

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

originario si è cercato di determinare il formato e le caratteristiche bibliologiche, nonché di ipotizzare, anche con l'ausilio della documentazione antica, le condizioni di conservazione al momento del rinvenimento e le modalità dello svolgimento, che dovettero determinarne l'attuale assetto.

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

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

*Seeing the Whole Picture - Why Reading Greek Texts from Soknopaiou Nesos is not Enough*  
Soknopaiou Nesos Panel  
Sandra Luisa Lippert

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

*P.Mich. inv. 3443*  
Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)  
Nikos Litinas

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

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

*Su alcuni desiderata della Papirologia Ercolanese*  
Herculanensia Panel  
Francesca Longo Auricchio

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

*P.Oxy. II 209: An Early Christian School Exercise in Context*  
Anne Marie Luijendijk

This paper examines an early Christian papyrus containing the *proemium*, the first seven verses, of the apostle Paul's Letter to Romans (*P.Oxy. II 209/p10* of the New Testament papyri). In this paper I will show that (1) this is a New Testament manuscript belonging to an identifiable archive and (2) that this papyrus contributes to our understanding of Christian education.

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

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

*A New Fragment of a Ptolemaic Documentary Papyrus from the Kölner Papyrussammlung*  
Workshop One: Documentary Papyri (Ptolemaic)  
John Lunden

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

*A Date for P.Kru 105?*  
Leslie S.B. MacCoull

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

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

Roger T. Macfarlane

P.Herc. 817, containing the *carmen de bello actiaco*, enjoyed its last formal edition in 1958 (Garuti, Bologna), and Immarco published significant new scholarship toward a new edition during the 1980s and 1990s (e.g. *Pap.Lup.* 1 [1992] 241ff.; *CErc* 19 [1989] 281f.). Zechini's (Stuttgart 1987) analysis of the poem's text is significant, but it does not constitute a scholarly edition.

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

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

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

Rachel Mairs

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

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

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

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

*The Late Antique Auditoria of Kom el-Dikka*

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

Grzegorz Majcherek

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

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

*The hadith in P.Utah Ar. Atiya 205*

W. Matt Malczycki

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

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

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

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

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

Myrto Malouta

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

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

Marie-Hélène Marganne

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

*75 ans de Bibliographie Papyrologique (1932-2007).*

Alain Martin

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

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

*A Database of Mummy Labels*

Raquel Martín-Hernández and Sofía Torallas Tovar

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

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

Late Antique Oxyrhynchus Panel, Chair, James G. Keenan

Roberta Mazza

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

*Very Small Script*

Kathleen McNamee

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

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

*Seasons of Death for Donors and Testators*  
Michael Meerson

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

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

*Crittografia greca in Egitto: un nuovo testo*  
Giovanna Menci

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

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

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

*Count Ammonios and Taxes*

Miroslava Mirković

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

*Contribution pour une édition du P.Herc. Paris 2*

Annick Monet

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

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

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

Alan Murgidge

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

*A Late Ptolemaic Grapheion Archive in Berkeley*

Brian Muhs

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



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

*Griechische Münzen in ägyptischen Texten pharaonischer Zeit*  
Renate Müller-Wollermann

Das Wort *Stater*, d.h. die griechische Tetradrachme, erscheint in demotischen Texten ab dem Jahr 410 v. Chr. als Lehnwort. Dafür, daß mit dieser Bezeichnung nicht nur ein Wertmesser gemeint ist, sondern konkrete Münzen als Zahlungsmittel, scheinen zwei Hinweise auf. Zum einen werden in den Texten *Statere* in traditionelle ägyptische Gewichtseinheiten umgerechnet; zum anderen finden sich seit dem 6. Jh. Münzhorte in Ägypten mit griechischen Münzen, im 4. Jh. enthalten sie fast ausschließlich athenische Tetradrachmen. Diese athenischen Eulen wurden nicht allein importiert, sondern in Ägypten zunehmend nachgeprägt, wie im Land aufgefundene Prägestöcke beweisen. Athenische Tetradrachmen erscheinen also als erstes in Ägypten in Umlauf befindliches Münzgeld und liefern die bildliche Vorlage für ägyptische Eigenprägungen, die in der 30. Dynastie kurz vor Alexander einsetzen.

*The Palau Ribes Papyrological Collection Rediscovered*  
Alberto Nodar Domínguez

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

*The New Archilochus Fragment from Oxyrhynchus: Further Accessions*  
Dirk Obbink

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

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

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

Our test case is P.Herc. 394. Lindsay, in his 1890 survey of the Bodleian facsimiles of the Latin papyri, asserted this papyrus to contain a “panegyric on some emperor, probably Augustus,” basing this

reading on the Oxonian facsimile of a fragment since destroyed. In my paper, I review the extraordinary difficulties which stand in the way of an edition, including the disagreement between Oxonian and Neapolitan facsimiles, modern destruction of valuable fragments of text, and the miserable condition of the papyrus. Using multi-spectral images of the papyrus for illustration, I show to where Lindsay's conjecture about the papyrus' subject can be refuted, and where strengthened and extended; in my examination I bring Kleve's call for further research on the Latin papyri up-to-date, and, using the example of this particular text, demonstrate viability for further editions of Latin texts from Herculaneum.

*The Judicial Branch of the Governors' Offices: Organisation and Tasks*

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

B. Palme

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

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

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

*A Fresh Look at P.Lond. III 755: Some Questions Raised by the Use of Spolia in the Fourth Century*

Workshop Three: Documentary Papyri (Late Antique)

Arietta Papaconstantinou

This inventory of columns in abandoned houses was deemed just interesting enough to be published by the editors of *P.Lond. III*, but has attracted very little attention since then. It does, however, raise a number of important questions concerning building techniques, urban topography, and the status of abandoned private property in urban contexts. With insights from archaeology, this paper will attempt to make better sense of some passages of the text and insert it in the broader context of the spolia trade and the material culture of late antique cities.

*A New Ptolemaic "Daybook" of Payments in Kind?*

Workshop One: Documentary Papyri (Ptolemaic)

Maryline G. Parca

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

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

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

*Per una nuova edizione dei papiri tucididei*

Nataschia Pellé

La comunicazione divulga i primi risultati di una ricognizione preliminare del complesso dei papiri delle *Storie di Tucídide*. Il survey, condotto direttamente sugli originali o su eccellenti fotografie, è finalizzato ad una nuova edizione critica dei testi destinata al *Corpus dei Papiri Storici Greci e Latini*. Esso ha preso in considerazione i 95 papiri, tutti di origine egiziana, 66 dei quali rinvenuti ad Ossirinco nel corso degli scavi inglesi ed italiani dei secoli XIX e XX. L'insieme dei testi, risalenti tutti ad un arco di tempo compreso tra il III sec. a.C. e il VI sec. d.C., è costituito da 82 frammenti di volumina papiracei e da 13 frammenti di codici (rispettivamente 7 da codice papiraceo e 6 da codice pergamenaceo). Di tali materiali sono stati presi in considerazione gli aspetti bibliologici e paleografici, con particolare attenzione al tipo di allestimento del singolo manufatto; in tale prospettiva sono stati esaminati: rapporto tra spazio scritto e spazio non scritto, successione delle colonne di scrittura (nei volumina), mise en colonne, mise en ligne, dimensioni di colonne, linee, spazi intercolonnari ed interlineari, eventuale presenza di sigla e marginalia, fenomenologia ortografica, eventuali interventi di correzione da parte dell'estensore del testo o di mani successive. I dati raccolti hanno consentito di delineare un quadro d'insieme delle molteplici problematiche presentate dai materiali tucididei in relazione alla circolazione del testo dello storico nell'antichità, con particolare riferimento al pubblico di Tucídide nell'Egitto ellenizzato, a partire dall'epoca tolemaica e fino alle soglie della conquista araba.

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

Timothy Pepper

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

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

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

Panel: The Derveni Papyrus, Chair: Richard Janko

Apostolos Pierris

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

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

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

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

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

*The Excavation of the Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli” in Antinoopolis*

Poster Session

Rosario Pintaudi

*The Joint Excavation Pisa-Messina Universities in Narmouthis*

Poster Session

Rosario Pintaudi

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

Workshop Three: Documentary Papyri (Late Antique)

Noemi Poget-Kern

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

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

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

Francisca Pordomingo

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

*Buried Linguistic Treasure in the Babatha Archive*

Stanley E. Porter

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

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

*A Teacher's dipinto from the Great Oasis of Roman Egypt*Panel: Spaces for Teaching in Late Antique Egypt, Chair: Roger Bagnall  
David M. Ratzan

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

*Crime and Punishment in Early Islamic Egypt: the Arabic Papyrological Evidence*Panel: Arabic Papyri in their Historical Context, Chair: Michael Morony  
Lucian Reinfandt

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

*Ein Ostrakon aus Pergamon in der Papyrussammlung des Ägyptischen Museums in Berlin*Workshop Two: Documentary Papyri (Roman)  
Fabian Reiter

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