

*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In this paper we will discuss an unpublished Greek documentary papyrus from a private collection deposited in the museum of the Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University, under "SEDMENT 1996, 175\_6.A".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, Kollenseis 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.

*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 toparchìa 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 &amp; 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 maladroitement, typiques d'un élève débutant, laissent deviner la présence d'un exercice d'un niveau supérieur, qui transparait 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*

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

Gladys Frantz-Murphy

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 Ercolanensi” 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*

Herculanensia Panel

Laura Giuliano

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*

Late Antique Oxyrhynchus Panel, Chair, James G. Keenan

Nikolaos Gonis

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*

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

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*

Panel: Collections and Literary Papyri, Chair: Maya Schatzmiller  
Li Guo

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*

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

Workshop Three: Documentary Papyri (Late Antique)

Alia Hanafi

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<sup>e</sup> s. apr. J.-Chr.*

Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)

Paul Heilporn

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<sup>e</sup> s. apr. J.-Chr.

*Haftungsfragen bei Liturgiestedvertretungen*

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 Liturgiestedvertretungen 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 Dienstpflicht 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 Forthaftung 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 Herculaneusia* 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, 1983<sup>2</sup>) 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*

Late Antique Oxyrhynchus Panel, Chair, James G. Keenan

Todd M. Hickey

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)*  
Herculanensia Panel  
Giovanni Indelli

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.



*A New Papyrus Collection at the Democritus University of Thrace*  
Grace Ioannidou, Panagiota Sarischouli, et al.

This paper presents a group of papyri acquired by the Department of Greek of the Democritus University of Thrace. The Papyrus Collection of Thrace comprises over 30 fragments of variable size and content. Most of the fragments derive from the Ptolemaic era, but the collection also includes some Roman and Byzantine documents. Our aim is to prepare an edition of these documents with the collaboration of students attending our postgraduate programme in papyrology. The paper discusses some of the problems of restoring, preserving, and editing these texts.

*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*

Panel: The Derveni Papyrus, Chair: Richard Janko

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*

Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)

Leslie Caroline Kelly, Somerville, MA

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,

Herny Hyvernat had purchased them from the archaeologist Carl Maria Kaufmann. Other institutions in Europe that benefited from Kaufmann's 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*

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

C. Kreuzsaler

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*

Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)

Thomas Kruse

*Pap.gr. mon.* 146 ist die Eingabe an einen bisher unbekanntem römischen Beamten, der wahrscheinlich als Epistrateg 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*

Herculanensia Panel

Giuliana Leone

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