in three papyri, all from third-century Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy. Hels.* 50.17; *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4542; 4543) seems rather odd at first sight. From these papyri we learn that this feast, the so-called *therapeuteria*, was a family get-together to which relatives, neighbors and friends were invited. As the editors of *P.Oxy.* LXVI remark, the girls for whom the feast was celebrated were apparently still minors and yet unmarried since they lived at home. However, no convincing explanation has been advanced so far that would sufficiently explain this custom. The term *therapeuteria* itself is derived presumably from *therapeuo*, and the editors suggest that it might have designated “a place for *therapeusis*” and assign it a religious, ritual or medical context. In any case, it becomes clear that we have to look for a specific event that took place in a girl’s life before she reached puberty. Evidence on girls’ lives in Graeco-Roman Egypt is scarce; girls lived at home and were trained by their mothers and prepared for their future lives as wives and daughters-in-law. However, evidence from ancient ethnographic reports, medical texts, early Islamic sources and comparative evidence from modern Egypt, offer highly interesting parallels and a new interpretation of this feast, which would explain it as an indigenous tradition cultivated already for several millennia in this region.

Le colonne I – X 10 di P.Herc. 1008 (Filodemo, I vizi, libro X)

Giovanni Indelli

Herculanensia Panel

Su *P.Herc.* 1008, che conserva la parte conclusiva del decimo libro dell’opera filodemea *I vizi*, il cui tema è la superbia, molto è stato scritto, anche in questi ultimi anni, ma la bibliografia è relativa soprattutto alle ultime quindici colonne, che hanno attirato maggiormente l’attenzione sia per il loro migliore stato di conservazione sia perché in esse Filodemo riporta ampi brani di un’opera del Peripatetico Aristone di Ceo, *La liberazione dalla superbia*, della quale niente si conosce da altre fonti. Le prime colonne, mancanti, come le altre, di circa dieci linee all’inizio, perché del rotolo si è perduto il margine superiore, sono abbastanza danneggiate, e in particolare le coll. I-IV e VII sono molto lacunose e non prive di sovrapposti e sottoposti; tuttavia, è possibile ricavare delle frasi e capirne la connessione con la parte conclusiva del libro filodemeo.

Sale or Loan?

Éva Jakab

While contracts concerning a present payment in exchange for the provision of wine at a future date are a common type of late antique contract, the relationship between the contracting parties and the legal implications of the documents are not well understood. One recently edited example has been referred to as a “loan of money for repayment in wine” (Bagnall and Worp, *BASP* (2003) 40: 19), another as a “Lieferungskauf” (Mitthof, *SPP* III2 141). Kruit and Worp (*ZPE* (2001) 137: 216) also refer to this type of document as a “Lieferungskauf,” but call the two parties “Darlehensnehmer” and “Darlehensgeber.” What is the real nature and function of these transactions? R. S. Bagnall has emphasized the economic motives of the parties as the most important aspect of the legal definition (*GRBS* 18, 1977, 86): the vendor needs cash money for financing his harvest and the buyer grants him a loan at an illegally-high rate of interest. Rupprecht refused this interpretation and recommended the definition as “Mischvertrag” (*Mneme Petropoulos* II, 1984, 273f.). This paper offers a survey of wine sales from Roman Egypt with a detailed juridical analysis and collects evidence for a more uniform legal definition.

On Reconstructing the Derveni Papyrus

Richard Janko

Panel: The Derveni Papyrus, Chair: Richard Janko

The Derveni papyrus presents an extraordinary puzzle both in its reconstruction and in its content. Before its final publication, I argued that it is the work of Diagoras of Melos, the “atheist” whom the Athenians condemned to death in 415 for defaming the Mysteries. The images of it that are finally available do not disprove this, since two independent pieces of philological evidence suggest that Diagoras practised allegorical interpretation of poetico-religious texts. I shall also discuss the reconstruction of the roll. There are serious obstacles to its further reconstruction. 144 out of the 260 fragments remain unplaced and the information about its unrolling by Anton Fackelmann, which is essential to reconstructing the roll and placing the remaining pieces, has largely been lost. However, the new images do permit some further reconstruction of the papyrus, as well as a more accurate reading and interpretation of those parts that are already known. I shall present new joins in columns 2, 6 and 7, which are confirmed by the fibres.

What's in a Title? New Epithets in Third-Century Imperial Titulature

Janneke de Jong

In many papyrus texts Roman imperial titulature occurs, in most cases with the purpose to date the document. As has often been observed, the appearances of the Roman imperial titulature that was employed could vary greatly, from the mentioning of ‘the xth year of our lord’ to ‘the xth year of’ followed by an elaborate series of the names and titles. However, apart from this observation of the variety of use in the Roman imperial titulature, a thorough analysis of its constituting elements has scarcely been attempted. This is striking, since imperial titulature can be considered one of the means by which imperial qualities and virtues could be expressed, in other words as a medium of imperial representation. In this paper, the imperial titulature of the third-century AD will be discussed. In this century, the Roman Empire faced many difficulties, amongst others in the imperial succession. Therefore, it was of utmost importance for emperors to present themselves in a convincing way, which traditionally was based on dynastic, military and divine legitimation. I will argue that the struggle for power is reflected in the use of epithets that for the first time appear in the imperial titulature in third century papyrus texts from Egypt, in which especially an inclination to associate the emperor with the divine can be observed.

Zur Flucht von Liturgen

Andrea Jördens

Neben der Steuerlast waren es bekanntlich vor allem die Liturgien, die das Phänomen der Anachoresis in der Kaiserzeit zu neuer Blüte gelangen ließen. Während jedoch dem Liturgiewesen im allgemeinen und

dem Ernennungsverfahren im besonderen zahlreiche Studien gewidmet sind, wurde der Flucht von Liturgen ungleich weniger Aufmerksamkeit zuteil. Hier soll versucht werden, die Reaktion des Staates auf solche Fälle nachzuzeichnen, in denen Liturgen sich während ihrer Amtsdauer willkürlich den ihnen auferlegten Verpflichtungen entzogen, und damit diese Lücke wenigstens teilweise zu schließen.

Petitions, Litigation and Feud in Roman Egypt

Benjamin Kelly

The Roman petitions complaining about alleged wrongs mostly claim, either explicitly or implicitly, that their senders wanted their disputes to be resolved. It is usually assumed in the modern literature that this was indeed the goal of petitioners and litigants. But in a fascinating group of cases, bouts of litigation display many of the features that anthropologists have identified as characteristic of feud. They were of long duration, and the parties launched repeated attacks and counter-attacks on each other – often concerning new grievances unrelated to the original dispute. As with feuds, these disputing relationships tended to exist between groups (especially family groups), rather than just between individuals. This paper takes a selection of cases, including the conflict between Satabous and Nestnephis, the “Drusilla-Prozess”, and the petition of Dionysia, and interprets them in light of a feuding paradigm. It concludes that we need to recognize that legal institutions had more complex functions and uses than mere dispute resolution.

The Ubiquitous ἐγκύκλιον: A Mortgage Tax from Oxyrhynchus

Leslie Caroline Kelly

Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)

I propose to present as a new text the University of Pennsylvania’s E02765 (*P.Oxy.* II 348), a first century CE notice to the *agoranomoi* that a tax on a mortgage has been paid. The text runs about 16 lines and is in good condition, though deciphering the exact formula has proved tricky. The piece addresses issues of Roman taxation in Egypt, in particular the ἐγκύκλιον and transfers of catoecic land.

Identifying Hands: Different Scribes or Different Books? The Example of Scribe #A1

Maria Konstantinidou

A few published and unpublished fragments from Oxyrhynchus appear to be written by scribe A1, in addition to those identified by Turner and Johnson. The paper deals with the characteristics of this hand and what differentiates two different scribes. Scribe A1 is examined from this point of view, and in comparison to other similar hands. As the number of fragments attributed to a scribe is increasing, the available sample becomes more indicative for discerning the “habits” of the scribe.

The Sixth-Century Archive of the Olive-oil Makers of Aphrodito and the Hyvernat Ostraka Collection at the Catholic University of America

Chrysi Kotsifou

This paper will present forty-one previously unpublished Greek ostraka that belong to the sixth century archive of the *elaiourgoi* of Aphrodito. In March 1922, a box filled with Egyptian artifacts, documents, and manuscripts arrived at the Museum of Catholic University of America. 206 ostraka came to CUA together with these materials. They are primarily Demotic, Greek and Coptic. The head of the Semitics department, Herry Hyvernat had purchased them from the archaeologist Carl Maria Kaufmann. Other institutions in Europe that benefited from Kaufmanns’ ostraka collections in the 1920s, were the monastery of Maria Laach, the Beuron Abbey, and the Thermen Museum in Heerlen. In 1990, Klaas Worp and Jean Gascou published thirty Greek ostraca of the *elaiourgoi* community in Aphrodito. They belong to the Kaufmann ostraca in the Thermen Museum. The Hyvernat ostraka come to substantially add to this archive. This presentation will concentrate on the new information these additional ostraka offer us, namely data regarding the indiction dates, the beneficiaries, and the scribes.

The Meandering Identity of a Fayum Canal: Abdul Wahbi / Bahr Seila / Dioryx Kleonos / The Henet of Moeris

Bryan Kraemer

Pharaoh Amenemhat III's pyramid at Hawara stands guard over the entrance to the Fayum oasis. The mortuary temple for the pyramid, Herodotus's "Labyrinth," was an object of wonder for visitors to the Fayum in antiquity. However, the modern site of Hawara is humbled by a massive canal which divides it in half. Remains of the mortuary temple and a Ptolemaic and Roman settlement lie on either side of the 50 meter wide divide. According to references in An-Nabulsi's work, this canal was likely excavated before the 13th century AD. The excavation through the settlement, mortuary temple, and underlying bedrock must have entailed a massive expenditure of time and labor. In considering the immensity of this task, one wonders, "Why was it necessary?" The question is more puzzling when one considers that there was already a canal here from the reign of Ptolemy II. However, the location and course of the ancient canal are not certain. In this talk, I reexamine the Greek and Egyptian textual sources for the topography of the settlement at Hawara and its relationship to the ancient canal. In addition, I relate this information to the local geomorphology in order to suggest a location for the ancient canal. Finally, I suggest that this canal had a role in the abandonment of villages in the Late Roman Fayum, and offer an explanation for the medieval canal through Hawara.

Pursuing Papyri and Papyrology by Way of eBay

Robert A. Kraft

Starting early in 2005, bits of papyri began to appear on the eBay online auction site. Now two years later, nearly 1000 lots have been sold (cartonnage, Greek, Coptic, Demotic, Hieratic, Arabic, etc.), and more continue to appear. These are from the holdings of a bankrupt antiquarian (Bruce Ferrini) required to sell his extensive stock of various antiquities and related materials by a law-court judgment. I have been monitoring the papyri sales since about August of 2005, and will provide a survey of the situation in this presentation. Fortunately the eBay images are of relatively good quality and may in the long run be of help in attempting to keep track of these now widely dispersed materials, as well as helping to re-unite (virtually, at least) larger pieces that were dismembered for the sales.

Settling Disputes without Recourse to Formal Litigation: the Syene Papyri of Munich

C. Kreuzsaler

Panel: Jurisdiction in Egypt during Late Antiquity, Chair: Rudolf Haensch

The papyri of Late Antiquity attest a marked increase in the popularity of informal means of resolving disputes. Potential litigants avoided the official courts and, instead, attempted to settle their differences through several extrajudicial legal forms. The parties might turn to an arbitrator; they might reach a settlement, with or without the mediation of a third party; they might also apply to ecclesiastical authorities. The Patermuthis archive from late 6th century Syene, published in *P.Münch.* I and *P.Lond.* V, preserves for us a protracted inheritance dispute in which the parties exhausted all of these options.

These documents, which provide us with detailed background information, also illustrate the fundamental weakness of unofficial, or extrajudicial, solutions to legal disputes: settlements and arbitration were devised as means of reaching a peaceful resolution, but the parties must be willing to abide by their terms and compromise in order that these methods can be successful. Even after repeated failure, the family of Patermuthis never brought their case before the proper authorities. Despite mutual mistrust, the parties continued to try new ways of obtaining justice among themselves. Their quarreling might be considered symptomatic of the Late Antique reluctance to go to court.

Eine Eingabe an einen Epistrategen aus der Münchener Papyrussammlung

Thomas Kruse

Workshop Two: Roman Documentary Papyri

Pap.gr. mon. 146 ist die Eingabe an einen bisher unbekanntem römischen Beamten, der wahrscheinlich als Epistratege der Heptanomia amtierte. Der Petent erhebt Beschwerde gegen Personen, die gegen ihn ungerechte Forderungen erheben, die im Widerspruch zu den Erlassen der Präfekten stehen.

A Loan for “Dorotheos the Jew, Πέρσης τῆς Ἐπιγονῆς” (P.Polit. Iud. 8): Rethinking Law and the Jews in Light of the Herakleopolis Papyri

Robert A. Kugler

The citizen complaints to the leaders of the Jewish *politeuma* in Herakleopolis are welcome proof that Jews of Ptolemaic Egypt did maintain the institution of the *politeuma* (see, *P.Polit. Iud.*). That the complainants simultaneously self identify as Jews and rely heavily on Ptolemaic law has also aroused comment from Cowey and Maresch and from reviewers of their edition, most especially Sylvie Honigman. Yet the legal interest of these papyri has hardly been exhausted by this early discussion. An important line of investigation that remains to be fully explored are the relationships among the legal “horizons of expectations” of the complainants of the Herakleopolis papyri, the Jews of other Ptolemaic-era documentary papyri, characters in roughly contemporary Jewish literary texts from Ptolemaic Egypt, and the laws of the Hebrew Bible. This paper presents and analyzes the evidence for these diverse witnesses to Ptolemaic-era Jewish attitudes toward Ptolemaic and ancestral (biblical) law. The investigation’s results suggest the need to substantially revise our understanding of how the Jews of Ptolemaic Egypt understood their ancestral, scriptural legal traditions.

Antimisthosis in the Dioscorus Archive

Florence Lemaire

One century after the discovery of the Dioscorus archive, this important witness of Byzantine Egypt has not been fully exploited. In particular, more than eighty papyri, in *P.Cair. Masp.* II and *P.Lond.* V, have only been published as *descripta* and the republication of these documents would enable us to complete our knowledge of the archive. Such is the case for a particular kind of rent contract, the *antimisthosis*. So far, we knew of only four of them : *P.Cair. Masp.* I 67107, *P.Michael* 43, *PSI* IV 283, and *SB* XXIV 15959. We can now add *P.Cair. Masp.* II 67236 *descr.* + 67241 *descr.*, 67242 *descr.* and *P.Lond.* V 1841 *descr.*, as well as *P.Cair. Masp.* I 67103 and 67105, in which the word *antimisthosis* does not appear, but whose structure and terms suggests that it is such a document. I will first present the content of each papyrus (date, identity of the lessor and lessee, nature of the piece of land, duration of lease, rent, name of the notary), explaining how I came to identify those previously unknown as *antimisthoseis* and giving a list of the corrections I made on those already published. This will be followed by a short discussion about the specificity of the *antimisthosis* (terminology, address, body of the contract, signature and verso). Finally, by comparing these nine documents to the more common *misthoseis* in the archive, I will propose an explanation of why this particular form was sometimes preferred by notaries.

Il P.Herc. 1010 (Epicuro, Sulla natura, libro II): anatomia del rotolo

Giuliana Leone

Herculanensia Panel

Accurate misurazioni e osservazioni puntuali sull’anatomia dei frammenti superstiti del *P.Herc.* 1010, insieme a una rilettura attenta dei testi in essi conservati, per buona parte inediti a causa dell’estremo disordine stratigrafico in cui si presentano, hanno consentito di ripristinarne l’originario ordine di successione, che appare evidentemente stravolto dall’attuale sistemazione nelle cinque cornici. Del rotolo originario si è cercato di determinare il formato e le caratteristiche bibliologiche, nonché di ipotizzare, anche con l’ausilio della documentazione antica, le condizioni di conservazione al momento del rinvenimento e le modalità dello svolgimento, che dovettero determinarne l’attuale assetto.

The Interest Rate in Loans of Money from Oxyrhynchus Before AD 79

Francois Lerouxel

Until AD 79, there is not a single mention of an interest rate on the principal in loans of money from Oxyrhynchus, unlike contracts from the Fayum which usually indicate a rate of 12% a year. Loans of money only mention the principal lent and then add κεφαλαίου αἷς οὐδὲν τῷ καθόλου προσήκται “to which nothing has been added”, but no interest on the principal is mentioned. After 79, loans of money still mention this typically Oxyrhynchite expression, but they almost always add τόκου δραχμιαίου ἐκάστης μνᾶς κατὰ μῆνα “at interest of 12%”. This lack of indication of interest does not mean that these loans are interest-free, or that interest is forbidden in this nome before 79. It is hard to believe that all loans from Oxyrhynchus before 79 are free, whereas almost all loans from the same nome after 79 bear interest, and that the loans from the Fayum do bear interest. If interest is not mentioned in these loans, it is probably because it is obvious, insofar as interest rates do not fluctuate in Roman Egypt. Contrary to what economic theory predicts, the interest is not the equilibrium price between the supply and demand for credit. This is not an historical exception since Parisian credit markets between 1660 and 1870 were also “priceless markets”.

Seeing the Whole Picture - Why Reading Greek Texts from Soknopaiou Nesos is not Enough

Sandra Luisa Lippert

Soknopaiou Nesos Panel

Soknopaiou Nesos is one of those Fayumic villages well known to all papyrologists who concentrate on documentary texts. The extraordinary richness and diversity of Greek documentary sources from this site might trick one into assuming their comprehensive coverage of village life in Graeco-Roman Dime. But Soknopaiou Nesos also yielded numerous Demotic papyri and ostraca on which, although excavated together with the Greek material, more comprehensive studies have started only recently. The results of these studies show that, despite the deceptive completeness of the Greek documentation, an understanding of important aspects of the community of Soknopaiou Nesos, especially temple and cult organization, temple economics and the role of the priesthood, is impossible without a consultation of Egyptian sources.

P.Mich. inv. 3443

Nikos Litinas

Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)

P.Mich. inv. 3443 is described by the in-house catalogue entry as a “mysterious text consisting of (i) 2 cols. of a list of words (no apparent connection), and (ii) a list of magistrates, the two parts being separated by Λ ις (year 16). A writing exercise? II/III. 5 in. x 5 in.”

This paper will clear up the mystery. The text is not a writing exercise, but is instead the first (or second) document to record a certain administrative procedure in Roman Egypt.

Su alcuni desiderata della Papirologia Ercolanese

Francesca Longo Auricchio

Herculanensia Panel

Il grande progresso degli studi sui testi ercolanesi negli ultimi decenni ha contribuito a soddisfare esigenze molto importanti di tale campo di studi e contemporaneamente ha posto l'accento sulla necessità di ulteriori sviluppi a vario livello, tecnico e scientifico: dai problemi di svolgimento, conservazione e sistemazione dei *volumina*, alle riproduzioni fotografiche, dalla catalogazione all'approfondimento dei dati paleografici, dalla creazione di lessici alla determinazione di criteri ecdotici adatti alle esigenze dei testi ercolanesi, alle raccolte di dati linguistici e stilistici.

P.Oxy. II 209: An Early Christian School Exercise in Context

Anne Marie Luijendijk

This paper examines an early Christian papyrus containing the *proemium*, the first seven verses, of the apostle Paul's Letter to Romans (*P.Oxy. II 209/p10* of the New Testament papyri). In this paper I will show

that (1) this is a New Testament manuscript belonging to an identifiable archive and (2) that this papyrus contributes to our understanding of Christian education.

(1) In their edition of this fragment, Grenfell and Hunt made the tantalizing remark that “the papyrus was found tied up with a contract dated in AD 316, and other documents of the same period,” without providing any further indication. What other documents were these, and thus: to whom did this New Testament papyrus belong? In my paper I locate this text in its archive and discuss the ramifications of its context.

(2) Next, I address the purpose of the writing. Grenfell and Hunt characterized the text as a school exercise, based on its inexperienced handwriting. Deissmann, however, was convinced it was an amulet. An examination of the papyrus through photographs solves this issue of classification. This then leads to better insight into Christian scribal practices and education.

A New Fragment of a Ptolemaic Documentary Papyrus from the Kölner Papyrussammlung

John Landon

Workshop One: Documentary Papyri (Ptolemaic)

The fragment, derived from mummy cartonnage, preserves in their entirety eight long and well-spaced lines from the top of a column. A good portion of the upper margin is still intact. A few letters of a preceding and a following column also survive, so the document seems to have been of considerable length. The text is written along the fibres on the recto in a careful and not unattractive script. Minor corrections and the interlinear insertion of an omitted phrase suggest that the papyrus is a copy. On the verso there are what look like drafts of letters penned by a later hand. Apart from a reference to the third day of the month Choiak, without the mention of a regnal year, no other dates occur. There are, however, grounds for assigning the papyrus to the second century BC. As a place of provenance the Haracleopolite is the best bet. The surviving text consists of a series of participial clauses which provide a detailed statement of the facts of a legal dispute. Content, structure and form of expression all point to the narrative part of a petition. Of particular interest and importance is the appearance of a former *dioiketes*, one Asklepiades, and the board of *chrematistai*, who in conjunction seem to have presided over the case. What exactly was at issue is not entirely clear, partly because the meaning of several words and expressions defies immediate interpretation. It is hoped that the comments and criticism of the participants in the workshop will shed light on this and other questions.

A Date for P.KRU 105?

Leslie S.B. MacCoull

This fragmentary document, unfortunately lacking its beginning with any explicit dating information that might have been contained therein, has rightly been viewed as amounting to the foundation charter for the Monastery of St. Phoibammon built into the ancient Deir el-Bahri temple at Thebes. This monastery, a landowner and pilgrimage goal that was interwoven into the economic, social, and religious life of the Thebaid, became a carrier of Egyptian Christian culture that spanned the seventh century conquest and lasted at least into the ninth century. For the first third of the twentieth century Crum and Steinwenter’s dating of the document, and the monastery’s foundation, to the late sixth century prevailed. However, in 1938 Steinwenter changed his mind and opted for the late seventh century (post-conquest), in which he was followed by Till in the 1960s. The later dating seems impossible, however, in view of the explicit mention of “the damages that our lords the Christ-loving kings have defined” in lines 12-13. On a rereading of the papyrus I have concluded that elements of the formulary and prosopography, combined with the legal details and ecclesiastical events in Egypt, yield a date late in the reign of Justin II, specifically to between 576 and 578.

P.Herc. 817 from Facsimiles to MSI: a Case for Practical Illustration of Progress

Roger T. Macfarlane

P.Herc. 817, containing the *carmen de bello actiaco*, enjoyed its last formal edition in 1958 (Garuti, Bologna), and Immarco published significant new scholarship toward a new edition during the 1980s and

1990s (e.g. *Pap.Lup.* 1 [1992] 241ff.; *CErc* 19 [1989] 281f.). Zechini's (Stuttgart 1987) analysis of the poem's text is significant, but it does not constitute a scholarly edition.

The application of multi-spectral imaging technology makes the text of P.Herc. 817 more accessible than ever before. Enhanced accessibility is not limited to improved legibility—for the BYU-MSI facilitate many aspects of Herculaneum papyrology—but this combines with new scholarly approaches to the carbonized P.Herc. texts to necessitate a new, more definitive edition of P.Herc. 817. My paper will present new readings of the *fragmenta* of the CDDBA, portions never edited by virtue of autopsy—for Garuti and successors worked only with facsimiles (*disegni*). The paper will be illustrated with multispectral images of the relevant passages, and issues pertaining to the general collection of the Latin papyri from Herculaneum will also be addressed.

The resultant edition of P.Herc. 817, toward which this paper aims, will be the first that can be accompanied by trustworthy images for verification, i.e. up to the standards called for nearly 40 years ago by D. Sedley (*CErc* 3 [1973] 5).

A Demotic-Greek Ostrakon from Aswan, from the Collection of the Brooklyn Museum

Rachel Mairs

This paper will consider an only partially published Demotic-Greek ostrakon (c. first century) from the collection of the Brooklyn Museum. Shelton's (1992) previous transcription of the Greek portion of the text (*P.Brook.* 81) highlighted a number of intriguing references to communities and activities typical of Aswan: quarrying, shipping and even the rare term “cataract-dwellers”. Although, for purposes of cataloguing, the two languages of the text have hitherto been considered in isolation, this paper will ask what linguistic and historical information holistic consideration of the Greek and Demotic sections of the text – and of their inter-relationship – might enable us to glean. The questions considered will include:

The reasons for the choice of Demotic and of Greek for individual portions of the text;

The origin of the names in the text's second column, posited by Hughes (2005) to be Nubian;

The overall purpose of the text, the position of the professional groups to which it refers, and the information contained in it on administrative and economic affairs in contemporary Aswan.

The Late Antique Auditoria of Kom el-Dikka

Grzegorz Majcherek

Panel: Spaces for Teaching in Late Antique Egypt, Chair: Roger Bagnall

The recent discovery of a vast complex of well preserved auditoria dated to the 5th – 6th century AD at the Kom el-Dikka site has shed a new light on the much debated issue of academic life in Late Antique Alexandria.

The unearthing of a group of twenty lecture halls has led to the conclusion that the whole complex could be linked to the academic institution that Alexandria was renowned for in the ancient world. The complex seems to constitute unexpected evidence of the enduring nature and liveliness of the intellectual traditions of Alexandrian scholarship well into Late Antiquity. So far, no physical remains of the renowned ancient academies in Athens, Constantinople or Beirut have ever been brought to light. Our entire knowledge of ancient higher education has been based solely on an analysis of extant textual sources. Now, for the first time, we are in the position to relate the events described in the texts to a specific architectural setting.

The hadith in P.Utah Ar. Atiya 205

W. Matt Malczycki

Panel Title: Collections and Literary Papyri, Chair: Maya Schatzmiller

P.Utah Ar. Atiya 205, an Arabic papyrus, dates to the caliphate of Hisham b. ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 724-44 CE) and contains instructions for Islamic prayer. The text appears to be an amalgamation of parts of different *hadith* preserved in the canonical *hadith* collections. However, there is no single *hadith* that contains the entire text of the papyrus. In addition, the language, grammar, and phraseology of the papyrus are substantially different from the *hadith* texts.

Since Goldziher first took up the topic of *hadith* in the late nineteenth century, Western scholars of Islam have debated the degree to which the traditional master narrative of *hadith* sciences reflects historical reality. Papyrology has played an important role in this discussion. For example, Nabia Abbott wrote an extended and vigorous defense of the tradition in her three-volume *Studies in Literary Arabic Papyri* (1957). In a more sublime manner, Raif Georges Khoury also supported the veracity of the master narrative in his *‘Abd Allah ibn Lahi’a: juge et grand maître de l’école égyptienne* (1986).

However, Abbott and Khoury base their arguments on Abbasid-era (ca 750-945) papyri, while the chronological focus of the Western debate about *hadith* is the Umayyad period (ca 661-750). Heretofore, no one has published an Umayyad-era *hadith* text. Therefore, *P.Utah. Atiya. Ar 205* is an important addition to scholarly discussion of the history of written *hadith*. As this paper will demonstrate, the papyrus is intriguing not only because of its uniqueness and antiquity but also because it lends itself to mutually exclusive interpretations.

Texts in Context: a Methodological Study of the Topography of Talei

Myrto Malouta

In the context of my work for the “Oxford Roman Economy Project” I have been looking at various demographic studies, especially regarding population sizes and settlement patterns. The integration of textual and archaeological data has produced interesting results from areas of the Roman Empire that have been sufficiently excavated and/or surveyed. In the case of Egypt, where more and more towns and settlements are being systematically surveyed, similar methods are starting to be applied. In contrast to most other areas in the Empire, where any textual evidence is used to complement the much more abundant archaeological finds, in many Egyptian sites the balance between archaeological and documentary evidence is presently in favour of the latter. This peculiarity is quite advantageous in the sense that it provides the potential for a narrative that can be generalised to aid the understanding of sites that have yielded no documentary evidence. In this methodological study I focus on the Fayum town of Talei and its environs in the first century AD and I examine ways in which the papyrological data, mainly sales contracts, might be combined with the results of the archaeological survey. The aim is to locate spatially, actually or virtually, patterns of landownership inferred from the papyri, and to explore ways of modeling the results. To this end I compare Talei with other sites that have been systematically researched, and suggest ways in which this methodology can be applied to other sites in the future.

Le signalement des auteurs et des œuvres dans les papyrus littéraires grecs de médecine

Marie-Hélène Marganne

Dans les papyrus littéraires, la présence d’un titre, qu’il soit final, initial, ou noté sur une étiquette, non seulement identifie sûrement le contenu en donnant de surcroît la ou une dénomination ancienne de l’œuvre, mais est souvent aussi, avec d’autres particularités codicologiques, l’indice d’un exemplaire de bibliothèque. Les papyrus littéraires grecs de médecine présentent-ils une indication de ce genre? Sous quelle(s) forme(s) y sont identifiés les auteurs et les traités médicaux? C’est à ces questions que l’on s’efforcera de répondre en examinant non seulement les papyrus dont l’auteur est identifié, mais également les *adespota* où sont cités des titres de traités, parfois accompagnés du nom de leur auteur. Ce faisant, on distinguera les titres “instruments” des titres “références”, qu’ils soient mentionnés par l’auteur lui-même ou par d’autres auteurs.

75 ans de Bibliographie Papyrologique (1932-2007).

Alain Martin

La *Bibliographie Papyrologique (BP)* a été fondée par Marcel Hombert en 1932, à la suite d'un voeu formulé au Congrès de Leyde, l'année précédente. Au fil des décennies, le champ d'investigation des auteurs de la *BP* s'est progressivement élargi, jusqu'à couvrir tous les aspects des études relatives à l'Égypte gréco-romaine. L'outil s'est lui-même adapté aux exigences du temps, abandonnant la distribution traditionnelle sur fiches de bristol, adoptant bientôt une présentation électronique.

La communication dresse brièvement l'historique de cette évolution. Elle tente plus généralement, à travers les données enregistrées dans la *BP*, de retracer l'histoire de nos études au cours des 75 années écoulées, de caractériser les développements successifs qu'elles ont connus, d'identifier enfin les inflexions qui les ont affectées dans les derniers temps, annonciatrices peut-être du futur visage de la papyrologie.

A Database of Mummy Labels

Raquel Martín-Hernández and Sofía Torallas Tovar

There are more than 2500 published mummy labels, often in defective editions (only partial publication of the Greek part, neglecting the Egyptian counterpart). These items provide very interesting information for the study, among other things, of Egyptian and Greek onomastics. It is our intention to provide a consolidated list of known labels in an on-line database, providing material data and text, and eventually links to images in external websites. This systematization will allow us to undertake further studies: to draw complete lists of names, often double and translated names, linked topographically to certain areas; to analyze the few Egyptian prayers for the dead; and to contextualize funerary practices in a multicultural environment.

What is an Oikos? Oxyrhynchus Evidence on Households in the Wider Context of Late Antique Economy

Roberta Mazza

Late Antique Oxyrhynchus Panel, Chair, James G. Keenan

Since the publication of the first Oxyrhynchus papyri at the beginning of the last century, the historical reconstruction of late antique Oxyrhynchus and its territory has been largely based on the papyri relating to *oikoi*, primarily but not exclusively that of the Apions. My paper aims to frame the socio-economical practices attested in the Oxyrhynchite documents in the larger context of late antique economy, in the light of books, articles, and documents recently published on both topics, the Oxyrhynchite *oikoi*, and the late antique economy. The comparative approach contributes to highlight common elements and specific characteristics of the Egyptian *oikoi* in respect to households attested in other areas of the Mediterranean world. Moreover, I will try to give a definition of the *oikos* at large, taking into consideration the varieties of functions and activities performed by these institutions and their representatives.

Very Small Script

Kathleen McNamee

In 1907, in the early days of papyrology, Wilamowitz suggested that whole scholarly commentaries were first copied, in the 2nd or 3rd century, into the margins of the plays and that the descendants of those commentaries are scholia. In 1939, by which time Egypt had produced no examples of such a book, Gunther Zuntz made a vigorous counter-argument that scholia must have developed, rather, in the age of Photius, when salvage of the writings of the ancients had high priority and the newly invented minuscule script made it practical, for the first time, to transcribe whole commentaries into the margins around a text. Scripts of the age, he observed, were too large for so much text to fit into so small a space. In 1965, after the 1952 publication of a 6th- or 7th century codex looking very much like what Wilamowitz had envisioned (*P.Oxy.* XX 2258), Zuntz reiterated this view, stressing that the clumsy bulk of the marginal script and the layout of the page in that manuscript still lack the "classical balance" of a scholiastic manuscript. He reiterated the importance of the invention of the minuscule in achieving that balance. In fact, as we have discovered, some two dozen codices of late antiquity are scholiastic in page design. In this

paper, I consider the other main point in Zuntz's argument against the "invention" of scholia in late antiquity, namely, the implication that scripts small enough to provide the classic scholiastic *mise en page* did not exist before the 9th century. Evidence of very small handwriting turns out to be widespread before the age of minuscule, and it is not restricted geographically or linguistically: it comes from fourteen Greek and Latin codices on parchment and fifteen on papyrus, plus a number of Latin, Greek, and Biblical parchments from non-Egyptian sources. In several, the letter-sizes rival, in size, the handwriting of minuscule scholia. Here is evidence that scripts small enough to do the work of scholia in those manuscripts existed in antiquity.

Seasons of Death for Donors and Testators

Michael Meerson

I will analyze dates indicated in testaments and gifts after death, and compare them to the monthly rate of mortality, as come from the surveys of mummy labels and epitaphs on one hand, and from the death declarations, one the other. My goal is to find a possible link between an immediate threat to the life of potential donors and testators, and their decision to write a specific kind of post mortem disposition.

I shall demonstrate that the peak of gifts after death shows disparity to the highest rate of mortality according to mummy labels and epitaphs, and corresponds to the data collected from death declarations. Then, I build my argument on Scheidel's hypothesis, saying that only the dates indicated on mummy labels and epitaphs correctly point to the date of decease, while death declarations were submitted at a much later date than the actual death occurred. I will analyze the reasons why death declarations and gifts after death, both nominally connected to decease, showed quite unnatural registration activity of their reporters in early winter, the season of relatively low mortality. I will argue that the reasons for both were similar – the negligence of bureaucratic procedures and subsequent rush to meet the deadline in the end of the fiscal year. Finally, I will address the question of why donors would have wanted to comply with that deadline.

Crittografia greca in Egitto: un nuovo testo

Giovanna Menci

Un papiro di provenienza ignota, appartenente alla collezione dell'Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli di Firenze (PSI inv. 401), conserva una trentina di righe costituiti da lettere greche, comprese stigma, coppa e sampi, che appaiono chiaramente leggibili, ma che non formano parole di senso compiuto. Si tratta in realtà di un testo crittografico, che ho potuto interamente decifrare grazie al fatto che lo stesso tipo di scrittura "segreta" è usato sporadicamente in iscrizioni e in colofoni di codici, sia in ambito greco che copto. Per quanto riguarda i papiri, l'unica attestazione finora nota era soltanto un rigo di un papiro magico. PSI inv. 401 costituisce un unicum, non solo perché conserva una notevole quantità di scrittura in crittografia alfanumerica, ma anche perché testimonia un uso non mistico, né religioso, né magico della crittografia: il testo decifrato si è rivelato infatti una lista di abiti, tessuti e alimenti. Si coglie l'occasione per tracciare una breve storia della crittografia greca, delineando i vari sistemi usati.

Reading Hellenistic Poetry in Roman Egypt: Some Observations on Scholia and Commentaries on Theocritus' and Apollonius' Papyri

Valentina Millozzi

Callimachus is by far the best represented of the Hellenistic poets among the papyri which survive, both in terms of the transmission of his texts and the quantity of exegetic material preserved. Nevertheless it is also important to consider the extant marginalia, scholia, and commentaries on Theocritus and Apollonius Rhodius in any study of the place of Hellenistic poetry in Roman Egypt. I would like to draw on my experience of working with the ancient to medieval scholia on Callimachus's *Hymns* and, by selecting some pertinent examples, investigate a few preliminary aspects of the ancient exegesis on Theocritus and Apollonius Rhodius.

Count Ammonios and Taxes
Miroslava Mirković

Ammonios son of Theodosios, known as a *comes* and a wealthy landlord in sixth century Egypt, played a prominent role in tax-paying in the village of Aphrodito. When paying his own taxes he operated through his agents (*P.Cair. Masp.* II 67138, 67139), per *actores proprios*, as the law prescribed for the great landlords; his name is also connected with the indirect payment of taxes, in the name of someone else, ὀνόματος τοῦ δεινός, as it is formulated in the Cadastre of Aphrodito (*Travaux et Mémoires* 10 [1987] 119 ff.). This document, which is at a first glimpse simply a long list enumerating the titles of the taxpayers in Aphrodito, represents a good starting point for considering not only the complex question of taxation but also of the conveyance of land and transfer of taxes in Egypt in the Later Roman times. Of 18 people and monasteries that paid taxes to the account, ὀνόματος of someone else, Ammonios son of Theodosios is recorded eight times. The tax obligation was defined by law (*CJ XI 48,4, AD 366*): anyone who possessed land was obliged to pay taxes in his own name; landlords also had to pay for the colons who were registered on their land (*coloni originales*). However papyri prove that land ownership and tax conveyance could be treated as separate instances in the Late Antiquity. Taxes could be conveyed to another person by means of contract or in exchange for different transaction.

Contribution pour une édition du P.Herc. Paris 2
Annick Monet

En 1802, Napoléon Bonaparte, alors premier consul, reçut du roi de Naples Ferdinand IV quatre ou six rouleaux de papyrus carbonisés provenant d'Herculanum. Près de deux cents ans plus tard, deux de ces rouleaux furent confiés à la Biblioteca Nazionale de Naples pour y être ouverts selon la méthode dite d'Oslo. Le *P.Herc. Paris 2* est de loin celui qui a le moins souffert du traitement. Il est conservé dorénavant à la bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, à Paris, sous la forme de 283 fragments et doit faire l'objet d'une édition de la part d'une équipe de cinq personnes sous la responsabilité de Daniel Delattre.

La présente contribution sera l'occasion de présenter des fragments inédits de ce rouleau nouvellement effeuillé.

Writing and Writers in Antiquity: Two "Spectra" in Ancient Greek Handwriting
Alan Murgidge

The study of Greek papyri from the fourth century BC to the fourth century AD offers an evaluation of two "spectra" often used to describe ancient Greek handwriting, as well as a discussion as to how they intersect. The first "spectrum" is that which describes the style of writing - between the so-called "literary" and "documentary" styles. An evaluation of this will be offered, including the variety of handwriting styles included under each, and it will be suggested that the word "spectrum" is not an appropriate one to use in this case. The second "spectrum" deals with the actual writer (or copyist) - between the professional scribe and the person who could barely write his or her own name. The definition of a "(professional) scribe" will be examined, especially in relation to others who were able to write in some fashion. It will be maintained that in this case the word "spectrum" does have some validity, but that in the Graeco-Roman world most actual writing (including copying) was done by professional scribes. In relation to this the paper will then suggest criteria by which it may be decided whether a papyrus has been written by a professional scribe or not. Finally, the paper will discuss the interaction between these two so-called "spectra" - that is, how the professional "status" of a writer interacted with the kind of handwriting used in the production of a specific manuscript.

A Late Ptolemaic Grapheion Archive in Berkeley
Brian Muhs

The so-called 1st Batch of crocodile mummies unearthed by Grenfell and Hunt at Tebtunis in 1899-1900, and now at the Berkeley Center for Tebtunis Papyri, contains both Greek and Demotic papyri from the first half of the 1st century BC, which will be published in the near future by Cisca Hoogendijk and myself. At

least some of these papyri appear to come from a bilingual *grapheion* archive. This paper will first briefly describe those papyri, Demotic and Greek, which appear to come from a *grapheion* archive. The paper will then compare the contents of these papyri to those in the early Roman *grapheion* archive from Tebtunis, and to Ptolemaic papyri concerning the registration of Demotic and Greek contracts. Finally, a model describing the evolution of contract registration procedures and of the institution of *grapheia* will be proposed.

The Palau Ribes Papyrological Collection Rediscovered
Alberto Nodar Domínguez

Following the death of Father O’Callahan in 2001, the papyrological collection belonging to the General Archive of the Jesuits in Barcelona remained untouched until 2004. It is one of the two most important papyrus collections in Spain (the other is the Roca-Puig collection at the Montserrat Abbey in Barcelona). Together these two collections consist of more than 5000 items, mostly uncatalogued, unrestored and unpublished. They are an essential part of the Spanish cultural heritage. Editing them and making them accessible to the international scientific community constitutes the main priority of our research team. In this paper I intend to present some interesting pieces of the collection and show the progress of our research project in recent years.

The New Archilochus Fragment from Oxyrhynchus: Further Accessions
Dirk Obbink

A newly identified commentary on Archilochus from Oxyrhynchus, preserving its author and title, demonstrates that Archilochus’ poetry circulated in an edition organized by meter, and that W. Crönert was right to posit a separate book of elegiac poems, to which *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4708, along with VI 854 and XXX 2507, can now be seen to belong. A recently identified pentameter from this poem in Stobaeus demonstrates that these were also equipped with titles, and reveals the title that this poem bore. Several further new accessions to the poetry of Archilochus from Oxyrhynchus will be surveyed.

P.Herc. 394: A Test Case for Further Editions of Latin Papyri from Herculaneum
Aaron K Olsen

15 years ago, at the 20th International Congress of Papyrology, Knut Kleve called for a renewed focus on the long-neglected Latin portion of the Herculaneum library. However, besides the famous *carmen de bello actiaco* and three important discoveries by Kleve himself, we still know practically nothing about the contents of these papyri. The application of multi-spectral imaging in recent years allows for a better reading of carbonized papyri than previously possible and gives a new opportunity to re-examine the possibility for editions of the remaining Latin papyri. Del Mastro (*CErc* 35 [2005]) showed how application of this technology has doubled the number of known Latin papyri in this library.

Our test case is P.Herc. 394. Lindsay, in his 1890 survey of the Bodleian facsimiles of the Latin papyri, asserted this papyrus to contain a “panegyric on some emperor, probably Augustus,” basing this reading on the Oxonian facsimile of a fragment since destroyed. In my paper, I review the extraordinary difficulties which stand in the way of an edition, including the disagreement between Oxonian and Neapolitan facsimiles, modern destruction of valuable fragments of text, and the miserable condition of the papyrus. Using multi-spectral images of the papyrus for illustration, I show to where Lindsay’s conjecture about the papyrus’ subject can be refuted, and where strengthened and extended; in my examination I bring Kleve’s call for further research on the Latin papyri up-to-date, and, using the example of this particular text, demonstrate viability for further editions of Latin texts from Herculaneum.

The Judicial Branch of the Governors’ Offices: Organisation and Tasks
Bernhard Palme
Panel: Jurisdiction in Egypt during Late Antiquity, Chair: Rudolf Haensch

There were two principal tasks of governors during late Antiquity: jurisdiction and tax collection. According to these two principal tasks, the *officia* of all governors were divided into a judicial and a financial branch. The objective of this paper is to present research work aimed at shedding light on the composition, distribution of tasks within and functioning of the governors' offices on the one hand and establishing career patterns and areas of competence of the officials as well as their standing in the social structure of the province on the other.

The judicial branch was divided into specialized scribes and auxiliary staff, each group being in itself further subdivided. In the papyrological documentation these *officiales*, who were organized in paramilitary fashion, are found in large numbers. However, their many official titles are better known than their actual official activities. The composition of these *officia* is vaguely known from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Or. XXIII describing the office of the *praefectus Augustalis* and Or. XLIV mentioning the office of the *praeses Thebaidis* as specimen offices. The information provided in the *Notitia* is, however, selective, as the large number of specialized clerks (*ministeria litterata*) and the subaltern officials (*ministeria illitterata*), who were graded in many ranks, each organized in a *schola*, never appear in the first place. Furthermore, the *Notitia* fundamentally ignores the division into the two branches “jurisdiction” and “financial administration” because it does not arrange the posts systematically, but by order of rank.

Papyrologists have hitherto not researched either these posts or their hierarchical structuring. Historians, too, have never made the attempt of consistently integrating the papyrological evidence into their work. A critical arrangement of the papyri and their confrontation with literary legal evidence promise to hold the key to understanding both the organizational structures and the areas of responsibility within the judicial branch.

A New Ptolemaic “Daybook” of Payments in Kind?

Maryline G. Parca

Workshop One: Documentary Papyri (Ptolemaic)

P.Mich. inv. 6938 (of Fayum provenance) once belonged to a roll of considerable length as its extensive fragments represent at least fifteen columns of text, eight mostly extant and seven severely damaged, possibly consecutive. The text is written in a hasty but trained Ptolemaic cursive, and the contents of the document suggest a date in the second century BCE.

The new text preserves a list of personal names, each followed by a record of either seed allowance (wheat or barley) and/or deposit of rent paid in kind, the latter usually followed by deductions for various charges. A close parallel is *P.Tebt.* III 848 (early second century), a record of deposits of rent paid in kind, and *P.Tebt.* I 93, III 850 and 1022 provide additional comparanda. For example, several of the tolls deducted from the initial amounts in the Michigan piece (e.g., a surcharge of about two percent, here called ἐπίμετρον, and the tax of the twenty-fourth), occur in the Tebtunis papyri.

Although silent about details of time and place (Ptolemais?), the Michigan piece preserves a rich stock of Greek and Egyptian names, documents several individuals who pay by proxy (cf. *P.Tebt.* I 93), and reveals categories of taxes poorly documented. The questions it raises—among which, why the mélange of Greek and Egyptian names and the much higher incidence of indigenous names—encourages reconsideration of little understood aspects of fiscal administration in the Ptolemaic period.

Per una nuova edizione dei papiri tucididei

Natascia Pellé

La comunicazione divulga i primi risultati di una ricognizione preliminare del complesso dei papiri delle *Storie di Tuciddide*. Il survey, condotto direttamente sugli originali o su eccellenti fotografie, è finalizzato ad una nuova edizione critica dei testi destinata al *Corpus dei Papiri Storici Greci e Latini*. Esso ha preso in considerazione i 95 papiri, tutti di origine egiziana, 66 dei quali rinvenuti ad Ossirinco nel corso degli scavi inglesi ed italiani dei secoli XIX e XX. L'insieme dei testi, risalenti tutti ad un arco di tempo compreso tra il III sec. a.C. e il VI sec. d.C., è costituito da 82 frammenti di volumina papiracei e da 13 frammenti di codici (rispettivamente 7 da codice papiraceo e 6 da codice pergamenaceo). Di tali materiali sono stati presi in considerazione gli aspetti bibliologici e paleografici, con particolare attenzione al tipo di allestimento del singolo manufatto; in tale prospettiva sono stati esaminati: rapporto tra spazio scritto e spazio non scritto,

successione delle colonne di scrittura (nei volumina), mise en colonne, mise en ligne, dimensioni di colonne, linee, spazi intercolonnari ed interlineari, eventuale presenza di sigla e marginalia, fenomenologia ortografica, eventuali interventi di correzione da parte dell'estensore del testo o di mani successive. I dati raccolti hanno consentito di delineare un quadro d'insieme delle molteplici problematiche presentate dai materiali tucididei in relazione alla circolazione del testo dello storico nell'antichità, con particolare riferimento al pubblico di Tucidide nell'Egitto ellenizzato, a partire dall'epoca tolemaica e fino alle soglie della conquista araba.

A Patron and a Companion: Two Animal Epitaphs for Zenon of Caunos (P.Cair. Zen. IV 59532)
Timothy Pepper

One of the most unusual pieces in the Zenon archive is a set of two epitaphs concerning a dog named Tauron, which were commissioned by Zenon and sent in a letter that mimics the appearance of a book-roll (P.Cair. Zen. IV 59532). This paper will investigate how these poems utilize both the practices of funerary memorials and their literary representation to accomplish the aims of their patron, Zenon. Although the address on the verso locates Zenon vertically within the service of the *dioiketes* Apollonios, the texts on the recto (and in real or imagined performance) portray the hound as being in a horizontal relationship of aristocratic exchange with his master. By introducing Tauron's death in distiches with a quasi-mythological narrative and then in iambic trimeters with a narrative gloss, these epitaphs use heroic models to present the dog's behavior and to glorify him for his service to the household or clan.

The paper will conclude by situating these poems within the poetics of animal epitaphs in the 3rd century BCE and in the archive of a man who takes on the roles of manager of and gatekeeper to Greek culture.

The Derveni Papyrus: In Search of the Author and of a Second Book
Apostolos Pierris

Panel: The Derveni Papyrus, Chair: Richard Janko

Focusing on the question of authorship of this papyrus and of the overall structure of the work helps sharpen the interpretative inquiry into the content of the text.

The author appears to have been a philosopher who contrasts his approach to religious symbolism with both that of the official state cults (mysteries) and that of consecrated persons, possessors of the "holy art", instructors and performers of sacred rites with an explanatory rationale. This philosopher accepts life after death, and construes disbelief in it as inability to learn the truth. He also acknowledges the efficacy of special ritual. I shall argue that he is an Anaxagorean of the Archelaean type: neither Atomism nor Eleatism nor Empedocleanism can fit his philosophical theory of reality. Socrates' teacher Archelaus comes close to it. The author may have been connected to Lampsacus.

The Orphic theogony which is allegorized in the Derveni Papyrus seems to presuppose the sequence Night- Phanes- Ouranos- Kronos- Zeus- (Dionysus). The philosophical interpretation of the cosmogonic process is strongly heliocentric. This may be related to the Orphic heliolatry attested by Aeschylus according to our sources. We may be tracing the beginning of solar theology.

Important implications may follow from a comparison of the text with the pattern of Parmenides' and Empedocles' works. The papyrus ends with Zeus' coition with the Great Mother. In Orphism this would continue with the birth of Persephone, a second illicit copulation, Zagreus' nativity, his dismemberment and the Titanic generation of humankind. These developments probably constituted the subject of a second book in another roll, which would thus provide the philosophical justification for the Orphic account of the destiny and salvation of the soul, also implied in the understanding of ritual treated in the prooimion of the first book. Eschatology would therefore be based on (physical) ontology.

My paper will be illustrated by multi-spectral digital images of the papyrus that have not hitherto been shown.

The Excavation of the Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli" in Antinoopolis

Rosario Pintaudi

Poster Session

The Joint Excavation Pisa-Messina Universities in Narmouthis

Rosario Pintaudi

Poster Session

Pigs, Justice and Tachygraphy. An Opistograph Papyrus from the Geneva Collection

Noemi Poget-Kern

Workshop Three: Documentary Papyri (Late Antique)

P.Gen. inv. 156 contains a petition addressed to the *defensor civitatis* of Oxyrhynchus. This opistograph papyrus was written in the second half of the fifth century or in the beginning of the sixth century AD. It is interesting mainly for three reasons :

- 1) it suggests that before calling on the *defensor civitatis*, one could—or one should—try to solve one's problem (in this case stolen pigs) with the help of the *riparii*.
- 2) the *defensor civitatis* named here is not mentioned by any other document, as far as I know.
- 3) on the verso, there are at least seven lines of tachygraphy, which I am not able to decipher so far.

La colométrie dans les papyrus ptolémaïques: le texte des anthologies poétiques

Francisca Pordomingo

L'étude des anthologies poétiques sur papyrus de l'époque ptolémaïque que je viens de réaliser a montré l'absence de colométrie dans les textes lyriques; cette absence est partagée avec d'autres papyrus de poésie, en général antérieurs à Aristophane de Byzance. Mais il y a d'autres anthologies qui sont postérieures et leurs textes ne présentent pas encore de colométrie. Des paragraphes semblent parfois marquer—bien que de façon variable et présentant aussi une pluralité de fonctions—la division des *cola* dans un texte qui a été copié dans la largeur de la colonne. Mais d'autres traits mystérieux apparaissent. Mon intention est de faire une présentation des textes, avec une description détaillée d'après cette optique, et formuler une interprétation des faits.

Buried Linguistic Treasure in the Babatha Archive

Stanley E. Porter

This paper utilizes corpus linguistics to study the Greek of the Babatha archive. This interdisciplinary approach builds upon linguistic research first presented at the “Buried Linguistic Treasure: The Potential of Papyri for Greek and Latin Language Research Colloquium,” held at Christ Church, Oxford, in 2006, by applying its corpus based approach to the Babatha archive. This study addresses several important questions raised by the Babatha archive. These include: the linguistic nature of the Greek found in these documents of a Nabatean woman fleeing Rome in the early second century, the extent of linguistic interference in these Greek documents, and the relation of the papyri of Palestine to those of Egypt.

Preliminary linguistically based findings are that the Greek of the Babatha archive, rather than reflecting high Semitic influence (as previous studies have concluded), is indicative of the vulgar *Koine* of the time, especially in terms of syntax. Further, comparison with the Greek papyri from Egypt shows that the major register indicators are constant, and thus reflect similar contexts of culture, and contexts of situation consistent with a secondary Greek language environment. These findings draw lines of connection between Egypt and Palestine closer, especially in terms of linguistic evidence.

A Teacher's dipinto from the Great Oasis of Roman Egypt

David M. Ratzan

Panel: Spaces for Teaching in Late Antique Egypt, Chair: Roger Bagnall

The poetic *dipinto* of didactic nature in five columns described in Paola Davoli's paper is of importance for the cultural and social history of the Oasis and education in Roman Egypt. This paper will serve as an introduction to the *dipinto* proper, which Raffaella Criboire will then discuss in greater detail. This preliminary presentation will have three sections. The first will discuss the condition and palaeography of the *dipinto*, including evidence of erasure and the strategic deployment of lectional signs throughout, both indications of its educational nature. Next, there will be a discussion of the meter and the extent to which our poet (or his model) can be associated with particular metrical practices represented in the epigrams of ancient anthologies or poetic inscriptions. The third and final section will place this *dipinto* in the cultural context of the Oases.

Crime and Punishment in Early Islamic Egypt: the Arabic Papyrological Evidence

Lucian Reinfandt

Panel: Arabic Papyri in their Historical Context, Chair: Michael Morony

Criminal offences and the way authorities dealt with them are of crucial importance for an understanding of how the gradual change from a late Antique to an early Islamic society occurred in Egypt. Arabic papyri yield significant complementary material to the more conventional historiographical and judicial sources. Yet no systematic study has been done in this regard so far. My paper is a first evaluation of how criminal deeds and their respective persecution are documented in the Arabic papyri from the 7th to 10th centuries AD. On the basis of, and in contrast to, the extensive research done by Greek papyrologists on this subject, answers will first be given to a couple of questions. What kind of criminality took place in early Islamic Egypt and how did Islamic state authorities deal with it? To what extent were state authorities involved in the punishment of criminal deeds at all? How did an administration of criminal justice emerge in Egypt, and how did the development of a specific Islamic penal law take place? Finally, a classification will be made for the kinds of papyrus documents that are of special relevance for the issue of penal law in practice in Islamic times.

Ein Ostrakon aus Pergamon in der Papyrussammlung des Ägyptischen Museums in Berlin

Fabian Reiter

Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)

Der Anteil der außerhalb Ägyptens gefundenen griechischen Papyri und Ostraka ist gegenüber den inzwischen über 50.000 publizierten Texten, die aus Ägypten stammen, so gering, daß jeder einzelne

Neufund das Interesse der Forschung erweckt. Als einzigartig kann das hier vorzustellende Ostrakon gelten, welches bei den Grabungen der Berliner Antikensammlung im Jahre 1931 im Bereich des Asklepieions von Pergamon ans Licht kam. Das kleine Scherbenfragment enthält eine Liste von Gegenständen und Lebensmitteln. Angesichts der Fundsituation ist die Diskussion der Frage nach dem möglichen Anlaß und Zweck der Aufstellungen von besonderem Interesse. Von sprachgeschichtlicher Bedeutung ist das Auftreten mehrerer neuer Wortbildungen.

Incubation at the Memphis Sarapeum

Gil Haviv Renberg

This paper will examine the questions of whether incubation was practiced at the Memphis Sarapeum and, if so, who engaged in it and which gods were consulted by those doing so. The Sarapeum complex featured not only the temple of Sarapis, but also temples of other gods and sacred animal necropoleis that likewise functioned as cult sites. A broad range of Greek and Demotic sources—including papyri, ostraka, inscriptions and graffiti—clearly indicates the importance of dreams to sanctuary officials and ordinary worshippers alike, but the evidence for incubation is far more complex than has previously been recognized. By reevaluating these sources, it can be shown that some repeatedly cited texts turn out not to be evidence for incubation, while others have been only partly appreciated or even misunderstood. Overall, the evidence that visitors to the Sarapeum could solicit dreams from Sarapis is flimsy at best, and assumptions that this occurred is partly based on the role of incubation at some of his other cult sites. While sources such as the Hor Archive and a recent graffiti referring to an incubation chamber reveal that incubation was indeed practiced at the Sarapeum, it cannot be demonstrated that Sarapis was routinely consulted in this manner – and instead, it appears that incubation in the cult of Sarapis, which is well attested elsewhere, developed at Alexandria, where the god worshiped as Osorapis at Memphis became the Hellenized god worshiped beyond the land of Egypt.

The Nile Waters, the Sky, and Capricorn: A New Greek Fragment of Geography or Mythography

Timothy Renner

P.Mich.inv. 1599 contains on its front the lower half of a column of previously unattested Greek prose in a decorated but somewhat irregularly executed book hand which appears to have been written in approximately the first century BCE. The text of the Michigan papyrus seems to have formed part of a continuous work of geography, history, or mythography—with such a small section of text preserved, it is hard to be sure which—that is represented also by fragmentary columns on either side. The first portion of the text preserved in the papyrus, which seems to require us to supply an omitted word or two, but the general sense of which is clear, draws either a parallel or a causal connection between the “recovery” (*anakomide*) of waters from the sky on the one hand and the flow of the Nile on the other. This is reminiscent of the kind of discussion that we find in Herodotus 2.20-27 concerning possible explanations for the annual flooding of the river, but the Herodotean explanation is only one of several (cf. D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil* [1964] 176-193) that could be compatible with the approach taken by our papyrus. Further, and unlike Herodotus, the second section of the papyrus states that on the basis of the previously cited facts, certain individuals speak in obscure terms of the force (*energeia*) of Aigokeros and tell stories of this god’s change in form. Although the relationship of the zodiacal sign Aigokeros/Aigipan = Capricorn to the rhythm of the Nile’s rise and fall that is intended by this author requires investigation, the probable allusion to the transformation of Aigokeros into a constellation touches upon a theme which can be traced back to Eratosthenes’ *Katasterismoi* a few generations earlier. In addition to aiming at an improved understanding of the language and the thought of the Greek text of the passage, this paper explores contexts and parallels for this type of discussion and for the combination of scientific and myth-related ideas contained in it, with a special eye to assessing the importance of the papyrus for the history of geography and mythography near the close of the Hellenistic period.

Nuove letture nei papiri del cosiddetto secondo libro della Poetica di Filodemo

Gioia Maria Rispoli and Gianluca Del Mastro
Herculanensia Panel

Durante l'analisi e la catalogazione dei segni presenti nei *P.Herc.* 1419, 1676, 1677, 994, vergati dalla stessa mano e appartenenti con ogni probabilità allo stesso rotolo contenente il secondo libro della *Poetica* di Filodemo, sono state effettuate alcune nuove letture del testo che possono gettare nuova luce su alcuni passi e che vengono qui presentate per la prima volta.

News from Jannes and Jambres

Cornelia Eva Römer

Besides the Chester Beatty Papyrus Codex XVI, two smaller Vienna papyri have been the main witnesses for the narrative about the two magicians. Since the splendid edition of the text by A. Pietersma in 1994 more fragments were identified (presented by G. Schmelz at the Congress at Florence in 1998). A piece recently found in the Vienna Papyrus collection now allows new conclusions about the content and the narrative technique of the story of Jannes and Jambres.

Transmission of the Demosthenic Tradition

Maroula Salemenou

In order to examine in depth the transmission of the Demosthenic tradition, a sufficient number of ancient manuscripts is necessary to establish the quality of the text. Such evidence for spurious documents in Demosthenes becomes available in the course of the second and third centuries, when a fondness for the orator was growing during the Second Sophistic. On the basis of papyrological literary sources dating primarily to the imperial period, a set of conventions of standard and non-standard practice in the formatting of the documentary titles and passages in the Demosthenic speeches will be discussed. Standard practices will be re-evaluated in order to ascertain whether these are due to scribal habits, or represent settled aspects of an already established tradition in the documentary format. Occurrences of non-standard practices will serve to determine whether such practices were erratic simply because they were alternative, or were just alternative because they depended on different circumstances.

Hellenistic Herakleopolis Magna

Erja Salmenkivi

Herakleopolis Magna, modern Ihnasija el-Medina, was the seat of the 9th and the 10th dynasties (ca. 2170/2120–2025/2020 BC), and during the Third Intermediate Period, the area around Herakleopolis was strategically important as a fortress for the rulers of the 22nd Dynasty. The site was religiously important throughout Pharaonic history, and as M. R. Falivene has noted: “Even at the time when the Greeks called it Herakleopolis, this was an important town, deserving a special study which cannot be attempted here” (*The Herakleopolite Nome* [Atlanta, 1998] xiii). On the other hand, Ulrich Wilcken noted, in his 1903 article on papyrus excavations in Herakleopolis Magna, that our knowledge of the Ptolemaic town is almost nonexistent. My aim in this paper is to outline a forthcoming study on Hellenistic Herakleopolis Magna, which is based on the evidence from the large number of Ptolemaic papyri that have been published during the past ca. 100 years and concern directly (or indirectly) this metropolis.

Acta Alexandrinorum or a Report of Proceedings?

Panagiota Sarischouli

Workshop Four: Literary or Semi-literary Papyri

P.Berol. 21396 preserves portions of a late second century CE text that belongs to the Papyrus Collection of Berlin's Egyptian Museum. Extant are one larger fragment (20.2 cm high and 7.2 cm wide) as well as five minor unplaced scraps of the same sheet. The text is written in an informal book-hand with a tendency to lapse into documentary cursive forms. Speeches are introduced by the εἶπεν-formula. However, no names

of emperors or other officials are attested. This paper tries to determine the precise nature of the fragmentarily preserved contents of this interesting and intriguing text.

Demotic Funerary Texts from the Louvre and Egyptian Funerary Literature in Roman Egypt
Foy Scalf

Among the collection of the Louvre are six unpublished Demotic funerary papyri dating to the first centuries CE. The texts consist of religious formulae expressing the essentials of Egyptian funerary theology; indeed, they represent the last known funerary papyri prior to the widespread Christianization of Egypt. These papyri belong to a group of Demotic formulaic funerary texts which have too often been ill described as “abbreviated” and it can be shown that these texts were not considered abridgements. Vignettes adorn several Louvre exemplars whose scenes form an overlooked, but important corpus best understood in comparison with Roman Period funerary stelae. Further details of this “genre” are illuminated by the titles contained on the verso of several of the papyri and theories about their usage are confirmed by interesting “instructions” accompanying one of them. Additionally, two of the Louvre papyri show an identical, but unique set of formulae hitherto unknown. This paper will examine the importance of such papyri for the study of Egyptian religious tradition and practice in their role as the last bastion of Egyptian funerary literature.

Book-ends, End-titles, Coronides in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry
Francesca Schironi

In this paper I will discuss how papyri containing hexametric, esp. Homeric, poetry mark book-ends. More than fifty papyri (rolls and codices, 3rd century BC – 6th century AD) have been taken into account. To mark the end of a book papyri can use an end-title (or *colophon*) and the *coronis* (or the more simple *paragraphos*). The research has shown that rolls and codices show different layouts (*coronis* and *colophon*; *colophon*, no *coronis*; *coronis*, no *colophon*; when another book is present it can be either in the same column or in the next one). Notwithstanding the fragmentary evidence and the diversified patterns shown by papyri in marking bookends, some conclusions can be drawn:

- 1) It is not true, as generally held, that Ptolemaic papyri used not to distinguish one book from another. They do not have *colophons*, but they present a *coronis* or at least a *paragraphos* to mark the passage from one book to the next.
- 2) The usage of *paragraphos* is earlier; then the *coronis* became more widespread. The most common way was to combine the two signs resulting in a more “decorated” *coronis*.
- 3) *Colophons* started being used in the Roman period. From the 1st century AD onwards, a *colophon* (often together with a *coronis*) is always present (with perhaps one or two exceptions).
- 4) A further development is shown by codices, which, with one exception, all present the *colophon*. *Coronides* are not always present. When they are, they have unusual shapes and become purely ornamental.

Letter to a Bishop
Georg Schmelz

P.Heid. inv. kopt. 211 (Sahidic Coptic, 6th/7th c.) is a letter from a monastic superior to a bishop: the writer reports about his recovering from an illness and compares this experience with the wonders of the ark of covenant. These allusions do not seem to appear elsewhere in Coptic and Christian Oriental literature and make this text unique. But many grammatical problems and major lacunae turn the reading and understanding of this neatly written letter into a real challenge.

The Papyrus-Portal Deutschland
Reinhold Scholl and Marius Gerhardt

The “Papyrus-Portal Deutschland” (<http://www.papyrusportal.de>) is a project that aims to provide the user with both the opportunity of an efficient and effective search of all digitized and electronically catalogued

papyrus collections in Germany and a unified presentation of the search results with the most important information on the particular papyrus. This includes links to the local home databases in order to provide the user with more detailed data on each piece. The “Papyrus-Portal Deutschland” will present the search results from the original databases in a standard format. A standard to record the metadata has been established. The “Papyrus-Portal Deutschland” is compatible to APIS and other meta-databases. Using the Open Source Software “MyCoRe”, and incorporating the experience from the Papyrus-Project Halle-Jena-Leipzig, work on the “Papyrus-Portal Deutschland” will be implemented in the near future with the financial support of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. We wish to use the Congress in Ann Arbor as an opportunity to introduce the papyrological community to the principles and features of this meta-database. With our presentation we seek input from individuals with experiences in similar projects as well as potential users of this portal.

The Evolving Shape of the Papyrus Collection in Geneva

Paul Schubert

The papyrus collection of the Geneva Library/Bibliothèque de Genève (formerly Bibliothèque publique et universitaire) is still in the course of publication. A large group of papyri dates from the Roman period and comes from the Arsinoite nome, mainly Soknopaiou Nesos and Philadelphia. Work has now begun on the Late Roman papyri kept in Geneva, where documents from the Heracleopolite and Hermopolite nomes are better represented. As was the case with earlier material, these new texts can be linked with other ones presently kept in various European collections. As an example, it will be shown that the unpublished P.Gen. inv. 399, a mixed loan of gold and tow (Arsinoe, AD 556), is actually the lower half of a contract whose upper half is in Vienna and was published as *SB VI 9283*.

The Oral Style of Didymus the Blind's Lectures on the Psalms (PsT) and its Audience

Gregg W. Schwendner

It was recognized from the very beginning that Didymus' commentary on Psalms 20-44.4 found at Tura (*PsT*) is written in an oral style (Kehl, *Pap.Colon.* I, p. 41). But the implications of this recognition have largely been ignored. This paper will examine the oral style of Didymus lectures on Psalms in light of an unpublished folio (no.16) in the collection of Brigham Young University, edited by T.W. MacKay, D. Graham, J.L. Siebach, and myself.

The style is paratactic, rather than syntactic; most notably, it repeats keywords in the discussion of particular lemma to an extent that would have redundant in a written style: *nomos* and its compounds are used 11 times in the 111 word lemma on *Ps.* 26:11a. The style is roughly comparable to that of Didymus' contemporary, Athanasius.

The detailed stylistic analysis of the new papyrus should be able to give theoretical discussions of the oral features of more famous texts, such as some of Aristotle's works and Homer, a firmer footing, since *PsT*, and the Tura commentary on *Ecclesiastes*, are unique as extensive examples of oral Greek. The analysis in this paper derives from a philological and linguistic commentary on the new folio.

Who would have been the immediate audience for the lectures, which could have been delivered in about 20 hours, and who was the intended audience for the transcripts? It will be argued here that an obvious, but overlooked, possibility lies in the monastic communities at Kellia, where Evagrius Ponticus, an admirer of Didymus, was influential.

Il P.Herc. 163 (Filodemo, Sulla ricchezza, libro I): anatomia del rotolo

Elvira Scognamiglio

Herculanensia Panel

Anche se per il *P.Herc.* 163, contenente il primo libro dell'opera *La ricchezza* di Filodemo, disponiamo della pregevole edizione curata da A. Tepedino nel 1978 (*CErc* 8 [1978] 52-95), dopo i parziali saggi del Gomperz (1866) e della D'Amelio (1926), le nuove ricerche sull'anatomia dei rotoli ercolanesi mettono in luce la necessità della ripresa dello studio di questo testo al fine di fornire una migliore comprensione del trattato che testimonia un aspetto non trascurabile dell'etica epicurea. La possibilità di determinare

l'ampiezza delle volute che si succedevano nel rotolo ancora non svolto e la presenza di una nota bibliologica apposta alla fine del *volumen* al di sotto della *subscriptio* finale consentono di stabilire il numero originario delle colonne. Ci si propone anche di analizzare i *kollemata*. Mediante questi sussidi si prevede di poter stabilire con esattezza la successione delle porzioni superstiti del rotolo, che attualmente appare erronea, e di collocare nella giusta posizione anche alcune colonne conservate solo nei disegni (oxoniensi e napoletani) che non erano state considerate dagli editori precedenti.

P.Mich. inv. 2958: A Michigan Musical Papyrus Reconsidered
Rebecca Ann Sears

P.Mich. inv. 2958 contains two fragments of tragic dialogue accompanied by musical notation and published in several sources, most recently in Pöhlman and West's *Documents of Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 2001). The musical notation of P.Mich. 2958 provides a window into the musical practices of 2nd century CE Egypt. The manner of writing used for this particular example is unlike other preserved musical papyri, since text and music were written simultaneously by the same hand. Although musical notation accompanying tragic dialogue is not unparalleled, the length and complexity of the melodic lines preserved in this papyrus permit ample opportunity for musical analysis. Several instances where the musical notation clearly foregrounds words of special significance in the text reveal the anonymous composer's careful and sympathetic treatment of the dialogue. In addition, the use of rhythmic symbols in the notation, apparent line or speaker division, a melismatic extrametrical interjection, and even an extra line of notation create further challenges for interpretation. Since the provenance and context of P.Mich. 2958 in the Gaius Apolinarius Niger archive from Karanis are well attested, this papyrus provides an ideal point of departure for a discussion about the interdependency of poetry and music in Roman Egypt, and perhaps in the broader context of Greco-Roman society. Although the study of the practical aspects of ancient Greek music presents arduous challenges to the modern scholar, the combination of papyrology, musicology, and philology may provide new insight into these difficult problems.

The Myth of the Sun's Eye and its Greek Translation
Monica Signoretti

Few ancient texts are known both in the original and in translation. The Greek translation of the Demotic *Myth of the Sun's Eye* (Brit. Mus. 274) is an exception. Although both translation and Demotic text (*P.Leiden Dem.* I 384) are fragmentary, their joint reading leads to a better understanding of the events narrated and suggests reconstructions for damaged passages.

The translation is remarkable for the terminology chosen to translate a text dense with unyielding Egyptian concepts and even more for the reformulation for Greek readers of Egyptian ideas and metaphors. When the translation of specific terms seems impossible, the text resorts to mere analogues on the basis of the immediate context: the Demotic *srrf* is translated as "lion," and Ra alternatively as Helios and Zeus. The expunction of some passages and the changes undergone by others seem to have been made with the reception of the translation in mind: what was expected to confuse a Greek-speaking reader was omitted. When translating complex concepts, the Greek follows the Demotic "word by word"—or rather "image by image"—with no ambition of rendering less obvious—often theological—references.

Most importantly, these choices—negotiated by a translator necessarily proficient in both languages and writing systems—allow us a unique glimpse into ancient biculturalism. In contrast with the *interpretaatio graeca* imposed on Egyptian culture by outsiders, the choices behind this translation are made by someone who negotiated daily between words, practices, and beliefs of different origin, "Egyptian" and "Greek".

Shaving Beards as a Punishment in Early Islamic Egypt
Petra Sijpesteijn

Panel: Arabic Papyri in their Historical Context, Chair: Michael Morony

The shaving of beards and the head hair of wayward government officials as a form punishment and humiliation appears as a well-developed literary topos in medieval Islamic literature. But we also have,

from the beginning of Islamic administration, some practical examples. Two Arabic letters written on papyrus from Umayyad Egypt indicate that this practice was used to punish Coptic officials working in the earliest Muslim administration.

In my paper I will discuss the two letters: first, to identify the transgressions that resulted in this punishment in Muslim Egypt, as well as which groups were subject to it; and second, since no pre-Islamic Egyptian precedent seems to exist for this practice, to explore other pre-Islamic practices and ideas that might have formed the basis for the actions described in our letters. The evidence for Sasanian and Arabian practices will be discussed, as well as the Egyptian monastic culture where these punishments *were* used but for quite different misdemeanours. The central question in all of this is whether, for the secular Copts in early Islamic Egypt who underwent this punishment, it carried the same symbolic significations and, in particular, the same feelings of humiliation as our sources ascribe to medieval Muslim administrators and, apparently, those similarly punished in other cultures.

Complementing the Picture –the Philological Aspects of the Lecce Excavations at Soknopaiou Nesos
Martin A. Stadler
Soknopaiou Nesos Panel

The recently resumed excavations in the *temenos* of Soknopaiou Nesos through the Archaeological Mission of Lecce University have a considerable impact on the philological study of the site. The speaker participates in the mission as excavation philologist for the demotic material. Certain papyri which have been kept in European collections for a long period can be better understood through the re-discovery of the temple's architecture, and new texts have been found which complement the already known documentation. The paper will present both aspects.

The Application of Astronomical Image Processing Techniques to P.Herc. 118
Russell Stepp and Gene Ware

The recent application of Multispectral Imaging techniques to the Herculaneum papyri has been one of the most significant technological developments in recent years. However, to present, the vast potential of the spectral data collected by this technology has yet to be exploited. The Herculaneum Papyrus Project of Brigham Young University has enjoyed monumental success through its collaboration with the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, where the majority of the Herculaneum Papyri are archived. Most of the images captured at Naples were limited to a handful of wavelengths, and the full application of MSI has not been brought to bear. The BYU team's work with other Herculaneum Papyri archived elsewhere, however, has captured multivalent data that allow for more thorough application of MSI and specialized post-processing techniques. High-resolution digital photographs have been taken of P.Herc. 118 in broadband visual filters and narrowband infrared. The data contain significant information about the reflective properties of both the text and the papyri themselves. The team's work beyond Naples has led to further exploration of their MSI applications.

This paper presents the first application of full MSI to a Herculaneum Papyrus. These images have been processed based on techniques used in modern astronomical research. This processing has yielded brightness curves across the entire range of the images photographed. This processing has, in turn lead to a deeper understanding of the spectral properties of text, and this has enabled the images to be further processed to increase the clarity and legibility of the texts in question.

Grammatical Handbooks in the Second Century AD: Structure and Content in the Light of a New Discovery from Oxyrhynchus
Pelaghia Strataki

This paper discusses our evidence for the structure and content of grammatical handbooks in the second century of our era, taking into account the testimony of a significant new discovery in the Oxyrhynchus collection. The special emphasis of the paper is on the section devoted to the letters of the alphabet (*stoicheia*).

Osservazioni bibliologiche sull'Athenaion Politeia di Berlino

Marco Stroppa

P.Berol. inv. 5009 (MP3 164; LDAB 398), edito per la prima volta da F. Blass nel 1880, in seguito da H. Diels nel 1885 e infine da M. Chambers nel 1967, è costituito da due frammenti di un codice papiraceo, contenente la *Respublica Atheniensium* di Aristotele.

L'esame autoptico dell'originale, eseguito nel novembre 2005, ha consentito di riconoscere e analizzare alcuni dettagli che aggiungono nuovi dati sulle caratteristiche bibliologiche del manufatto: il formato del codice, il rapporto tra il fr. I e il fr. II, la presenza di un restauro effettuato in età antica. Inoltre una rinnovata e approfondita analisi della scrittura permette di proporre nuovi elementi a favore di una datazione al IV secolo d.C.

Greek and Demotic dipinti from a Ptolemaic Quarry in Middle Egypt

Ryosuke Takahashi

Workshop One: Documentary Papyri (Ptolemaic)

A limestone quarry at Zawiet Sultan situated on the east bank of the Nile about 12 km south of the ruins of Hakoris has yielded numerous *dipinti* in Greek and Demotic. The *dipinti* are likely to contribute substantially to our knowledge of the stone quarrying process and organization in the Ptolemaic period. This paper gives a preliminary overview of the *dipinti* and the quarry, based on the results of a survey conducted by a Japanese excavation team in 2005-6.

Interdisciplinary Aspects Concerning the Connotations of a Controversial Word: nsj.t

Renata-Gabriela Tatomir

Often the Egyptian word *nsj.t* is related to an illness –“epilepsy”. The interpretation “epilepsy” was proposed by Bendix Ebbell, in “Die aegyptischen Krankheitsnamen” (*ZÄS* 62 [1927] 13-20). The word *nsj.t* is discussed also in the *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, vol. I - IX, Berlin, 1954-1973, and according to this source *nsj.t* is an illness caused by bad demons (or by exterior demonic influences). It is said that the illness is located “in the stomach” or “in a man” and it probably enters the body through the eyes.

Nonetheless the Egyptian sources refer also to two words: *nsj* (M) and *nsjt* (F), their translation being related to the suggested meanings “Krankheitsdämon”, and respectively, “Krankheitsdämonin”. From these considerations should we understand that *nsj/nsjt* is a couple of opposed concepts related to the medical/psychological field, rather to the religious one? In this respect, while discussing about ancient Egyptian knowledge, a question arises: where medical science ends and where religion begins?

The emphasis of my paper will lie in the offering of some interdisciplinary connotations for the word *nsj.t*, from the medical/religious interdisciplinary perspective. Examples will be provided from the Papyri Ebers, Hearst, Berlin 3038 and Chester Beatty VI.

Unknown Troparia from a Monastery in Arsinoe?

Timothy M. Teeter

Workshop Four: Literary or Semi-literary Papyri

P.Berl. Inv. 21368 appears to be an unknown Christian liturgical text in the Berlin Papyrussammlung, acquired by Georg Schweinfurth from his excavations at Arsinoe in 1886. Badly damaged, with text on both sides, it displays a curious combination of aesthetic design (wavy lines artfully placed to separate sections of text, a carefully drawn St. John's cross) with a crude hand and poor orthography. The two sides, with nine and eleven lines respectively, are in the same hand but may represent discrete texts. On the basis of the hand, I have assigned it to the fifth or sixth century, but this is open to question, as is its exact nature. Lines separated by slashes suggest verses rather than continuous prose, as do repeated formulae such as τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ μεγάλου πατρὸς, a phrase I have not found anywhere else in patristic or liturgical literature. Both form and appearance suggest previously unknown *troparia*, composed when the Church was still in a formative stage of liturgical development.

Ptolemaic Texts in the Montserrat Abbey
Sofia Torallas Tovar and Klaas A. Worp

In the Roca-Puig papyrus collection (preserved at the Abbey of Montserrat, Barcelona) one finds a number of interesting Ptolemaic papyri, some of them probably deriving from cartonnage. The most remarkable among the still unpublished texts is a lease of land from 147 BC, presenting an almost complete dating formula including the eponymous priests, some of whom are unknown to date. Other parts of this text follow the usual formulae of this kind of documents. The other texts contain *inter alia* two petitions, a bilingual contract of sale from the Fayum and accounts of the expenses for the building of a temple. We intend to discuss some of the most interesting features of these papyri.

Fictitious Loans
Gerhard Thür

Since Fritz Pringsheim's *Greek Law of Sale* (1950) it has been almost generally accorded that in Greek law only a sale for ready money, the immediate exchange of money for goods, attains juridical significance. Prior to the exchange, neither party has any enforceable obligation or right to the other. However, Pringsheim concedes that instead of actual payment the buyer can acknowledge to have received a loan from the vendor. With this, having delivered the good the vendor can enforce the payment of the price. The buyer never granted such a loan, it was fictitious. In sales on delivery there are also some examples of fictitious loans (e.g. *P.Oslo* 1440 = *SB VI* 9569, Jan. 19, AD 91). In these cases neither the vendor nor the buyer perform at once, nevertheless the obligations of both are enforceable.

The paper will point out how fictitious loans worked apart from sales. Papyri will be compared with inscriptions from the Greek *poleis* and, finally, with contractual theory and praxis of Roman law.

Substrate Interference in the Greek Language of the Notaries of Pathyris
Marja Vierros

Bilingual notaries, *agoranomoi*, in the Pathyrite nome in the second and first centuries BC, wrote Greek notarial documents of which c. 150 have been preserved. These documents display many interesting linguistic phenomena despite their formulaic nature. Demotic Egyptian was still widely used in Pathyris, and it was the native language of the majority of people there, including the notarial officers writing in Greek. The language contact between Greek and Egyptian had been a reality already for two centuries, but in settlements far from the major Hellenistic centres very few people had a good command of Greek (especially in writing). The first language (L1) of these notaries was Egyptian, which in general terms can be called a substrate language in this contact situation. Greek was the linguistic superstrate, but the prestige status of written Egyptian was quite high, at least in the eyes of the natives. Previously I have presented certain "ungrammatical" features in the Greek of the *agoranomoi* as being a result of L1 interference in their L2. In this paper I will focus on some further examples of this phenomenon, e.g., a non-standard use of the definite article before a patronym. Even if these substrate interference features have not spread to the superstrate and are mostly attested in individual or group level, they enlighten us on the patterns of how the bilingual mind processed these two morphologically different languages.

Arabic Ostraca: An Overview
Tasha Vorderstrasse

Panel: Collections and Literary Papyri, Chair: Maya Schatzmiller

Arabic ostraca have remained a largely obscure subject despite the growing interest in Arabic papyrology. The main reason for this is that so few survive. In comparison to the large numbers of Greek, Demotic, and Coptic ostraca, Arabic ostraca are relatively rare in Egypt, and only a few have been found in Arabia itself. This has meant that the study of Arabic ostraca has been fairly limited, and to date only been a few ostraca editions have been published. Further, there has been little interest in publishing those ostraca which have been found, so that the vast majority of Arabic ostraca remain unpublished. I will provide an overview of

the Arabic ostraca in museum collections, as well as those that have been found in the course of excavations in both Egypt and Arabia. This will provide information about where Arabic ostraca have been found and has implications for the use of Arabic in different regions and amongst different sections of the population. I will also look at the different materials used for writing Arabic ostraca. The history of collecting of Arabic ostraca and how this has affected our understanding of Arabic ostraca in general will be addressed. Finally, I hope to provide answers to the question of why there are so few Arabic ostraca.

P.Jen. Inv. 266: Problems Old and New at Euripides' Bacchae 64-69

Benjamin Weaver

Workshop Four: Literary or Semi-literary Papyri

I propose a full text and commentary of a papyrus never fully published, currently housed in the Jena Collection in Leipzig: P.Jen. Inv. 266 (<http://papyri-leipzig.dl.uni-leipzig.de:8491>). This papyrus contains the opening lines of the parodos of Euripides' *Bacchae* (Diggle OCT1. 64-69). Measuring approximately 5.3 by 8.5 cm, dating from the early- to mid-2nd century AD, written in a formal, upright round capital hand that compares well with the *Iliad* text of *P.Oxy.* I 20, P.Jen. Inv. 266 rekindles old debates surrounding metre and colometry of *Ba.* 64-69, and raises new questions about ancient transmission of *Bacchae* through inclusion of a Homeric variant: 3 καμετη[v] (κάματον LP), unreported by Diggle.

The papyrus shows text and colometry substantially different from those in modern editions. I address questions of metrical responson between *P.Jen.* 1 (Diggle l. 64) and *P.Jen.* 5-6 (Diggle l. 68-9). Inclining against Hermann's γαίαις (1798), toward syncopated, catalectic ionics suggested by Elmsley (1821), Wilamowitz (1895), Dale (1968), I argue for correctness of *P.Jen.* 1 γαίαις.

The variant, καμετη[v], I show, is incorrect. LP (κάματον) likely preserve the true reading. But *P.Jen.* 1 καμέτην records an interesting error. The dual καμέτην is attested in Homer (*Il.* 4.27), and equated in sense with κάματον by ancient commentators (e.g. schol. vet. *Il.* 4.27 (T)). Thus *P.Jen.* 1 καμετη[v] would seem less a clever Second Sophistic Homericism, and more a misguided—if metrically correct—emendation by a scribe who replaced internal-accusative κάματον of *Bacchae* with the (more familiar?) Homeric finite verbal form καμέτην.

The Vocabulary of Sacred Space in Documentary Papyri from Late Antique Egypt

Jennifer Taylor Westerfeld

In Christian literature from late antique Egypt, authors used a wide array of terms to describe the sacred spaces of their pagan predecessors and contemporaries, so that a “temple” in one text might become in the next a “place of making sacrifices to Satan and worshipping and fearing him.” The vocabulary used for Christian sacred space shows a similar range and flexibility; at times authors clearly sought to differentiate themselves and their holy places from those of the pagans, while at other times they seemed to accept overlap and ambiguity in their choice of terminology. This paper will consider the other side of the page, as it were: the vocabulary used for sacred space when it appears, not in literature, but in the documentary papyri of late antique Egypt. Drawing on Greek and Coptic sources such as wills, leases, and deeds of sale, it will be possible to assess the basic working vocabulary of sacred space used in business and legal contexts; this vocabulary can then be compared with the descriptions of space which appear in literary sources. Such a comparative analysis will add greater nuance to our understanding of the position sacred space, pagan and Christian, occupied in the thought-world of the early Egyptian Christians, an understanding which, at present, remains heavily based on literary evidence.

Re-Mapping Karanis: Geographic Information Systems and Site Analysis

Andrew T. Wilburn

Scholars interested in the analysis of archaeological sites that were excavated before the advent of modern technology are often confronted with the daunting task of reconstructing the archaeological contexts and findspots of artifacts and papyri. Using the site of Karanis as a test case, this paper explores the value of mapping a site within a Geographic Information System (GIS).

The GIS platform permits the topography and architecture of a site to be entered into a three-dimensional, spatially rectified visual environment; excavation data—including descriptions of objects or papyrological texts—can be associated subsequently with the physical spaces in which they were found. The successful reintegration of texts, objects and architecture permits scholars to view material culture as coherent parts of an archaeological landscape; rooms, houses, and *insulae* can be populated not only by structural features but also by the artifacts and papyri that were in use during the period of occupation.

Such a reconstruction of archaeological contexts allows links to be established between texts and artifacts across or even beyond the site. This paper specifically uses a Geographic Information System created from the Karanis data to analyze instances and locations of magical practice within the late antique village. Once these locations have been successfully mapped, we are able to use the GIS data platform to place objects related to magical practice within their proper geographic and social contexts through the analysis of associated finds, nearby architecture and spatial distribution.

Greek Law in Roman Times - a Computerized Databank of Greek Legal Documents from Egypt
Uri Yiftach-Firanko

Since 2005, the Israel Science Foundation supports the creation of a computerized databank comprising all Greek written contracts from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt (IV BCE—IV CE). The databank, which will cover all key types of legal documents (such as leases, loans, sales, wills and other family related documents etc.), is intended to be available on the internet in the course of 2008. The databank will not only report type of transaction, date and place of composition of each document; it will also provide a detailed account of the clauses incorporated in each document and, at a later stage, some of its material particulars. The databank, with more than 4,000 items, will enable for the first time a systematic survey of the regional peculiarity in legal documents, as well as the changes they underwent through time. In particular, the databank will allow us to assess the impact of major political and administrative changes, such as the Roman occupation or the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212, as well as of the parties' status and their social affiliation, and the peculiarities of the individual transaction on the features of the legal document. I wish to present the databank, and to discuss the methodology involving its creation.