

## 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 Greco-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.

*Drei rätselhafte Symbola aus den Sammlungen Köln und Berlin*

Charikleia Armoni

Die in einem ausgesprochen guten Zustand erhaltenen Texte stammen vermutlich aus dem Arsinoites und sind der Schrift nach wohl dem 1. Jh. v. Chr. zuzuweisen. Die drei Dokumente stellen eine zusammenhängende Gruppe von als Doppelurkunden stilisierten *Symbola* dar: Jeweils bestehen sie also aus versiegelter Innenschrift (die Siegel sind erhalten) und Außenschrift, deren Wortlaut mit jenem des versiegelten Textes identisch ist; unterhalb der Außenschrift finden sich vier Vermerke (*Hypographai* und Bearbeitungsnotizen) mit Datum. Alle Urkunden wurden in demselben Tag aufgesetzt und dokumentieren unterschiedliche Geld- und Naturalienzahlungen, die ein gewisser Marsyas, Sohn des Apollonios zugunsten einer lediglich mit Namen erwähnten Person leistete. Sowohl die Funktion der Aussteller der Quittungen (es handelt sich immer um ein dreiköpfiges *Kollegium*) als auch der Zweck der Zahlungen bleiben wegen der äußerst beschwerlichen Kursive, die an mehreren Stellen ungewöhnliche Abkürzungen aufweist, bis zum Moment ungeklärt.

*“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. 1Th 2:9 describes Paul's missionary engagement towards the community as "labouring night and day". The notion  $\nu\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$  seems to indicate that Paul was capable of and willing to earn his living. But what does  $\nu\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$  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  $\nu\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$  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*

Workshop Four: Literary or Semi-literary Papyri

Stephen M. Bay

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.

*Un traité musical de Harmonicien*

Annie Bélis

Identification et nature d'un fragment de traité musical, qui n'avait pu être rattaché à aucune école, en raison de ses incohérences terminologiques et doctrinales. Il s'agit d'une tentative pour démontrer si, oui ou non, le ton est divisible en deux parties, et si ces parties sont égales ou inégales. L'étude de fragments d'autres théoriciens prouve que l'auteur du traité est un Harmonicien, cité par Aristoxène de Tarente à la fin du I<sup>er</sup> siècle av. n. è., qui lui-même s'appuie sur des citations et sur une démonstration du Pythagoricien Philolaos.

*Hybrid Greek Theophoric Names: an Onomastic Fashion of Roman Egypt*  
Amin Benaissa

This paper will offer an overview of a special category of Greek theophoric names attested almost exclusively in papyri from Egypt, namely those compounded from the names of multiple divinities (e.g. Heraklapollon). Such hybrid or “syncretic” theophoric names are not part of the traditional Greek onomastic repertory, and should therefore be described and explained within the Graeco-Egyptian socio-cultural context from which they apparently arose. A brief review of the variety of these names, their composition, patterns of formation, and spatio-temporal distribution will be followed by a consideration of their relationship to Egyptian onomastics and their religious and socio-cultural implications.

*The Derveni Papyrus: Problems of Edition, Problems of Interpretation*

Panel: The Derveni Papyrus, Chair: Richard Janko  
Alberto Bernabé Pajares

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.

*Toponymie et cartographie du nome mendésien à l’époque romaine*

Katherine Blouin

La documentation papyrologique issue du nome mendésien, une circonscription administrative sise dans le nord-est du delta du Nil, est riche en toponymes. Au total, nous avons recensé plus de cent cinquante toponymes distincts (noms de villes, de toparchies, de villages, de champs ou hydronymes). Cette documentation constitue une source précieuse grâce à laquelle nous pouvons mieux comprendre l’organisation territoriale du seizième nome d’Égypte à l’époque romaine ainsi que ses rapports aux milieux locaux. Si un recensement partiel des toponymes mendésiens apparaît dans l’édition du *P.Thmouis* I et si une reconstitution de l’évolution des limites du nome mendésien depuis l’Ancien Empire jusqu’à l’époque romaine a été proposée par M. Bietak dans sa monographie consacrée à Tell el-Dab’a, aucune entreprise de catalogage complet ni de cartographie des toparchies et villages du nome n’avait à ce jour été proposée. L’analyse conjointe des données toponymiques, étymologiques, topographiques et fiscales disponibles dans le corpus papyrologique, littéraire et archéologique mendésien nous permet à présent de proposer le premier inventaire toponymique exhaustif ainsi que la première carte de ce nome sous le Principat romain.

*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*  
Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)  
Adam Bülow-Jacobsen

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)*

Soknopaiou Nesos Panel

Mario Capasso

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*

Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)

Laurent Capron

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*

Soknopaïou Nesos Panel

Ivan Chiesi, Nicola Raimondi, Simone Occhi

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*

Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)

Nahum Cohen

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.

*Exhortations to Students in Epigrams from the Dakhleh Oasis*

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

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*

Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)  
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 Greco-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*

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

Paola Davoli

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*

Soknopaiou Nesos Panel

Paola Davoli

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*  
Herculanensia Panel  
Gianluca Del Mastro

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](http://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<sup>e</sup>, voire du 7<sup>e</sup> 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*

Workshop One: Documentary Papyri (Ptolemaic)

M. El-Ashiry and M. Kashaf

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.

*Die Rekonstruktion von Papyrusrollen auf mathematischer Grundlage*

Holger Essler

Periodisch wiederkehrende Elemente, wie Kolumnenränder, Kolliseis und Oberflächenstruktur lassen sich in Formeln beschreiben und vergleichen, um den Abstand auch weit auseinander liegender Fragmente zu bestimmen. Abschätzungen der Ausdehnung großer verlorener Passagen können in sehr guter Näherung aus dem Vergleich des Flächeninhaltes im Rollenquerschnitt gewonnen werden. Die Möglichkeiten eines hierzu erstellten Kalkulationsprogrammes werden am Beispiel einer im Original erhaltenen und einer aus den Abzeichnungen zu rekonstruierenden herkulanischen Papyrusrolle vorgestellt.

*Zum Zyklus der Liturgien in Hermopolis*

Holger Essler

Durch einen datierten Würzburger Papyrus läßt sich die Dauer des Liturgiezyklus in Hermopolis und Anzahl der beteiligten Phylen bestimmen. Dadurch kann auch die Datierung anderer Papyri weiter eingegrenzt werden.

*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.