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Alan Edouard Samuel (1932-2008)

Roger S. Bagnall *New York University*

With the death of Alan Samuel on 15 August 2008, an era in this Society's history came to a close. Samuel was the first Secretary-Treasurer of the Society and the first Editor of the *Bulletin*, the title of which reflected accurately its original purpose as a means of keeping the membership informed of the Society's activities,¹ and of American Studies in Papyrology. The membership of the Society numbered 25 in 1963, at the time of the first issue of *BASP*.

Alan Samuel was born in New York on 24 July 1932. He received his B.A. from Hamilton College in 1953, then spent three years in the U.S. Navy before entering the graduate program in Classics at Yale University in 1956. His first book, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (Munich 1962) was the published version of his dissertation (1959), written under the direction of C. Bradford Welles. After his Ph.D., he was appointed to the faculty at Yale, where he taught until 1966. He moved in that year to the University of Toronto, where he was Professor of Greek and Roman History until his retirement in 1997.

That simple description of a seemingly straightforward career might suggest a scholar for whom stability was the dominant characteristic. Nothing could be further from the truth. First, Samuel had an extraordinary range of scholarly interests, some distant from the concerns of the ASP or of either of the departments he served. His second book, for example, was *The Mycenaean in History* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1966), an attempt (as the title suggests) to treat the late Bronze Age as an historical, rather than archaeological subject. And his later books for a general or student audience, *The Promise of the West: The Greek World, Rome and Judaism* (London 1988) and *The Greeks in History* (Toronto 1992), bore witness to the sweep of his interests. They were interspersed with books closer to his original focus on chronology and Ptolemaic history, notably *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Munich 1972), part of the *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* series, and *From Athens to Alexandria: Hellenism and Social Goals in Ptolemaic Egypt* (*Studia Hellenistica* 26; Leuven 1983). He was also co-editor, with Welles and John Oates, of *P.Yale* 1, and co-editor

¹ "This Bulletin is not intended to be a journal, and with good fortune it will never become one. I plan for it to be a means of rapid dissemination of information, and now that it is started, I shall send out material as it is received." *BASP* 1 (1963-64) i.

(with Alan Bowman and me) of the two volumes of *Ostraka in the Royal Ontario Museum*. It would be fair to say, however, that Samuel was principally an historian rather than an editor of texts.

This list of books, however, gets no closer than the facts of Samuel's career to giving a sense of the distinctive individual behind them. Most importantly, he was never just an academic. His restless nature would never have permitted that. While at Yale, he became involved in politics, leading an effort to get Connecticut to support the nomination of Adlai Stevenson for president, for a third time, in 1960. He unsuccessfully sought the Democratic nomination for Connecticut's congressman-at-large position in 1962 and was involved in SANE (an organization against nuclear weapons) in the following years. In Toronto, he became involved in community organizing against large-scale destructive redevelopment of inner-city neighborhoods (in one of which he lived) and then in city-wide politics, as a group of his friends sought to take control of city government away from the friends of the developers. A number of these friends were elected aldermen, and in my graduate school years the Samuel house was perpetually the center of politics – this in a city to which Samuel had moved relatively recently and in a country (Canada) of which he was not yet a citizen.

Somehow, all of this was going on at the same time as he was running the publication operations of the Society, with its growing number of monographs leading to the creation of a Toronto subsidiary of Adolf M. Hakkert's firm (at that time located in Amsterdam), which Alan ran; the acquisition of Welles's library after his death and its cataloguing (with the help of public job-creation funds); the transfer of the unpublished Hibeh papyri from London to Toronto; and much else including the ROM ostraka editing project, for which he had a grant from the Canada Council. He had exceptional gifts of persuasion, and he understood the art of getting grants far before most scholars in the humanities even thought of trying. The first papyrology summer school benefited from one of the earliest grants of what was to become the National Endowment for the Humanities. Over the course of time, publishing came to take over more and more of his time, as his firms took various corporate forms and published in a variety of fields unrelated to antiquity, and his university roles less. In 1974 he began farming wheat, spelt, and soybeans, an activity that continued through the rest of his life alongside, later on, a new publishing firm. His later writing included Canadian history and two novels.

He was also a gifted teacher, even if not always in conventional ways. I remember vividly how he would come into class at Yale juggling a cup of coffee, a stack of Loeb's, a cigarette, and some papers, proceeding to talk about some stretch of classical Greek history in what seemed like a largely impromptu

performance, not always apparently very well organized, but full of original insights. He seemed to assume that opening up the ancient text, quoting it, and explaining its problems as if in a scholarly discussion would work with an undergraduate class, and for the most part it did. One might, without great exaggeration, describe the method as charismatic chaos. He was a brilliant and charming talker, with ideas cascading forth continually. He was also strikingly less formal than most professors, rather in the spirit of the sixties, and at a substantive level he had absorbed Welles's habit of treating students as younger colleagues.

Alan Samuel was the engine of the ASP's first decade. The senior figures of the discipline were also heavily engaged, as one can see reading the first volumes of *BASP*: Herbert Youtie, Bradford Welles, Naphtali Lewis, William Willis, Frank Gilliam, and Robert Fink all figure in the first published list of the officers and directors. Certainly Samuel always credited Welles above all with understanding the need for an ASP if our field, then almost vanishingly small, was to have a future in North America. But the program of annual meeting, *Bulletin*, American Studies in Papyrology, and summer seminars would not have materialized except for Samuel's energy and organization. The latter may seem a strange term for the chaotic figure I have described in the preceding few paragraphs, but in fact he was gifted at organization and working with boards, and he was a director of the American Philological Association and a member of the Comité International de Papyrologie, both at a young age.

Like many products of Yale in that era, above all John Oates, Alan Samuel had a strong sense of the Rostovtzeff tradition and his place in it. As Welles had become a kind of son to the childless Rostovtzeff, Samuel saw himself as one of Welles's scholarly offspring. He cherished the charcoal sketch of Michael Rostovtzeff made in Paris in 1933, which Sophie Rostovtzeff had given to him, and when he passed it on to me a few years ago, his sense of the transmission of the tradition was manifest.

A Fragment of Homer, *Iliad* 21 in the Newberry Library, Chicago

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Klaas A. Worp *Leiden University*

Abstract

Edition of a later Ptolemaic fragment of Homer, *Iliad* 21.567-581, written on the back of a document.

By chance, a search on www.trismegistos.org/collections for papyrus collections within the United States made us aware of the existence of a small manuscript collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago (see www.newberry.org). Upon closer scrutiny, this collection turned out to contain not only three Latin texts published in *CLA* (9.1337, 11.1649, Add. 2.1869) but also two unpublished Greek papyri numbered Greek Ms 1 and 3.¹ The first of these contains a literary text, and it is this text that we publish below.² The other text contains a document, and we intend to come back to it at a later occasion.

Greek Ms 1 (ORMS 55)
W. 16.4 x H. 12.4 cm

Arsinoite nome?
2nd-1st cent. BCE

Fragment of the upper part of a column written probably on a loose sheet of papyrus which contains 15 fragmentary lines of book 21 of the *Iliad*. The upper and the right-hand margins are preserved, resp. 2.4 cm high and 3.2 cm wide. The text is written parallel to the fibres in a bilinear uncial with serifs executed somewhat irregularly. Only the phi of line 569 slightly exceeds the bilinearity on the upper part. The interlinear space is maintained only unevenly, and there are a couple of supralinear corrections, probably in a second hand. There are neither diacritics nor punctuation markers. The use of iota adscript

¹ <https://i-share.carli.illinois.edu/nby/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?DB=local&v1=1&BBRecID=143385> and 160666

² We are grateful to the Newberry Library, and to Mrs. Martha Briggs, Lloyd Lewis Curator of Midwest Manuscripts, for granting permission to publish this papyrus fragment here.

fluctuates; within a single line (568) one finds forms without (τούτω) and with (χα[[α]]κῶι) such iota adscripts. The original width of the column in this Homeric text can be calculated (based on line 570) to have been approximately 17-17.5 cm.³ The piece was folded vertically before the ink was dry, and there are offsets of at least three letters of line 569 (σαν) and 571 (an inverted ν, right after ἦτρορ). This means that this was not originally a roll containing a longer text of Homer, or if it was, for some reason it was discarded and folded before the ink dried up.

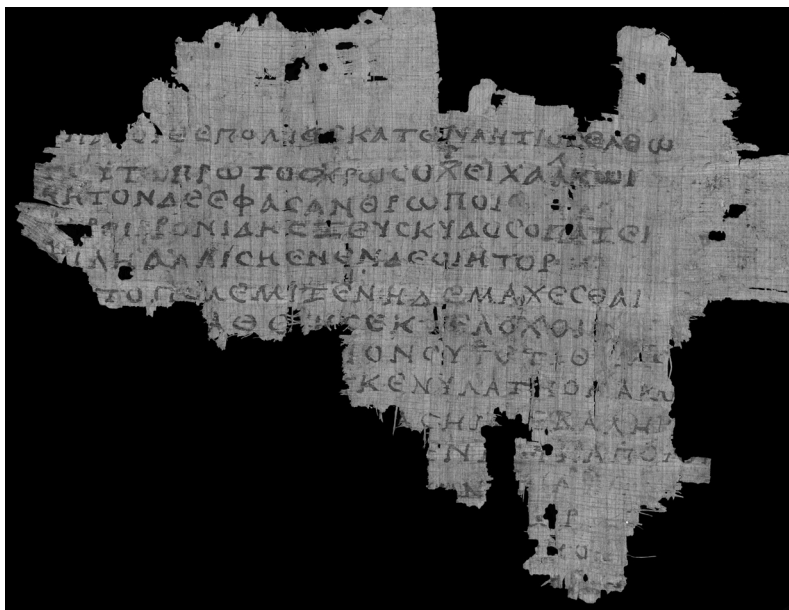
The verso (vertical fibres) features two columns of an account of money payments. These columns appear to have been written in a late Ptolemaic documentary hand. Although the hand of the literary text is harder to date precisely, it is also a Ptolemaic hand, datable to the first, or maybe even the late second century BCE. It is comparable, for example, to *P.Fay.* 7,⁴ datable to the first century BC. The Homeric text features multiple mistakes in copying, some due to visual errors which betray a poor knowledge of Greek (cf. ll. 568, 571). For the subject in general, see S. West's study *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (Pap.Col. 3; Opladen 1967).

It is not clear where this papyrus came from or whether it ever belonged to the Goodspeed collection. A link with this papyrus collection seems likely, as the only other papyrus in the Newberry Library definitely once belonged to Goodspeed. In his article "The Guide to the Edgar J. Goodspeed Papyri," *ZPE* 16 (1975) 27-35, R. W. Allison deplores the confusion concerning the location of the pieces belonging to this collection; a certain number of them seem now irretrievable. There are two more *Iliad* papyri in the Goodspeed collection (Ms. inv. no. 1062 = *Iliad* 8.1-29, 35-68 [TM 60439; LDAB 1561; Mertens-Pack 818] and Ms. inv. no. 1063 = *Iliad* 5.824-841 [TM 60440; LDAB 1562; Mertens-Pack 766]), both published by Goodspeed himself.

We compared our transcript with the text edition by M.L. West (*Bibliotheca Teubneriana*; Leipzig 2000). The papyrus does not present any interesting new variants; only in l. 575 do we find a point of textual criticism to comment upon. Moreover, it seems worthy of note that four "variants" of our text, in ll. 567, 572, 574, and 575, side with West's papyri nos. 9 (= BL Add. MS. 17210 = TM 61094 = LDAB 2231; 5th-6th cent. CE) and/or 449 (= P. Berol. 16985 = TM 61120 = LDAB 2258; 1st cent. BCE).

³ W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004), Chapter 3.2: "The Dimensions of the Column: Width," esp. pp. 116ff., "Verse columns."

⁴ C.H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands, 350 B.C.-A.D. 400* (Oxford 1955), no. 9b; see also G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands* (Berlin 2008), nos. 68 and 95; E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971), nos. 12 (mid II BCE) and 55 (mid I BCE). On the evolution of this type of hand and more examples, see G. Cavallo, *Scrittura greca e latina dei papiri* (Roma 2008) 58-74.



- 567 [εἰ δέ κέ οἱ πρ]οπάροιθε πόλιες κατεναντίος ἔλθω·
[καὶ γάρ θην] τούτῳ πρῶτος χρώς ὀ[χλ]ῆι χα[α]κῶι,
[ἐν δὲ ἴα ψυχῇ, θ]νητὸν δέ ἔ φασ' ἄνθρωποι[ς]
- 570 [ἔμμεναι· αὐ]τὰρ οἱ Κρονίδης Ζεὺς κύδος ὀπάζει.
[᾽Ως εἰπὼν Ἀ]χιλῆ ἄλλις ἡέν<εν>, ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ
[ἄλκιμον ὀρμᾶ]το πολεμίζε^ν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι.
[ἦ]ύτε ἀρδαλις εἴσι β]αθε[ι]ης ἐκ ξελόχοιο
[ἄνδρὸς θηρητῆρος ἐναντ]ίον, οὐτέ τι θ[υ]μῶ
- 575 [ταρβεῖ οὐδὲ φοβεῖται, ἐπει] . κεν ὑλαγμὸν ἀκο[ύση·]
[εἴ περ γὰρ φθάμενός μιν ἢ οὐ]τάση [ἠ]ὲ βάλησι[ν,]
[ἀλλὰ τε καὶ περὶ δουρὶ πεπαρμ]ένη οὐκ ἀπολή[γει]
[ἀλκῆς, πρὶν γ' ἠὲ ξυμβλήμεναι ἠὲ δαμ]ῆν[αι]
[ὥς Ἀντήνορος υἱὸς ἀγαοῦ, δίος Ἀγῆν]ωφ,
- 580 [οὐκ ἔθελεν φεύγειν, πρὶν πειρήσαιτ' Ἀχι]λῆ[ος],
[ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἄρ' ἀσπίδα μὲν πρόσθ' ἔσχετο πάντοσ' εἴ]σηγ,
-

567 *lege* πόλεος οἱ πόλιος; *lege* κατεναντίον? 568 *lege* τρωτός 571 *lege*
Ἀχιλῆα ἀλείς μένεν 572 *lege* πτολεμίζειν 573 *lege* ξυλόχοιο 574 *lege*
οὐδέ

567 For the variant readings in this line, see the apparatus of West's edition; πολιος also occurs in some other papyri, in particular in no. 9 and apparently also in no. 449.

568 It might be speculated that the error of πρωτός instead of τρωτός reflects a misreading of a preceding iota adscript belonging to τούτωι. The last two words of the line have been misspelled and corrected above the line. The first hand wrote οχει χασκωι, and a second hand corrected above the line, on top of the mistaken letters: ο[χ]ῆι χα[α]ῆκωι. The last error is due to a visual mistake. For a similar case, see at line 571.

569 After ανθρωποι there is a speck of ink that can be taken as part of a cancelled sigma in the (grammatically incorrect) form ανθρωποις.

571 μενεν has been written ηεν. It can be explained as a visual mistake, since in some hands a mu and an eta can be very similar, plus haplography of the -εν. This explanation leads to the conclusion that the person who copied either did not know Greek or was not really paying attention to what he was copying.

572 The papyrus reads πολεμιζειν for πτολεμιζειν, joining papyrus no. 9 (see above) which in its turn joins a group of manuscripts BETW.

573 It is difficult to tell what the first letter of the word ξυλοχοιο was. The second one is undoubtedly an epsilon. In any case the word was misspelled (for interchange between epsilon and upsilon, cf. at line 575).

574 There are traces of ink on top of the tau of the word ουτε, perhaps a delta as a correction into ουδε; cf. papyrus no. 449 and Ms A, ουδ'ετι.

575 There is a trace of a letter right before κεν, but it does not seem to be the expected iota. κεν υλαγμον is the reading chosen by Monro-Allen; West prefers κυνυλαγμον; cf. Stesichorus, *PMGF* 255 (κεν υλαγμον: Aristarchus and papyri nos. 9, 449, and 1492 [= TM 68560]).

A Latin Manumission Tax Tablet in Los Angeles

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and Klaas A. Worp *Leiden University*

Abstract

Edition of a late second/third-century Latin ink-written text on a wooden tablet from Egypt, recording the payment of the manumission tax (*vicesima libertatis*).

The Egyptian collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) holds, *inter alia*,¹ two Latin tablets, both said to be mummy labels with a Greek inscription. These objects (inv. M80-202-488 and M80-202-491) were donated to the Museum in 1980 by Mr. Jerome F. Snyder. The second tablet came to Mr. Snyder (perhaps through an intermediary) from the Greek-Egyptian collector G.A. Michaelides and was earlier published (as a kind of birth certificate)² as *P.Michael*. 61 (*CPL* 164; for a digital image of inv. M80-202-491 see <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=46125;type=101>). The first tablet may also (ultimately) derive from the Michaelides collection,³ but has not been published as far as we know.

¹ For a previous installment of LACMA texts see B.P. Muhs, K.A. Worp, and J. van der Vliet, "Ostraca and Mummy Labels in Los Angeles," *BASP* 43 (2006) 9-58, where the present contribution was already hinted at (p. 50). As in that case, we are grateful to Dr. R. Demarée (Leiden), who first drew our attention to the LACMA collection, to Dr. K. Cooney (Stanford), who liaised with the LACMA, and to Giselle Arteaga-Johnson and Piper Wynn Severance of the LACMA itself. We also wish to thank Professors Hans Ankum (Amsterdam) and Werner Eck (Cologne) and the (other) editors of *BASP* for their helpful comments. We have not seen the original.

² On Roman birth certificates see now G. Geraci, "Le dichiarazioni di nascita e di morte a Roma e nelle provincie," *MEFRA* 113 (2001) 675-711, with the reaction by C. Sánchez-Moreno Ellart, "Notes on Some New Issues Concerning the Birth Certificates of Roman Citizens," *JJP* 34 (2004) 107-119.

³ On the dispersal of the Michaelides collection see S.J. Clackson, "The Michaelides Manuscript Collection," *ZPE* 100 (1994) 223-226. Some tablets that were auctioned

Inspection of the digital image of the first tablet revealed that “Greek inscription” in its description is incorrect. The second tablet indeed features a few Greek characters, but most of its text too was written in Latin.⁴ It is difficult to see why both tablets were identified as “mummy labels.” Latin mummy labels are otherwise unknown.⁵

In this contribution we edit the first tablet with a few notes and discussion. The tablet can be palaeographically dated to the second/third century and is of unknown provenance but clearly from Egypt, given its excellent state of preservation. It records the payment of the 5% tax on manumissions (*vicesima libertatis*)⁶ and is a direct parallel to *P.Mich.* 7.462 (*CPL* 171; *FIRA* 3.10bis).⁷ As that parallel suggests, our text must have originally been written on two sealable tablets. Latin tablets were commonly used for Roman legal documents of all kinds. From Egypt a few survive, all relating – as our text does – to Roman citizenship.⁸

LACMA inv. # M80-202-488. A fragment of a wooden tablet with a shallow rim, perhaps recalling the wax tablet that would originally have been used for such texts; the width of the tablet is 14.5 cm, the preserved height 4.3 cm; the three lines of Latin are inscribed directly onto the wood with pen and ink, as is the case in *P.Mich.* 7.462, by a single hand with spaces, rather than interpunction, dividing the words; the tablet is incomplete at the top and bottom; the type of wood has not yet been determined. For a digital image see <http://>

recently (2003) appear in G. Nachtergaeel, “Documents grecs de l’ancienne collection George A. Michaelidès,” *CdÉ* 79 (2004) 215-227.

⁴ In *P.Michael.* 61.b.2-3 we read καὶ ὡς χρηματί||ζει. Cf. for a similar case of mixing a bit of Greek in an otherwise Latin text *P.Athen.* 50r.2.11 (*CPL* 167; *Ch.L.A.* 46.1362) with *BL* 3:219: the Egyptian name *Thaësin* was spelled in Greek.

⁵ On mummy labels see J. Quaegebeur in *P.Batav.*, pp. 232-259, who states (p. 239): “Besides Greek, Demotic or bilingual texts there are also a few hieroglyphic, hieratic, Old Coptic and Coptic specimens.” He does not report any Latin mummy label.

⁶ On the manumission tax see M. Albana, “La *vicesima libertatis* in età imperiale,” *Quaderni Catanesi di Studi Classici e Medievali* 9 (1987) 41-76, and W. Eck, *L’Italia nell’Impero romano. Stato e amministrazione in epoca imperiale* (Bari 1999) 120-130 (updated translation of a German original of 1979). We have not yet seen S. Günther, “Vectigalia nervos esse rei publicae.” *Die indirekten Steuern in der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis Diokletian* (Wiesbaden 2008).

⁷ *FIRA* 3.10bis can be found in the appendix to the second edition of *FIRA* 3 (Firenze 1969).

⁸ For the use of Latin tablets in the Roman world in general see E.A. Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World: Tabulae in Roman Belief and Practice* (Cambridge 2004), especially chapter 7: “Roman tablets and related forms in the Roman provinces (30 BC – AD 260).”

collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=46122;type=101.

- 1 et Elladio (vicesimam) solbi(t) pupl(ice).
 2 (vicesimam) liberitati(s) pupuli Romani
 3 accepi Aur(elius) Isidorianus v(ices) a(gens) p(rocuratorum) (vicesimae)

1 read *solvit publice* 2 read *libertatis populi* 3 aur., \overline{ua} \overline{pp}

“(N.N. manumitted by N.N.) alias Helladios paid the 5% (manumission) tax to the state. I, Aurelius Isidorianos, agent for the *procuratores* of the 5% (manumission) tax have received the 5% manumission tax of the Roman people (from N.N.)”

1 *et*: in the previous line(s) we expect *manumissus a(b) N.N. qui* [*qui et* does not have to be followed by a nominative].

– *Elladio*: Latin transliterations of Greek names ordinarily leave out the aspirate. For the spelling *Elladius* see, e.g., H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*² (Berlin and New York 2003) 1:624–625. In papyri of the late third/early fourth century from Oxyrhynchus some individuals occur who are called N.N. alias Helladios, but none can be identified with the manumitter in our text.

– *solbi* probably stands for *solvit*, as in *BGU* 2.628v.1.7 (*CPL* 103; and *Ch.L.A.* 10.416), where the expression *vicesimam solvit publice* occurs in an unclear context.⁹ The third person has also been restored in *P.Mich.* 7.462, quoted in our discussion below. There is no mark of abbreviation (as in the

⁹ If line 8 there can be read as *(vicesimam) ! [i]bertatis* (instead of $[\cdot m]e[di]etatis$ in *Ch.L.A.*) followed by some form of abbreviated *populi Romani* (the papyrus may not be properly restored at this point and perhaps just *p(opuli) R(omani)* would fit) and then *accepi* followed by *Aur(elius)* (instead of *acceptavi[t]* in *Ch.L.A.*), we would be dealing with a papyrus copy of a manumission tax tablet and the ninth text documenting the manumission tax in Egypt (in addition to *P.Mich.* 7.462 and the text we publish here, there are references to the *vicesima* [εἰκοστή] in *BGU* 1.96.8 [second half of the third century AD] and 2.388.7 [spelled οὐκικήσιμα], 9, and 20 [ca. AD 157–159; Mitteis, *Chrest.* 91] and in *FIRA* 3.47.36–37 [AD 142; *CPL* 221], to the agents of the tax farmer in *P.Oxy.* 20.2265 [AD 119], to their *statio* in Arsinoe in *BGU* 1.326.2.10–11 [AD 194; Mitteis, *Chrest.* 316; *Jur.Pap.* 25; *Sel.Pap.* 1.85; *FIRA* 3.50; *New Primer* 50], and to that in Alexandria in *BGU* 13.2244.12–13 [AD 186; supplemented by analogy to the one in Arsinoe]). But the text is very damaged.

next word and in *liberitati(s)* in the next line), but the drop of the final *t* may be a mistake (note that final *t* in third person singular endings of the perfect is dropped occasionally in archaic Latin inscriptions). On the other hand *b* for *v* is banal (see, e.g., Leumann, p. 159). There is no indication of how much was paid. That was apparently unnecessary in this kind of document, which strictly recorded the fact of payment. Arangio-Ruiz unnecessarily inserted <*denarios?*> in *P.Mich.* 7.462 (again, see our discussion below).

– *pupl(ice)* (a reading suggested by *BGU* 2.628v.1.7 quoted in the previous paragraph) means “to the state” (for this meaning of *publice* see Heumann-Seckel, s.v. *d*). There is again no mark of abbreviation. *p* for *b* is banal (archaic Latin would have been *poplice*).

2 The expression *vicesimam libertatis populi Romani* also occurs in *P.Mich.* 7.462 (see our discussion below). The 5% tax on manumissions goes back to the the Roman Republic (from 357 BC) and is here still correctly identified as being “of the Roman people.”

– *liberitati* (for *libertati(s)*): there is again no abbreviation mark, and a mistake may be involved (but drop of final *s* in genitive endings of the third declension is quite common in inscriptions).¹⁰ The insertion of *i* is by analogy with the more normal ending of such abstracts in *-itas*.

3 *Aur(elius)* is followed by a clear dot to mark the abbreviation. At the end of the line the abbreviations are also clearly marked, double *p* standing for the plural *procuratorum* rather than, say, *publicanorum* or the singular *p(rae)p(ositi)*.¹¹ Several *procuratores* of the *vicesima libertatis* are known (cf. Albana [n. 6] 63-71). The role of Aurelius Isidorianos here is parallel to that of the slaves of the *socii* farming the tax elsewhere in the earlier empire and to that of the *πραγματευταί* of Futius Secundus in *P.Oxy.* 20.2265. The change from relying on one’s slaves to relying on a local representative parallels the change from tax farming to tax collecting by government officials.

The next line will have continued with *libertatis (Aegypti) a(b)*.

¹⁰ G. Galdi, *Grammatica delle iscrizioni latine dell'impero (province orientali). Morfosintassi nominale* (Roma 2004) 187-192.

¹¹ For an imperial freedman as *p(rae)p(ositus)* of the manumission tax see *ILS* 1.1396, quoted by H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* 2 (Paris 1960) 765. The reading *pp* there is, however, doubtful; see the note in *ILS* and O. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian* (Berlin 1905) 109, footnote 1.

Our text allows us to improve the text of *P.Mich.* 7.462 (mid-second century AD)¹² as established by Arangio-Ruiz:¹³

Antonius Antoni lib(ertus)
Hermes ann(orum) xxxx
manumissus vindictis

- 4 prefecti Aeg(ypti) <denarios?> xx solb(it)
p(ro) (vicesima) lib(ertatis) p(opuli) R(omani). accepi Chal-
cedonius Aug(ustorum) n(ostrorum)
verna ab M(arco) A[ntonio? - - -]

This can be changed to:

Antonius Antoni lib(ertus)
Hermes ann(orum) xxxx
manumissus vindictis

- 4 prefecti Aeg(ypti) (vicesimam) solb(it)
p(ublice). (vicesimam) lib(ertatis) p(opuli) R(omani) accepi Chal-
cedonius Aug(ustorum) n(ostrorum)
verna ab M(arco) A[ntonio - - -]

and translated as follows: “Antonius Hermes, freedman of Antonius, 40 years old, manumitted by *vindicta* (by N.N. in the - - - of N.N.) the prefect of Egypt, paid the 5% (manumission) tax to the state. I, Chalkedonios, slave of our (lords) the emperors, have received the 5% manumission tax of the Roman people from Marcus Antonius - - - .”

¹² D. Hagedorn apud W. Eck, *Die Verwaltung des römischen Reiches in der hohen Kaiserzeit. Ausgewählte und erweiterte Beiträge* 1 (Basel 1995) 341-348 at 347, footnote 25 (from *ZPE* 27, 1977, 201-209 at 208, footnote 25)

¹³ See V. Arangio-Ruiz, “Minima de negotiis,” in *Studi in onore di Ugo Enrico Paoli* (Firenze 1955) 1-9 at 3-4, reprinted in his *Studi epigrafici e papirologici* (Napoli 1974) 440-449 at 443-444. We do not know why *FIRA* 3.10bis prints *lib(ertatum)* in line 5. In his article Arangio-Ruiz correctly read *lib(ertatis)*. In line 5 *FIRA* 3.10bis reads *p(ublicum) (vicesimae)*, following J.F. Gilliam’s proposal in his review of *P.Mich.* 7, *AJP* 71 (1950) 432-438 at 438, a resolution rejected by Arangio-Ruiz earlier in his article. Before line 4 Arangio-Ruiz suggested something like *in tribunali*.

Earlier in the second century the manumission tax was collected, not by an imperial slave,¹⁴ but by a tax farmer,¹⁵ Futius Secundus, acting through agents (πραγματευταί) according to *P.Oxy.* 20.2265 (AD 119), a letter from the prefect of Egypt to the *strategoī*:

- το[ῖς π]ραγματευταῖς Φουτίου
 4 Σεκούνδου ᾧ τὸ τέλος τῆ[ς]
 εἰκοστῆς τῶν ἐλευθεριῶν
 προσήκει εὖ ποιήσετε συν-
 λαβόμενοι ἐν οἷς ἕαν δικα[ι-]
 8 ως καὶ (*BL* 6:107) κατὰ τὸν τῆς εἰκοσ-
 τῆς νόμον πράτ<τ>ωσιν

Freely rendered: “Please assist the agents of Futius Secundus, who is in charge of the manumission tax, in the just (*aequus*) and legal collection of the manumission tax.”

In our tablet, which must postdate both *P.Oxy.* 20.2265 and *P.Mich.* 7.462, the 5% manumission tax is collected, not by a tax farmer or an imperial slave identified as such, but by *procuratores*, here through a local representative (*vices agens*), Aurelius Isidorianos. Our resolution of the abbreviation $\overline{p\overline{p}}$ in line 3 as *p(rocurotorum)* is preferable to *p(ublicanorum)*, because the title *vices agens* fits an official, not a tax farmer, and it would be strange to find multiple *publicani* rather than just one conductor farming the tax in this relatively late period. The use of *procuratores* instead of tax farmers for the collection of money taxes is also what we expect in this relatively late period. Albana¹⁶ ascribes the

¹⁴ As P.A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford 1990) 403, suggests, the imperial slave may be involved in *P.Mich.* 7.462 because no tax farmer willing to take on the collection of the tax could be found at that time. There is no reason to assume a major reform between the earlier evidence for the collection of the manumission tax by a tax farmer in *P.Oxy.* 20.2265 of AD 119 and the presumed date of *P.Mich.* 7.462 (mid-second century AD), as Albana (n. 6) 76, does. She also (pp. 71-72) concludes, perhaps too rashly from the involvement of an imperial slave in the latter text, that the tax collected in Egypt went not to the *aerarium*, but to the fisc, as she for some reason expects to be the case (p. 70) outside Italy in “imperial” provinces (as opposed to *provinciae populi Romani*) in general.

¹⁵ As argued by Eck (n. 12), followed by Brunt (n. 14) 354-432 at 402-406. On the use of tax farmers to collect money taxes (even) in Egypt see especially F. Reiter, *Die Nomarchen des Arsinoites. Ein Beitrag zum Steuerwesen im römischen Ägypten* (Paderborn 2004), who ties their replacement in AD 215 by government officials to problems with the last attested tax farmer.

¹⁶ Albana (n. 6) 72.

change to the desire on the part of the Roman government for more “efficienza e razionalizzazione.” We rather assume practical difficulties with finding tax farmers willing to collect the tax led to the change.¹⁷

To narrow down the dating of our text several inconclusive criteria are at our disposal. If Pflaum is right to date the introduction of *procuratores* of equestrian rank for the collection of the manumission tax under Septimius Severus, rather than somewhat earlier,¹⁸ our text, which mentions a pair of *procuratores*, presumably one of equestrian rank, one an imperial freedman, must postdate the reform. The *gentilicium* of the agent of the *procuratores*, Aurelius, also points to a relatively late date, but not necessarily after 212, the date of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, because there are some *Aurelii* in Egypt before 212.¹⁹ A date considerably later than that is suggested by the alias of the manumitter: Helladios is not attested in Egypt before the last third of the third century AD.²⁰

Given that these criteria seem to favor (but not prove) a relatively late date, we incline to a third-century date for our text without excluding the late second century. Following the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* there was a flurry of Latin used by those who had only recently become Romans and had never had to deal with Latin before. It may well be that manumitters who had traditionally freed their slaves the Greek way were now required to do so the traditional Roman way, with documentation in Latin on wooden tablets, until the Roman government abolished the use of Latin (if indeed they did so for the manumission tax, but they did abolish the use of Latin in the case of Roman testaments under Severus Alexander) and of wood. For all we know slaves not properly manumitted the Roman way after 212 did not become Roman citizens. The Roman government presumably discontinued the inheritance and manumission taxes at a certain point later in the third century.²¹ Note that

¹⁷ On the possibility of resolving the abbreviation \overline{pp} in line 3 as *p(rae)p(ositi)* see our note on that line with footnote 11.

¹⁸ Pflaum (n. 11) 646. G.I. Luzzatto, *Scritti minori epigrafici e papirologici* (Sala Bolognese 1984) 708 (from “Vicesima hereditatum et manumissionum,” *Novissimo digesto italiano* 20 [Torino 1975] 809-810 at 810), still put the change under the Antonines: “Soltanto sotto gli Antonini la *vicesima libertatis* passa sotto il controllo del fisco [cf. footnote 14], e alla sua amministrazione provvedono *procuratores* di rango secondario” (presumably imperial freedmen under the supervision of equestrian *procuratores*).

¹⁹ See F.A.J. Hoogendijk and K.A. Worp, “Drei unveröffentlichte griechische Papyri aus der Wiener Sammlung,” *Tyche* 16 (2001) 45-61 at 55-56.

²⁰ The name read as Helladios in *CPR* 13.4.321 of the third century BC has been left unread in the re-edition *P.Count* 26.321.

²¹ If *P.Oxy.* 51.3609 (AD 250) refers to the traditional Roman inheritance tax, it would be the latest evidence for its collection. Albana (n. 6) 43, footnote 2, suggests that the

the reason given by Cassius Dio for the issuing of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (that Caracalla wanted to increase the income from taxes) includes the manumission tax (77(78).9.4, with the inheritance tax in 77(78).9.5).²² Cassius Dio also says that Caracalla raised the manumission tax to 10%, but that this was restored to 5% by Macrinus shortly after (78(79).12.2).²³ All we can say is that our text does not date from 210-216, when the *vicesima* would have temporarily changed to a *decima*, but may well be (considerably) later if we press the alias of the manumitter.

tax was abolished with the reforms of Diocletian.

²² Unlike the inheritance tax, the manumission tax does not figure in modern discussions of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. See now K. Buraselis, Θεία δωρεά. *Das göttlich-kaiserliche Geschenk. Studien zur Politik der Severer und zur Constitutio Antoniniana* (Wien 2007 [updated translation of a Modern Greek original of 1989]), whose section on taxes (pp. 143-154) does not mention the inheritance and manumission taxes. For Egypt see U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraca aus Aegypten und Nubien. Ein Beitrag zur antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (Leipzig and Berlin 1899) 362-363, with the references in our footnote 9.

²³ On this see Albana (n. 6) 51-53.

Report of Proceedings in Red Ink from Late Second Century AD Oxyrhynchus

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Abstract

Edition of a Greek papyrus in the collection of the University of Michigan (P.Mich. inv. 1568v).

P.Mich. inv. 1568v

11 cm by 9.5 cm (H. x W.)

ca. AD 187/8

In some respects P.Mich. inv. 1568v is a rather unexceptional piece, since it only contains a few fragmentary lines from a report of proceedings, about which little can be ascertained with certainty given the many lacunae and gaps in the text. Yet it deserves to be published for one noteworthy feature: it is written in red ink and is therefore a welcome addition to a very small corpus of such documents.¹

¹ While the use of red ink is attested in a wide variety of documents from the Pharaonic period through the Arabic period, very few were ever written entirely in red ink as it was mostly used to draw attention to certain words or phrases, mark the opening of various sections within a document, or render the total of certain accounts. See R. Parkinson and S. Quirke, *Papyrus* (Austin 1995) 45-46. In O.OI 19361 (ca. 1200-1080 BC), a hymn to the inundation (Hieratic), the verse points and date are written with red ink whereas the rest of the document is written with black ink. Similarly in O.OIM 25040 (ca. 1200-1080 BC), another hymn to the inundation (Hieratic), the verse points are written with red ink. In Princ. inv. Scheide M 95 (ca. 1100-950 BC), a Book of the Dead (Hieratic), certain lines are written with red ink, though most are written with black ink. Red ink was mostly made from a clay called ochre that contained a high degree of the mineral hematite (Fe₂O₃) that was reddish in color. To make ink it was typically mixed with gum Arabic and water. The less ochre that was added to this mixture the more yellow the ink, whereas the more ochre that was added the more red the ink became. See P. Schubert, *Les archives de Marcus Lucretius Diogenes et textes apparentés* (Bonn 1990) 34. Additionally, red ink might also be made from either cinnabar (κιννάβαρις) or minium (μίλτος). See B.M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Paleography* (Oxford 1981) 17.

In the Roman period red ink was used very rarely for writing an entire document.² In fact, a recently published catalogue of red ink documents from this period could list only fifty such texts.³ A survey of these texts reveals that most of them were written during the second or third centuries and that the overwhelming majority come from the Arsinoite nome,⁴ although a few red

² During the Ptolemaic and Roman periods red ink appears to have been used mostly to highlight key words and phrases within a document or mark off and divide sections within a text. Likewise, it also appears to have been used intermittently in magical papyri, perhaps because it was thought to possess apotropaic qualities. See O. Montevvecchi, *La Papirologia* (Milano 1988 [1973]) 16; cf. *P.Oslo* 1.4 (AD IV). Additionally, it appears that red ink was the ink of choice for validating certain kinds of documents. For example, in *SB* 6.9233 (early III BC), a customhouse receipt, two red lines are drawn through the document and may constitute a mark of official validation. There are also some documents where red ink stamps have been used on the verso as a way of validation. For a list of these documents see Schubert (n. 1) 37-38, who lists 37 documents from the period between 108 BC and AD 223/4. To this list I would add the following: *P.Tebt.* 2.587 (26/5 BC), a tax receipt; *P.Duke* inv. 7v (AD 26), a loan; *P.Tebt.* 2.350 (AD 70/1), a receipt for tax on sales; *P.Mich.* 9.554 (AD 81-94), a division of inherited property; *P.Mich.* 10.585 (AD 87), a loan with right of habitation; *P.Mich.* 9.569 (AD 92), a contract concerning repayment of debt; *P.Mich.* 11.625 (AD 121), a receipt for taxes on loan with contract of habitation; *P.Louvre* 2.109 (AD 123 or 137), a contract concerning cession of catoecic land.

³ P. Schubert, "BGU I 361 et P.Gen. inv. 69: retour sur l'encre rouge," *APF* 51 (2005) 250-252, where Schubert updates his former list (cf. Schubert [n. 1] 34-35) of documents (published and unpublished) written with red ink. To his most recent list I would add the following (unpublished) documents: *P.Mich.* inv. 1722 (AD II), a property return; *P.Mich.* inv. 1357v (AD III), names and amounts in arouras; *P.Mich.* inv. 6247 (AD III), list of names; *P.Mich.* inv. 6337 (AD III), contents unknown; *P.Mich.* inv. 6522 (AD III/IV), contents unknown; *P.Princ.* inv. GD 7706 D (AD III/IV), a list; *O.Col.* inv. 1259 (VI-VII), an exercise.

⁴ Of the forty-two published documents listed by Schubert, twenty five (60%) are provenanced to the Arsinoite nome: *P.Hamb.* 1.31 (after AD 117), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; *CPR* 1.18 (= *SPP* 20.4 = *M.Chr.* 84 = *Jur.Pap.* 89), a report of proceedings about dispute over inheritance (AD 124); *P.Hamb.* 1.31a (ca. AD 126-138), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; *P.Ross.Georg.* 2.18 (= *P.Cair.Preis.* 31), a register of contracts (ca. AD 139/40); *P.Diog.* 6 (AD 143-161), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; *P.Diog.* 7 (AD 143-161), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; *BGU* 3.780 (ca. AD 155-159), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; *BGU* 4.1032 (after AD 173), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; *SB* 4.7427 (ca. AD 180-230), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; *BGU* 1.361 (= *M.Chr.* 92 = *FIRA* 3.57), a report of proceedings about dispute over inheritance (AD 184); *P.Petaus* 59 (AD 185), a copy of a list of nominations for a liturgy; *SB* 4.7362 (= *Sel.Pap.* 2.315), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status

ink documents are also attested from Oxyrhynchus, Hermopolis, Syene, Tenis (Memphite nome), Antinoopolis, and Alexandria.⁵ For the most part these documents deal with official matters, and a disproportionately large number of them concern the registration of civic status (ἐπίκρισις of *ephebes*).⁶ Noting the high proportion of such documents among red ink papyri, H.I. Bell suggested many years ago that such papyri likely served as personal certificates. As he noted, "... certificates [of the registration of civic status] written in red ink were extracts from the registers made at a later period than the actual registration and served merely as records of the entry which the party concerned could produce when required. They were written in red ink and sometimes provided with a decorative border to enhance the dignity of their appearance."⁷ More recently, in a study of red ink documents by P. Schubert, he has found Bell's suggestion persuasive, particularly that certain documents pertaining to registration of various sorts and written in red ink should usually be thought of as personal copies produced sometime after the original was made for the purpose of supporting or establishing other claims.⁸

(AD 188); *SB* 20.14237 (AD II-III), a lease receipt; *BGU* 1.175 (AD II-III), an extract of a tax register; *P.Diog.* 53 (AD II-III), a receipt of taxes; *SB* 6.9233 (beginning AD III), a toll receipt; *SB* 20.14512 (beginning of AD III), an extract of a register of archives; *BGU* 13.2226 (AD 202/3), a census declaration; *P.Diog.* 21 (AD 202/3), a census declaration; *P.Col.* 10.274 (AD 209), an extract of a property register; *CPR* 1.33 (AD 215), a list of in kind deliveries; *P.Diog.* 4 (AD 212-217), a declaration of birth; *P.Diog.* 2 (after AD 217), a declaration of birth; *P.Diog.* 8 (after AD 217), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; *P.Diog.* 65 (date?), contents undetermined.

⁵ Oxyrhynchus: *PSI* 7.736 (AD 208), a communication to a strategus concerning a dispute over property; *P.Oxy.* 12.1535 (AD III), a list of land owners; *P.Oxy.* 40.2940 (AD 270/1), an extract of register of archives; Hermopolis: *P.Ryl.* 2.153 (AD 169), a copy of a will; *P.Flor.* 1.46 (AD 186), an extract of a loan contract; Syene: *SB* 6.9227 (after AD 161), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; *SB* 6.9228 (after AD 161), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; Tenis (Memphite nome): *SB* 3.6995 (AD 124), a declaration concerning birth of a slave; Antinoopolis: *P.Fam. Tebt.* 32 (AD 146-161), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; Alexandria: *BGU* 11.2070 (AD 142-144), a report of proceedings about dispute over inheritance.

⁶ Of the forty two published documents, sixteen (38%) concern the registration of civic status: *P.Hamb.* 1.31 (after AD 117); *BGU* 4.1033 (after AD 117); *P.Hamb.* 1.31 (AD 126-38); *BGU* 1.113 (AD 143); *P.Diog.* 6 (AD 143-161); *P.Diog.* 7 (AD 143-161); *P.Fam. Tebt.* 32 (AD 146-161); *BGU* 3.780 (AD 155-159); *SB* 6.9227 (after AD 161); *SB* 6.9227 (after AD 161); *BGU* 4.1032 (after AD 173); *SB* 4.7427 (AD 180-230); *SB* 4.7362 (AD 188); *P.Mich.* 15.708 (AD II-III); *P.Diog.* 2 (after AD 217); *P.Diog.* 8 (after AD 217).

⁷ H.I. Bell, "Diplomata Antinoitica," *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 526.

⁸ Schubert (n. 3) 249-250.

Turning to P.Mich. inv. 1568v, it should first be pointed out that there are three other reports of proceedings written in red ink: *CPR* 1.18 (= *SPP* 20.4 = *M.Chr.* 84 = *Jur.Pap.* 89) from Ptolemais Euergetis (AD 124); *BGU* 11.2070 (ll. 19-33 and Verso, Col. 1 = *SB* 5.7516) from Alexandria (AD 142-144); and *BGU* 1.361.2.10-3.30 (= *M.Chr.* 92 = *FIRA* 3.57) from Ptolemais Euergetis (AD 184). However, P.Mich. inv. 1568v is to be distinguished from these proceedings in one key respect: whereas they are all written on the recto, P.Mich. inv. 1568v is written on the verso of a land register.⁹ Remarkably, this is the only red ink papyrus written on the verso of another document.¹⁰ If it is accurate to suppose that documents written entirely with red ink should not generally be regarded originals, but rather personal copies or even abstracts provided by the register upon request to support another claim, it seems odd that the present document is written on the verso of an old land register, as one might expect such a text to be written on a clean sheet of papyrus. Perhaps, then, the scribe simply copied the present text on the verso of another document since he was short on papyrus and because it would not affect the integrity of the present document for the claim it was establishing.¹¹

Aside from being written on the verso this fragment is not markedly different in its appearance from other red ink documents. The hand of the document is not exquisite but it is not altogether sloppy even if it displays some irregularity.¹² While the beginning of each line is lost, not much seems to be

⁹ The land register's remains are very fragmentary. It appears the register contained at least two vertical columns; however, only half of each is partially preserved and both contain considerable effacement making them largely illegible. Nevertheless, the text on the recto may be safely identified as a land register given the appearance of certain abbreviations and the repeated use of numbers and large fractions, such as $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ (1/16), $\overline{\xi\omicron}$ (1/64), that are typical for various measurements in arourae. The register is written in black ink, although there are some red ink spots that made their way onto this side of the text. The hand of the recto is rather skilled and differs from the hand on the verso. This hand shares some affinities with the hands of *P.Oxy.* 38.2871 (AD 175/6), a *sitologi* document, and *P.Oxy.* 45.3242 (AD 185-187), a declaration of property.

¹⁰ As far as I was able to ascertain none of the fifty red ink documents included in Schubert's list were written on the verso. Though part of *BGU* 11.2070 is written on the verso it is simply a continuation of the recto.

¹¹ It may be noted that there is one example where a different text is written on the back of a red ink papyrus. On the verso of *P.Oxy.* 12.1535 (AD III), a list of landholders, may be found a receipt for burial (= *P.Oxy.* 12.1535v [10 February AD 249 or 259]).

¹² At times letter sizes fluctuate and there is also some inconsistency with letter spacing as letters are bunched together in certain sections of the fragment and well spaced in other areas. Notwithstanding these fluctuations the letters are for the most part well-formed cursive and are generally distinguishable except in the case of β and κ whose

missing to the right: the writing gets progressively smaller, which suggests the writer was nearing the end of the line; at ll. 10, 11, and 13 there appears to be a gap between the last visible letter and the edge of the papyrus, which suggests the lines ended thereabouts.

Though this piece was purchased by the University of Michigan in 1924 and was unprovenanced, it seems likely that it originated in Oxyrhynchus. In the final line (l. 15) reference is made to an individual bearing the name and alias “Herammon also called Kastor.” Only one other individual by this name and alias is known and appears in *P.Oxy.* 36.2762 (census return) as the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome in the year AD 187/8. Two additional pieces of evidence may be cited to reinforce this identification. First, the word “strategus” can be read at the end of l. 14 and should be taken as reference to this “Herammon also called Kastor” who appears in the following line, and second, earlier in the same line (l. 14) reference is made to the “twenty-eighth year” (κηϛ), the very same year of Commodus’ reign that is referred to in *P.Oxy.* 36.2762.8.

The present fragment appears to preserve the introductory section of a report of proceedings, where the location and date of the proceedings was typically given and the opening statements were made.¹³ Besides the name of the strategus there are only two other persons mentioned in the fragment, Menestheus (l. 9) and Soter (l. 14). Given that both persons are recorded speaking (εἶπεν), it seems at least likely that these speakers (lawyers?) represented the opposing parties.¹⁴ While the fragment affords precious little context, there is a reference to “theft” (βαστάζω) in l. 7 and a reference to “money” (τὸ ἀργύριον) in l. 11. Interestingly, the other three reports of proceedings preserved in red ink all concern disputes over inheritances. While it might therefore be tempting to suppose the present proceeding deals with this same issue, there is nothing definitive in the extant portions of the text to establish this connection.¹⁵

forms are virtually identical. Though a better hand might be expected for a red ink document, it is certainly not worse than what is found in *P.Oxy.* 40.2940 (AD 270/1), an extract of register of archives (red ink).

¹³ R. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri* (Bruxelles 1966) 29-38.

¹⁴ Given the use of plural verb forms in ll. 7, 9, and 11, as well as an address in the plural in l. 13, it is certain that at least one of the parties involved was composed of multiple persons. On the speakers at court see Coles (n. 13) 38-48.

¹⁵ Even though *BGU* 1.361 deals with a dispute over inheritance there is an allegation of “theft” (βαστάζω) in Col. 3.10, similar to the reference found in l. 7 in the present document.

] [. .] . . [

Μεχ]ειρ κ̄δ̄ . [

]θα κα[ι] περι[ι

] . [. . .]ανας γρα[

5]ο οὔτε γὰρ ερει [.] . [

σ]τρατηγίας. *vac.* περι ὧν εἰώθα[μεν?

] ἐβαστάξαμεν τι αὐτοῦ. οἱ μ[

] πολύν. *vac.* ἐξ οὗ μόνα διακο[υ]σα[

]μεν παρ' αὐτοῖς. *vac.* Μενεσθεὺ[ς] εἶπεν. *vac.* [

10]ει διὰ γραμμάτων μόνον κ[αῖ] ει

τ]ὸ ἀργύριον αὐτοῖς ἤγνο[. .]μο[

]. []τῷ ἐνκέκλικα παρὰ τῷ λ[.] . . . [

γεγρ]άφα[θε] ἔτε' εὐρηκέναι ποίου ἐστὶν [

] [Σωτήρ] εἶπεν. *vac.* κη (ἔτους). *vac.* ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς [

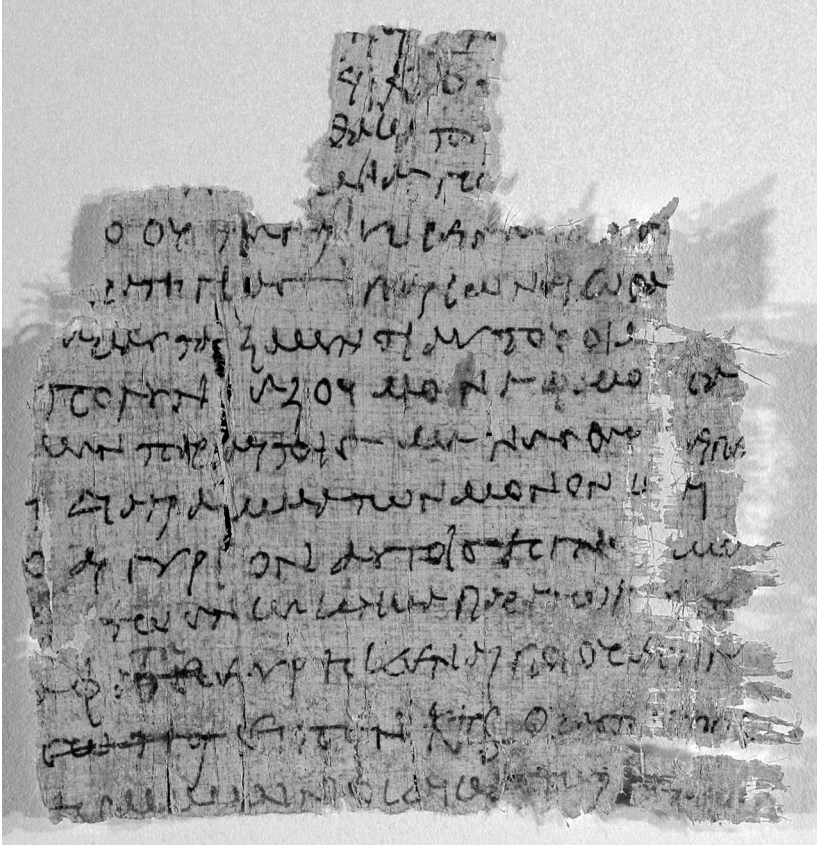
15] Ἡράμμων ὁ καὶ Κάστωρ [.] . . . [

12 l. ἐγκέκλικα 13 κη] pap.

4 σ]τρατηγίας: Does not refer to the strategus specifically but rather to the “office” or “bureau of the strategus” (*P.Oxy.* 36.2764.11n.). Consequently, it almost never occurs on its own (except in *P.Tebt.Fam.* 15.3.63 [AD 114-115]).

6 περι ὧν εἰώθα[μεν?: This phrase is without any parallel, but it is likely that ἔθω is followed by a verb since it is usually accompanied by a complementary infinitive. The ω in ὧν is written with black ink but then the following ν is written with red ink. Here presumably the scribe mistakenly dipped his pen into the black inkpot, and once he realized his mistake he quickly dipped his pen back into the red inkpot and kept writing. As a result, the remainder of this line is written with a brownish tint.

7 ἐβαστάξαμεν: While this verb typically has the meaning of “to lift, raise, bear, carry or support” (LSJ, s.v. βαστάζω), in the papyri it is almost always used in the context of theft where it has the meaning of “carrying off (illegally)” or “stealing” (*P.Oxy.* 50.3561.15 [AD 165]; *P.Oxy.* 58.3926.13-14 [AD 246]). Assuming that this is the connotation of the verb in this fragment perhaps there was some admittance of wrongdoing on the part of the defendant since it is used in the first person.



8 ἔξ οὐ μόνα: It is difficult to make sense out of what the writer was trying to convey at this point. If the reading μόνα is correct, then it must anticipate a neuter plural noun.

9 Μενεσθεύ[ς]: While the name is attested in five other documents from Oxyrhynchus that range in date from the early first century to the late third century, none are contemporary with the present text (*P.Ryl.* 4.677 [AD 14-37]; *P.Oxy.* 1.97 [AD 115-116]; *P.Oxy.* 12.1459 [AD 226]; *P.Oxy.* 7.1044 [AD 235]; *P.Oxy.* 1.55 [AD 283]).

10 Perhaps both times εἰ in this line.

– διὰ γραμμάτων μόνον: This phrase can be understood in different ways. If the writer intended μόνον as an adverb it could mean “once,” with the

implication that only a single letter was sent. Alternatively, it could also be used as a way of drawing contrast to something else. If on the other hand μόνον is to be taken as an adjective where the writer has mistakenly interchanged ω > ο the implication is that correspondence was strictly epistolary and more than one letter could have been sent.

11 ἡγνο[. . .]: perhaps ἡγνό[ει].

12 ἐνκέκλικα: This unusual spelling is also attested in *BGU* 3.1012.8 (170 BC) and *SB* 6.9252.8 (= *P.Fam. Tebt.* 19 [AD 118]). In the papyri this verb typically has the connotation of being “shut in” or even “imprisoned.” The meaning here is probably something like, “I have locked N.N. up with N.N.” Since this verb is immediately followed by παρὰ τῷ λ[. . .] . . . [. . .], the reading could be something like παρὰ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι.

13 The correction is in black ink. In the lacuna at the end perhaps ἔτους vel sim., if l. 14 refers back to this line.

14 [Σωτήρ]: Though this name is more prominent in the Ptolemaic era, it is nevertheless still attested well into the Roman period. What the exact reasons were for the scribe crossing this name out can only be a matter of speculation. If this report constitutes a later copy, as the use of red ink seems to imply, it may simply have been an error of transcription.

– κη (ἔτους): This date may be taken as a reference to the twenty-eighth year of Commodus’ reign (AD 187/8). While Commodus only reigned as sole emperor for almost thirteen years (17 March AD 180 to 31 December AD 192), he reckoned his tenure as a continuation of his father’s and accordingly reckoned his reign from 7 Mar 161 (D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*² [Darmstadt 1996] 147-151). The reference to Commodus’ reign does not necessarily provide the precise date of the papyrus but only the *terminus post quem*.

15 Ἡράμμων ὁ καὶ Κάστωρ: Besides the present document he is only attested in *P.Oxy.* 36.2762. See J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*² (Firenze 2006) 100.

Two Papyri in Lund¹

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Abstract

Edition of two Greek papyri in the collection of the Lund University Library, a tax receipt from Philadelphia (193 CE) and a *cheirographon* from Oxyrhynchus (544).

The papyri in the collection of the Universitetsbibliotek in Lund have received little scholarly attention during the last five decades, although a substantial number of them remain unedited and worthy of publication.² The two papyri that appear below were transcribed by the author during a survey of the collection in March 2006.³

1. *P.Lund inv. 43: Receipt from the praktores argyrikon*

Philadelphia

10.0 x 7.5 cm

13 June 193

This papyrus is of interest in several respects. It is the first papyrus from the Lund collection to come (explicitly) from the Fayyum village of Philadelphia, and it dates from the short-lived reign of the emperor Pescennius Niger (whose authority never extended beyond the East). More intriguing, however, is the transaction that the text documents: Salvius Ammonios and Pupius Isidoros and their partners, *praktores argyrikon* of Philadelphia, have acknowledged receipt of a certain Didymion's tax payment through the *sitologos* Ammonios.

¹ I thank Karin Kulneff-Eriksson and her colleagues at the Lunds Universitetsbibliotek for their kind assistance and hospitality and Björn Dal, the Library's *kulturarvschef*, for permission to publish these texts. *BASP* referees provided some useful suggestions concerning my manuscript, for which I am also grateful. All dates follow the "Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens," <http://aquila.papy.uni-heidelberg.de/gvzFM.html> (accessed 17 May 2009).

² For the history of the Lund collection, see I. Andorlini, "Scavi e acquisti di papiri negli anni '30: il caso dei P.Lund," *Comunicazioni* 1 (1995) 45-50.

³ My work in Lund was supported by the Committee on Research of the Faculty Senate of the University of California, Berkeley, to which I remain very grateful.

The fact that this Ammonios' title and year of service (the year prior to that of the receipt; see l. 8) are recorded suggests that this was not a typical payment made through an intermediary; it is more likely that Ammonios was acting in an official capacity. This would be unusual, however, for the *praktōres argyrikon*, as their title suggests, were responsible for various money taxes, while *sitologoi* were concerned with the fiscal grain; one wonders what occasion might have led to the involvement of the latter in the former's affairs. The roughly contemporary SB 10.10293 (198; Theadelphia) provides some insight. In this text, a *boethos sitologon* (as in the Lund papyrus, identified with the harvest of the preceding year) swears that he will recover 1,820 *drachmai*, the value of 227.5 *artabai* of wheat that have been put on deposit with the *sitologoi* by collectors of a money tax, the *praktōres stephanikou*. By way of explanation, the editor of the text, R.A. Coles, has noted, "Perhaps the *πράκτορες* had had to accept some payment in kind, and the purpose of this operation was to convert the wheat so received into money so that their accounts might be set in order" ("Four Papyri from the British Museum," *JEA* 52, 1966, 131-132). I would suggest that the same sort of fiscal reconciliation underlies the Lund papyrus, i.e., that the receipt effectively is an acknowledgment that Didymion's tax payment has been commuted into the *proportio* form.

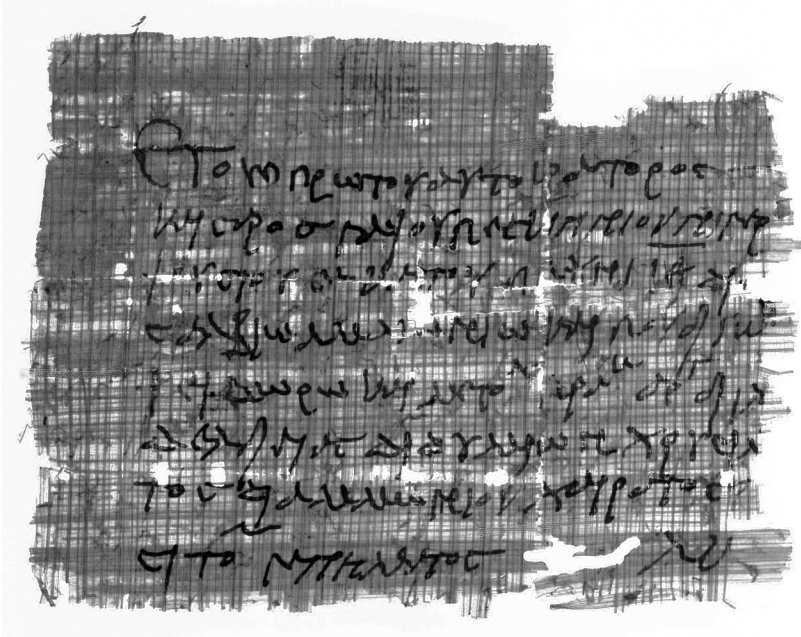
The text is written against the fibers; the back is blank.

- 1 Ἔτους πρώτου αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Γαίου Πεσκιννίου Νίγερ
 Ἰούστου Σεβαστοῦ, Παῦνι ιθ. διέγρ[αψε]
- 4 Σαλβίῳ Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ Πουφίῳ
 Ἰσιδώρῳ καὶ μετόχ(οις) πράκ(τορσιν) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Φιλ[α-]
 δελφείας Διδυμίων Χρυσιμ[ᾶ-]
 τος δι' Ἀμμωνίου Χαιρᾶτος
- 8 σιτολ(όγου) γενήματος *vacat* λβ

2 Πεσκεννίου Νίγερως

"In the first year of *imperator* Caesar Gaius Pescennius Niger Iustus Augustus, Pauni 19. Didymion, son of Chrysimas, has paid through Ammonios, son of Chairas, *sitologos* of the harvest of [year] 32, to Salvius Ammonios and Pupius Isidoros and their partners, *praktōres argyrikon* of Philadelphiea ..."

1 The blank space following αὐτοκράτορος was filled with a horizontal stroke; likewise in l. 7 after Χαιρᾶτος.



1-3 For Niger's titulature, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte* (Brussels 1964) 92-93. Of the texts cited there, only *BGU* 2.454.25-27 uses the same (complete) formula; add *P.Gron.* 1.9-10 (+ *BL* 7:63), *P.Harr.* 2.195.9-11, and *O.Ont.Mus.* 2.226.4-5 (+ *BL* 8:529).

P.Lund inv. 43 is the earliest text from the *chora* to refer to Niger's reign; only *P.Gron.* 1, which is probably an edict of the prefect L. Mantennius Sabinus (so P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 11, 1973, 161-162), was written before it (on 30 May 193). In the Arsinoite nome, documents are last dated to the reigns of Commodus and Pertinax on 2 June 193 (*BGU* 2.515; cited as an aberration by A. Martin, *Anagenesis* 2, 1982, 92) and 19 May 193 (*BGU* 1.46), respectively. Niger was proclaimed Augustus in Antioch in mid-April 193, i.e., roughly two months before the Lund receipt was written. More generally on Niger, see D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*² (Darmstadt 1996) 159-160, and the bibliography cited there.

- 2 At line's end, one cannot exclude Νίγερ[ο(ς)] or even Νίγερ[ο(ς)].
- 3 διέγραψε was surely abbreviated, probably after rho.

4-5 Σάλβιος (also Σάλουιος, Latin *Salvius*): For other individuals with this name in Philadelphia, see *BGU* 7.1617.1.8 (198 or 227) and *P.Diog.* 45.2.36 (before 216-217). It is not clear if either of these references the individual in the Lund papyrus.

The name Πούπιος (Latin *Pupius*; for π>φ, cf. Gignac, *Gram.* 1:93 and 99-100) is only attested in *BGU* 7.1607.2 (also from Philadelphia [II CE], but he is not the individual in the Lund text).

Despite their *duo nomina*, each with a Latin *nomen*, it seems improbable, *prima facie*, that *Salvius* and *Pupius* were Roman citizens; cf. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*² (Florence 1997) 89, and especially note *BGU* 11.2058 (after 169), which appears to be germane to the situation in the Lund papyrus. It is clear, however, that individuals who were exempt from liturgies could still serve (see Lewis, p. 96, and refs.), and *BGU* 3.747 (before 139) in particular suggests that we should withhold judgment in this case. If *Salvius* and *Pupius* were not Roman citizens, they still might have moved in the same social, cultural, and economic circles as such individuals; cf. the well-known case of the *praktor* *Sokrates* at Karanis, P. van Minnen, “House-to-House Enquiries: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Roman Karanis,” *ZPE* 100 (1994) 227-251.

6-7 The name Χρυσιμάς (or rather, Χρησιμάς [itacism]) is an *addendum onomasticis*, but it is certainly related to the frequently attested name Χρήσιμος. For the mixed-declension personal names in -ᾶς, cf. Gignac, *Gram.* 2:16-18. Χρήσιμος/Χρησιμάς has a parallel in, e.g., Δίδυμος/Διδυμάς. (I thank Willy Clarysse for his observations concerning this matter.)

8 λβ surely refers to the 32nd year of Commodus’ reign (191/2), i.e., *Ammonios* was *sitologos* in the preceding year. The space between it and γενήματος suggests that the extant damage in the gap was also present at the time when the receipt was written.

2. *P.Lund inv. 48*: Cheirographon

Oxyrhynchus

12.6 x 6.6 cm

5 August 544

This is the first documentary text from Lund with an Oxyrhynchite provenance to be edited,⁴ and its date is later than those of the other published pieces from the collection (though there are *inedita* from still later).

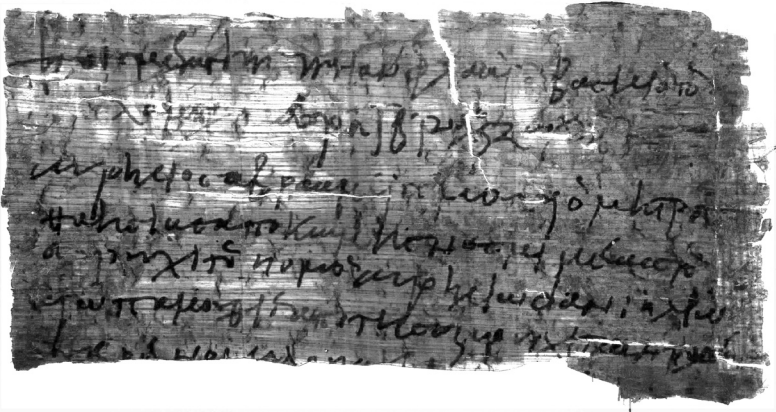
⁴ Note *P.Lund* 1.2 = Mertens-Pack³ 1507, a fragment of Thucydides 1.49.6-50.2 from the Oxyrhynchite nome.

The text is written with the fibers; the back is blank. Note that the commonplace suspension of final upsilon has not been indicated in the apparatus.

- 1 Ϙ τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαοῦιου Βασιλίου τοῦ
vacat λαμπρ(οτάτου) Μεσορή ιβ̄ ἰνδικ(τίονος) ζ̄ ἀρχ(ῆ) ἦϚ=
- 4 Θασίας ἀπὸ κώμης Νεσμίμεως τοῦ
 Ὁξυρυγίτου νομοῦ Αὐρηλίω Δανηλίω
 υἱῷ Παμουθίου ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξυρυγιτῶν πόλεως
 χα[ί]ρειν. ὁμολογῶ κ. . . [] traces

1 *l.* ὑπατεῖαν; φλαοῦιου 2 λαμπρ/; ἰνδικ/; ἀρχ) 3 υἱος 6 υῖω

“Under the consuls after the consulship of Flavius Basilius, *vir clarissimus*, Mesore 12, indiction 7, beginning of the 8th. Aurelius Abraam, the son of Mousaios, his mother being Thaesia, from the village of Nesmimis of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Danielios, son of Pamouthios, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. I acknowledge ...”



1-2 For the post-consular dating, see F. Reiter, “Datierungen nach dem Postkonsulat des Basilius in Papyrusdokumenten,” *ZPE* 145 (2003) 231-245. The τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ὑπατεῖαν formula used in the Lund papyrus of course reflects the Oxyrhynchite scribes’ uncertainty in the continued absence of a new consul; cf. also *P.Oxy.* 16.1985.1 (9 October 543; edited in full in *P.Oxy.* 70, pp. 133-134). Once it became apparent that Basilius would not have a successor

(in the near term, at least), τοῖς τὸ x μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν came to be used in an attempt to preserve the utility of consular dating. This numbering system is first attested in *P.Oxy.* 51.3641.2 (7 February 544, i.e., six months *before* the Lund papyrus was written).

2 Possibly read λαμπρο(τάτου); there is a trace of ink adjacent to the rho.

– For *arche*, see *CSBE*² 30-33. Following ἀρχῆ and the indiction numeral, which is marked with a horizontal overstroke, there seem to be a curved stroke and two parallel horizontal lines, presumably to indicate the ordinal; cf. H.C. Youtie, *CPh* 27 (1932) 94. The horizontals, which just intersect the curved stroke, appear to have been extended to the right to fill the space. Alternatively, one might interpret the writing following the numeral as a chrismon.

4 The village of Nesmimis was in the Oxyrhynchite nome's Upper Toparchy/First Pagus; cf. R. Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni: Terra, lavoro e proprietà senatoria nell'Egitto tardoantico* (Bari 2001) 182. In the fifth century, it appears to have been the principal settlement in a *prostasia* (management district) of the *domus divina* (see *P.Oxy.* 8.1134 of 3 March 421). For its connections with the large estate (the *endoxos oikos*) of the well-known Flavii Apiones in the sixth century, see Mazza, p. 90 (where a reference to *P.Oxy.* 55.3805.108-110 should be added, and it should be noted that *P.Oxy.* 16.2032.46-47 [540-541] implies that the Apiones collected the village's taxes).

6 πόλεως was written in compressed form, to ensure that it fit on the line.

7 There is a sign or letter before the chi of *chairein*, which might be interpreted as a chrismon (marking the beginning of the contract's *soma*).

– I cannot reconcile the traces after ὁμολογῶ with any of the common sequels. Possibly καὶ or κυρίου (the beginning of a genitive absolute, cf. *P.Oxy.* 8.1130.7) followed.

Two Michigan Papyri¹

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Abstract

Edition of P.Mich. inv. 4004, comprising two fourth-century texts, an account of the *vestis militaris* and a text concerning reimbursement.

1. *Account of the Vestis Militaris*

P.Mich. inv. 4004 was purchased from Nahman in 1925 as part of a lot of Oxyrhynchus papyri (Lot IV, later P.Mich. inv. 3999-4028). In a letter dated 16 July, 1925, H.I. Bell described the lot as follows:

Papyri from Oxyrhynchus. These are on the average much superior to the last and include some good pieces. A noteworthy feature is a set of freight contracts for the carriages of tax-barley, of the 4th century. These should be kept together and assigned to a single contributor. There are also some Homeric fragments of the Ptolemaic period, a Ptolemaic petition, and some good documents of the 4th cent. I have valued these at £132.²

This papyrus was presented as a gift to the University in October 1926 by Mr. Oscar Webber and Mr. Richard H. Webber of Detroit, MI. They were, respectively, the General Manager and President of the J.L. Hudson Company, which operated Detroit's most important department store, which had been founded by their uncle Joseph L. Hudson.³

¹ I want to express my gratitude to Traianos Gagos, Roger Bagnall, and the anonymous reviewers of this article for their helpful suggestions, and to Lisa Hock for her encouragement. The papyrus appears here with the permission of Professor Gagos.

² http://www.lib.umich.edu/MPC/Reports/1925/7_22_25_kenyon_bell.html

³ http://www.hudson-webber.org/About_Family.html

Physical Description

Fragments A-D of P.Mich. inv. 4004 are from a fourth century *vestis militaris* account. The four pieces represent only a fraction of the original text. The text is written with the fibers on a medium brown papyrus that was originally at least 18 cm in height; the back is blank. The papyrus was rolled; the subsequent flattening of the roll has created pronounced creases on three of the fragments. Fragment C is a piece that has broken off along the crease lines. The dimensions are as follows:

Fragment A (columns 1-2): 16.5 x 8 cm. Includes a top margin of 1 cm. Preserves the very end of previous entries (i.e. this is not the original first column of the text). Fold lines are 2 cm apart.

Fragment B (column 3-4): 14.5 x 16.3 cm. Preserves a bottom margin of 1.5 cm. Top fibers are missing for approximately 4-5 lines and there is abrasion in lines 5-7. A few lines preserve the very end of earlier columns. Fold lines are 2.5 cm apart.

Fragment C (column 5): 4.1 x 7.4 cm. Includes a bottom margin of 1.5 cm. This is a small piece that has broken off the bottom left of fragment D.

Fragment D (columns 5-6): 8.2 x 18 cm with a top margin of 4.5 cm and a bottom margin of 1.5 cm. Fold lines are 4 cm apart.

The order of the fragments is based on the assumption that the text was rolled as it was written, so from left to right, and therefore the fragment with the narrowest space between creases (2 cm) precedes those with wider spaces (2.5 cm and 4 cm respectively). There were presumably some other columns of text between the preserved ones, particularly between the second and third, as there is a greater discrepancy between the size of the folds. No other arrangement of the fragments has been found to be satisfactory because the folds do not match from one fragment to another. In any case, because the columns are unrelated to each other the order of the fragments does not affect the understanding of the text.

Content

The text lists an account of contributions by individuals to the *vestis militaris*. Among the twenty-six named individuals are three women and a few people with Roman names. The first column of each entry lists the name of a taxpayer in the nominative; the majority of the names are simply followed by a patronymic. Two entries have indications of location, and the titles of some taxpayers are included as well; where there is a title there is no patronymic, perhaps in the interest of keeping the account's tabular layout consistent.

Three entries follow each name, indicating the number of *chlamydes*, *sticharia*, and *pallia* assessed to the individual. The levies are expressed in fractions or a whole number followed by fractions. The standard series of fractions is 1/12, 1/24, 1/48, 1/96, 1/192 (expressed in the text as ιο, κο, μη, φο, ρφο).⁴ This series is sometimes initiated with another fraction: 1/2 (ϰ) in 1.7 and perhaps in 1.6 and 2.2; 1/3 (γ) (see below); 1/6 (ς) in 1.6 and 2.4; 1/8 (η) in 2.10 and 3.8. Multiples of a quarter, 1/4 (δ) and 3/4 (Ϸ), also appear.

The digits that comprise the fractions are not consistently marked as such. Some are overlined; the overlines are haphazard, sometimes covering all the fractions on a line, and sometimes only some of them. Some fractions are followed by a double horizontal slash. The fractional notation following the symbol for 1/4 is a short, single angled dash; 1/8 is followed by a line which almost entirely encircles the symbol, something like a large backward C. Because fractions are not always marked as such, it is impossible to know whether the gammas that appear represent the whole number three or the fraction 1/3; I have transcribed them as fractions except at 2.4, where the gamma is followed by the symbol for 1/2 and therefore is clearly a whole number. The very long horizontal stroke of the gamma at 2.7 may be meant to imitate overlining; this gamma is quite different in form from the one three lines above.

There are disappointingly few complete entries in the account (only seven in column 3 in which the amounts are extant in all three columns). A number of points about the tax assessment, however, can be made. The number of *chlamydes* and *sticharia* is always the same for each entry. The number of *pallia* assessed is always smaller than that of *chlamydes* and *sticharia*. A whole *pallion* is assessed only once (1.4); this taxpayer also paid the largest amount of *chlamydes* and *sticharia* in what remains of the account.

There is no constant ratio of *chlamydes*/*sticharia* to *pallia*. For example, in 5.6-8, as seen below, while the assessment of *chlamydes*/*sticharia* doubles and then more than quadruples from one entry to the next, the assessment of *pallia* first doubles, but then remains the same:

<i>Line Number</i>	<i>Chlamydes</i>	<i>Sticharia</i>	<i>Pallia</i>
5.6	1/24	1/24	3/192
5.7	1/12	1/12	1/24
5.8	17/96	17/96	1/24

⁴ In the case of 1/12, 1/24, and 1/96 the omicron is written in a size proportional to the iota, kappa, or koppa. For 1/192, the omicron is miniscule, amounting to no more than a tiny dot attached to the tail of the koppa. Cf. F.G. Kenyon, *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (Oxford 1899) 156, n. 2.

It is therefore impossible to fill in the frequent lacunae in the numbers of *pallia* assessed.

The taxpayers may have been organized by the amount of their assessment. The average number of *chlamydes/sticharia* declines in each column. This perhaps indicates that the tax collector writing this account was working from a land register that listed landholders from the largest to smallest.

Date

The earliest possible date for this text would be after the first quarter of the fourth century, when the *vestis militaris* was no longer reimbursed by the state (*P.Col.* 9, pp. 96-97). A much later date, however, seems likely. One section of the account (6.2-8) lists names of individuals followed by the abbreviated title $\pi\alpha\lambda$. In the order of the text, these taxpayers are Valerius, Paulus, Leukadios, Makrobios, Athanasios, Diogenes, and Sarmates. While these names are all common, all but Diogenes appear grouped together in several late fourth century Oxyrhynchite texts in which the parties are designated as *politeuomenoi*; hence my restoration of this title here. *P.Oxy* 17.2110 (370), council proceedings, includes a plea from Makrobios, son of Theon, asking that his father be exempted from a burdensome *vestis militaris* liturgy (how tempting it is to connect the Michigan text with the position from which Theon was eventually exempted!). Makrobios is not stipulated as a *politeuomenos* here, but we can assume that his father, with his heavy load of liturgies, certainly was. Among those responding to Makrobios' request are two men named Sarmates and Valerius, both members of the council. *P.Oxy* 7.1048 (late fourth-early fifth century) is an account of corn freight including taxpayers named Athanasios, Valerius, Makrobios, and Leukadios, all of whom are boat owners, the first two being designated as *politeuomenoi*.⁵ Boat owners, among them Makrobios and Paulos, councilors, and Valerius, make payments in *P.Wash.Univ.* 2.83 (fourth-fifth century). Makrobios the councilor is addressed in *P.Wash.Univ.* 1.20 (370/1).⁶ It certainly appears that all these texts are referring to the same group of people. This account, broadly dated to 360-380, then joins a substantial body of evidence for the *vestis militaris* from the 360s and 370s (*P.Col.* 9, pp. 143-145).

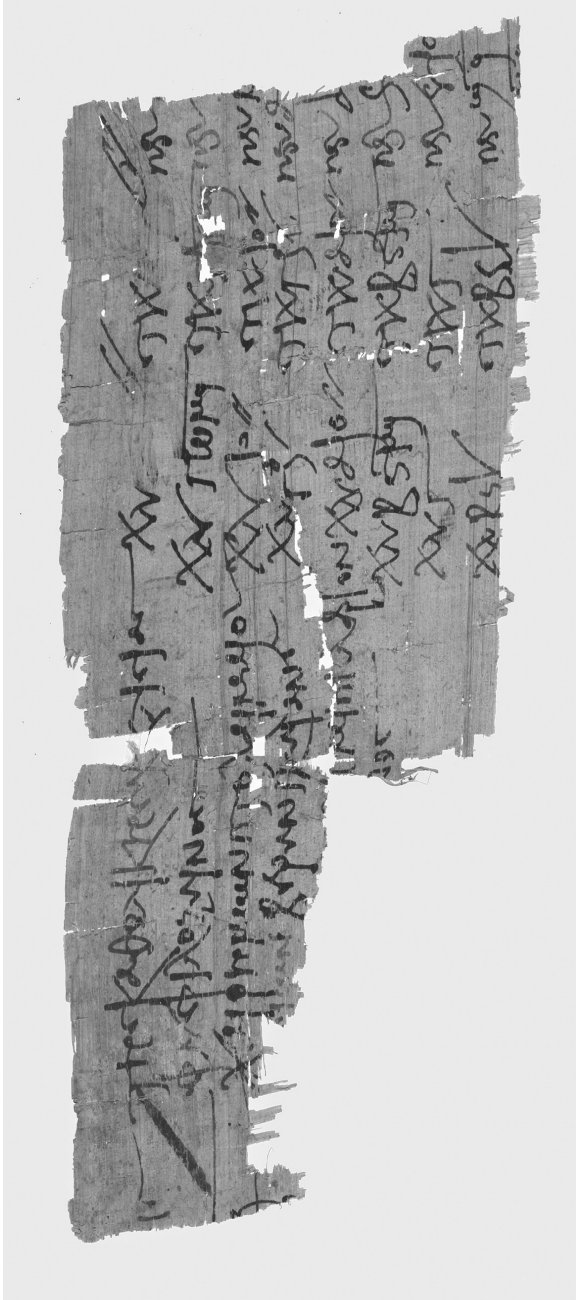
⁵ There is also a Paulos in this text, but he is designated as a boat driver, not a member of the council. Boat owners are often from the curatorial class: see N. Gonis, "Studies on the Aristocracy of Late Antique Oxyrhynchus," *Tyche* 17 (2002) 85-86.

⁶ The elder of the Catholic Church is also mentioned in this text, as it may be in this Michigan account. The dates of both *P.Wash.Univ.* 2.83 and *P.Oxy* 7.1048 should be narrowed to the same period as these other texts, ca. 360-380.

*Tax Data in Tabular Form*⁷

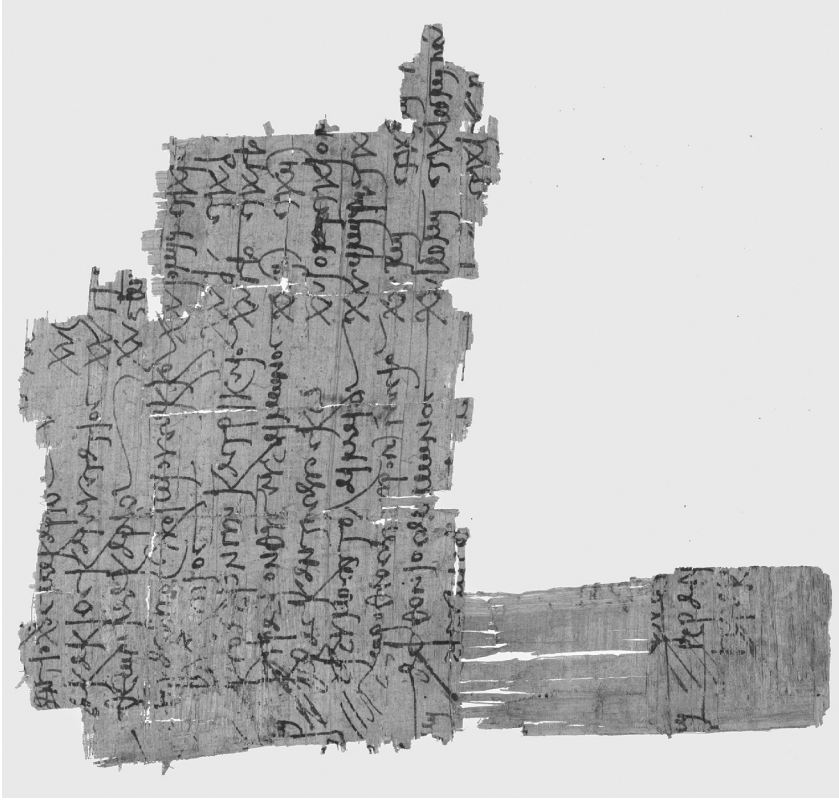
<i>Taxpayer's Name</i>	Chlamydes	Sticharia	Pallia
Flavius (2.2)	1/3 1/24 1/48	1/3 1/24 1/48	n/a
Chairemon (2.3)	1/12	1/12	1/48 +
Gaion (2.4)	3 1/2	3 1/2	1 +
the <i>ex-primipilarius</i> (2.5)	1 1/12	1 1/2	1/4 +
..nos (2.6)	2 1/6 1/48	2 1/6 1/48	1/2 +
n/a (2.7)	1/3	1/3	1/2 1/12 +
n/a (2.8)	2 3/4	2 3/4	1/48 1/96
Antiochos (4.2)	1/2 +	1/2 +	n/a
Akakios & Eustathios (4.3)	1/3 1/12 +	1/3 1/12 +	n/a
Theon (4.4)	1/6 1/24 1/48 +	1/6 1/24 1/48 +	n/a
Heras (4.5)	1/12 1/48 1/96	1/12 1/48 1/96	n/a
heirs of Alypios (4.6)	1/4	1/4	n/a
Kyradion I (4.7)	1/3 1/12	1/3 1/12	n/a
Kyradion II (4.8)	1/8	1/8	n/a
Abaskantos (4.9)	1/12 1/48?	1/12 1/48	n/a
Didymios (4.10)	1/8 1/48 1/192	1/8 1/48 1/192	n/a
Dorotheos (4.11)	1/48	1/48	n/a
Aphthonios (4.12)	1/12 1/48	1/12 1/48	n/a
Didymos (4.13)	1/12	1/12	n/a
n/a (5.4)	1/3 1/24	1/3 1/24	1/8
n/a (5.5)	1/24	1/24	1/96 1/192
n/a (5.6)	1/24	1/24	1/96 1/192
...anas (5.7)	1/12	1/12	1/48
n/a (5.8)	1/8 1/24 1/96	1/8 1/24 1/96	1/24
n/a (5.9)	1/48	1/48	1/96
n/a (5.10)	1/8	1/8	1/24

⁷ This chart only includes tax payments with at least two garment amounts extant. A plus sign indicates that there *may* have been further fractions in the lacuna.



Text and Translation

			ca. 360-380
Oxyrhynchus			
Column 1 (fragment A)			
	]του		
]·		
	]θ		
]·		
4			
Column 2 (fragment A)			
	/τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας		
	Φλ(άουιος) Φιλόξενος		
	Χαρήμων Πτολαμαῖο ὕ'		
4	Γάϊον Βερενικεῖανο ὕ'		
	..... ἀπό πρ]ιμπαρίων		
	..... ]νος		
8			
2.1 ἐκκλησίας	2.5 πριμπαρίων		
		στυχ(άριον)]] "	πάλ(αιον)]] [
		στυχ(άριου) γ κο μη	πάλ(αιον) [
		στυχ(άριου) ιο"	παλ(αιου) μ[η
		στυχ(άρια) γ ς'	πάλ(αιον) α[
		στυχ(άρια) α ιο"	παλ(αιου) d[
		στυχ(άρια) β ς μη	παλ(αιου) ς [
		στυχ(άριου) γ	παλ(αιου) ς ιο [
		στυχ(άρια) β θ'	παλ(αιου) μη Ϛ[ο
		traces	traces



Column 3 (fragment B)

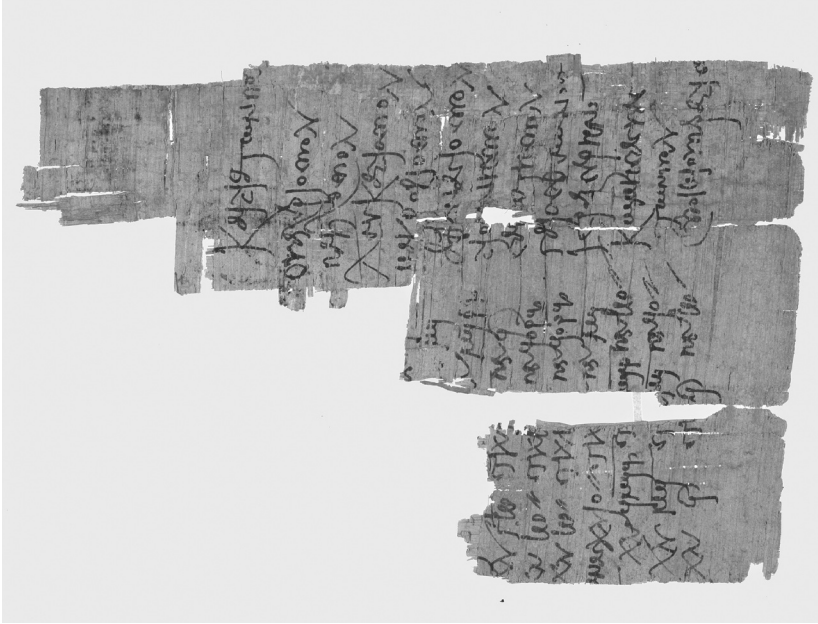
]	
]	
	]	traces
4	/	
	]	traces
	]	traces
	/	
8	] p //	
] . //	
] .	
	] μη	
12	/	
14-17		recto fibers missing
] .	
	] μη //	
20	//	

Column 4 (fragment B)

	traces	χλ(αμύς) [
	Ἄντιοχος Μακαρίου	χλ(αμύδος)] [
	Ἀκάκιος καὶ Εὐστάτιος	χλ(αμύδος) γ ι ο [
4	Θέων Μακαρίου	χλ(αμύδος) σ κο μ̄] η	στιχ(αρίου) ι ο [μη ρο
	Ἡρᾶς ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Σάκκου	χλ(αμύδος) ι ο μη ρο	
	κλ(ηρονόμοι) Ἀλυπίος	χλ(αμύδος) δ' [	στιχ(αρίου) δ' [
	Κυράδιον γυν(ῆ) Καστρικείου	χλ(αμύδος) γ ι ο	στιχ(αρίου) γ ι ο [
8	Κυράδιον θυγ(άτηρ) Εὐδαίμωνος	χλ(αμύδος) η'	στιχ(αρίου) η' [
	Ἀβάσκαντος ἀπὸ Σκῶ	χλ(αμύδος) ι ο [μη]	στιχ(αρίου) ι ο μ̄] η
	Δίδυμος Πτολαιαίου	χλ(αμύδος) η μη ροο	στιχ(αρίου) [η μη ροο
	Δωρόθεος ἀπὸ προν(σητῶν) Γεσσίο υ'	χλ(αμύδος) μη	στιχ(αρίου) μη
12	Ἀφθόνιος Ἄμμωνος	χλ(αμύδος) κο μη	στιχ(αρίου) κο μη
14-17	Διδύμις ὁ κ[αί . . . recto fibers missing	[χλ(αμύδος)] ι ο "	στιχ(αρίου) ι ο "
	Φλέφ[υιος		πι[άλ(λιον)
20	Ἡραει[ς		πάλ(λιον) [
	Ἡρακλ[		πι[άλ(λιον)
4.6	Ἄλυπίου		

Column 5 (fragments C and D)

4	<p>χλ(αμύδος) γ κο χλ(αμύδος) κο" χλ(αμύδος) κο" χλ(αμύδος) ιο" χλ(αμύδος) η μη φο χλ(αμύδος) μη χλ(αμύδος) η'</p>	<p>στιχ(αρίου) [γ κο] στιχ(αρίου) κ[ο] στιχ(αρίου) κ[ο] στιχ(αρίου) [ιο] στ[ιχ(αρίου) η] μη φο στ[ιχ(αρίου)] μη στιχ(αρίου) η'</p>	<p>] πάλ(λιου) . παλ(λιου)] μη παλ(λιου) μη ρφο παλ(λιου) η' παλ(λιου) φο ρφο παλ(λιου) φο ρφο παλ(λιου) μη παλ(λιου) κο" παλ(λιου) φο" παλ(λιου) κο"</p>
8	]ανας		



Column 6 (fragment D)

- καὶ δια τῶν πολ(ιτευόμενων) []
 Ουαλέριος πολ(ιτευόμενος) []
 Παῦλος πολ(ιτευόμενος) []
 4 Λευκάδιος πολ(ιτευόμενος) []
 Μακρόβιος πολ(ιτευόμενος) []
 Ἀθανάσιος πολ(ιτευόμενος) []
 8 Διο[γέ]νης πολ(ιτευόμενος) []
 Σαρμάτης πολ(ιτευόμενος) []
 Γάιος Θέωνος []
 Ἴεραξ Σερήνο υ' []
 κώμης Ἀσίας []
 12 τῶν πολ(ιτευόμενων) []
 ἐποικίου Παραδίσου []

Column 2					
	of the Catholic Church	military cloak	tunic	cloak [
	Flavius Philoxenos	military cloak 1/3 1/24 1/48	tunic 1/3 1/24 1/48	cloak [
	Chairemon son of Prolemaios	military cloak 1/12	tunic 1/12	cloak 1/48 [
4	Gaion son of Berenikianos	military cloaks 3 1/2	tunics 3 1/2	cloak 1 [
	... the <i>ex-primipilaris</i>	military cloaks 1 1/12	tunics 1 1/12	cloak 1/4 [
	...nos	military cloaks 2 1/6 1/48	tunics 2 1/6 1/48	cloak 1/2 [
8		military cloak 1/3	tunic 1/3	cloak 1/2 1/12 [
		military cloaks 2 3/4	tunics 2 3/4	cloaks 1/48 1/96 [
Column 4					
	traces	military cloak [
	Antiochos son of Makarios	military cloak 1/2 [
	Akaktios and Eustathios	military cloak 1/3 1/12 [
4	Theon son of Makarios	military cloak 1/6 1/24 1/48			
	Heras from the hamlet of Sakkos	military cloak 1/12 1/48 1/96	tunic 1/12 [1/48 1/96		
	the heirs of Alypios	military cloak 1/4	tunic 1/4		
	Kyradion wife of Castricius	military cloak 1/3 1/12	tunic 1/3 1/12		
8	Kyradion daughter of Eudaimon	military cloak 1/8	tunic 1/8		
	Abaskantos from Sko	military cloak 1/12 [1/48]	tunic 1/12 1/48		
	Didymos son of Ptolemaios	military cloak 1/8 1/48 1/192	tunic 1/8 1/48 1/192		
	Dorotheos <i>ex-pronoetes</i> of Gessios	military cloak 1/48	tunic 1/48	cloak [
12	Aphthonios son of Ammon	military cloak 1/12 1/48	tunic 1/12 1/48	cloak [
14-17	Didymios also known as ...	military cloak 1/12	tunic 1/12	cloak [
	lacuna				
	Flavius [
	Herais [
	Herakl[

Column 5

4	]anas military cloak 1/3 1/24 military cloak 1/24 military cloak 1/24 military cloak 1/12 military cloak 1/8 1/24 1/96 military cloak 1/48 military cloak 1/8	tunic [1/3 1/24] tunic 1/24 tunic 1/24 tunic [1/12] tunic [1/8] 1/24 1/96 tunic 1/48 tunic 1/8	cloak cloak] 1/48 cloak 1/48 1/192 cloak 1/8 cloak 1/96 1/192 cloak 1/96 1/192 cloak 1/48 cloak 1/24 cloak 1/96 cloak 1/24
8			

Column 6

4	and through the councilors: Valerius the councilor Paulus the councilor Leukadios the councilor Makrobios the councilor Athanasios the councilor Diogenes the councilor Sarmates the councilor Gaios son of Theon Hierax son of Serenus of/from the village of Assya from (?) the councilors of/from the hamlet of Paradeisos
8	
12	

Notes

Column 1

1-4 These four lines align with the first four lines of Column 2.

2 There is a very thick diagonal line which runs from the end of line 2 to the beginning of 2.1. The account is peppered with single and double lines of this sort, both at the beginning and end of lines. Most appear to be fragments of fractional marks, but some, like this, seem to be secondary marks made in the text at a later time.

Column 2

1 The first entry on this page is in the genitive and lacks a personal name, unlike nearly all the entries that include a name in the nominative. Presumably there was a name (in the nominative) at the bottom of the previous column, followed in this column by an identifying genitive phrase (thus “Name, son of Name, of the Catholic Church”; a likely parallel is found at 6.8-9, “Hierax, son of Serenos, of the village of Assya”). Rather than a patronymic, the taxpayer may have had a title such as *διάκονος* or *πρεσβύτερος*. The scribe had probably already written the tax payments in the previous column, following the name of the taxpayer, and then erased the ones in this line when he realized he had duplicated them. The remaining double diagonal lines are the sort that follow fractions in other parts of the account (see above, note to 1.2).

The earliest attestation of a “catholic church” at Oxyrhynchus is in 336 (*P.Oxy.* 22.2344); other references include *P.Oxy.* 22.2344 (351/2), 16.1967 (427); *P.Lond.* 5.1777 (434); *P.Mich.* 11.612 (514); *P.Oxy.* 16.1900 (528), 1901 (sixth century), 19.2238 (551). A “catholic church” is also attested at Heracleopolis in the 350s (*CPR* 24.1; 355). As Palme notes in note 5 to that text, at this time “catholic church” could mean three things: the universal church, the orthodox church (as opposed to sects or schismatics), or the main church of the city. See also E. Wipszycka, “Καθολική et les autres épithètes qualifiant le nom ἐκκλησία,” *JJP* 24 (1994) 191-212, esp. 202ff.

5 Many *primipilarii*, civil officials on the staff of the governor, are attested in fourth century papyri. They are most often attested as taxpayers; the most frequent occurrence of the word is in the Hermopolite land lists. Given the form of the word in this papyrus (ending in -ov for -ων), this is probably a former *primipilarius*; his name would have preceded his title. See G. Messeri Savorelli, “Papiri documentari viennesi,” *Analecta Papyrologica* 10-11 (1998-1999) 33-64, esp. 58, n. 2.

7 The horizontal stroke of the gammas are very long, differentiating them from the whole number gammas in 2.2 and 2.4.

Column 3

2 The papyrus breaks right after the symbol for 1/2. There may have been further fractions in the series after the break.

5 The overline above μη is visible, but the letters are not.

7-8 The female name Κυράδιον is not previously attested, although its meaning as a diminutive of κυρία is obvious enough. We might assume that two women with such an unusual name were related. One possibility is that the elder Kyradion (line 7) is the remarried mother of the younger Kyradion (line 8); they could also be cousins named for the same grandmother. Kyradion the wife of Castricius (line 7) makes the third largest payment of *chlamydes* and *sticharia* in this account, so she must have been well off.

Column 5

This column represents the clothing amounts of the entries preceding those in column four; the names of the taxpayers for this column are lost but for the ending of one. There were approximately six entries above the extant ones.

7 The end of the name of the taxpayer, ανας, is preserved before the entry for *chlamydes*. It must have been a long name, as it runs into the space for the numerical entry, and as a result the abbreviation for *chlamydes* is moved to the right 3-4 letter spaces.

Column 6

1 The meaning of the term πολιτευόμενος has been the subject of much debate, and this text unfortunately adds no information that would clarify the role, as the individuals in question are simply paying their taxes. A. Laniado, in “Βουλευταί et πολιτευόμενοι,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 72 (1997) 130-144, states that the two titles are synonymous. K.A. Worp, in “Ἀρξάντες and πολιτευόμενοι in Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt,” *ZPE* 115 (1997) 201-220, says that the *politeuomenoi* were qualified to hold municipal office. In a later article, “Bouleutai and Politeuomenoi in Later Byzantine Egypt Again,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 74 (1999) 124-132, he concludes that the terms must mean different things, but that our evidence does not allow us to see the distinction. See now also N. Gonis, in *P. Worp*, pp. 195-201

The earliest dated references to Oxyrhynchite *politeuomenoi* are from the 360s: 361 (*P.Oxy.* 67.4600) and 366 (*P.Oxy.* 51.3627.1n contains useful bibliography previous to the articles mentioned above).

11 At this point, the entries in the account begin to differ from those earlier in the column. There are two names (nominative, as in earlier columns) with patronymics, then three entries in the genitive. It is possible to imagine that the place name in line 11 goes with the taxpayer in line 10 (the word ἀπό would then appear in the lacuna after the name), but in earlier entries (4.5 and 9) the scribe left out the patronymic in order to have room for the name of the village, rather than writing it on a separate line. It is likely that the taxpayers are grouped geographically by the location of the taxable land, so these lines may be summaries of some sort.

Toponyms and the provenance of the account

This account contains four toponyms. The two which are previously attested are Oxyrhynchite; two are new to the canon of Oxyrhynchite toponyms.

Ἀσσύα (4.11: κώμης Ἀσύας, the single *sigma* presumably being a misspelling): *Dizionario* 1.2:234 (2), 243; *Suppl.* 1:67; *Suppl.* 3:21 (bis). This village is documented in texts ranging from the first century BCE through the eighth century CE as a village or *chorion* belonging to the Koite toparchy of the Heracleopolite Nome.⁸ The toponym has some, but fewer, attestations in texts which are clearly Oxyrhynchite;⁹ it is, for example, listed among villages of the lower (northernmost) toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite in *P.Oxy.* 12.1529 (third CE) The fluidity of the borders between nomes is documented elsewhere (Berky, for example, belonged at different times to the Hermopolite and Oxyrhynchite Nomes),¹⁰ and we could as well assume that Assya was at the time of this papyrus a part of the Oxyrhynchite Nome.

Σάκκος (4.5: ἐποικίου Σάκκου). This hamlet is otherwise attested in the Oxyrhynchite Nome in *P.Sijp.* 37.14 and the references given in the note there.¹¹

Παράδιος (4.13: ἐποικίου Παραδίσο[υ]). This is the first attestation of this toponym as an Oxyrhynchite hamlet.

⁸ M.R. Falivene, *The Heracleopolite Nome* (Atlanta 1998) 54-55.

⁹ P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinichite* (Firenze 1981) 36-37.

¹⁰ F. Mitthof, "Topographie und Grenzverlauf des nördlichen Hermopolites," *Archiv* 49 (2003), 208-209.

¹¹ This certainly should not be confused with a place of the same name near Aphroditopolis in *P.Cair.Masp* 1.67106.7 (539).

Σκώ (4.9): *Dizionario* 4: 294; *Suppl.* 2:194; *Suppl.* 3:139; *Suppl.* 4:120; Pruneti (n. 9) 182-83, 234. This village, which is well attested, was located in the upper (southernmost) toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite Nome. In addition to the texts listed in Pruneti (n. 9) more recently noted attestations are: *P.Oxy.* 62.4336.19; 67.4590.3.19, 4595.12. The village is attested only once in the fourth century.

Accounting and the vestis militaris

The corpus of *vestis militaris* accounts is small, so each new text helps clarify the process through which the tax was collected. Each tax cycle required many accounts. First, a series of assessments listed what was owed. These originated with an accounting by nome, then by pagus and village, and finally by individual taxpayer. The documentation was created by tax collectors, and they may have been given some latitude in how to carry out their collection, thereby producing various types of hybrid accounts. Assessments list payments from payers (villages or individuals) in the nominative. The second type of account is a list of payments (or arrears of payments) from any of the layers of bureaucracy, with the payers in the genitive.

P.Mich. inv. 4004A represents an assessment of payments due from individual landholders. It lists names in the nominative, modified with patronymics, titles, or place names, and then the amount of the tax payment. The fragmentary nature of the text makes it difficult to determine what geographic entity is covered, although it is most likely an accounting by village, listing all those who were responsible for paying taxes at that particular place, including some of the metropolitan elite and others from around the nome. It is clear that the individuals are taxpayers, not tax collectors, since they are not listed with titles.¹² All in all it fits the patterns seen in other extant accounts. For example:

P.Stras. 7.618 and 691 (early fourth century) also have names in the nominative (with similar modifiers, or sometimes *διά* followed by a second name). The payments, *chlamydes*, are all made in whole numbers and are mostly small: one to five *chlamydes*. There are some larger numbers in the text, including 24, but some of these may be subtotals.

¹² If this were a nome-wide or toparchy/pagus-wide account, we would expect to see the names of villages rather than individuals. See for example *P.Col.* 9.247.

SB 12.10988 (342) is fragmentary and is missing the names of the taxpayers. The tax collected includes whole numbers and fractions of *sticharia*, *pallia*, and a garment called a *delmatikomaphorion*.¹³

SB 16.12827 (342/3) is a more detailed *vestis militaris* account. It has taxpayers organized by *pagus* and village. The landholders are listed in the nominative with patronymics; in a few cases the payment is διὰ γεωργῶν. The number of *chlamydes* collected is listed in fractions, and it is followed by the equivalent amount in talents and drachmas. This is therefore the most important of the individual-level *vestis militaris* accounts, as it converts the clothing payments into amounts of money and shows us that the payments for the *vestis militaris* were very small.¹⁴

Fractional payments in *vestis militaris* accounts and receipts generally follow the same pattern as those for grain payments. There are three standard series of fractions: 1/2, 1/4, 1/8 etc.; 1/3, 1/6, 1/12, 1/24, etc.; 1/5 and 1/10 as used for artabas of grain is not used in the *vestis militaris*.¹⁵ In *vestis militaris* documents, the fractions are sometimes written as numerals, and sometimes as words; receipts often contain both.¹⁶ The smallest fraction recorded for the *vestis militaris* is 1/384 (.0026) of a chlamys,¹⁷ an amount so small that one wonders how the government justified the expense of assessing and documenting it to the liturgists in charge; the small piece of papyrus used to record the receipt must have been worth more than this. SB 16.12644 lists the unusual fraction 1/90 (of a *pallium*), although perhaps this is an error for 1/96, a common fraction.

The fractions in this Michigan text show some variations from the norm. This is the only *vestis militaris* text to include the fraction 3/4 (2.7). Two entries in the account also show an unusual sequence of fractions. Column 4, line 10 has 1/8, 1/48, 1/192, amounting to 29/192. Likewise, 5.8 has the sequence 1/8, 1/24, 1/96, or 17/96. The sequence which includes 1/24, 1/48, 1/96 and 1/192 is usually initiated in other accounts with 1/3, not 1/2.

¹³ This text needs to be re-edited. I question some of the readings, as did Herbert Youtie in some handwritten notes in the margins of the original publication.

¹⁴ R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, "Five Papyri on Fourth Century Money and Prices," *BASP* 20 (1983) 8, call the amount a "trifle," the equivalent of a payment of one artaba of wheat on an estate of 156 arouras.

¹⁵ On fractions in tax papyri, see *P.Lond.* 2, p. 259; H.C. Youtie and O.M. Pearl, "O. Mich. I 154," *AJPh* 62 (1941) 80-83; H.C. Youtie, "Critical Notes on Documentary Papyri," *TAPA* 92 (1961) 550-571.

¹⁶ Examples include *P.Stras.* 8.737 and 738; SB 16.16246.

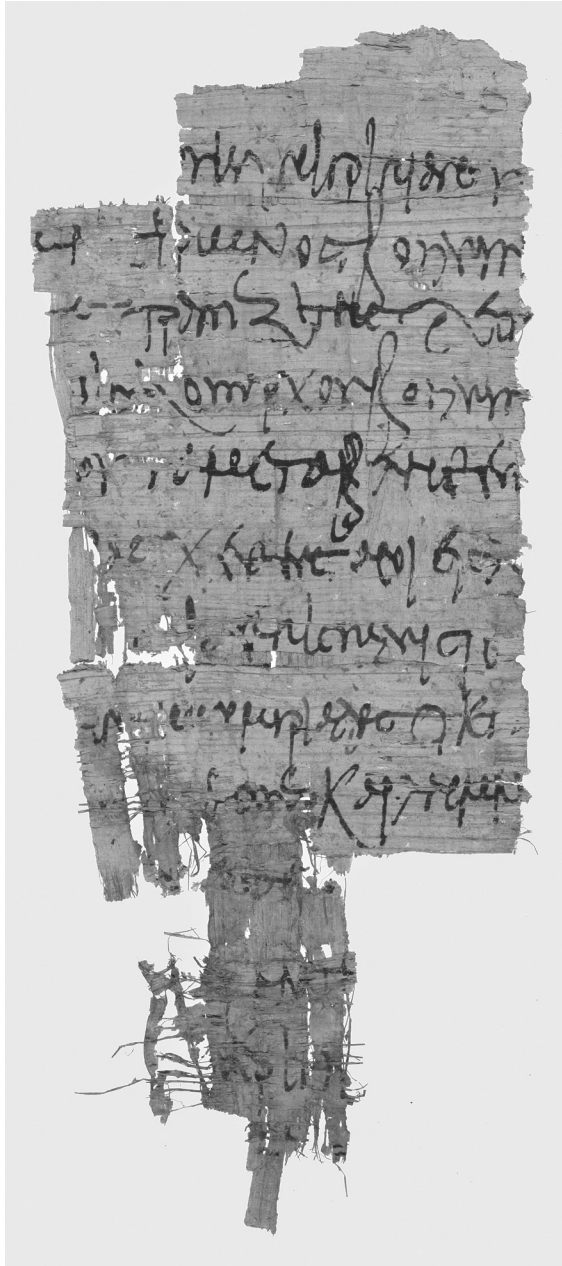
¹⁷ *P.Stras.* 8.737 and 738 (380/1).

provincial bank, ἡ ἐπαρχίας/ἐπαρχίου τράπεζα. See R. Bogaert, “La banque en Égypte byzantine,” *ZPE* 116 (1997) 87.

5 τὰ μεταβληθέντα might mean “the substituted things” as μεταβάλλω can mean “to change” or “to vary.”

8 For accounting in “myriads of myriads,” see R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (Chico, CA, 1985) 12. This is a very large sum of money, 2.8 billion *denarii*, or nearly 1.9 million talents, notable in that it predates the change in the coinage, and the concomitant rise in prices, that occurred *circa* 352. (Bagnall, p. 45) In accordance with the prices of grains in *P.Abinn.* 68 (ca. 348-351), this amount could purchase more than 37,000 artabas of wheat or more than 62,000 artabas of barley.

9 καί must be adverbial.



Letter from Simades to Pynas¹

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Abstract

Edition of a fourth-century Greek papyrus in the collection of the University of Michigan (P.Mich. inv. 1715) mentioning Skithis.

The papyrus was acquired in 1924 and is complete. H. x W. = 28.5 x 10.5 cm. Κόλλησις at 3.5 cm from the left. The left margin ranges from 0.5 to 1 cm. Lines 34 and 35 begin at 4 and 4.5 cm from the left edge respectively (εἴσθεσις). The letter is written in the “vertical” format² and was first rolled horizontally, then pressed flat, and finally folded vertically. The names of the sender and the addressee were written on the outside, with κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῶ on the one half and Πυνᾶ Σιμάδης on the other. It should be noted that the composer of the letter had originally written something at the beginning of the second line (perhaps χάρειν?) and then erased it with a sponge to allow some space between the addressee’s and his own name. The document can be approximately dated to the fourth century AD on paleographical grounds; for the hand compare *P.Oxy.* 24.2415 and 48.3398.

In this letter Simades mentions a *hollokotinos (solidus)* which was owed to Pynas and which will be given to him through two mutual friends, Strenion and Apollos, so as to avoid any dispute about it, which we may surmise had occurred in the past. He instructs Pynas to provide these two men with any aid they may need, including fodder for their fowl, from which we may gather that these two men were merchants. He further asks for two female donkeys to be bought on his behalf (these are described in some detail). He finally mentions that a lame camel of his fled from Skithis; this should be sought and if found be given to Strenion. From Simades’ emphasis on such animals as donkeys and a

¹ I would like to thank the editor of *BASP* and the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments which greatly improved this paper.

² On the “vertical” vs. the “horizontal” format of letters, see J.-L. Fournet. “Esquisse d’une anatomie de la lettre antique tardive d’après les papyrus,” in R. Delmaire, J. Desmulliez, and P.-L. Gatier (eds.), *Correspondances. Documents pour l’histoire de l’Antiquité tardive* (Lyon 2009) esp. 26-32.

camel in his letter we may conclude that he too was active as a merchant. The donkey was the animal mainly used in transporting goods by land in Egypt. Few people possessed camels, which were used for transportation through the desert; see A. Jördens, “Sozialstrukturen im Arbeitstierhandel des kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten.” *Tyche* 10 (1995) 62-79 and 94-95, who points out that only 1% of the inhabitants of Karanis possessed a camel; and R.S. Bagnall, “The Camel, the Wagon, and the Donkey in Later Roman Egypt” in his *Later Roman Egypt: Society, Religion, Economy and Administration* (Burlington, VT, 2003) 1-6.

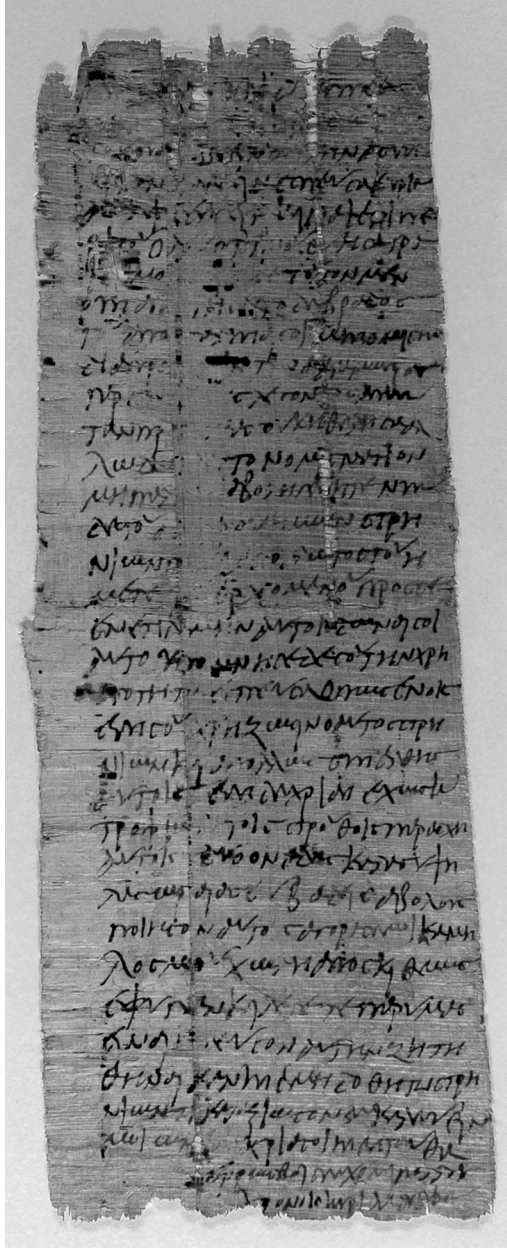
It is not certain where either the sender or the addressee lived. We may venture the conjecture that Pynas lived in the Arsinoite nome, given that his name has been thus far attested only in that area (see note on l. 1); and Simades may have been in the Skithis (Wadi Natrun) area since his camel fled from there to the Arsinoite nome.

This document is also notable for (1) an adjective that was so far attested but once in the papyri (εὐβαδεῖς, l. 26); (2) a name previously attested only in the epigraphic record (Σιμάδης); and (3) three instances of the name Στρηνίων (ll. 15-16, 21-22, 31-32), which until now existed only as an emendation to *P.Bodl.* 1.28.15 in the form Στρηνίων.

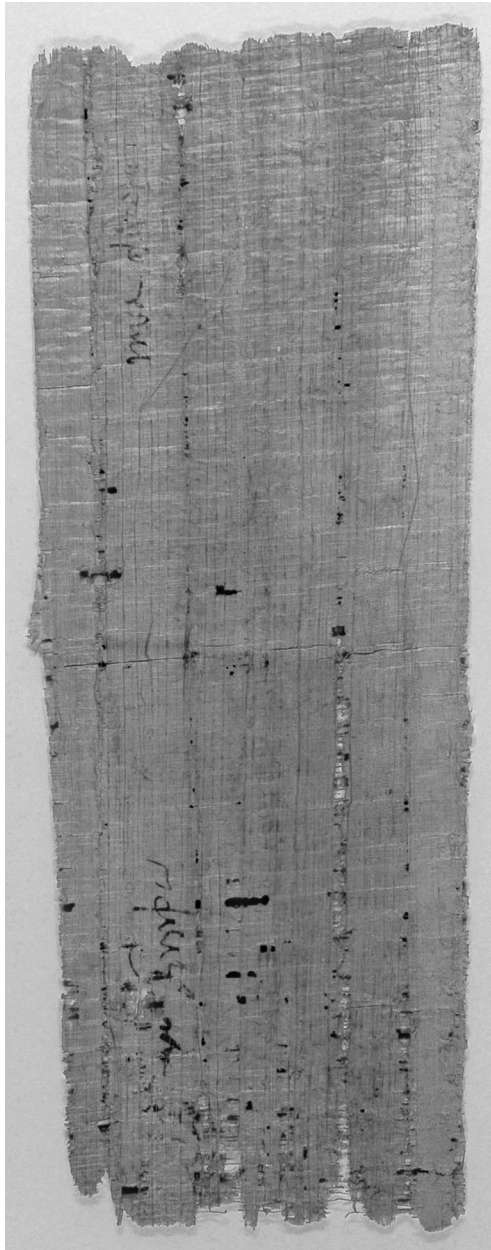
The letter exhibits common spelling errors, such as ι for ει (ll. 18, 23, 24, 33) and ε for αι (ll. 5, 7, 14, 19, 27, 29), on which see Gignac, *Gram.* 1:189-190 and 192.

Lines 27-32 have been quoted in translation in J.G. Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri* (Ann Arbor 1933) 77.

- Κυρίῳ μο[υ ἀδ]ελφῶ Πυνᾶ
 [. . . .] Σιμάδης.
 τοῦ πρ[ο]σειπεῖν σοῦ τὴν ἀσύν-
 κριτον διάθεσιν ἔσπευσα, κύριε
 5 ἀδελφε, ἔπειτα καὶ γράψε σοι πε-
 ρὶ τοῦ ὀλοκοττίου, οὗ ἦσα γρά-
 ψ[α]ς μοι ἀπαιτήσε. τοῦτον μὲν
 οὖν ἀπ[ή]τησα, τὸ δὲ βράδος
 τοῦ ἀποσταλῆναί σοι μὴ νομίσης
 10 διὰ πρόφ[ασ]ίν τινα. Ἀμμωνίου
 γὰρ συνε[χ]ῶς λέγοντος ἀπαν-
 τᾶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἠθέλησα ἄλ-
 λω δῶναι τὸ νομισμάτιον
 μὴ πάλιν διαβολὴ γένητε. νῦν
 15 δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν Στρη-
 νίωντος καὶ Ἀπολλῶτος τοῦ ἡ-
 μετέρου ἄν' ἐρχομένου πρὸς σὲ



recto



verso

ἐνετιλάμην αὐτοῖς δῶναί σοι
 αὐτό. ὑπομνήσε δὲ σοῦ τὴν χρη-
 20 στότητα ἔσπευσα ὅπως ἐν οἷς
 ἐάν σου χρήζωσιν ὁ αὐτὸς Στρη-
 νιῶν καὶ Ἀπολλῶς συνέλθῃς
 αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν δὲ χρίαν ἔχωσιν
 τροφίωγ τοῖς στρουθοῖς, παράσχῃ<ς>
 25 αὐτοῖς. δύο ὀνάδας καλάς, ὑψη-
 λάς, ὠραίας, εὐβαδεῖς, ἀβόλους
 ποίησον αὐτοὺς ἀγοράσε μοι. κάμη-
 λός μου χωλὴ ἀπὸ Σκίθεως
 ἔφυγεν καὶ λέγετε παρ' ὑμᾶς
 30 εἶναι. κ[έ]λευσον αὐτὴν ζητη-
 θῆναι κἂν ἦν ἐμή, δοθήτω Στρη-
 νιῶντι. καταξίωσον δὲ κελεύειν
 μοι ὧν ἐὰν χρία σοι ἦν ἐνταῦθα.
 ἐρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι πολλοῖς
 35 χρόνοις, κύριε ἀδελφε.

Verso

36 → κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Πυνᾷ Σιμάδης

4 l. ἀσύγκριτον 5 l. γράψαι 6 ολοκοτ'τιγου παρ. 7 l. ἀπαιτῆσαι
 13 l. δοῦναι 14 l. γένηται 18 l. ἐνετειλάμην; δοῦναι 19 l. ὑπομνήσαι
 23 l. χρίαν 24 l. τροφείων 27 l. ἀγοράσαι 29 l. λέγεται 33 l. χρεία

“To my lord brother, Pynas, Simades.

I hastened to address your incomparable disposition, lord brother, then also to write you regarding the *solidus* that you had written me to request. So I requested it, but the delay in sending it to you, do not think that it was due to some excuse. For since Ammonios was repeatedly saying that he would meet you, I did not wish to give the money to anyone else lest there be a dispute again. But now, since our brother Strenion and our man Apollos were going up to you, I instructed them to give it to you. I also hastened to remind your kindness in order that, in whatever matter the same Strenion and Apollos need you, you come to their aid, and if they need feed for the fowl, you provide it to them. See to it that they buy for me two female donkeys, nice, tall, handsome, well-riding, that have not yet shed their foal-teeth. A lame camel of mine fled from Skithis, and it is said to be with you. Order that a search be made for it,

and if it be mine, let it be given to Strenion. And think it worthwhile to order me for whatever you need from here.

I wish you to be healthy for many years, my lord brother.

(Address on the verso) To my lord brother Pynas, Simades.”

1 Κύριος μοῖ[υ ἄδ]ελφῶ: in third-century and fourth-century letters κύριος can accompany all the words that indicate family relations; see G. Tibiletti, *Le lettere private nei papiri greci del III e IV secolo d.C. Tra paganesimo e cristianesimo* (Milan 1979) 32-33, and A. Papatomas, “Höflichkeit und Servilität in den griechischen Papyrusbriefen der ausgehenden Antike,” in B. Palme (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Wien, 22.-28. Juli 2001* (Vienna 2007) 504-506, who points out that the use of κύριος (and δεσπότης) does not necessarily imply subservience, but rather deep respect for and appreciation of the addressee.

– Πυνᾶ: this spelling is unattested in the papyri. It may be a variant of Πουνᾶς, which is found in *SB* 20.14223.19, 44, 63 (AD 185), *BGU* 11.2078.6 (AD 209), 2079.12 (AD 212), and *O.Mich.* 1.262.4 (late III/early IV AD), all from the Arsinoite nome. For the interchange of ου and υ in the papyri, see Gignac, *Gram.* 1:214-215. Πύνα (genitive) is read in *Inscriptiones Creticae* 2, p. 287, no. 25 (Soulia), though Πύμα has been proposed; cf. *LGPN* 1, s.v. ?Πυνᾶς. Note also that a form Πινᾶς (gen. Πινᾶτος) is attested in the papyri (*P.Petaus* 48.15 [AD 185], *P.Lond* 2.402.9 [152/141 BC], *SB* 14.12050.30 [AD 498]).

2 Σιμάδης: the ending –δης is discernible on the papyrus, and the beginning of the name is restored from the verso. This name does not appear elsewhere in the papyri, but it is attested in the inscriptional record: (1) Σιμάδης is found in Euboea (*IG* 12.9.56.363, 364.1, Styra, V BC; *IG* 12.9.245B.191, Eretria, early III BC; cf. *LGPN* 1, s.v.); (2) Σιμάδας is recorded in Phocis and Thessaly (*SEG* 48, 1998, 660.21, Pelasgiotis III BC; *Fouilles de Delphes* [= *FD*] 3.4.351, Delphi ?250 BC; *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* [= *SGDI*] 2.2116.11, Delphi 200/199 BC; 1863.5 [Delphi 176 BC]; *FD* 3.4.355.2, ?145 BC; *FD* 3.4.355; *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes* [= *CID*] 4.117.4 [= *FD* 3.2.69, Delphi 118/7 or 117/6 BC], *CID* 4.119B.10 [= *FD* 3.4.277A, B] Delphi, 117/6 BC; cf. *LGPN* 3B; III-I BC), in Istria, (*Inscriptiones Scythiae minoris graecae et latinae* 1.364.1, late Hellenistic; cf. *LGPN* 4, s.v.), in Thebes (*IG* 9.2.109b.9, 46/5 BC), and possibly in Athens (*Inscriptiones Graecae* 2².1134.7 suppl. 117/6 BC); (3) Σιμήδης is attested in Laconia (*IG* 5.1.152.1, II AD; cf. *LGPN* 3A, s.v.). Note too that Σιμά(δα) or Σιμα(ίθου) is read at *IG* 14.2405.38 (Tarentum, date unknown).

Both Pynas' and Simades' names are rare, which conforms to a pattern in name distribution found across time and space according to which in any given area there is "a high proportion of rare or unique names, and a relatively low number of common ones"; see G. Ruffini, "The Commonality of Rare Names in Byzantine Egypt," *ZPE* 158 (2006) 213-225.

– Notice that χαίρειν is not present in the opening formula; cf. Tibiletti (1n.) 31.

3-4 τοῦ προ[ο]σειπεῖν σου τὴν ἀσύν|κριτον διάθεσιν ἔσπευσα: for the use of the genitive of the articulate infinitive, see *P.Abin.* 10.3 (IV AD, Arsinonite) τοῦ προσειπεῖν σε ἔσπευσα and Mandilaras, *Verb* §§817 and 819. For "addressing someone's disposition," see *P.Amh.* 2.145.22-3 (προσαγορεύω [τὴν] σὴν διάθεσιν; ?IV AD), *P.Herm.* 9.5-6 (προσαγορεύω τὴν ἀμίμητόν σου διάθεσιν; ?IV AD), *P.Oslo* 2.64r.5 (προσαγορεύων ὑμῶν τὴν διάθεσιν; ?V AD), *P.Oxy.* 34.2731r.4-5 (IV-V AD), *P.Oxy.* 55.3820r.4 (ἔσπευσ[α] προσειπεῖν ὑμῶν τὴν διάθεσιν; IV AD), *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.9.5-6 (IV AD), *SB* 14.11881.6-8 (προσαγορεύω τὴν μητρικὴν σο[υ] διάθεσιν; IV AD).

– τὴν ἀσύν|κριτον διάθεσιν: the combination ἀσύγκριτον διάθεσιν occurs only here in the papyri, but ἀσύγκριτος sometimes forms part of an address, as in *P.Flor.* 2.140r.10 (κύριέ μου ἀσύγκριτε; III AD), *P.Oxy.* 14.1772 (III AD), *PSI* 4.311.28 (ἄδελφε ἀσύγκριτε; IV AD), *PSI* 7.783.10 (IV AD), and *SB* 24.16204.14, 21 (IV-V AD); cf. Tibiletti (1n.) 41, who following Naldini considers this epithet "un po' ricercato."

διάθεσις is found "in complimentary address" also in the literary language of the fourth century AD; cf. Lampe, s.v. 3; Tibiletti (1n.) 42-43; and Papatthomas (1n.) 500-501 (for the προσαγορεύειν-formula) and 503 (for addressing by means of an abstract noun, διάθεσις).

5-6 πε|ρι τοῦ ὀλ[ο]κοτ'τίγου: for the *apostrophe*, see Turner, *GMAW*² 13. For the ὀλοκότινος/ν (*solidus*), also called νομισμάτιον, sometimes even within the same document (as in l. 9 of this letter), see Lampe, s.v.; S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt* (Berlin 1971) 279; and R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (Chico, CA, 1985) 15-16. The term ὀλοκότινος belongs to the language of the common people according to H. Zilliacus, *Zur Sprache griechischer Familien-Briefe des III. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.* (Helsingfors 1943) 36.

6-7 οὐ ἦσα γρά[ψ]ι[α]ς: = ὄν ἐγεγράφης (ἀπαιτῆσαι). For the periphrastic form of the pluperfect, see Mandilaras, *Verb* §501. For the form ἦσα of the 2nd person imperfect of εἶμι, see Gignac, *Gram.* 2:403 with n. 5.

8 βράδος; is used instead of βραδύτης. Its earliest attestation is in Xen. *Eq.* 11.12, and it recurs in post-classical and late authors. For its occurrences in the papyri, see *P.Oxy.* 67.4627.8 (III AD), *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.30 r.5.9, v.3.7, 11, and *P.Oxy.* 16.1869.10 (VI/VII AD).

9 μη νομίσης; the prohibitive subjunctive is very frequent in letters; cf. Mandilaras, *Verb* §§562 and 563(7).

13 δῶναι (see also l. 18): for the form of the infinitive, see Gignac, *Gram.* 2:392-393.

15-16 Στηρνιῶντος: the name, previously unattested in Greek sources, was introduced by F. Mitthof as an emendation to *P.Bodl.* 1.28.15 (see *Tyche* 13, 1998, 266), in the form Στηρνίων instead of the editor's reading Στηρνίτων (cf. *BL* 11:44). Στηρνίων (gen. Στηρνίωτος) is attested in the inscriptional record: cf. R. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde* (Leipzig 1899) no. 113; R. Heberdey and E. Kalinka, *Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien ausgeführt im Auftrage der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (= *DAW* 45.1, 1897) 15.48.16, 15.50.14; E. Petersen and F. von Luschan, *Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien* 2.45.82 (= *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes* 3.711; 237 BC) and 45.83 (= *IGR* 3.712.17). Its genitive form here suggests its accentuation according to the -ῶν, -ῶντος type, to which Στηρνίων was probably assimilated. The name derives from στήρνιαν (*gestire*, "run riot, wax wanton"), which belongs to post-classical Greek according to Palmer, *Gram.* 124 (cf. *Sophil. fr.* 7.3; *Antiph. fr.* 82.3, *Diph. fr.* 133 K-A; *Lyc. fr.* 2.2 Snell; *Apoc.* 18.7, 9; cf. *Phryn.* 358 τοῦτω ἐχρήσαντο οἱ τῆς νέας κωμωδίας ποιηταί ...; *P.Meyer.* 20.23 [III AD], *P.Oxy.* 36.2783.24 [III AD], *P.Rain.Cent.* 72.22 [III AD], *SB* 12.11148.14 [I-II AD]). Στηρνίων is thrice attested in Roman inscriptions from the first to the third centuries AD; see H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*² (Berlin and New York 2003) 2:783. Notice also that Στήρν[ιος] (otherwise attested as an ὄνομα ἔθνικόν in *St.Byz.*, p. 587, s.v. Στήρνος) is attested in Olynthus (?354BC); see D.M. Robinson, "Inscriptions from Macedonia, 1938," *TAPA* 69 (1938) 52-53.

19-20 ὑπομνήσε δέ σου τὴν χρη|[σ]τότητα ὅπως ...: χρηστότης is frequently found as part of an address in letters from the fourth century on; cf. H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen* (Helsingfors 1949) 46, and Tibiletti (1n.) 37.

21-23 ἐν οἷς | ἕάν σου χρήζωσιν ... | ... συνέλθης αὐτοῖς; cf. *BGU* 3.984.6-8 (IV AD): ἐκεῖσε παρεκάλεσα τὸν [κύριόν] μου τὸ[ν] πραιπόσιτον, ἵνα ἕαν [χρεί?]αν αὐτοῦ ἔχης συνελεθῆν σοι ...

23 συνέληθης; *subvenires*; see Lampe, s.v. συνέρχομαι 4, LSJ *Rev.Suppl.*, s.v. IV, and PSI 13.1345.12 (VII AD), SB 16.12474.10 (VI/VII AD), P. Lond. 5.1791.9 (VII AD), P. *Apoll.* 46.6 (VII AD).

24 τοῖς στρουθοῖς: the word is usually explained as “sparrow” or “ostrich” (*WB* glosses it only as “Sperling”); see D’Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford 1936) 268-273. But it may also mean “chickens” (*P.Abinn.* 31.14 with note ad loc.) or be a generic word for “fowl”; see DuCange, s.v. στρουθιον, and D. Bain “A List of Bird-Names,” *ZPE* 128 (1999) 78, n. 16. Fowl were commercially available; see *Vita Aesopi* G 1.26 τὰ πολύλαλα στρουθία πολλοῦ πωλεῖται, [Aesop.] *Prov.* 107 Perry τὰ λα<λοῦντα στρου>θία πολλοῦ πωλεῖται; *Matth.* 10.29, *Luke* 12.6 with A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten. Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt*⁴ (Tübingen 1923) 234-235; and L. Robert “Les colombes d’Anastase et autres volatiles,” *Journal des Savants* (1971) 81-91, who refers to SEG 9 (1938) 187-188 (Cyrene), an inscription by Anastasios, a περιστεροπώλης, on a column, by the entrance to the *frigidarium* of the Byzantine baths.

25-26 These lines present in asyndeton the qualities the two donkeys ought to have. Such characteristics in asyndeton are typically found in receipts for the selling of animals; see SB 16.13073.14-6 (AD 51), *P.Mich.* 9.551.17-9 (AD 103), *P.Athen.* 27.13-5 (AD 150), *P.Lond.* 3.909A.5-7 (AD 136), *BGU* 2.469.4-5 (AD 159-160). Notice also that from this point on until l. 31 connectives are absent, the camel’s disappearance is introduced abruptly, and Simades’ style gives a more business-like impression as if perhaps influenced by the preceding contractual description on the donkeys that are to be bought for him.

25 ὀνάδας: “female donkeys,” instead of the commoner ὄνος θήλεια. The word occurs once more in *P.Oxy.* 48.3416.18 (AD ?376).

26 εὐβαδεῖς: “well-riding.” εὐβαδής is attested so far only in *P.Oxy.* 63.4362.4 (III/IV AD), where it describes a πῶλος and is explained as “easy-paced.” The word is not listed in LSJ, *WB*, Sophocles, Lampe (who has ἀβαδής = “untrained to go, unbroken,” of a horse) or DuCange, but it appears in Theod. Studites, *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae* 69.194.8 and in Ioann. Tzetzēs, *Epist.* 36, p. 52.2 and 49, p. 70.16 (also in reference to donkeys).

– ἀβόλους: i.e. up to 2.5 years old. On the subject of donkeys’ change of teeth see the exhaustive treatment in *CPR* 6.2 (pp. 19-24, esp. 20-21 in particular for ἄβολος).

27 ποιήσον αὐτοὺς ἀγοράσε: for ποιεῖν with the infinitive in the sense of *efficere ut*, see Mayser, *Gram.* 2.3:41 (l. 43).

28 ἀπὸ Σκίθειας; this is modern Wadi Natrun; see Calderini, *Diz.geogr.*, s.v. Σκιαθίς, E. Amélineau, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte* (Paris 1893) 433-452, H.G. Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n Natrûn 2* (New York 1932) 27-36, and *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 6.1114-1116.

29-30 παρ' ὑμᾶς | εἶνα: for the use of the accusative instead of the dative to express place where, see Mayser, *Gram.* 2.2:344.

31-32 κἄν ἦν ἐμή, δοθήτω Στρηνι|ῶντι: On the form of ἦν for ἦ, see Gignac, *Gram.* 2.405 and Mandilaras, *Verb* §538.

Simades' request to Pynas to search for his camel and to give it to Strenion (who would presumably return to Simades' dwelling area) if he finds it, is justified in view of the high cost of a camel's purchase (especially for a female animal) and maintenance. The owner would even get in debt in order to provide for the support of his camel(s); cf. the documents examined in A. Leone, *Animali da trasporto nell'antico Egitto. Una rassegna papirologica dalla dinastia dei Lagidi ai Bizantini* (Napoli 1998) 127-193, esp. 139-149 and 153. The animal would be recognized by a brand (χάραγμα), usually on the right jaw or the right thigh; cf. K.A. Worp's overview of documents pertaining to the selling of camels in *P.Vind. Worp.* 9. Notice, finally, that even though the camel is lame (28 χολή) she is still useful to Simades as she can presumably undertake a journey.

32 καταξίωσον δὲ κελεύειν: καταξιοῦν + inf. aims at softening the effect of the command; cf. Papatthomas (1n.) 500 and 502 for the encouragement of the addressee to ask for whatever he may need.

34-35 ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι πολλοῖς | χρόνοις, κύριε ἄδελφε: for this concluding formula, which is very prominent in the fourth century and is found less frequently in the fifth (and sporadically in the sixth) century, see Tibiletti (1n.) 62f.

Annotazioni sui *Fragmenta Cairensia* delle *Elleniche di Ossirinco*

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Abstract

Conjectures on the Cairo fragments of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*. Possibly Magnesia was mentioned in col. 1, and Syracuse was not in col. 3, allowing col. 3 to continue the narrative of the battle of Ephesus.

L'ampio dibattito sulle *Elleniche di Ossirinco* ha uno dei suoi punti nodali nella scoperta di un papiro del Cairo (P.Cairo inv. 26/6/27/1-35), pubblicato nel 1976 da Ludwig Koenen¹ e ricondotto con una certa sicurezza all'unitarietà di questa opera storica e al suo anonimo autore:² in esso, com'è noto, si narra la battaglia combattuta ad Efeso nel 410/9 a.C. dall'esercito ateniese guidato da Trasillo,³ un episodio che, citato in numerose testimonianze antiche, rappresenta un'utile occasione per esaminare le tecniche storiografiche, la qualità delle informazioni tradite e le prospettive ideologiche dei diversi autori.⁴ Rimando ad altra sede la compiuta valutazione di P.Cairo rispetto agli

¹ L. Koenen, "Papyrology in the Federal Republic of Germany and Fieldwork of the International Photographic Archive in Cairo," *Studia Papyrologica* 15 (1976) 39-79, spec. 55-67, 69-76.

² Cfr. Koenen (n. 1) 55; P.R. McKechnie e S.J. Kern (edd.), *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (Warminster 1988) 3-6; S. Bianchetti, "Sulla data di composizione delle *Elleniche di Ossirinco*," *Sileno* 18 (1992) 5-18; G. Pesely, "How Many Copies of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* Have Been Found?" *AHB* 8 (1994) 38-44; G. Pesely, "The Date of Thrasyllus' Expedition to Ionia," *AHB* 12 (1998) 96-100.

³ Sulla datazione di questa spedizione di Trasillo, cfr. Pesely (n. 2) 96-100. Vd. anche A. Andrewes, "The Generals in the Hellespont, 410-407 B.C.," *JHS* 73 (1953) 2-9; Koenen (n. 1) 55; W.J. McCoy, "Thrasyllus," *AJPh* 98 (1977) 264-289, spec. 274-279; N. Robertson, "The Sequence of Events in the Aegean in 408 and 407 B.C.," *Historia* 29 (1980) 282-301; P. Krentz (ed.), *Hellenika I-II.3.10* (Warminster 1989) 11-14; B. Bleckmann, *Athens Weg in die Niederlage. Die letzten Jahre des Peloponnesischen Kriegs* (Leipzig 1998) 272-293.

⁴ Per le altre testimonianze circa la battaglia di Efeso, vd. in primo luogo Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.6-13; Diod. 13.64.1; significativi riferimenti, utili a comprendere la fama, certa-

altri racconti storici relativi a questo fatto:⁵ intendo ora proporre alcuni interventi sul testo del papiro conducendo una ricognizione filologica che ritengo preliminare ad ogni discussione storiografica. Si cercherà così di compiere qualche passo avanti nella decifrazione dei contenuti del testo là dove esso è più frammentario. Quanto al suo autore, non entrerà nel complesso dibattito circa la sua individuazione: mi limiterò a offrire un'interpretazione del testo che delinea maggiormente estensione e contenuti del racconto di P.Cairo circa l'iniziativa bellica di Trasillo.⁶

mente nefasta, che questo episodio assunse nella valutazione dei fatti di guerra, li ritroviamo in Plat. *Theag.* 129d; Dionys. Hal. *Lys.* 21.1-2 = *Lys. In Diog.* [32],5-7; vd. anche Plut. *De Glor. Athen.* 345d-e (cfr. S. Cataldi, "Le audacie di Alcibiade e Trasillo e le Elleniche di Ossirinco," *Sileno* 27, 2001, 47-84). Sull'episodio bellico cfr. Koenen (n. 1) 55-61; McKechnie-Kern (n. 2) 116-121; S. Karwiese, *Gross ist die Artemis von Ephesos. Die Geschichte einer der grossen Städte der Antike* (Wien 1995) 51-52; Bleckmann (n. 3) 149-162, 457-459.

⁵ "La battaglia di Efeso. Il papiro del Cairo fra Senofonte e Diodoro," *MEP* 11 (2008) 9-22.

⁶ La testimonianza plutarca sopracitata (n. 4), che fa il nome di Cratippo quale storico delle audacie di Alcibiade e Trasillo, rimane, per molti studiosi, uno degli indizi più forti per attribuire le *Elleniche di Ossirinco* allo storico che continuò Tuciddide esponendo i fatti dal 411 al 395 circa: rimane però da valutare con puntualità se il papiro del Cairo, attestando una delle più drammatiche azioni belliche di Trasillo, è coerente con l'ipotetica individuazione dell'autore in Cratippo. Cfr. S. Accame, "Cratippo," *MGR* 6 (1978) 185-212 (*Scritti Minori* 3, 1990, 1137-1155); L. Canfora, "Eduard Meyer zwischen Kratippos und Theopomp," *QS* 14 (1988) 93-99 = "Eduard Meyer tra Cratippo e Teopompo," in W.M. Calder e A. Demandt (edd.), *Eduard Meyer: Leben und Leistung eines Universalhistorikers* (Leiden 1990) 74-96 = *La storiografia greca* (Milano 1999) 223-262, spec. 259; Cataldi (n. 4) 62. In generale su Cratippo e le sue *Elleniche*, vd. anche L. Pareti, "Cratippo e le 'Elleniche' di Oxyrhynchos," in *Studi Minori di Storia Antica* (Roma 1961) 1:285-401; P. Pédech, "Un historien nommé Cratippe," *RÉA* 72 (1970) 31-45; G.A. Lehmann, "Ein Historiker namens Kratippos," *ZPE* 23 (1976) 265-288; G.E. Pesely, "Kratippos Fragment 2," *LCM* 10 (1985) 25-26; P. Harding, "The Authorship of the Hellenika Oxyrhynchia," *AHB* 1 (1978) 101-104; G. Schepens, "L'Apogée de l'arché spartiate comme époque historique dans l'historiographie grecque du début du IV siècle av. J.-C.," *AncSoc* 24 (1993) 169-204; Id., "Who Wrote the 'Hellenika Oxyrhynchia'?: The Need for a Methodological Code," *Sileno* 27 (2001) 201-224; M. Cataudella, "La datazione presupposto della paternità: il caso delle 'Elleniche di Ossirinco,'" *Sileno* 27 (2001) 85-98. *Contra*, per citare gli interventi più autorevoli e recenti, M. Sordi, "L'anonimo di Ossirinco è un continuatore di Tuciddide?" *Sileno* 27 (2001) 225-235; Bleckmann (n. 3) 19-40; Id., *Fiktion als Geschichte. Neue Studien zum Autor der Hellenika Oxyrhynchia und zur Historiographie des vierten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen 2006), spec. 101-102, 136, 142-145.

Con l'obiettivo ora delineato, sulla base dell'analisi del testo e delle letture e integrazioni sinora avanzate dagli studiosi,⁷ sottopongo ora a discussione alcuni punti decisivi del testo.

Col. 1, ll. 13-16

[ἔχο]ντες συμμάχους τούς τε βοηθήσαντες
 [. . .] . . . π[ρ]ότε[ρ]ον (?) καὶ πιστοτάτο[υ]ς τότε . .
 [τῶν] Μαγνήτων ἢ κ[ό]ντων (?) τῶν [τ'] ἐ[ν] τῶι
 [Κιλ]βί[ω]ι (?) πεδίωι κατοικούτων

Non concorda con questa lettura delle linee 15-16 Chambers (n. 7), il quale dopo [. . .] . . . νήτων legge: εἰ . . . τα ε . . . [. . .] ε . . . [.] [. . .] δι[. . .] . πεδίωι: se non mi condiziona la possibilità di conservare l'integrazione [Κιλ]βί[ω]ι (?) che propose Koenen (n. 1) e che in ogni caso, di fronte al testo di Chambers, perde parte della sua efficacia,⁸ mi sembra che rimangano non del tutto sciolti i dubbi sulla lettura di β o δ all'inizio di l. 16, nonché quelli sulla seconda parte di l. 15 (forse troppo breve nella ricostruzione riportata sopra nel testo nella quale unisco alla mia ipotesi sotto illustrata gli interventi di Lehmann e Mette sull'edizione di Koenen).

In realtà penso che sia più importante focalizzare l'attenzione sulla possibilità di integrare all'inizio di l. 15 la lettura condivisa di [. . .] . . . νήτων. Già Koenen ([n. 1] 58 e n. 38) ha cercato un toponimo in grado di soddisfare l'integrazione senza tuttavia giungere a un risultato da lui stesso accettato. In questa sede si propone per la prima volta un'ampia ricostruzione delle linee partendo dalla proposta di leggere Μαγνήτων: proprio gli abitanti della vicina Magnesia al Meandro potrebbero infatti essersi uniti agli Efesini per la difesa di Efeso stessa, le cui vicende storiche e le tradizioni sociali (ruolo persiano, intervento spartano, culto di Artemide) erano e sarebbero state strettamente intrecciate con quelle della propria patria.⁹ La presenza di Magnesia è perfettamente coerente con il quadro storico che, su sollecitazione di Tissaferne,¹⁰ vede le popo-

⁷ Koenen (n. 1) 55-67, 69-76; G.A. Lehmann, "Ein neues Fragment der Hell. Oxy.: einige Bemerkungen zu P. Cairo (temp.inv.no.) 26/6/27/1-35," *ZPE* 26 (1977) 181-191, spec. 189-190; H.J. Mette, "Die 'kleinen' griechischen Historiker heute," *Lustrum* 21 (1978) 11-12; McKechnie-Kern (n. 2) 30-34; M. Chambers (ed.), *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (Stuttgartiae et Lipsiae 1993) 1-4 con Tav. 1.

⁸ Si tratterebbe di una popolazione indigena stanziata intorno al fiume Cayster, a nord-est di Efeso. Cfr. McKechnie-Kern (n. 2) 119.

⁹ Cfr. L. Rubinstein, "Magnesia," in M.H. Hansen e T.H. Nielsen, *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford e New York 2004) 1081.

¹⁰ Cfr. Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.6: il "grande esercito" che Tissaferne riunisce per difendere Artemide, e quindi Efeso e il suo santuario, implicitamente non può includere i Siracusani

lazioni locali affiancarsi ai Lacedemoni e ai loro alleati per la difesa delle *poleis* d'Asia ostili ad Atene. In alternativa si potrebbero proporre, dal lessico militare indicante i frombolieri o gli armati alla leggera, σφηνδονήτων ο γυμνήτων, anche se il contesto non può che privilegiare la scelta del toponimo.

Col. 2, ll. 13-15

[παρ]ελ-
θόντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων . . [.]ν-
τες πάλιν οἱ ψ[ε]ίλοι τῶν ἀνόδ[ων]¹¹]

Contrariamente a quanto comunemente interpretato, ritengo che i soldati armati alla leggera, qui citati, non possano essere quelli ateniesi, ma piuttosto quelli dell'esercito alleatosi a difesa di Efeso e dell'Artemision in opposizione al tentativo bellico di Trasillo: la presenza assai prossima del genitivo assoluto, con soggetto gli Ateniesi stessi, esclude un collegamento sintattico con il soggetto e, nel senso, una connessione tra i citati Ateniesi e i soldati armati alla leggera.

Col. 3, ll. 2-17

[.] . [. . .] . ς οἱ προ[σέχοντες *vel* προ[σσχόντες - - -]
[.]ον ἀποβ[αίνοντες *vel* ἀποβ[άντες - - -]
[στρα]τιωτῶν παρ[- - -]
[. . .]ως ὑπὸ το[ῦ] π[ρ]ατ[τ - - -] 5
[. . .]ακούσας [.] δι[- - -]
[. . .]τῆς σαφηνε[ι]α[ς] . [- - -]
π[. . .] . εων . . . αγ . [- - -]
ἵπ[π]αρχον [.] [- - -]
ἐκεῖνος . . . [. . .] . [- - -] 10
τοὺς στρατιώτα[ς]¹² . [- - -]
τῆς Ἐφέσου . [- - -]
ἐπιμείναγτες α[- - - κιν-]
δυνεύειν [. .]π . [- - - ἐ-]
χώρισε καὶ [- - -] 15

e Selinuntini presenti a Efeso secondo lo stesso Senofonte: evidentemente, gli Ateniesi si trovarono a fronteggiare una coalizione composta dagli alleati di Sparta e dall'esercito indigeno di Tissaferne.

¹¹ ἀνόδ[ων] è integrazione proposta da H. Wankel, "Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu dem neuen Fragment der Hellenica Oxyrhynchia," *ZPE* 29 (1978) 54-56, a correzione dell' ἀνόδ[εῦτων] proposto nella prima edizione: convincente la motivazione dell'uso tardo del secondo termine che compare solo in età augustea.

¹² Secondo Chambers (n. 7).

τα [- - -]
 [. .] ονε [- - -]

Il. 2-3: funzionali al contesto e coerenti con il lessico prevalente, relativo agli spostamenti bellici degli eserciti, sembrano essere le seguenti proposte di integrazione: [.] . [.] . ς οί προ[σέχοντες (vel προ[σσχόντες) - - -] [.] ον ἀποβ[αίνοντες (vel ἀποβ[άντες) - - -]. Esse risultano inoltre pertinenti all'esegesi storica del testo di questa terza colonna secondo l'interpretazione più avanti esposta.

l. 5: Chambers (n. 7) avanza l'ipotesi di leggere στρατ invece di πρστ; possiamo aggiungere che l'ipotesi ha la sua forza nella difficoltà di attribuire ruolo grammaticale e semantico ad un eventuale ὑπὸ το[ῦ] πρστ[τοντος, mentre assai più funzionali al contesto possono essere le integrazioni: στρατ[οῦ, στρατ[εύματος, στρατ[οπέδου o soprattutto στρατ[ηγού.

Il. 5-6 sgg.: si omette l'integrazione comunemente accettata [εις Συρ]-ακούσας in quanto compromette la libera interpretazione del testo finendo per essere luogo decisivo per l'identificazione del contenuto della terza colonna al di là della provvisorietà implicita in ogni integrazione. Essa è infatti del tutto incompatibile con Ἰπ[π]αρχον ben leggibile tre linee più sotto. Se da un lato il moto a luogo congetturato potrebbe riferirsi alle navi siracusane intercettate da Trasillo a Lesbo e che sarebbero di ritorno "a Siracusa" (*contra Xen. Hell.* 1.2.12, che non accenna al fatto che ritornassero in patria, pur essendo questo stesso passo alla base della congettura Συρ]ακούσας accolta da tutti gli editori), d'altro lato il sicuro riferimento all'ipparco, il cui ruolo deve connettersi a un'azione militare terrestre, non trova altro spazio se non nella battaglia di Efeso, sulla base della successione dei fatti che Senofonte riporta fino al ricongiungimento dell'esercito di Trasillo con quello di Alcibiade. Tale contraddizione appare insanabile in quanto non è ipotizzabile un significato diverso dal moto a luogo per l'accusativo Συρ]ακούσας integrato, significato del tutto estraneo al contesto della battaglia di Efeso.

Per questo dunque si suggerisce di intendere]ακούσας quale voce verbale, semplice o composta, di ἀκούω. La lettura del termine potrebbe inoltre connettersi con il successivo [. . τ]ῆς σαφηνε[ι]α[ς], sostantivo che risalta per il significato riferibile alla ricostruzione della verità dei fatti quale obiettivo della metodologia storiografica.¹³ La presenza di questo vocabolo può avvalorare l'interpretazione ora adottata per il precedente]ακούσας; ne potrebbe nascere

¹³ Vd. Hdt. 1.140.1 (σαφηνέως); Pol. 3.36.3; Dionys. Hal. *Thuc.* 9.61; 55.21; Plut. *Thes.* 1.4; *Cato min.* 37.10. Cfr. Aesch. *Theb.* 67.

l'ipotesi di una breve riflessione dell'autore sulle proprie fonti di informazioni e sulla loro riformulazione nel racconto storico.

Sulla base di queste interpretazioni e proposte di integrazioni, la terza colonna del papiro deve essere reinterpretata. Ritengo infatti che sia possibile leggerci la continuazione della battaglia di Efeso (il toponomino è tra il resto attestato a l. 12), secondo la scansione in due fasi sulla quale concordano, oltre a P.Cairo, sia Senofonte sia, subordinatamente, Diodoro. Ne conseguirebbe dunque che:

- la battaglia che si dichiara conclusa nella seconda colonna (ll. 21 sgg.) sarebbe quella che vede la sconfitta dei mille opliti guidati da Trasillo, di cui 100 vengono uccisi (Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.9): in quel luogo del testo non è invece da individuarsi la fine dell'episodio bellico nel suo complesso;

- nella terza colonna sarebbe invece narrata la sconfitta subita dalla restante parte dell'esercito ateniese, affidata al comando di Pasione (o Pasifone secondo quanto corretto da McKechnie-Kern) e composta dalla cavalleria, dai peltasti, dalla fanteria di marina e da tutti gli altri, ad eccezione degli opliti. Secondo il racconto di P.Cairo e Senofonte (*Hell.* 1.2.7), queste sezioni dell'esercito erano sbarcate in un altro luogo¹⁴ rispetto al Coresso, dove invece era sbarcato il contingente oplitico:¹⁵ sfuggite in un primo tempo al nemico, in un secondo momento erano state affrontate e sconfitte con il pesante bilancio di 300 morti (Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.9). Si potrebbero riferire allo sbarco e al primo avanzamento di questo secondo contingente ateniese i due participi di cui si è proposta l'integrazione alle ll. 2-3 della terza colonna; sono senz'altro coerenti con l'interpretazione ora proposta i pochi termini leggibili con sicurezza in questa terza colonna: "soldati ... ipparco ... Efeso ... essendo rimasti ... correre pericolo ... separò (τὴν τάξιν?)" sono tutti riferimenti perfettamente compatibili con la seconda fase della battaglia accennata da Senofonte;

- ne consegue una sostanziale dilatazione dei tempi di narrazione della battaglia di Efeso da parte dell'anonimo autore del frammento di *Elleniche* tradito dal papiro: su questa base è opportuna una revisione storiografica dell'episodio in questione con una particolare attenzione alla scelta stilistica di un racconto affascinato dalla possibilità di rappresentare nei dettagli le strategie e il coraggio dei combattenti a Efeso.¹⁶

¹⁴ "Vicino all'ἔλος" precisa il solo Senofonte.

¹⁵ Sul Coresso cfr. Karwiese (n. 4), tav. 2; P. Scherrer, "Ephesos," in *Der Neue Pauly* 3 (1997) 1078-1083, spec. 1080; Bleckmann (n. 3) 151. Cfr. anche L. Rubinstein, "Ephesos," in Hansen-Nielsen (n. 9) 1071.

¹⁶ La presenza ricorrente di stratagemmi militari è una peculiarità che accomuna le varie parti delle *Elleniche di Ossirinco*, vd. ad es. *P.Oxy.* 842.11.5; *PSI* 1304, 4.

The Deferment of Postpositive Particles in Greek Documentary Papyri

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Abstract

This article examines instances in Greek documentary papyri in which postpositive particles occur after their normal “peninitial” position in a clause or sentence. The ratio between deferred and normally placed postpositives in papyri is given and compared to the ratio in literary texts. A diachronic analysis of the phenomenon is also provided, to assess its likelihood of occurrence, century by century, and finally, a brief analysis follows of the grammatical constructions that accompany it in papyri to evaluate whether they are at all different from literary texts.

The deferment of postpositive particles beyond second position is a relatively infrequent, but not abnormal occurrence in Attic prose. This paper seeks to examine the occurrences of this postponement in documentary papyri. The examination will determine how often the postponement occurs in documentary papyri, whether the frequency of occurrence in documentary papyri is proportionate to that found in literary texts, and whether or not the frequency of occurrence is stable throughout the centuries from the Ptolemaic through the Byzantine periods.

In 1892 Wackernagel observed that in Greek and other Indo-European languages, certain words must occupy second position in their sentence or clause.¹ Denniston pointed out that there is a hierarchy of postpositive usage when multiple postpositives are used in a given clause. When they occur together with γάρ or other connective particles, μέν and/or τε should always appear first.² Much of the recent scholarship dealing with this phenomenon in regard to the Greek language has focused on situations in which postponement

¹ J. Wackernagel, “Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung,” *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1 (1892) 333-436.

² J.D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (Oxford 1950) lx.

of postpositives constitutes exceptions to Wackernagel's law. Denniston says that the main exception to it consists of "postponement after closely cohering word-groups, particularly where article, preposition, or negative (or more than one of these in combination) cling tenaciously to a following word."³ He adds that secondary exceptions include oaths and metrical considerations in verse.⁴ In other words, in these instances of postpositive deferment, it is not so much the postpositive that is delayed, as it is the preceding words acting in unison – as one word, as it were. A similar phenomenon occurs in colloquial English in statements such as, "Then the girl whose place she was taking's mother turned up."⁵ In this example, the entire relative clause coalesces into a single substantive-like entity that receives the apostrophe s. Several scholars have examined the rhetorical and semantic implications of this apparent manipulation of Wackernagel's law as it pertains to Homeric verse,⁶ to tragedy,⁷ to comedy,⁸ to Herodotean⁹ prose, and to Attic prose in general.¹⁰ Each of these studies treats postpositive postponement incidentally or as part of a larger objective. Blomqvist analyzes the relative frequency of different types of postpositive postponement in nineteen Attic and Hellenistic prose authors.¹¹ Regarding papyrological instances of the postponement of γάρ in the Ptolemaic period, Mayser merely acknowledges that it occurs. He says, "Die normale Stellung der Partikel (γάρ) ist wie von jeher nach dem ersten Wort des Satzes An 3. Stelle im Satz steht γάρ regelmäßig in der häufigen Verbindung μὲν γάρ, vereinzelt διὰ τὸ γάρ, zweimal bei τε γάρ; sonst zweifelhaft."¹² But heretofore there has been no study that simply determines the frequency of the phenomenon

³ Denniston (n. 2) lx.

⁴ Denniston (n. 2) lx.

⁵ This example is taken verbatim, but in a slightly different context from K.J. Dover, "Some Types of Abnormal Word-Order in Attic Comedy," *Classical Quarterly* 35 (1985) 342.

⁶ C.J. Ruijgh, "La place des enclitiques dans l'ordre des mots chez Homère d'après la loi de Wackernagel," in *Sprachwissenschaft und Philologie. Jacob Wackernagel und die Indogermanistik heute*, ed. H. Eichner and H. Rix (Wiesbaden 1990) 213-233.

⁷ H. Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue* (Oxford 2007) 10-26.

⁸ Dover (n. 5) 324-343.

⁹ H. Dik, *Word Order in Ancient Greek: A Pragmatic Account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus* (Amsterdam 1995) chs. 2-4.

¹⁰ M.H.B. Marshall, *Verbs, Nouns, and Postpositives in Attic Prose* (Edinburgh 1987) passim.

¹¹ J. Blomqvist, *Greek Particles in Hellenistic Prose* (Lund 1969), especially pp. 108-148.

¹² E. Mayser, *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* 2.3 (Berlin and Leipzig 1934) 121.

among documentary papyri, or that compares the frequency of postponement in literary texts with that in documentary texts. Such a study could certainly assist papyrologists better to understand the grammar of the papyri in general, as well as to serve as a practical aid to editing.

The method followed for this study is as follows: a search was performed for all instances of the postpositive γάρ on the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri.¹³ The search yielded 3,438 occurrences of γάρ. Each of these instances was sorted by century.¹⁴ Next, each instance of γάρ was examined to determine its position within its clause. In this step the punctuation of the editor, when available, was a useful guide. However, regardless of editorial punctuation, whenever a lacuna obscured information about the placement of γάρ, that occurrence was removed from consideration. 590 occurrences of γάρ were removed in this way. Instances where the postpositives μέν and/or τε occurred prior to γάρ were not counted as postponements by themselves. As explained above, according to Denniston's hierarchy these postpositives are expected to precede γάρ and any other connective postpositive particle. Other than that, whenever γάρ occurred in other than second position in its clause – even if unpunctuated – it was logged, and the phrase containing the deferment was recorded. For the comparisons with literary texts, the online version of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* was used to access 100 instances of γάρ in each century from an evenly distributed selection of five mainstream prose authors.¹⁵

¹³ The DDBDP was accessed in November 2007.

¹⁴ The data from documents whose estimated date spanned two centuries were included in the dataset of the later century. Data reflecting uncertain dates and estimated dates that spanned more than two centuries were included in the overall examination, but not in the century-by-century analysis.

¹⁵ "Mainstream" being determined, when possible, by authors in the Loeb Library, when not, by a random selection of prose authors in the *TLG*. The first 20 instances of γάρ in each author were used. The authors selected, century-by-century were: III BCE: Euclid, Aristarchus, Manetho, Aristophanes of Byzantium, Philo Mechanicus; II BCE: Polybius, Agatharchides, Hypsicles, Attalus of Rhodes, Hipparchus; I BCE: Parthenius of Nicaea, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, Nicolaus of Damascus, Apollonius of Citium; I CE: Philo Judaeus, Josephus, Dio Chrysostom, Strabo; II CE: Epictetus, Claudius Ptolemaeus, Marcus Aurelius, Galen, Pseudo-Apollodorus; III CE: Aelian, Herodian, Dio Cassius, Philostratus, Plotinus; IV CE: Eusebius of Caesarea, Pappus of Alexandria, Julian the Apostate, Menander Rhetor, Libanius; V CE: Eunapius, Hermias Philosophus, Callinicus, Marcus Diadochus, Priscus; VI CE: Procopius, Palladius Iatrosophista, Alexander Medicus, Cyrillus, Simplicius of Cilicia; VII CE: Paulus of Aegina, Joannes Medicus, Stephanus Medicus, *Chronicon Paschale*, Trichas Grammaticus; VIII CE: Bartholomaeus of Edessa, Theophilus, Stephanus Philosophus, Zacharias Papa, Joannes Theologus.

The analysis found that, overall, γάπ was postponed in 3.9% of all its literary occurrences. The documentary rate of occurrence, 8.5%, is more than twice as high. However, as one divides the occurrences diachronically, a more detailed picture appears. Employing the third century CE as the central century of the study, one finds that literary postponements of γάπ in the five centuries prior to III CE occur at a rate of 2% of all occurrences, while documentary postponements occur at a rate of 5.4%. In the five centuries following III CE, the literary rate increases to 6%, and the documentary rate to 11.9%. The chart below (figure 1) illustrates the results century by century.

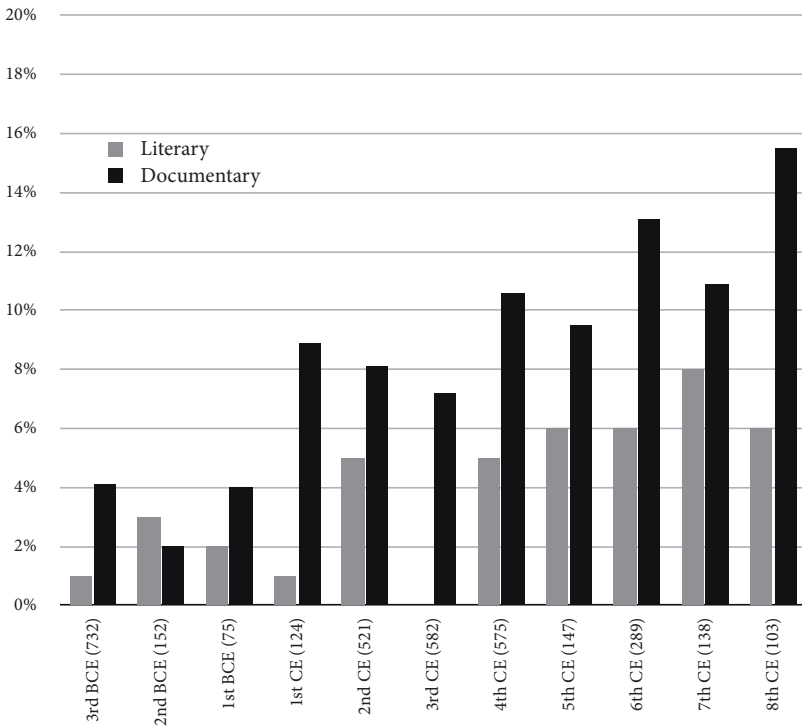


Fig. 1: Chart showing how often γάπ is postponed. The numbers in parentheses refer to the total number of documentary occurrences of γάπ. For literary occurrences this number is always 100.

As one compares literary occurrences with documentary, and early with late, the differences become significant. A documentary papyrus from the Ptolemaic period is likely to demonstrate postponement of γάπ just once out

of every twenty-five occurrences. A Byzantine document, on the other hand, might delay γάρ once every six occurrences. This difference is certainly significant enough that one should be aware of it in making editorial decisions.

The grammatical rationale for postpositive delay, i.e. groups of words that are so closely related that they act as one, seems to be remarkably stable throughout the centuries. Prepositional phrases such as σὺν θεῷ γάρ, εἰς τοῦτο γάρ, etc. form the most common type of closely related word group preceding postpositive postponement. Other phrases that do so include those containing negative particles (e.g. οὐκ ὀλίγον γάρ, οὐ μέλλει γάρ), adverbial καί (e.g. καὶ νῦν γάρ, καὶ σὺ γάρ), article-noun groups (e.g. τοῦ θεοῦ γάρ, τὸν βίον γάρ), words followed by enclitics (e.g. τοῦτό μοι γάρ, οἶσθα μου γάρ), subordinating conjunctions (e.g. ὡς βλέπω γάρ, εἰ ἦσαν γάρ), and in asseverations and oaths employing μὰ with the accusative of the deity or thing invoked (e.g. μὰ τὸν γάρ, μὰ τὴν γάρ). Even though the percentages vary slightly, the preferential order of occurrence of the different triggers is roughly the same in documentary as it is in literary texts (see figure 2 below). This indicates that the conception of a closely adhering word group remains constant between literary and documentary texts.

<i>Type of word preceding postponed γάρ</i>	<i>Documentary %</i>	<i>Literary %</i>
preposition	42.5%	59.0%
negative particle	22.3%	17.2%
adverbial καί	14.6%	17.4%
article	11.7%	4.5%
enclitic	8.1%	0%
subordinating conjunction	7.7%	0%
μὰ in an oath formula	4.0%	0%

Fig. 2: Chart indicating the classification of words that precede, and consequently act as triggers for, postponed γάρ.

Antinoite Citizenship under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius A Prosopographical Study of the First Thirty Years of Antinoopolis

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Abstract

Prosopography of Antinoite citizens attested in 130-161 with comments about the composition of the citizen body.

This paper is a prosopographical study of the first thirty years in the history of Antinoopolis and aims to identify the key issues associated with Antinoite citizenship under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.¹ Antinoopolis was founded by Hadrian in AD 130, during his extensive travels through the empire. The city was named after Hadrian's favourite, Antinoos, a Greek boy from Bithynia, who had recently drowned in the Nile. The new foundation was much more than just a memorial to Antinoos, and the value attached to it by the emperor himself² enhanced the political significance of the city. Its importance persisted in the centuries that followed, and Antinoopolis even became the administrative capital of the province of the Thebaid in the Byzantine period.

What was special about Antinoopolis in comparison with other Roman foundations³ was that it was designed to be a Greek *polis*. Apart from Alex-

¹ I wish to thank Roger Bagnall for the invitation to participate in the Inaugural Sather Conference in Berkeley, where an earlier version of this paper was given.

² For his new foundation Hadrian himself chose the site in Middle Egypt, opposite Hermopolis, where, according to Dio Cassius 69.11.3, Antinoos had drowned.

³ E. Kühn, *Antinoopolis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hellenismus im römischen Ägypten* (Göttingen 1913) 85, reports that W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (Leipzig 1907) claimed that the Roman colony Aelia Capitolina was also founded in 130 and colonised with Greeks (on the basis of Dio Cassius 69.12.2 and Zonaras, *Epit.Hist.* 11.23; might it be that the latter actually confused this with Antinoopolis?).

andria, Egypt already had two Greek cities, Naucratis in Lower Egypt and Ptolemais in Upper Egypt. Although Antinoopolis was meant to fit in with the other Greek cities in Egypt, Antinoite citizenship stands out because of the way it was acquired. More is known about Antinoite citizenship than about the citizenship of Ptolemais and Naucratis, but much is also known about Alexandrian citizenship.⁴

Its character of Greek *polis* comes out in both the organisation of Antinoopolis and the identity of the people who were chosen to colonise it. The citizens were organised in *phylai* and demes and possessed a council – the only one securely attested in Egypt apart from that of Ptolemais. The laws implemented in the new city were those of Naucratis, and its calendar was taken from Miletus, the mother-city of Naucratis. Like Naucratis, Antinoopolis seems to have been a nomarchy and not a nome or part of a nome.⁵ The colonists, moreover, were meant to be exclusively Greek, and came from Ptolemais⁶ or the privileged class of the 6,475 *Hellenes* of the Arsinoite nome. The evidence does not reveal any colonisation from Naucratis, but it would be reasonable to assume that a number of the colonists may have come from that city as well.⁷ Furthermore, some historians have interpreted single references in papyri as indications also of Oxyrhynchite, Heracleopolite, Panopolite,⁸ and Lycopolite⁹ origin.

It is obvious that the foundation and organisation of Antinoopolis were very carefully planned, and this also comes out in the underlying intent of the privileges granted by Hadrian to the colonists, to persuade them to embrace Antinoite citizenship. I will briefly summarise the main privileges.

One of the most important privileges was the right of *epigamia* with the local Egyptian population. This applied to both male and female citizens and ensured that their offspring would not be deprived of citizenship in case of intermarriage between an Antinoite and an Egyptian.¹⁰ Another privilege, and one that often gets mentioned in the papyri, is that of the exemption from

⁴ D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate* (Atlanta 1991).

⁵ Several references are made in the papyri to the nomarch. The clearest references to the status of *nomarchia* are *P.Oxy.* 31.2560, *P.Oxy.* 47.3362, and *P.Ryl.* 2.170. In literature: *Ptol. Geogr.* 4.5.61.

⁶ *W.Chr.* 26 = *P.Würz.* 9.

⁷ H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung* (Bonn 1964) 123; A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*² (Oxford 1971) 311.

⁸ Braunert (n. 7) 217; Kühn (n. 3) 87; *SB* 5.7601; *P.Osl.* 3.126.

⁹ Kühn (n. 3) 158, 348; *W.Chr.* 28

¹⁰ F.A.J. Hoogendijk and P. van Minnen, "Drei Kaiserbriefe Gordians III. an die Bürger von Antinoopolis. P. Vindob. G 25945," *Tyche* 2 (1987) 71-74; M. Zahrnt, "Antinoopolis in Ägypten. Die hadrianische Gründung und ihre Privilegien in der neueren

discharging liturgies outside Antinoopolis. This would have been especially important in the case of citizens who lived in other nomes, a rather common occurrence as we shall see. Furthermore, Antinoites did not have to pay poll-tax,¹¹ thus joining the privileged status of Romans and citizens of other Greek cities.¹² They were exempt from a few additional taxes as well, and these included customs taxes on goods imported for their own use.¹³ A further financial benefit was an alimentation fund that Hadrian instituted for Antinoite children on condition that they be registered within the first thirty days of their lives. In the sphere of justice, when legal conflicts had to be brought to court, Antinoite citizens had the right to summon their opponents to trial in Antinoopolis.¹⁴ As Greeks, Antinoites were also eligible for joining the Roman legions.¹⁵ In addition, Hadrian, already in 131, instituted the *Antinoeia*, athletic games that took place in the city.

The grant of all these benefits makes it clear that Hadrian was anxious to make Antinoite citizenship very inviting so as to attract the kind of colonists that he wanted, namely those with as pure a Greek lineage as could be hoped at that time, and in sufficient numbers. The several kinds of declarations that the citizens were required to submit at various stages of their lives also indicate the desire to monitor closely the population of the new city.

Who and what were the first citizens of Antinoopolis? We know that they were *Hellenes*, a privileged subset of what the Romans considered "Egyptians," and that in the main they came from the Arsinoite nome and Ptolemais. In order to shed more light on this, I have isolated the evidence from the first thirty-one years of the history of the city and included the prosopographical data in the appendix to this paper. The proposed time-span, the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, I see as indicative, since it was during that time that there was a mass acquisition of Antinoite citizenship. The succession of Antoninus Pius is not disruptive, since, in the emperor's own words,¹⁶ his

Forschung," *ANRW* 2. 10.1 (1988) 690-693; P. Schubert, *Les archives de Marcus Lucretius Diogenes et textes apparentés* (Bonn 1990) 26.

¹¹ *W.Chr.* 52 and Zahrnt (n. 10) 693.

¹² R.S. Bagnall, "The People of the Roman Fayum," in *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt*, ed. M. L. Bierbrier (London 1997) 7.

¹³ Hoogendijk and van Minnen (n. 10) 53-55.

¹⁴ See *P.Fam. Tebt.* 43 and 37; *P.Mich.* 6.365 for this *ius evocandi ad forum Antinoense*. See R. Taubenschlag, "Die kaiserlichen Privilegien im Rechte der Papyri," in his *Opera minora* (Warsaw 1959) 2:49-50, for possible limitations. *Inter alia* he says that we cannot be sure whether this privilege was offered by Hadrian or was given later.

¹⁵ Schubert (n. 10) 20.

¹⁶ *P.Iand.* 7.140: edict by the prefect L. Munatius Felix, communicating to the Antinoites the statement of Antoninus Pius that he intends to follow Hadrian concerning

intention was to follow his predecessor's policy towards the new foundation. The drawback of this method is of course that the amount of evidence is rather restricted, but at the same time it hopefully excludes the distortions that arise by drawing conclusions from later evidence, which may be reflecting very different circumstances.

Only about seventy papyri and ostraca survive from the period of 130 to 161 that mention Antinoopolis or its citizens. Just seven or eight of them actually come from Antinoopolis itself. The vast majority of the others come from the Arsinoite nome, but the Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite nomes also feature in the evidence. The pattern of distribution of documents after 161 is a lot more varied: there are still many documents mentioning Antinoopolis or its citizens that come from the Arsinoite nome, but all in all the provenance of later documents is more diverse, with the Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite nomes now being major sources, while the Aphroditopolite nome also features extensively in the later evidence. More importantly, the percentage of documents that come from Antinoopolis itself is significantly higher, as is the number of the literary texts found there, only a handful of which are assigned to the second century.

It is important to keep in mind that the fact that only few papyri of Antinoite interest of the mid-second century were found in Antinoopolis and elsewhere does not exclude the possibility that there may have been plenty of them and that they have just not been found (yet or at all). In this case however, a counter-argument could be drawn from nomes such as the Oxyrhynchite and Heracleopolite that have yielded great numbers of documents: both are well represented throughout the second century, but contain at that time proportionately far fewer Antinoite documents than they do after the third century. So it may be argued that the city generated a proportionately lower volume of documents in its earlier stages than was the case later on.

What seems like a geographical and chronological discrepancy in the distribution of documents can be understood better by considering the earlier stages in the history of the city: when Antinoopolis was founded in 130 and colonised by people from the Arsinoite nome, there must have been rather significant intervals between the time that the possibility to acquire Antinoite citizenship first arose, the time that the decision to do so was taken, the actual acquisition, and in many cases the relocation. It is therefore to be expected that the bureaucracy and correspondence of the new city would at first be conducted almost exclusively with the city or cities from which its citizens were originating. Besides, although mass acquisition of citizenship is assumed soon

the privileges he offered to the Antinoites. *P.Stras.* 3.130 = *SB* 5.8012: letter of Antoninus Pius to the Antinoites, confirming some of the privileges given by Hadrian.

after the city's foundation, the process of colonization did not necessarily take place all at once. Later on, once Antinoopolis had established itself as a city in its own right and its citizens had settled, it must have started conducting business with other cities in the area, with which it had previously no connection. For example, the exponential rise in the number of documents having to do with Antinoopolis or Antinoites found in the Hermopolite nome, which was just on the opposite bank of the Nile, but had offered no colonists as far as we know, corroborates this hypothesis.

Of course the paucity of evidence means that we have no way of quantifying the rate of migration caused by the colonisation of Antinoopolis. H. Braunert in his book on internal migration in Egypt notes that it is difficult to decide even whether the recorded migration to Antinoopolis was an actual mass relocation or in fact a legal provision. He suggests that in either case it does not seem to have necessarily brought about permanent settlement, but that it required at least temporary residence in order to assume the civil rights and obligations. The only evidence for movement gleaned from the papyri is that of extensive travelling to and fro, especially from the Arsinoite nome. The main reasons seem to be land-ownership and family connections.¹⁷

The surviving papyri of the selected time-span are mainly receipts as well as returns for *epikrisis* and *aparache*. Of a total of approximately eighty names found in them, seventy can be read with near certainty. Among them we find five minors, two of whom certainly started life as Antinoites. The origin of eight men and women is clearly stated to be the Arsinoite nome, since they describe themselves either as *katoikoi* or *apoikoi* from the 6,475 *Hellenes* of the Arsinoite nome. None of these Arsinoites are designated by an Antinoite *phyle* and deme, but this may be a coincidence. Three names of gymnasiarchs and ex-gymnasiarchs are preserved, as are three mentions of a nomarch.¹⁸ Seven citizens are explicitly styled veterans, all seemingly in the time of Antoninus Pius,¹⁹ while a few *tria nomina* without designation occur earlier. It has been suggested that veterans were first offered Antinoite citizenship under Hadrian's successor, in an effort to increase the population.²⁰ An argument against this is that in an emphatically Greek city, where the citizens call themselves *Antinoeis Neoi Hellenes*, the most reasonable explanation for the considerable

¹⁷ Braunert (n. 7) 123-124.

¹⁸ Though the earliest papyrus that preserves a name, Nikippos, is not securely dated and seems to be of the end of the second century at least.

¹⁹ Caution: the following documents containing *tria nomina* are only assigned to the reign of Antoninus Pius, but not exactly dated: BGU 1.179, BGU 3.709.

²⁰ Kühn (n. 3) 80ff. *Contra*: R. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt: A Social History* (London and New York 1995) 218, n. 33.

number of true Romans recorded as Antinoites before Antoninus Pius is that they too are post-*honesta missio* veterans,²¹ even if they do not explicitly say so. Alternatively, the self-standing *tria nomina* could refer to individuals who already possessed Roman citizenship before they became Antinoites (such as high officials and legionaries), or persons who acquired Roman citizenship by special favour of the Emperor, or finally children of veterans whose fathers had acquired *conubium* together with the *honesta missio*.²² A further possible explanation for the high incidence of Romans is the change in the extent of citizenship acquisition by soldiers from auxiliary forces: before 140 veterans of auxiliary forces were offered *conubium* upon discharge, along with Roman citizenship for themselves and their children born before or after their discharge and their descendents. After 140 this applied only to children born after their discharge.²³ It is known that soldiers did form relationships that often resulted in children during their careers. So it would make sense that after the change in 140 they were more meticulous in recording their status clearly as veterans of Antinoopolis, since this would have been very significant for their families – more so than their status as Romans. But one must be very cautious when considering this: obviously the amount of evidence from the time of Hadrian is much less than that from the time of Antoninus Pius. More so, the evidence of 130-138 possibly relating to veterans (i.e. containing *tria nomina*) appears to be but a fraction of what comes later. In fact this is a circular argument, since many undated documents were assigned to the time of Antoninus Pius precisely because they contained a reference to veterans, which was taken as a *terminus post quem*.

The first Antinoite we know about from the surviving evidence is C. Antheus Petronianus from the Arsinoite nome. We know from *P.Athen.* 43 (131/2) that he was the owner of part of a house and courtyard in the Tameion *amphodon* of Arsinoe. Unfortunately he is not known from any other papyrus. Otherwise, individuals of particular interest are, as expected, mostly those who feature in archives, since we can trace their family back to pre-Antinoite times and follow them throughout their lives.

The best-documented family we know of is one originating from Tebtynis, most of whose members are recorded as Antinoites after 133. The archive stretches back to the last decades of the first century AD and records persons who must have been born at the beginning of that century. Documents re-

²¹ Braunert (n. 7) 214.

²² Schubert (n. 10) 19 (the family of M. Lucretius Diogenes had double citizenship).

²³ Schubert (n. 10) 22-23. But he does not connect it to the question of whether veterans were made citizens of Antinoopolis before 138.

lating to family affairs go on until 224. In these about twenty Antinoites are mentioned. The earliest ones style themselves *katoikoi* or *apoikoi*. One of the individuals of this archive, the one whose life we can sketch with the most accuracy, is Philosarapis, son of Herakleides also known as Valerius, son of Herakleides, and Herakleia, daughter of Hermias. The archive preserves the *aparche* document with which, in 133, he was enrolled as a citizen, when he was one year old (*P.Fam.Tebt.* 30). One year old is too late for the usual way of registering Antinoite children through *aparchai*, since the condition for inclusion in the alimentation fund was to be declared in the first 30 days of one's life. But as the boy was born before his father was first recorded as Antinoite, one can assume that late registration with whatever consequences this had – possibly not being included in the alimentation fund – was the only option.²⁴ Philosarapis is mentioned again in the archive in a document of 145/6, which records his *epikrisis* to join the ephebate and in which we learn his *phyle* and deme (*P.Fam.Tebt.* 32). Twenty-one years later we find Philosarapis again in a petition (*P.Fam.Tebt.* 37), which yields a wealth of information: he submits a petition together with his brother Lysimachos also called Didymos whom we know from the *aparche* document, and another brother, Philantinoos, possibly a younger brother, born after the *aparche* was submitted. The petition concerns a slave girl, owned jointly by the brothers, who was kidnapped, and the brothers now ask the *epistrategos* to intervene. Through this incident we learn that the slave girl resided in the Arsinoite nome, where the brothers owned landed property, and her job was to send them provisions at Antinoopolis, where their residence was. About a year and a half later the two older brothers petition the nomarch of Antinoopolis, again concerning the slave-girl, who has now been pledged by the third brother to a creditor (*P.Fam.Tebt.* 38). The much-tormented slave is mentioned once more in a document of 173 or 174 (*P.Fam.Tebt.* 40), when, incidentally, the whole issue with the pledge to the creditor has not yet been resolved, and Philosarapis is not mentioned. Since he would have been expected to feature in this document, we must assume that he had died at some time between 167 and 173.

Other members of this family, as well as those featured in the other large archive of Antinoite interest, that of M. Lucretius Diogenes, are the best documented, but also very well studied. However, interesting bits of information can also be gleaned by searching for traces of the other Antinoites in the documents that do not have an obvious Antinoite connection: indeed discounting re-occurrences of individuals in archives, about fifteen names of Antinoites can be traced with reasonable certainty to other documents, and eight of them are

²⁴ Later on, children of this and other families are declared within 30 days.

actually recorded in the tax rolls from Karanis. Although Roman *tria nomina* are no more than 25% of the total of known Antinoites in 130-161, all eight names of Antinoites in the Karanis rolls are such Roman names. If the interpretation that these are veterans is right, then this is less surprising than it seems at first: veterans did not seem to have any residence requirements and are often found residing in the Arsinoite nome. Thus their part as citizens is not very active, so much so that they are sometimes seen only as a nominal reinforcement of the citizen population.²⁵ In a Cornell papyrus published by N. Lewis we find a veteran trying to decide where he would like to settle after his discharge, and it seems that there was a lot of flexibility involved in this process. Lewis discusses the issue of veteran land-ownership and decides that there is a tendency for veterans to cluster together in settlements, but that these are not official *coloniae*, rather occurring through natural accretion where veterans purchased land.²⁶ In this case, whether they resided in Antinoopolis some of the time or not, it would have been easier for them to retain their extensive connections with Karanis and be more actively involved with their lands there. I am not aware of an indication of land being offered to veterans in Karanis in particular upon discharge; indeed it seems that offering land to veterans was a rare phenomenon in Roman Egypt.²⁷

Interestingly, as late as the early fourth century, in the archive of Aurelius Isidoros, two classes of citizens can be discerned in Karanis, metropolitans and villagers, and the former consisted of citizens of Arsinoe and Antinoopolis and possibly other cities.²⁸ This phenomenon is not limited to Karanis: Antinoites, whether veterans or not, are often connected with landholding, property, or legal interests in the Arsinoite nome. Only in documents dated around the mid fourth century is there evidence of Antinoite landholding in the nomarchy of Antinoopolis itself. At first sight this seems odd, but one must consider what it would take for the new settlers to acquire arable land in the area in or immediately around Antinoopolis. Although it is not clear what settlements there were

²⁵ Braunert (n. 7) 215.

²⁶ N. Lewis, "A Veteran in Quest of a Home," *TAPA* 90 (1959) 139-146.

²⁷ Schubert (n. 10) 24. There is however some indication that land was offered to Antinoites (P.V. Pistorius, *Indices Antinoopolitani* [Leiden 1939] 124), but where that land was is not clear.

²⁸ A.E.R. Boak, "The Population of Roman and Byzantine Karanis," *Historia* 4 (1955) 160-161. Whether veterans or not in the Antinoite documents, people styled by *tria nomina* in the Karanis tax-rolls are a considerable group. They usually paid several taxes, such as orchard and vineyard taxes, *naubion*, and catoecic *arithmetikon*. Boak calculates that they were 72 out of an approximate total of 575-644, and reaches the conclusion that there must have been about 360 Romans in Karanis, out of a total population of well under three thousand.

at the spot where Antinoopolis was founded, the new city was right across the river from Hermopolis. It would be reasonable to argue that much land around Antinoopolis may have been in the hands of Hermopolites and that it stayed that way for some time after the city's foundation. This would account for the uncertainty concerning the territorial status of the Antinoite nomarchy, which is taken by some to be part of the Hermopolite nome,²⁹ and would explain why the Antinoites were obliged to own land in other nomes. Whether this is land that they already owned before they acquired Antinoite citizenship, or land that they acquired afterwards, is not clear: the supplementary evidence tends to be later than the documents used in this paper, so we get more information concerning later Antinoite childbearing (through registrations) and dealings in real estate and movable property, but less on their lives before 130 or how they became Antinoites.

Let us now briefly turn to the inscriptions. They shed light on completely different aspects of society from those that came up in the papyri discussed above. The vast majority of inscriptions that have to do with Antinoites or Antinoopolis are related to the athletic games organised by the city, the *Antinoeia*. Games and festivals are fundamental aspects of the life of a Greek city, and the *Antinoeia* knew great acclaim, as one can tell from the names and origin of people who took part in them. Several agonistic inscriptions were found at Antinoopolis, and Antinoites were commemorated in even more such inscriptions found elsewhere.

The inscriptions often record an Antinoite organiser of the games, or an Antinoite citizen participating in an athletic competition abroad. At other times the ethnic epithet *Antinoeus* is mentioned among two or more other ethnic epithets. An example that is later than the period on which this paper focuses is the most illustrative: an athlete called M. Aurelius Demonstratos Damas features in two inscriptions from Sardis³⁰ and is also found in a London papyrus of the beginning of the third century.³¹ He is recorded as a citizen of Sardis, Alexandria, Antinoopolis, Athens, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Nicomedeia, Tralles, Miletus, etc. These citizenships were conferred as awards for victory in the games organised by each of these cities.³² This was common practice in athletic games and festivals, since success in them had great social importance, and cities were anxious to share in victories, to the extent that, when the vic-

²⁹ Jones (n. 7) 311.

³⁰ *IGUR* 1.243 and *Sardis* 7.1.79, of ca. 170-180 and 212-217 respectively.

³¹ *PLond.* 3.1178 = *W.Chr.* 156 = *Pap.Agon.* 6.

³² Braunert (n. 7) 218 and 346 on *paides antinoitikoï*; Kühn (n. 3) 134, e.g. *FD* 3.1.214, undated from Delphi: [ἀ]γαθὴ τύχη. Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀμμώνιον Ἀντινοέα παράδοξον Δελφοῖ Δελφὸν καὶ βουλευτὴν ἐποίησαν. ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλής).

tor was not their citizen, they made him one.³³ There are many examples of these honours recorded in inscriptions, but the only comparable instances of multiple citizenship in the papyrological evidence are the ten certificates concerning privileges of athletes and artists re-published as *Pap.Agon*.³⁴

The implications of this practice in respect to Antinoite citizenship cannot be fully appreciated unless a number of current debates in the field of the history of ancient athletics can be resolved: one issue that is central to this is the on-going debate on the social background of athletes. While participation in games and festivals in classical times is seen as an elite prerogative, it has been argued that in the Roman period athletics became increasingly professionalized and no longer an affair restricted to elites.³⁵ If this was indeed the case, then the granting of Antinoite citizenship only on the grounds of athletic success seems to me to entail an arbitrariness that is completely at odds with the citizenship-granting system of Antinoopolis as a whole. If, on the other hand, those who argue against the suggested professionalization of athletics in the Roman period are right, then the practice would fit in better with the social structure of a city whose daily life revolved around the gymnasium and which would have been encouraged to indulge in such quintessentially Greek *polis* activities as athletic games. The other question that arises from this practice is whether all these ethnic epithets really do refer to actual citizenship, or a sort of honorary inclusion in some privileged group that had a special relationship with the city in whose games one won. The only ancient writer who mentions this practice is Tertullian,³⁶ who refers to it as a real grant of citizenship: in passing he mentions the rewards of athletes as *huic palmam, huic honorem, illi civitatem, illi stipendia*. Unfortunately the secondary literature is unhelpful on

³³ *P.Lond.* 3.1178.51. The only discussion of this phenomenon that I have found is the short comment by Kenyon and Bell that the *ethnika* must represent real citizenships and not just references to victories, since on some occasions the list of victories includes more places.

³⁴ Esp. *P.Oxy.* 27.2475-2477 and *SB* 16.13034.

³⁵ O.M. van Nijf, "Local Heroes: Athletics, Festivals and Elite Self-Fashioning in the Roman East," in *Being Greek under Rome*, ed. S. Goldhill (Cambridge 2001) 321.

³⁶ *Scorpiace* 6.5-6: *Pyctes ipse non queritur dolere se, nam vult; corona premit vulnera, palma sanguinem obscurat; plus victoria tumet quam iniuria. Hunc tu laesum existimabis, quem vides laetum? Sed nec victus ipse de agonotheta casum suum exprobrabit. [6] Deum dedecet artes et disciplinas suas educere in medium, in hoc saeculi spatium, in spectaculum hominibus et angelis et universis potestatibus? Carnem atque animam probare de constantia atque tolerantia? Dare huic palmam, huic honorem, illi civitatem, illi stipendia? Etiam quosdam reprobare et castigatos cum ignominia submovere?*

the practice of honorary awards of citizenship. At the same time, the matter of the social background of athletes is very much an on-going debate.

While one cannot reconstruct a model of Antinoite society for a span of thirty years based on only seventy documents, it seems worth noting that the picture one gets is of a highly urbanised group: although most of its members are involved in landownership or cultivation, the evidence suggests that they do so as absentee landlords and members of a landed middle class, rather than as cultivators. From the preserved papyri it is clear that the number of Antinoites acting as lessees is very small compared with the number of lessors.³⁷ From the tone used in addressing them in correspondence and from the few instances where we see them holding some office, it is evident that the Antinoites we know of possess a relatively high social standing. Of course, it is here essential to keep in mind the debate on whether the papyri afford us a balanced view of the whole population, or whether they are biased towards the more literate and economically powerful.³⁸ But even allowing for some imbalance, the picture we get is still one of a closed, even elite society.

The aim of this paper was to identify and discuss some of the key issues concerning the nature of Antinoite citizenship and especially its acquisition. The next step will be to examine the function of Antinoite citizenship as a whole and in comparison with that of the other Greek cities in Egypt.³⁹

Appendix: List of Antinoites, AD 130-161

The following list is co-ordinated with P.V. Pistorius' *Indices Antinoopolitani* and the number given there has been added in col. 3.

The following documents may have contained more references to Antinoites in the period in question, but the references are either uncertain or lost: *BGU* 3.733, *P.Diog.* 17, *P.Fam.Tebt.* 33, *P.Flor.* 1.97, *P.Iand.* 7.140, *P.Oxy.* 47.3362, *P.Ross.Georg.* 2.18, *P.Ryl.* 2.78, *P.Ryl.* 2.434, *SB* 14.11584, *P.Stras.* 3.130, *P.Stras.* 4.223, *P.Stras.* 7.629, *PSI* 7.822, *SB* 8.9904, *SB* 12.11020, *SB* 14.11607, *SB* 16.12290, *SB* 16.12742, *W.Chr.* 28, *W.Chr.* 459.

³⁷ Braunert (n. 7) 126. No conclusions about residence can be drawn from this, since we know of lessors who do not live in Antinoopolis.

³⁸ R.S. Bagnall, "Village and Urban Elites," at *Ancient Lives: The Tebtunis Papyri in Context*, accessible at <http://tebtunis.berkeley.edu/ancientlives/bagnall.html>.

³⁹ See, e.g., F. Sturm, "Ha conferito Adriano uno statuto personale speciale agli Antinoiti?" *Iura* 43 (1992) 83-97.

Name	Edition	Ind.Ant.	Capacity	Provenance	Date	Phyle-deme
Aelius Apollonios	<i>P.Gen.</i> 2.103	14	ex-gymnasiarch of Antinoopolis	Arsinoite nome	147	
Ammonios s. of Leonides	gs. of SB 16.12742, 12743	33y		Antinoopolis	157	Matidios-Demetrius
Polydeukes						
Antinoeus?	<i>O.Narm.</i> 26			Narmouthis	II-III	
Antinois	<i>O.Stras.</i> 629			Thebes	II?	
Antinois?	<i>O.Narm.</i> 22			Narmouthis	II-III	
Antonia Amerylla	<i>BGU</i> 1.301	60		Arsinoite nome	157	
Aphrodisios s. of Philippos	<i>SB</i> 6.9093			Theadelphia	138	
Apollonios	<i>SB</i> 10.10445			?	II	
Apollonios s. of Apollonios	gs. <i>P.Oxy.</i> 40.2941		appointed by the council in charge of the distribution of loaves	Oxyrhynchus	II-III	Nerouianos-Eireneus
Asklepiades s. of Asklepiades	<i>P.Mil. Vogl.</i> 3.180, 181			Tebtynis	148	
Aurelius Demetrios ⁴¹	<i>P.Würzb.</i> 8			Antinoopolis	158/9	Aelieus-Apideus
Besaron aka [andros s. of Apion	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 40.2942		appointed by the council [	Oxyrhynchus	II-III	Gabinios-Trophonius
Besas	<i>O.Ont. Mus.</i> 2.287	145a	veteran	Thebes	after 130	
C. [] Makrinos	<i>BGU</i> 1.179			Arsinoite nome	138-161	Sebastios-Kaisarios
C. Antheus Petromianus	<i>P.Athen.</i> 43			Arsinoite nome	131-132	
C. Domitius Clemens	<i>SB</i> 12.11103			Karanis	155	Nerouianos-Eireneus

⁴¹ The papyrus reads παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Δη[μ]ητρίου which was corrected by the editor and translated as Aurelius Demetrios. Since this is pre-*Constitutio Antoniniana*, one could take Aurelius as a first name, not a *nomen*. Demetri- should then be the name of the father (if one accepts the correction) or the mother.

Name	Edition	Ind.Ant.	Capacity	Provenience	Date	Phyle-deme
C. Julius Longinus	SB 12.11103			Karamis	155	
C. Julius Niger	SB 12.11103			Karamis	155	Oseirantinoeios-Hermateus
C. Longinus Julianus	SB 12.11011		Καρα(νιδος) κ(ατ) of(κων) veteran	Memphis	II	
C. Valerius	BGU 1.227	509?	veteran	Arsinoite nome	151	Matidios-Kallitekneios
C. Valerius Apolinarios	SB 16.12747	506?		?	158/9	Nerouianios-Hestiatos
C. Valerius Chairemonianos	BGU 1.300	509	veteran	Arsinoite nome	148	
C. Valerius Maximus	<i>P.Mich.</i> 9.526			Karamis	155	
Didymos s. of Didymos	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 33, 34	179a		Tebtynis?	151	Matidios-Kallitekneios
Dionysios aka Amphion s. of Dionysios	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 44.3198		ex-gymnasiarch of Antinoopolis	Oxyrhynchus	145/6?	
Herakleia d. of Hermous gd. of Didymos	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 29		κατρουκος των εν τῷ [Αρσινωε] [τη] Ἐλληνιδων	Tebtynis?	133	
Herakleianos	BGU 3.710		?	Arsinoite nome	146?	Oseirantinoeios-lost
Herakleides aka Gemellus s. of Herakleides aka Ailourios	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 30	282	ἀρτουκο(ς) Ἄρσι(νοϊτου) ἀνδρῶν Ἐλληνων	Tebtynis?	133	
Herakleides aka Valerius	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 33, 34	284		Tebtynis?	151	
Herakleides aka Valerius s. of Herakleides	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 29 (and 30, 31?)	284a	ἀρτουκος των [εν Ἀ]ρσι(νοϊτ[η]) ἀν[δρ]ῶν Ἐλληνων	Tebtynis?	133	
Herakleides aka Valerius s. of Herakleides	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 31 (and 29, 30?)			Tebtynis?	144	

Name	Edition	Ind.Ant.	Capacity	Provenance	Date	Phyle-deme
Herakleides aka Valerius s. of Herakleides gs. of Maron	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 30 (and 29, 31?)		ἄρτουκ(ος) Ἀραι(νοίτου) ἀνδρῶν Ἐ[λ]ληνων	Tebtynis?	133	
Herakleides aka Valerius s. of Lysimachos	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 31	284b		Tebtynis?	144	
Herakleides s. of Herakleides	<i>PSI</i> 8.921			Arsinoite nome	143/4	Hadrianos- Sosikosmos
Herminos s. of Dioskoros	<i>P.Bad.</i> 2.20	229a		Antinoopolis	135	
Hermione d. of Isidoros and Sabina	<i>SB</i> 16.12742	232 (Hermone)		Antinoopolis	157	
Heron s. of Ptolemaios gs. of Tryphon	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 30	290a	ἄρτουκο(ς) Ἀραι(νοίτου) ἀνδρῶν Ἐλλαῖ(νων)	Tebtynis?	133	
Isidoros s. of Horion	<i>SB</i> 16.12742, 12743	347x		Antinoopolis	157	Matidios- Thesmophorios
Julianus	<i>P.Stras.</i> 6.531			?	II	
Julius Maximus	<i>P.Oxf.</i> 11		ἀπολοσιμ]ος ἀπὸ στρατείας	Hiera Nesos	151	Oseirantinoeios- lost
Kastor	<i>SB</i> 16.12742	370h		Antinoopolis	157	Atheneaius-lost
Kastor s. of Asklepiades	<i>SB</i> 5.7601	370a		Antinoopolis	135	
L. Antheistius Germanus	<i>P.Phil.</i> 12	46	gymnasiarch of Antinoopolis	Philadelphieia	150 or 173	
L. Longinus Gemellus	<i>BGU</i> 1.301	422		Arsinoite nome	157	Hadrianos- Kapitolieus
Leonides s. of Simon	<i>SB</i> 4.7393			Arsinoite nome	147	Sebastios- Apolloniteus
Lysanias s. of Didymos	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 33, 34	432		Tebtynis?	151	Matidios- Plotimios
Lysimachos aka Didymos	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 30	433		Tebtynis?	133	

Name	Edition	Ind.Ant.	Capacity	Provenience	Date	Phyle-deme
Lysimachos aka Didymos s. of Herakleides	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 33, 34	433?		Tebtynis?	151	Matidios-Kallitekneios
M. Antonius Maximus	SB 12.11.103			Karanis	155	Nerouianos-Propatorios
M. Julius Cassianus	<i>P.Phil.</i> 14			Philadelphieia	155/6	
M. Lucretius Minor	<i>P.Diog.</i> 15	430		Philadelphieia?	II-III	
M. Sempronius Cornelianus f. of Serenus	<i>P.Mich.</i> 9.526			Karanis	155	
M. Sempronius Serenus	<i>BGU</i> 2.448		veteran	Arsinoite nome?	150-153	
Nemesammon s. of Demetrios	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 32			Tebtynis?	145-146	Athenateus-Artemisios
Nikippos	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 40.2941, 2942		nomarch of Antinoopolis	Oxyrynchus	III	
Ninnarous d. of Orsenouphis	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 33	488		Tebtynis?	151	
Ophelas s. of Nemesion and Tereus gs. of Anoubion	SB 16.12742, 12743	722		Antinoopolis	157	
Ophelia aka Iasous d. of Chairmon	<i>P.Bad.</i> 2.20			Antinoopolis	135	Matidios-Plotinios
Phibion s. of Anion Aneiketos?	<i>P.Bad.</i> 2.20	677		Antinoopolis	135	
Philantinos aka Isidoros	SB 16.12742, 12743	681		Antinoopolis	157	
Philosarapis	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 30	690?		Tebtynis?	133	
Philosarapis s. of Heraklides aka Valerius and Herakleia d. of Hermias, gs. of Heraklides	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 32	690		Tebtynis?	145-146	Matidios-Kallitekneios
Posidontos aka Tourbon s. of Harpokration	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 32	561		Tebtynis?	145-146	Oseirantinoeios-Parrasios
Ptolemaios s. of Herakleides	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 33, 34	574b		Tebtynis?	151	Oseirantinoeios-Kleftorios

<i>Name</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Ind.Ant.</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Phyle-deme</i>
Q. Gellius Clemens	<i>BGU</i> 3.709	381		Arsinoite nome	138-161	Hadrianos- Sosikosmios
Sarapion s. of Koinos	<i>P.Bad.</i> 2.20	602a		Antinoopolis	135	
Sempronius Clemens ?	<i>P.Mich.</i> 8.486			Karanis	II	
Serenus	<i>P.Lond.</i> 2.189			Karanis	II	
Sextus Valerius ?	<i>P.Athen.</i> 62			?	I-II	
Soter s. of Herakleios gs. of Lysimachos	<i>SB</i> 16.12742, 12743	647b		Antinoopolis	157	Matidios- Markianios
Souchos s. of Ptolemaios gs. of Tryphon	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 30	636	ἄρτουκ[ο(ς)] ἄρσι(νοίτου) ἀνδρῶν Ἐλλα[ί(νων)]	Tebtynis?	133	
Syros ?	<i>CPR</i> 1.111	642		Arsinoite nome	II	
T. Flavius Antas	<i>P.Hamb.</i> 1.71	693		Philadelphieia	149	
Theogenes s. of Heraklianos	<i>P.Iand.</i> 6.107			?	II	Sosikosmios- Hadrianios
Tourbon f. of Protarchos	<i>SB</i> 6.9370		κάρτουκος	Tebtynis	ca. 150	
[.] Julius Heraklianos	<i>SB</i> 12.11103			Karanis	155	Hadrianios- Zenios
[.] Longinus Priscus	<i>BGU</i> 1.179		veteran	Arsinoite nome	138-161	Sabinios- Gemelleus
[...] s. of Kastor	<i>P.Fam. Tebt.</i> 32			Tebtynis?	145-6	Aelieus-Policeus
]ontios Hera.....	<i>BGU</i> 11.2117			Arsinoite nome?	(end of?) II	
]os aka Chairaios	<i>BGU</i> 11.2117			Arsinoite nome?	(end of?) II	

Diversification foncière dans le nome mendésien à l'époque romaine¹

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Abstract

Further thoughts on diversification in landholding in the Mendesian nome, according to *P. Mendes. Genev.*

Dans l'Égypte romaine, les contraintes environnementales, socio-économiques et fiscales auxquelles étaient soumis les paysans leur laissaient peu de marge de manœuvre dans l'exploitation des terroirs, qui étaient majoritairement consacrées à la culture du blé. Malgré tout, les sources papyrologiques montrent qu'une réelle diversification des activités de production alimentaire était pratiquée à des fins de subsistance ou commerciales.² À cette stratégie de gestion du risque alimentaire s'ajoutait une autre forme de diversification: la diversification foncière. En effet, en possédant ou en louant plusieurs parcelles parfois dispersées géographiquement et assorties de différentes charges fiscales, les contribuables pouvaient augmenter leur protection contre les aléas de la crue du Nil et les disettes qui pouvaient en découler et maximiser la rentabilité de leurs avoirs fonciers. Ce type de pratique est bien documenté dans le

¹ Cet article fait suite à mon article "Environnement et fisc dans le nome mendésien à l'époque romaine: réalités et enjeux de la diversification," *BASP* 44 (2007) 135-166. Je tiens à remercier R.S. Bagnall, P. van Minnen et les lecteurs anonymes du manuscrit de cet article pour leurs critiques constructives.

² Voir Blouin (n. 1); M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Aegypten* (Munich 1925); D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt: The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate* (Cambridge 1991); J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 1996). À propos des oasis, voir notamment B. Bousquet, *Tell-Douch et sa région. Géographie d'une limite de milieu à une frontière d'Empire* (Le Caire 1996); R.S. Bagnall (éd.), *The Kellis Agricultural Book* (P.Kell. IV Gr 96) (Oxford 1997).

Fayoum et la vallée du Nil.³ Le *P.Mendes.Genev.* nous fournit un exemple de son effectivité dans le delta.

Le *P.Mendes.Genev.* date de la fin du 2^e siècle ou du début du 3^e siècle de notre ère.⁴ Son aspect carbonisé ainsi que les références toponymiques qu'il contient prouvent son appartenance aux archives carbonisées de Thmouis. Il s'agit d'une liste de parcelles de terres à blé publiques et privées ayant été l'objet d'une demande de dégrèvement d'impôt ou de fermage. Le document fut vraisemblablement rédigé par un comogrammate à l'attention des contrôleurs chargés de l'*épiskepsis* des terres. Il consiste en une mise en ordre, suivant des critères topographiques (notamment des divisions cadastrales nommées *κοίται*), de déclarations (*ἀπογραφαί*) de parcelles de terre non inondée (*ἄβροχος*: litt. terre non inondée pendant un an) ou artificiellement irriguées (*ἐπιηνημένη* ou *ἀντημένη* dans d'autres documents)⁵ adressées à l'administration locale par des propriétaires ou fermiers impériaux. Des références à la *limnè* d'un village (*λίμνη τῆς κώμης*) indiquent que l'ensemble des parcelles de la liste appartenait au territoire d'un même village, dont l'identité est inconnue.⁶ La mention dans la liste d'un canal nommé *διώρυχος Φερνούφιως/διώρυχος καλουμένης Φιερόν Φερνούφεως* de même que la référence à *Φερνούφιος, Ξενθίγγου* et *Ψενκομνάχιος* indiquent que cette comogrammatie appartenait à la toparchie du Phernouphitès.⁷

Lorsqu'un déclarant possédait plus d'une parcelle, sa déclaration pouvait concerner plusieurs lots loués à différents fermiers, voire sous-loués à des tierces personnes. Or, comme les données étaient ordonnées topographiquement, les informations contenues dans les *apographai* devaient être triées et réorganisées en fonction du critère topographique. Les parcelles appartenant à un même propriétaire se retrouvaient donc souvent dispersées dans plusieurs sections. Cette constatation, qui est symptomatique de la disparité des structures

³ Cf. R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 114-121 et 148-153; D.P. Kehoe, *Management and Investment on Estates in Roman Egypt during the Early Empire* (Bonn 1992); Rathbone (n. 2); Rowlandson (n. 2). À propos de la Grèce et de l'Italie, cf. L. Foxhall, "The Independent Tenant: Land Leasing and Labour in Italy and Greece," *JRS* 80 (1990) 97-114.

⁴ V. Martin, "Un document administratif du nome de Mendès," *Stud.Pal.* 17 (1916) 9-48.

⁵ À propos de ces deux termes, voir D. Bonneau, *Le fisc et le Nil. Incidences des irrégularités de la crue du Nil sur la fiscalité foncière dans l'Égypte grecque et romaine* (Paris 1971) 78-81, 96 et 175.

⁶ *P.Mendes.Genev.* 345, 453, 510, 534.

⁷ *Ibid.* 7, 146, 244, 455, 503, 506, 563. Pour une localisation de la toparchie du Phernouphitès, voir Voir Blouin (n. 1) 137, carte 1.

de propriété foncière dans le village, nous encourage à proposer une analyse plus poussée des données relatives à cette question.

À cet effet, j'ai reconstitué les *apographai* d'origine en rassemblant les données relatives aux parcelles appartenant à un même propriétaire. Le tableau 1 présente une version succincte de ce classement.⁸ L'ordre des données suit les numéros des déclarations.⁹ Le nom du déclarant, le nombre de parcelles déclarées non inondées ou artificiellement irriguées, les *koitai* correspondantes et la référence sont aussi précisés. Pour les déclarations concernant plusieurs parcelles, celles-ci apparaissent en fonction de leur première mention dans le registre. Enfin, dans le cas de copropriétés, les informations sont classées sous la rubrique du déclarant doté du numéro de déclaration le plus bas. La mention du copropriétaire figure en italique dans la section "nombre de parcelles."

L'étude des *apographai* nous permet de cerner certains éléments relatifs aux rapports propriétaires/locataires en vigueur dans ce village phernouphite au tournant du 3^e siècle. Certes, comme le papyrus est fragmentaire et ne concerne que des terres déclarées sèches ou artificiellement irriguées, les données sont inévitablement incomplètes. Néanmoins, l'abondance des entrées conservées et le grand nombre de déclarants et de tenanciers mentionnés dans le document font du *P.Mendes.Genev.* un échantillon d'étude apte à témoigner des dynamiques foncières en vigueur dans ce secteur du delta du Nil.

Les tableaux 1 et 2 révèlent comment la propriété foncière du village comportait sa part de diversité: multiplicité et, dans certains cas, disparité géographique des lots appartenant à un même déclarant; copropriété ou cofermage; partage de la responsabilité fiscale entre fermiers et sous-locataires.

Tableau 1 : La propriété foncière dans un village phernouphite au tournant du 3^e siècle d'après le *P.Mendes.Genev.*

<i>Déclarants (apographai)</i>	<i>Nombre de parcelles</i>	<i>Koite</i>	<i>Référence</i>
Ἀλεξάνδρα (5)	1 avec Φιλόξενος (103)	2	210-212
Καλλίμαχος (7)	2, avec Φιλόξενος (103) avec Σαμβαθίων (32)	? ?	483-485 486-487
? (10)	1	?	88-90

⁸ Pour une version détaillée de ce classement, voir K. Blouin, *Homme et milieu dans le nome mendésien à l'époque romaine (1^{er} au 6^e s.)* (thèse de doctorat Québec 2007) annexe 6.

⁹ Ainsi les deux Kallimachos (déclarations 7 et 86), les trois Tapokrouris (déclarations 15, 67 et 111) et les deux Orsénouphis (déclarations 35 et 123) doivent être considérés comme des individus distincts.

<i>Déclarants</i> (apographai)	<i>Nombre de parcelles</i>	<i>Koite</i>	<i>Référence</i>
Σεπτίμιος (12)	20	1	21-22
		1	23-24
		1	25-26
		1	51-53
		?	54-55
		?	111-113
		1	135-136
		1	153-154
		1	155-156
		1	170-171
		1	174-176
		2	208-209
		2	213-215
		2	216-217?
		9	268-271
		9	272-274
		11	294-296
?	411-413		
32	438-440		
32	443-445		
Ταποκροῦρις (15)	3	1	95-98
		2	223-224
		2	225-226
Σαμβαθίων (32)	3	1	157-158
		2	221-222
		avec Καλλίμαχος (7)	? 486-487
[]αμο() (34)	1	1	132-134
Ὅρσενοῦφισ (35)	3	?	129
		avec Φιλόξενος (103?)	3 228-235
		avec Ταποκροῦρις (67)	3 239-241
Ἡρων (36)	3	2	192-194
		2	201-203
		?	204
Πιβήχ(ιος) (37)	3	?	122-124
		1	125-126
		1	127-128

<i>Déclarants (apographai)</i>	<i>Nombre de parcelles</i>	<i>Koite</i>	<i>Référence</i>	
Τιχούφερ (51)	7	1	27-28	
		?	190-191	
		11	281-283	
		avec ?	11	290-293
		11	310-311	
		11	312-314	
		11	315-317	
Θεονίλλα (58)	3	1	179-182	
		11	278-280	
		15	371-372	
Ταφανο() (61)	2	1	68-70	
		2	198-200	
Κρ[] (67)	1	2	195-197	
Ταποκροῦρις (67)	2	3	236-238	
		avec Ὀρσενουῖφις (35)	3	239-241
? (homme) (70)	2	16	394-396	
		16	397-400	
[].ρμ[] (76)	1	1	143-144	
? (85)	1	15	363-365	
Καλλίμαχος (86)	21	1	8-10	
		?	11	
		?	14	
		[1]	47-50	
		?	avant 72	
		?	72-73	
		?	253-254	
		9	257-258	
		9	259-260	
		11	297-299	
		?	323-324	
		?	avant 350	
		?	350-351	
		?	352-353	
		16	382-384	
16	388-390			
16	401-404			

<i>Déclarants (apographai)</i>	<i>Nombre de parcelles</i>	<i>Koite</i>	<i>Référence</i>	
Καλλίμαχος (86) (cont.)		16	414-416	
		?	418-419	
		21	420-422	
		32	441-442	
?(87)	1	32	435-437	
Φιλόξενος (103)	18	1	19-20	
		1	31-32	
		1	62-64	
		1	83-85	
		-	86-87	
		1	99-100	
		1	137-139	
		1	159-160	
		?	164	
		?	165-166	
		1	167-169	
		1	185-187	
		?	188-189	
		avec Άλεξάνδρα (5)	2	210-212
		avec Όρσενούφης (35)	3	228-235
			?	477-479
	?	480-482		
	avec ? (7)	?	483-485	
Ταποκρο(ύρις) (111)	1	1	65-67	
?(112)	2	1	76-78	
		1	79-82	
Θαψόις (115)	5	1	29-30	
		1	101-103	
		?	avant 105	
		?	105-106	
		?	108-110	
Όρσενούφης (123)	3	13	329-331	
		?	354-355	
		16	391-393	
[“Η]ρων (126)	1	1	140-142	
?(1??)	1	15	359-362	

<i>Déclarants (apographai)</i>	<i>Nombre de parcelles</i>	<i>Koite</i>	<i>Référence</i>
Ἀμούσιος (?)	1	1	59-61
Ἀπολλόδωρος (?)	1	?	356-357
Ἐρμιόνη (?)	1	16	385-387
Θανός (?)	1	1	119-121
Πλουσία (?)	1	1	172-173
Πτόλας (?)	1	1	33-34
Τιθοη() (?)	1	?	303-305
Φιθτρενοῦθις (φικς) (?)	1	?	465-467
[...]κίας (?)	1	1	183-184
[...]ροις (?)	1	1	43-46

Soulignons aussi la présence d'une quinzaine de femmes parmi les déclarants.¹⁰ Leur présence, qui contribue à l'hétérogénéité des scénarios de propriété dans le village, cadre bien avec les données de l'Arsinoïte romaine indiquant qu'un nombre considérable de femmes y étaient propriétaires.¹¹

À Septimios, Kallimachos et Philoxénos, qui ont chacun déclaré entre dix-huit et vingt-et-une parcelles, s'ajoutent vingt déclarants associés à une parcelle et quatorze à entre deux et sept parcelles. Il semble donc avoir existé, entre le groupe très restreint des "grands propriétaires" et celui, majoritaire, des propriétaires d'une seule parcelle, une catégorie mitoyenne de petits propriétaires composée d'un nombre appréciable d'individus. On notera par ailleurs l'absence de déclarants associés à entre huit et dix-sept parcelles. Le papyrus

¹⁰ Ἀλεξάνδρα (5), Ταποκροῦρις (15), Σαμβαθίων (32), Τιχοῦφερ (51), Θεονίλλα (58), Ταφανο() (61) Ταποκροῦρις (67), Ταποκρο(ῦρις) (111), Θαψός (115), Ἐρμιόνη (?), Θανός (?), Πλουσία (?), Τιθοη() (?), ~ . . .] . κίας (?) ainsi que la propriétaire des parcelles recensées aux lignes 247-249 et 251-252 (qui ne sont pas incluses dans le tableau 1 en raison de leur nature trop fragmentaire).

¹¹ À Tebtynis, environ un quart des propriétaires mentionnés dans les sources est constitué de femmes. La proportion semble à peu près équivalente à Karanis (deux cinquième) et un peu plus élevée à Soknopaiou Nesos (un tiers). Selon les estimations actuelles, ces femmes auraient possédé entre seize et vingt-cinq pour cent des terres mises en culture, estimation qui concorde avec les données disponibles dans le *P.Mendes.Genev*; Bagnall (n. 3); D. Hobson, "The Role of Women in the Economic Life of Roman Egypt: A Case Study from First Century Tebtynis," *Échos du monde classique* 28 (1984) 373-390; S.B. Pomeroy, "Women in Roman Egypt: A Preliminary Study Based on Papyri," dans H. Foley (éd.), *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (Londres 1981) 305, n. 13; J. Rowlandson, "Agricultural Tenancy and Village Society in Roman Egypt," dans A.K. Bowman et E. Rogan (éd.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times* (Oxford 1999) 154-156; ead. (n. 2) 220.

ne portant que sur des parcelles non inondées ou irriguées artificiellement, la proportion de propriétaires ou de locataires de plusieurs parcelles était certainement dans les faits encore plus importante.

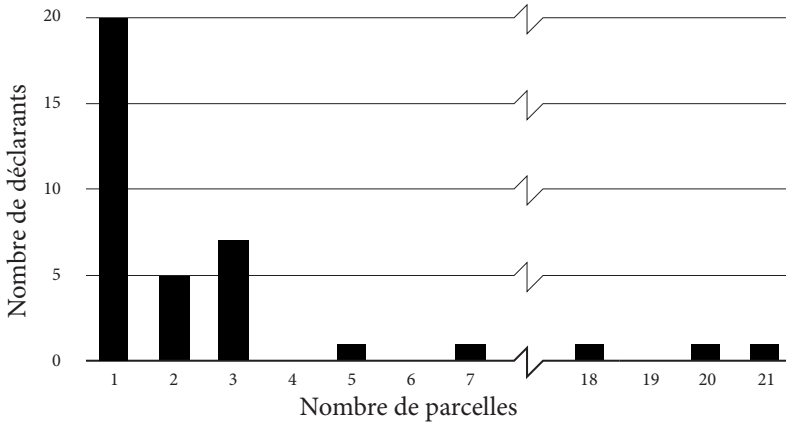


Figure 1 : Nombre de parcelles par déclarant dans le P. Mendes.Genev.

Ces statistiques, bien qu'incomplètes, sont conformes à la règle économique selon laquelle plus le statut socio-économique d'un contribuable est élevé, plus grande est sa capacité à se prémunir contre le risque en diversifiant son patrimoine foncier.¹²

À ce propos, si le P.Mendes.Genev. ne porte que sur un village phernouphite, il est fort probable que certains grands propriétaires aient possédé des lots ailleurs dans le nome, voire dans la province.¹³ C'est ce dont témoigne le P.Oxy. 60.4060.40-64, dans lequel le stratège du nome Nesyt écrit à son confrère du nome oxyrhynchite dans le but de savoir si des propriétés au nom d'Hérakleidès, un contribuable originaire du nome mendésien frappé de confiscation dans

¹² R.S. Bagnall me fait remarquer comment il pourrait s'agir ici d'un exemple classique de loi du pouvoir ("power law"), en fonction de laquelle de nombreux individus possèdent peu, tandis qu'un très petit nombre possède beaucoup.

¹³ Cf. notamment Rathbone (n. 2) à propos du domaine fayoumique d'Appianus l'Alexandrin (3e s.); Rowlandson (n. 2) 107-108 à propos des domaines de la famille de Tibérius Julius Théon dans l'Arsinoïte, l'Oxyrhynchite et l'Hermopolite (2e s.); R. Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni. Terra, lavoro e proprietà senatoria nell'Egitto tardoantico* (Bari 2001) et T. Hickey, *A Public "House" but Closed: "Fiscal Participation" and Economic Decision Making on the Oxyrhynchite Estate of the Flavii Apiones* (dissertation Chicago 2001), à propos des domaines de la famille d'Apion dans l'Oxyrhynchite, le Kynopolite, l'Hérakléopolite et l'Arsinoïte (5e-7e s.).

les nomes mendésien et Nesyt, se trouvent dans son aire de juridiction. Les entrées du *P.Ryl.* 2.216 relatives aux taxes foncières τριδραχμιος μητροπολιτών et β. τριώβ. Ἀλεξανδρέων, respectivement imposées à des métropolitains et à des Alexandrins propriétaires de vignobles et de lots maraîchers situés sur le territoire de divers villages du nome, vont également en ce sens. Enfin, mentionnons le *P.Thmouis* 1.68.1-70.11, où nous apprenons qu'un Alexandrin a fait une offre de location pour un lot situé à Magdôla (toparchie du Thmoiribitès), ainsi que 154.10-155.3, où il est question d'une terre à blé située à Tanarê (toparchie du Néompsonomoun) et appartenant à un débiteur d'Alexandrie.

Par ailleurs, dans le *P.Mendes.Genev.*, lorsqu'il est question de terres privées, le nom de la personne responsable du paiement des impôts est toujours écrit au nominatif. En revanche, lorsqu'il est question de terres publiques (βασιλική ou ἱερὰ ἐν ἐκφορίῳ), le nom du cultivateur redevable envers le fisc est écrit au génitif précédé de διά ou ὀνόματος. Cette différence grammaticale, qui est maintenue dans le tableau 2, révèle que même si les fermiers de l'État payaient par l'entremise d'un ou de plusieurs sous-locataire(s), ils demeuraient responsables du paiement des redevances.¹⁴ Ainsi, qu'il soit question de terre privée ou de terre publique, le partage de la responsabilité fiscale procédait de la même stratégie de délégation: propriétaire déclarant/locataires d'une part; fermier déclarant/sous-locataires d'autre part. Malgré tout, la souveraineté de l'État sur le domaine public demeurait fermement établie, et s'exprimait dans la documentation officielle jusque dans le choix des cas employés.

En ce qui concerne les tenanciers chargés de la culture des parcelles au nom des déclarants, plus d'une douzaine d'entre eux sont fermiers ou sous-locataires de deux ou trois lots appartenant à un ou à plusieurs déclarants (tableau 2). Certains cultivaient des parcelles situées dans plusieurs *koitai*. Ce phénomène pourrait illustrer le souci des paysans de minimiser leur vulnérabilité économique et de maximiser les opportunités de profit en diversifiant les types de lots sur lesquels ils travaillaient. Il pourrait aussi traduire la nécessité pour certains fermiers de cultiver plus d'une parcelle pour assurer leur subsistance.¹⁵

¹⁴ Cf. Martin (n. 4) 39-40. Selon ce dernier, cette observation constitue un argument de plus en faveur de la nature publique de la terre dite ἱερὰ ἐν ἐκφορίῳ. Cf. aussi S.H. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton 1938) 4, et U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* 1.1 (Leipzig and Berlin 1912) 187, n. 7.

¹⁵ Cf. D.J. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris: An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period* (Cambridge 1971) à propos de l'époque prolémaïque.

Tableau 2: Tenanciers associés à plusieurs parcelles dans un village de la toparchie du Phernouphitès d'après le P.Mendes.Genev.

<i>Fermier</i>	<i>Sous-locataire</i>	<i>Déclarant</i>	<i>Koite</i>	<i>Réf.</i>
Ἀλέξανδρος Πτολεμαίου	-	Σεπτίμιος (12)	2	208
	διὰ Φιλοξ(ένου) Ἀλεξάνδ(ρου)	Σεπτίμιος (12)	2	213
Ἀπαινιατ() Φαβ(εῖτος)	-	Σεπτίμιος (12)	2	208
	-	Σεπτίμιος (12)	2	213
Ἀράχθης Τεῶτος	-	? (?)	9	275
	-	Σεπτίμιος (12)	32	438
Ἀσύχης Ὀρου	διὰ Καλασθιο(ς) Ποκρ(ούριος)	Ἀλεξάνδρα (5) καὶ Φιλόξενος (103)	2	210
	διὰ Ἀρποκρα(τ) νεωτέρο(υ) Α[ι]σχίνου	Φιλόξενος Ἄνικ(ήτου) (103)	1	62
Παθρής Φαβεῖτος	-	Τιχοῦφερ (51)	11	227
	-	Τιχοῦφερ (51)	11	315
Πετ]εαρποκ(ρατ) Ὀρου	-	? (?)	3	228
	-	(Ταποκροῦρις) (67) καὶ Ὀρσενού(φιος) (35)	3	239
Πεταρπ(οκρατ) Νεφορίτου	διὰ Ἀρποκρα(τ) νεωτ[έρ]ο(υ) Αἰσχίνου	Φιλόξενος (103)	1	83
	διὰ Σαραπ(ίωνος) καὶ [με]τόχ(ων)	? (10)	?	88
	-	Πιβήχ(ιος) (37)	1	127
Πτολεμαῖος Δωρίωνος	δ[ιὰ	Σεπτίμιος (12)	9	268
-----	-	Καλλίμαχος (86)	32	441
ἐν β	-	Σεπτίμιος (12)	32	443
Πτολεμαῖος Ἐρμείου	-	? (?)	13	327
	δ[ιὰ	? (?)	13	332
	δ[ιὰ	? (?)	13	335
Φαβεῖς Πεταρποκρ(ατ)	-	Σεπτίμιος (12)	1	21
Θαβεῖς Πεταρπ(οκρ)	-	Θαψός (115)	1	29
Φαβεῖς Πεταρπ(οκρατ) καὶ Χεφνόμου Πκοιλ()	-	Θαψός (115)	1	101
Ψενοβάσθις Καλλιμάχου	?	? (112)	1	79
	-	Πιβήχ(ιος) (37)	-	122
ἀνθ ' οὐ] Λαβόιτος	Ψενομφήρις Τεῶτος	Ἄμουσιος (?)	1	59
-----	-	Ταφανο() (61)	1	68
Ψενομφήρις Τεῶτος καὶ Φχουνεῖς Ψεναμούσιος	-			
ἀνθ ' οὐ] Λαβόιτος	Ψενομφήρις Τεῶτος	Σεπτίμιος (12)	-	111

Enfin, un ou plusieurs fermiers membres d'une même famille sont parfois associés à des parcelles appartenant à un même propriétaire. Ainsi deux fils de Téos, vraisemblablement des frères, ont chacun la charge du paiement des taxes associées à une parcelle de terre sèche appartenant à un certain Hérôn (201-204). Il se peut aussi que les fermiers Psénobasthis fils de ? (382-384), []os fils de Psénobasthis (323-324) et Phthaus fils de Psénobasthis (388-390), tous trois en charge d'une parcelle appartenant à Kallimachos, aient été père et fils. En outre, Arachthos (438-440) et Hérieus (23-24) fils de Téos ainsi que Bienchis fils d'Arachthos (153-154), chacun en charge de la culture d'une parcelle appartenant à Septimios, pourraient avoir été apparentés. Le trio formé de Pétéharpokrate fils de Xepnomos (25-26), Phabeis fils de Pétéharpokrate (21-22) et Apainimat() fils de Phabeis (208-209, 213-217), tous trois aussi fermiers de Septimios, pourrait peut-être correspondre à un groupe trigénérationnel. Dans le contexte propre à l'Égypte romaine, ce partage des charges agricoles entre membres d'une même famille résulte probablement du rôle joué par la pratique de la succession divisible.¹⁶ À cet effet, un parallèle peut être dressé avec la situation qui prévaut dans l'Égypte actuelle, où les grands propriétaires fonciers, qui la plupart du temps habitent la ville, confient l'exploitation de leurs domaines à une famille. Cette dernière vit sur les terres qu'elle a la charge de cultiver, la tenure se transmettant de génération en génération.

Le *P.Mendes.Genev.* révèle donc l'hétérogénéité des structures de propriété et d'exploitation foncière en vigueur dans un village mendésien sous le Principat. Si un peu plus de la moitié des déclarants ne sont associés qu'à une parcelle, presque autant le sont à plusieurs lots. Parmi eux, un petit groupe de grands propriétaire se dégage, mais la plupart semblent avoir été de petits propriétaires. Les données, qui rejoignent celles provenant du Fayoum et de la vallée du Nil, témoignent aussi d'un système de tenure fondé sur la délégation et la répartition de la responsabilité fiscale à des fermiers (qui eux-mêmes sous-louaient parfois les parcelles à un tiers) et sur le recours aux structures familiales dans le fermage des terres. La survivance de ces pratiques dans l'Égypte contemporaine constitue une preuve supplémentaire de leur pertinence du point de vue de la gestion du risque alimentaire et de la rentabilisation des terroirs.

¹⁶ Bagnall (n. 3) 118-119 et 204.

A Church with No Books and a Reader Who Cannot Write The Strange Case of *P.Oxy. 33.2673*¹

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Abstract

The article discusses a declaration of Church property, submitted on papyrus in triplicate by the reader of the “former *ekklesia*” in the village of Chysis, near Oxyrhynchus, during the “Great Persecution” in the early fourth century CE. This text, one of the few which shows the perspective of the Roman administration on these events, provides insights into how the edict against the Christians was enforced in Egypt. The article also addresses how a “reader” could require another person to sign for him, provides a new interpretation of the list of property which he declares the church does not own, and discusses why books are not on this list.

In early February 304 CE, just a few weeks short of the first anniversary of the edict of the Tetrarchs ordering state-sponsored action against the Christians,² a reader (ἀναγνώστης) of the Christian community in Chysis, a

¹ We wish to thank Edwin Judge for his valuable suggestions on an earlier version of this paper, and the two anonymous referees for the journal for their comments and criticisms. We are also indebted to AnneMarie Lujendijk for allowing us to read her treatments of the papyrus discussed here in advance of their publication.

² I.e. the “first edict of persecution,” issued by Diocletian and his co-emperors on 23 February 303, cf. below, p. 131. On the campaign against the Christians, see T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA, 1981) 19-24; G. Clarke, “Third Century Christianity,” *CAH*² 12 (2005) 589-671 at 647-665; G. de Ste. Croix, “Aspects of the ‘Great’ Persecution” and “Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted,” in M. Whitby and J. Streeter (eds.), *Christian Persecution, Martyrdom, and Orthodoxy* (Oxford 2006) 35-78 and 105-144.

village in the South of the Oxyrhynchite nome in Upper Egypt,³ responded to a demand of the magistrates of Oxyrhynchus to certify the possessions of his “assembly” (*ekklesia*). In response to commands passed down from the highest officials in Egypt, he filed a written declaration in three copies, each written by a different scribe, that “the former *ekklesia*”⁴ (ἡ ποτε ἐκκλησία) of Chysis possessed nothing save some bronze objects. Below each copy the same *hypographeus* wrote the signature for him, as the reader “did not know letters.”

This fascinating and not infrequently remarked upon document, *P.Oxy.* 33.2673,⁵ provides valuable information on how the action against Christians proceeded which has not yet been fully exploited; it also provokes several questions which admit of further discussion. Principal among these are: how do the three copies relate to each other; how could a Christian reader be illiterate; and why are books not included in the long list of possessions the *ekklesia* lacks?

³ Modern Shusha, on the left bank of the Bahr Yusuf, some 25 km south of the metropolis; see D. Kessler, “Die Lokalisierung von Kascha: zur Problematik der Sektion IV des Papyrus Wilbour,” in *L'Égyptologie en 1979* (Paris 1982) 1:239-245; J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit. Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption* (Frankfurt am Main 1990) 36, n. 2, 268-269, and the map on p. 369; R.L. Mullen, *The Expansion of Christianity: A Gazetteer of Its First Three Centuries* (Leiden & Boston 2004) 274.

⁴ It is usually assumed that we deal here with a physical *ekklesia*, i.e. either a dedicated building or a “house-church” (see most recently A. Luijendijk, “Papyri from the Great Persecution: Roman and Christian Perspectives,” *J ECS* 16, 2008, 341-369 at 348, n. 18). Such seems not unlikely, but if so this is one of the earliest occurrences of the word in this sense (presuming it is not thus at *Acts* 11:26); for others see Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 7.15.4 and 8.1.5 and Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 12.2-3. In what follows we transliterate rather than translate *ekklesia* so as not to close the question.

⁵ Ed.pr. J.R. Rea, *P.Oxy.* 33 (1968), with “P. Oxy. XXXIII 2673. 22: πύλην το ὕλην!” *ZPE* 35 (1979) 128. For dedicated treatments see E. Wipszycka, “Un lecteur qui ne sait pas écrire ou un chrétien qui ne veut pas se souiller? (P. Oxy. XXXIII 2673)” and “Encore sur le lecteur ‘qui ne sait pas écrire,’” in her *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive* (Rome 1996) 415-420 and 421-426; L.M. White, *The Social Origins of Christian Architecture* (Valley Forge, PA, 1997) 2:166-170 (no. 46); Luijendijk (n. 4) and her *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Cambridge, MA, 2008) 189-210. See also *New Docs.* 2:159 and 5:13, as well as a number of comments by other authors cited in the course of this article.

Documenting the Confiscation

The document was submitted by Aurelius Ammonios son of Kopreus, “reader of the former *ekklesia* of the village of Chysis.”⁶ We know little else about him. A man of the same name occurs in one roughly contemporary papyrus from Oxyrhynchus,⁷ but (if it is the same man) it informs our picture of him little more.⁸

The text⁹ on the front¹⁰ reads as follows.

- ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμ[ῶν αὐτοκρατόρων]
 Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ ἔνατον καὶ Μαξ[ιμιανοῦ]
 τὸ η/ Σεβαστῶν.
 Αὐρηλίος Νεῖλω τῷ καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ γυμ() [βουλ(ευτῆ)]
 5 ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάνει καὶ Σαρμάτῃ καὶ Ματρίνῳ ἀμφ[οτέροις]
 γυμ() βουλ(ευταῖς) συνδίκους τοῖς πᾶσι τῆς λαμ() καὶ λαμ()
 Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως. *vacat*
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος Κοπρέως ἀναγνώσ-
 τῆς τῆς ποτε ἐκ<κ>λησίας κώμης Χύσεως
 10 ἐπιθεμένων ὑμῶν ἐμοὶ ἀκολούθως
 τοῖς γραφ<ε>ῖσι ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Ἀθανασίου ἐπιτρό-
 που πριουάτης ὡς ἐκ κελεύσεως τοῦ δια-
 σημ(οτάτου) μαγίστρου τῆς πριουάτης Νερατίου
 Ἀπολλωνί<δ>ου περὶ τοῦ παραστήσαι ἅπαντα
 15 τὰ <ε>ῖδη τὰ [ἐ]ν τῇ αὐτῇ ποτε ἐκ<κ>λησίᾳ καὶ ἐμοῦ
 προενεγκαμένου μὴ ἔχειν τὴν <αὐτὴν> ἐκ<κ>λη-

⁶ ἀναγνώστῃς τῆς ποτε ἐκκλησίας κώμης Χύσεως, *P.Oxy.* 33.2673.8-9. Here and in what follows when quoting the text we use the line numbering of copy A as presented in the ed.pr.

⁷ *P.Oxy.* 45.3257 (318).

⁸ A. Luijendijk, “*P.Oxy.* II 209: An Early Christian School Exercise in Context,” paper presented at the 25th International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor, 2007, has noted the association of one of the men who features in *P.Oxy.* 45.3257 with the archive of early fourth century Oxyrhynchite documents which includes *P.Oxy.* 2.209; this increases the likelihood that we have here the same Ammonios.

⁹ As in the ed.pr., we reproduce the text of copy A, supplemented where necessary from copies B and C. Each copy originally measured 26 cm (height) x 12 cm (width). All are today in the Sackler Library, Oxford; images may be consulted at the Oxyrhynchus Papyri website, <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>. For corrections and comments see *BL* 8:260-61; 9:196; 10:149; and 11:163. For other translations see A.D. Lee, *Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity* (London and New York 2000) 70-71; White (n. 5) 168-170.

¹⁰ The backs of all three copies are blank.

- σ{ε}ίαν μήτε χρυσὸν μήτε ἄσημον
 μέτε ἀργύριον μήτε ἐσθῆτα μήτε τετρά-
 ποδα μήτε ἀνδράποδα μήτε οἰκόπαιδα
 20 μήτε ὑπάρχοντα μήτε ἀπὸ χαρισμάτων
 μηδ' αὐτὰ ἀπὸ διαθηκῶν εἰ μὴ μόνην
 τῆν ἐϋ[ρε]τῖσαν χαλκῆν ὕλην καὶ παραδο-
 τῖσαν τῷ λογιστῇ πρὸς τὸ κατενεγχθῆναι
 25 ἐπὶ τὴν λαμ(προτάτην) Ἀλεξάνδρ<ε>ίαν ἀκολούθως τοῖς γρα-
 φ<ε>ῖσι ὑπὸ τοῦ διασημ(οτάτου) ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνος Κλωδίου
 Κο<υ>κλιανοῦ καὶ ὀμνύω τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
 αὐτοκρατόρων Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβασ(τῶν)
 καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
 30 καισάρων τύχην ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν καὶ μηδὲν διε-
 ψεῦσθαι ἢ ἔνοχος εἶην τῷ θεῖῳ ὄρκῳ.
 (ἔτους) κ/ καὶ ιβ/ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
 Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
 καισάρων, Μεχειρ [ι/].
 (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος ὤμοσα τὸν ὄρκον
 ὧς (πρόκειται). Αὐρ(ήλιος) Σερήνος ἔγρα(ψα) ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτοῦ μὴ
 εἰ(δότος) γρά(μματα).

1 (c) has Χύσεως in the top margin; ὑπατων (b) (c) 4 γυμ[() ed.pr., but a trace of the abbreviation stroke survives 6 λαμ/ bis 9 ποται ἐκκλησίας (b) (c) 10 ὑμων (b) 11 ὑπο (b) (c) 12-13 διασημ/; διασημοτάτου (b) (c) 13 μαγίστ<ρ>ου (b); Ἀπολλωνίδου (b) (c) 15 εἶδη (b); ποται (b), om. (c); κ/ εμου (a) (b) (c) 16 προενεγ'καμενου (a) (b) (c); αὐτήν (b) (c) 18 *l.* μήτε 18-20 μήτε ἐσθῆτα μήτε οἰκόπεδα μήτε τετράποδα μήτε ἀνδράποδα μήτε ὑπάρχοντα (ὑπ- pap.) (b) (c) 19 *l.* οἰκόπεδα 21 μόνην: *μ ex cog.*? 22 *l.* εὔρεθείσαν; χαλκῆ[v] πύλην ed.pr.; χαλκῆν ὕλην Rea, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 128; ὕλην (b) (c) 23-24 *l.* παραδοθείσαν 23 κατενεγ'χθηναι (a) (c), with the apostrophe perhaps also in (b) 24 λαμ/ (a) (b) (c); αλεξανδρ/ (b) 25 ὑπο (b) (c); διασημ/; διασημοτάτου (b) (c) 26 Κουλκιανοῦ (b) (c) 27 σεβασ/ 29 ταυθ' ουτως (c) 32 Μεχειρ ι/ (b) (c) 34 (πρόκειται): the abbreviation is signaled by a lengthening of the descender of the sigma of ὧς; αυρ/; εγρα/ υ/; ει/ γρα/ (a) (b) (c)

“Under the consuls, our lords and rulers, Diocletian for the 9th time and Maximian for the 8th, Augusti. To the Aurelii Neilos, also known as Ammonios, (former) gym(nasiarch) [and councillor], ⁵ incumbent *prytanis*, and Sarmates and Matrinos, both (former) gymnasiarchs and councillors, syndics, all of them of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. I,

Aurelius Ammonios son of Kopreus, reader of the former *ekklesia* of the village of Chysis, |¹⁰ on your demand of me following what had been written by Aurelius Athanasios, procurator of the private estate, as by order of the very distinguished master of the private estate, Neratius Apollonides, concerning the production of all |¹⁵ the effects that were in the said former *ekklesia*, and my stating that the said *ekklesia* had no gold nor silver bullion nor coined silver nor clothing nor beasts nor slaves nor real estate |²⁰ nor property whether by gift or by inheritance except only the bronze material that was found and handed over to the *logistes* for delivery to the very glorious (city of) Alexandria following the written orders |²⁵ of our very distinguished governor Clodius Culcianus, do also swear by the fortune of our lords and rulers Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and Constantius and Maximian, the most noble Caesars, that this is the case and that I have in no respect |³⁰ lied, or (if I have) may I be subject to (the penalty of) the divine oath. In the 20th and 12th (years) of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and Constantius and Maximian, the most noble Caesars, Mecheir [10].

(*Second hand*) I Aurelius Ammonios swore the oath as above. I Aurelius Serenus signed for him since he does not know letters.”

This document was submitted in triplicate, with three separate scribes making the copies. After each had been signed by the *hypographeus*, they were tied by a small strip of papyrus inserted through a cut in the top left hand corner of each.¹¹ Duplicate and even triplicate documents on papyrus are a not uncommon phenomenon,¹² but the process by which they are made is less frequently considered.

The layout of each copy varies slightly, as the scribes applied varying stichometry to the text. Despite being copies of the same text, the copies are sufficiently dissimilar to detect the order in which they were made. The crucial section in this regard comes at ll.16-22 of copy A, where the items which the *ekklesia* does not possess are enumerated. Here copies B and C agree against copy A. In the three versions the passage reads thus:

¹¹ That C was the bottom copy seems certain from the remains of the papyrus “tie” in the copy. Although the editor does not explicitly remark on this, it is to be presumed that A was the top copy, followed by B and C.

¹² Literature on duplicate copies is rare: B.E. Nielsen, “A Catalog of Duplicate Papyri,” *ZPE* 129 (2000) 187-214, provides a listing.

A.16-22

- 16 μὴ ἔχειν τὴν ἐκ<κ>λη-
 σ{ε}ϊαν μήτε χρυσὸν μήτε ἄσημον
 μέτε ἀργύριον μήτε ἐσθῆτα μήτε τετρά-
 ποδα μήτε ἀνδράποδα μήτε οἰκόπαιδα
 20 μήτε ὑπάρχοντα μήτε ἀπὸ χαρισμάτων
 μηδ' αὐτὸ ἀπὸ διαθηκῶν εἰ μὴ μόνην
 τὴν εὐ[ρε]τίσαν χαλκῆ[ν] ὕλην

B.16-21

- 16 μὴ ἔχειν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκκλησίαν μήτε
 χρυσὸν μήτε ἄσημον μήτε ἀργύριον μήτε
 ἐσθῆτα μήτε οἰκόπεδα μήτε τετράποδα
 μήτε ἀνδράποδα μήτε ὑπάρχοντα μήτε
 20 ἀπὸ χαρισμάτων μηδ' αὐτὸ ἀπὸ διαθηκῶν εἰ μὴ μόνην
 τὴν εὐρετίσαν χαλκῆν ὕλην

C.14-19

- 14 μὴ ἔχειν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκκλησίαν μήτε χρυσὸν
 μήτε ἄσημον μήτε ἀργύριον μήτε ἐσθῆτα
 μήτε οἰκόπεδα μήτε τετράποδα μήτε ἀνδράποδα
 μήτε ὑπάρχοντα μήτε ἀπὸ χαρισμάτων
 μηδ' αὐτὸ ἀπὸ διαθηκῶν εἰ μὴ μόνην τὴν
 19 εὐρετίσαν χαλκῆν ὕλην

The three copies reproduce the same list, but B and C each have an identical alteration in the sequence. After ἐσθῆτα A lists τετράποδα, ἀνδράποδα, and then οἰκόπεδα, whereas B and C have the order οἰκόπεδα, τετράποδα, ἀνδράποδα; A and B/C then line up once more with ὑπάρχοντα and the remainder of the list. Although a variety of scenarios might explain this, it seems easiest to imagine that A was produced first, and was then dictated to the scribes of B and C.¹³ During this process, the eyes of the person dictating jumped from the μήτε before τετράποδα in 18 to the same word before οἰκόπεδα in line 19; reaching the end of the line and realising the mistake, he returned to the end of line 18 to continue the list before reading out the beginning of line 20. The repetition of μήτε in this list and the fact that the μήτε directly before οἰκόπαιδα is immediately below ἐσθῆτα in Copy A clearly facilitated this *homioarkton*. As a similar hypothesis of visual slipping cannot be constructed with regard

¹³ Given that copies B and C are largely (though not completely) orthographically identical, even sharing one mistake (ποταί, B8, C6; cf. n. 15), it is possible one was made by dictation from copy A, and the other copied visually from it.

to the reading of B or C to the scribe of A, that A was the first copy made is the most likely explanation.¹⁴

While this list must derive from instructions from higher officials (see below), there is not likely to have been a specific template to be used if an *ekklēsia* possessed virtually no property, as here. Each report would have responded to individual circumstances as the officials encountered them. The orthographic mistakes in copy A indicate that it too was dictated, but we suggest that the context for this dictation was when the first copy of the report, incorporating both the official list and the details of this case, was drawn up. At the point of dictating to the scribes of B and C, the composer or scribe of A was able to correct several infelicities in the first copy: αὐτήν, “said (i.e. above-mentioned),” was inserted before ἐκκλησίαν (B.16, C.14; see A.16), and the name of the *magister rei privatae* was corrected from Apollonios to Apollonides. The scribes of B and C, who were clearly somewhat better scribes, also wrote the name of the *praeses* correctly (Κουλκιανοῦ rather than Αὐ Κολκιανοῦ), and in general exercised more correct spelling than the scribe of A.¹⁵ The scribe of A also uses more abbreviations, which are expanded in B and C (διασημ/ (13, 25), Σεβασ/ (27)). The hands of B and C also appear less hurried and irregular in their production, and consistently use trema over initial upsilon where A does not. They also use a more professionally formed (and very similar style of) *paragraphos* before the signature than does A.

At least one of the three copies will have been destined for the files of those who supervised the *res privata* in Egypt; other copies may have been intended for the office of the prefect Culcianus, the *logistes*, or the Oxyrhynchite syndics themselves. At the head of copy C, the scribe wrote Χύσεως, “of Chysis,” presumably to aid filing. The implication of the copies being tied together is not clear: was this done after production at Chysis for transport back to Oxyrhynchus? At the syndics’ office in the metropolis for sending to Alexandria? Or at the same office for storage when word came through that they were not required? As they were never sent out of Oxyrhynchus – for which the most

¹⁴ It is possible, of course, that copies B and C were made from another *Vorlage* (perhaps a fourth copy retained by Ammonios to prove compliance?), but it must have had the same line division as A. Simultaneous dictation of all copies, during which the scribe of A fell behind and had to insert οἰκόπεδα further on in the list (from memory), should have resulted in the handwriting at this point showing signs of haste, but no such variation in the quality of the handwriting is evident.

¹⁵ See ἐκκλησίας (A.9, 15), ἴδη (15) ἐκκλησίαν (16-17), all correct in B and C, and see ποτε (A9), ποται (B8, C6); cf. ποτε (A15, B15, om. C 13); and μαγίστρον at B13 (μαγίστρου, A13, C10).

likely explanation would be a change of policy from the prefect himself¹⁶ – the latter may be seriously considered, but certainty is naturally impossible.¹⁷

Enforcing the Edict

For such a well-documented event,¹⁸ there is remarkably little reliable evidence on the day-to-day working of the campaign against the Christians: *P.Oxy.* 33.2673 allows a detailed look at its operation in one province.¹⁹ Although it documents only one *ekklesia*, and is only explicitly concerned with one step of the process, it tells us far more.

The submission of *P.Oxy.* 33.2673 is a response to an order (κέλευσις) issued by Neratius Apollonides, the master of the private estate (μάγιστρος τῆς πριουάτης/*magister rei privatae*) in Alexandria, “concerning the production of all the effects that were in the ... *ekklesia*.”²⁰ His deputy, Aurelius Athanasios,²¹ the procurator of the private estate (ἐπίτροπος πριουάτης/*procurator rei privatae*), gave this local force in his own written instructions (γραφέντα). Based on these, the Oxyrhynchite *prytanis* and the *syndikoi* issued the demand (ἐπιθέμενοι) to which the reader directly responds. Separate written instructions (γραφέντα) from the provincial governor (ἡγεμών/*praefectus Aegypti*), Clodius Culcianus, mandated the transfer of the confiscated property to the λογιστής (*curator*) for delivery to Alexandria.

¹⁶ Perhaps giving regional effect to the *vicennalia* amnesty of Diocletian and Maximian (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.6.10; cf. *De mart. Pal.*, Praef. 2, announced in September or November 303; see S. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government, AD 284-324* [Oxford 1996] 181-182)?

¹⁷ For further speculation on this question see at n. 42.

¹⁸ At least from the Christian point of view: the papyrus under discussion is one of the few texts which attests government action against Christians from the imperial perspective.

¹⁹ As it is well known that the Roman authorities in different provinces enforced the edicts against Christians in varying ways (in some places not at all) in this case Egypt may perhaps be legitimately considered a *Sonderfall*. Certainly we have no records from elsewhere parallel to *P.Oxy.* 33.2673, but perhaps something similar stands behind the detailed reconstruction found within the *Gesta apud Zenophilum* (cf. nn. 35 and 103).

²⁰ περί τοῦ παραστήσαι ἅπαντα τὰ εἶδη τὰ ἐν τῇ ... ἐκκλησίᾳ; omitting ποτε, on the assumption that this will not have stood in the order from which this phraseology presumably derives.

²¹ On the possibility, which we would not press, that this man's name indicates he was a Christian, see Luijendijk (n. 5) 214-215.

The local enacting²² of the imperial orders is thus delegated to the president of the *boule* (the *prytanis*), its legal officers (the *syndikoi*²³), and the financial officer, the *logistes*.²⁴ Between them, empowered by two edicts from Alexandria, they issued demands for declarations of Church property and transported any property they confiscated to the capital. The operation uses the machinery of investigation and confiscation of property apparent in other contemporary documents. In *M.Chr.* 196 (2.7.309²⁵) and *P.Oxy.* 33.2665 (305/6?), the *syndikoi* (one of whom in *M.Chr.* 196 is the current *prytanis*) receive replies from the Oxyrynchite *bibliophylakes* to their request for an examination of the archives for records of property ownership in the names of individuals under sentence from, respectively, the *dux* and the *praeses Thebaidis*. In both cases the confiscation has been ordered by the *procurator rei privatae*, which in *P.Oxy.* 33.2665

²² On the early fourth century nome administrations, see A.K. Bowman, "Egypt from Septimius Severus to the Death of Constantine," in *CAH* 12 (2005) 313-326 at 320-321.

²³ On the *syndikos* see B.R. Rees, "The *defensor civitatis* in Egypt," *JJP* 6 (1952) 73-102; J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (281-382)* (Brussels 1964) 115-118; A.K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto 1971) 46-52; B. Kramer, "Liste der *syndikoi*, *ekdikoi* und *defensores* in den Papyri Ägyptens," in M. Capasso, G. Messeri Savorelli, and R. Pintaudi (eds.), *Miscellanea papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana* (Florence 1990) 1:305-329, esp. 307; R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London & New York 2002) 278 and 280.

²⁴ For the *logistes*, a new position in early fourth century Egypt, see B.R. Rees, "The *curator civitatis* in Egypt," *JJP* 7-8 (1953-1954) 83-105; Lallemand (n. 23) 108-113; Alston (n. 23) 278; for a list of early fourth century *logistai*, see R. Coles, *P.Oxy.* 54, pp. 222-229. The introduction of the office of *logistes* into Egypt occurs around the same time as the change in the character of the *curatores rei publicae* which had long existed in other parts of the empire (see G.P. Burton, "The *Curator Rei Publicae*: Towards a Reappraisal," *Chiron* 9, 1979, 465-487, with earlier literature), and may be part of the same Diocletianic reform process. Despite the long-used equivalence between the terms *curator* and *logistes* (see e.g. *CJ* 1.53.3 [239]: *curator rei publicae qui graeco vocabulo logista nuncupatur*), the Egyptian *logistai/curatores civitatis* should not be necessarily equated with *curatores* in other parts of the empire, but by the early fourth century with the Diocletianic administrative reforms (see A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* [Oxford 1964] 2:727) the various *curatores* were roughly functionally equivalent throughout the Roman world, and certainly seem to carry out basically the same function during actions against Christians in Egypt and North Africa.

²⁵ On the date see R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*² (Leiden 2004) 176; and their "Chronological Notes on Byzantine Documents, IV," *BASP* 17 (1980) 5-18 at 16-17

takes the form of a “written notice following the divine decree of our lords the rulers and the Caesars, in consequence of the letter addressed to him by Neratius Apollonides,” the *magister rei privatae*.

Both these documents have been thought possibly to document punishment of Christians. *M.Chr.* 196 is unlikely to do so:²⁶ the verdict against the soldier, given by his commander the *dux*, is too late to be connected to Diocletian’s attempted cleansing of the army of Christians in 299,²⁷ and too early for Maximinus Daiā’s efforts to revive the traditional cults,²⁸ which most likely took place in late 309.²⁹ The apparently well-known “Paul from the Oxyrhynchite (nome)” of *P.Oxy.* 33.2665, who had neither wife nor property (at least as far as the now patchy archives recorded), may be a better candidate for a Christian.³⁰ But whether connected with Christianity or not, *M.Chr.* 196, *P.Oxy.* 33.2665, and *P.Oxy.* 33.2673 together surely attest normal procedure in cases where property was to be confiscated, rather than ad hoc arrangements.³¹

One other document, however, almost certainly refers to the same official actions as does *P.Oxy.* 33.2673. *P.Harr.* 2.208 preserves twelve lines of a document (broken at top and bottom) which begins “... handed over to the *logistes* for delivery to the very glorious (city of) Alexandria following the written orders of our very distinguished governor Clodius Culcianus” (ll. 2-5), followed by a dating clause which dates the papyrus to the ninth of February 304, four days after *P.Oxy.* 33.2673. It is written in a hand which appears to be that of copy A of *P.Oxy.* 33.2673.³² When complete, *P.Harr.* 2.208 is likely to have been

²⁶ So too Luijendijk (n. 5) 210, n. 80.

²⁷ Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 10.1; *Div. inst.* 4.27.4ff.; Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.1.7, 8.4.2; on the date (which is not absolutely certain) see Barnes (n. 2) 19 and his *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, MA, 1982) 63, as well as Clarke (n. 2) 649.

²⁸ Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.14.9; *De mart. Pal.* 9.2; Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 36.6.

²⁹ Barnes (n. 2) 153; Corcoran (n. 16) 185-186 with n. 64.

³⁰ Cf. the discussion of Luijendijk (n. 5) 210-213.

³¹ As had been the case under Decius, when special commissioners were appointed to supervise the sacrifices. The “libelli” are standardly addressed τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἡρημένοις, “To those chosen (to be) over the sacrifices”; cf. τοῖς ἀναδοθεῖσι in *P.Oxy.* 58.3929, implying liturgical nominations at village level, and see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*² (Florence 1997) 58.

³² The possibility was raised in the introduction to *P.Harr.* 2.208. Epsilon is formed differently in the two texts (the scribe of 2673A has a preference for a different two stroke sequence), but there are similarities in the way some combinations are formed, particularly the raising of the final upsilon (2673A.25: τοῦ; 26: Κο<υ>λκιανοῦ; 27bis: Διοκλητιανοῦ, Μαξιμιανοῦ; 28bis: Κωνσταντίου, Μαξιμιανοῦ; and esp. 29, in the upsilon of οὔτως in ταῦθ’ οὔτως [cf. elsewhere in 2673A.11, 16]; thus also at 208.8: cf. in 208.3, 4, 10, and 11). In general appearance they are also similar, and nothing speaks

formulaically identical to *P.Oxy.* 33.2673, although the details of who made the declaration (and whether there was anything to declare) are lost.

That we have two orders from Alexandria, one each from the *magister rei privatae* and the prefect (equals in honour although the former technically answered to the latter) invites reflection on the sequence of procedures we are witnessing. Are the syndics (if *P.Harr.* 2.208 relates to another Oxyrhynchite village) traveling from village to village, accompanied by a scribe, issuing demands and investigating Christian communities as they come to them? Such has always been tacitly assumed (when it has been discussed at all), but what necessitates this assumption? While the imperial government would no doubt have preferred that the local authorities search every church (or Christian house where this was a community's meeting place) personally, the "demand" of the Oxyrhynchite syndics in question here may have instructed a representative of every *ekklesia* to travel to Oxyrhynchus to make the declaration.

That a visit to Chysis did indeed take place is suggested by the designation of the ἐκκλησία as ποτέ, "former," implying it had been previously destroyed, or at least disbanded.³³ The role of the *logistes/curator* in the collection and transportation of confiscated property suggests that he may have been involved in this phase of the process. We may compare here the only other detailed report of confiscation of church property,³⁴ the account of the action against

decisively against the statement that they may be from the same hand. Some difference is however noticeable: *P.Harr.* 2.208 reads παραδοθείσαν (2) where all copies of *P.Oxy.* 33.2673 have παραδοτίσαν; along with the haplography κουκουλιανου (5), this suggests that *P.Harr.* 208 was visually copied from an exemplar rather than from dictation.

³³ Apart from the (symbolic?) destruction of the cathedral in Nicomedia the day before the edict against the Christians was published (Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 12), and despite the edict apparently commanding demolition (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.2.4; but see Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 13), evidence for the destruction of churches is rare; see White (n. 5) 116, n. 42; Luijendijk (n. 4) 348, n. 20. In this context, one might wonder how, if the *ekklesia* at Chysis was a physical church, it could be described as owning neither "real estate or property"; a building must have stood on a piece of land, which would surely lose as either οικόπεδα or ὑπάρχοντα.

³⁴ Apart from the references in the following notes, there is precious little from elsewhere to compare with *P.Oxy.* 33.2673. Hearings, of which we have many records (of varying reliability), are of course normally held (or at least the action set) before a provincial governor. Lactantius records that the initial attack on the church in Nicomedia was carried out by "the (praetorian) prefect, with dukes, tribunes, and *rationales*" (*praefectus cum ducibus et tribunis et rationalibus*, *De mort. pers.* 12.2); the terms are probably not to be taken strictly technically (see J. Moreau, ed., *Lactance, De la mort des persécuteurs* [Paris 1954] 2:274 [comm. ad *De mort. pers.* 12.2]) but the presence

the church at Cirta in North Africa embedded in the *Gesta apud Zenophilum*,³⁵ where the *curator rei publicae* Munatius Felix led the search.³⁶ Likewise *curatores* compelled Victor the bishop of Rusicade to throw his books on the fire,³⁷ questioned the bishop Felix about his sacred books,³⁸ and transmitted other imperial commands related to actions against the Christians.³⁹

Putting the various reports alongside one another, we may suppose that the orders of Culcianus referred to in *P.Oxy.* 33.2673 transmitted the general commands of the emperors to the province, instructing the *logistai* (cf. the North African *curatores*) to begin seeking out Christians and their communities: in this case the job fell to Aurelius Seuthes alias Horion, our earliest known

of *rationales*, officials with financial oversight, is noteworthy when considering the property confiscation detailed in *P.Oxy.* 33.2673.

³⁵ The *Acta Munati Felicis* are transmitted as part of the *Gesta apud Zenophilum* in Optatus, *Against the Donatists*, Appendix 1 (ed. K. Ziwsa, CSEL 26 [Prague, Vienna, and Leipzig 1893] 185-197; we cite here and below from the text in J.-L. Maier, *Le dossier du donatisme* [Berlin 1987] 1:214-239; the *Acta* are at *Gesta apud Zenophilum* 3-5). See now the comprehensive study of Y. Duval, *Chrétiens d'Afrique à l'aube de la paix constantinienne. Les premiers échos de la grande persécution* (Paris 2000) 13-209, esp. 65-99.

³⁶ *Felix flamen perpetuus curator rei publicae*, *Gesta apud Zenophilum* 3-5 passim (several times simply *flamen perpetuus curator*; *curator coloniae Cirtensium* in the heading to the *Acta*).

³⁷ Augustine, *Contra Cresc.* (CSEL 52) 3.27.30.

³⁸ Recorded in the *Martyrdom of Felix of Thibiuca*. The *Acta* record Thibiuca as his see (Maier [n. 35] 1:49-56), but as a *curator rei publicae* of the same name (Magnilianus) is attested in *ILS* 2.1.5713 = *CIL* 8.23964 from Henchir Bou Cha (ancient name unknown), this is probably the actual town involved; see R.P. Duncan Jones, "An African Saint and His Interrogator," *JThS* n.s. 25 (1974) 106-110; Barnes (n. 2) 296, n. 72. Among the martyrdoms see also Lucius the *curator civitatis*/λογιστής τῆς πόλεως of Alexandria who testifies to Theodora's civil status in the *Martyrdom of Theodora and Didymus* 1.3 (*Acta Sanctorum* Apr. III); and the one who (along with others) begs for Phileas' life (A. Pietersma, *The Acts of Phileas Bishop of Thmuis* [Geneva 1984], P.Beatty XV, 11↓ (p. 68); P.Bodmer XX, 16-17 [pp. 98-99]; Lat. 6 [p. 107]).

³⁹ Maximinus' edict of general sacrifice in late 309 was directed by provincial governors to the *logistai*, along with generals and notaries (λογισταῖς ἅμα στρατηγούς καὶ ταβουλαρίους, Euseb. *De mart. Pal.* 9.2; cf. Corcoran [n. 16] 185-186), as were his commands issued in 311, after the "Toleration edict" of Galerius (Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 34; Corcoran [n. 16] 186-187), and lessening its effects, transmitted via the praetorian prefect Sabinus to the *logistai*, generals, and *praepositi pagi* of every city (πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς πραιποσίτους τοῦ πάγου ἐκάστης πόλεως, Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.1.6, quoting a Greek translation of the Latin instructions of Sabinus, which Eusebius reports shortly thereafter were delivered λογισταῖς καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἀγροῦς ἐπιτεταγμένοις, *Hist. eccl.* 9.1.7). Cf. S. Mitchell, "Maximinus and the Christians in A.D. 312: A New Latin Inscription," *JRS* 78 (1988) 105-124 at 113.

logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome.⁴⁰ The prominence of the *curatores/logistai* suggests these powerful, newly installed officials were given the primary responsibility for carrying out the orders of the emperors. The legal declarations were to be processed through the normal legal machinery of the metropoleis, primarily by the *syndikoi*. What this document represents, then, is not a direct record of such actions as are recorded in the North African literary sources, but the official declaration which was required to certify compliance with the orders mandating the documentation of the transfer of property to the imperial fisc issued by the *magister rei privatae*.

If *P.Oxy.* 33.2673 was not itself drawn up in Chysis, it is less surprising that a reader represents its *ekklēsia*: he is not the only one left there, but rather the one delegated to certify the delivery of the “bronze material” to the *logistes*, and he may have come to Oxyrhynchus to do so.⁴¹ That the copies were all made and signed in Chysis when the syndics (and the *logistes*?) visited is of course possible,⁴² but that we deal with two sets of orders which resulted in parallel but coordinated activities by the legal and financial machinery of the metropoleis seems worth suggesting.

⁴⁰ See Coles, *P.Oxy.* 54, p. 222. Seuthes is attested in the office from 303 (*P.Oxy.* 54.3727) to 307 (*P.Oxy.* 54.3729), and he is almost certainly the unnamed *logistes* who occurs in this period (including in *P.Oxy.* 33.2673).

⁴¹ An Aurelius Serenus, a man of which name subscribes for Ammonios, also subscribes two documents in 311; under this interpretation, his presence here need not mean he was in Chysis. See *P.Col.* 10.284 + *P.Heid.* 5.343 (1.1-29.8.311; see B.E. Nielsen, “Application for a Lease of Vineyard Irrigation,” *ZPE* 106, 1995, 179-188), the composer of which comes from the “*epoikion* called Petrok near the village of Dositheou”; *P.Oxy.* 14.1708 (3.4.311), composed by a resident of Penne in the Heracleopolite nome, but addressed to a resident of Oxyrhynchus, and perhaps drawn up there.

⁴² Wherever the copies were made, they must have been made at the same time, as both Serenus and Ammonios will surely not have been present at different occasions. If *P.Harr.* 2.208 is indeed in the same hand as *P.Oxy.* 33.2673 Copy A (see at n. 32), then that scribe was either traveling with the syndics or in their *officium* in Oxyrhynchus.

“Because he does not know letters”

A feature of the document which has frequently caught the eye⁴³ is the apparent contradiction between Ammonios’ ecclesiastical office, “reader,”⁴⁴ and the assertion that he “does not know letters,” by reason of which Serenus signs all three copies of the declaration for him.

We might note at the outset of our considerations that we cannot be completely sure that Ammonios was responsible for reading the scriptures during the services; such is inferred only from his title, and another member of the local clergy may have had this responsibility in Chysis.⁴⁵ But his title strongly suggests that he did, and the inconsistency requires explanation.

Several suggestions have been put forward to explain this situation, most of which approach the problem by considering the nature of Ammonios’ literacy. One, an influential suggestion by Ewa Wipszycka,⁴⁶ does not. She postulated that Ammonios was perfectly able to write, but refused to, so as not to put his name to the imperial oath. This both preserves the reader’s ability to read, and introduces a subtle form of resistance into Ammonios’ declaration.⁴⁷

Few if any of Ammonios’ contemporaries would have accepted that he did not swear the oath. In the semi-literate society that was Late Roman Egypt, the document was every bit as legally binding and just as much an official record as if Ammonios had personally signed. This Wipszycka concedes, but

⁴³ It gave H.C. Youtie a “moment’s shock,” “Ἀγράμματος: An Aspect of Greek Society in Egypt,” in his *Scriptiunculae* (Amsterdam 1973) 2:611-627 at 613.

⁴⁴ On readers see E. Wipszycka, “Les ordres mineurs dans l’église d’Égypte du IVe au VIIIe siècle,” in her *Études* (n. 5) 225-255 at 238-248; H. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church* (New Haven & London 1995) 218-224.

⁴⁵ Cf. W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, MA, 1989) 320, n. 169: “he [i.e. Ammonios] would not have been at all a surprising phenomenon in a junior rank of the clergy which did not necessarily have to do any reading”; R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 249, n. 102: “their title is not always to be taken literally.” The examples of youthful illiterates provided by G.W. Clarke, “An Illiterate Lector?” *ZPE* 57 (1984) 103-104, are not particularly representative, but the adult confessor Aurelius seems a genuine example of an “illiterate reader,” though see Wipszycka’s answer at “Encore sur le lecteur” (n. 5) 421-422; Harris (p. 320, n. 169), by contrast, finds Clarke “convincing.”

⁴⁶ “Un lecteur qui ne sait pas écrire” (n. 5); restated and defended in “Encore sur le lecteur” (n. 5). It is followed by, e.g., Luijendijk (n. 4) 352-356; W. Clarysse, “The Coptic Martyr Cult,” in M. Lamberigts and P. Van Deun (eds.), *Martyrium in Multidisciplinary Perspective* (Leuven 1995) 377-395 at 380. See however Clarke (n. 2) 607, n. 52 (“not altogether persuasive”).

⁴⁷ Luijendijk (n. 4) 356, n. 49, cites J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven and London 1990), on the question.

suggests that “dans son for intérieur” Ammonios may have felt less responsible for the act.⁴⁸

The suggestion turns on contemporary Christian perceptions of the imperial oath.⁴⁹ That is, it may be asked whether many people would have held Ammonios liable to censure had he in fact subscribed to this document. After the first phase of the action against Christians, Peter, bishop of Alexandria, gently chided those who “have made a written declaration,”⁵⁰ awarding them six months of penance for their actions. The object of Peter’s pronouncement is not completely clear,⁵¹ but in any case the “crime” is treated considerably more leniently than in the West, suggesting it was not considered a major issue. Christians were certainly openly averse to swearing by the emperor’s *genius* or *τύχη* in the mid-second century. Polycarp thrice refused to do so,⁵² as did, some twenty years later, the Scillitan martyrs⁵³ and Apollonius.⁵⁴ By the time of Diocletian, however, a demand to swear an oath is not commonly found in such circumstances:⁵⁵ the Diocletianic martyrdoms concentrate on sacrifice.⁵⁶ The *Acts of Phileas* record Culcianus swearing by the *τύχη* of the emperors

⁴⁸ “Un lecteur qui ne sait pas écrire” (n. 5) 420.

⁴⁹ On Christians and the imperial oath, see W. Schäfke, “Frühchristlicher Widerstand,” *ANRW* 2.23.1 (1979) 460-723 at 572-574; R.M. Grant, “Sacrifices and Oaths as Required of Early Christians,” in P. Granfield and J.A. Jungman (eds.), *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten* (Munster 1970) 1:12-17.

⁵⁰ χειρογραφῆσαντες, *Canonical Letter*, Canon 5 (PG 18.476A, trans. T. Vivian, *St. Peter of Alexandria, Bishop and Martyr* [Philadelphia 1988] 186-187), discussed by Wipszycka, “Encore sur le lecteur” (n. 5) 424-425.

⁵¹ Those who had declared themselves not to be Christians? See the discussion of Vivian (n. 50) 197-199, citing suggestions that this passage refers to the use of “libelli” to certify sacrifice. There may have been *ad hoc* systems set up for Christians to certify in writing their compliance, but that there was any formal system (as under Decius) seems contradicted by the lack of evidence. Peter may even be referring to documents such as are preserved in *P.Oxy.* 33.2673 and *P.Harr.* 2.208.

⁵² *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (ed. H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* [Oxford 1972] 2-21) 9.2, 9.3, and 10.1.

⁵³ *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs* (ed. Musurillo [n. 52] 86-89) 3 and 5.

⁵⁴ *Martyrdom of Apollonius* (ed. Musurillo [n. 52] 90-105) 3; cf. 6 and 8.

⁵⁵ De Ste. Croix, “Why were the Early Christians Persecuted” (n. 2) 112 with n. 31, and “Aspects” (n. 2) 41, n. 27, the latter written before the publication of the version of the *Acts of Phileas* in P.Beatty XV; cf. Pietersma (n. 38) 42, 1-2n.

⁵⁶ Cf. the requirements at court referred to by Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 15, where sacrifice, rather than an oath, is required before court business could proceed (*ut litigatores prius sacrificarent, atque ita causas suas dicerent*): for one Oxyrhynchite Christian’s simple evasion of this requirement, see *P.Oxy.* 31.2601 with Luijendijk (n. 4) 357-364 and (n. 5) 216-226.

before (futilely) requesting that Phileas do the same.⁵⁷ Yet rather than being a central test or even pivotal demand of the interrogation (which continues here to be centered on sacrifice), the prefect is attempting to make the bishop swear that Paul denied the resurrection, which Phileas refuses to do (“It is not permitted to us to swear”⁵⁸ – he may also have justifiably wondered to what Culcianus was referring).

If the overtly hagiographical character of some of the martyrdoms – particularly that of Apollonios – might cause us to treat their testimony with caution, Tertullian is explicit: “though we decline to swear by the *genii* of the Caesars, we swear by their safety, which is worth far more than all your *genii*,” which, he adds, are nothing less than demons.⁵⁹ Yet *De idololatria* 23 reveals many Christians were appending the customary oaths to their documents (as often – but not universally⁶⁰ – required by the law) and dissembling (pointlessly, in Tertullian’s opinion) so as to explain away their guilt.⁶¹ Clement was far from impressed with Christian merchants who included an oath among their business practices,⁶² and in 248 Origen continued to affirm the sin in swearing by the emperor’s τύχη, whether the term was understood to represent chance events or the demons of which Tertullian had warned.⁶³

Despite the context of his declaration, Ammonios has more in common with the Christians in everyday situations whom Tertullian, Clement, and Origen criticise than with those under trial for their faith; the frequency with which the practice of oath taking is repudiated surely correlates to that with which the scriptural commands against it were ignored. As Phileas affirmed in

⁵⁷ The fullest, and probably most accurate at this point, is the version in P. Beatty XV (4→.1-4; Pietersma [n. 38] 42): Κου]λκ[ια]νὸς ὁμόσας αὐτῷ | τὴν τύχην τῶν Βασιλέ[ω]ν | [εἶπεν· Ὁ] αὐτὸς· ἐ[γ]ὼ [ῥ]ω[σ]α, | ῥωσσον καὶ σὺ]. The Greek version in P. Bodmer XX, 7 (Pietersma [n. 38] 91) and the Latin recension of the martyrdom (§2, Pietersma [n. 38] 106) have lost the explicit reference to the imperial oath, but retain Culcianus’ assertion that he has sworn.

⁵⁸ P. Beatty XV (4→.6; Pietersma [n. 38] 42): [οὐ συγκ]ε[χ]ώρηται ἡμῖν ὀμνῶναι, restored from P. Bodmer XX; cf. the Latin recension: *non est nobis praeceptum iurare*.

⁵⁹ *Apol. 32: Sed et iuramus, sicut non per genios Caesarum, ita per salutem eorum, quae est augustior omnibus geniis*; cf. Minucius Felix, *Octavius 29: genium, id est daemonem, implorant*.

⁶⁰ Schäffke (n. 49) 572.

⁶¹ One wonders if Ammonios would have used the excuse offered by Tertullian’s imaginary debtor: “I wrote, but I said nothing. It is the tongue, not the written letter, which kills” (*De idololatria 23: scripsi, inquit, sed nihil dixi: lingua, non littera occidit*).

⁶² *Paedagogus* 3.79.1.

⁶³ *Cels.* 8.65; cf. 8.67, where Celsus’ assertions in favour of oaths to the emperor are quoted.

the same year, Christians were not supposed to swear thus,⁶⁴ and Ammonios' act may not have stood him in good stead with some in the Christian community. He might (depending on how Peter's canon was interpreted) have expected a period of penance (and have been thankful that he did not live in the West). But to assume that he pretended to illiteracy by way of refusal to sign the oath seems to us a more ingenious explanation than is necessary. We believe it better to try to explain the situation, that this reader "did not know letters," as it stands.

That Ammonios was illiterate in Greek, but literate in Coptic has always been the most popular explanation, advanced in its most widely cited form by Herbert Youtie.⁶⁵ In the early imperial period the formula *μη εἰδότης γράμματα* seems to have signalled a lack of knowledge only of *Greek* letters.⁶⁶ The adoption of the Greek alphabet for Egyptian (Coptic) may not have changed the principle involved, but it would have altered the practicalities. As Wipszycka points out,⁶⁷ it is not wholly credible that if Ammonios was literate in Coptic, he could not copy a short sentence in Greek; even in later centuries, when literacy only in Coptic was a real possibility, it is difficult to locate anyone who cannot sign in Greek yet writes in Coptic.⁶⁸ In the early fourth century, the road to

⁶⁴ See n. 57.

⁶⁵ Youtie (n. 43) 613 and "Because They Do Not Know Letters," in his *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* 1 (Bonn 1981) 255-263 at 258; see already *P.Oxy.* 33.2673.34n. The explanation is followed by C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London 1979) 65; E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977) 85; Gamble (n. 44) 250, n. 31; T. Kraus, "'Uneducated,' 'Ignorant,' or even 'Illiterate'?: Aspects and Background for an Understanding of ἀγράμματοι and ἰδιῶται in Acts 4:13," in his *Ad Fontes. Original Manuscripts and their Significance for Studying Early Christianity* (Leiden and Boston 2007) 149-170 at 155-156; *New Docs.* 5:113; F. Hoogendijk, "De eerste christenen in Egypte," in P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Vreemdelingen in het land van Pharao* (Zutphen 1985) 68-85 at 83. Note however the scepticism of Bagnall (n. 45) 256-257 with n. 142 ("wholly speculative and even unlikely").

⁶⁶ Youtie (n. 65) 258-262, but some of the examples he cites at pp. 256-260 problematise matters slightly; cf. Bagnall (n. 45) 241 with n. 54, noting that literacy only in Demotic must have been highly unusual in the Roman period. See also Kraus (n. 65) 155 with n. 26, and "(I)literacy in Non-Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Further Aspects of the Educational Ideal in Ancient Literary Sources and Modern Times," in his *Ad Fontes* (n. 65) 107-129 at 114-116. *SB* 1.5117.6 (= *P.Stras.Dem.*, p. 46; 55/6) is most widely cited: [ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ (name of hypographeus) διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὸν] γράμματα [Ἑλληνικά, ἀλλὰ Αἰγύπτια γράφει, followed by a Demotic subscription.

⁶⁷ Wipszycka, "Un lecteur qui ne sait pas écrire" (n. 5) 416.

⁶⁸ Abraham, Bishop of Hermonthis in the early seventh century, seems at face value a likely candidate: he asserts his inability to sign his Greek will (*PLond.* 1.77 [Thebes, ca. 610], ll. 80-81 and cf. ll. 12-13 and 68-69), yet there are many letters in Coptic from

education in Coptic still passed through Greek: Ammonios would not have learnt the former independently of the latter.⁶⁹

Ammonios' occupation draws our attention to the "reading" aspect of literacy. Yet "knowing letters" in this context seems to have constituted the ability to write, even at the most basic level.⁷⁰ A subscription to a document is no guarantee that the subscriber had – or indeed, could – read the text which stood above. In some cases the inability to read on the part of someone who writes their own declaration is made explicit;⁷¹ in others, inexpertly scrawled declarations tell their own story.⁷² Thus the subscription to *P.Oxy.* 33.2673 formally asserts not that Ammonios cannot read the text, but that he is not capable of subscribing it. The seemingly logical solution is that Ammonios could not write, but could read perfectly well.⁷³ However, recent work on education in Graeco-Roman Egypt has argued that, after basic training

him (see the list at M. Krause, *Apa Abraham von Hermonthis. Ein oberägyptischer Bischof um 600* [dissertation Berlin 1956] 1:132-133). Yet it is possible that none of the several hands in which his letters are written are his own (see *O.Crum*, p. xiv with n. 2), and Krause accepts his total illiteracy (*Apa Abraham von Hermonthis* 1:27; more explicitly in "Die Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Phoibammon-Klöster auf dem thebanischen Westufer," *BSAC* 27, 1985, 31-44 at 32). However, with Wipszycka ("Le degré d'alphabétisation en Égypte byzantine," in her *Études* [n. 5] 107-126 at 117), we have some difficulty believing a bishop could be totally illiterate. T. Gagos and P. van Minnen raise the possibility that some of the illiterates who subscribe *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67283 (Aphrodito, 547/8) "may have been fluent in Coptic" (*Settling a Dispute: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Late Antique Egypt* [Ann Arbor 1994] 13), but proof, here as in other cases, is elusive.

⁶⁹ See Luijendijk (n. 4) 354-355 with n. 43, citing R. Criore, "Greek and Coptic Education in Late Antique Egypt," in S. Emmel et al. (eds.), *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit. Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses, Münster, 20.-26. Juli 1996* (Wiesbaden 1999) 2:279-286.

⁷⁰ See especially the indignation of Petaus, the late second century *komogrammateus* of Ptolemais Hormou, that a fellow village scribe who can sign documents has been accused of illiteracy (*P.Petaus* 11; cf. Kraus [n. 66] 113-114).

⁷¹ See *P.Lond.* 3.1164k.22-26 (Antinoopolis, 212).

⁷² Cf. H.C. Youtie, "Βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy," in his *Scriptunculae Posteriores* 2 (Bonn 1982) 629-651 at 642-644, suggesting that most "slow writers" had lost whatever skill at reading they might once have acquired.

⁷³ See, e.g., P.J. Sijpesteijn, "De eerste schreden van een schooljongen in de oudheid," *Hermeneus* 42 (1971) 251-255 at n. 1; R. Lane Fox, "Literacy and Power in Early Christianity," in A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf (eds.), *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (Cambridge 1994) 126-148 at 144; more generally S. Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony: Monasticism and the making of a Saint* (Minneapolis 1995) 97 ("there were ... others who did read, but did not write").

in forming letters, some students practiced copying their names and short sentences *before* they could read.⁷⁴ While this progression was not uniformly followed,⁷⁵ if Ammonios had learnt to read via the usual educational system, he should have acquired sufficient “knowledge of letters” to copy the subscription. However, the normal patterns of education and ancient definitions of “literacy” notwithstanding, we think it likely that what is at issue here is in fact Ammonios’ reading ability. Attention should be paid both to the manner in which Ammonios may have learnt to read, and to the content and presentation of the document itself.

This period brings increasingly frequent references to a type of education which was concerned not with training in writing, but rather with providing detailed instruction in the scriptures.⁷⁶ Well known from Alexandrian literary reports,⁷⁷ the Christian catechetical education⁷⁸ is attested much closer in time to Ammonios in the late third and early fourth century “letters of recommendation.”⁷⁹ In these, catechumens “in the first stage of the gospel,”

⁷⁴ R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton and Oxford 2001) 167-177; cf. her *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996) 139-152.

⁷⁵ See Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* (n. 74) 176-177, esp. 177: “this embryonic form of writing *at times* preceded reading” (italics ours). See also K. Vössing, “Schreiben lernen, ohne lesen zu können? Zur Methode des antiken Elementarunterrichts,” *ZPE* 123 (1998) 121-125.

⁷⁶ Meanwhile, Christian texts became incorporated into the existing patterns of instruction as models for copying; see e.g. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students* (n. 74) nos. 388 and 396; P.Mich. inv. 926, ed. E. Husselman, “A Bohairic School Text on Papyrus,” *JNES* 6 (1947) 129-151. These “notebooks” all date from the third or fourth centuries; there are many further subsequent examples.

⁷⁷ The nature of the “catechetical school” in Alexandria remains controversial; see C. Scholten, “Die alexandrinische Katechetenschule,” *JAC* 38 (1995) 16-37; A. van den Hoek, “The ‘Catechetical’ School of Early Christian Alexandria and its Philonic Heritage,” *HTR* 90 (1997) 59-87; and R. van den Broek, “The Christian ‘School’ of Alexandria in the Second and Third Centuries,” in his *Studies in Gnosticism and Alexandrian Christianity* (Leiden 1996) 197-205.

⁷⁸ On the catechumenate see W. Harmless, *Augustine and the Catechumenate* (Collegeville, MN, 1995); T. Finn, *Early Christian Baptism and the Catechumenate: Italy, North Africa, Egypt* (Collegeville, MN, 1992); M. Dujarier, *A History of the Catechumenate: The First Six Centuries*, trans. E.J. Haas (New York 1979); H. Leclercq, “Catéchèse-Catéchisme-Catéchumène,” *DACL* 2.2 (1925) cols. 2530-2579, P. de Puniet, “Catéchuménat,” *DACL* 2.2 (1925) cols. 2579-2621.

⁷⁹ See T.M. Teeter, “Letters of Recommendation or Letters of Peace?” in B. Kramer, W. Luppe et al. (eds.), *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart 1997) 2:954-960; M.G. Sirivianou, introduction to *P.Oxy.* 56.3857; K. Treu, “Christli-

or “undergoing instruction in Genesis” are sent between towns to “receive edification.”⁸⁰ A version of this system, incorporating training in letters but maintaining the focus on reading scripture,⁸¹ is clearly articulated in the *Rules* of the Pachomian monastic federation.⁸²

It is this type of education⁸³ which we suggest Ammonios had received, in which the firm focus was on understanding the scriptures by reading and memorising them. Indeed, memorisation has been suggested to explain how an illiterate reader could have fulfilled his ecclesiastical duties.⁸⁴ If some tales of Christian memorisation of scripture⁸⁵ seem incredible,⁸⁶ and some are plainly

che Empfehlungs-Schemabriefe auf Papyrus,” *Zetesis. Bijdragen op het gebied van de klassieke filologie, filosofie, byzantinistiek, patrologie en theologie, aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. Émile De Strycker* (Antwerpen and Utrecht 1973) 629-636.

⁸⁰ See *PSI* 9.1041 and *P.Oxy.* 36.2785, both from the Oxyrhynchite archive of Sotas, bishop of Oxyrhynchus in the second half of the third century; see now Luijendijk (n. 5) 81-151.

⁸¹ H. Bacht, *Das Vermächtnis des Ursprungs. Studien zum frühen Mönchtum, vol. 2: Pachomius, der Mann und sein Werk* (Würzburg 1983) 222, notes that the Pachomian material never discusses monks learning to write.

⁸² See *Praecepta* 139-140, ed. A. Boon, *Pachomiana latina* (Louvain 1932) 50; see also Bacht (n. 81) 112-113 (text), 220-223 (commentary); trans. A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia* 2 (Kalamazoo 1981) 166: the “letters, syllables, verbs, and nouns” are to be written for the novice “who does not know letters (*litteras ignorabit*),” so that (even if unwilling) he may learn to read and memorise “at least the New Testament and the Psalter.”

⁸³ Criboire accepts that this is a different system to that on which she focuses, arguing that it thus does not invalidate her arguments on the normal priority of writing in the secular education system (*Gymnastics of the Mind* [n. 74] 177-178).

⁸⁴ Bagnall (n. 45) 256-257 with n. 142.

⁸⁵ Most famously John of Egypt (witnessed in person by Eusebius, *De mart. Pal.* 13.6-8) and Didymus the Blind (e.g., Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 4.25); cf. Wipszycka (n. 68) 119-120 with nn. 20-23.

⁸⁶ See the scepticism of Harris (n. 45) 301; but see Lane Fox (n. 73) 148. Cf. Harris’ own observations ([n. 45] 30-33) on the well-attested high regard for memorisation in Classical antiquity, at least some records of which must be genuine. That many memorisations were performed from a written text by the literate must of course be admitted (E. Wipszycka, “Encore sur la question de la literacy après l’étude de W.V. Harris,” in her *Études* (see n. 5) 127-135 at 134-135); evidence for such feats by the illiterate is more rare, but neither Harris ([n. 45] 33) nor Wipszycka (p. 135) rules out the existence of such. Premier ancient examples such as the *homeristai* are of course a different category. One might better compare modern situations such as the memorisation of the Koran by millions of non-Arabic speaking Muslims or the rote-learning of the Coptic liturgy by monks in modern Egypt.

historical tropes,⁸⁷ this does not make smaller scale memorisations of the few key passages Ammonios was probably called on to read less likely. With a combination of a good memory and limited reading ability, Ammonios could have recited those parts of scripture he was required to.⁸⁸

Even if Ammonios had gained some ability in writing, closer attention should also be given to the importance and context of the text before him, and its presentation. The Graeco-Roman education system did not, in its early stages, train people to write – and thus recognise – the types of often highly cursive scripts used in most documents: students practised in block letters with minimal ligaturing more akin to those they saw in their teacher’s models.⁸⁹ Only later would they become familiar enough with the more cursive forms to read a document such as *P.Oxy.* 33.2673 confidently. It is not fanciful to think one could read the widely spaced neat uncial hand of a biblical codex, but have trouble with a swiftly written cursive.⁹⁰

Definitions of literacy were stretched – sometimes severely – when people who manifestly fall short of being able to read claim literate status on the basis of being able to write, even if very badly.⁹¹ In the present case, the definition

⁸⁷ There is, for instance, little historical value in the late Coptic testimony on the martyr John, who at the age of ten “learnt by heart” (ΔΙΔΑΚΤΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΑΠΟΟΘΗΤΗΣ [ἀποσθηθίσειν]) the entire psalter, letters of Paul and *Acts* (*Martyrdom of John and Symeon*, ed. H. Hyvernat, *Les Actes des Martyrs de l’Égypte* [Paris 1886] 178-179). We might take more note of *The Life of Aphou*, set in late fourth century Oxyrhynchus, where a deacon is not to be ordained “unless he memorise 25 psalms and 2 letters of the Apostle and a part of the Gospel” (ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΝΙΔΑΠΟΟΤΗΘΙΣΕ ΝΙΧΟΥΤΗ ΜΨΑΛΜΟΣ ΔΥΩ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΣΗΤΕ ΝΑΠΟΟΤΟΛΟΣ ΔΥΩ ΟΥΜΕΡΟΣ ΝΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ), well chosen sections of which might suffice for many services; presbyters were also required to memorise sections from *Deuteronomy*, *Proverbs*, and *Isaiah*; see F. Rossi, “Trascrizione di tre manoscritti copti del Museo egizio di Torino,” *Memorie della Real Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 2.37 (1885) 84. See also the readers who recite from memory in the *Martyrdom of St. Mercurius* (T. Orlandi, ed., *Passioni e miracoli di S. Mercurio* [Milan 1976] 114; with Wipszycka, “Encore sur le lecteur” [n. 5] 422).

⁸⁸ See Gamble (n. 44) 222-223, for progressive restrictions on what the reader was permitted to read during services.

⁸⁹ Criboire shows that the scripts practiced by learners are not dissimilar to those used in private letters (*Writing, Teachers, and Students* [n. 74] 113 and, on teachers’ hands, 97-102), but these are usually much more legible than those found in other sorts of documents (cf. Criboire, p. 100).

⁹⁰ Cf. the suggestion of Turner ([n. 65] 84-87) that early Christian codices with fewer letters per line and lines per page than their classical contemporaries were designedly so to aid public reading.

⁹¹ Petaus is only the most famous case; see especially *P.Petaus* 121, with Youtie (n. 72) 630-633 and Kraus (n. 66) 117-121.

may have been stretched in the other direction.⁹² We suggest that what Ammonios signals by having Serenus state that he “does not know letters” is not that he was so completely uneducated that he was unable to sign in any form, but that he was not sufficiently competent at reading *this type of writing* to confirm to his own satisfaction that the document accurately represented the declaration he had just made. This does not mean (as we have seen above) that a signature at the foot of a document always means the person had successfully deciphered the text. But we think it plausible that in this significant matter, Ammonios availed himself of the benefit of Serenus’ assistance and judgement via his declaration of illiteracy.⁹³ Petaus might have been willing to reproduce his signature mechanically on documents he could not actually read, but this was far too important a situation for Ammonios to do likewise.

Ammonios lives, we suggest, in the “vague area between literacy and illiteracy” of which Youtie spoke.⁹⁴ Rather than using the evidence for educated “upper class” clergy⁹⁵ to problematise the declaration of illiteracy in *P.Oxy.* 33.2673, we might see in the text an indication that, in the rapid expansion of Christianity in the second half of the third century, there may not have been enough fully literate clergy to supply every village.

Missing Books

If an illiterate “reader” catches the eye, there is another aspect of the document which is equally surprising: the absence of books from the list of property that Ammonios informs the authorities the *ekklesia* does not own. He declares:

⁹² If he could write, even if he “wrote slowly” (βραδέως γράφων), he should have been required by law to subscribe personally; see Youtie (n. 72) and his “Υπογραφεύς: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt,” in his *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* 1 (n. 65) 179-199 at 188.

⁹³ Serenus must have been someone he trusted, and the fact that there is no “he requested me” formula via which *hypographeis* for hire often signal their role (see Youtie [n. 92] 189) might indicate a personal connection. His practised (if cramped) hand and ready and knowledgeable abbreviation of the illiteracy formula betrays one well-used to writing such declarations.

⁹⁴ (n. 72) 649.

⁹⁵ A. Martin, *Athanase d’Alexandrie et l’église d’Égypte au IVe siècle (328-373)* (Rome 1996) 653-662, and her “L’église et la khôra égyptienne au IVe siècle,” *REAug* 25 (1979) 3-26 at 11-13; Wipszycka (n. 68) 118-121, demonstrating how rare illiteracy was among the clergy; cf. Bagnall (n. 45) 248-249.

μὴ ἔχειν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκκλη-
 σίαν μῆτε χρυσὸν μῆτε ἄσημον
 μῆτε ἀργύριον μῆτε ἐσθῆτα μῆτε τετρά-
 ποδα μῆτε ἀνδράποδα μῆτε οἰκόπεδα
 20 μῆτε ὑπάρχοντα μῆτε ἀπὸ χαρισμάτων
 μηδ' αὖ ἀπὸ διαθηκῶν εἰ μὴ μόνην
 τὴν εὐρετῖσαν χαλκῆν ὕλην

“that the said *ekklesia* had no gold nor silver bullion nor coined silver nor clothing nor beasts nor slaves nor real estate nor property whether by gift or by inheritance except only the bronze material that was found”⁹⁶

The list of possible possessions given in the document – virtually all of which the reader denies the *ekklesia* owns – gives every impression of being a “standardised checklist”;⁹⁷ that is, it has not been drawn up only for this document. As AnneMarie Luijendijk has rightly noted,⁹⁸ manuscripts are notably absent from the declaration. The absence is striking not only because one would assume a Christian *ekklesia* to have books, but because of the prominent place of the confiscation and destruction of scripture in accounts of actions against Christians.

In the preamble to his narration of the edict and its consequences, Eusebius reports that “the Divine and Sacred Scriptures [were] committed to the flames in the middle of the marketplaces”;⁹⁹ his description of the promulgation of the edict includes the injunction that “the Scriptures be destroyed by fire.”¹⁰⁰ Lactantius confirms a focus on scripture in the “first strike” on the cathedral at Nicomedia, the day before the edict was published: “the Scriptures were found and burnt.”¹⁰¹ His report of the edict itself in the following chapter, however, confines itself to the deprivation of Christian liberties and does not mention books.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ Quoting from Copy A, with αὐτὴν in 16 supplied from B and C and the spelling standardised. On the relationship between the three versions, see above, pp. 113ff.

⁹⁷ The phrase of Luijendijk (n. 4) 349.

⁹⁸ Luijendijk (n. 4) 352-353.

⁹⁹ τὰς δὲ ἐνθέους καὶ ἱεράς γραφὰς κατὰ μέσας ἀγορὰς πυρὶ παραδιδόμενας αὐτοῖς, *Hist. eccl.* 8.2.1.

¹⁰⁰ τὰς δὲ γραφὰς ἀφανεῖς πυρὶ γενέσθαι, *Hist. eccl.* 8.2.4. Cf. the virtually identical report in *De mart. Pal.*, Praef., differing only in the date. Neither of Eusebius' dates is that of the actual beginning of the campaign (which only Lactantius preserves), but rather of the edict's promulgation in Palestine; see Corcoran (n. 16) 179.

¹⁰¹ *Scripturae repertae incenduntur*, *De mort. pers.* 12.

¹⁰² *De mort. pers.* 13.

Despite Lactantius' testimony, a number of other documents testify to an order to seek and destroy scripture. Principal among these are the record of proceedings against the Christian community at Circa in North Africa in 303 found in the *Gesta apud Zenophilum*,¹⁰³ the centrepiece of which is an elaborate search for scripture, and the "Acquittal of Felix of Abthungi."¹⁰⁴ Alongside these are reports from Augustine,¹⁰⁵ largely derived from similar sources as Optatus, as well as several martyrdoms.¹⁰⁶

Apart from Eusebius, our evidence is predominantly from the Western Empire, aided in no small part by the obsession with punishing the crime of *traditio*,¹⁰⁷ and due largely to the preservation of texts dealing with the Donatist

¹⁰³ *Gesta apud Zenophilum* 3-5, esp. 3: *proferte scripturas legis et si quid aliud hic habetis, ut praeceptum est, ut iussioni parere possitis*, "Bring forth the writings of the Law, and anything else you have here, as is commanded, so that you may comply with the edict" (trans. M. Edwards, *Optatus, Against the Donatists* [Liverpool 1997] 153); cf. virtually the identical phrase four more times at 4-5. The proceedings recorded in the *Gesta* took place in December 320 (Duval [n. 35] 23-30; Maier [n. 35] 1:211-213); the action against the Christians at Circa under the then *curator* Munatius Felix occurred on 19 May 303. The *Acta Munati Felicis* is no doubt accurate in its outlines, but we wonder to what extent it may have been redacted (though certainly not invented) by Christians; note that the deacon Nundinarius had apparently written up accounts of other aspects of his disagreement with bishop Silvanus of Circa, *Gesta apud Zenophilum* 7 (Maier [n. 35] 1:224): *manu sua enim mihi tradidit libellum rei gestae*.

¹⁰⁴ Optatus, *Against the Donatists*, Appendix 2 (Ziwsa, CSEL 26, 197-204; Maier [n. 35] 1:175-187; cf. Duval [n. 35] 213-341, with a transcription of the text at 231-244); see esp. 4: *Nam cum persecutio esset indicta christianis, id est ut sacrificarent aut quas-cumque scripturas haberent incendio traderent*, "For when an edict of persecution had been issued against the Christians, namely that they should sacrifice or hand over to the flames whatever scriptures they possessed" (trans. Edwards [n. 103] 172); cf. further insistences on the burning of scripture according to "sacred commands" at 4 and 5.

¹⁰⁵ Augustine, *Contra Cresc.* 3.27.33 (the proceedings at Circa given by Optatus); 3.27.30, quoting the *Acta* of a council at Circa in 307 (?), in which Donatus reports he handed over a medical codex, and Victor that he threw one that was illegible on the fire; on the latter text see Maier (n. 35) 1:112-118; Duval (n. 35) 118-121.

¹⁰⁶ *Martyrdom of Euplus*, which takes place in Sicily (ed. Musurillo [n. 52] 310-319), see esp. Greek 2, Lat. 2; *Martyrdom of Agape, Irene, and Chione*, in Macedonia (ed. Musurillo [n. 52] 280-293) 4 (Musurillo, p. 287), 5 (Musurillo, pp. 287, 291); *Martyrdom of Philip*, in Thracian Heraclea, discussed by De Ste. Croix, "Aspects" (n. 2) 47; cf. p. 43, n. 34; *Abitinian Martyrs* (Maier [n. 35] 1:59-92), Praef. 2; *Martyrdom of Felix of Thibiuca* (see n. 38). Cf. W. Speyer, "Büchervernichtung," *JAC* 13 (1970) 123-152, esp. 131-132 and 139-140.

¹⁰⁷ See especially the first Council of Arles (314 CE), Canon 14: "Concerning those who are said to have handed over the Holy Scriptures (*scripturas sanctas tradidisse*) or divine vessels or the names of their brothers: it pleases us that whomsoever of these

controversy (especially by Optatus): in the *Martyrdom of Felix of Thibiuca* the confiscation of books is presented as the sole point of the edict.¹⁰⁸ Conciliar *Acta* and martyrdoms show that in the West, the crime of handing over scripture was regarded seriously. In the East it scarcely seems an issue and is barely mentioned, let alone singled out for censure, in its aftermath.¹⁰⁹

We would be unwise to rely completely on the North African texts for accurate reflections of the contents of the edicts,¹¹⁰ and it is somewhat odd that Lactantius – who was present at Nicomedia when the first edict against the Christians was promulgated¹¹¹ – omits entirely any mention of the destruction of scripture among its provisions. However, as Eusebius is explicit, and the martyrdoms confirm an effort to confiscate scripture, it would be unwise to use Lactantius to argue that the edict contained no such stipulation.¹¹² Diocletian had, after all, included just such a clause in his edict against the Manichees the preceding year.¹¹³

has been detected by public actions, not plain words, be removed from the clerical order” (C.H. Turner, ed., *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* 1.2.2 [Oxford 1939] 390).

¹⁰⁸ *Mart. of Felix* 1.1: *propositum est per colonias et ciuitates principibus et magistratibus, suo cuique loco ut libros deificos extorquerent de manu episcoporum et presbyterorum*. The document comprises little other than repeated demands that the Bishop turn over his scripture.

¹⁰⁹ See De Ste. Croix, “Aspects” (n. 2) 46-49.

¹¹⁰ E.g., the “Acquittal proceedings of Felix of Abthugni” report that the edict required sacrifice and the handing over of scripture (see text cited at n. 104), but the “first edict of persecution” required no sacrifice, and there is no good evidence that the fourth, which did, was ever enforced in the West; De Ste. Croix “Aspects” (n. 2) 46-59; Corcoran (n. 16) 182. Reports of sacrifice in the West stem rather from the interpretations of local officials of the first edict (Corcoran, p. 250).

¹¹¹ Corcoran (n. 16) 19-20.

¹¹² Moreau (n. 34) 2:277 (comm. ad *De mort. pers.* 13.1) suggests that, having described the destruction of the church and burning of scripture at Nicomedia in *De mort. pers.* 12, Lactantius passes over these provisions when reporting the terms of the edict; so too Maier (n. 35) 1:44, n. 22. The disproportionate focus in the Western Empire on the sin of handing over scripture is likely to have more to do with Christian than Roman attitudes, especially as Eastern Christians are oddly unconcerned with the matter. This contrast would repay further study.

¹¹³ *Collatio Mosaicarum* 15.3.6: “We order that the authors and leaders of these sects be subjected to severe punishment, and, together with their abominable writings, burnt in the flames” (ed. M. Hyamson, *Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collectio* [Oxford 1913] 131-133; trans. I. Gardner and S. Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire* [Cambridge, 2004] 116-118).

The *Gesta apud Zenophilum* provides evidence of Christians hiding their books, to avoid handing them over. Such may be the case in *P.Oxy.* 33.2673, as recently suggested,¹¹⁴ and it is indeed highly unlikely that neither the physical nor spiritual *ekklesia* at Chysis possessed any books. The possibility of collusion and/or bribery has been raised to explain the meagre list of possessions,¹¹⁵ but such cannot have applied to books: if one wished to avoid suspicion, and keep one's codices, the way to do this would surely be to keep books *on* the list, and affirm that there were none found; otherwise, their absence from the list would have been noticed at a higher level. It is thus the absence of books from the list from which the authorities were working (and which they required Christians to swear they did not have) which requires explanation.

Several possibilities present themselves. A simple clerical error might be suggested, whereby a mistake was made in the drafting of the first copy of the declaration: that is, books were on the model list, but are accidentally omitted in this declaration. There seems no reason to assume this, nor does it seem particularly likely. Nor, for the reasons discussed above, is it plausible that books are deliberately omitted as a result of corruption or collusion. More likely, surely, is that books were never on the "standardised checklist."

As there is too much evidence (see above) to suppose that the imperial proscription of Christian literature is a complete invention, the answer to our dilemma must surely lie in the nature of this document: it is a declaration of property possessed (or in this case not possessed) by the *ekklesia* which is to be confiscated by the imperial fisc, the *res privata*. While Eusebius' and Lactantius' summaries of the edict mention no provision for confiscation, the authority of this papyrus and of several martyrdoms which show clergy handing over church possessions has been invoked to show that this formed part of the commands of the emperors.¹¹⁶

What this document records is that process of confiscation. In this case we should not be surprised to find books absent: they are not the responsibility of the *magister rei privatae*, and are out of place in this report. As Luijendijk rightly notes,¹¹⁷ any books the community owned should have been subject to destruction rather than confiscation, and are irrelevant here. Although many Christian codices would have been valuable objects, nothing in the literary reports suggests that the government assigned them to the *res privata*: even

¹¹⁴ Luijendijk (n. 4) 353.

¹¹⁵ Luijendijk (n. 4) 352; Bagnall (n. 45) 289: "a partial cover-up."

¹¹⁶ See e.g. De Ste. Croix, "Aspects" (n. 2) 36; Barnes (n. 2) 22-23, with n. 73 on p. 296 citing *P.Oxy.* 33.2673 as an example of confiscation; Clarke (n. 2) 650.

¹¹⁷ (n. 4) 353.

though the scene in the *Gesta apud Zenophilum* records their confiscation,¹¹⁸ the numerous book-fuelled pyres recorded elsewhere make clear that their destination would have been different from that of other church possessions.¹¹⁹ Most likely, this was settled on a separate occasion, which we would argue was a personal encounter with the *logistes* and his staff which turned the *ekklesia* at Chysis into a “former” (ποτέ) *ekklesia*.

We should thus not expect books to have been on this list. But the nature of the list itself may be further addressed. It has always been considered as constituting what the authorities expected to find among the possessions of a Christian community.¹²⁰ But it is surely less that than the items they were interested in confiscating from the Christians. Nor is it even likely to be a list drawn up specifically for the action against the Christians. We suggest that this list represents the standard items that were checked for, not when the property of a Christian *ekklesia* was confiscated, but when anyone’s property was confiscated.

In 395, the emperors Arcadius and Honorius instructed their *comes rei privatae*, when assessing grants of ownerless land from the fisc to a claimant, to make a full list of all “urban estates, buildings, slaves, animals, silver, gold, equipment, clothing and money”;¹²¹ this list is virtually identical to that found in *P.Oxy.* 33.2673. Of the list in *C.Th.* 10.9.2, only *ornamenta* finds no parallel in the list in *P.Oxy.* 33.2673, but it appears below in the papyrus (as ὕλη), because the *ekklesia* did have some ornamenta (presumably less valuable ver-

¹¹⁸ *Gesta apud Zenophilum*, quoted at n. 103, with the customary North African emphasis on books.

¹¹⁹ E.g. Augustine, *Contra Cresc.* 3.27.30.

¹²⁰ “[A]n indication of what officials expected to find in a church” (Luijendijk [n. 4] 349 with bibliography on temple and [later] church inventories at n. 23); similar formulations in E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering, “Papyrus Documentation of Church and Community in Egypt to the Mid-Fourth Century,” *JAC* 20 (1977) 47-71 at 59; Bagnall (n. 45) 290; Clarke (n. 2) 607-608, n. 52.

¹²¹ *Praediorum urbanorum aedium mancipiorum animalium argenti auri ornamentorum vestium pecuniae*, *C.Th.* 10.9.2 (395). In *C.Th.* 9.42.7 (= *CJ* 9.49.7) of 369, Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian provide their praetorian prefect with a rather more elaborate list for making a thorough inventory of the property of the proscribed, extending to the “charm and attractiveness of the various parts” of the estates. *C.Th.* 10.8.4 (346 or 353) dictates that those allowed to claim the estates of supporters of Constantine II “shall have the gold, silver, urban slaves, vestments, and all other movable property” (*aurum argentum et mancipia urbana et vestes ceteraque mobilia*), while the fisc will retain “the rustic slaves, landholdings, and houses” (*mancipia rustica et possessiones et domus*).

sions of the items collected at Cirta¹²²). Both group the various items according to the institutional categories of immovable, self-moving, and movable, although this order is reversed in the papyrus, which lists movable property first.¹²³ Adjusting the order of the list as presented in the papyrus makes the correspondence clear.

<i>C.Th.</i> 10.9.2		<i>P.Oxy.</i> 33.2673	
Urban estates	<i>praedia urbana</i>	ὑπάρχοντα	Real estate
Buildings	<i>aedes</i>	οικόπεδα	Property
Slaves	<i>mancipia</i>	ἀνδράποδα	Slaves
Animals	<i>animalia</i>	τετράποδα	Beasts
Gold	<i>aurum</i>	χρυσόν	Gold
Silver	<i>argentum</i>	ἄσημον	Silver bullion
Equipment	<i>ornamenta</i>	ὕλη	Material
Clothing	<i>vestes</i>	ἐσθήτα	Clothing
Money	<i>pecunia</i>	ἀργύριον	Coined silver

Thus, behind the list in *P.Oxy.* 33.2673 stands the standard checklist used by the office of the *res privata* when making inventories of confiscated property; it should no longer be thought of as a list of things the government might expect to belong to a church.¹²⁴

¹²² The following also largely fall into these categories: gold chalices, silver chalices, silver urns, a silver cooking pot, silver lamps, wafer-holders, bronze candle sticks, bronze lamps, women's and men's tunics, capes, men's and women's shoes, and peasant capes; see *Gesta apud Zenophilum* 3 (Maier [n. 35] 1:219; trans. Edwards [n. 103] 154; on the inventory see Duval [n. 35] 408-413 and, on the "capes," which may also be "clasps," 416-417).

¹²³ While we may be tempted to detect an indication of what the government was more interested in confiscating, or what it thought it was more likely to find, it is possible the organization of such records differed in the early fourth century for reasons which have nothing to do with this specific context.

¹²⁴ The phrase which completes the list of items for confiscation, μήτε ἀπό χαρισμάτων μηδ' αὐτὸ ἀπὸ διαθηκῶν (behind which presumably stands a Latin original such as *nec per donationes nec per testamenta*; cf. *C.Th.* 4.6.7), does not appear in the legal texts cited here, which concentrate on confiscations from individuals, and do not specify the origin of the goods to be confiscated. The phrase indicates a recognition (in fact if not in law) of the *ekklesiai* as bodies who could receive gifts and bequests, and is thus an important stage in the progression from Gallienus' recognition of the Churches as *topoi threskeusimoi* (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 7.13.2), to the full legal recognition of the churches as *corpora* by Constantine and Licinius (Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 48.9; Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 10.5.11).

In light both of this and the failure of Lactantius and Eusebius to mention any provision for the confiscation of Christian property in their reports of the edict, we may perhaps reconsider the status of the order to confiscate Church property. Confiscations certainly occurred: not only are they witnessed in the contemporary record, but in 313 Constantine and Licinius¹²⁵ and Maximin¹²⁶ commanded the restoration of any confiscated property to both individual Christians and (in the case of Constantine and Licinius) the church affected. Yet, as deprivation of property was an all too frequent punishment under Roman law, what we witness may be the effects of the punishment of Christians as prescribed under the edict,¹²⁷ that is, the legal deprivations visited on the Christians, extended to property held by the “corporations,” as Constantine and Licinius put it,¹²⁸ once the government realized this was the case. In cases of confiscation, the Roman government kept careful records, in case restitution proved necessary or (as more usual) reassignment took place.¹²⁹ A law of 369 virtually lays out the process taking place in *P.Oxy.* 33.2673:

If at any time any property must be added to our privy purse, either by confiscation of anything or by due operation of law, the incorporation shall be duly and formally completed through the *comes rei privatae* and then through the fiscal representatives who are stationed in the various provinces, and a diligent pen shall specifically list all separate pieces of property.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 48.7-9.

¹²⁶ Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.10.11. Cf. the statement in Galerius’ “Edict of Toleration” (Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 34.3) that Christians have been “dispossessed,” if such is the implication of the (purposefully?) vague *deturbati sunt*; see Moreau (n. 34) 2:392-393.

¹²⁷ See Barnes (n. 2) 23: “The edict itself probably specified no penalties for failure to comply with its terms, simply assuming that the normal practices would apply”; see however Diocletian’s *Edict against the Manichees* 6-7 (see n. 113), prescribing confiscation of goods after execution for adherents of the religion, and confiscation followed by the mines for those who held public office.

¹²⁸ *Corporis eorum id est ecclesiarum*, Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 48.9. It may be questioned how much immovable property the government could have expected to find actually possessed by churches as entities, few of which outside the major centres can have possessed much except their books and liturgical vessels.

¹²⁹ On restitution of Christian property after the persecution, see Luijendijk, “Papyri from the Great Persecution,” 356.

¹³⁰ *C.Th.* 10.9.1 (trans. C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* [Princeton 1952]) given by Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian to the *comes rei privatae*; cf. the laws quoted at n. 121.

Restitution may not have been anticipated in this case, but the keeping of records such as *P.Oxy.* 33.2673 was prescient, given the policy change which was to come with the deaths of the persecutors.

The *Embolator* in Sixth/ Seventh-Century Papyri

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Abstract

The *embolator* in sixth/seventh-century papyri has nothing to do with the *embole* per se. He was involved in depositing money payments in the state bank.

E.R. Hardy (*The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt*) introduced me to the term ἐμβολάτωρ. In a discussion of the privileges granted to the village of Aphrodito and to the estate of the Apiones at Oxyrhynchus regarding the *embole*, Hardy says that there is no direct evidence as to what the estate boatmen did with the grain they collected for the *embole*. He then makes this further statement (p. 57):

The (Apiones) estate was in touch with embolators, presumably officials charged with collecting the embolé, but it is by no means certain that they had to do with the estate in their official capacity. The embolators figure most prominently in the accounts as purchasers of surplus grain. We hear of their receiving fees. But this payment was on the way to become a separate tax (Footnote includes: Presumably the embolator was authorized to purchase grain for the embolé with money paid for that tax by *adaeratio*), and it therefore does not prove other official contact with the embolators.

A.C. Johnson and L.C. West (*Byantine Egypt: Economic Studies*) viewed the *embolator* in a somewhat different light, saying (p. 327): “The grain from private estates of Oxyrhynchus was delivered to an official called the *embolator*. His place was taken by the *osprigites* in the later period.”

These two views of how the *embolator* functioned struck me as being wide of the mark and led me to investigate the term further.¹ A search of the DDBDP CD-ROM yielded citations of ἐμβολάτωρ in eleven documents in which the term appears in a number of different contexts. None of them deals specifically with “collecting the embole,” or with an official to whom the grain of Oxyrhynchus estates was delivered. The term ἐμβολάτωρ is found in the following texts: *P.Ant.* 2.95.14 (VI), *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67054.7 (VI), 67057 2.2, 4 (566/7), *P.Oxy.* 1.126.15 (572), 16.1908v.1.26, 27 (VI/VII), 1911.9.209 (557), 1914.6 (556), 1919.5 (VII), 1999.2, 6 (VI/VII), 58.3960.3.25 (621), and *SB.*14.12116.17 (587).²

At the outset it should be noted that the specific duties, length of service, and compensation, other than a gratuity, of an ἐμβολάτωρ have not been spelled out in the eleven texts mentioned above. For example, *P.Ant.* 2.95.14 is a letter concerning a financial problem dealing with a house, in which the writer asks for his brother’s authorization for him to “care for the remaining business, with the help of the *embolator* Kosmas.”

P.Oxy. 1.126, as emended in the DDBDP, provides a clear example of one of the functions of the *embolator*. It is a notice of the transfer of taxation on landed property, given as a dowry by a father to his daughter, in which the latter avers that she will henceforth assume the annual taxes hitherto paid by her father. In addition to 63 artabas of wheat for the *embole* plus all charges for handling and for transport to Alexandria, she agrees (lines 13-16) to make

¹ There are several other interpretations of how the *embolator* functioned which the editor of *BASP* graciously brought to my attention and which I found equally wide of the mark. G. Rouillard, *L’administration civile de l’Égypte byzantine* (Paris 1928) 128, remarks that the *embolator* seems to be subordinated under the Prefect of the Pretorian Guard of the East rather than the *dux* and that he therefore would not be involved in the collection of the *embole*, but rather “pourrait être ... un controleur pour les arcarica.” For this she is taken to task by E. Stein, *Gnomon* 1930, 412-413, who assumes the *embolator* collected the *embole* and was therefore subordinated under the *dux*. Yet another identification is made by P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge 2006) 77: *embolator* = *demios nauates* who took charge of the Apion family’s share of the imperial corn supply.

² The editor of *BASP* passed on to me a post DDBDP CD-ROM document, *BGU* 17.2729, recently edited, undated but sixth-century, missing a large portion of its text. It is the remains of a letter covering a number of items of which the writer had mentioned in previous correspondence. Line 5 mentions an *embolator* named κύριος Πέτρος; line 6, 40 *solidi*.

I have also eliminated *SB* 14.12116 from consideration since the text deals with fodder for pack-horses. In line 17 the editor of the document suggested ἐμ(βολάτορος ?) which is unlikely.

payment on a timely basis of 22 carats by the public standard to a local financial officer (ἔθνικῶ χρυσώνῃ)³ for the *kanonika* and of 22 1/2 carats by the imperial standard, or 24 carats by the public standard, to the treasurer (ἀρκαρικαρίῳ) or to the embolator (ἦτοι ἐμβολάτορι) for the bank charges (ἀρκαρικῶν).

The *embolator* in *P.Oxy.* 1.126 served as a facilitator of the imperial bank, presumably in Alexandria, to assist tax payers, who, for some reason or other could not make their deposit on time. Note that the assistance here can be seen as a kind of courtesy to distinguished family members.⁴ Also note that payment to a local banker seems not to have been an option.

Other documents tell of *embolatores* having to do with sums of money but, unlike *P.Oxy.* 1.126, provide scant information or background concerning their connection with the *kanonika* or with taxes or payments to banks. The other side of the equation was the “gratuity” (συνήθεια) that the *embolator* received for his service. Payment was usually in the form of money or in produce such as grain or wine.

In *P.Oxy.* 16.1999 a receipt is given to the *epimeletes* of Theon by two *embolatores*, Philippos and Antiochos, for gratuities (connected with) the *embolai* (ὑπὲρ συνηθειῶν ἐμβολῶν) of the third indiction, 7 *solidi* less 17 carats by the local standard. The particular service rendered by these two men is not stated.

P.Oxy. 16.1908 is similar to 1999 but more complex. It is an account dealing, on the recto, with overdue payments by Oxyrhynchite towns, villages, and farmsteads in wheat and transportation charges for the *embole*. The verso is a record of receipts and disbursements of a bank from which (line 26) two payments are made “for the *embolator*” (τῷ ἐμβολάτορι) totaling 80 *solidi* 22 carats and (line 29) “for the gratuity of the *embolator* (ὑπὲρ συνηθειῶν τοῦ ἐμβολάτορος) 9 *solidi* 7 carats by the Alexandrian standard. No details are provided regarding the *embolator*, the owner of the property, its size and its location, or what the 80 *solidi* covered, but note the size of the gratuity, over 11%.

P.Oxy. 16.1919, like 1908, is an account of payments without supporting details, of which one concerns the expenses of a tribunal that totaled 106 *solidi* 6 carats. Of this total (line 4) “there was given to the *embolator* 15 *solidi* that were brought back, leaving a balance of 91 *solidi* 6 carats.” The editor translates ἐμβολατόρι as “to the collector of the *embole*.”

³ In n. 5, the editors, referring to the term ἔθνικῶ, state that it is not elsewhere applied to a tax collector. ἔθνικός has made it to the LSJ⁹ as “a tax collector” without further ado.

⁴ Stephanous’ father was “a most learned advocate” and her husband “a chief physician.”

The remaining five documents – *P.Oxy.* 16.1911 and 1914, *P.Oxy.* 58.5963, *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67054 and 67057 – bring up the term *embolator* either in connection with a gratuity or in a context unassociated with his function as an *embolator*.

In *P.Oxy.* 16.1911.209 and 1914.6, Eustathios the *embolator* in AD 556/7 is recorded as having purchased, but under unusual circumstances, the remaining artabas of wheat that were left over after the *pronoetes* had balanced off his grain account. In *P.Oxy.* 16.1911.208, the number of surplus artabas is meticulously described as 20 artabas 1 choenix of wheat with a 6% mixture of barley and other contaminants, making a total of 21 artabas 7 choenices of unclean (ῥυπαραί) wheat. In line 9, we learn that these 21 artabas 7 choenices were purchased by Eustathios, and the account reads “the wheat (account) is paid (or balanced) in full” (πλήρης ὁ σίτος) without an entry for the amount that Eustathios paid for his purchase.

In *P.Oxy.* 16.1914.5-6 the number of leftover artabas is stated as 11 artabas 2 choenices with a 6% mixture of barley and other contaminants, making a total of x artabas 8 choenices or a total of 12 artabas of unclean (ῥυπαραί) wheat. As in *P.Oxy.* 16.1911, the *pronoetes* records Eustathios as the purchaser of the 12 artabas but indicates that the price paid for them was given to the boatman Andronikos to have it delivered to a banker, the most illustrious Anastasios, and (line 7) deposited along with other monies. The price that Eustathios paid for the grain is not recorded in this account nor in *P.Oxy.* 16.1911.⁵

The *embolator* appears briefly in *P.Oxy.* 58.3960, an account of receipts and expenditures of *knidia* of wine from small communities under the umbrella of the Apion family. Line 25 lists an expenditure of 100 *knidia* of wine “to the *embolator*,” which the editor translates “to the supervisor of the grain tax” with reference to Hardy’s treatment of the term in his *Large Estates* quoted above.

We find two equally brief citations of the *embolator* in *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67054.7 and 67057.2, 4. *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67054 from Antaeopolis is a rarity, a list of recommended gratuities for individuals who provide a variety of public services. Its heading is informative: [γ]νῶσις τῶν ἐξτρ[α]φ[α]ρ[δ]ί[γ]αφ(ίων) καὶ ἐτέρ(ων) συνηθειῶν κανόνος ἡ ἰγδικ(τίονος). The range of surviving payments as gratuities runs from 1 to 6 *solidi* for such individuals as policemen, secretaries, prison guards, collectors of taxes (ἐξπελλευτοῦ), and for the *embolator*, 5 *solidi*. As for *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67057, seemingly a large dossier of gratuities concerning the *embolator*, it is in poor condition. In line 4 it appears that an

⁵ It is not inconceivable that the *pronoetes* rather than Anastasios pocketed the money, something like 1 or 2 *solidi*, from Eustathios’ two purchases in *P.Oxy.* 16.1911 and 1914.

embolator received *x solidi* “(in the name or service of) the collector of taxes” (ἐξπελλ[ευτοῦ]) γ[ομίσματα]).

For the public service an *embolator* rendered, as if it were a *munus publicum*, he was not entitled to compensation in the form of a salary. What he was given was a συνήθεια, “the customary gratuity or perquisite” in the form of money or its equivalent, as indicated in *P.Oxy.* 16.1911 and 1914 in which the *embolator*’s service was exchanged for a quantity of grain. Similarly, in *P.Oxy.* 58.3860, a list of expenditures from a wine account, 100 *knidia* of wine – the least generous amount among those cited – is given, undoubtedly as a συνήθεια, “to the *embolator*.”⁶

On the basis of the above eleven citations, it can be said that the *embolator* had no hand in serving as a collector of the *embole*, or in processing grain to ensure its quality, or in receiving the grain of the private estates of Oxyrhynchus. He appears to have provided trustworthy auxiliary services for officials with primary responsibilities in the collection of taxes associated with the *embole*. These were due from land owners beyond the immediate limits of such centers as Oxyrhynchus and Alexandria. The model of these services can be observed in *P.Oxy.* 1.126 where the new owner of land was to make annual payments due the governmental bank (ὑπὲρ ἀρκαρικῶν) either to the bank’s treasurer (ἀρκαρικαρίῳ) or to the *embolator* (ἦτοι ἐμβολάτορι). The bank and the teller of the bank were at a distance, undoubtedly in Alexandria; the *embolator* was in effect an agent of the bank and would see to it that payments to the bank were duly deposited.

⁶ The editor translates these words “to the supervisor of the grain tax” (*knidia* 100).

Notes on Papyri

Under this heading we want to start on ongoing series of brief notes on individual texts or *Lesefrüchte*, a critically important category of papyrological contributions. These have been familiar to readers of *BASP* almost from the beginning: Νοήματα λέγοντος and *Notationes legentis* (both N. Lewis), *Chronological Notes on Byzantine Documents* (R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp), *Notes on Old Nubian* (G.M. Browne), and *Notes on Egyptian Census Declarations* (R.S. Bagnall), to mention only those that have appeared in serial form in the past, often as a by-product of monographs-in-progress. No doubt miscellaneous observations will continue to be made by readers of papyrological texts, and *BASP* welcomes such observations for inclusion here, especially if they are too brief to stand on their own as articles.

P.Princ. 3.159

This fever amulet was republished as *Suppl.Mag.* 1.11. In line 11 the original editor, B.M. Metzger, read the name of the beneficiary as [. .]δῖαν while noting δρ, αρ, and λι as alternative readings for the first two letters after the lacuna. The editors of *Suppl.Mag.* read just Δῖαν. From the photo one can tell that there is room for at least one other letter before this. In a copy of *P.Aberd.* from the library of B.M. Metzger (now in my possession) I found an undated letter of H.C. Youtie to Metzger.¹ A postscript concerns *P.Princ.* 3.159, which Metzger had apparently sent to Youtie along with an offprint of his review of *P.Aberd.* in *AJP* 63 (1942) 482-484. I quote it here in full:

In the magical papyrus your text of the man's name, taken together with your note, suggests [H]λίαν, which would enter easily into the sphere of ideas and habits reflected by the mother's name, Sophia. Elijah and Sophia make a nice combination for Christians.

I think Youtie was right. When Metzger republished the text in 1968,² he apparently did not remember Youtie's letter of a quarter century earlier.³

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¹ The letter accompanied an offprint of Youtie's "P. Aberdeen 18," *AJP* 61 (1940) 480-482, which he describes as "published a couple years back."

² B.M. Metzger, *Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan, Jewish and Christian* (Leiden 1968) 104-110 with plate Ib.

³ I thank Bob Daniel (Cologne) for sending me a digital image of *P.Princ.* 3.159 and encouraging me to publish Youtie's remark.

P.Princ. 2.29

The editor, E.H. Kase, read lines 3-13 of this petition of AD 258 to the then *strategos* of the Herakleides *meris* of the Arsinoite nome as follows:

- παρ' Ἀὐ[ρηλίου Ἀσό]ειτος Παυ-
 4 σείρεως [ἀπὸ κώ]μης Φιλαδελ-
 φίας ἔν[εκα] τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου
 Ἀτάμμ[ω]ν[ος κ]αταγενομένων
 ἐν κώμῃ [Κα]μίνου. διὰ τὴν γενο-
 8 μένην ἡμ[ἴν] ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων
 ἐπέλευσι[ν τ]οῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου
 Ἀτάμμων[ος πρό]χθες καταπε-
 σόντος δι[. . . .]φῶ ἀπὸ δώμα-
 12 τος ἡσ[θένησε]ν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ
 κώμῃ ὁ ἀ[θεράπευ]τος

T.C. Skeat (see *BL* 3:149) corrected this to:⁴

- παρ' Ἀὐ[ρηλίου Ἀσό]ειτος Παυ-
 4 σείρεως [ἀπὸ κώ]μης Φιλαδελ-
 φίας ἐμ[οῦ καὶ] τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου
 Ἀτάμμ[ω]ν[ος κ]αταγενομένων
 ἐν κώμῃ [Κα]μίνου διὰ τὴν γενο-
 8 μένην ἡμ[ἴν] ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων
 ἐπέλευσι[ν τ]οῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου
 Ἀτάμμων[ος πρό]χθες καταπε-
 σόντος δι[. . . .]φῶ ἀπὸ δώμα-
 12 τος ἡς [ἔχει οὐ ἔχω] ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ
 κώμῃ οἰ[κίας ἰδί]ας

This improves the syntax, but the plate in the edition does not allow the proposed readings in lines 12-13. H.C. Youtie (see *BL* 7:168) therefore proposed [ἔχει οἰκία]ς in line 12 and ὁ ἀ[ὐτὸς ἀδελ]φός in line 13. E.H. Kase, the editor, had earlier⁵ noted the following reading in line 13 in the margin of his personal copy (now in my possession): ὁ ἀ[ὐτὸς οἰ]κίας. Assuming this is correct (the letter before the final sigma being alpha rather than omicron) I

⁴ In *JEA* 23 (1937) 89 he also proposed a change in punctuation (not in the *BL*) which I incorporate.

⁵ Although Kase died only in 1999, he had dropped out of the field long before Youtie made his correction. Kase's correction seems worth saving for posterity.

propose [ἐμισθώ]σατο in line 12. Note that the petitioner and his brother were driven from their home in Philadelphiea by a Libyan raid. They had found refuge in Kaminou, but it is unlikely that they had (acquired) property there; they more likely rented it. I also note that in the lacuna in line 9 there is room for καί. With a slightly different punctuation than Skeat we get:

- παρ' Αὐ[ρηλίου Ἀσό]ειτος Παν-
 4 σείρεως [ἀπὸ κώ]μης Φιλαδελ-
 φίας. ἐμ[οῦ καὶ] τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου
 Ἀτάμμ[ω]ν[ος κ]αταγενομένων
 ἐν κώμῃ [Κα]μίνου διὰ τὴν γενο-
 8 μένην ἡμ[ῖν] ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων
 ἐπέλευσι[ν καὶ τ]οῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου
 Ἀτάμμωνο[ς προ]χθὲς καταπε-
 σόντος δι[. . . .]ων ἀπὸ δώμα-
 12 τος ἧς [ἐμισθώ]σατο ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ
 κώμῃ ὁ α[ὐτὸς οἰ]κίας

“... from Aurelius Asoeis, son of Pausiris, from the village Philadelphiea. Whereas I and my brother Atammon settled in the village Kaminou because of the raid of the Libyans that hit us, and whereas my brother Atammon the day before yesterday because of ...⁶ fell off the roof of the house which the same (brother Atammon) rented in the same village (Philadelphiea) ...”

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⁶Neither K.F.W. Schmidt's (δι[ἀ πλῆγ]ῶν) nor E.P. Wegener's (δι[ἀ τοῦτ]ων) proposal for line 11 (see *BL* 3:149) is very likely.

P.Oxy. 16.2023

P.Oxy. 16.2023 is an unusual text about a boatman engaged in the sale of leftover grain. The editors take it to be an account “of large arrears in corn received by a boatman during a period of five years.” There is no indication in this text of “arrears” in the common (fiscal) acceptation of the word or as defined in LSJ. I assume λοιπογραφ(ουμένων) in line 2 refers to the balance of grain in the estate’s account rather than the balance due (as in tax arrears). The account is in the name of Menas the boatman (Μηνᾶς ὁ ναύτης)⁷ and covers five indiction years, four of which (ind. years 5-8) are summarized in ll. 1-6, and one, for ind. year 9, is given in ll. 7-12. The editors note the omission of μ(υρ.) before ιβ, ια, ιβ, and γ in ll. 2, 3, 5, and 7.

Of the two transactions, ll. 2-6 provide a summary of the disposal of 121,614 artabas of wheat. Of these, 115,576 art. plus a fraction were sold in ind. years 5-8 without any indication of the price received. There were losses (ζημίας) of 4,732 art. of wheat (not 4%) which were credited to Menas the boatman. The figure was added to the amount he sold to produce a total of 120,308 art. plus a fraction, leaving a balance of 1,306 art. The value of the balance of 1,306 art. was assessed at the rate of 12 art. to the *solidus* (τοῦ νομίσματος ἀρτάβαι ιβ ἰδιωτικῶ)⁸ as 108 *solidi* plus a fraction. The total of 115,576 art. sold represents an average of 28,894 art. per year. If these 115,576 art. were sold at the stated rate of 12 art. per *solidus*, they would yield 9,631 *solidi*; presumably they were sold at a higher price: at 11 art., they would yield 10,506 *solidi*; at 10 art., 11,557 *solidi*; and at 9 art., 12,842 *solidi*, to give a range of possibilities.

The second transaction is more difficult to make sense of. The PHI CD-ROM with the DDBDP on it reads 303,372 art. and 8 choinices in line 7, but the true figure is 33,372.⁹ This number was made up of 21,358 art. sold, plus 2,366 art. of losses (over 7%), plus 9,648 art. unsold. If these 9,648 art. were assessed at the same rate as the unsold balance of the first transaction – at 12 to the *solidus* – it would yield 804 *solidi*. As for the 21,358 art. sold, they would

⁷ E.G. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York 1931) 52, n. 5 (with p. 79), identifies Menas with Menas the son of Asklas, also an estate boatman in the service of the Apion family.

⁸ Incidentally, the rate at which the balance is assessed – 12 art. to the *solidus* – shows that what was sold was ordinary Egyptian wheat, that is ῥυπαρός, unsieved and containing some barley and other contaminants. Otherwise, the wheat would have been designated καθαρός, and it would have been assessed at a considerably higher price per artaba.

⁹ The online DDBDP is completely off at this point.

have yielded, at the rate of 12 art. per *solidus*, 1,780 *solidi*; more realistically, at 11 art., 1,942 *solidi*; at 10 art., 2,136 *solidi*; and at 9 art., 2,373 *solidi*.

All told, the total number of art. sold for the 5 ind. years was 136,934 (115,576 ind. yrs. 5-8 plus 21,358 ind. yr. 9) representing an average of 27,387 art. per year and a potential income between 11,411 and 15,215 *solidi* for the five indiction years.

With good Nile floods, Egypt produced bumper crops of wheat, and after state and local needs were taken care of, there remained a substantial supply of grain to be sold for profit. The market place for such transactions was Alexandria, the traditional destination for on the one hand Egyptian sellers, estate owners, and on the other hand buyers from abroad, grain merchants from cities and towns throughout the Mediterranean. Alexandria was the one city in Egypt where sales and purchases of grain could be made in quantity.

The sale of surplus supplies of wheat was a good business practice that produced hard currency, in imperial *solidi*, for estate owners. The price depended on a number of circumstances: the quality and quantity of the wheat, the market price abroad, and, of course, rumors running through Alexandria regarding scarcity and abundance. During periods of extreme scarcity, the price of wheat could rise exponentially. 12 art. to the *solidus* represented only the rock bottom price.

Whatever boatmen such as Menas made through these sales was probably turned over to the estate's financial officer (τραπεζίτης) in Alexandria.

Papyrology on the Threshold of a New Millennium

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Review article of Bernhard Palme (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Wien, 22.-28. Juli 2001*. Papyrologica Vindobonensia, Vol. 1. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007. xxix + 747 pages. ISBN 978-3-7001-3478-7.

Papyrologists have met internationally as a group since 1930. Following various complications, including a meeting planned for Vienna for 1939 but never held¹ and, of course, the devastating intrusion of World War II,² a custom of triennial meetings was established. Recent meetings have been larger than the early ones, with more participants, more papers, and correspondingly bigger proceedings (cf. *BASP* 39 [2002] 213-227 on the 1998 congress in Florence). At Vienna in 2001 there were 281 registered participants. The program featured nine specially invited keynote speeches, 126 standard-length papers, and three workshops (with fourteen workshop presenters in all).

Under the sole editorship of Bernhard Palme, 99 of these oral presentations have found lasting memorial in the *Akten* (39 in English, 33 in Italian, 15 in German, and 12 in French). These are the first proceedings since the Copenhagen congress (meeting 1992, proceedings published 1994) to keep to a single volume, but it is, as was to be expected, a monumental tome. Despite (in my judgment) the uneven quality of the contributions and despite the longer than usual delay in publication, these proceedings, like their predecessors, afford readers a good sense of the current state of the field, in this case nicely complemented by Peter van Minnen's survey (pp. 701-714) on "The Millennium of Papyrology (2001-)"? *Inter alia*, van Minnen's calculations establish the daunt-

¹ W. Habermann, "Die deutsche Delegation beim Internationalen Papyrologenkongress in Oxford im Jahre 1937 und der für das Jahr 1939 geplante Papyrologenkongress in Wien," *APF* 47 (2001) 102-171.

² In brief, J.G. Keenan, "The History of the Discipline," in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 59-78 at 68-70.

ing extent of papyrological work remaining to be done merely in the editing of papyri housed in already existing collections. A new feature in the contents of this volume (it seems to me) is the number of contributions concerned with “bibliology.” See, for example, Pasquale Orsini’s reconstruction (pp. 489-496)³ of a (mostly) lost *Odyssey* manuscript, based on clues derived from the single codex leaf of *P.Ant.* 3.169. See also the specific items that need to be accounted for in any bibliological record of a papyrus, specific to literary papyri but also relevant for documents, as listed by Edoardo Crisci (p. 133). Also bibliological are several of the contributions on the Herculaneum papyri (see below) as well as Lucio Del Corso’s assessment (pp. 161-168) of the morphology and formats of pre-Hellenistic papyrus rolls based on indirect evidence (Herodotus, Aristophanes, graffiti and dipinti, inscriptions, and vase paintings). All these contribute to the burgeoning interest in papyri as physical artifacts.

As now usual for congress proceedings, the contributions are printed in alphabetical order by author. This is obviously editorially convenient, but any assessment of the volume’s overall value requires a mental reorganization of its contributions by theme, substance, and type. A reprinting of the congress program (pp. xxiii-xxix) obviously assists in determining which papers belong together. With this one finds that the contributions do fall into by now familiar groupings, including descriptions of incipient or ongoing projects; new editions of already published papyri, and first editions of new papyri, literary, sub-literary, and documentary.

Projects: Mohammed Salah El-Kholi (pp. 203-205), while offering some interpretive emendations, announces his intention to publish the hieratic papyri in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum. Ursula Kaplony-Heckel (pp. 325-346) provides select editions and a complete register of ostraka that, in her search through collections, she has classified as “aroura-ostraka”; they are all from the Theban region. It is a miracle to me that anybody can read these difficult texts even with their well-defined formularies. Andrea Jördens (pp. 321-323) outlines a projected series of volumes of papyri from the Louvre, which include papyri that came to the museum from the Viennese papyrological pioneer Carl Wessely (see now *P.Louvre* 2). Edoardo Crisci (pp. 131-140) provides a detailed description of the templates for data entries for a catalogue of all the Greek and Latin literary papyri in the Laurentian Library. Other projects on literary papyri include that of Marie-Hélène Marganne (pp. 427-433), who gives a progress report on the Mertens-Pack databank of literary papyri. Cosimo Damiano De Luca (pp. 159-160) describes his projected database of literary papyri from the Fayyum. Mariachiara Lama (pp. 381-385)

³ For the titles of papers referred to consult the table of contents available at <http://www.austriaca.at/buecher?frames=yes>.

continues her collection and bibliological study (see her “Aspetti di tecnica libraria ad Ossirinco: copie letterarie su rotoli documentari,” *Aegyptus* 71, 1991, 55-120) of literary texts written on the versos of documentary papyri. Other projects concern literary papyri by genre: Marc Huys and Thomas Schmidt (pp. 299-305), mythographic papyri; Daniela Colomo (pp. 125-126), rhetorical papyri; or by author: Natascia Pellé (pp. 525-534) announces her project to re-edit all Xenophon papyri and their testimonia; she provides thumbnail (but very detailed) physical descriptions and, in effect, a running catalogue of the relevant papyri, work-by-work, in the Xenophontic corpus. Paolo Cugusi (pp. 141-151) has collected all papyrus letters written in Latin and shows, on one side, examples of convergence between documentary letters and literary letters (Cicero’s) and, on the other, a host of examples where the documentary letters are linguistically valuable, even to the point of showing how bilingual interference could produce results in which the texts suffer from a complete syntactical “destruction” of their Latin, a complete distortion of the linguistic code (p. 149). Thomas J. Kraus with Tobias Nicklas (pp. 365-368) describes a projected critical edition of early Christian apocrypha using the Gospel of Peter as an illustrative test case.

New publications and discussions of literary and sub-literary papyri (see also above under *Projects*): Timothy Renner (pp. 595-601) offers a Michigan fragment on the aesthetics and defects of hexameter verses; Grace Ioannidou (pp. 313-319) publishes one of three fragments of *P.Berol.* 11520 verso, possibly magical in its contents; Silvia Barbantani (pp. 19-24) provides a running commentary on PSI inv. 436 (*Supplementum Hellenisticum* 969), elegiacs honoring a Ptolemaic general. Rosa Giannattasio Andria (pp. 233-237) offers comments on three papyri with fragments of the “Romance of Aesop”: *P.Berol.* 11628 (a rejected reading), *P.Oxy.* 47.3331 (discussing the implications of the superlative degree of adjectives in the papyrus text against the comparatives of the G recension), and *P.Oxy.* 17.2083 (an ingenious emendation at line 68 verso).

New publications and discussions of documentary papyri (see also above under *Projects*): On the documentary side, Anna Passoni Dell’Acqua (pp. 513-525) publishes *P.Bon.* ISA 3, a late Ptolemaic or early Roman expense account for a festival, possibly a wedding, whose special interest lies in its preponderance of Hebrew and papyrologically common Jewish names. These are subject to extensive study and enlightening editorial comment. The always incisive and entertaining Alain Martin re-edits *P.Lond.* 2.363 (“Women, Camels, Donkeys, or Other Animals,” pp. 435-438). Sergio Daris (pp. 155-157) publishes col. 2 of *P.Med.inv.* 83.22b, the end of a list of nomes that by chance verifies the existence of a second Arsinoite nome, in support of Pliny’s assertion (*NH* 5.49-50) that Egypt had two Arsinoite nomes (*Arsinoitae duo sunt ...*), one of them

in the Delta. Nikos Litinas (pp. 399-405) publishes a Lisbon fragment (inv. MS A[zul] 1725) that once belonged to the Charta Borgiana and would have been part of the famous Schow papyrus (see SB 1.5124) had it not been given to a Portuguese diplomat some time between 1778 (receipt of the papyrus in Rome) and 1787 (the inception of Schow's editorial work, completed in 1788). The virtual joining of the Lisbon to the (now) Naples fragment leads to some emendations to SB 1.5124. Finally, Georg Schmelz (pp. 645-656) publishes, with rich introduction and appendix, a Coptic letter from Heidelberg (P.Heid. Inv. Kopt. 198) concerned with a property dispute over land near the village of Alabastrine owned by the Cemetery (in an institutional sense) of the Episcopal (Catholic) Church of Hermopolis. This contribution would fit equally well both under Coptic Studies and under Religion (see below).

Linguistic studies: Marja Vierros (pp. 719-723) discusses the language of the Ptolemaic notary Hermias (ca. 100 BC). Anna Emmanuelle Veisse (pp. 715-718) discusses the terms for "revolt" found in the Ptolemaic papyri; among other conclusions: *amixia* and *tarache* co-exist in the period 163-130 BC, but *amixia* wins out in the second century. Sofía Torallas Tovar (pp. 687-691) discusses Egyptian loan words shared by the Septuagint and the papyri. Csaba A. Láda (pp. 369-380) analyzes three related demotic Egyptian terms ("man of Philae," "man of Elephantine," and "man of Aswan"), concluding that all three became, eventually, military or semi-military in sense with likely fiscal consequences (lower tax rates).

Literary studies: Ian Rutherford (pp. 633-636) contributes two notes on Bacchylides' Plataea-poem; Alberto Nodar (pp. 469-481) examines diacritics in Homeric papyri; Giuseppe Lentini (pp. 387-391) revisits the famous debate about the attribution of *P.Oxy.* 15.1788, siding with Alcaeus, despite problems; Giuseppe Ucciardello (pp. 693-701) re-examines P.Berol. 11777 and 11801 (*P.Schubart* 9), rejecting the Alcman attribution of the former on grounds of dialect. Carlo Pernigotti (pp. 535-539) surveys gnomological anthologies on papyrus from their formats and preferred authors, assessing their place in the history of the gnomonic anthology as a genre in its own right – its rules and variations, its tradition. A wider perspective on papyrological anthologies (including the gnomological), and a piece to be read in tandem with Pernigotti's, is provided by Francisca Pordomingo (pp. 549-557), with its effort to extend the list of relevant texts and to refine their assignments by type. This is perhaps the place to mention Friedhelm Hoffmann's (pp. 279-294) superb bibliographical survey of demotic literary papyri published since the 1970s – a true education for me and a valuable resource even for specialists.

Herculaneum: As was to be expected from recent experience (cf. *BASP* 39 [2002] 222-223), over a dozen contributions are devoted to the Herculaneum

papyri. Roger T. MacFarlane and Steve W. Booras (pp. 421-426) provide demonstration of the benefits of multispectral imaging, MSI, for recovering texts of the Herculaneum papyri. Their figures 1 and 2 are absolutely convincing evidence. Strangely their corroborative figures 3 and 4 seem to have dropped out, but Daniel Delattre (pp. 179-185) provides ample compensation with his specific (illustrated) examples from Philodemus' *On Music*; likewise, Annick Monet (pp. 455-460), who re-examines three fragments of *P.Herc.* 1413 (probably from Epicurus' *On Nature*), though without images and without the full parallel texts from Arrighetti and Cantarella that would have made the proposed emendations easier to follow. Enhanced images also contribute to new reconstructions in Philodemus' *On Nature* (*P.Herc.* 1431) by Giuliana Leone (pp. 393-398). Here the vast differences between new and old texts are especially striking, perhaps even epistemologically dismaying: so much about Philodemus must be based upon reasoned reconstruction rather than absolutely secure readings. Mariacarolina Santoro (pp. 637-644) provides yet another demonstration of the blessings of MSI technology in an examination of seven select passages from Philodemus' *On the Gods* (*P.Herc.* 157/152). Gianluca Del Mastro (pp. 169-172) uses *P.Herc.* 1497 to clarify the alignment and spacing of the *subscriptio* of *P.Herc.* 1005. Roland Wittwer (pp. 743-747) reconsiders another, long-debated *subscriptio*, the one to *P.Herc.* 1065 (from Philodemus' *On Signs*), defending $\varphi\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ as the word to be restored at the beginning of the second line. Traces of gamma in the third line (first noted by Daniel Delattre) denote a book number (3), not a continuation of the title. Tiziana Di Matteo (pp. 187-190) describes how signs of punctuation articulate the text of *P.Herc.* 1669 (Philodemus, *On Rhetoric*) through a running discussion of four select passages. Adele Tepedino Guerra (pp. 679-685) provides a close reading of a much scrutinized passage from Philodemus' *Oikonomikos* (*P.Herc.* 1424.14.24-46-15.1-14), important for the Epicurean philosophy of wealth, its non-competitive acquisition and benevolent distribution. Gioia Maria Rispoli, in a lengthy contribution (pp. 603-622), goes well beyond her title's announcement (the ethos of dance in Philodemus' *On Music*) to cover in summary the whole history of ancient attitudes on the role of dance in ancient (mostly civic) education, and not just the debate between Stoics and Epicureans as perceptible in the work of Philodemus. Giovanni Indelli (pp. 307-311) collects references to Pericles in Philodemus' papyri. Knut Kleve (pp. 347-354) again insists (against Mario Capasso) on the presence of Lucretian line ends in *P.Herc.* 395. In turn Mario Capasso (pp. 73-77) reveals how much information can be gleaned from unopened rolls based on the types of physical damage they suffered in AD 79, with specific reference (p. 76) to those papyri housed in Room V (the library-storage room) in Karl Weber's eighteenth-century plan.

David Blank and Francesca Longo Auricchio discuss (pp. 57-60) the usefulness of “Some Early [i.e., nineteenth-century] Inventories of Herculaneum Papyri.” In a paper of general interest, Matilde Ferrario (pp. 215-220) summarizes Philodemus’ discussion on the confrontation between philosophy and rhetoric in his *On Rhetoric*, in passages spread through several Herculaneum papyri, against the whole intellectual tradition of this debate. In another topical contribution, the late Marcello Gigante (pp. 239-247) collects all passages in Philodemus where an opponent or his opinions are subjected to ridicule as part of an historical polemical tradition. In contributions like these, it is striking to observe how many details in discussion have to be based upon uncertain and contested readings (see above) and to witness the necessarily circular process whereby emended readings lead to new interpretations, while new interpretations lend support to changes in the text.

The volume presents historical contributions on all three of the standard periods.

Ptolemaic documents and history: Anna Passoni Dell’Acqua’s Ptolemaic account with its unusual names has already been mentioned. Maria Rosaria Falivene (pp. 207-214) traces Greek settlement patterns in the Heracleopolite nome based on land lists published in *BGU* 14.

Roman: Franziska Beutler-Kränzl (pp. 53-56) gathers the hitherto scattered references to the “Procurator ad Mercurium” in chronological order, from 83/4 to 253. This official, based in Alexandria, had no directly provable connection with the grain administration, but some responsibility for the leasing of rights to the alum monopoly. Giacomo Cavillier (pp. 87-93) traces the history of the postings of the *ala I Thracum Mauretana* as part of a reconsideration of *P.Coll. Youtie* 1.53. Marie Drew-Bear (pp. 199-202) offers an enlightening discussion of SB 10.10299 (AD 260s, late in the reign of Gallienus; a record of repairs to be made on public buildings) against the archaeology of Hermopolis Magna with its monumental architecture. Paul Schubert (pp. 657-659) gives a synoptic discussion of a small archive from Philadelphieia, presenting the papers of the wine merchant Tesenouphis as a microscopic analogue (in structural terms) to the larger, richer and later archive of Heroninos. Nahum Cohen (pp. 109-115) uses his publication of a Berlin *syntaximon* receipt (P.Berol. 25557) as an occasion to consider the procedures employed when tax receipts were lost and required replacement.

Byzantine: Roberta Mazza (pp. 439-446) assembles the examples of land leases in late Byzantine Oxyrhynchus. These provide evidence for an essential late antique economic issue, the agrarian labor supply in late antique Oxyrhynchus. This in turn is related to whether the great landlords, the Apiones

in specific, managed their estates directly with wage labor,⁴ or indirectly through a complicated network of land leases, examples for which remain puzzlingly scarce. Interesting is how often the lines between leases strictly speaking and labor contracts are blurred. Historical in a broad sense, embracing *Mentalitätsgeschichte*,⁵ is Amphilochios Papathomas' detailed investigation of late antique Greco-Egyptian letters (pp. 497-512) in terms of their signs of "Höflichkeit und Servilität." For "und" perhaps read "oder," since the author in this well-argued presentation finds little evidence of the latter (contrary to old views on the subject and on the period in general) and much for the former, especially under the influence of Christianity. Papathomas' late antique Egypt is a genuinely polite society.

Coptic studies: There are half a dozen Coptic (or bilingual Coptic-Greek) studies. These include Heike Behlmer's excellent survey (pp. 25-37) on "Recent Work on Coptic Literary (and Semi-Literary) Texts (1997-2000)." Malcolm Choat (pp. 95-101) re-evaluates the evidence for fourth-century monasticism, advising caution when it comes to assuming that homonymous literary and documentary references are about the same person. In a sense this piece is a prequel to Choat's paper at the Helsinki Congress in 2004 on "The Archive of Apa Ioannes: Notes on a Proposed New Edition" (now in *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyri* [Helsinki 2007] 1:175-183). Jitse H. F. Dijkstra (pp. 191-197) examines the Coptic Life of Aaron and related sources in connection with the roster of bishops in fourth-century Philae. The late and deeply regretted Sarah J. Clackson (pp. 103-107) considers the assessment and payment of poll-tax by monasteries during the transition from Byzantine to Islamic rule (this contribution should be read in tandem with Petra Sijpesteijn's; see below). Leslie S. B. MacCoull (pp. 415-419) provides an economic analysis of her indexes of clergy and religious institutions in *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.1077 (seventh century, Hermopolite). Alain Delattre presents a superb discussion on Coptic letters of protection (pp. 173-178), with three re-editions of documents of this type.

Pahlavi papyri: Dieter Weber, in an invited talk on "The Vienna Collection of Pahlavi Papyri" (pp. 725-738, with extensive illustration), presents a survey and guide for documents from the decade of Persian rule over parts of Egypt in the early seventh century. Surprisingly, despite the 1,000 or so surviving Pahlavi-

⁴See esp. on this J. Banaji, "Agrarian History and the Labour Organisation of Byzantine Large Estates," in A.K. Bowman and E.Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times* (Oxford 1999) 193-216.

⁵A term introduced to papyrology by B. Palme, "Papyrologie und Mentalitätsgeschichte der Antike," in K. Strobel (ed.), *Von Noricum nach Ägypten: Eine Reise durch die Welt der Antike* (Klagenfurt 2007) 193-220.

vi documents, published in the hundreds, they so far come across both singly and as a group as very disappointing in terms of their historical contents.

Arabic papyrology: Mohammed Saeid Moghawery (pp. 449-453) surveys the Arabic papyri in the Egyptian National Library with a well-deserved tip of the cap to B. Moritz and A. Grohmann for their fundamental roles in the history of Arabic papyrology. Petra Sijpesteijn (pp. 661-673), with her starting point a Michigan papyrus from an eighth-century archive from the south Fayyum, discusses the gradual institutionalizing of the Islamic state and its tax system with special focus on what eventually became the alms-tax. Gladys Frantz-Murphy (pp. 221-231) attends to the developing formularies for land leases and tax receipts against the larger background of Islamic history as presented in the literary sources (especially al-Kindi). Alia Hanafi (pp. 261-265) publishes two Arabic documents, one an order for delivery between two merchants (eighth-ninth century).

Juristic papyrology: Legal offerings in the volume are few. Hans-Albert Rupprecht (pp. 623-631) presents a survey of the main programmatic questions that have exercised juristic papyrology since Ludwig Mitteis's *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht* of 1891. These principally concern Egypt's mix of laws and mix of people. There was never any formal "reception" of Greek or Roman law in Greco-Roman Egypt, nor did the principle of personality prevail. Things were really much more complicated, and flexible, than that. Of the topics Rupprecht singles out as needing fresh treatment (p. 631; Raphael Taubenschlag's monograph on *Das Strafrecht im Rechte der Papyri* of 1916 remains the basic reference), I would point to criminal law – as long as it does not take a strictly Romanist approach (see now Ari Z. Bryen's 2008 University of Chicago dissertation, *Violence, Law, and Society in Roman and Late Antique Egypt*). Dominic Rathbone (pp. 587-593) studies the three published examples of the "lease-sale" (*misthoprasia*) of ships, concluding that they are long-term leases in which the lessor-seller secures for himself a subsequent share of the ship's operating profits: "These are precious indications of a business culture which fits better with a 'modernist' than a 'primitivist' view of the economy of the Roman empire" (p. 593). Although Joachim Hengstl (pp. 273-278) attends to the Augustan-era archive of Isidoros of Psobthis "aus rechtshistorischer Sicht," this is at the same time a sociological analysis that also attends to the archive (in the papyrologist's sense) as an archive. Finally, to draw wider interest to an important text, *P.Haun.* 3.45, a series of jurists' opinions on legacies and trusts, is given new discussion and commentary by Federico M. D'Ippolito and Fara Nasti (pp. 153-154).

Religion: The usual link between papyrology and religious studies is not so widely represented in the present volume (but see above on "Coptic Studies,"

below on “Magic” and “New Testament and Patristics”). Timothy M. Teeter (pp. 675-678) maintains that the term *theos hypsistos*, familiar in Near Eastern inscriptions and in papyri of the Roman period, is after all Christian, even (p. 678) in the problematic instance from the mostly (though debated) pagan environment of the Theophanes archive.

Magic: Aglae M. V. Pizzone (pp. 541-548) uses the magical papyri and Plutarch to explore, first, the ritual substructure of a passage (1.16.110D-111A, p. 101.20-24 Terzaghi) in Synesius’ *On Providence*, defending the ms. reading against an emendation (by Cameron, Long, and Sherry); then she considers, more briefly, Synesius’ riddle of the lion and the wolf (1.18. 115 B, p. 109.13-18 Terzaghi). Daniela Colomo (pp. 117-124) collects evidence for magical incantations on papyrus, often erotic, featuring Hecate, Anubis, and dogs (particularly amusing for the onomatopoetic variety of barks in these spells).

New Testament and patristics: Studies of New Testament manuscripts are provided by Stanley E. Porter (pp. 573-580), on “hermeneia” and Johannine papyri, and Wendy J. Porter (pp. 581-585), on “ekphonic notation” in Vienna NT mss. “Hermeneia” refers both to the Greek word as it appears in Johannine mss. and the relevant interpretations given in passages labeled in this way; “ekphonic notation” refers to the “marks of punctuation” and “musical-rhetorical symbols” that provide clues as to the liturgical use of the mss. so marked (p. 581; see below). Both these detailed studies nicely complement Stanley Porter’s own “New Testament Studies: What Can We Learn from Each Other?” (pp. 559-572). The “we” here are of course New Testament scholars and papyrologists. Porter’s survey in fact shows more about how New Testament scholars can benefit from engagement with papyrology than the other way around. The exchange is, perhaps for obvious practical reasons, unequal. Michael Kohlbacher (pp. 355-364) describes the bibliographical tools available for Christian literary papyri, noting the particular problem caused by the classification of those “adespota” (e.g., liturgical poems, unattributed Easter letters, creeds) that are frequently supplied by papyrological publications. He seems to aim to fill recent bibliographical gaps (see esp. pp. 358-363) for the benefit of students of early Christianity and its literature (narrowly speaking), but this is an eye-opening survey for papyrologists as well. Harald Buchinger (pp. 61-72) provides an intricate look at the textual tradition of Origen’s treatise *On Passover* (in the Tura papyrus discovered in 1941), mainly through details provided by the indirect tradition. Céline Grassien-Yang (pp. 249-254) presents an intriguing, late (seventh-eighth-century), opisthographic Vienna hymnal (P.Vindob. G 40064), one of whose sides refers to “the fourth plagial mode”; the other paraphrases *Psalms* 149, with singular forms in the papyrus text replacing plurals of the psalm.

Collections: A familiar and always informative proceedings topic is the description of individual papyrus collections. Geneviève Husson (pp. 295-298) discusses the Reinach collection at the Sorbonne and the competitive timing of Reinach's purchases (along with de Ricci) in the early 1900s against those of Breccia and Vitelli for Florence; two Gizeh dealers were apparently the source of both collections' pieces from the Heroninos archive. Husson describes three of the Sorbonne *inedita* in detail. Raffaella Cribiore (pp. 127-130) writes on "The Coptic School Exercises in the Collection of Columbia University," ostraca acquired 1959-1960 from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which had excavated various monastic sites in the second and third decades of the twentieth century. Wolf B. Oerter (pp. 483-487) continues his investigation of Coptic texts in collections in Prague (first installment in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* [Florence 2001] 2:1051-1056). Curious is the tale of how Viennese papyrologist Carl Wessely's considerable personal collection came, through the agency of his heir and obituarist Theodor Hopfner, to rest in two separate Prague collections. No doubt, at the time (1933-1934; Wessely died in 1931), the separation of the collection into Greek (7,000 pieces) and "Oriental" (1150 pieces, with nearly 900 Arabic and over 200 Coptic) parts made perfect sense.

Jürgen Hammerstaedt and Reinhold Scholl (pp. 255-260) summarize the state of the collections at Halle, Jena, and Leipzig, focusing on the history of acquisitions at each and their present states of conservation and publication. The three collections share a common bond: that is, despite other sources they were all beneficiaries of the "Papyruskartell" of the early twentieth century.⁶ As such they invite comparison with recent additions to collections reported during two Congress workshops on cartonnage: to Brussels as reported by Henri Melaerts (pp. 447-448), to Genoa by Monica Berti (pp. 49-51), to Heidelberg by James M. S. Cowey (in a paper, see p. xxiii, not in the Acta), to Lecce by Mario Capasso (pp. 79-80), and to Milan's Catholic University by Carla Balconi (pp. 15-18). These acquisitions seem to have begun in 1970 (Genoa). Other sales dates, as reported in the four published papers, are 1974 (Genoa), 1979 (Milan), 1980 (Genoa), 1981 (Genoa), 1983 (Milan), 1984 (Genoa),⁷ 1986 (Brussels),⁸ 1990 (Lecce, Milan), and 1999 (Lecce). Two of the four reports

⁶ A. Martin, "The Papyruskartell: The Papyri and the Movement of Antiquities," in A.K. Bowman et al. (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (London 2007) 40-49.

⁷ See now M. Berti, "Il kleros di Machatas e la prokeryxis in un papiro inedito di Genova," in *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology* (Helsinki 2007) 1:105-109, a papyrus from the 1984 purchase.

⁸ An earlier report on the 1986 Brussels purchase: H. Melaerts, "Une nouvelle collection de papyrus ptolémaïques à Bruxelles," in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrolo-*

name the dealer or dealers concerned; the other two papers leave the dealers anonymous (“L'antiquario,” Balconi; “mercato antiquario,” Berti),⁹ but one seems consciously to stress that the sales took place in Europe (i.e., not in Egypt).

Of course, these reports present only parts of a larger story, since other institutions (Cologne, Geneva, and Trier – but there are more) are known to have negotiated for and purchased lots from this same cartonnage (Melaerts, p. 447). Based on the physical condition of the papyri (residual traces of paint and gesso, papyrus sheets anciently cut into telltale shapes)¹⁰ and internal contents (in terms of prosopography, place-names and datings), the papyri come from a Ptolemaic cemetery in the borderlands of the ancient Arsinoite and Heracleopolite nomes (probably in the Arsinoite’s southern, or Polemon, *meris* – *ibid.*). Some lots of the papyri from these unauthorized excavations, while still in mummy form, were available for sale in Cairo in the early 1980s. Others came to Europe (Vienna) where they were dismantled, conserved, and (again) offered for sale (Capasso, p. 79), no doubt at higher prices but as much surer investments for hesitating purchasers.

In scholarly terms we have here a marvelous opportunity to practice the now familiarly-named “museum archaeology,” since some of the papyri, to judge from their *dramatis personae*, have archival links and these archives, broadly speaking, are now spread across collections. Even some individual papyri are split between the collections of the purchasing institutions, e.g., Brussels and Trier, Brussels and Cologne, and Brussels and Genoa (Melaerts, p. 448). Here then also is a challenge to the *amicitia papyrologorum*, an opportunity for inter-institutional cooperation aided by modern imaging technology, and an endeavor anticipating full disclosure from all parties concerned.

But efforts at recontextualization through museum archaeology are bound to be incomplete.¹¹ Whatever the dealers’ and purchasers’ records in terms of extent and quality of information (and its accessibility), the papyri have after all been stripped from their archaeological contexts. The mummies, now destroyed as evidence, have been removed from their unidentified cemetery, the papyri have been excised from their respective mummies. Were the mummies photographed? Were they numbered? Were the papyri catalogued according

genkongresses (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997) 2:679–681.

⁹ Likewise, Berti (n. 7) 105: “acquistato sul mercato antiquario.”

¹⁰ One of the papyri, on its verso, interestingly carries the design for a pectoral: Melaerts (n. 8) 679.

¹¹ See E. Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity* (Durham, NC, and London 2007), esp. chapter 4.

to their mummies? My guesses are no, no, and maybe,¹² since the dealer does possess and has shared with at least one purchaser some kind of “list of texts that were found together.”¹³

The relevant Congress reports appear at a time when papyrologists’ awareness about the value of papyri as archaeological artifacts, and about the larger (and thornier) issue of papyri as cultural property, has been greatly heightened. Workshop I at the 21st International Congress of Papyrologists in Berlin, August 13-19, 1995, made a special point of the importance of archaeological context for interpreting and evaluating papyri extracted from cartonnage.¹⁴ Ten years later, a panel of the American Society of Papyrologists, held in Boston, January 7, 2005, under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute of America, resulted in publication of its papers in *BASP* 42 (2005) 169-272. The panel’s keynote paper included (pp. 186-187) an impassioned plea to papyrologists for the melding of papyrological practice with archaeological data, for “reframing our notions of context, and closely integrating our understanding of texts, artifacts, and archaeology.”¹⁵ Not quite two years later, in spring 2007, a resolution of the American Society of Papyrologists (text in *BASP* 44 [2007] 289-290) earnestly noted the diminishment to papyri as historical evidence “when they have been stripped from their original contexts in the course of illicit and undocumented excavations”; it cites “the trade in papyri and other ancient objects as [encouraging] looting and, therefore, the destruction of the archaeological record” at the same time as it often entails “the removal and commercial exploitation of cultural heritage.”

¹² I obviously have in mind Arthur Verhoogt’s valuable work on the “Menches archive,” especially A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, *Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris: The Doings and Dealings of a Village Scribe in the Late Ptolemaic Period (120-110 BC)* (Leiden 1998), impossible without Grenfell and Hunt’s crocodile numbers.

¹³ Melaerts (n. 8) 679.

¹⁴ *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1997), esp. Jaako Frösén’s Einleitung (2:1079-1082; “All the information has to be kept together, and also, as far as possible, published together,” p. 1080) and Erja Salmenkivi’s “Der Wert des archäologischen Kontextes für die Deutung der Urkunden – die Berliner Kartonage” (pp. 1083-1087; “Der archäologische Kontext, d.h. die genaue Kenntnis der Herkunft von Papyrustexten, ist in der multikulturellen Gesellschaft Ägyptens besonders wichtig,” p. 1083; “Alle Einzelheiten sind wichtig für die ganzheitliche Deutung der Kartonagetexte,” p. 1087).

¹⁵ A stunning implementation of such recommendations: J.H.F. Dijkstra, “New Light on the Paternouthis Archive from Excavations at Aswan: When Archaeology and Papyrology Meet,” *BASP* 44 (2007) 179-209.

Other factors now in play are Egypt's law no. 117/1983 on the protection of antiquities; the 1972 UNESCO Convention on Cultural Property,¹⁶ subject of an August 1, 2007, plenary session at the 25th International Congress of Papyrology in Ann Arbor ("Papyrology and the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Property"); and the appointment of a working party of the Association internationale de papyrologues to help "reconcile the legal, ethical, and practical restraints on the acquisition of papyri on the one hand with the need on the other to promote and assist the development of scholarly and scientific knowledge of the human past."

Just how serious papyrologists are about archaeological context (a factor whose importance can sometimes be generally overstressed; it would be better to collect and deploy specific examples) remains to be seen. Historically, we have been both competitive and cooperative in our efforts to acquire papyri on the antiquities market (see Husson's contribution [pp. 295-298] for a good, if old, competitive example; Martin [n. 6] for cooperation).¹⁷ In the present volume, one can sense the papyrologist's appreciation for archaeology in Mario Capasso's contribution on "I templi di Bakchias nei papiri" (pp. 81-86), which describes the problem posed to the documentary evidence by the discovery of a second temple on the ground in 2000; likewise in that of Marie Drew-Bear (pp. 199-202; see above), who discusses the archaeological evidence for the monumental architecture of Hermopolis Magna against the evidence of the papyri. We find in the present volume a version of a familiar lament ("provenance unknown," "provenance inconnue," "Herkunft unbekannt") about impediments to research caused by unknown provenances – even for a bibliological study of literary papyri (Lama, p. 385): "Una delle maggiori difficoltà incontrate in questa ricerca è proprio la frequente impossibilità di determinare la località di provenienza, distinguendo inoltre il luogo di produzione e il luogo di ritrovamento, nei papiri acquistati sul mercato antiquario."¹⁸ And Mario Capasso

¹⁶ For details and criticism of the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (and related measures), see James Cuno's repetitive and polemical *Who Owns Antiquity? Museums and the Battle over Our Ancient Heritage* (Princeton 2008) passim; for Cuno's ignoring the importance of archaeological context, see Roger Bland's crisp review in *London Review of Books* 30.21 (6 November 2008) 39; cf. B. Peterson, "Tales from the Vitrine," *The Nation*, January 26, 2009, 30-33.

¹⁷ Worth a new look is Marcel Homberg's hilarious (in my reading) but passionate treatment of the subject, "Le commerce des papyrus en Égypte," *CÉ* 8 (1933) 148-154.

¹⁸ Notice that the papyrologist's notion of provenance does not include the papyrus's ownership and sales history in modern times (its pedigree), but refers, even in this extended formulation, to the place where the text was written in antiquity, sometimes indicated by references internal to the text, and the place where the piece came to its

(pp. 76-77) goes so far as to advise against indiscriminate attempts to open closed Herculaneum rolls because they are so bibliologically valuable in their current state.

Nevertheless, it is hard not to consider the traditional philological inclinations of our field, and to ask: given the alternatives, no new papyri or papyri stripped from context, which would we choose? If we had the money and the opportunity would we, could we choose not to buy? While papyrologists are always understandably eager to add new papyri to individual collections, we might under such a challenge call to mind Peter van Minnen's estimate (pp. 705-706) about the million plus unpublished papyri already begging for attention and his reference (p. 712) to "the enormity of the task lying ahead of us." At current rates of publication papyrologists will never run out of fresh material even if no more papyri are ever purchased. Here is another chance for international cooperation, but one where the ethical and legal considerations are less ambiguous. As so often, the problem is not one of supply but of distribution and access. Could we, should we henceforth take a pass on dubiously discovered and offered materials and rather organize cooperatively and internationally toward a more open and systematic exploitation of existing collections?

final rest in antiquity and where it was found in modern times: sometimes the same, sometimes different from its place of production; also sometimes discoverable from internal references.

Less Artemidorus and More

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Review article of Claudio Gallazzi, Bärbel Kramer, and Salvatore Settis, *Il papiro di Artemidoro (P.Artemid.)*, with the collaboration of Gianfranco Adornato, Albio Cesare Cassio, and Agostino Soldati. Milano: LED Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economia Diritto, 2008. 630 pages + box with a volume of 40 plates, 4 folding plates, and a DVD. ISBN 978-88-7916-380-4.

In this magnificently executed volume, Gallazzi and Kramer present the text on the front of this remarkable papyrus and Settis, assisted by a host of art historians, the illustrations on the front and back, which are threefold: a map inserted between columns 1-3 and 4-5 of the Greek text, a “bestiary” on the back, and drawing exercises on the front. Almost everything one would wish to know about this unique “document” can be found discussed at (great) length somewhere in the volume. It is unfortunate that no proper indices are provided; instead there are cross references.

The editors are remarkably open about the circumstances that brought the papyrus ultimately to Turin, where it now resides in the Egyptian Museum. It was bought for that museum by the Fondazione per l'Arte della Compagnia di San Paolo in 2004 for 2.75 million euro from the Armenian-German dealer Serop Simonian. (This is quite a bit more than he was asking for it in the early 1990s.) The dealer claims he acquired the piece from the collection of an Egyptian mentioned in the old Baedeker and exported it in 1971 with a *firman* of the Egyptian government (p. 54). I suspect that the date, 1971, was chosen to avoid having the piece exported from Egypt after the UNESCO convention of 1972.¹ More painful perhaps is the involvement of the Italian minister of culture, Giuliano Urbani, who encouraged the Compagnia to buy the piece. But I suppose as minister of Italian “beni culturali” he did not have to worry about someone else's!

¹ See the “ASP resolution concerning the illicit trade in papyri” in *BASP* 44 (2007) 289-290.

The papyrus was retrieved from some kind of *papier mâché* (illustrated on p. 61, a photo taken while it was being disassembled) that also contained 25 documents, now deposited for study at the Statale in Milan. The documents are from the late first century AD (Vespasian-Domitian) and relate to Alexandrian citizens, their legal affairs in the city of Alexandria, and their property in the Antaeopolite nome (p. 62). Whether the papyrus belonged with these private papers is not certain, but it is remarkable enough to find a set of private papers bundled together in *papier mâché*, so that the inference that the papyrus has some connection with Alexandria is reasonable. Where it was recycled is unknown.

(If the *papier mâché* has anything to do with the funerary business the source must be looked for in the Arsinoite and Heracleopolite nomes, where at least one cemetery yielded Alexandrian documents [from a public context] in abundance, Abusir el-Melek, from the reign of Augustus, about a century before the date of the 25 documents that came with the papyrus. Recycling in mummy *cartonnage* extends in time to the beginning of the second century AD, so the *papier mâché* here, if it has anything to do with it, dates from the very end of the recycling phenomenon.)

The papyrus is 32.5 cm high, and the two fragments are 41.5 and 189.5 cm wide respectively. The editors allow a small break between the two fragments, to accommodate the rest of col. 3. The first fragment was probably already detached from the rest of the roll when it and the second fragment were recycled in the *papier mâché* along with the documents.

It is unavoidable to address the somewhat painful prehistory of this volume. After the papyrus was acquired for the Egyptian Museum in Turin in 2004 an exhibit was held there in 2006. The exhibit almost immediately led to a strong reaction on the part of Luciano Canfora (for some Italian “political” reason), who claimed the papyrus was a fake made by the nineteenth-century forger Constantine Simonidis. Canfora has stuck to his guns ever since. As a consequence of the torrent of publications by him and others, the editors have tried in this *editio princeps* to “anticipate” (after the fact) the many criticisms about reading and interpretation levelled at them and not just on pp. 57-60. This has unfortunately not made for better scholarship on their part. Too often the editors of the Greek text indulge in the same kind of unqualified statements that has so far been characteristic of Canfora c.s. The result is that I was surprised by the tone of many of the comments in the earlier part of the volume, where the texts are edited and explained.

An example. In col. 1.3-4 Luciano Bossina, one of Canfora’s “collaborators,” wants to read something else than the editors, whose preliminary text he used. This is what they have to say about it: “la lettura e manifestamente

esclusa dalle tracce rimaste sul Recto del rotolo o stampigliate sul Verso, tutte agevolmente distinguibili a Tavv. II, XVIII, XIX e tutte descritte in dettaglio nell'apparato *ad l.*” First of all a minor criticism of the editors themselves. They do not make clear what Bossina wants to read (in the commentary on p. 198 they report ΠΡΩ<ΤΑΛ>ΑΝ|ΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ, in the apparatus on p. 141, πρωτ<αλ>αν|τεύσαντα). Then all their statements need to be deflated. In their “apparatus” they do *not* discuss every letter that is at stake here in detail – in fact they never discuss a single letter, only individual strokes. Also I think I see (but not necessarily clearly enough to distinguish *agevolmente*) a nu rather than a sigma (not discussed in the “apparatus”) at the end of the line in the “mirrored mirror” text on plate XVIII,² supporting Bossina’s reading. Since tau and alpha when written together in this script share some of the same space, reading προτ<αλ>αν instead of προπ<λασ>οντο the space and the visible traces on the “mirrored mirror” image of the end of line 3 would seem possible. Reading προτ<αλ>αν|τεύσαντα then seems to me as likely as, if not preferable to, the editors’ προπ<λασ>|τεύσαντα (which perhaps cannot be excluded “manifestly”), but I would not translate it the way Bossina does. Rather I think the author here intends to say that a geographer should “calibrate” (balance) his mind in advance to deal with a complex issue that will indeed make his head spin around.

The comments on the various illustrations on the papyrus, including the map, are generally much more cautious. The editors of the images on the back very helpfully include illustrations in their text that include “mirrored mirror” portions in red. The editors of the Greek text on the front do not provide such help to the reader. Instead they indicate in their diplomatic text by red letters, red dots (uncertain), and red underlining (certain) where readings are derived from, or supported by, “mirrored mirror” images (see p. 63 for the explanation; in addition they print □ for a spatium once (col. 1.36, without comment). The reader has to look these up in the volume of plates. It would have been better if images had been provided with the “mirrored mirror” images superimposed on them. This would have occasionally been difficult, as the inside of the roll moved around a bit while it was wet, leaving slightly blurred traces here and there. Now the *faits accomplis* in the diplomatic text and the wordy descriptions of traces in the bulky “apparatus” have to be very carefully “retraced” with the help of the plate volume (the DVD is more awkward to handle) before the text can be accepted as final. In addition to the plate volume with 16 color and 24

² When the roll was wet mirror images of the text and drawings on the front were left on other parts of the papyrus there, at a distance of one turn of the roll. These mirror images helpfully appear themselves “mirrored” on certain plates.

infrared photography plates there are two sets of two folding plates each that contain both sides of the papyrus in color and infrared photography.

All readers will have to “retrace” the editors’ steps, because their articulated text goes well beyond the diplomatic text in many places, and no particular help is provided by the “apparatus.” It never identifies the letter the editors think best matches the strokes they painstakingly describe. Readers are supposed to make the connection, but I almost always failed to do so; I found it often easier to “retrace” the articulated text of the editors on the images (including the “mirrored mirror” images) and make a critical evaluation of their readings. Unfortunately not many readers will have the patience or expertise to subject the editors’ final presentation of the evidence for the Greek text (their articulated text) to such a critical evaluation. Even fewer will take the trouble to subject their translation of the articulated text, which for cols. 1-3 is the fullest interpretation offered by them, to closer scrutiny. The editors’ commentary on cols. 4-5 (straightforward Greek, in part known from the indirect tradition) is exhaustive and helpful (pp. 213-272), but that on cols. 1-3 (very awkward Greek that often makes no sense as printed) is hardly sufficient (pp. 198-212). The Italian translation is overly rich, sometimes masking real problems in the Greek text.

The contents of the volume can be briefly summarized. There is a long bibliography on pp. 13-50 that covers both geography and art history (and includes encyclopedia entries; missing is the monograph by C. van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition of Geography* [Groningen 1957]). On pp. 55-56 the editors list the bibliography on the papyrus that appeared before the *editio princeps*, beginning with C. Gallazzi and B. Kramer, “Artemidor im Zeichensaal. Eine Papyrusrolle mit Text, Landkarte und Skizzenbüchern aus späthellenistischer Zeit,” *APF* 44 (1998) 189-208. There are long sections on the “scientific” dating of the papyrus (pp. 66-71) and the ink (pp. 71-78), which yield nothing spectacular (a mid-first century date for the papyrus, which the editors ignore elsewhere in the volume, and ordinary ink).

The discussion of the palaeography (pp. 90-91 with 313-314 for the captions for the illustrations on the back) is rather short considering the otherwise overabundant presentation of the evidence. (For a virtual “alphabet” see now D. Delattre, “La main du papyrus dit ‘d’Artémidore’ et les écritures dessinées de quelques papyrus d’Herculaneum,” *Quaderni di Storia* 68, 2008, 289-293, providing parallels from the Herculaneum papyri, and F. Reiter, *Anatomie der Welt auf dem Artemidor-Papyrus* [Berlin 2008] 13). It may be significant that the most important parallels for the script could all be from Alexandria, including the best parallel for the script used for the captions on the back (*BKT IX* [not VIII, p. 313], no. 147, from the cartonnage from Abusir el-Melek that yielded

many documents from late first-century BC Alexandria that were discarded as waste paper, including *P.Bingen* 45 [33 BC] which is listed as a parallel for the script on the front). The editors (p. 93) make too much of the numerals used in cols. 4-5 and, significantly, the caption to the left of the map, which are unfamiliar from documents from Egypt and are reminiscent of Ionian numerals. We do not find many numerals in literary papyri, and I suspect literary genres such as geography had their own traditional “alphabet” for numerals.

On pp. 98-113 the editors provide a discussion of what we know about the geographer Artemidorus. None of this is strictly necessary, as the details that might bring clarification about the date of Artemidorus’ movements in the later second century BC were already known from the indirect tradition. (See now L. Lehnus, “Artemidoro elegiaco (SH 214),” *Quaderni di Storia* 68, 2008, 279-288, for the link between Artemidorus and Alexandria.) The discussion of language and style (pp. 134-139) curiously limits itself to the text on the papyrus. It would have been helpful if all the fragments of Artemidorus had been included in the discussion. (Add Ἀκρω]ι|τήριον in col. 5.6-7 to the examples of inappropriate *iota mutum* on p. 95.)

Then there is a long section (pp. 119-133) confronting Artemidorus’ *stadiasmoi* for Spain in col. 5 with those known from other authors. Only one occurs elsewhere (Polybius, p. 122) exactly in the form given by Artemidorus, but that is because Artemidorus is otherwise unusually precise in his numbers. (And Strabo quotes one of Artemidorus’ figures as such once, p. 129.)

The text occupies pp. 140-195, but most of it is taken up by the “apparatus.” From the translation (pp. 196-197) one can tell that not a whole lot of continuous text is at stake (col. 2 in part and col. 3 are negligible), a common problem with papyri with Greek prose. I read and interpret the text differently from the editors in a number of places.

First comes col. 1.1-4 which the editors read as:

τὸν ἐπιβαλλόμενον γεογραφί[α]
 τῆς ὅλης ἐπιστήμης ἐπιδείξιν
 ποιεῖσθαι ἑαυτοῦ δεῖ προπλασ-
 τεύσαντα τὴν ψυχὴν ...

About the participle in lines 3-4 I have said enough above, but I think that the editors are wrong in taking ἑαυτοῦ with what precedes (translating “il suo bagaglio di conoscenze” on p. 196). I take it with τὴν ψυχὴν in the next line. I also think that the editors are wrong to connect the infinitive ποιεῖσθαι with the following δεῖ. I think it depends on ἐπιβαλλόμενον in line 1 and expect an infinitive to go with δεῖ later on in line 8, where I think θεῖναι (ἑαυτὸν ἔτοιμον) can be read instead of θεῖντα. γεογραφί[α] then is a dative of instrument. I

would translate as follows: “Whoever commits himself to demonstrating by way of geography all there is to know must first calibrate his soul...” One should then also take the prepositional expression καὶ κα[τ]ὰ | τῆς ἀρετῆς δύναμιν in lines 7-8 with what immediately precedes and translate it in conjunction with the dative expression in lines 5-7, both qualifying προταλαν|τεύσαντα in lines 3-4.

In col. 1.15 I would translate παραστήσαι as just “to put” (geography on an equal footing with philosophy) rather than as “demonstrare che è” (p. 196). In col. 1.18 the editors translate τοσαῦτα μμεϊγμέγα as two expressions, “di tipo diverso” and somewhat later on “così potenti,” whereas it should be translated as one expression: “so many different.” In col. 1.21 they regard πόνον as the result (“opera”) rather than the labor for which the geographer is well prepared. But the author seems to be struggling with the labor that is required to turn the geographical knowledge into words, so μεμοχθημένον may be an intensive rather than resultative perfect and the whole phrase in lines 20-21 (πρὸς τὸν γενόμενον τῆς ἐπι[σ]τήμης μεμοχθημένον πόνον) translated as: “for the hard labor that comes with knowledge” rather than “per affrontare quella che è l’opera della conoscenza faticosamente elaborata.”

In col. 1.22-23 there is no room for περι{ρ}εργι|νημέμας. I think the scribe wrote περιεργι|νημέμας for περιερρηνιμέμας. In col. 1.38 τὰ πλείονα ἀγαθὰ are “beni superiori” to that what one is required to take on (it is unclear why the editors on p. 206 think that προσταγμάτων in line 39 fits the extended metaphor of transporting merchandise [?] particularly well – it does not even fit the metaphor of carrying burdens I read in the text). In col. 2.7 the editors have fallen prey to *horror vacui*. They should not have admitted ἀλλοξε[δ]ῶν into their text. It is meaningless (the text speaks of the surface of the area at hand and of ...; the editors’ unintelligible “(surface) come pure di quelle di diverso tipo” passes without comment on p. 208).

Unlike the editors I think that the subjunctives in col. 2.18 and 20 continue the construction that started in line 14 with ἄν and that they are not adhortative either. I also think that the sentence in which they occur, lines 17-20, continues the second of the options given in lines 15-17. The first in lines 14-15 was: [ἦ τ]υ[ο]ς ἄρξειται | τῆς χώρας μέρ[ο]υς, “se comincia (editors: se debba cominciare) da un’area specifica del territorio.” The second starts with (correcting the editors again): ἢ ἐπὶ πᾶν | ἐμπλήξῃ ὄπ[ε]ρ [ἔ]οικεν τῷ ἀ|νεπ[ι]στήμ[ον]ι, τ[ῶ] νῶ δ’ ἐγγίσας | στήσεται τ[ὸν] τ[ῆ]ς ἐπιν[ο]ίας | τρόπον καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τῆν | καταρχὴν λάβῃ, “oppure se affrontalo in tutto il suo insieme, un modo di procedere che si conviene a chi manchi di conoscenza, ma, accostandosi col mente (to the territory as a whole rather than ‘al problema’; note that I read τ[ῶ] νῶ δ’ ἐγγίσας in line 17 rather than π[ό]νῳ δ’ ἐγγίσας), stabilisce il modo

di comprensione (not: ‘procedere’) e da quello prende le mosse.” In col. 2.22-23 γεογραφίας goes exclusively with ἐντός in the next line, and “those who fear and do not despise” in lines 21-22 probably fear (respect) and by no means despise him (the geographer); they are his friends who rather unhelpfully give him (empty) assurances in line 21. The reading [δ]εῖ[σ]ει in col. 2.28 is again pure speculation (but the editors for once successfully resisted the *horror vacui* in the preceding line).

In col. 4.19 the papyrus seems to be using (ἡμετέραν) χώραν for θάλασσαν, which is what Marcianus has. It is perhaps worth pointing out that when Artemidorus a few lines down (col. 4.35-37) mentions ἡμετέραν θάλασσαν he adds an explanation. Perhaps then he intended χώραν the first time in a somewhat unusual sense, and Marcianus tacitly “corrected” him. The translation of the number in col. 5.29 on p. 197 is incorrect; it should be “110” (so correctly on p. 132).

Is the weird text of cols. 1-3 really Artemidorus’? I have my doubts. The editors regard it as the proem of book 2 of Artemidorus’ *Geography*, because cols. 4-5 are from that book. But their “reading” of the relationship between the text and the map on the front is very problematic. They argue, very briefly (p. 115), that the text cannot be a florilegium, because such a thing is unknown (for this kind of text). While that is even materially untrue, it is also a bit much to demand a parallel for an otherwise unique papyrus! And I do not think that the presence of the map functions as a kind of *trait d’union* between cols. 1-3 and 4-5 at all. Since it is not a map of Spain (or at most a partial map of Spain, because coastlines are missing, and not obviously matching any of its territory, as is clear from the commentary on pp. 275-308), it cannot be a map designed to accompany Artemidorus’ second book, not from the start, as the editors admit, but neither afterwards, as a partial map of anything does not make much sense at this point in the text, between the supposed proem of book 2 and the description of Spain.

The editors here do not argue a case but argue against a probably bad case, namely the idea that cols. 1-3 are from the proem to book 1. The very general nature of the text of cols. 1-3 seems a bit awkward at the beginning of a book about Spain, but there are parallels for that! Maybe Artemidorus was very proud of his accomplishment in putting the Spanish material together for the first time in history. But the map suggests that whoever was putting the papyrus together did not have a clue. Probably he wanted just a collection of geographical “treasures.” To open his *Konvolut* he picked (or wrote) a very general text about geography as a “science,” perhaps written in the style of Artemidorus (but – for Artemidorus’ sake – let us hope not!). Then he copied a map of sorts and the beginning of the second book of Artemidorus’ *Geography*, which is

the best of the lot. The text of Artemidorus was copied after the map in a less careful script than cols. 1-3; col. 4 is written in a larger hand, with more space between the lines, whereas col. 5 is more chaotic, because the scribe who wrote cols. 4-5 wanted to squeeze the beginning of book 2 of Artemidorus' *Geography* into just two columns, not anticipating more. The hand who wrote cols. 1-3 in a similar script was much more careful, although we do not know whether he also planned to get the encomium of geography in exactly three columns; col. 3 may not have gone all the way to the bottom of the papyrus.

The editors seem to think that the scribe wrote cols. 1-3, left a blank, and then wrote cols. 4-5 (p. 79), but this is unlikely. The front was written in three successive stages (the wretched text of cols. 1-3 by an accomplished scribe, the map by a specialist, and the straightforward Artemidorus text by a less accomplished scribe) and a later stage (the drawing exercises). The editors also think the original "project" as they see it (all of book 2 of Artemidorus' *Geography*) was abandoned when the map turned out less than satisfactory. It is easier to assume the original "project" was to collect miscellaneous and (significantly) short and detached "geographical" materials.

The whole is in any case a *mixtum compositum* of a kind that is not unparalleled in papyri. Only if we press the "logical" connection between cols. 1-3, the map, and cols. 4-5 do we squeeze an Artemidorus papyrus out of it. Now it is a geographical miscellany of which the map is the most curious, as being the earliest "Graeco-Roman" (really just Roman) map to survive (even if we do not yet know what it represents, but eventually someone will successfully identify it with some part of the empire),³ and cols. 4-5 the most useful, expanding what we know Artemidorus knew about Spain (so far we had excerpts or summaries for 4.1-14 [Constantine Porphyrogenitus] and 18-24 [Marcianus] only, p. 97). But the first prize must go to the "bestiary" on the back of the papyrus, with an "honorable mention" for the drawing exercises on the front. Given that the script of the captions of the illustrations on the back is from about the same time as that of the text on the front, the geographical *Konvolut* was quickly discarded, and the empty back used for the bestiary.

The delightful illustrations on the back (exhaustively discussed on pp. 311-460) are identified as a *cahier d'artiste* (rather than a *livre d'écolier* or a *campionario*) of some sort, providing sketches of animals as a repertory of

³ For an unsuccessful attempt at identification see now F. Mattaliano, "Il papiro di Artemidoro tra Eratostene e Strabone," in P. Anello and J. Martínez-Pinna (eds.), *Relaciones interculturales en el Mediterráneo antiguo/Rapporti interculturali nel Mediterraneo antico* (Málaga and Palermo 2008) 181-198, who suggests that the map was copied while holding the model upside down: by mistake the eastern rather than the western end of the Mediterranean would have been copied.

motifs that could be selected by the artist (rather than by his apprentices or clients) for, say, mosaics or zoological treatises (pp. 320-322). What the analytical nature of the second part of the volume perhaps does not do very well is to provide a sense of the whole. Looking at the whole sweep of illustrations I am struck by their “logical” arrangement. As the caption that accompanies the “bestiary” as a whole puts it, included are beasts from the air, beasts from the land, and beasts from the sea (V30; the diplomatic transcript does not properly line up the traces):

[ζῶα] τὸν Ὀκεανὸν
 [οἰκοῦν]τα καὶ πτηνὰ
 κα[ὶ πεζ]ᾶ [κα]ὶ κήτη

I indeed see most birds in the upper register, most fish in the lower; the land animals are mostly in the middle somewhere. Exceptions to this rule can be explained by reasons of composition. There was not always enough space to include an animal in its proper position, because a larger drawing was taking up too much space. Take the *kastor* in V6, which should have been in the middle somewhere, but ended up in the bottom register. That is because the *xiphias* and *thynnopristsis* in V9 did not fit at the bottom but had to take center stage, engaged in combat as they are. Likewise the *zygaina* V18 moved from the bottom register to the middle to accommodate the dramatic scene of the *gryps* stealing a cub away from the *pordalis* in V19. Also the *aspalax* in V23 moved from the middle to the bottom to make room for the combat between the *myrmex* and an unknown creature in V22. Other explanations can be invoked to account for the remaining exceptions: the *hydroskopos* bird V14 is positioned in a kind of compromise position in the middle between the top register and the water it is looking at according to its name; the *ouranoskopos* fish V20 is also in a compromise position in the middle between the bottom register and the air it is looking at according to its name; the *myxos* bird V28 is exceptionally in the bottom register (it seems to be bending down to catch fish) to make room in the top register for the *astrokyon* V29; the *anemoskaptēs* V37 is in the middle register to allow the unknown creature V36 to be in the top register. (From the few examples of animals I have listed it is clear that some more fantastic creatures are included as well as ordinary animals.)

Apparently whoever copied the back of the papyrus was doing so from a model that had already arranged the animals the way we find them on the papyrus (the arrangement of the drawing exercises on the front provides a clear contrast here). Instead of regarding the back as a mere *libro di bottega* (p. 80 and throughout the volume) then, I regard it as a copy in another medium of a great work of art, probably derived from a Hellenistic masterpiece

and worthy of more profound study than is offered in the volume. It is not a jumble of sketches such as the drawing exercises on the front, but a carefully crafted composition.

Were the drawing exercises on the front (discussed at length on pp. 463-578 with constant reference to [Roman copies of] Greek sculpture) added in one sitting by one and the same hand? I doubt it. It seems that the artist who added the two sketches to the left of cols. 1-3 was an accomplished draughtsman, while the hand(s) that drew the sketches to the right of cols. 4-5 can be classified as more scholastic. That the better artist shares the one fragment with the better scribe and the less accomplished scribe and artist(s) the other fragment is a mere coincidence.

Settis concludes the volume with an appraisal of the value of the illustrations for the history of art. He includes a list of other illustrated literary papyri (pp. 586-588) and other *cahiers d'artiste* (pp. 590-591). With this lavish publication so worthy of the papyrus it edits in hand, one wonders when the still unpublished illustrated papyrus from the Bibliothèque nationale de France (suppl. grec 1294) mentioned by Settis will be published in similar fashion. It has been waiting for over a century.

Egypt at Empire's End

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Review article of Roger S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. xvi + 464 pages. ISBN 978-0-521-87137-2.

Roger Bagnall has done an excellent job assembling some of the most prestigious and accomplished scholars of Byzantine Egypt, as well as some of the most promising young researchers, for this collection of articles, *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700*. Most of the authors had participated in a conference on Byzantine Egypt held at Dumbarton Oaks in the spring of 2004. The articles are reworkings of their papers, often taking into consideration the discussions that arose either at the conference or later. Bagnall also solicited other articles in order to cover more areas of the period's history and culture. The twenty-one that were finally gathered (called "chapters") are here arranged into three general categories: *The Culture of Byzantine Egypt*; *Government, Environments, Society, and Economy*; and *Christianity: The Church and Monasticism*. The format of the articles is generally homogenous and each is followed by a concise bibliography. The authors sometimes express an awareness of the other contributors, and they are careful not to duplicate material significantly; otherwise there is little relationship between them. Indeed, the articles show a remarkable degree of diversity, not only in the individual styles of writing, but also in the primary sources and interpretive techniques. Several authors discuss new sources, or new or revised interpretations of previously known sources, and thus the collection is necessary reading for the scholar of Byzantium and Byzantine Egypt. Because of the variety of interpretive techniques, the book would also be informative for scholars in historical fields not necessarily focused on Byzantium or Egypt, such as archaeology, art history, classical education and poetry, gender studies, and urban studies. Several authors consider their articles an introduction to a particular topic, and generally the language is not overly technical. The book contains black and white illustrations, incorporated into the appropriate chapters. Bagnall has written the first chapter, which serves as the introduction, and the book is concluded by an index of proper names and important subjects.

Since the articles cover such a wide range of historical and cultural topics, it is impossible for this review to discuss them all,¹ as desirable and enjoyable as that would be. Let it suffice to say that each article is remarkable for its thorough research and careful analysis, and each makes a significant contribution to the history of Byzantine Egypt. In fact, the many fresh interpretations and reinterpretations of the primary sources suggest quite strongly that a new history of Byzantine Egypt is now necessary. Although no history book of Byzantine Egypt is currently standard, there is need for a *new* history to change the established conceptions about Egypt found in more general histories. Such a history would be, in many ways, a continuation of Roger Bagnall's 1993 monograph, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, which covers the end of the third century to the middle of the fifth.

In the "Introduction" (chapter 1), Roger Bagnall makes the following assessment about writing a history of Byzantine Egypt (p. 5): "On some questions it seems to me that we can see the beginnings of something like a consensus, but there are many points that remain controversial within these covers, let alone in the rest of the scholarship. Partly for this reason, and partly because so many of the methodological trends visible in the volume are still only partly developed, it is doubtful that the subject is yet ripe for a full-scale synthesis." Perhaps Bagnall is being overly cautious. Although the articles in this book make clear that there are divergent interpretations of the sources, and although various methodologies are being applied, some of which are nascent, these features should not lead to doubt, but rather to optimism. That is, there are now so many sources available for Byzantine Egypt that divergent opinions can appear and be adequately supported. And there are now so many kinds of primary evidence that different methodologies can be fruitfully applied and even more developed. Is it necessary for a history to be free of controversy in order to be valid and useful?

Bagnall goes on to identify four more obstacles to writing a history (pp. 5-6). These are: (1) "the many deficiencies, some apparently irremediable, in the evidence"; (2) "the inherent difficulty of evaluating [the sources'] significance, of understanding the circumstances in which they were created and which must govern our use of them as evidence"; (3) the "deep and seemingly intractable problems in the publication of the sources, many still not available in usable printed editions, and above all in the handling of the information from archaeological excavations, many (perhaps most) of which remain either unpublished or only very partially reported"; and perhaps the most limiting obstacle, (4) the "defects of scholarly training and perspectives."

¹ For a table of contents see <http://www.cambridge.org/uk/catalogue/catalogue.asp?isbn=9780521871372&ss=toc>.

These barriers, as real and significant as they are, might not be insurmountable, as Bagnall's own various comments suggest. In fact the three fundamental requirements for writing such a history can now be met. First: the surveys of the sources, editions, and re-editions in these twenty-one articles show that for every important topic, there is now a critical mass – sometimes a surplus – of information available. If the primary sources in any one discipline, such as papyrology or archaeology, do not suffice, then surely the evidence from several disciplines combined, including the very large manuscript tradition (sometimes called the “literary sources”) and the visual arts and crafts, will provide the necessary materials. As Bagnall himself observes (p. 5): “Certainly Byzantine Egypt offers an enormous quantity of source material, perhaps more, and more varied, than for any other ancient society.” Second: the interpretative techniques represented in this book, as diverse as they are, reveal one important, common characteristic: the ability of the authors to coordinate information from a wide variety of media. The ability genuinely to work across disciplines is probably the most important new methodology for ancient historians, and we find in this book a generation of researchers that can move effortlessly from archaeological remains to the manuscript tradition,² and from satellite images and modern Egyptian lifestyles to papyrus archives. As Bagnall notes (p. 6): “We find significant progress in many areas to be possible by confronting types of sources generally kept separate.” And third – what is crucial for this specific historical time and place – the scholars in this book show the ability to work with and compare several ancient languages, including Greek, Coptic, Latin, Arabic, and Syriac. As Bagnall says: (p. 6): “One striking feature of this book is the extent to which the boundaries between Greek and Coptic, and even between Greek and Arabic or Coptic and Arabic, are no longer allowed to stand in the way of an integrated picture.” The writers in this book collectively demonstrate that they are capable of constructing a new history of Byzantine Egypt, and that they can also provide a model for historians of other epochs and continents.

The book is organized generally by geography: from a suburb of Alexandria to Alexandria itself, then the other major cities, the villages, the churches and monastic buildings, the monastic lifestyle, and finally the spiritual world

² There can arise some confusion with respect to the terms “papyrological sources,” “documents,” “literary sources,” “manuscript tradition,” etc. In this review, the term “manuscript” will be used generally for sources that were copied and transmitted in manuscript form to the age of printing; the term “papyrus” will be used for sources discovered on papyrus in the sands of Egypt during the past two centuries. The term “literary evidence” will sometimes be used for the manuscript tradition, and “documentary evidence” for papyrus. In most cases, the context will make the meaning clear.

of the monks. The review of the following six articles will focus on three main subjects: new interpretations, the sources, and interdisciplinary methodologies. Other articles illuminate these subjects, yet the present choices might suffice to demonstrate what a large step this book has already taken toward writing a comprehensive new history.

One of the most provocative articles in this collection is that by Alan Cameron (chapter 2). Cameron began publishing his studies of the poetry of Byzantine Egypt in 1965, with the groundbreaking article “Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt.”³ This now classic work, derived primarily from manuscript sources, offered an introduction to some common features found in the lives and literature of several better-known poets of the period. What is especially interesting about the article in the present volume, “Poets and Pagans in Byzantine Egypt,” is that Cameron is now offering a significant revision of his previous interpretation. This reinterpretation does not arise from the discovery of new sources, but rather from a reevaluation, much of which occurred as he was preparing his forthcoming book, *The Last Pagans of Rome*.

Cameron argues that paganism, as an active religious lifestyle, was neither as vigorous nor as widespread in Byzantine Egypt as formerly assumed, even by Cameron himself. To begin his argument, Cameron presents a careful analysis of an incident and its account: the birth of a baby to a formerly childless pagan philosopher and his wife, after they had visited the temple of Isis at Menouthis in order to ask for divine assistance. The account of the visit is found in the *Life of Severus* by Zacharias, who disputes the “miracle” and condemns the pagan temple. Zacharias’s source was Paralius, who was his own student and a former pagan. Zacharias himself was a student of Severus, who also had been a pagan. Thus it is likely, according to Cameron, that both the source Paralius and the writer Zacharias had an interest in distancing themselves from charges of paganism, and they therefore repudiated the incident and inflated its significance. Cameron is irked by several modern historians that have taken Zacharias’s account at face value, including Frankfurter, Kaegi, and Rémondon (p. 23). Cameron refutes the reliability of Zacharias, who was “a writer prepared to lie for his cause” (ibid.), and finds that his account is filled with “bias and internal improbabilities” (ibid.). Cameron concludes that the so-called “pagan temple” was probably a wealthy villa, perhaps renovated from a former temple, filled with statues of classical and pharaonic deities, “the sort of mythological statues that stood in any of the older and grander houses in a town of any size, especially a prosperous Alexandrian suburb like Menouthis”

³ See Cameron’s own discussion of the article on p. 34.

(p. 26). And even if it was active, “the ‘shrine’ of Isis at Menouthis was a very small, entirely covert operation” (p. 27).

Cameron continues his argument by asserting that the appearance of Hellenic and pharaonic deities in the poetry and art of the period did not reflect a pagan cult. Rather, it demonstrated a continuation of the classical education and an appreciation of that education among the elite of Egypt (cf. G.W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*, 1990). The use of classical mythology and classical forms – such as the Homeric epic, the Anacreontic epigram, and the Menandrian encomium – could bring celebrity status to a professional writer and even elevate the career of a non-professional writer, perhaps especially a Christian writer. To support this thesis, Cameron examines the verses of the Egyptian poet Nonnus of Panopolis and the non-Egyptian theologian Gregory of Nazianzus, from both of whom a considerable quantity of verses has survived in the manuscript tradition. With respect to the former, Cameron first accepts as a tenet the recent chronology that the *Paraphrase of St. John* was written before the *Dionysiaca* and not vice versa (as formerly assumed). Thus Nonnus was a Christian when writing the latter. The implication for Cameron is that it was considered acceptable and even praise-worthy for a Christian poet to compose forty-eight books (roughly the length of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined) recounting the myths of the Greco-Roman god of ecstasy and wine. This epic poem and its many imitations were a declaration of the innate goodness of a classical education and classical culture, not of a revived paganism. Yet Cameron also sees no validity to scholars' suggestions of a Christian allegory. Although Nonnus had carefully studied the allegorical exegesis of the Gospel of John by Cyril of Alexandria and made use of it in both his *Paraphrase* and *Dionysiaca*, Cameron argues that “Dionysos is not portrayed as a saviour or redeemer. His mission is simply to bring men and (especially) women joy in the form of wine. He betrays no interest whatever in the afterlife. One striking passage proclaims that the only relief for mortals burdened with unbearable suffering is – getting drunk!” (p. 37).

Leslie MacCoull's article (chapter 4), “Philosophy in its Social Context,” studies the activities of pagan and Christian philosophers in Byzantine Alexandria, with a focus on John Philoponus. The article is similar to Cameron's not only because it discusses paganism, but also because its primary source is the literature transmitted in the manuscript tradition (in the Greek, Coptic, and Syriac languages). Yet MacCoull does not limit herself to the manuscript evidence, and her article is especially significant because of the truly interdisciplinary approach that she takes.

MacCoull begins the article with an examination of the archaeological evidence of the lecture rooms at the Kom el-Dikka site in Alexandria. It was

here that a series of well-known philosophers imparted to their students the methodologies and lifestyles associated with Neoplatonic philosophy, and MacCoull guides us through the uninterrupted sequence of the more important teacher-student relationships (pp. 68-69), in which “the pagan Proclus of Athens (d. 485) taught the pagan Ammonios of Alexandria (d. c. 526), who in turn taught the miaphysite Christian John Philoponus (d. c. 575) and the pagans Simplicius (fl. 630s) and Olympiodorus (d. c. 566).” She then uses the *grammaticus* John Philoponus and his large *opus* as vehicles to illustrate the philosophical disputes of the era (pp. 70-76). His popular works included *Physics*, *Against Proclus on the Eternity of the World*, and *Against Aristotle on the Eternity of the World*, but it was his commentary on Genesis, *De opificio mundi*, that was most influential and continues to be an important source of information for biblical scholars. MacCoull deftly delineates the interplay between the pagan Neoplatonic and Christian Neoplatonic worlds in the philosophical and religious disputes of the early Byzantine Empire, especially on the topic of the Eucharist. She also shows the close relationship between these philosophical discourses and the politics and economy of Byzantine Egypt. As she states at the beginning of the article (p. 68): “Philosophy was not just a curriculum but an enacted way of life, and an ethic of social advancement was not being carried on in a vacuum isolated from the Egyptian economy within the empire and from the changes of power effected by emperors and bishops.” At the same time (p. 68), she points out that to clearly understand this relationship, one needs to take an interdisciplinary approach: “What we must do is ask social questions about these producers and consumers of intellectual and cultural work, combining different kinds of sources, to try to understand how they engaged with both the past and their present.” MacCoull’s own sources include not only archaeology and the manuscript tradition, but also the Kellis and Aphrodito papyri (pp. 73, 75) and a palimpsest of a Platonic-style dialogue (p. 73). On the usefulness of the literary evidence toward writing history, she says (p. 78): “These [philosophical] commentaries are now being studied not, as in the past, just for their matter, but for what they can tell us about the world in which they were composed.”

While MacCoull provides an introduction to the broad range of sources for Alexandria and how they can be analyzed and synthesized for the writing of history, Peter van Minnen demonstrates one of the fundamental benefits of papyrus: through a careful analysis of papyrological data, one can recreate a picture of cities that are not as fully illuminated by the manuscript tradition as Alexandria. “Later Roman Egypt was a world of cities,” he writes. “The Other Cities in Later Roman Egypt” (chapter 10) takes a close look at several cities in

the Nile Valley, including Arsinoe, Hermopolis, Antinoopolis, and Aphrodito (a large village that had lost its *polis* status).

First, using archaeological and papyrological evidence, van Minnen gives an overview of the general appearance of Nile Valley cities (pp. 210-213). This first section concludes with a brief description of the design of urban churches, their financing, and their use of outdated temple structures for building materials (pp. 213-214). Section two gives a concise introduction to the cities' administration and financing. Although the evidence is almost entirely papyrological, the amount is staggering. Van Minnen begins by offering a clearly organized survey of the archives, which he breaks down into three major categories: private (including estates, churches, and monasteries), civic (including the councils, grain doles, and curators), and state (including land registers and tax payments). He also includes the literary papyri, because of the information they provide about activities in the cities, especially education. He then examines some of the papyri to show how they provide details about the government, such as the office of the pagarch.

In the final section, van Minnen demonstrates how the data provided by the papyri, when carefully tabulated and analyzed, gives a general picture of the professions in the cities. Using evidence gathered by Diethart, MacCoull, and himself, he compares and contrasts the cities Arsinoe and Hermopolis with the large village of Aphrodito. Excluding landowners, ecclesiastics, officials, and farmers from his list of professions, van Minnen finds that people involved in the food processing and retail business predominate in the large urban centers, but less so in Aphrodito, which had "closer ties to the countryside" (p. 222). Textiles were more important in the large urban areas, because they "were produced at least in part for export, and this makes less sense in a smaller town" (*ibid.*). After several such analyses, van Minnen explains the larger significance (*ibid.*): "In all three towns food is twice as important as textile and construction, which are about equal between themselves. I think we can put this down as an important result and more confidently extrapolate from a handful of cities and towns and even villages to 'Egypt as a whole.'" As the first part of the article began in the city center and moved out toward the periphery walls, so van Minnen shows how the archives of papyrus not only illuminate the cities of the Nile Valley but also affect our picture of the empire and beyond. For example when speaking about the possibility of elevating one's social status and leaving one's inherited locus, van Minnen says (p. 223): "When we finally consider the place of Egyptian cities in the wider world of late antiquity, the (now smaller) province, the whole of Egypt, the empire, and even the world outside, we notice that mobility was up and became almost routine."

The debt that the fields of papyrology and Byzantine history owe to James Keenan is immense, not only for his fine editions and interpretations, but also for the enthusiastic guidance and support he has provided to so many scholars in the field.⁴ It is not surprising then that his contribution (chapter 11), “Byzantine Egyptian Villages,” not only gives new insights into Byzantine Egypt, but also makes a preliminary observation that needs to be included when its history is written.

Keenan does not begin with a survey of his primary sources. Rather, he begins earlier: how the papyrological evidence was first discovered and distributed, and how it was then published. The early history of these sources is crucial to understanding the nature of the source material, and suggests how both the sources and their interpretations should be evaluated and weighed.⁵ For example, the papyri that were discovered at Aphrodito were quickly (and in some cases secretly and illegally) distributed around the world. Some were purposefully torn in order to increase their net worth. Thus pieces that relate to one another, such as the many papyri and fragments concerning Phoibammon, were published piecemeal over a period of some eighty years (1915 to the late 1990s).⁶ This protracted publication history resulted in significant changes in the picture of the financial situation and activities of Phoibammon (pp. 233-237). He went from a rich and predatory landowner, as presented in 1977 by the editor of *P.Mich.* 13, to “an energetic middleman, an ‘entrepreneur,’ ... of middling means, owning some land himself, leasing land from others, sometimes subleasing what he took from others,” as presented in a 1980 article by Keenan.⁷ And “ten years later he still seemed to be, and was presented as, a ‘rational peasant.’”⁸ Yet more recent publications again changed the image of

⁴ For more comments about his broad influence, see especially T. Hickey, “For Jim Keenan,” *BASP* 45 (2008) 5-6.

⁵ This is somewhat different from the problem mentioned by Bagnall (p. 6): “the inherent difficulty of evaluating [the sources’] significance, of understanding the circumstances in which they were created and which must govern our use of them as evidence.” Keenan does not address the circumstances of their creation, but rather of their discovery and publication – which, he shows, are equally important.

⁶ For details on the discovery and dispersal of the papyrus archives of Aphrodito, see C. Kuehn, *Channels of Imperishable Fire: The Beginnings of Christian Mystical Poetry and Dioscorus of Aphrodito* (New York 1995) 42-52. The Aphrodito archives are currently the subject of renewed scrutiny by Jean-Luc Fournet; see J.-L. Fournet (ed.), *Les archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte. Histoire et culture dans l'Égypte byzantine. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg (8-10 décembre 2005)* (Paris 2008).

⁷ “Aurelius Phoibammon, Son of Triadelphus: A Byzantine Egyptian Land Entrepreneur,” *BASP* 17 (1980) 145-54.

⁸ See R. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London 1995) 41-43.

Phoibammon: "Today, as a result of the accumulation of new evidence, he still seems to have been 'rational' and entrepreneurial, but his peasant status has come into doubt. He may after all these twists and turns have been much closer to the 'rich landowner' the Michigan editor thought he was." The disparate publications of papyri that once belonged to a single archive (or closely related archives) and the changing picture that evolved provide a cautionary tale to the historian and show the need for information about the sources themselves in a new history of Byzantine Egypt.

Keenan's passion for the past twenty-five years, since the publication of "The Aphrodite Papyri and Village Life in Byzantine Egypt" in 1984 and "Village Shepherds and Social Tension in Byzantine Egypt" in 1985, has been the villages and their inhabitants in the Nile Valley and the Fayyum. It is a field of research that, unlike Alexandria and the cities discussed above, is poorly documented because of the limited papyrological finds and the age and often poor quality of their publications. Yet Keenan demonstrates how the limited sources that have survived can be fruitfully analyzed. For example, his analysis of *SPP* 10 (and the more recent *SPP* 20) yields 145 villages in the Fayyum during the Byzantine-early Islamic period. This is equal to the number estimated for the Ptolemaic period, a period that is better documented than the Byzantine. Such a list, though, says "nothing about size, population, or prosperity" (p. 230). For such information it is "necessary to look elsewhere, first to the village of Alabastrine of the Antinoite nome" (p. 230). There, according to three Michigan papyri, one finds a description of property owned communally by the village and details of a multi-storied house (p. 231). And for the nearby village of Temseu Skordon, one finds an extensive documentary codex (*P.Lond. Copt.* 1075) with tax payments made in installments by individual villagers. "This codex," he writes (p. 232), "contains a wealth of prosopographical information, including more than 300 individual taxpayers for Temseu Skordon, sixteen of them women (presumably female heads of households). Sometimes taxpayers are identified in the codex by their trades, as vinedressers, or 'vineyard specialists,' bakers, fullers, oil-factors, cooks, carpenters, tanners, smiths." Yet a history is more than lists of data, and for the details of daily life, one must turn to yet another village: Aphrodito in the Antaiopolite nome. Through the good fortune of at least two separate finds, it is "the only Byzantine Egyptian village to rival the villages of the Ptolemaic and Roman Fayyum for wealth of evidence" (p. 232). Indeed, Keenan begins his chapter with a vignette illuminating the integration of city life with country life, which was obtained from the Aphrodito papyri (*P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67087).

To write the history of Aphrodito, Keenan says, an individual will have to be "an historian conversant in the literature and technique of anthropology,

who is at the same time a trained papyrologist in full control of the ever-increasing and diversifying evidence from Aphrodito” (p. 237). And the article ends with a comparison between the oppression endured by Aphroditans and recorded in the papyrus documents with the oppression endured by the villagers near the White Monastery and recorded in the manuscript tradition. Keenan then observes that many of the monks in the monasteries were from a village (rather than urban) background and Shenoute himself was from a rural background and the son of a village farmer. This observation emphasizes that in order to fully comprehend the monasteries and their occupants, one needs to understand the villages and villagers. It also makes clear that although this knowledge is obtained primarily through papyrological evidence, it is richly augmented by the manuscript tradition.

After decades of researching Byzantine archaeology, Peter Grossmann has become extremely knowledgeable of the field and especially adept at presenting this information. The result here is an informative and delightful article on church architecture in Egypt during the Byzantine period (chapter 6). The title “Early Christian Architecture and its Relationship to the Architecture of the Byzantine World” presents the two main topics. Grossmann gives detailed descriptions of the early churches in Egypt, interprets their features, and compares them with other churches in the empire, including Constantinople, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy. Most intriguing is how Grossmann traces the origin of many of the designs for churches and other public buildings to classical Roman structures (pp. 112-115, 119, 122, etc.). Although focusing on churches, especially those found at Abu Mina, Grossmann also covers military architecture, baths, monastic architecture, and public guesthouses. It is especially welcome that he provides a description of the housing not only of the wealthy (pp. 128-130), but also of the poor and middle class as seen in the villages (pp. 130-131) and in urban apartment buildings (pp. 131-132). His detailed plans of the architectural sites, drawn by himself, enhance and support his explanations.

It is not only the information on Egyptian architecture that makes this article so important, but also the way that Grossmann effortlessly moves between the architectural evidence and the manuscript tradition. He uses literary sources to help explain unusual architectural features (p. 116); he draws upon literary sources to provide comparative models (pp. 118-119); and he also uses architectural evidence to elucidate the literary sources. For example, when describing the first churches in Alexandria, Grossmann says (p. 113): “Immediately following the ‘Peace of the Church’ under Constantine, all newly erected churches were built to much the same plan as three-aisled basilicas almost everywhere in the empire.” After discussing the ubiquity of this design

and some exceptions, Grossmann concludes (pp. 113-114): "Thus in the letter written by Constantine to Makarios, bishop of Jerusalem, concerning the architectural design of the 'Church of the Holy Sepulchre' (Eusebius, *V. Const.* 3.31), the emperor uses the word *basilica* without any apparent need to explain its meaning or appropriateness." After presenting and discussing his evidence (some of it unpublished at the time of the article's writing), Grossman arrives at two important conclusions (p. 128). First: "The foregoing review of the numerous similarities between the architecture of public buildings in Egypt and the larger Mediterranean world demonstrates the Roman and Constantinopolitan sources of much of Egypt's architectural heritage at this time." And second, it was in monastic buildings that Egyptian architecture was most distinctive (p. 128): "Despite many mentions of foreign monks present in Egyptian monasteries, it seems that it was in this sphere more than any other that Egyptian characteristics were dominant. The reason for this may be found in the strong asceticism of the Egyptian monks."

The ability to compare information from a variety of manuscript, papyrological, archaeological, and artistic sources; the skill to work with evidence that was originally in the Greek, Coptic, and Latin languages; and finally the flexibility to arrive at and accept a new perspective – all this is clearly demonstrated in James Goehring's article (chapter 19): "Monasticism in Byzantine Egypt: Continuity and Memory." Goehring begins by looking at the manuscript tradition, "namely, the *Life of Antony*, the various collections of the *Apothegmata Patrum*, the *Life and Rule of Pachomius*, the *History of the Monks in Egypt*, and the *Lausiac History*" (p. 393). In these sources, he sees a trend (what he terms a "myth") in the lifestyle of the early monks: the renunciation of worldly comforts and possessions – including wealth, property, family, and status – in exchange for spiritual growth. And vice versa: the farther that the monks travelled in their spiritual quest, the more absolute became their renunciation of materialistic goals. Such exemplary texts were regularly read by (or read to) contemporary and subsequent communities of monks, and it appears that renunciation was promulgated in Byzantine Egypt as an essential aspect of the monastic lifestyle. Yet upon examination of the papyrus documents, Goehring finds a different situation (pp. 396-397): monks are seen to own property (buildings and rooms as well as land), to sell and lease property, and to stay in close contact with relatives. An examination of the archaeology reveals that some monastic cells were not constructed cheaply, and some were designed for comfort and beautifully decorated (pp. 397-398; and see also the chapter by Darlene Brooks Hedstrom, pp. 377, 387). Regarding other parts of the monastic environment – ceramics, glass, and textiles – "again the image that one gains is not one of the complete renunciation of the finer things in life"

(p. 398). Goehring understands that the increase in monastic luxuries was a natural byproduct of the increase in wealth of the Church in Egypt, yet a close examination of the sources shows that this was not the entire cause. Even in the oldest church at Pachomius's monastery at Pbow, dated to Pachomius's death in 346, "the size and structural form indicate an interest in the community beyond that of mere function. While we cannot know what the inside looked like, one suspects that for its time and place, it too was beautiful" (p. 404).

Obviously among sixth-century Egyptian monks and even among some fourth- and fifth-century monks, a complete abandonment of wealth and property did not take place. And a careful reinspection of the manuscript tradition reveals the same: that some of the pioneering, celebrated monks had not renounced their worldly possessions. Goehring concludes that, in fact, the lifestyle that was being promulgated to the monks of Byzantine Egypt was really a *detachment* from worldly goods and comforts, but in the telling of exemplary stories, a complete *renunciation* was more vivid and convenient (which the details in the same stories sometimes contradicted). Goehring further concludes that two movements occurred simultaneously at Pbow, which reflected similar changes in other monastic communities (p. 405): "Change had of course occurred. It had in fact occurred simultaneously in two opposite directions. As the monastic movement became more complex and wealthier, its literary memory fashioned its past as simpler and more austere. As later basilicas became in fact more ornate, the earliest basilica became in the imagination more primitive." As important as Goehring's conclusions are to the history of early Christian monasticism, and thereby to the history of Byzantine Egypt, his process of discovery is also important. After a comparison with the papyrological, archaeological, and artistic sources, he was led to a new insight into the manuscript tradition and a fresh understanding of the stories' meaning to the Byzantine audience.

The present book devotes many pages to monasticism – as it should. Monasteries were ubiquitous in Byzantine Egypt, and Christian monasticism is one of the two most important legacies that Byzantine Egypt gave to Western civilization. The other is Christian mysticism. Clement of Alexandria (called the "Founder of Christian Mysticism")⁹ and Origen are a bit outside the temporal range of this book. Yet Athanasius, especially in his *Life of Antony*, expanded their spiritual program, and he was followed by Didymus the Blind, Macarius the Great, Evagrius of Pontus, and John Climacus, abbot of the fortified

⁹ A. Levasti, "Clemente Alessandrino, iniziatore della mistica cristiana," *Rivista di Ascetica e Mistica* 12 (1967) 127-147.

monastery at Sinai.¹⁰ Although modern scholars have paid more attention to Origen, Bernard McGinn finds that Evagrius, who was a student of Macarius and who lived and wrote in the monastic community at Kellia, “had considerable influence on Western Christian mysticism” and his “writings have been said to form ‘the first complete system of Christian spirituality.’”¹¹ As to his influence on the East, Johannes Quasten writes: “In fact, the great Oriental School of Evagrian mysticism reaches from the fourth to the fifteenth, nay to the twentieth century.”¹² All these Egyptian writers had a significant impact on the rest of the Byzantine world, as seen in the works of Gregory of Nyssa, Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, and Maximus the Confessor. Several scholars in this book mention them in passing. In the new history of Byzantine Egypt, perhaps it would be useful to see a more comprehensive treatment of one of its most defining, persevering, and richly documented attributes: monastic mysticism.

¹⁰ And Anastasius of Sinai, if the *Hexaemeron* is genuinely his. See C. Kuehn and J. Baggarly, S.J., (eds.), *Anastasius of Sinai: Hexaemeron*. *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 278 (Rome 2007) xiii-xxiii.

¹¹ B. McGinn, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism, vol. 1: The Foundations of Mysticism* (New York 1992) 144.

¹² *Patrology, vol. 3: The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature From the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon* (Utrecht 1960) 169-170.

Reviews

Charikleia Armoni et al., *Kölner Papyri (P. Köln)*, Band 11. Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia, Vol. VII/11. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2007. x + 319 Seiten + 47 Tafeln. ISBN 978-3-506-76487-4.¹

Unlängst hatte der Rezensent die angenehme Aufgabe, für diese Zeitschrift den zehnten Band der *Kölner Papyri* zu besprechen (*BASP* 43 [2006] 159-164). Das dort geäußerte Lob läßt sich auch für den jüngst erschienenen elften Band der Reihe (*P.Köln* 11) uneingeschränkt wiederholen und sogar angesichts des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes eines großen Teils der hier veröffentlichten Stücke mit Nachdruck bekräftigen. Der neue Band besticht mit hervorragenden Editionen und fundierten Kommentaren zu insgesamt 38 neuen griechischen und ägyptischen Texten (Nr. 429-466 der Reihe). Den Löwenanteil nehmen die 34 griechischen Texte (429-462) ein, die neue Informationen über die griechische Literatur der archaischen, klassischen und nachklassischen Zeit liefern und neue Einblicke in die Verwaltung und das Alltagsleben des ptolemäischen, römischen und byzantinischen Ägyptens gewähren. Publiziert werden zunächst acht literarische Texte, von denen sechs bislang völlig unbekannt waren und zwei zu Werken gehören, die uns bereits durch die mittelalterliche Überlieferung bezeugt waren. Dazu kommen ein halbliterarischer Papyrus und 25 Urkunden, darunter achtzehn aus ptolemäischer und sieben aus römisch-byzantinischer Zeit. Den Band vervollständigen ein hieratischer Papyrus (463) und drei koptische Texte auf Papyrus (464-465) bzw. Papier (466). Eine hervorragende Gruppe internationaler Experten zeichnet für den Band verantwortlich. Die Editionen von 33 Texten sind auf Deutsch. Daneben sind Englisch (436), Italienisch (437, 459) und Französisch (461-462) vertreten.

Der Band beginnt mit einem bereits berühmten Sappho-Papyrus (429), der zum ersten Mal 2004 von M. Gronewald und R.W. Daniel der Fachwelt vorgestellt wurde (*ZPE* 147, 2004, 1-8 und 149, 2004, 1-4) und in den letzten

¹ Diese und die darauffolgende Besprechung entstanden im Rahmen eines im Wintersemester 2008/9 von der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung finanzierten Forschungs- aufenthaltes des Autors an der Universität Heidelberg.

Jahren die Aufmerksamkeit zahlreicher Philologen auf sich gezogen hat.² Der Papyrus, der zwei Sappho-Gedichte enthält, ist das früheste aller uns bekannten Papyruszeugnisse für das Werk der großen Dichterin. Die beiden Ersteditoren zeichnen ebenfalls für die vorliegende Edition verantwortlich, in der auch die inzwischen erschienene umfassende Literatur zum Papyrus berücksichtigt und ausgewertet wird. **430** ist ein unbekannter lyrischer Text, der auf demselben Papyrus wie die Sappho-Gedichte erhalten ist und ebenfalls das Interesse der Fachwelt, wenn auch in kleinerem Maße als die neue sapphische Dichtung, auf sich gezogen hat (die inzwischen erschienene Literatur wird auf S. 12 aufgelistet). Wie Gronewald und Daniel zutreffend bemerken, kann Sappho kaum die Autorin dieses Gedichts sein, da der Text in keinem der von Sappho bekannten Versmaßen verfaßt worden ist. Von Gronewald wurden vier weitere literarische Fragmente auf souveräne Weise ediert, nämlich das aus 24 trochäischen Tetrametern bestehende alphabetische Akrostichon **431**, der philosophische Traktat **432**, der vom Editor vorbildlich analysierte und als Gerichtsrede identifizierte **433** und der äußerst fragmentarisch erhaltene **434**, der nach der überzeugenden Argumentation des Herausgebers aus einem Werk militärtaktischen Charakters stammt. Besonders verdienstvoll sind die fundierten Rekonstruktionsversuche von **432-434**, die dem Leser einen lebendigen Eindruck vermitteln, wie die fragmentarischen Texte ursprünglich ausgesehen haben könnten. Die nächsten beiden Papyri enthalten Partien aus bekannten literarischen Texten: der von J. Lundon edierte **435** Isokrates, *Antidosis* 195 und der von Daniel bearbeitete **436** Lukasevangelium 3.29-30. Der einzige halbliterarische Text ist das von F. Maltomini ausführlich kommentierte medizinische Rezept **437**.

Die nächsten achtzehn Texte (**438-455**) stammen aus der mittleren Ptolemäerzeit. **438-451** gehören zu einem aus Mumienkartonage gewonnenen Archiv aus der Zeit des Ptolemaios IV. Philopator. Die in den Zeitraum zwischen 214/3 und 211/0 v.Chr. datierten Papyri sind an einen im Herakleopolites tätigen Amtsinhaber namens Theomnestos gerichtet, der wohl als Polizeichef (ἀρχιφυλακίτης) zu identifizieren ist. Die Mehrheit der Papyri des Archivs wurden gemeinsam von Ch. Armoni und K. Maresch bearbeitet (Armoni zeichnet für **447**, **450** und **451** allein verantwortlich und Maresch für **449**). Von beiden Herausgebern sind ferner **452**, ein Schreiben über landwirtschaftliche Arbeiten, und **454**, eine Anweisung an den Antigraphus Asychis, ediert. Maresch unternahm auch die Edition von **453**, dem Schreiben eines Epimachos an einen Philippos, und Armoni die Edition von **455**, eine Eingabe an den

² Siehe die lange Literaturliste auf S. 1 des Bandes. Diese Tätigkeit wird auch nach der Veröffentlichung von *PKöln* 11 fortgesetzt; vgl. etwa L. Bettarini, "Saffo e l'aldilà in *PKöln* 21351, 1-8," *ZPE* 165 (2008) 21-31.

Strategen. Angesichts des sehr schlechten Erhaltungszustandes dieser Papyri gebührt den beiden Editoren für die zuverlässige Edition und souveräne Kommentierung besonderes Lob. Hilfreich war bei der Entzifferung die Zugehörigkeit der meisten Texte zu ein und demselben Archiv, was die Wichtigkeit der zusammenhängenden Bearbeitung von Texten aus geschlossenen Archiven erneut bestätigt.

456 ist ein Briefanfang aus spätptolemäischer bzw. frühromischer Zeit (ediert von Ch. Lehmann) und **457** eine Zensusdeklaration aus dem Jahr 160/1 n.Chr. (ediert von Lunden). **458** ist ein von F. Reiter veröffentlichter fragmentarischer Privatbrief (Mitte 3. – Anfang 4. Jh. n.Chr.). Der zum Apionen-Archiv gehörige **459** enthält eine an Fl. Strategios I und an einen Verwalter namens Joseph adressierte Homologie der Aurelii Kronios und Paulos. Wie die Editorin G. Azzarello zeigt, ist der Text möglicherweise als Teilungsvertrag zu deuten. In **460** publiziert Reiter eine byzantinische Quittung über Getreidesteuerzahlung, ein Urkundentyp, der neulich dank der Neuedition von *SPP* 3.449-582 durch C. Kreuzsaler eine umfassende Untersuchung erfahren hat. In der umfangreichen Einleitung zum Papyrus, der die erste explizite Erwähnung des *comes domesticorum* und πρωτεύων der Arsinoiton Polis Fl. Eustochios anzubieten scheint, bespricht der Editor, das bei Eustochios vorkommende Prädikat πρωτεύων und zeigt, wie interessant die Einordnung eines solchen unscheinbaren Textes in seinen breiteren historischen Kontext sein kann. **461** enthält eine Quittung über die Zahlung von Pachtzins, bei deren Kommentierung J.-L. Fournet dankenswerterweise auch eine revidierte Edition der engen Parallele *P.Flor.* 3.289 vorlegt. Demselben Herausgeber ist auch die Edition des byzantinischen Briefes **462** (6. Jh. n.Chr.) zu verdanken. Als **463** wird der einzige hieratische Text des Bandes veröffentlicht, das von D.C. Luft bearbeitete aus ptolemäischer Zeit stammende Fragment des ägyptischen Totenbuches, das die Sprüche 57, 59, 89 und 130 enthält. Den Band vervollständigen drei von G. Schenke edierte koptische dokumentarische Texte. Es handelt sich um eine Bitte um Intervention beim Statthalter (**464**), eine Weinquittung (**465**) und eine Übereignung eines Bäckereianteils (**466**).

Der Band wird mit den akkurat abgefaßten Indizes zu den griechischen literarischen (A), halbliterarischen (B) und dokumentarischen (C) Papyri sowie mit dem Index zu den koptischen Texten (E) abgeschlossen. Besonders zu begrüßen ist die Sektion D („Bemerkungen zu Urkunden“), in der zerstreut im Band vorgeschlagene Korrekturen und andere Beobachtungen zu bereits edierten Texten zusammengestellt sind.

Die Editionen der Texte sind sehr zuverlässig. In textkritischer Hinsicht hätte ich nur ein paar kleinere Bemerkungen zu machen: **438.1**: Anstelle von ἔγγ(αψα) τῷ Λέοντι συ(ντάξας) ἐπι(μεληθῆναι) κτλ. sollte man m.E. auflö-

sen: ἔγραψα τῷ Λέοντι συ(ντάξαι) ἐπι(μεληθῆναι) κτλ. Theomnestos notiert hier, daß er an Leon geschrieben und ihn darum gebeten hat, daß er anordnet, daß Sorge getragen wird; vgl. z.B. *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59620.20-22 (247-221 v.Chr.): ... γράφει Κλειτορίω ἀνακαλεσάμενόν με | συντάξαι ἐφ' οἷς ὄρισμαι παρασχέσθαι χειρογραφοῦντας τοὺς | ἀνθρώπους κτλ. – 452c.2-3: ἐὰν οὖν σοι | φα<ι>νηται κτλ.: Ich bin mir nicht sicher, daß man das *ι* vergessen hat. Viel wahrscheinlicher scheint mir, daß man φάνηται/φανῆται intendierte; zu dieser literarisch gut bezeugten Konjunktiv-Form vgl. z.B. *P.Polit. Iud.* 4.25 (134 v.Chr.). – 458.2-3: Für die enigmatische Stelle [ca. 10] ρωσσω ἀν|θρώπῳ könnte man m.E. die Rekonstruktion [ca. 10] . ὡς σῶ ἀν|θρώπῳ („als ob er Dein Mann wäre“) vertreten; vgl. z.B. Theod. Mopsuest., *Expositio in psalmos*, Comm. in Ps. XLIV13a:³ πείθου γὰρ αὐτῷ φησιν ὡς σῶ δεσπότη. In einer solchen Konstruktion würde das Fehlen des Artikels τῷ kein Problem darstellen. In der links fehlenden Textpartie hätte ein Verb gestanden, das mit Dativ konstruiert wird. Die Stelle würde am ehesten eine Aufforderung an den Adressaten enthalten, er möge eine dritte Person so behandeln, als ob sie ein Vertrauter des Adressaten wäre. Trifft diese Annahme zu, dann könnte unser Brief, dessen Hauptteil fast gänzlich verloren ist, ein Empfehlungsschreiben gewesen sein. – 459.8: Da διαίρέομαι ἀλλήλοις in diesem Kontext normalerweise nicht absolut verwendet wird, sondern mit einem Objekt konstruiert wird, sollte man mit der Möglichkeit rechnen, daß im verlorenen rechten Teil der Z. 8 noch ein kurzes Wort im Akkusativ zu ergänzen wäre, welches das grammatikalische Objekt des Infinitivs διηρῆσθαι wäre. – 460.2 würde ich eher Εὐστοχ(ίου) als Εὐστοχί(ου) transkribieren; was als *ι* gelesen worden ist, scheint mir ein Abkürzungsstrich zu sein. – 461.4: Am Ende des Haupttextes der Quittung geht der Editor davon aus, daß die zu erwartende Wendung εἰς σὴν ἀσφάλειαν πεποιήμαι vergessen worden ist: ἐκ πλήρους (καὶ) <εἰς σὴν ἀσφάλειαν πεποιήμαι> ταύτην τὴν ἀποχὴν ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). . [Alternativ zu dieser durchaus vertretbaren Deutung könnte man die Möglichkeit in Erwägung ziehen, daß der Schreiber den Ausdruck εἰς σὴν ἀσφάλειαν πεποιήμαι, der wegen des rechtlich belangvollen Elements εἰς σὴν ἀσφάλειαν und des sprachlich notwendigen Verbs πεποιήμαι eigentlich kaum verzichtbar wäre, doch geschrieben hat, und zwar im nunmehr abgebrochenen rechten Teil der Z. 4 unmittelbar nach ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Eine solche Rekonstruktion wäre vom Platz her unproblematisch. Auch die Plazierung dieser Partie nach ταύτην τὴν ἀποχὴν wäre problemlos; vgl. z.B. *PSI* 1.43.5-6 (5. Jh. n.Chr.): καὶ διὰ τοῦτο | ἐξεδόκαμέν σοι ταύτην τὴν ἀποχὴν εἰς σὴν ἀσφάλειαν. Schwierigkeiten bereitet dagegen der Umstand, daß die Phrase ὡς πρόκειται normalerweise am

³ Ed. v. R. Devreesse, *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes (I-LXXX)*, Studi e Testi 93 (Città del Vaticano 1939) 277-299 (bes. 293).

Ende des Satzes steht. Texte wie z.B. *P.Iand.* 3.43.25 (525 n.Chr.): ... [ὡς πρό]-κεῖτ(αι) πληρωθεῖσα κτλ. und *SB* 12.10810.5 (2. Hälfte des 6. Jh. n.Chr.): ... ὡς πρόκ(εῖται) ἀναμφιβόλῃς (l. -ως) zeigen jedoch, daß dies nicht zwingend war. Daher würde ich die Ergänzung der Wendung εἰς σὴν ἀσφάλειαν πεποιημαι im rechten Teil der Z. 4 nicht völlig ausschließen. – **461.6**: Am Ende des Textes scheint anstelle des Kreuzes der Edition vielmehr ein Staurogramm zu stehen (vgl. auch das Staurogramm in Z. 1 und 5 des Papyrus).

Kleine Unaufmerksamkeiten kommen zwar vor, sind aber äußerst selten. So hat man im Inhaltsverzeichnis (S. vii) bei der Überschrift zu den ptolemäischen Papyri aus Versehen die Überschrift aus dem Inhaltsverzeichnis von *P.Köln* 10 reproduziert: „Nr. 411-413: *Urkunden aus ptolemäischer Zeit*“ (korrekt: Nr. 438-455). Bei der Tafel zu **437** fehlt der sonst den Abbildungen beige-fügte Maßstab. Für **448** Verso wird im Tafelteil keine Abbildung angeboten. Bei den Transkriptionen der Texte wird zuweilen (etwa in **438.6** und **448.3**) gegen die sonstige editorische Praxis des Bandes Gravis statt Akut vor Interpunktion gesetzt. Solche Kleinigkeiten fallen aber selbstverständlich überhaupt nicht ins Gewicht. Was vorliegt, ist ein qualitativ hervorragender Band mit korrekten Transkriptionen und gelehrten Kommentaren, die für die Erfahrung, die Expertise und das Engagement der Bearbeiter der Stücke zeugen. Für die hervorragende Qualität der Edition gebührt uneingeschränktes Lob, und zwar sowohl den Herausgebern der Einzelstücke als auch den Verantwortlichen der Reihe, die ein derartig kompetentes internationales Team für die Bearbeitung des Materials der Kölner Papyrussammlung gewinnen konnten.

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Amphilochios Papatomas

A.J.B. Sirks and K.A. Worp (eds.) with the assistance of R.S. Bagnall and R.P. Salomons, *Papyri in Memory of P.J. Sijpesteijn (P.Sijp.)*. American Studies in Papyrology 40. American Society of Papyrologists, 2007. xlii + 445 pages + 74 plates. ISBN 978-0-9700591-0-9.

For more than 35 years, from the early 1960s until his sudden death in May 1996, Pieter Johannes Sijpesteijn was one of the world's most distinguished papyrologists and definitely the most productive among them. His vast list of publications comprising 658 titles and printed at the beginning of the volume under review (pp. xv-xlii) illustrates the importance of his contribution to the papyrological research of our era.

Sixty-nine eminent scholars from fifteen countries contributed to this volume in his memory, producing an excellent edition of papyri, ostraca, and parchments from Graeco-Roman Egypt. The volume contains 61 numbers; however, the texts published in it are more than 110, since many numbers include the edition of more than one piece. Almost all texts are in Greek. The texts in other languages include an official letter in Greek with a Latin dating formula (23), a Demotic letter on surety (9b), a Coptic ostrakon with *Psalm* 5 (9a), and a Coptic private or business letter (9c). For 8b see below.

In accordance with Sijpesteijn's research interests the edition in his memory presents texts from all areas of papyrology, while focusing on the documentary material from Roman and Byzantine Egypt. The volume begins with seven contributions from the field of literary and semi-literary papyri (1-7): Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 618ff., a vocabulary to *Iliad* 6.383-519, a re-edition of the Viennese fragments of the third book of the *Odyssey*, an ostrakon with a hitherto unknown Christian text, a fragment of a commentary on tachygraphy, a medical recipe for eye diseases, and a fragment possibly containing a writing exercise. The publication of two parchments with portraits on them (8) is followed by a large section of non-literary texts (9-61). Almost every text type is represented here: accounts, agreements and contracts, bank orders, complaints and petitions to officials, *donationes mortis causa* and testaments, an estimate for capitation tax of a village, exchanges of animals, extracts from the *programmata* of the *strategos*, itineraries, lists (such as *dekania* lists, lists of vouchers, of kitchen utensils, of garments, of money payments, of tax payments [?], of workmen, of taxpayers, etc.), instructions regarding agriculture, nominations to liturgies, oaths, offers to lease, official correspondence, orders to discharge prisoners, orders of payment, receipts (money tax and granary receipts, receipts for rent, etc.), different kinds of registers (such as census registers and registers of sequestrated property), releases of claims, repayments of loans,

penthemeros certificates, private memoranda, and private and business letters. Although all texts in this volume have points of special interest, some of them are particularly noteworthy, such as the sale of an Egyptian woman enslaved in an insurrection (45) and a couple of lists of garments bought in Rome and sent to Alexandria (55).

The papyri published here offer many leads for further research. Here, I would like to make a few remarks only and draw attention to some minor errors in the transcriptions that came to my attention during the reading of the volume. 5: For the tachygraphical commentaries see now S. Torallas Tovar and K.A. Worp, *To the Origins of Greek Stenography* (Barcelona 2006; reviewed in *BASP* 44, 2007, 211-217), as well as D. Kaltsas, “Kritische und exegetische Beiträge zu den Papyri des tachygraphischen Lehrbuchs,” *ZPE* 161 (2007) 215-251. – 8b: The parchment bears the picture of a saint. Probably because of the late dating of the parchment (according to the editor, it dates from the 9th–10th century AD) the legend on it has been understood as Coptic: Ο ΔΓ[ΙΟC]. However, the use of the Greek article and the absence of *hori* in ΔΓΙΟC make the assumption that the scribe intended to write the legend in Greek more probable: ὁ ἄγ[ι]ος + the name of the saint]. If this is correct, then the entry Ο ΔΓ[ΙΟC] should be deleted from the Coptic index at the end of the book (p. 445). – 10b.13:]δωρος Α[] . ρ . δώρου. The reading]δωρος Μ[η]τροδώρου should also be taken into consideration. – 14.8: αὐτῆι > αὐτῆ. – 22.8: βίον ε . . . τας. I propose βίον ἔχ[ο]ντας, the participle ἔχ[ο]ντας being in paratactic construction with ὄντας (l. 7); βίος is to be understood here in the sense of “livelihood, means of living, wealth” (cf. LSJ with *Rev.Suppl.*, s.v II). – 25.2: On the φυγάδες see now *CPR* 22.1; 26; 33-40; and F. Morelli, “*Agri deserti* (mawât), fuggitivi, fisco: una κλήρωσις in più in SPP VIII 1183,” *ZPE* 129 (2000) 167-178. – 25.8: συμπληρώσ(εως) > συμπληρώσε(ως) (obviously due to a misprint; cf. *app. crit.*). – 25.16: I would prefer the transcription οὔ(τως) instead of ο(ὔτως), since the curvy line attached to the ο stands for the υ. – 26.46: Μαρρείος > Μαρρείους. – 26.61: Νεοπτολέμ(ου) > Νεοπτολ(έμου). – 26.84: κακοῦργοι > κακοῦρκοι (scribal error for κακοῦργοι); for the writing of γ in this word cf. κακοῦργοι in l. 127. – 26.101: Νεκφερῶ(τος) > Νεκφε(ρώτος). – 26.125: Μεχείρ > Μεχ(είρ). – 30.84: (δρ.) λα > (δρ.) μ; for the form of μ (= 40) cf. the same number in ll. 91 and 92 (note also that most sums in the register can be divided by four, which is not the case with thirty-one). – 34.2: εἰξ() βοηθ(). The resolution of the abbreviations is difficult because of the double ξ. The well attested ἐξακτορίας βοηθός or ἐξάκτορος βοηθός seem to present the most attractive possibilities (in such a case the double ξ could perhaps be explained as a rather peculiar way to mark the plural of the whole phrase, i.e. ἐξακτορίας, ἐξάκτορος or ἐξακτόρων βοηθοί). – 35r.3.4: νο(μ.) ε κ(ερ.) ις >

νο(μ.) ε κ(ερ.) κ. – 36.39: Κοσμ(ᾶ). The nominative Κοσμᾶ(ς) appears more plausible to me, since the majority of the entries are in the nominative; cf. also the superscript α, which points to an abbreviation. Σαμιάτορ(ος) > Σαμιάτορ (read Σαμιάτωρ). – 37.22: † Γν(ῶσις) ἐργ(ατῶν) καὶ τεχθ() πεμφθ(έντων) ἐν Βαβυλ(ῶνι) κτλ. Concerning τεχθ() the editor notes: “one expects καὶ τεχνιτῶν (with abbreviation), but the raised theta is clear. The rest of what has been written suits (καὶ) τεχ- very well; it seems that the writer put theta by mistake (influenced by πεμφθ^θ following?). ἐργάται and τεχνῖται are elsewhere mentioned together in a number of texts ...” In this case, which seems plausible to me, apart from the spelling error we also have to assume a *Binnenkürzung*: τεχ(νι)θ(ῶν) (for τεχνιτῶν). An alternative explanation, which I would not exclude, is τεχθ(όνων) (for τεκτόνων). The combined mention of ἐργάται and τέκτονες is attested in papyri dated from the period of our text; cf., e.g., *P.Lond.* 4.1433.32 (AD 707) and *P.Ross.Georg.* 4.4.12–13 (710). – 39.31: Περτίνακο(ς) > Περτίνακος. – 39.38: διέγρ(αψεν) > δι(έγραψεν); cf. the same word, e.g., in l. 45. – 39.44: πέμπτου > πέμ<π>του (cf. the same omission of π also in l. 49). – 39.48: ὁ α(ὐτός) > ὁ αὐτός (without abbreviation). – 39.53: The word ὁμοίως which appears in the transcription does not exist on the papyrus and should, therefore, be deleted. – 40.7: γί(νονται) κδ > (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) κδ; there is a stroke representing γίνονται followed by a symbol for drachmas, and the sum. – 42a.5: Πατσώντεως > Πατσώντ(εως). – 42a.6: Πα[σ]οκνο(παίου) ὁ Πασοκνο(παίου) > Πα[σ]οκνοπ(αίου) ὁ Πασοκνοπ(αίου). – 44.8: ἀρ<σ>ένων > ἀρ<ρ>ένων (the omission of a second rho is more probable than the omission of a σ). – 45.10: Σωκράτου Σύρα > Σωκράτους <Σ>ύρα. – 47.12: ποιήσομεν δέ σοι τήν . . . [. . .] ἀν ἀμέμπτως > ποιήσομεν δέ σοι τήν ὑπηρ[εσί]αν ἀμέμπτως; cf. *P.Heid.* 4.326.19. In ll. 16 and 17 ἡμάς is a misprint for ἡμᾶς. – 49.5: Ἀμωναρίου > Ἀμμωναρίου. – 51.1: ὀπ(τίων ?) > ὀπτί(ων) and Ἀγαθῶ Δαίμων > Ἀγαθῶς Δαίμων (read Ἀγαθῶ Δαίμονι); for the reading Ἀγαθῶς cf. the ς of ἀνώννης in l. 4. – 51.8: The papyrus has no horizontal stroke over λ. – 59a.3-4: A possible reconstruction could be the following: [πρὸ μὲν πά]γτων εὐχομαι ἐρρώ[[μενόν σε καταλά]β]ι τὰ γράμματά μου κτλ.; cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* 2.26.2.3-4 (AD 160): ... ἵνα καὶ σέ, ἄδελφε, ταῦτά μου τὰ γράμματα ἅμα τῇ | συνβίῳ σου ἰσχύοντα καὶ ἰλαρὸν καταλάβῃ. In such a case, we have to accept that there was an asyndeton in the passage. Alternatively, we can assume that ἵνα has been left out between εὐχομαι and ἐρρώ[[μενον or that the final ν of καταλά]β<ε>[<ν> has been omitted. – 59a.6: For the very rare word ποδάρι(ο)ν see now also *P.Eirene* 2.23.3 with note. – 59b.15:] . σοι <ει>ρηκότα: the photograph seems to allow the reading:] . ς εἰρηκότα; otherwise, the transcription] . ς οἰρηκότα (read εἰρηκότα) should be preferred. – 61.5: The reconstruction τοῦ παρ]όντος μῆνός is by no means certain, since

supplements such as τοῦ παρελθόντος μηνός are also possible. – 61 verso (frag. a): as D. Hagedorn, “Zu den Adressen einiger spätantiker Briefe,” *ZPE* 165 (2008) 129-132 (esp. 132) notes, the papyrus has δεσπό(τη) τὰ πά(ντα) instead of δεσπότῃ μου of the edition.

The indices are carefully made. Still, there are a few minor errors that could have been avoided, regarding, for instance, the form of some words (e.g. p. 420: καθοσίωσος, p. 434: λειποτακτέω, p. 436: νυνεί, and p. 443: χαλκίσκον instead of the correct καθοσίωσις, λιποτακτέω, νυνί and χαλκίσκιον respectively), and the unnecessary splitting of entries (so ἐλαών belongs to the entry ἐλαιών on p. 429). Sometimes the line numbers given in the index are wrong (e.g. διαγράφω is found at 39.48, not 39.49 as the index has it). Finally, there are a small number of misprints, such as Πηλοῦσιον instead of Πηλούσιον (p. 416), ἐπισποδασμός instead of ἐπισπουδασμός (p. 420) and ἀμφιβολεύς instead of ἀμφιβολεύς (p. 421).

At the end, there follow black and white plates of almost all papyri published in the volume. The only texts without a photograph are 9c (the writing of this text is so faint that photographs are illegible; the editor provides a drawing instead), 37 verso, and 50.

The publication of the volume was delayed for several years. As the general editor of the series A.E. Hanson notes in the preface to the volume, the manuscript was effectively closed in mid-summer 1999. This has resulted in the absence of parallels and bibliographical references from the last decade, a fact which, nevertheless, does not seriously affect the quality of the publication. Much more regrettable is the fact that six of the contributors, namely W.M. Brashear, U. Horak, J. O’Callaghan, J.F. Oates, J. Rudhardt, and G. Wagner, did not live to see the publication of the volume.

To sum up: the current volume presents to the scholarly world a large number of important new texts, which will stimulate papyrological research in the coming years. The contributors are to be congratulated and thanked for their skillful editing and learned analysis and the editors of the volume and of the series for the high quality of the book they produced, which does honour to the memory of P.J. Sijpesteijn in the most appropriate way.

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Amphilochios Papathomas

F.A.J. Hoogendijk and B.P. Muhs (eds.), *Sixty-Five Papyrological Texts Presented to Klaas A. Worp on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (*P.L.Bat.* 33), with indexes by M.J. Bakker. *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava*, Vol. 33. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008. xl + 416 pages. ISBN 978-90-04-16688-2.

This miscellaneous text edition reflects the wide range of the scholar to whom it was offered as a *Festschrift*. The sixty-five texts from various collections are arranged as follows: five Greek and Coptic literary texts (nos. 1-5) first, then six Greek and Latin sub-literary texts (6-11), followed by one demotic documentary text (12), forty-nine Greek documentary texts (papyri first, 13-37, ostraca second, 38-61), three Coptic documentary texts (62-64), and one Arabic documentary text (65). 6-8 are re-editions of oracle questions in Greek and should have been grouped with the Greek documentary texts; there is nothing literary about them, and two of them (7-8) failed to make it to the *SB* earlier precisely because they were deemed sub-literary. I doubt whether they will make it to the *DDBDP* this time, not so much because of their awkward position in this volume, but because the texts are very oddly presented. Given that this is a miscellaneous text edition, and that the texts are edited by scholars working in a variety of disciplines, uniformity in presentation was not to be expected, but I was struck by the often rather arbitrary diversity practiced by the editors of the individual texts and allowed by the volume's editors. In what follows I will flag the more striking cases.

The volume opens with a bibliography of K.A. Worp (pp. xiii-xxxiii). The partial pre-print of his 1972 dissertation (issued under the title *Fünfzehn Wiener Papyri*) is not included, which is unfortunate because it is in many libraries and potentially confuses the uninitiated. At item 187 the volume number of the journal *Sacris Erudiri* should be 31, not 3, which is again rather unfortunate because most libraries will keep the volume with the journal, not separately as a *Festschrift*.

The known Greek literary texts are either presented without (1) or with (2-4) accents added, the latter without (2) or with (3-4) diplomatic transcript. The one new Greek literary text (9) is presented with accents added, and without diplomatic transcript. 1 is a third-century BC fragment of Plato, *Ep.* 8 (356A) in two columns; in the first column,]αι can also be read as]δι, adding a couple more possibilities for identification. – 2 is an early first-century AD fragment of *Dem. Or.* 21.62; the arrangement of the text by the editor is arbitrary, because (part of) the last word of the preceding section may well have stood on the papyrus before πoλλ[λων in line 1; I think the lacuna to the left was longer, that

to the right shorter, than they are in the printed text. There is a list of papyrus fragments of Dem. Or. 21 (*In Mideiam*) on pp. 7-8. – 3 is a late second/early third-century AD fragment of Apoll. Rhod. 2.589-601 from Oxyrhynchus on the back of a second century AD documentary text. There is an impressive list (p. 9) of ten other fragments of the *Argonautica* on the back of documentary texts, presumably all likewise from Oxyrhynchus. They all have some form of diacritics (in the diplomatic transcript here the square breathings unfortunately come out as ‘and’). – 4 is a second/third-century fragment of Herodotus 1.178.2-3 from the same roll as P.Mich. inv. 6586b (ed. W.Luppe, *ZPE* 93, 1992, 170); the edition of the Brussels fragment is followed by a re-edition of both fragments; in both cases, the two lines printed between [] above the actual text of the fragment would have been written in a preceding column.

5 is a tenth-century fragment of the so-called *Liber Bartholomaei*, a Coptic apocryphon; the edition of this fragment was made independently of the editions of the other known fragments by Kaestli-Cherix and Westerhoff.¹ The editor regards the new fragment as a representative of yet another recension (“D”), shorter than, but close to, recension C (represented by the text edited by Budge). The new fragment lacks in particular the scene where the apostles rise up to the Father; the editor speculates that this may not have been in the original *Gospel of Bartholomew*, but one might also argue that it was dropped in this recension to make it seem less unorthodox.

6-8 re-edit three first/early second-century ostraca from Latopolis. All three are requests made to Athena; the first was published by C. Gallazzi, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 101-109 (*SB* 18.13931), the other two from early transcripts (the originals are lost) by B. Boyaval, *CÉ* 55 (1980) 309-313. In 6 the editor prints a corrected text in line 6; for the actual text of the ostrakon one has to consult the apparatus (I wonder whether this reversal of the traditional papyrological method is inspired by the DDBDP, which includes *SB* 18.13931). The editor offers a new reading in line 12: καὶ γὰρ τῷ Ἄμμωνι ἐνετύχ(ομεν) becomes καὶ γὰρ τῷ Ἄμμωνι ἐνέτυχ(εν), implying that the person complained about went to Ammon. This leads the editor to another interpretation of 7 where he argues that the accusations leveled by the person complained about (lines 10-12) were made to Athena during her festival (καθ’ ἡμέραν ὑμῶν). None of this is convincing; in 6.12, καί refers back to ἐντυγχάνομεν in lines 5-6, making ἐνετύχ(ομεν) here seem much more natural; in 7.11, καθ’ ἡμέραν must mean “daily”; ὑμῶν in the next line better remains hanging in the air, as it does in the early transcript. For 7-8 the editor prints a transcript in capitals and a corrected “text,” which does not represent the original (known through

¹ The review of Westerhoff mentioned on p. 20, n. 5, appeared as P. van Minnen, *BASP* 45 (2008) 277-284.

the early transcripts) adequately (e.g., interesting grammar does not come out properly: ἀξιώμεθα is corrected away to ἀξιοῦμεν in 7.6; πεπίστευκα αὐτήν is corrected away to πεπίστευκα αὐταῖς in 8.4-5, making it additionally hard to see that the writer has one of the two women mentioned foremost in mind when formulating his complaint). Both texts await a proper edition (articulated text plus apparatus).

9 is a second-century AD fragment of an unknown prose literary text about Chnoum. Lines 5-8 deserve to be quoted in full: [τ]ὸ μὲν ξόανον τοῦ Χνού[μι]ός ἐστιν ἀνδριάς καθή[μεν]ος κριοπρόσωπος ἔχων [ὑπὸ rather than κατὰ] τοὺς πόδας τρόχ[ον]. The editor tentatively explains the “wheel” as a potter’s wheel used by Chnoum to create humans (comparable to Prometheus, who may have been mentioned in line 10:]προμη). – **10** is a third-century AD fragment of erotic magic on the verso of a document; it consists of a palindrome in a V-shaped *Schwindeschema* triangle accompanied by two lines of text running diagonally on the right and presumably also on the left and at the top.

11 re-edits two Greek alphabets in Latin script (earlier edition by W. Clarysse and B. Rochette, *APF* 51, 2005, 67-75). The editor convincingly shows that the two alphabets represent two different styles of Latin script occasionally used by Greek scribes: the first is the regular cursive of Late Antiquity; the second, a highly stylized version of the old cursive of more restricted use in this period: imperial rescripts were written in it (*litterae caelestes*), as well as the Latin prescripts of records of proceedings (as mimicked on stone in, e.g., D. Feissel, *Chiron* 34, 2004, 285-365) – at least that was the theory. Because the script was hard to read (and write; only 10 letters have the same shape in both alphabets here), in 537 Justinian (*Nov.* 47.2) allowed scribes to add a transliteration in the regular cursive to the prescript in the highly stylized version of the old cursive in records of proceedings (as is subsequently done, e.g., in *P.Ital.* 1.21), but already in 433 (27) an Egyptian scribe used only the regular cursive for the prescript of records of proceedings, and we also find it used by Egyptian notaries in their subscriptions. Note that the eta and omega are never found written there as the first alphabet here suggests (*ē* and *ō*), but always as *h* and *o*.

12 is a wooden tablet (perhaps the reused lid of a box) with three columns of Demotic accounts of wheat and barley from Pathyris, dated to 99 BC. The rations provided to priests (in the “redistributive” economy in which Egyptian temples were maintained) are 1 artaba or less. The illustrations are poor, and there are no handcopies.

13 is a third-century BC pawnbroker’s list; col. 1 seems to list items unredeemed and subsequently sold; col. 2 contains mostly items for which the

pawnbroker provided a certain amount of cash and which have not yet been redeemed (or sold). The items are interesting: farm equipment and other tools (cf. 16.7) are listed; some items are rare (e.g., in col. 2.4 κόνδυ stands for κόνδυ, “Pokal”). In col. 2.31 (and 41?) ἦν is apparently used for present time. 14 is a report on the loss of certain items, written in the same hand as 13 but less well preserved. Both texts have other texts on the back in the same hand, less careful than the hand on the front. 13 is unfortunately hard to read from the illustration (printed at 60% with generous white margins).

15 (a “legal” text) is not very clear. The editors apparently did not try to join the fragments (c and d might fit to the right of a+b). The text is written in a bookhand and dates from 10/9-2/1 BC. The editors describe the shape of each letter on pp. 93-94. The petition *P.Lond.* 2.354 is mentioned as a parallel for the script; it is also the one other very early “legal” text that mentions γεγυμνασιαρχικότες. In fragment d, line 5 γεγυμνα]σια[ρ]ηκη[τ should be γεγυμνα]σια[ρ]ηκη[ρ] (correct fragment a+b, line 16 accordingly).

16 is a letter dated at the bottom to AD 11. The recipient is instructed to hide certain mining tools. The letter mentions the μεταλλάρχης and the ἐπίτροπος. The illustration is illegible.

17 is a first/second-century Theban contract (described as *P.Cair.* 10201) about “living arrangements” (fragment b mentions τεκ]νοποιεία). The parties are both *pastophoroi* of Ammon from the Theban Memnoneia. – 18 (described as *P.Tebt.* 2.460) is an agreement from AD 139 about a returned dowry between a wife of 21 (assisted by her second husband-uncle of 60) and the 68-year-old brother of her first husband. The editor (p. 122) makes the father of the latter the oldest man in the papyri, but his occurrence as an agent in the contract is based on a misreading; in line 21 read διὰ τὸ καὶ ταύτας τῆ[ν Τ]εφερωτ(α) ἀπέχειν instead of διὰ τὸ καὶ ταύτας πα[ρὰ Ν]εφερωτ(ος) ἀπέχειν; the subject of the infinitive had to be expressed at the end of a complicated sentence.

19 is a report from AD 144/5 (?) on the *episkepsis* by the *strategos* and *basilikos grammateus* of the Mendesian nome assisted by two landowners in the Bousirite nome appointed by the *epistrategos*.

20 (described as *P.Tebt.* 2.613) is a lease of a house in Antinoopolis from AD 154/5. It is a bank contract like the ones published as *P.Lond.* 3.1164 (AD 212). The rent is stiff: 360 drachmas a year, but the house comes with workshops that can be sublet. In line 1 reading Ἀφροδισιέω[ς ἐν Ἄντι(νόου) πό]λι seems preferable to Ἀφροδισι ἐ[ν Ἄντινόου πό]λι (the type of bank, *chremastike*, is only known for Antinoopolis). In lines 3-4 read Ἐρμοπολεῖ[του instead of Ἐρμοπολεῖ[τις; it goes with the former owner of the freedwoman. Likewise read ἀναγραφ[ο]μέ[νη instead of ἀναγραφ[ο]μέ[νου in line 22; Ἐρμοπολί[τ]ου there again refers to the former owner of the freedwoman, whereas the follow-

ing ἀναγραφ[ο]μέ[νη refers to her. Note that the editors skipped 21 in numbering the lines. Lines 22 and following refer to the renter: read παρ' αὐ]τῆς instead of αὐ]τῆ in line 25; in line 28 one expects ὧν και τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ποιη- to be first person (ποιήσομαι).

21 is the sale of a slave woman with her child from Soknopriou Nesos from AD 198/9 (?). A mother of [3]6 sells the woman and the boy to her daughter (from a previous marriage) of 25. The mother and the guardians are priests; the guardian of the mother is described as follows: Ἀνχ[ώφεω]ς Στοτοίτewος τοῦ Ὠρου [μητ]ρὸς Τασητος θ[υ]γατ[ρ]ὸς Δίου Ἀμοῦνις. We do not expect patronymic and parronymic (without του) for the mother. Instead read: Ἀνχ[ώφεω]ς Στοτοίτewος τοῦ Ὠρου [μητ]ρὸς Τασητος ἐ[πικ]αλ[ου]μέγου Ἀμοῦνις.

22 is a kind of register of documents from second-century AD (?) Oxyrhynchus. Only col. 1 is printed. The abbreviations of the first scribe in lines 11, 13, 17, and 18 were expanded by a second scribe, who also corrected a couple of mistakes in line 10 without deleting what was written earlier. The editor came up with a most awkward way of representing this in type, printing what the second scribe wrote in italics (with the expected run of typographical mistakes in lines 8 and 12). The date is based in part on the identification of the woman in lines 5-6 with the wife in the will *P.Oxy.* 3.494 of AD 165 (not 156, as the editor has it).

23 is a fragment with a date of AD 204 from Tebtynis. – **24** is a not yet properly understood fourth-century business letter from Hermopolis about a trip to Panopolis (line 9; Upper-Egyptian Kaine is mentioned as well in line 12). In line 7 the literary ἀπλοσύνη occurs; for the concept (cf. Latin *simplicitas*) see the first part of O. Hiltbrunner, *Latina graeca. Semasiologische Studien über lateinische Wörter in Hinblick auf ihr Verhältnis zu griechischen Vorbildern* (Bern 1958), and J. Amstutz, *Ἀπλότης. Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Studie zum jüdisch-christlichen Griechisch* (Bonn 1968). I wonder whether ξένος in line 4 is not just “a stranger” rather than a personal name; in the address on the back τῆ<ς> Θελουρῶ in line 24 should no doubt be τῆ θελουρῶ (I. Θυρουρῶ) (for these corrections see now also A. Papatomas, *ZPE* 168, 2009, 259-264).

25 (described as *P.Lond.* 3.1106) is an instruction to an *apaitetes* and *papalempetes* to hand over 4 artabas of wheat. The instruction is given by the heirs of Hyperechios, represented by his widow Sallustia Kyrilla who signs lines 14-15 (for her hand see also *CPR* 6.65); the editor dates the text after AD 322, when Hyperechios is known to have been dead. He also provides (pp. 186-194) a summary of what we know about his family (see also P. van Minnen, “Hermopolis and Its Papyri,” in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova, eds., *100 anni di istituzione fiorentine per la papirologia* [Firenze 2009] 1-15 at 12-14, and *P.*

Kramer 11-12). In line 6 ἀφ' οὗ starts a new sentence; the relative clause (with antecedent included, as we were told in highschool) continues in line 7, and this is followed in line 8 by the apodosis (the editor's punctuation is faulty, and his explanation of ἀφ' οὗ on p. 185 is embarrassing). The readings of the editor cannot be checked in the poor illustration.

26 is a fourth/fifth-century fragment from Oxyrhynchus mentioning *politeuomenoi* and *bouleutai*. A discussion of these terms follows (pp. 197-201; *politeuomenos* seems to designate a higher status of some sort). – **27** is a fragment of a bilingual report of proceedings from AD 433, mentioning *politeuomenoi* of Memphis and *bouleutai*. The papyrus is not yet properly conserved. The editor does not indicate in the text that lines 13-15 are written in a “chancery” hand (presumably the same scribe wrote the rest of the text including the Latin prescript); perhaps the text is quoting an imperial constitution in translation there (little remains for an identification). In line 11 τὰ ἄπορα ἴδια νομίζοντες εἶναι κέρδη should be translated as: “they (the officials who appointed the plaintiff to a burdensome post) regarded (my) insufficient personal belongings as a bonanza” (κέρδη is plural because τὰ ἄπορα ἴδια is; cf. the New Testament, *Phil.* 3.7).

28 is a fragmentary promise from AD 477 to hand over a *grammation* (some kind of debt instrument) the next time the writer finds himself in the Arsinoite nome (thus line 10 should be translated), now that he has been paid the *solidus*.

29-32 are fragmentary contracts from Hermopolis with notarial subscriptions. **29** is the end of a sixth-century lease and belongs to the same archive as *CPR* 9.6-11. On the *Pächtersondergaben* see also K.A. Worp, in *P.Thomas*, pp. 51-68. One of the witnesses to **30** (fifth/sixth century) is a subdeacon. In **31** (ca. AD 500) the *Schreibgehilfe* makes two curious mistakes: he writes εροκ(είμενος) for προκ(είμενος) (line 8) and εοραψα for εγραψα (line 10). **32** (fifth century?) is a mere fragment.

33-34 relate to Flavius Kallinikos Iovinianus of the *numerus* of the *leontoclibanarii*. **33** (AD 501) is an offer to lease a third of an oil press addressed to this man; he is apparently designated as *circitor* (not much more than the initial kappa is visible). He is attested from 501 until 523 as *circitor*, then *biarchos*, finally *centenarius* (his career is conveniently laid out on p. 232). His father was in the military as well but is attested at a much higher rank, that of *primicerius*. The oil press comes with a σιλια (for σήλια or rather τηλία, “Wanne”) and στρόβιλοι (“Mühlsteine”). The editor thinks it may have been some kind of *trabetum* or *mola olearia*. **34** is a mere fragment.

35 is a re-edition of *P.Stras.* 5.318, a lease from Heracleopolis from AD 596. The lessor is *oikonomos* of the *philoponia* named after Zeus. Lines 1-6 with

the prescript (“protocole”) are written in a different hand from the main body of the contract, and the editor plausibly argues that the whole text was written by the same scribe. For the prescript a kind of italics (“cursive penchée”) were used, whereas the main body is written in an upright cursive. Some letters (λ, μ, ν, π, and τ) are really different. In a discussion of this phenomenon (pp. 245-249; attested especially in the Arsinoite nome in the period 600-620) the editor proposes a new siglum to indicate a change of hand (“style”) rather than a change of scribe: s². This is most confusing. “Hand” or “main” (*manus*) does not mean “scribe” (when not using two fingers, I use my right hand to write, but with it I can write in several “hands” [“styles”]). While m² is unambiguous (or at least not more ambiguous than ordinary English or French), s² will often be mistaken for “second s(cribe).”

36 is a fragmentary sixth-century AD petition to the emperor. The text starts with a *Sentenz* and includes the rare τὸ ἀγριαῖνον, “Wildheiten.” – **37** is a substantial lease of 10 arouras from Heracleopolis, dated to AD 620, 650, or 665. The lessor and his father were both *geometrai*. The land at Phnebi is leased for a fixed sum (4 *solidi* a year, irrespective of the quality of the inundation, plus substantial *Pächtersondergaben* listed in lines 15-18). The land comes with *lakkos*, *hydreuma*, *mechane*, *mechanostasia*, and even a *pyrgos*, so it is not just arable land. The intention is to have the lessees plant a vineyard on the land – if they do, at an additional rent of 500 *sextarii* of wine per aroura. The standard *diploun* of five *sextarii* each is used to measure this, and the editor finally settles the correct form of the adjective πεντάξεστος (rather than πενταξεστιαῖος). The lessees will provide *mechanika organa* to run the equipment that is already there and will also look after the *lakkos* and the *proschomata*.

38-49 are ostraca from Elephantine. **38** is some kind of account from the third century BC. **39** is a receipt from AD 71 for *geometria phoinikonon*. The unusual διὰ κοινο(ῦ) ἡμῶν in line 4 disappears if we read διὰ κοινωνῶν (the partners of Rufonius Antigonos). **40** is a receipt from AD 104 for the sales tax for a ship (12.5% of the price) paid, as expected, by the seller. Lines 4-6 have not been properly understood by the editor. The receipt is for τέλος πληρο(ῦν) οὐ πέπρακας κυβερνήτη Κυθερίης. The translation offers “in full” for πληρο(ῦν), which is not otherwise explained but listed as a verb in the index (p. 403). The editor connects οὐ with the name of the ship, which is feminine. Instead of πληρο(ῦν) I think πληρίο(υ) was written for πλοίου, with which οὐ then agrees more satisfactorily. **41** (AD 117) is again a receipt for *geometria phoinikonon* (the apparatus to line 4 is odd; ις should be κ), as is **49** (AD 182). **41** concerns the same tax collector, Palachemis, as do **43**, a receipt for poll tax from AD 137, and a number of other texts, and the editor discusses his career on pp. 287-289 (it ran from 117 to 143 and perhaps continued in 161-164). **42** and

46 are receipts for *cheironaxion* from AD 128 and 139-143 respectively. **44** is a receipt from AD 137 for *merismos potamophylakidos* and *diplon*. **45** (AD 140?) is another poll tax receipt. **47** (147/8) is a receipt for some kind of *merismos*. **48** (AD 152?) identifies two *tektones* as *adiutores* for the upcoming visit of the *epistrategos*. Apparently their help is needed on a certain date to prepare for the visit (the editor thinks the date in the text is the date of the visit, but that is unlikely).

50 is an ostrakon letter from a quarry 11 kilometers south of Mons Porphyrites, where almost 1,000 such ostraca were found. The letter (Domitian-Trajan) is concerned with iron fittings for wooden implements used to move stone (blocks of three feet and “plates”) from the quarry on a sledge (χαμουλκός). – **51** is a second-century ostrakon from the *praesidium* Dios (or *Iovis*) with a copy of a record of the arrival and belated departure of official (prefectural) correspondence. On pp. 319-320 the editor plausibly corrects the translation of *P.Sarap.* 84a, long thought to concern a “letter” (petition) to (rather than: a letter from) the prefect. On pp. 320-323 the editor discusses the term ἐπίθεις and the verb it derives from. She regards it as a “consignment” (of letters, as here, entrusted to a courier). She could have drawn on ἐπιθήκη as well, as this also concerns a “consignment” (of money). The text explains the delay as follows in lines 9-10: (the carrier left late) μετὰ γυναικὸς κοιμώμενος. Perhaps the “galante compagnie” (p. 317) that held him up was his wife. The *paragraphos* below line 9 appears above line 10 because of awkward pagination.

52 is a second century ostrakon from Karanis instructing the addressee to buy a pig for up to 20 drachmas for a party. The pig can be sent along with the shipment of *cibaria* that the *kibariates* (*cibariator*) *principalis* is bringing.

53-60 are Roman ostraca. **53** re-edits *P.David* 6.2, a fourth-century school exercise with two-syllable words including Biblical names. **54** is a first century letter about Nile transport, mentioning passengers. **55** is a first-century letter mentioning the *praesidium* of Api (a.k.a. Aphis). **56** re-edits *P.David* 6.1, a second-century list of *hemerophylakes* (one is an *iatros*). **57** is a fourth-century memorandum (on the date and the interpretation of the text see now C. Carusi, *ZPE* 168, 2009, 219-220). **58-59** are second-century accounts, and **60** might be a first/second-century receipt.

61 is a seventh/eighth-century tax receipt from the same dossier (of Pathermouthis *siderourgos*) as that published by T.M. Hickey and K.A. Worp, *BASP* 34 (1997) 79-109. – **62** is a Coptic tax receipt from Western Thebes from AD 729. The editor translates ἀρίθμῳν in line 7 as “by tale” (same mystifying gloss in the index, p. 411, where only its occurrence in line 2 is listed, where the editor translates it more understandably as “coin”). – On pp. 348-350 follows

a stray note on the date of SB 8.9825 from the dossier of someone who tries to make a profit from buying and selling wine.

63 is a sixth/seventh-century Coptic order to pay from the so-called Shenute archive from Hermopolis. It concerns a partial payment of 2.5 *solidi* out of 15 total for the rent on an unknown kind of land (called ΜΕCΛΗΖ in line 3, if this is not a name). The illustrations are reduced to 45%.

64 is a tenth/eleventh-century Coptic letter on paper from Naqlun. In line 3 of the recto read ΝΕΚCΜΟΥ (“your blessings”) instead of ΠΕΚCΜΟΥ. The sentiment in lines 13-14 on the recto about being physically but not spiritually separated uses a pair of opposites ψυχή/πνεῦμα that we already find in the New Testament (e.g., *1 Cor.* 2.14). The letter mentions the archbishop (the patriarch of Alexandria) and Babylon, without necessarily implying that the archbishop had already moved to Cairo by the time the letter was written.

65 is a seventh/eighth-century Arabic list of 16 “companions” in Fustat. The Arabic is printed too small, and the illustration at 63% is often easier to read.

The index (p. 413) lists the Arabic words in transliteration only, and without glosses. Glosses are provided in the Demotic and Coptic indexes (pp. 408-412), but understandably not in the Greek (and Latin) indexes (pp. 381-407). On p. 383 the index lists all possibilities for 53.2.2 except what it says on the ostracon (λυμμα) and the most likely explanation offered by the editors (λῦμα). For *Θελουρῶς (p. 388) see the correction to **24** above. On p. 410 ΔΛΗΘΩC is listed as a Coptic word (and glossed: “truly”), but it is of course a Greek word, as many other words in the Coptic index are. The indexes are really indexes of Coptic, etc., texts, not of Coptic, etc., words. Perhaps words such as ΔΛΗΘΩC should be listed twice, just to be on the safe side. Greek words in Greek portions of Coptic texts should then also be listed twice. A list of corrections to other texts concludes the volume (pp. 415-416).

The volume is printed on heavy paper, perhaps to bring out the illustrations in the text better. It makes the volume a little unwieldy, and the illustrations are even so not always adequate. But the transcriptions can for the most part be relied upon, and the volume does the honorand proud. The prize goes to **11** with **37** as runner-up.

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B.P. Muhs, *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers, and Taxes in Early Ptolemaic Thebes*. Oriental Institute Publications 126. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2005. ISBN 1-885923-30-9.

This volume is at the same time a study of the early Ptolemaic tax system (pp. 1-103, sections 1-5), a prosopography of early Ptolemaic taxpayers in Thebes (pp. 105-134, section 6), and an edition of 61 Ptolemaic tax receipts from the Nelson collection in the Chicago Oriental Institute (pp. 135-179, section 7).

The first part of the book offers a survey of the early Ptolemaic tax system, mainly the taxes in money. These were perhaps already introduced in the Persian period but come to the fore in the Ptolemaic period. They may have stimulated the monetisation of the Egyptian economy. The tax receipts on potsherds, which appear towards the end of the reign of Ptolemy I, are linked to the introduction of the tax-farming system, which is vividly presented on p. 7.

The central find of the book is the discovery of the tax reform system of Ptolemy II in 264 BC (pp. 6-10 and 29-60). In that year the yoke tax, for males only, was replaced by the salt tax, at a lower rate, but for both males and females; the harvest tax on vineyards and orchards was now levied by tax-farmers and no longer by the temples; and through the oil and beer “monopoly” the government had a firm grip on important industrial sectors. Part of this was already known thanks to the Revenue Laws, but by his prosopographical method the author was able to redate scores of tax receipts to the earlier part of the reign of Ptolemy II instead of Ptolemy III. Greek papyri start to flow only in the 250’s; for the first time the Ptolemaic tax system can be seen at work in the preceding decennium. A new chapter has therefore been added to Ptolemaic administrative history.

On pp. 33-99 the author offers useful up-to-date lists of Theban tax receipts for all kinds of money taxes, with lots of corrections for readings and dates: the most common taxes in Thebes are the salt tax (103 receipts), the burial tax (63 receipts), the yoke tax (55 receipts), and the “price of oil” (42 receipts). Though the lists are limited to Thebes, the author consistently uses documentation from other places in his study of the taxes. Here one is aware of the double focus of the work, which is at the same time a study of early Ptolemaic taxation and of early Ptolemaic Thebes. For the salt tax, see now W. Clarysse and D.J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt 2* (Cambridge 2006) 59-89.

The prosopography of 39 Theban tax payers who occur in more than one text (pp. 105-127) is an important methodological tool for dating (and redat-

ing) the ostraca. On the whole I agree with the identifications proposed by Muhs, though he does not always take account of the possible homonymy between grandfather and grandson, which makes the argument somewhat tricky if the years of payment are not consecutive. Thus the succession Spotous/Osoroeris (p. 67) is found over many generations in one or more priestly families (*Pros.Ptol.* 3 and 9.5669, 5672, 5677, 5677a, 5816, 5816a, and 5817). I also have doubts for tax payer 4 (p. 107), who occurs only twice, under different names (*Ta-bꜣy* and *Ta-mꜣy*, though the orthography is indeed similar) in year 7 and 15 respectively. Similarly the last two items in the list of tax payer 10 (p. 111) are thirteen years later than the others, in a different collection and for different taxes; these persons may well be homonyms. On the whole, however, the arguments are convincing. The prosopography is followed, somewhat unexpectedly, by a study of papyrus archives of Theban mortuary priests, of whom only some appear in the prosopography (pp. 128-131 and stemmata pls. 30-32), and of the possible provenance of ostraca bought by 19th century collectors (pp. 132-134).

The texts are published in order of the inventory numbers, i.e. in random order (pp. 135-179, with photographs and facsimiles). 53 are Demotic, 1 Greek, and 7 bilingual Demotic-Greek. For the reader it would have been easier if they had been grouped according to date, type of tax or tax payers' archives. Now each text seems to stand by itself.

This leads to many overlaps: e.g. the scribe *Ns-Min* occurs in eleven texts, starting with text 1, and receives each time the same four-line note with reference to each of the other texts. It would have saved space if these references were given the first time, with a short cross-reference to that note elsewhere. Similarly the amount of the burial tax is explained, with all parallel passages, in the notes to nos. 8, 23, 29, 54, and 60. The argument for the reading *1/6 kite*, is repeated in full (5 lines) in the notes to nos. 6, 21, 28, 35, 42, 45, and 61, footnote 593 repeats note 591, etc.

Because many texts are written very cursively the readings often depend on parallels elsewhere. On the whole the editor did an excellent job. The following notes are suggestions rather than corrections.

Text 3.5. The name of the second person is ^c*bq* = Abykis; at the end of the next line an amount of *kite* must have followed.

Text 18. In l. 2 I prefer Psenthotes to Psenamounis (in l. 1 Psenamounis is written differently).

Text 21.41, 48. I read the name of this taxpayer (no. 28, p. 121) as *Pa-ꜣy* (Pais) not *Pa-ꜣy* (Paches or Pachois). This is also the reading of C. Andrews in *P.Brit.Mus.* 4.

Text 30. The name *Pj-šr-ta-Min* is unexpected in early Ptolemaic Thebes. Moreover there is no *sj* sign. I wonder if we should not read *Imn-ḥtp pj šr Ta-Min* “Amenothes son of Tamini.” Amenothes is then identified by his mother’s name, preceded by *pj šr* “the son” fully written out.

Text 30.2.1. The patronymic of Petemestous is clearly *Pa-mn-n=s* (Pamon-nasis); cf. *Demotisches Namenbuch*, p. 369.

Text 30.2.5. The patronymic of the person is probably *Pa-nfr* (Panouphis).

Text 31. The name of the scribe is no doubt *Imn-ḥtp*. The sign for *sj* “son” is ligatured at the bottom of the divine determinative. The patronymic looks like *Hrr*.

Text 32. The figure 1/2 is what is expected, but not what one can read.

Text 33. The Greek text begins with the (ἔτους) sign, perhaps followed by the figure 27.

Text 43.1. The patronymic looks like Psenhotēs.

The indexes (pp.181-262) are very full. They contain a long list of English and demotic words (including very common words, such as tax, receipt, woman, third century, *sj* “son of,” *hd* “money,” *sh* “written,” or *kite*, which overlaps with *qt*) and of all texts quoted (inventory numbers first, though the texts are ordered according to publication numbers, which are given in brackets). Words and names found in the published ostraca are mixed up with words quoted in the introductory chapter or in the notes. Since patronymics are not listed separately, fathers’ names can only be found through sons or daughters. Separate indexes of demotic and Greek words and names in the published texts would have been preferable.

This book makes a difference for the study of early Ptolemaic Egypt, in the first place for the way the early Ptolemies organized the tax administration, but also because it links the tax ostraca and the demotic papyri of the mortuary priests. Many interesting details are also highlighted by the editor in his notes. For Greek papyrologists the rendering of Egyptian proper names at this early stage is certainly also of interest: Greek endings are usually not yet added and the unstandardized forms often show features of the southern dialect, as was shown by the author in a later article “Linguistic Hellenization in Early Ptolemaic Thebes,” *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology* (Helsinki 2007) 2:793-806.

Charikleia Armoni, *Papyri aus dem Archiv des Königlichen Schreibers Dionysios (P. Heid. IX)*. Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung, Neue Folge, Nr. 12. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2006. xvi + 137 pages + 19 plates. ISBN 3-8253-5165-3.

This volume of texts from the Heidelberg collection publishes 24 texts that were acquired in 1999 and come from one piece of mummy cartonnage. Seventeen texts are published in full, with extensive introduction, Greek text, German translation and commentary, and seven are published in description with Greek text. Black and white photographs of all texts follow in the back; it is to be expected that digital color images of these texts will soon be available on the Heidelberg website (http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/Papyri/P.Heid._Uebersicht.html). In addition there is a republication of the verso of a text from the Duke collection (423 Anhang) that contains a similar draft of correspondence. (Other texts from this official's archive in the collection of the Cattolica in Milan are still unpublished.)

All texts derive from the archive of Dionysios, the *basilikos grammateus* of the Heracleopolite nome. They thus must date from the period 161-155 BCE, when we know that this official was active. The texts published here that mention a precise date are all from May-June 158, and there is a possibility that all texts in this volume (except 438, which appears to date to 157/6) date to this more precise time frame, because they all come from the same piece of mummy cartonnage.

Texts from mummy cartonnage, as a rule, are not the easiest to decipher, and this holds true also for the texts published here. They are largely written in small cursive bureaucratic hands, and they are very fragmentary because they were cut to fit the cartonnage from which they derive. The black and white photographs in the back, often reduced, are not really helpful to try and test readings, but overall, there is not much reason to doubt the readings of the editor.

The texts offer an unprecedented look into the office of the *basilikos grammateus* and illustrate the actual administrative processes that took place in his office. In particular, they show what happened when a *basilikos grammateus* received a petition, what notes he drafted, and how he drafted and tracked the follow-up action to be taken. There are not that many petitions known from Greek and Roman Egypt that are addressed to the *basilikos grammateus* directly; more frequently petitions are forwarded to this official by other officials (like 423 in the current volume). It would seem, not surprisingly, that people would address the *basilikos grammateus* directly if other officials were involved

in the complaint they were filing. In **422**, for example, the *archiphylakites* (or rather his flock of sheep) is involved, and in **424** the village *epistates*.

A number of texts show the administrative process resulting from incoming correspondence most fully. In these cases, we have both the incoming correspondence itself, which was then used in the office to draft several documents. **422** is a petition from Pachas/Pachos to the *basilikos grammateus*; **423** is a letter from a village scribe who is forwarding a petition; **431** is a petition from gooseherds to the *basilikos grammateus*; and **433** is the end of a petition to the *basilikos grammateus* (?) from a crown tenant. Less informative because of its very fragmentary condition is **432**, a possible petition to the *basilikos grammateus*.

We can glean the fullest picture about the administrative process for incoming petitions from **423** and **425**. In chronological order, the events are the following:

- Pachon 3 (1 June 158): Theophilos, a very well-to-do inhabitant from the village Tebetny, discovers a break-in in his quarters (total value of goods stolen: 4 talents and 5,600 drachmas)

- Pachon 5 (3 June): Theophilos writes a petition to the village scribe of Tebetny

- Pachon 9 (7 June): the village scribe forwards the petition to the *basilikos grammateus*, whose office receives it the same day, as is made clear by a dated docket on the back with a brief summary of the document (similar to what Zenon did with his incoming correspondence in the third century BCE). Like Zenon, the *basilikos grammateus* wrote the docket on the portion of the papyrus that was on the outside while it was folded. (I wonder whether the document was even opened at this stage, or whether the assistant on duty jotted the information down on the basis of the oral information given by the person delivering the document. This would explain the strange personal name that occurs in the docket of **422**: Machatas, rather than the Pachotes who is in fact submitting the petition.)

At some point after this, the *basilikos grammateus* reads the document and squeezes in his orders for follow-up correspondence between the lines of the original document, and an assistant then starts drafting a letter on the back of the document and notes additional addressees for multiple copies. **425** shows that the text is then copied into a ledger that supposedly contains all correspondence addressed to one addressee (on the basis of the handwriting **434**, another draft to Symmachos, possibly belongs to the same ledger and was broken off by the mummifiers). The *basilikos grammateus* notes his approval of this version at the top of the letter, and from this document the actual letter that will leave the office is then copied. Unfortunately, none of the surviving

documents from this stage bears a precise date allowing us to reconstruct with what speed this part of the process would take place.

Some information about the process of text editing in the office of the *basilikos grammateus* can be gathered from the textual differences supposedly found between the first draft on the back of the actual incoming correspondence (423 Verso) and the document in the ledger that was eventually copied and sent off (425, Col. 2). From these it is clear that smaller discrepancies could exist between the two versions, e.g. the different manner of abbreviating *komogrammateus* (423.18: κω()γρ() versus 425.10: κωμογρ()). Comparison also shows that whatever corrections the scribe made in the draft were kept in the copy in the ledger: the correction from ὑπόμνημα to προσαγγελία, with the resulting gender change of the relative pronoun, found in 423.18-19, is retained in the copy (425.11). I am a little reluctant to accept the readings and supplements of the editor in 423.19 and 425.12. Apart from the fact that the lacuna in 425.12 is considerably shorter than the rest of the text, it differs considerably from the draft, which supposedly has (supplied and dotted heavily) δι' ἧς] προῤῥερέτο, a reading that does not seem to be present in the ledger copy (where the editor has ὑπᾶ[ρ] τοῦ [followed by a largely supplied accusative and infinitive construction that conforms to what we find in the draft version). Unfortunately, the photo in the back does not allow checking of the reading especially on the verso of 423 (Plate 3). Discussion of whether the editing process was continuous from draft, to outgoing letter, to copy in ledger, has to be shelved until the digital images become available on the website.

Many of the other texts are drafts of correspondence from the office of the *basilikos grammateus*. 424 is a draft of a letter to the royal couple, which would have preceded a petition submitted to them by the crown tenants from Thelbonthis. 427 is a draft of a letter to another official (in line 8, it appears from the photograph that δέ was crossed through as well by the scribe, but mistakenly). 428, a draft letter to a river guard, mentions a robbery on a Nile barge in April/May 158. Other drafts are more fragmentary and only allow remarks about specific words and technical terms.

In all, the texts offer a welcome view into the office of an official at work in Ptolemaic Egypt and provide a good basis for the administrative history of this period.

Hélène Cuvigny, *Ostraca de Krokodilô. La correspondance militaire et sa circulation. O.Krok. 1-151. Praesidia du désert de Bérénice 2. Fouilles de l'Ifao, Vol. 51. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2005. xi + 283 pages. ISBN 2-7247-0370-7.*

This volume is the second in the series of publications of the finds from the excavations carried out at the site of Roman forts in the Eastern desert of Egypt, along the route from Koptos to Myos Hormos on the Red Sea, in 1996-1997.¹ It is the first volume dedicated to the texts unearthed in one of them, the small fort of Krokodilô. We have 151 ostraca that date from the reign of Trajan and the beginning of the reign of Hadrian (mostly 108-118); almost two thirds are military correspondence, while the remaining are dipinti.

Many of the texts included in this volume are unusual; they may appear less so after the publication of the mass of material found in these Roman forts, but this is bound to take a very long time. The excavations at Mons Claudianus have unearthed almost ten thousand ostraca; only a portion, though an important one, has been published in *O.Claud.* 1-4. The forts on the road to Myos Hormos have yielded their own four-digit number; the published crop currently numbers under two hundred. The scholars who have undertaken the publication of these finds are and will probably remain very few, and there are limits to one's output. A further complication is that editing this material requires a fair amount of time spent at the site and in local stores, usually in less than ideal conditions;² few, especially among those engaged in teaching, could afford this time, especially in the winter, the time preferred for work in Egypt. One can only wish that those involved in the publication of these finds persevere with their tasks for as long as they are able to.

This volume has already received numerous and occasionally extensive reviews,³ so that there seems to be little point in summarizing its contents or even indicating "highlights" here, though perhaps I ought to mention what struck me most. Apart from reports of delivery of fish by courier, even during

¹ The first was H. Cuvigny (ed.), *La route de Myos Hormos. L'armée romaine dans le désert oriental d'Égypte* (Cairo 2002), and provides much background information for the material edited in *O.Krok.* as well as some new texts.

² Occasionally further aggravated by the stubborn ignorance of local authorities; cf. p. 65, n. 8.

³ I am aware of the following: G. Husson, *REG* 119 (2006) 793-795; M. Schentuleit, *OLZ* 101 (2006) 623-625; R.S. Bagnall, *BibOr* 64 (2007) 168-171; J. Bingen, *CE* 82 (2007) 351-354; A.K. Bowman, *JRA* 20 (2007) 635-638; T. Kruse, *BMCR* 2007.01.29; F. Mitthof, *APF* 53 (2007) 91-94; A. Verhoogt, *CR* 58 (2008) 273-275.

the night, and skirmishes with “barbarians” (Bedouins) that result in casualties on all sides, even including civilians, it is the soldier’s dramatic and timeless assertion in 93: “I fear for myself, because we are not many here.”

I append a few minor observations on philological and textual details. The editor is good at drawing attention to points of linguistic interest. Some of the novelties: 4.5, 6.13, and 61.3: συστρέφω in the sense of ὑποστρέφω; a new sense for ἐπέχειν (87.105) and perhaps πυκτεύειν (= Lat. *pugnare*? 47.5, 87.32); new Latin loanwords: τὰ πούπλικα (*publica*) for τὰ δημόσια, “public taxes” (70.4); οὐεσσιγάτου, apparently the supine *vestigatum* (74.6); σουκεσσόρων (96.9-10); *addenda lexicis*: ἰχνιάζω (10.21) and ἐπεργηγορέω (47.51). A few other philological notabilia and queries of my own: if one seeks evidence for Capito’s Latinity,⁴ text 13, written in very colloquial Greek, will not provide it. In 14.5, do we have καί + infinitive for a result clause? ἐδόθη in 51.18 may reflect a Latin usage. There is nothing wrong with the juxtaposition of two imperatival futures (καλῶς ποιήσεις δώσεις, in normalized spelling) in 73.9, especially given that the first means little more than “please.” 74.6-7 and 76.7 attest the construction τῆ + day number + μηνός (cf. also 100.11): the omission of the article is inadvertent and may betray bilingual interference. In 76.1-2, ἐρωτηθεῖς ἴνα + subjunctive is a novel construction, though not an abnormal one. In 94.3, do we have ἔρχομαι with direct object, or is it that a preposition was omitted in error? [δέσμ]ην κράμπην in 97.3 is perfectly idiomatic, and the second accusative should not be corrected to a genitive; for this “partitive apposition,” see P.J. Parsons, *PdP* 23 (1968) 289-290.

As the plates show, many of these ostraca are very difficult to read, and the text when broken is often hard to restore, so that textual problems abound. Yet the decipherment could hardly have been taken further (it has already gone far enough). I append some minutiae, mostly dubious. In 13 the loss to the left cannot be great. In 41.74, restore, e.g., ἐπερχόμεν]ον, πορευόμεν]ον, vel sim. If ἀλαβίτης is read in 49.2, could it relate to the fish ἀλάβης? At the beginning of 99.5, could one possibly read χωρίς (adverbially), “he didn’t want to take the two drachmas, but without (them) he wanted to make you a favor”? In 100.7, it is preferable to assume an inadvertent omission of the article to positing a rare personal name (cf. also l. 11); for 11-12, cf. *UPZ* 1.62.26: ἦκει is meant.

Besides the superb editorial job,⁵ the care lavished in the presentation and production of the volume ought to be praised; the same applies to the plates.

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⁴ Already doubted by Bowman (above, n. 3) 636-637.

⁵ Typos are very few. I record only those I noticed in the Greek: in 8.9, read μηδέ, not μήδε; 41.63 (appar.) ἀγηοχότας, not ἀγηωχότας; 51.21, ἔκτ[η] (in the index wrongly under ἐκτός), not ἐκτ[ῆ]; 87.69, εἶν', not εἶν'.

Tomasz Derda, *Deir el-Naqlun: The Greek Papyri*, Volume Two (P. Naqlun II), with contributions by Jakub Urbanik and Jacques van der Vliet. *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, Supplements 9. Warszawa: Faculty of Law and Administration, Institute of Archaeology, and Fundacja im. Rafała Taubenschlaga, 2008. xiii + 176 pages + 1 unnumbered plate. ISBN 978-83-918250-8-2.

Thirteen years after *P.Naqlun* 1, Tomasz Derda offers us the sequel. As he explains in the introduction (p. 4), the working conditions in the Coptic Museum, where most of the papyri are kept, have been substandard in the last decade or so, and this explains both the relatively poor quality of the illustrations (photographs taken by the excavators) and the many doubtful readings in the volume under review. On the other hand, *P.Naqlun* 2 yet again shows how carefully monitored excavations can enrich our understanding of ancient texts and of the world from which they derive.

The volume opens with a particularly intriguing introduction to the archaeological context (pp. 5-11), which has to be read in conjunction with the color plate facing p. viii, an aerial map of the Naqlun monastery between the gebel on the east, separating it from the Heracleopolite nome, and the Bahr el-Gharaq, in the Arsinoite nome, on the west.¹ The editor distinguishes five findspots:

- a rubbish heap in sector B of the central mound (with materials from the late sixth century onwards);² here, the *Psalms* (15), the two ostraca (16-17), the patristic text (19), and many letters (25-30 and 32-34) were found as well as more as yet unpublished Greek texts
- an area with residential buildings; here, the bilingual liturgical text (20) and the tax list from the Heracleopolite nome (24) were found
- Hermitage 89, where the legal documents (21-23) were found in a storage pit below the sixth- or early seventh-century floor together with decorated miniature pottery vessels that seem to be from a century or so later (p. 88)
- Hermitage 2, where the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed (18) was found

¹ On the excavations, see, in addition to the literature referred to (p. 5, n. 1), W. Godlewski, "Naqlun (Neklioni). The Hermitages, Cemetery and the Keep in the Early 6th Century," in S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Graeco-Roman Fayum – Texts and Archaeology* (Wiesbaden 2008) 101-112.

² Confusingly, the editor on p. 7 speaks of two stages, but he only discusses the first one.

- Hermitage 85, where a letter (31) was found in the floor of the apse of the church

As Godlweski (n. 1) 102-103 with the plan on p. 109 has suggested, Hermitage 85 was part of the original monastery, even if it is at some distance from the central mound and closer to the Bahr el-Gharaq. Hermitage 89, which is right next to the central mound, was also part of the original monastery, as was Complex A-AA (for the intriguing link between Complex A-AA and the texts found in Hermitage 89, see below).

Of the 20 texts, six had been published before. In one case (20), extensive revision was necessary; Jacques van der Vliet provided assistance with the Bohairic. In another case (25), the text is reprinted but not the commentary; it can be found in *P.Sijp*. 61. Jakub Urbanik (pp. 135-139) adds a brief commentary of the term ἀναψηλαφάω, Latin *retractare*, which occurs in text 26; it appeared earlier in a Polish Festschrift. The ostraca with Matthew (16-17) and the fragment of a creed (18) also appeared earlier.

Text 15 comprises seven leaves of a codex with the *Psalms* in Greek. (It is not clear why p. 8 calls it a *decorated* codex.) With one or two exceptions (notably in 6A23 [Ps. 72:25]: ὁ θ(εὸς) τῆς σωτηρίας [instead of καρδίας] μου, inspired by the wording of other *Psalms* [σω[τηρ]ρίας is a misprint for σω[τη]-ρίας]), the text conforms to the dominant version of the Septuaginta text as printed by Rahlfs in his *editio maior* (1931). The editor provides a useful bibliographical update on the Greek *Psalms* in the footnotes to pp. 21-23. He dates the codex to the fifth-sixth century with a preference for the fifth, from which his parallels date (pp. 15-16, especially 16, n. 15). He even thinks that the mu with a deep, round middle stroke might point to an even earlier date. I rather think it points to a date no earlier than the sixth century. In addition to Cavallo's *Ricerche*, one should now also take P. Orsini, *Manoscritti in maiuscola biblica. Materiali per un aggiornamento* (Cassino 2005), into account.

In 2B11 (Ps. 69:5) the scribe seems to have added κ(ύρι)ε twice, once more than anywhere else in the tradition; Rahlfs did not accept even a single κ(ύρι)ε into his text at this point.

In 3A25-26 (Ps. 70:13) it seems as if the scribe hesitated when writing ἐκλεπέτωσαν; there is a space between εκλε and πετωσαν. Perhaps he considered writing ἐκλειπέτωσαν, which would conform to the accepted reading ἐκλειπέτωσαν, but did not finally decide about the reading.

In 5B23 (Ps. 72:13) there is another misprint (correct to ἀθώοις). In the next line (Ps. 72:14) the reading seems to be ἐγενόμην, as expected, not ἐγενωμιν.

In 7A28 (Ps. 73:19) the scribe took παραδος (for παραδῶς) as an imperative (παράδος) and then also wrote ἐπιλαθοῦ (instead of ἐπιλαθῆς) in 7A31.

The photo of **16** on p. 59 is printed too small; recourse can be had to plate I in *JJP* 25 (1995).

The tachygraphy on the back of the Constantinopolitan creed (**18**) is illustrated only on plate III in *JJP* 25 (1995). This and the next, patristic, text (**19**) are not from codices but single leaves. The tachygraphy on the back of the latter is not illustrated. The hand strikes me as considerably later than the creed. The late fifth and first half of the sixth century would seem way too early. The anti-Arian polemic does not have to go back to the fourth century. In line 3, another articulation of the text (ἐπάναγκ[ες or -ον] α[instead of ἐπ' ἀναγκ[α]α [] is also possible. In line 4 I would print ἐπειδήπερ as one word rather than as ἐπειδή περ[. In line 10, read τὸ εἶναι (not εἰ μὲν) τὸν υ(ιό)ν.

The bilingual liturgical text **20** is written on a parchment codex leaf of the tenth-eleventh century (p. 71). Each brief quotation in Greek is immediately followed by a translation in Bohairic in the same hand. The text contains a header on the first page; at the end of the second page another header is found, for a text now lost; it gave translations (into Bohairic, presumably) of Hebrew words in the Bible. In line 23 of the recto, the Bohairic translator mistook πρόσχομεν in lines 20-21 for προσεύχομεν, no doubt confused by the faulty spelling and hyphenation. What we need is πρό(σ)σχωμεν (the editor got confused by his own apparatuses, and the correction appears only among the one with the *variae lectiones editionis principis*). In line 29, ἔχωμεν stands for ἔχομεν, and the translation should be corrected accordingly. Likewise, in lines 10-11 of the verso, καταγγέλω[μεν (written καταγγέλω[μεν] stands for καταγγέλλομεν, requiring another change in the translation.

21-23 are loans (one, **21**, at interest; another, **23**, to be repaid in wine) found stored in a pit in Hermitage 89. In his lengthy introduction (p. 96), the editor mistakenly thinks that one of the three *monasteria* mentioned in these texts, the one called Πύργος, is this particular Hermitage. Also, his identification (p. 97) of the neighboring Hermitage 25 (illustrated with Hermitage 89 on p. 89) with one of the two other *monasteria* mentioned in the text, that of St. Phoibammon, is pure speculation. (The other *monasterion* is dubiously read as Κωθαυ in 22.10.) Both **21** and **22** mention a *monasterion* called Πύργος, “Keep,” and I rather assume this is complex A-AA, as discussed and illustrated by Godlewski (n. 1) 104-105 with the plan on p. 111; it indeed has a prominent keep. Hermitage 89 is not far from this complex. The editor thinks Hermitage 89 had its own keep but that this disappeared in a landslide, but this is an unnecessary assumption. By combining the archaeological record as presented by Godlewski (n. 1) and the texts edited in *P.Naqlun* 2, we can add the identification Πύργος = A-AA to our short list of successful matches

between archaeology and papyrology.³ As a bonus, **21** and **22** give us the Greek name of the whole monastic site: Ὀρος Κελλῶν, from which Coptic ΝΕΚΛΩΝΕ and Naqlun ultimately derive (ΝΕΚΛΩΝΕ occurs in two unpublished Coptic papyri; see p. 93). In its earliest phase, it consisted of hermitages, κέλλα, and the central feature was a keep (pp. 94-95).

The lacuna at the beginning of line 9 of text **21** ([vac.]) may have contained a chrismon. The wording at the end of the text (lines 16ff.) is much abbreviated. The bits of boilerplate need to be taken one at a time (e.g. κύρ(ιον) in line 20 should be read as κυρ(ια) <ή ὁμολογία> vel sim.). The title εὐλαβέστατος here and elsewhere in **21-23** should also be translated “reverend,” not “pious.”

Whatever the correct reading of line 6 of text **22** is, the sense must be that Aurelius Georgios is acting “through me, the same Apa Apanagios, his father.” At the beginning of line 18, there is no room for [καί]. The fragment with ἐπερ(ωτηθεις) τὰ[ῦτα needs to be moved slightly to the left. Instead of τὰ[ῦτα I read πα[ρά σου.

The notarial subscription in **23** has not been read correctly. The name of the notary reads *Strathgiu*, not Κῶνστι<n>u [sic], and this is followed by *eshm*(), not *ep<ra>hθ(h)*. For the notary Strategios, see Diethart-Worp, *Notarsunterschriften*, p. 49. The only dated text listed there is from 618. The editor puts **23** between 590/1 and 595/6, with a preference for before August 593 (p. 91). In lines 8-9, after the mention of a place in the lacuna, we expect τῆς (rather than ἐκ τῆς) | ἡμετέρας κ[ώ]μης. In line 13, we do not need ἀξ(ιωθεις), and ὠμολόγ(ησα) can be read instead of ὠμ(ολόγησα) ἀξ(ιωθεις). The text is not translated.

The transcription of **24**, a list of *choria* and (tax) payments from the eighth century, does not match the published photo. In col. 1, there are unread bits at the end of lines 2 (νο(μίσματα)] μγ (κεράτια) ιβ) and 5 (read (κεράτια) ις). At the end of line 1 read (κεράτια) δ instead of (κεράτια) α; at the end of line 3, (κεράτια) ις instead of (κεράτια) ιε. The number of *keratia* can always be divided by four. In the second column, the name of the *chorion* in line 3 is not Πεδίου but looks like Σειδοντ(ος). In the line above, I would print Πρ()χ() Μαχ(ορος).

25 is dated to the sixth century by the editor. I wonder whether the first half of the seventh would not be a better date; it was certainly a more eventful time in which the intriguing details in the letter (e.g., the burning of the *praetorium*, the sentencing to death by *furca*, etc.) might fit better.

³ See my contribution to K. Lembke, M. Minas, and S. Pfeiffer (eds.), *Tradition and Transformation: Egypt under Roman Rule* (forthcoming).

Text **26** of the sixth century claims that “all the people of the Apollonopolite, Lycopolite and Hypselite nomes devote themselves to murder and theft of animals.” The use of the legal term *retractare* (ἀναψηλαφάω in Greek) suggests that the emperor in Constantinople was (going to be) involved in the case.

In line 1 of **27**, a sixth-century letter, there is room for τῶν [γρα]μματά at most. The writer does not command the cases – or the number: I take τὸ ἄλο τέσσαρων in line 3 as τὰ ἄλλα τέσσαρα; likewise, in line 4. In line 7 it should be νομισμ(άτων).

28 and **30** are two additional sixth-century letters.

The editor dates **29**, yet another letter, to the sixth century. The hand strikes me more as seventh. The added note at the end of line 8 looks like ἐπισκόπῳ | ἀποδοθείς. The editor prints part of the address on the back (line 12) as Κλώδι(ος) with a Latin *l*. It is easier to read the end of a name, -κίω followed by δ(ία). What follows is unclear.

I would put text **31**, a letter about legal matters, in the early sixth century, if that late, rather than the sixth-early seventh. This would make it fit the archaeological context (see above on Hermitage 85) even better. In line 3 read ἀνεθῆναι (“to be dismissed”) instead of ἀναθῆναι (*l.* ἀναθεῖναι).

The hands of the three letters addressed to bishop Nikolaos, **32-34**, as well as that of *P.Naqlun* 1.12, which seems to be a letter written by or for Nikolaos, point to the seventh century rather than the sixth. In **33.1** read ἐμῶν γραμμάτων instead of ἐμῶν γράμματα [*sic*]. Below the address the writer wrote his own name in a literary hand (including a *nomen sacrum* for “the son of”). The editor regards this as a later text. It is possible that the letter in a rapid hand, the address in large, stylized letters, and the writer’s name in a literary hand were all written by the same man.

One can sympathize with the editor, who was faced with difficult working conditions and sometimes particularly scrappy texts. On the other hand, with *P.Naqlun* 2 in hand one can see the enormous gain from knowing exactly where papyri are from. Many are so scrappy that they would be meaningless if detached from their context. It is worth pondering the enormous loss that has occurred (and still occurs as long as collectors interfere with the retrieval of ancient texts) by separating texts from their immediate context.

Nikos Litinas, *Greek Ostraca from Abu Mina (O.Abu Mina)*. Archiv für Papyrusforschung, Beiheft 25. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008. xi + 335 pages + 35 plates. ISBN 978-3-11-020118-5.

This volume contains the edition of 1446 ostraca from Abu Mina. There are 1088 editions and 358 descriptions of texts. Of the latter, 339 are contributed by Patrick Robinson and Georgina Fantoni. Almost all ostraca were found in the Ostraca House. Ostraca had been found at Abu Mina earlier and appear at SB 1.4640-4649 and 12.10990. Especially the latter group (107 texts, one SB number), with the commentary by D. Wortmann in *ZPE* 8 (1971) 41-69, provides the framework for the interpretation of the texts in this volume.

The editor (pp. 8-9) distinguishes two main types of texts. First, receipts for the delivery of grapes in donkey and, less common, camel loads. (Note the use of camels in this context; camels were a common feature at Abu Mina; cf. the standard representation of St. Menas with a camel.) Second, orders for payment of wine in κόλλαθα (p. 11) of 25 *sextarii* each. The idea that the receipts would later have been exchanged for a certain quantity of wine explains why these ostraca were found together with the orders for payment in the Ostraca House, which was eventually used to deposit part of the administration of the Winery located only 50 meters to its immediate south. From the archaeology the deposit of the ostraca can be dated to immediately after the Arab conquest (pp. ix-xi). After the Persian conquest and partial destruction of the site, there was an attempt to restore the site along the same lines as before, i.e. by the melkites traditionally running the pilgrimage center. After the Arab conquest the Copts took over.

All in all the ostraca give us the names of over 300 individuals who lived in the area of Abu Mina over a period of a couple or so indiction cycles prior to the Arab conquest (as explained on pp. 16-19). All the ostraca with exact dates (listed pp. 19-23) fall in the period Mesore-Thoth, the time of the grape harvest in Egypt. The editor (pp. 25-38) distinguishes many different hands or groups of hands at work on these texts from a relatively short period.

The receipts are written on small (6 x 8 cm on average) triangular sherds of imported pottery, which (less porous than local Egyptian pottery) was apparently deemed more suitable for writing and at least available in plenty at the site. Typical examples of the texts are as follows:

1: † Ἀπὸ Ἰωάννου Μακρίνου | ὄν(ικαί) φορὲ (l. φοραί) β δύο μό(νον)

29: † Παρ(άσ)χ(ου) Ἰακώβ μονάζ(οντι) | (ὑπερ) τρυγ() κ(όλλα)θ(ον)
(ἤμισυ) | signs

87: [† 'E]τρύγησεν 'Ιου|[σ]ήφ Νιτροεΐτης (perhaps another monk, from the Wadi Natrun, employed as harvester) | ἐπαγ(ομένων) γ κ(ό)λ(λα)θ(ον) (ήμισυ)

For each text the editor also provides a full diplomatic transcript but no translation. He explains how the diplomatic transcript represents what is written on the ostraca on p. 3. Occasionally such a transcript helps correct the reading. In **522** (not illustrated) we need to insert (γίνονται) between (όμοῦ) and ὄν(ικαί) in l. 3.

In addition, there are a few other texts and even sherds that do not count as ostraca at all: there are texts scratched into the surface of the pottery before firing (**1021** [illustrated on plate 1, bottom] and **1032**); **789** is the only design on the surface of the pottery illustrated (plate 2, middle). The drawing on sherd **438** (plate 2, top; a goat?) is commented on on p. 6.

The introduction contains a full discussion of the various tidbits of information contained in the texts (names, geographical and occupational designations, etc.). A bibliography subdivided into archaeology, St. Menas, the pilgrim industry, and works cited follows at the end of the volume (pp. 321-331). The 35 plates contain at least one example of each hand distinguished by the editor.

Occasionally there are lapses. As often in publications about Abu Mina, the editor sometimes assumes it was a monastery (p. 13) or even a church (p. 16). It was an independent pilgrimage center. I have myself earlier called it a “religious tourist attraction” (see P. van Minnen in R.S. Bagnall, ed., *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700* [Cambridge 2007] 207, where I did not want to have it interfere with my discussion of Egyptian cities in Late Antiquity). The mistaken idea that it was a monastery permeates the discussion of occupational designations on pp. 38ff.

One can appreciate the Herculean labor that went into the preparation of the volume. The editor inherited an incomplete edition in 1997 and was faced with additional material as well as limited access to photographs; apparently he did not see the originals. The result is acceptable as far as the transcription of the often repetitive texts goes. As an edition it is unusually cumbersome.

Let me explain. The editor not only presents the texts in the order of object numbers, which does not make for a logical or sensible ordering of the textual material, he also refers to them by their object numbers in his introduction. Since the object numbers are mostly long and deceptively similar, this does not make it easy to locate the text referred to. Moreover, in the edition itself, there are no references to the discussion of individual texts in the introduction at all, which makes it hard to understand some of the tidbits in the texts that the editor explains somewhere in the introduction. The editor also uses the object numbers in the index. However, the index not only contains a large number

of cases where it says just “passim” (e.g., the symbol that can be interpreted as ἡμέρα or καμήλιον [p. 334] occurs more often than the few references given on pp. 12-13 suggest). It also contains whole sections for which no references are given at all. Instead there are references to the pages of the introduction where the words in a given section are listed and discussed, but even there references are often lacking. To top it all off, the plates are not ordered according to their object numbers, but by type of material (plates 1-2, middle) and then by hand. Each plate contains as a rule three ostraca with their object numbers, but no other information is provided. For that one has to turn to the table preceding the plates.

To make this a more useful volume, one needs to do the following. First, write the information contained in the table of plates on the plates themselves. Then, with the help of the concordance on pp. 309-320, add the serial publication number to each ostrakon illustrated, so that one can actually find the Greek text. (The descriptions are not included in the concordance, but they are not illustrated either; note that the descriptions are given in the order of the object numbers as follows: **1108-1443** [**1444-1446** have no object number], then **1089-1107**; these descriptions are no less important than the editions; e.g., there is a unique occurrence of the verb ἔκαμεν [discussed on p. 9] in **1300**).

Next, with the help of the concordance one has to add the serial publication numbers to each object number mentioned in the introduction. (The margins may not be big enough for this, so write small.). While doing this, one has to make sure that one adds to the editions themselves copious references to the relevant parts of the introduction that elucidate tidbits in the Greek texts. Starting on p. 5, object number 8707 (one of the few short object numbers) translates as serial publication number **1019**. At **1019** one has to add a reference to p. 5. (In passing I note that the edition does not match entirely what it says about this literary text on p. 5¹ and that this ostrakon, contrary to the impression given by the editor there, does not come from the Ostrakon House; see p. 1, n. 1, also for the provenance of **1037-1038**; **1038** is also [sub-]literary and repeats Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός three times; **1037** does not look like a flask, but rather like the foot of a cup [see plate 1, top, right]; the text, Ἅγιος ὁ θεός, was probably added when it was still a cup). And so on for all texts discussed in the introduction.

But in addition to adding to the editions of the Greek texts references to the introduction, one also has to transfer some of the information from the in-

¹ The plate (1, top, left) does not show an omicron after ὄστις in line 1. I would transcribe ὄστις [ᾶ. For the “design” on the left, see N.S.H. Jansma, *Ornements des manuscrits coptes du Monastère Blanc* (Groningen 1973).

roduction to the Greek texts, because the apparatus there is often incomplete. Take **50**, where $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\psi\iota\varsigma$ is not explained. When one turns to the index, which lists $\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\psi\iota\varsigma$ in the section “other words” on p. 335, there is no explanation either. In the case of these “other words” there is not even a reference to the part of the introduction where some of these words are discussed. (An explanation can in fact be found on p. 47: $l.$ $\mu\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\psi\iota\varsigma$). Or take **997**, where $\pi\alpha\zeta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ (a kind of baker) is not explained. The index under “titles and occupations” lists $\pi\alpha\zeta\alpha\mu\alpha()$ but does not list any texts. At the heading of this section of the index, however, there is a general reference to the introduction, pp. 38-43, where one does indeed find a useful comment on p. 42, which one then also has to add to the Greek texts in which $\pi\alpha\zeta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ occurs, to save time when one wants to use these texts again in the future. But to accomplish this, one has to look up the two individuals listed for $\pi\alpha\zeta\alpha\mu\alpha()$ on pp. 54 and 56 respectively and translate the object numbers given there to serial publication numbers. (From the one text where the reading seems clear the designation is $\pi\alpha\zeta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, not, e.g., $\pi\alpha\zeta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$.)

Unfortunately, the same cumbersome procedure has to be applied in case one finds something interesting in the introduction. On p. 39, e.g., the intriguing $\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ for Latin *secundarius* (cf. $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ as a monastic rank) is listed, but to locate the text in which it occurs, one has to look up the individual on p. 54 first; one finds it is actually spelled $\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\rho\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$ in the text (**800**) when one eventually gets there. For all occupational titles on pp. 38-43 as well as the geographical designations on pp. 45-47 and the nicknames on p. 47-48 (e.g., $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\iota\varsigma$ in **594** [erroneously given on p. 58 as object number 9812 C919] and **959**; cf. Kriaras s.v. $\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\tau\rho\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$ for Medieval Greek; it also occurs as a regular name) there is this two-step process of looking up the individual(s) on pp. 48-67. For the names of the vineyards (discussed on pp. 69-70) and some of the “other words” the index does provide references. But in the case of one of the vineyards, $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu()$, discussed on p. 69, the index merely notes that the ostrakon in which it occurs has no inventory number; it is text **1040**, which starts with the mysterious $\text{Ἄλογ}()$ (see the discussion on pp. 12-13) and also designates the person who harvested/delivered the grapes as a $\sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (Latin *excubitor*); **1039** is another text without an object number. In **1027** we may have the first occurrence of $\chi\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ “widower” in a papyrological text; the editor’s comment in the list of names on p. 65 is merely “the widowed.”

Alain Delattre, *Papyrus coptes et grecs du monastère d'apa Apollô de Baouît conservés aux Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire de Bruxelles*. Mémoires de la Classe des lettres, Collection in-8°, 3^e série, tome 43. Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 2007. 333 pages + 14 plates. ISBN 978-2-8031-0236-5.

The main focus of this book, a revised version of Delattre's 2004 dissertation at the Université libre de Bruxelles, is the publication of 60 texts attributed to the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit¹ and dated to the sixth to eighth centuries AD. All except two of these texts are first editions (the two re-edited texts are: *BKU* 3.508 = **22** and *SB Kopt.* 1.42 = **26**). Of the new editions the vast majority are from Brussels, hence the title of the book (*P.Bru.x.Bawit*), and were acquired by Albert Demulling (pp. 14ff.). In addition to these are four previously unpublished texts from other collections (**23-25** and **27**). This study is part of the resurgence of interest in Bawit over the past decade, which includes the edition of Clédat's excavation report,² *O.Bawit IFAO*, new excavations at the site by the Louvre and the IFAO (p. 31), and two monographs by the late Sarah Clackson: *P.Mon.Apollo* and *It is Our Father Who Writes*.

The study is divided into two main sections: the background information needed to understand these documents and the texts themselves. The importance of this study, particularly from a non-Coptologist's perspective, lies largely in the extensive discussion of the monastery in the first section, which comprises approximately a quarter of the book. Here Delattre takes an interdisciplinary approach, using archaeological,³ literary, epigraphic, and documentary evidence to reconstruct the founding, physical layout, organisation, economy, and religious life of the monastery. A number of key points deserve mention.

¹ A series of payment orders are identified as certainly from Bawit, primarily on the basis of prosopographical links with published texts known to be from the site (see, for example, the reedited **25**, signed by the superior Georgios and written by the scribe Mousaiou [p. 131]). However, not all texts can be so securely identified. This is made especially clear with **48-53**, "Fragments of Uncertain Provenance," which are only tentatively linked to Bawit. Therefore, while internal and external criteria suggest a certain provenance for some texts, it must be remembered that this is not certain for all, and some caution is needed.

² J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit* (Le Caire 1999). Texts in this volume are referred to as *O.Bawit*.

³ In this respect, Delattre notes that his work is but a prelude to the publication in progress by Bénazeth, under whom excavations have taken place at the site since 2002, in conjunction with the IFAO.

Delattre raises a number of issues surrounding the monastery: the reconciliation of Titkooḥ and Bawit as toponyms for the monastery (pp. 42-44); the type of monasticism practised (pp. 58-64), and the titles used at the site (pp. 66-67). His main contribution, however, is on the economic organisation of the monastery (section 3.6). The integration of monasteries into the economic life of Egypt during the Byzantine and early Arab period has yet to be fully addressed (p. 74), but Delattre makes important observations on this aspect of economic life, and is able to do so in large part as a result of the newly edited texts. Monastic property (land, immovables, and movables), economic activities (agriculture, animal husbandry, food production, and crafts), revenue, and expenses form part of this discussion. The last two of these are particularly valuable regarding contact between the monastery and the outside world.

The payment orders, a new dossier type identified by Delattre, involve the payment of various food-stuffs, predominantly wine and bread, to people who, for the most part, provide services to the monastery. These include people who were necessary for the operation and upkeep of the monastery: an incense seller (4), guards (6 and 22), and perhaps a groom (12; at least someone involved with horses), to list but a few. In addition, payments are made to a psalmist (10) and a *dioiketes* (15 and 16; an economic administrator in this context, pp. 168-169, 205, and 208). The reasons for these payments are not stipulated and, as is the case with the *dioiketes*, are not always apparent. One payment might indicate charitable work – the preservation of ⲚⲬⲬⲉ and ⲁⲒⲁⲢⲉ in the first line of 9 indicates this (despite Delattre's dissatisfaction, p. 195, an examination of the reproduced image indicates that ⲚⲬ is correct, although Ⲭ is less certain, but no alternative explanation is readily apparent). This dossier thus indicates a high level of integration between the monastery and its surrounding area, and the research presented is an excellent foundation for further study.

The final part of this introductory section is a papyrological account of the texts involved: their palaeography, linguistic features, and the use of language. The Demulling lot is a bilingual archive, with 24 Coptic, 6 Greek and 18 bilingual texts (of the remaining 12 texts 6 are not from this lot and 6 are protocols). Other than assessing the chronological framework of the use of Greek and Coptic, this section is primarily concerned with the use of the two languages, generally, in the monastery. As Delattre notes, Greek continued to be used for administrative and accounting purposes after the ascendancy of Coptic (p. 139). While beyond the scope of the current work, enough material has now been published from Bawit with which to undertake an analysis of the bilingual nature of the monastery, through a synthetic analysis of the breakdown of language use across the texts. Within the Demulling lot the

following observations concerning the use of the two languages can be made. In the orders from superiors, the date and signature (1.5-6, 3.2) or the scribal notation (3.2) are the only components written in Greek. This contrasts with the payment orders, which are written almost exclusively in Greek with the exception of the name of the beneficiary (except 5) and his filiation and origin (when they are included), which are written in Coptic. This extensive use of Greek is striking. Of the other entirely Greek texts, three are accounts (28, 30, 31) concerning monastic property. Greek was used for documenting the economic affairs of the monastery. There is one Coptic list of property (32), but this appears to belong to an individual monk and, as such, is not part of the central administration (however, damage to the papyrus makes this suggestion far from certain). Loans (34 and 35) and the documentary fragments (46 and 47) are written entirely in Coptic – but, had they been preserved in full, Greek is expected at least for the dating formulae.⁴ Coptic was the appropriate language for texts between private individuals. These preliminary observations do not take into account other published material from Bawit, and a thorough investigation would provide great insight into the functional domains of each language within a monastic context.

Delattre proposes an alternative typology of Coptic palaeography to that laid out by Monika Hasitzka (pp. 127-8).⁵ In this, hands are not characterized by how cursive they are but by the terms “majuscule” (*bilinéaire*) and “minuscule” (*quadrilinéaire*), both of which are “plus or moins cursives, plus ou moins élégantes” (p. 127). This division is based on letter formation, specifically the height of ascending and descending strokes. Unfortunately, these terms are not always adhered to in the palaeographical description of individual texts. The term “majuscule” is used only once (10); nine texts are described as *bilinéaire* (14, 29, 34, 39, 42, 45, 50, 51, and 53); and five as *quadrilinéaire* (40, 41, 46, 47, and 52). Conversely, 33 texts are simply called “cursive.” Therefore, while the establishment of a firm typology of Coptic hands is a *desideratum*, the criteria suggested here either have to be applied rigidly or a new set of criteria proposed.

Part II, the edition of the texts and the bulk of the book, is divided into 8 chapters: (1) Orders from the Superior (1-3); (2) Payment Orders (4-27); (3) Accounts and Lists (28-33); (4) Loan Contracts (34-35); (5) Letters (36-42); (6) Varia (43-47); (7) Fragments of Uncertain Provenance (48-54); and (8) Protocols (55-60). (2) is preceded by an extensive introduction to the form of this new dossier type. Shorter introductions are provided for the other dossiers. (7)

⁴ For the dating formula in loans see *P.Mon.Apollo* 36.7 and 38.7.

⁵ *CPR* 12, pp. 16-21.

contains a variety of material: a very fragmentary order from a superior (48), a bilingual account (49), a list of names (50), loan contracts (51 and 52), and fragments of a letter (53) and a document (54).

The texts are presented in the standard papyrological fashion: a physical description of the papyrus, a catalogue-style entry with inventory number, provenance (Bawit always features, sometimes with a question mark or comment), dimensions, and date. The presentation of the text, its palaeography, and its reuse (if any) is followed by the transcription (all Greek text is transcribed in an articulated, not diplomatic, version), translation, and commentary. The last of these is extremely detailed and referenced, drawing upon all available sources to discuss the issues that arise.

Not all the documents make a significant contribution to life at Bawit. The “Varia” section includes a Christian invocation (43); a mostly destroyed legal document (46); another documentary fragment, the interest of which lies solely in the preservation of the toponym Titkooḥ (47); and similarly 54, of uncertain provenance, which references Athribis and Psobtis. A number of texts are written on the verso of protocols, and the most well preserved of these protocols are edited under a separate section. While their origin (they ultimately ended up in Bawit, but their original source is undeterminable), together with their fragmentary and damaged state, tell us nothing about Bawit directly, their inclusion in a separate section prevents the creation of cumbersome entries for the texts on their verso.⁶ Some of these protocols do contain interesting features (note, for example, the codicological issues raised by 55), but their main interest concerns the reuse of papyri at the site: each protocol survived because it was later reused, for payment orders, orders from superiors, and letters.

Indeed, the use of papyri, as witnessed by the texts written on the verso of protocols, is one of the most interesting subsidiary features of these texts. Delattre discusses this practice for the payment orders (pp. 165-7). This multiple use raises important questions about the attitude towards document types, especially which texts required new papyrus and which texts could do with old papyrus. The order of use is noted (p. 126): the first texts are essentially protocols, documents (letters, sales, and loans), and rarely Greek texts. Secondary use was reserved for administrative documents, payment orders, and accounts. One text highlights this. P.Brux inv. 8181 + 9415 bears three texts: the protocol (55) is the first use; a Greek letter is the first secondary text (37); and the final use is a Christian invocation (43). It was deemed appropriate to write a letter on the verso of the text – but, as a result of damage, the content

⁶ For those texts with more damaged traces on their recto/verso, these traces are discussed in the description of the papyrus (see 8, 11, 20, 22, 26, 27, and 49).

is unknown, so it is not clear if this is a copy, the actual letter, or an exercise. If the invocation is a scribal exercise (pp. 273-274), this might be indicative of scribal documentary training within a monastic milieu.⁷

Papyrus coptes et grecs is furnished with a number of tools facilitating its use. These include a comprehensive list of all known texts from Bawit, both in public and private collections (pp. 117-124). Tables throughout present the content of the new texts in an at-a-glance format, as well as including documents of the same type in other publications. A concordance of edited texts is provided, together with corrections to texts published elsewhere. Eleven indices reference the main features of the texts and subject matters discussed. An extensive and impressive bibliography is also supplied. Fourteen plates at the back of the book contain black and white images of the manuscripts.

Only minor criticisms of this book can be made. There is a great deal of discussion of toponyms and the monastery's position within the Hermopolite nome. However, no map is included in the study for readers' benefit. Similarly, during the discussion of the monastery, reference is made throughout to archaeological features and specific rooms, but no plans of the site are provided for reference.⁸ The reproduced images are not printed to scale nor have scales been provided with them. Photos of **3**, **18**, and **20** are to scale; **26**, **27**, and **54** are enlarged; the rest of the texts are reduced. While some images had to be reduced, because their dimensions are greater than those of the book (see **31**), the images appear to have been sized to fill the available space. This has a particularly unfortunate effect on plate IV. **17** and **18** are both 11 cm wide, but while the latter is shown to scale, the former is reduced to the same size as **16** (7.1 cm wide), which has itself been reduced. While the size of this volume prohibits enlarging all images beyond their actual size, a few more pages allowing space for enlarged images would have increased utility. Furthermore, a number of papyri have preserved traces on their verso (as discussed above, n. 6), but no images are provided for these.

The size of the images does not facilitate their reading. Digital manipulation to improve the contrast would have been useful. In a few cases Delattre notes difficulties with particular readings (as noted above with **9**), but it is often impossible to check these using the images provided. From what is provided, it is possible to correct some of the transcriptions, but these are minor and mostly connected to supralinear letters used in abbreviations. For example in **25.2** the

⁷ For the use of the invocation formulae in documentary training see S. Bucking, "On the Training of Documentary Scribes in Roman, Byzantine and Early Islamic Egypt: A Contextualized Assessment of the Greek Evidence," *ZPE* 159 (2007) 238-239.

⁸ For this, one should consult Clédât (n. 1) Plan II, which integrates the systems of Clédât and Maspero, as discussed by Delattre (pp. 30-31, n. 7).

name and date should be transcribed $\Sigma\epsilon\nu\theta^{\theta}(\iota\omicron\upsilon) \pi\rho^{\epsilon}(\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon) \Pi(\alpha)^{\nu}(\nu\iota) \lambda$ $\iota(\nu)^{\delta}(\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma)$ not $\Sigma\epsilon\nu\theta(\iota\omicron\upsilon) \pi\rho\epsilon(\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon) \Pi(\alpha)\tilde{\nu}(\nu\iota) \lambda \iota(\nu)\delta(\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma)$. The palaeography of this passage is interesting, in that the supralinear writings of $\pi\rho^{\epsilon}$ and π^{ν} are ligatured; the scribe wrote the entire passage, then added the supralinear text in one go. In 15.5 I would transcribe $\Phi^{\alpha}(\tilde{\omega}\phi\iota)$ or perhaps even $\Phi^{\alpha}(\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\omega}\theta)$, not $\Phi(\alpha)^{\tilde{\omega}}(\phi\iota)$. I also noted an inconsistency in the transcription of 31, where the abbreviation of $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha$ as $\acute{\alpha}\rho^{\tau}$ is rendered correctly eighteen times, but printed as $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau$ three times. These inconsistencies in transcription practice are editorial oversights, rather than misreadings of the texts.

These criticisms are minor in the overall scheme of this book. They neither detract from its excellent quality nor from its utility for those interested in Coptic texts, in the study of Bawit, and in the history of monasticism in the sixth to eighth centuries AD.

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Grob, Eva Mira, and Andreas Kaplony (eds.), "Documentary Letters from the Middle East: The Evidence in Greek, Coptic, South Arabian, Pehlevi, and Arabic (1st-15th c CE)," *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 62.3 (2008) 671-906. ISSN 0004-4717.

Although we do not normally review other journals in *BASP*, it is a pleasure to make an exception for this special issue of *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques*, devoted as it is to letters from Late Antiquity and beyond, especially from Egypt. The volume is based on a workshop held in April 2007 in Zürich.¹ The contributions are all of the highest quality, and some are especially informative for outsiders unfamiliar with the various disciplines represented.

The focus throughout is on formal features, such as layout and formulae, and on the changes they underwent in the course of time. Several contributions bring out the distinctness of the various epistolary traditions, especially in the case of Greek, Coptic, and Arabic letters from Egypt, which coexisted for a while and to some extent succeeded one another. Briefly stated: once Demotic letters petered out in the first century AD, there were only Greek letters for a while. After 300 there were also Coptic letters, especially from the late sixth to the eighth century, when Greek letters petered out and Arabic letters took their place, until Coptic letters petered out in the twelfth century. A more elaborate picture would perhaps distinguish between the different types of letters. Helpful remarks about epistolary typology can be found throughout the volume.

The volume opens with an ambitious survey of Greek letters on papyrus from the first through the eighth century by R. Luiselli ("Greek Letters on Papyrus, First to Eighth Centuries: A Survey") on pp. 677-737, including a hefty bibliography on pp. 720-734 and three illustrations on pp. 735-737, for which better quality prints can be found in *PSI* 15. Luiselli pays attention to material aspects of the papyri (size, folding, and sealing) and the script (orientation [with the (re)turn to letters written *transversa charta* in the fifth century – p. 688] and degree of formality or informality) and to formal features of the texts themselves (opening, body, and closing as well as postscript and address).² On p. 679, he is not very clear on the total number of Greek letters on papyrus,

¹ One of the papers given at the workshop (on Bactrian letters) does not appear in the volume under review. See p. 673, note 1, for references to an overview and an edition by N. Sims-Williams.

² Unfortunately, Luiselli was not able to use J.-L. Fournet, "Esquisse d'une anatomie de la lettre antique tardive d'après les papyrus" (for a volume on *Correspondances. Documents pour l'histoire de l'Antiquité tardive*, which to the best of my knowledge has not yet appeared).

surely several thousands more than the 2,000 mentioned in note 6. On p. 684, note that *P.Ammon* 1.3 does not date from 348, but must be considerably earlier (see P. van Minnen, “The Letter (and Other Papers) of Ammon: Panopolis in the Fourth Century A.D.,” in A. Egberts, B.P. Muhs, and J. van der Vliet, eds., *Perspectives on Panopolis* [Leiden 2000] 177-199 at 188-195, where I also characterize this exceptional letter as Ammon’s masterpiece in which he shows off – to his mother – his talents as a letter writer and calligrapher). Luiselli does not explain the change in the closing from predominant ἔρρωσο to equipollent ἔρρωσο and ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι from the second century onwards (pp. 705-706).³ Could this be under the influence of Latin (which does not have a perfect imperative – not counting *memento(te)* – and uses a construction with the infinitive in the closing of letters), or is this a case of “the longer the better”? On *P.Oxy.* 31.2601 (p. 703) see above, p. 123, footnote 56.

The volume continues with an equally ambitious survey of over 2,500 Coptic letters on papyrus (listed on pp. 759-760) and Shenoute’s letters by T.S. Richter (“Coptic Letters”) on pp. 739-770, including a bibliography on pp. 753-758, helpful tables on pp. 759-768 (especially interesting are the four Coptic letters listed on p. 768, where both sender and addressee have Arabic names), and three illustrations on pp. 769-770; for the third illustration see the edition in T.S. Richter, “P.Lips. inv. 250 and 260: Two 10th/11th-Century Coptic Texts,” *BASP* 45 (2008) 209-224 at 218-223. There are some problems with Richter’s account of the earliest period,⁴ which relies heavily on M. Choat’s 2006 monograph on *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri*, reviewed by R.S. Bagnall, *BASP* 43 (2006) 205-209. Gnostics and Manichaeans should rather be subsumed under “Christians” in this period.

Also, few readers of *BASP* will subscribe to a statement such as (p. 741): “Christians ... possibly already formed a demographic majority in Egypt at the time when Coptic came into being” (shortly before 300 AD). I also find the discussion of the use of languages in letters simplistic. Richter assumes that after Demotic letters petered out in the first century AD, monolingual Egyptians had to wait a couple of centuries before they could write letters again. He also assumes that the practical need to spread the gospel in Egyptian helped Coptic become a written language, which could then also be used for letters. Conveniently, Richter places these monolingual Egyptians in the countryside

³ The form ἔρρωμένον σε εὐχομαι also occurs, e.g., in J. Sheridan Moss, “Much Ado about the Grape Harvest: A Letter from Apollonios to His Father,” *BASP* 45 (2008) 241-246, line 14.

⁴ For the bilingual correspondence of Apa Iohannes (p. 746), which dates from this period, see the additional Greek letters in N. Gonis, “Further Letters from the Archive of Apa Iohannes,” *BASP* 45 (2008) 69-85.

(= Egyptian villages), where the gospel would have been spread in Egyptian only some time after it had been spread in Greek in urban settlements (= the Egyptian *metropoleis*), where Greek letters continued to be written.

I tried to poke some holes in this traditional picture in P. van Minnen, "Boorish or Bookish: Literature in Egyptian Villages in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman Period," *JJP* 28 (1998) 99-184 (not mentioned by Richter), by pointing out that some Egyptian villagers were highly sophisticated (the Egyptian priests) and could communicate in Greek for their monolingual co-villagers. I also do not believe in the traditional picture of Christianizing urban settlements in a pagan countryside. Egyptian villages were not that isolated, and the involvement of their Christian inhabitants in regional "conferences" in Egypt is attested very early on (Eus. *HE* 7.24.6-9). The rise of Coptic in the third century may be better explained by the need to spread the gospel to monolingual Egyptians ... in urban settlements. By the third century, the Egyptian metropoleis may well have had a majority Egyptian-only speaking population (cf. P. van Minnen, "Αἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου: 'Greek' Women and the Greek 'Elite' in the Metropoleis of Roman Egypt," in H. Melaerts and L. Mooren, eds., *Le rôle et le statut de la femme en Égypte hellénistique, romaine et byzantine* [Leuven 2000] 337-353).

On pp. 771-802, P. Stein provides an overview of the South Arabian letters that recently surfaced in Yemen ("Correspondence by Letter and Epistolary Formulae in Ancient South Arabia"), with bibliography on pp. 792-795 and six illustrations (of the seven texts quoted in full) on pp. 796-802. They date from the middle of the first millennium BC to the fifth or sixth century AD and are written on palm-leaf stalks or other pieces of wooden sticks, mainly in Sabaic, sometimes in Minaic. Only 16 have been published so far (listed on pp. 791-792), but Stein includes examples from his forthcoming edition of texts in Munich. There are many more unpublished letters in Yemen itself. Clearly, our knowledge of South Arabian, thus far based on inscriptions, will get an enormous boost from this corpus. I do not quite see why the late texts from the fourth century onwards that contain references to one god *must* postdate the official conversion to monotheism in the 380s (p. 786 with n. 58). Interestingly, Stein reports (p. 772) the use of ostraca in South Arabia as "tags" for corpses and nothing else.

D. Weber provides an overview of the Sassanid correspondence in Pehlevi from Egypt ("Sassanidische Briefe") on pp. 803-826, including a bibliography on pp. 817-820 and six illustrations on pp. 821-826. From a relatively short period (619-629) about 1,000 Pehlevi texts from Egypt survive, the majority unpublished. Weber helpfully quotes seven texts in full.

On pp. 827-842, P. Gignoux continues with Sassanid correspondence in Pehlevi from the early Islamic period (“Lettres privées et lettres d'affaires dans l'Iran du 7ème siècle”), which apparently derives from Qom in Iran, a town mentioned in a couple of texts from Berkeley (pp. 836-837). Add that the texts in Berlin, which he mentions on p. 837, were recently published by D. Weber, *Berliner Pahlavi-Dokumente. Zeugnisse spätsassanidischer Brief- und Rechtskultur aus frühislamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 2008), which can be added to the bibliography on pp. 839-841. The texts are written on leather, sometimes on linen, and Gignoux publishes and illustrates (p. 842) one on linen with a brief commentary.

W. Diem provides the most helpful of all surveys, on Arabic letters (“Arabic Letters in Pre-Modern Times: A Survey with Commented Selected Bibliographies”), on pp. 843-883, including a *bibliographie raisonnée* on pp. 865-879 and three illustrations on pp. 880-883. Original letters in Arabic survive mainly from Egypt, including the late period (thanks to the Cairo *genizah*, which also preserved letters written elsewhere – or written by people trained in letter-writing traditions elsewhere) and, for the late period only, North Africa and al-Andalus, much less so from Syria (Khirbet Mird for the early period), and not at all from Iraq and further east, with one eighth-century exception – from Tadjikistan (p. 848). But from Iraq and also Syria many Arabic letters survive in the literary tradition (bibliographical details on pp. 870-876), which goes some way toward allowing Diem to paint a comprehensive diachronic picture of letter writing in Arabic from about AD 600. Readers of *BASP* will be especially grateful for the annotated list of editions of letters from Egypt on pp. 865-866,⁵ which flags important review articles (mainly by Diem himself) of the main text editions (e.g., *P.Schott-Reinhardt*, *P.Hamb.Arab.* 2, *P.Khalili* 1, and *P.Phil.Arab.*; unfortunately nothing for *P.Cair.Arab.* and *P.Ryl.Arab.*). In the absence of an Arabic *Berichtungsliste*, this is extremely helpful. Arabic papyri range mainly from the seventh to the twelfth century, with the bulk from the ninth century, after which paper replaces papyrus gradually (papyrus letters do not normally contain exact dates – unlike the letters from the Cairo *genizah*). Interesting is the observation (p. 847) that Arabic letters written in Hebrew script (from the Cairo *genizah*) can help decide how to read unpointed Arabic formulae in Arabic script; note also the comment about the use of the epistolary perfect (p. 853), the list of terms used in the letters to refer to letters (p. 857), and especially the impressionistic discussion of who is writing what to whom (mainly distinguished by gender) on pp. 845-846. Also most intriguing is the discussion on pp. 859-861 of the formal features of early letters ascribed

⁵ An interesting and still fairly early Arabic letter was published by L. Reinhardt, “Leinenhändler im Herakleopolites in arabischer Zeit,” *BASP* 44 (2007) 97-123.

to Mohammed in the literary tradition. Diem concludes that their presumably archaic formal characteristics (discontinued by the time our evidence becomes more plentiful) point to their authenticity qua form.

G. Khan provides some additional comments on Arabic letters (“Remarks on the Historical Background and Development of Early Arabic Documentary Formulae”) on pp. 885-906, including a bibliography on pp. 899-902 and four illustrations on pp. 903-906. Unlike Diem, he includes petitions and even discusses formulae in legal documents (pp. 887-890) to illustrate the watershed (eighth-ninth century) between the early and later periods (with the winds of change blowing from Iran).

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Peter van Minnen

Anke Joisten-Pruschke, *Das religiöse Leben der Juden von Elephantine in der Achämenidenzeit*. Göttinger Orientforschungen. III. Reihe: Iranica, NF 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008. 258 pages. ISBN 978-3-447-05706-6.

The title of this work, begun as a dissertation under the late Volkmar Fritz and completed under Hans-Jürgen Becker at Göttingen, is rather misleading. Better would be something like: “studies in the society and religion of the Jewish military colony at Elephantine.” It is based on extensive bibliographical research and should prove to be useful, even if it is not a creative work of scholarship.

The Introduction reviews the discovery and publication of the Aramaic finds from Achaemenid Elephantine and Syene/Aswan in a very detailed way, including extensive tables of *editiones principes* and other publications as well as concordances of the numerous editions in which these texts have been published – a highly useful tool. At the end Joisten-Pruschke takes issue with the magnificent drawings by Ada Yardeni in her four-volume publication, with B. Porten, of the *Textbook of Ancient Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (Jerusalem and Winona Lake, IL, 1986-1999). I am still inclined to trust Yardeni’s practised eye.

The first three chapters are all quite brief. Chapter One, entitled “Die Juden von Elephantine im Spannungsfeld zwischen jüdischer Gemeinde und Reichsregierung,” is essentially a review of the discussion of why the Jews were allowed to bring meal and incense offerings to the Temple of Yahu at Elephantine but not animal sacrifices. (My guess is that the policy was convenient to both the Persian Mazdaean authorities and the Jerusalem Temple officials.) It also adduces evidence from inscriptions elsewhere in the Persian empire for comparison. Chapter Two is entitled “Das religiöse Leben der Juden von Elephantine in der Achämenidenzeit im Kontext multinationaler und multireligiöser Begegnungen,” but basically it is a review of how personal names move from one religious group to another within the same family, a topic earlier discussed at length by such scholars as B. Porten and M. Silverman. Chapter Three discusses a few issues surrounding clauses in marriage contracts. Everything in all three chapters is derivative.

The major chapter in terms of length is the fourth, a complete presentation of twenty selected texts of various genres in transcription, translation, and commentary. It is a quasi-critical edition, with all of the readings of earlier scholars given and adjudicated. I was unable to spot any significant philological innovations.

I remain uncertain as to just what the focus of the work is supposed to be, but those seeking access to the bibliographical resources in specific areas will find that Joisten-Pruschke has done their work for them, and for that our thanks are due.

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Stephen A. Kaufman

Peter Bing and Jon Steffan Bruss (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram down to Philip* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007). xxi + 657 pages. ISBN 978-90-04-15218-2.

Recent and important studies by Alan Cameron (*The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes*, 1993) and Kathryn Gutzwiller (*Poetic Garlands*, 1998), in combination with the 2001 publication of a newly discovered papyrus roll containing over 100 epigrams of Posidippus of Pella, have led to the growing interest in the subject of Hellenistic epigram. Unlike earlier archaic and classical epigrams inscribed on stone, which were not portable, or on an object confined to a place of dedication, epigrams in the Hellenistic period were widely written on papyrus. The medium was not only easier to use, it allowed far greater circulation and distribution among readers, and these factors no doubt contributed both to the exponential growth in epigram as a literary artifact during this period and the commensurately wider range of subjects that epigrams took on. In addition to the funerary, dedicatory, amatory, and sympotic epigrams found in earlier periods, we find epinician, ecphrastic, and a variety of other epigrams that intersect with known or emerging literary types: bucolic, satiric, panegyric. And since Hellenistic epigrams were for the most part collected into book rolls by the author or an editor, this created the opportunity for groups of contrasting or complementary epigrams, epigrams on a specific theme or themes, and the potential for more than one meta-narrative between and across the individual poems of the collection.

The *Brill Companion to Hellenistic Epigram*, edited by Peter Bing and Jon Steffan Bruss, capitalizes on this increasing fascination with Hellenistic epigram. The authors have undertaken to provide a handbook for those interested but unfamiliar with the scholarly terrain. They provide a brief "Introduction to the Study of Hellenistic Epigram" (pp. 1-26) to situate the subsequent contributions and set out a rudimentary tour of the previous editions and important collections. The introduction bears the stamp of Bing's particular perspectives, in particular his belief in the relative lack of interest in or capacity for reading earlier inscriptions on stone or objects in contrast to the reader-friendly milieu of the book roll, and his insistence on *Ergänzungsspiel* (p. 8), the poet's self-conscious requirement that the reader reflect on medium and subject to supplement information lacking in the written text. Bing's position on inscribed epigram is in contrast to the more widely disseminated views of Jesper Svenbro (*Phrasikleia*, 1993 [1988]), Joseph Day, and Mary Depew, who imagine that the act of the passer-by reading the stone inscription re-enacts the original performance of lament or joy or praise, an act that in turn produces a social residue,

reinforcing communal ideologies (p. 46). *Ergänzungsspiel* may account for the absence of an object or monument to which the epigram refers, but runs the danger of insisting that all dedicatory epigrams now found in collections were of this type, and ignores the possibility that some may have originally had objects to which they were attached (a few of Posidippus' epigrams are cases in point). Those contributors who take a position tend to invoke *Ergänzungsspiel* (see index). The introduction then is focused on the literary production of epigram, and earlier inscribed epigram is relevant only for the story of the transition from stone to roll or for constructing a generic ancestry for specific types like funerary or amatory epigram. Inscribed epigram in the Hellenistic period, which also saw an increase, is not much discussed (the exception is Anja Bettenworth). Moreover, what the editors have put together focuses on the epigram as a single poem. There is very little discussion of epigrams within a collection (apart from Nita Krevans).

After the introduction there are twenty-seven contributions arranged in five sections: Models and Form (eight entries), Poetics (four entries), Genre (five entries), Epigrams and their Intertexts (seven entries), and Reception (three entries). There are the usual bibliography, appendices, and (thankfully) a general subject index. The contributions are uneven: some do little more than summarize positions articulated by previous scholars; others are by scholars who de facto summarize positions that they have articulated in greater detail elsewhere; some contribute genuinely new material.

The first section on Models and Form takes up antecedents on stone (Day, "Poems on Stone: The Inscribed Antecedents of Hellenistic Epigram," pp. 29-47); the citation of epigrams in fifth- and fourth-century literary sources (Andrej Petrovic, "Inscribed Epigram in Pre-Hellenistic Literary Sources," pp. 49-68); the interaction of inscribed and literary epigram (Bettenworth, "The Mutual Influence of Inscribed and Literary Epigram," pp. 69-93); the relationship between archaic elegy and later sympotic epigram (Ewen Bowie, "From Archaic Elegy to Hellenistic Sympotic Epigram?" pp. 95-112); the earliest collections of Simonidea (David Sider, "*Sylloge Simonidea*," pp. 113-130); how epigrams may have been collected into book rolls (Krevans, "The Arrangement of Epigrams in Collections," pp. 131-146); the impact of the collections of Meleager and Philip (Lorenzo Argentieri, "Meleager and Philip as Epigram Collectors," pp. 147-164); and changes over time in meter and diction in Hellenistic and later epigram (Enrico Magnelli, "Meter and Diction: From Refinement to Mannerism," pp. 165-183). In this section, Bowie reviews the evidence from archaic elegy to conclude that the claim of "Darwinian" descent from archaic elegy to Hellenistic erotic and sympotic epigram is murky at best, and dependent on largely absent or poorly understood collections like the second book

of the *Theognidea*. Krevans links the habit of anthologizing epigrams with the Hellenistic habit of collecting. She also articulates the role of “editor” within the collection process as distinctly different from that of “author” even when editor and author may coincide. Magnelli provides an elegant summary of habits of diction, pointing out, for example, that Callimachean epigram is much plainer in style than his longer poems. A plain style is found in a number of other epigrammatists, though the new collection of Posidippus introduces technical language in a number of its sections. Magnelli also has a fine set of tables (pp. 181-183) on metrical habits of the main epigrammatists. This section is the most coherent and has information that is helpful to readers going forward, but the essays tend to be dense, and occasionally hard to follow without recourse to material in the footnotes or previous studies.

The second section on Poetics takes up reading and writing in Hellenistic epigram (Doris Meyer, “The Act of Reading and the Act of Writing in Hellenistic Epigram,” pp. 187-210); gendered voices (Jackie Murray and Jonathan Rowland, “Gendered Voices in Hellenistic Epigram,” pp. 211-232); characterization (Graham Zanker, “Characterization in Hellenistic Epigram,” pp. 233-249); and epigrams on art (Irmgard Männlein-Robert, “Epigrams on Art: Voice and Voicelessness in Hellenistic Epigram,” pp. 251-271). One might characterize the section as “eclectic,” and it is unclear why intertextuality should not have been included here (unless the fact that so many contributors focusing on intertextuality would have made the section too long). Meyer’s essay provides a good account of the value of reader-response criticism in thinking about the epigram. Murray and Rowland reprise the argument for epigram as the first Greek genre to provide an authentic female voice, though this seems to mean little more than that epigram has more identifiably female practitioners than earlier Greek poetic genres. Zanker begins with Aristotle’s definitions of character to provide insights into the ways in which complex character portraits could emerge even in such small formats. Männlein-Robert focuses on the epigram’s manner of appropriating the language of the plastic arts and of giving “voice” (via the written text) to the mute work of art. Apart from Meyer there is not much explicit effort to delineate theoretical models for thinking about epigram either as a genre or as a cultural phenomenon, and readers who may wish for a more sustained argument about the poetics of epigram will be disappointed.

The third section on Genre consists of a series of essays on sub-genres or groups of epigrams that have affinities with previous or emerging generic categories. It includes praise of monarchs (Annemarie Ambühl, “Tell All Ye Singers, My Fame: Kings, Queens and Nobility in Epigram,” pp. 275-294); epinician (Adolf Köhnken, “Epinician Epigram,” pp. 295-312); amatory (Kathryn

Gutzwiller, "The Paradox of Amatory Epigram," pp. 313-332); bucolic (Karl-Heinz Stanzel, "Bucolic Epigram," pp. 333-351); and satiric (Gideon Nisbet, "Satiric Epigram," pp. 353-369). Although the section addresses two substantial sub-genres: epinician and amatory, others are omitted, most obviously funerary and dedicatory. Ambühl's piece focuses mainly on the poems in the new collection of Posidippus, in which praise of monarchs falls across the sub-genres of dedicatory and epinician; Köhnken begins with epigrams inscribed for specific victories to adduce their principal features, then moves to the literary epinician epigrams and how specific elements can be adapted to myth or satire. Gutzwiller traces the development of amatory epigram and its peculiar paradox: while epigram implies permanence, the erotic experiences are always ephemeral. Stanzel follows Reitzenstein in identifying a "Peloponnesian" school of epigrammatists that focus on the rural and the simple, including herdsmen. These poets plus Theocritus have produced the bulk of what has been identified as "bucolic" epigram. Nisbet's piece on "skoptic" epigram falls outside of the Hellenistic time period, since the subgenre is only identifiable from the first century AD (p. 353). In so far as he also has a contribution in the section on reception where much of this material could have been included, this reader wonders why these were composed as two entries rather than as one. J. Blomqvist, "The Development of the Satirical Epigram in the Hellenistic Period," in M.A. Harder, R.F. Regtuit, and G.C. Wakker (eds.), *Genre in Hellenistic Poetry* (Groningen 1998) 45-60, produces a more helpful treatment of what we can discern of satirical epigram in the Hellenistic as opposed to the Roman period. Overall this section does not cohere all that well. While Gutzwiller's essay is predictably cogent, the others do not amount to much that is new or helpful in understanding the emergence or evolution of epigram within the period, and there are inevitable redundancies with the next section.

The fourth section on Intertextuality begins with an excellent contribution by Alex Sens ("One Thing Leads (Back) to Another: Allusion and the Invention of Tradition in Hellenistic Epigrams," pp. 373-390) on the role of allusion in creating the sense of tradition. Evina Sistikou ("Glossing Homer: Homeric Exegesis in Early Third Century Epigram," pp. 391-408) does a fine job in demonstrating the role of Homeric philology and glossography that appears in epigrams. Annette Harder ("Epigram and the Heritage of Epic," pp. 409-428) traces elements of Homeric narrative and characters and how they fare in epigrams. Benjamin Acosta-Hughes and Silvia Barbantani ("Inscribing Lyric," pp. 429-457) discuss allusions to the lyric poets; Ralph Rosen ("The Hellenistic Epigrams on Archilochus and Hipponax," pp. 459-476) takes on allusion to Archilochus and Hipponax; Marco Fantuzzi ("Epigram and the Theater," pp. 477-495) discusses epigrams on tragedy and comedy; and finally

Dee Clayman ("Philosophers and Philosophy in Greek Epigram," pp. 497-517) addresses philosophers and philosophy. The thoroughness of coverage in this section is admirable. It derives in part from the fact that intertextuality is the dominant mode of criticism in epigram scholarship.

The final section on Reception has two chapters on Roman reception: the first, by Alfredo Morelli ("Hellenistic Epigram in the Roman World: From the Beginnings to the End of the Republican Age," pp. 521-541), provides a history of Roman epigram from its beginnings through the Republican period. Gideon Nisbet ("Roman Imperial Receptions of Hellenistic Epigram," pp. 543-563) takes up the imperial period. He begins with synopsis of what he calls the 'too-convenient narrative' (p. 544) of the Roman reception of Hellenistic epigram which he promises to reappraise, but then does not really carry this out. The final entry by Kenneth Haynes ("The Modern Reception of Greek Epigram," pp. 565-583) addresses the reception of Greek epigram from the time of its re-emergence in the Italian renaissance through the Victorian period. This is necessarily a brief but not uninteresting sketch of the wide dissemination of the genre in European literature.

The collection is uneven in quality and in coverage and would have profited from much more careful editing. There are a number of typographical errors, omissions, and oddities of translation, but most notable in a book that is so long are the redundancies and stylistic lapses, particularly in contributions of those for whom English is not the first language, and who deserved better editorial support (in one essay I counted the same simple idea repeated four times within two pages). Apart from these distractions, the collection suffers from an identity crisis: at one extreme are essays too technical for those who are not already familiar with the material; at the other are straightforward "handbook" summaries verging on the banal. The best essays (like Magnelli or Sens) succeed in incorporating new material while nonetheless providing a trajectory through the chosen subject that readers can easily follow. But there is not enough of this kind of essay to sustain the whole volume.

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Guglielmo Cavallo, *La scrittura greca e latina dei papiri. Una introduzione*. Studia Erudita 8. Pisa and Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2008. 206 pages. ISBN 978-88-6227-014-4.

This attractive little book is the expanded version of a chapter on palaeography Cavallo (hereafter C.) wrote for the *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*. It is generously illustrated and can easily stand comparison with the survey of Greek palaeography in the papyri in W. Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie* (München 1925; the reprint is still in print for 10 euro less than C.'s book). C.'s sepia tone illustrations all derive from the papyrus collections in Florence (often taken from G. Cavallo, E. Crisci, G. Messeri and R. Pintaudi, eds., *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico* [Firenze 1998; reprinted], where more illustrations can be found), and given the fact that no collection is comprehensive, for the Greek palaeography in the papyri (discussed by C. on 120 pages including 113 illustrations) alternative illustrations from the Berlin collection in Schubart (if possible in conjunction with his *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, Bonn 1911; out of print) should always be consulted (Schubart's *Griechische Paläographie* has 120 illustrations and refers to almost all of the almost 80 additional illustrations in his *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*). As a bonus C. provides a snappy overview of Latin palaeography in 48 pages (with 47 illustrations). Unlike Schubart C. does not discuss the palaeography of ostraca, but on the other hand he pays more attention to (and illustrates) that found in early parchment manuscripts.

Through his many publications C. has established himself as the leading Greek palaeographer of our time. Well known for his early work on the "Biblical majuscule" he recently added the definitive work on Hellenistic bookhands (co-authored with H. Maehler, who also collaborated with C. on the bookhands of the early Byzantine period).¹ In the book under review he attempts to present bookhands (sometimes found in documents and remaining closer to the normative letter forms taught in schools for over a millennium) and cursive and semi-cursive scripts (mostly found in documents and distinguished from bookhands by any number of ligatures) in tandem. Since the two types of hands grew up together and over the course of the first millennium influenced each other back and forth, although not always as intensively, it makes sense

¹ G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands* (Berlin and New York 2008). This volume fortunately does not have any foldouts of the kind that makes the early Byzantine volume (G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period* [London 1987; out of print]) hard to use.

to confront the readers with a parallel rather than separate presentation of the evidence, as was necessarily the case in C.'s two *Bookhands*. The result is convincing, but so was Schubart's similar presentation of the evidence in his *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* (and Roberts' in his *Greek Literary Hands* [Oxford 1955; out of print] for the period covered; in his *Griechische Paläographie* Schubart kept bookhands [*Schönschrift*] and cursive scripts [*Geschäftsschrift*] separate, but so did C. in *Scrivere*). The treatment of Latin "literary and documentary" palaeography in tandem makes even more sense.

C. sees his book rather as a practical manual than as a profound discussion of Greek palaeography, for which his larger works are readily available. But unlike Schubart (and his own *Bookhands* volumes) he does not provide the reader with transcriptions of the illustrations (and the illustrations do not have helpful captions either, as in Schubart's *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, where the date appears on every plate [not so in his *Griechische Paläographie*]; the brief discussion of an illustration is often pages away from the illustration itself; and the index does not flag illustrations). Note also that Schubart in his *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* provided a helpful classification (for beginners) between *faciles*, *mediae*, and *difficiles* papyri. C. is thinking only of students of the history of Greek and Latin scripts, who will be enormously helped by his book. For papyrologists, Schubart's twin production still takes the cake.

C. uses a rather odd definition of ductus (the speed rather than the direction and sequence in which the strokes that make up a letter are written). As in *Hellenistic Bookhands* he ties the development of cursive scripts in the course of the Hellenistic period to the sheer volume of writing required by the bureaucracy of the Ptolemaic kingdom. C. does not pay enough attention to the fact that types of texts have their own scripts; a nice example is provided by illustrations 35 and 58, both *epikriseis* documents in a similar scrappy hand but a century apart. On the other hand, a successful "pairing" is provided by illustrations 91 and 92, which come from the same roll but are totally different. Unfortunately C. did not include an example of all three of Dioscorus of Aphrodite's distinctive "hands" (illustrations 108-109 provide two). And he could have made more of the "interference" between Greek and Latin scripts in the millennium covered in this otherwise recommendable book.

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Peter van Minnen

T.J. Kraus, *Ad Fontes: Original Manuscripts and Their Significance for Studying Early Christianity. Selected Essays. Texts and Editions for New Testament Study*, Vol. 3 Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2007. xxvi + 272 pages. ISBN 978-90-04-16182-5.

This is a collection of thirteen pieces, eleven of them previously published elsewhere. The first is an introduction to the whole, describing how the author came to manuscript studies and how the collection is arranged. Chapter Two is a translation into English of “‘Pergament oder Papyrus?’ Anmerkungen zur Signifikanz des Beschreibstoffes bei der Behandlung von Manuskripten” (*NTS* 49, 2003, 425-432). The third chapter is an argument for the importance of studying manuscripts as well as printed editions, taking the example of the Vienna fragments of P45. The fourth studies *P.Oxy.* 5.840, with a discussion of the terms amulet and miniature codex. The fifth deals with *P.Vindob. G 2325* (probably a fragment of the *Gospel of Peter*). Chapter Six is a commentary on *P.Vindob. G 35835* (on the final judgment).

Chapters Seven to Nine are all reprints of articles first published in English; their themes are related: “Literacy in Non-Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt”; “Slow Writers”; and the meaning of ἀγράμματοι in *Acts* 4.13. Chapter Ten is newly published here, and is on the same theme, dealing with *John* 7:15b.

The remaining three chapters are again translations from published German articles. Chapter Eleven discusses *P.Oxy.* 63.4365 and the lending of books in the fourth century; Chapter Twelve, the meaning of Paul’s writing in his own hand in *Philemon* 19; and Chapter Thirteen revisits 7QS and the claim that it is a fragment of *Mark*.

Every chapter has addenda, giving the author’s afterthoughts on the topic, and a bibliography. There are indexes of ancient texts, manuscripts, selected modern authors, and subjects.

The most evident thing about this collection is that Kraus’ lively enthusiasm for manuscripts shines through. It is to be hoped that it will be passed on to others.

This should be remembered when considering two other aspects of the book. The first (and this applies particularly to the articles first published in English here) is that, most unfortunately, the writing is often very opaque or even unintelligible. Sometimes it reads like German sentences made with English words. What is one to make of something like: “However it is important to point at all the variant readings that are to be integrated in the forthcoming major edition (*Editio critica maior*) in order to illustrate that the apparatus

of any critical edition available so far offered and could only offer a selection of all of the possible variant readings" (p. 30)? Time and again the meaning is impossible to recover from the jumble of words, some of them incorrectly used. This is not to be blamed on the author, but on whatever native or highly proficient English speakers considered these texts to be suitable for publication. The difficulties even appear in the title, which does not seem to make much sense: why does it contain the phrase "original manuscripts"? Are there unoriginal manuscripts? (It seems likely that this is a translation of the German Originalhandschrift, intended to indicate a manuscript as opposed to a printed text. But it is as confused a usage in German as in English.) And where the syntax is correct, one is often still puzzled as to the meaning. I cannot understand what is intended by this description of the script of P.Vindob. G 2325: "The capital letters in *scriptio continua*, written with the usual departures from the norm but nevertheless in a regular way, are sloping to the right and take roughly equal space for each" (p. 71). Of course there can be no such thing as a usual departure in a regular way from a norm, nor can it mean that (for example) iota and omega take up the same amount of space, while a capital letter is an enlarged letter for a new section and not (in Greek at any rate) a type of script. But since these meanings are excluded, what are we meant to understand from the sentence?

I take these examples, simply to illustrate how hard it is to find pleasure or to be instructed in reading something written like this.

Secondly, one has to wonder at the concept of a collection of papers, all published within a decade of the author's having first encountered textual criticism (see p. 1) and then given postscripts. One can understand the value of selecting writings after the lapse of many years, when they can be revisited, the more useful selected and commented on, and the less satisfactory omitted, with blind alleys negotiated, errors corrected, and one's areas of ignorance rectified. But the articles here have had no time to mature. There is something of a rush about the collection. For example, the article on the papyrus of the *Gospel of Peter* was published in its German original in 2001, and Kraus and Nicklas have subsequently published an edition (*Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrus-apokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* [Berlin and New York 2004]). This certainly makes the quite lengthy additional comments comparing the two editions necessary. The result is rather confusing. We now have two reconstructions of the papyrus in the book: the one from the original article (p. 80) and one that is identical with the edition (p. 89). Should we not conclude that the publication of the volume has made the article (recently published and easily accessible) redundant? There is also a rather too liberal smattering of typos and careless mistakes. That is to say,

the execution is also rather rushed. There are several examples in the article just cited: Kraus is wrong to say that the differences between the edition in the article and the one in the book “do not actually affect the reconstructed text” (p.89; I take it that by “reconstructed text” he means the reading of the extant text – there are several changes affecting what is reconstructed, which should refer to the text in square brackets). Most notably, \acute{o} is read in the one and not the other in line 6 before ἀλεκτρούων. In addition, a change in the word division between lines 5 and 6 alters the reconstructed text.

This review has been all about the collection and not much about the individual contributions. It would be wrong to imply that there is nothing of value here. Of course behind the articles there is some useful, detailed analysis of some manuscripts, and we hope to see more, with the same love of the documents, in a better setting.

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James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*. New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents, Vol. 36. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008. xxx + 1051 pages. ISBN 90-04-14945-7.

The six manuscripts studied here are the most extensive and important witnesses to the New Testament written on papyrus. In the Gregory-Aland catalogue they are P45, P46, P47 (the three Chester Beatty papyri: 1 + Vienna, Österr. Nat. Bibl. Pap. G. 31974; 2 + Ann Arbor, Univ. Lib. Pap. 6238; and 3), P66, P72, and P75 (the three Bodmer papyri: 2 + Chester Beatty s.n. + Cologne Univ. Inst. für Altertumskunde Pap. 4274/4298; 7; and 14-15, now in the Vatican Library). In a nutshell, the enquiry proceeds by studying the singular readings in each manuscript in turn and then making an overall assessment of what has been found. The work is meticulous in detail, exhaustive in bibliography and in discussing every opinion on each topic, and significant in its conclusions.

As Royse himself points out, it is arguable that a full textual commentary on each papyrus would be more valuable than any other approach in advancing research on the early history of the New Testament text. We may note that it is disappointing, almost extraordinary, that Zuntz's study of P46 in *1 Corinthians* and *Hebrews* has not been followed by similar analyses of other books; that Martini's work on P75 in *Luke* does not have a companion piece on *John*; and that even something as fundamental as the identification of the hand or hands responsible for corrections in P66 has not been cleared up. It is true that P72 (or rather the codex in which it is found, for it contains other texts which are not part of the New Testament) has been the subject of thorough examination as an artefact, and the analyses of the Münster *editio critica maior* of the Catholic Letters and of Wasserman's edition of all Greek manuscripts of *Jude* have cast some light on its text. But P45 and P47 have been rather neglected except, of course, in Josef Schmid's thorough work on the *Apocalypse*). Whatever the attractions of a full commentary, the fact is that we have to start somewhere, and North American scholarship hitherto has taken a different route. The starting-point is the well-known article by E.C. Colwell, "Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: A Study of P45, P66, P75," first published in 1965. Proceeding by evaluating singular readings, Colwell isolated certain characteristics of each manuscript. It was an obvious step for Royse, as a doctoral student in the late seventies, to develop this idea. It led to his dissertation of 1981, which bears the same name as this book.

This reviewer, while admiring the freshness of Colwell's approach, had long needed to be convinced that studying singular readings was a good meth-

od. It seemed to have two difficulties. First, readings that have no other attestation in the available critical editions are not necessarily readings not present in any known manuscript. For example, if it were not for the complete collations of *Revelation* by Hoskier, there are readings in P47 and P115 that one would believe to be singular. As it is, they are not. One may expect that some of the readings treated by Roysse as singular would turn out to be supported by some manuscript or other if we had an apparatus containing every reading in every manuscript. But this number might turn out to be surprisingly small. Comparing Roysse's list of singular readings in *Jude* in P72 with Wasserman's apparatus containing all continuous-text Greek witnesses and some lectionaries (560 in total), the following fresh information is found:

- verse 11: βαλαακ is also attested by 432* (Wasserman records this as a correction in P72 from βαλλαμ P72*, something not noted in either the *editio critica maior* or Roysse)

- verse 15: L591 agrees with P72 in the long omission

- verse 16: 680 and L593 also omit κατα τας επιθυμιας εαυτων πορευομενοι

- verse 25: 450 also omits σωτηρι

Wasserman does not include nonsense readings, so these are not all the readings provided by about 400 Byzantine witnesses not included in the *editio critica maior*. Where repetition of letters or a word is a likely cause of omission by parablepsis, one would expect a reasonable likelihood of more than one scribe making the same error. The number likely to do so depends partly on the number of times a text was copied and the proportion of those copies to have survived.

Secondly – and this is a particularly pressing matter when one is dealing with manuscripts as early as these – the fact that a reading is singular now is by no means proof that it was always so. Given the small number of survivors from the third century, and even from the few hundred years after that, we must expect that many readings once well-attested are now more likely to have been lost than to have survived in one of these six manuscripts. That is to say, singularity in an early manuscript is as likely to be due to manuscript loss as to the habits of an individual scribe. Turning the example of *Revelation* around, who would have expected some readings hitherto only attested in one or two minuscules to turn up in a third or fourth century papyrus?

However, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. If reliable evidence emerges from the study of singular readings that a particular scribe tended to make certain errors, then we have to accept that the difficulties expressed in the previous paragraph may not after all be fatal. And it has to be acknowledged that such tendencies do emerge, and with them evidence about the way

in which the scribes went about their work. For example, Royse observes that P45 takes in slightly larger blocks at a time than P75, so that omissions by *saut du même au même* tend to be longer.

One of the book's conclusions is rather startling, namely a challenge to the traditional textual canon that the shorter reading is to be preferred. Royse amply demonstrates something which is true of many, perhaps most, manuscripts, namely that scribes tended to shorten the manuscript they were copying. That being the case, he argues that one needs to hedge around *lectio brevior* with caveats. But does this evidence really overturn one of the longest-held editorial principles? I do not think so. The reason I believe lies in the difference between the purposes of the eighteenth century scholars who framed the canon, and those of a modern scholar. *Lectio brevior* is addressed to a situation where the rather longer Received Text appeared to be secondary. It was a view summed up by Westcott and Hort, who wrote that: "Both in matter and in diction the Syrian text [as they called the Byzantine] is conspicuously a full text. It delights in pronouns, conjunctions, and expletives and supplied links of all kinds, as well as in more considerable additions" (*The New Testament in the Original Greek* [London and New York 1896] 2:135).

Compare the Textus Receptus with Nestle-Aland or with Westcott and Hort's own text, and you will see the importance of this maxim. But whatever may be true of the Byzantine text as it was received, there are Byzantine manuscripts also whose scribes tended to lose text, and the fact is that there seems to be a paradox: the text grows, even though individual copies tend to omit. Now that scholarship has been evaluating the text of the fourth century majuscules in the light of the papyri, it would indeed be unfortunate to apply the *lectio brevior* rule without considering the particular circumstances. But it would be equally unfortunate to abandon the rule as it was originally conceived. Westcott and Hort did not always follow \aleph or B into their shorter readings where these were clearly the result of scribal error, although they followed them in many places where the "full" Syrian text needed reducing.

In recording singulars, Royse tends to go for quite an atomistic approach. There may be no right way of handling this, but I suggest that sometimes it may be fairer to treat a whole phrase as one that has been rewritten. Take the example of *Jude* 24-25, where ten different readings are recorded (p. 838). Might it not be better to take this as a recasting of the entire closing formula of the letter? In even more detail, the word $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\tau\eta\tau\iota$ at verse 20 is recorded twice, once for the omicron and once for the eta. I am not sure that this is advisable. Given that Royse is able to identify the typical size of unit into which the scribe divides the text, it might be better to try where possible to isolate singularity around that. It is of course the case that a manuscript with a couple

of mistakes in a phrase, each of which are shared with another manuscript, is more likely to have a unique text when the whole phrase is taken as a unit, and such changes might have a bearing on the identification of the types of error to which a particular scribe is prone.

Harmonisation to the context comes out as an important cause of error. This conclusion agrees with what I and others have observed. It is useful to have it confirmed here in such detail.

If I have a complaint about the book, it is that in doing us the service of discussing the secondary literature in detail, it also does us the disservice of treating it as though it were all of equal quality. Thus some naive and ill-informed idea from Hoskier is treated as seriously as one of Zuntz's shrewdest observations (although we are given a general hint as to the author's views on the former at p. 207, n. 50: "I have disagreed with his contentions at quite a few places"). The difficulty is in sifting out the more and the less important discussions from this wealth of material. It is at any rate a starting point for all further discussion on these topics, and it would be ungenerous to complain too much about this.

Among various details in the book, admirers of the detective novels of Michael Innes will be delighted to meet Professor Meredith, the hero of *From London Far*, and to find the confusion caused by his muttering a line of Johnson used to good effect. Even more interesting is an appearance by Sebastiano Timpanaro's little-known *Freudian Slip*, and indeed by Freud himself (pp. 754-755). The author being a philosopher by trade, his discussion is more widely informed than most textual critics can hope to be on this topic.

It will be some time before use will have made one properly familiar with the detailed workings of this remarkable book. What is clear is that the effort will be rewarding. Colwell started something worth following, and that we are indebted to Royse for pursuing it so thoroughly.

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Lin Foxhall, *Olive Cultivation in Ancient Greece: Seeking the Ancient Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. xvii + 294 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-815288-0.

This study examines the evidence for the production and use of olive oil in Greece from the sixth to the third centuries BCE. More than just reconstructing how olives were cultivated and processed, and how olive oil was used, the author explores social, cultural, environmental, economic, and political realities. “My larger purpose, considering the olive as a kind of extended case study, is to enlarge our understanding of how specific agronomic and economic activities underpinned the functioning of Greek cities, and how they were in turn shaped by Greek social and political values” (p. 2).

Lin Foxhall (hereafter F.) is Professor of Greek Archaeology and History at the University of Leicester. She has written twenty essays on Greek agriculture over the last two decades, in addition to books on gender and politics. Her study of olives and olive oil carefully avoids the temptation to extract too much from evidence that is often limited, and the tendency to read modern categories back onto ancient society. The reader is always informed about the nature of the evidence for the author’s developing theses and conclusions. F. is not afraid to hypothesize, but she makes clear when she is doing so with wording such as “my guess is,” “more likely than not,” and so forth. She writes with a winning style that is never laborious or pedantic. Also to her credit, she provides sixty-six visuals (figures) and eight tables.

Against dependence on Roman evidence for the role of the olive and its oil in Classical Greece, F. marshals evidence from archaeology, inscriptions, literary sources, and modern cultivation – based in part on her own fieldwork and observation of arboriculture in modern Greece and southern Italy. Hesiod, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Theophrastus, records of leased land, and boundary markers constitute the bulk of the literary and epigraphic evidence in F.’s toolbox, though admittedly the evidence is fragmentary at best. She also recognizes that her evidence is weighted in favor of Athens and Attica and wealthy landowners, rather than regional diversity and less well-off farmers representing the larger sector of the population. F. declined to include evidence from Ptolemaic Egypt “because of its distinctive ecological setting and agronomic regimes” (p. 2).

Following an introductory chapter that discusses growth patterns for olive trees, along with a summary of the history of olive cultivation (as early as the Neolithic period with widespread cultivation evident in the Bronze Age) plus an analysis of the weak evidence for the introduction of olives and olive oil

into Italy by the Greeks, in chapter 2 F. situates her study in the larger setting of political, social and economic institutions. She explores large and small households, subsistence and domestic production, risk and opportunism, etc. Olives do not factor into this discussion much at all. She comments: "The key theoretical approach of this work lies in the notion that all social, economic, and political institutions in all societies are shaped by – 'embedded in,' one might even say – their particular cultural and temporal contexts. In other words, the one generality is that there are no generally applicable predictive 'laws' for understanding and explaining social institutions" (pp. 24-25). While that is a wise caution, it jeopardizes the validity of applying insights from the olive oil economy in Athens and Attica to other regions.

Chapter 3 examines the evidence for the agriculture of typical large-scale households, in respect of land ownership, plots cultivated, equipment in use, terracing and field walls, drainage and irrigation, labor, and improvements. The evidence, largely based again on Athenian sources of the fifth to the third centuries, reveals a diverse and complex range of agricultural activities. But it is surprising how little pertains to olives. The evidence is lacking for large-scale production of Attic olive oil or extensive trade. This leads to a consideration of reasons why cultivating olives may not have been attractive: the number of years between starting an olive tree and substantial fruit-bearing; the necessity of irrigation in order for trees to produce crops every year; the unpredictability of harvests, depending on weather conditions and thus requiring a large number of trees to ensure adequate supplies; and labor requirements that are erratic and seasonal. The conclusion is that the cultivation of olives was best combined with other crops.

In chapter 4 attention turns to the quantity of oil needed for food, lighting, and personal cleansing and adornment. F. finds that olives themselves were a widespread staple in diets, but olive oil was more expensive, because of processing costs. Hence only for elegant cooking was it considered a necessity. Yet for rubbing down at a gymnasium and for lighting, olive oil was in high demand. Chapters 5 and 6 are about various methods of planting and cultivating olive trees and the techniques for oil extraction. By far the longest portion of the book focuses on how olives were processed. This is appropriate given the quantity of evidence for olive crushers and presses. Archaeological evidence from a variety of sites (accompanied by frequent pictures) is carefully analyzed. Chapter 7 considers ornamental gardens as depicted on various vases, kraters, and the like.

F.'s work is thorough and enlightening at every step of the way. All the important bases are covered. But her success in using olives and olive oil as a case study to better understand the larger picture of economic life and politi-

cal realities in Greece is limited. While the available evidence and the author's reconstruction shed new light on the production and use of olives and oil, extrapolating from that to what underpinned the functioning of Greek cities does not get very far. This is not to fault F. as much as it is to admit the limitation of the evidence.

Aspects of the social significance of olives and olive oil merit further consideration. What was the value of olive oil medicinally? How was olive oil a symbolic (and spiritual) substance and what did it signify in Greek culture? What of its use in religion? The closest the author gets to these issues is a discussion of the sacred olives of Attica (pp. 94 and 118-121) and this comment: "the consumption of olive oil in all its forms does not merely enhance the social status of the consumer, it serves more basically as a key constituent of personal identity, through the body, of the consumer" (p. 86).

It is unfortunate that F. omitted all evidence for oils from Egypt in her study, which would at least be analogous to third century Greece. But she would have needed to include sesame and castor oil, since olives and olive oil production are not well attested in Ptolemaic Egypt. One papyrus that would have been particularly informative for her attempt to estimate the consumption of oil for lighting (pp. 92-93) is *P.Corn.* 1, which records allotments of castor oil to various departments of the retinue of Apollonius for fifty-nine days. Daily amounts for a bakery were 1/2 kotyle; for a horse stable 1/4 kotyle; and for a storeroom 1/4 kotyle. When a bakery was preparing for a festival, the allotments were tripled and in some cases quadrupled.

Though the absence of evidence from Ptolemaic Egypt is disappointing, it does not take much away from F's study. My only hope is that someone will follow her lead and do a similar study of the oils of Egypt, going beyond my own work, *The Production and Use of Vegetable Oils in Ptolemaic Egypt* (1989), and taking advantage of the best of F's research.

The volume includes 24 pages of bibliography, an index locorum, and a general index.

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Sally-Ann Ashton, *Cleopatra and Egypt*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2008. xiii + 219 pages. ISBN 978-1-4051-1389-2 (cloth), 978-1-4051-1390-8 (paperback).

Books about Cleopatra are like London busses: for a long time there are none, then a whole lot come by in convoy. Obviously in such a crowded market an author has to have some individual take on the subject. Ashton (hereafter A.) accordingly makes clear in her Author's Foreword (p. xi) her intention to give the Egyptian evidence priority as a foundation rather than trying to approach her subject from a classical historian's point of view and making the archaeological evidence fit the text. She also notes that her aim has been to try to find the "real" Cleopatra, but she admits, as any biographer must if they are honest, that "what I have subsequently realized and accepted is that by 'real' I meant 'my' Cleopatra."

In Ch. 1, "Cleopatra – Black and Beautiful?" A. begins by reviewing the problematic modern concept of a Black Cleopatra. She notes that while many contemporary Egyptians do not think of themselves as part of Africa, nonetheless they do think of Cleopatra as an Egyptian queen. The evidence for Cleopatra's role in Egypt suggests that she deliberately promoted herself as an Egyptian in her home country, perhaps even to the extent of neglecting her Greek heritage in favour of the native tradition (p. 3; although "neglect" is surely too strong). This would perhaps have been a good place to introduce W. Huss's hypothesis ("Die Herkunft der Kleopatra Philopator," *Aegyptus* 70, 1990, 191-203) that Cleopatra, her sister Arsinoe, and her brothers Ptolemies XIII and XIV were all Ptolemy XII's children by an illegitimate union with a woman from the Egyptian priestly elite. This theory is not alluded to until p. 32 in ch. 3, and then only in passing.

Ch. 1 ends with a brief discussion of Cleopatra's beauty, or rather lack of it to modern Western eyes. This is particularly so in the case of the coin portraits. It may well be that, given the doubts raised about the identification of several of the supposed portrait statues of the queen by several contributors to S. Walker and S.-A. Ashton (eds.), *Cleopatra Reassessed* (London 2003), the coins may be our only secure guide to what Cleopatra might have looked like.

In Ch. 2, "Sources," A. briefly reviews modern biographical studies of Cleopatra, then the Roman sources of different periods, followed by Appian and Athenaeus who are characterized here as "Egyptians and Africans," then early Christian and Moslem Egyptian historians, and finally alternatives to the literary and historical sources. There are a couple of oddities here which could have been edited out. For example, the statement that Caesar's *Alexandrian*

War and *Civil War* “far from being a personal account, ... are written in the third person, which would accord with the work being written by Aulus Hirtius” (p. 17): all Caesar’s *commentarii* are written in the third person. There is also the reference to “the poet Sextus Aurelius Propertius”: Aurelius, and also Aurelius Nauta, occur in some MSS, but the names have no authority and are not usually used.

In Ch. 3, “King’s Daughter, King’s Sister, Great Royal Wife,” A. situates Cleopatra within the context of the Ptolemaic ideology of kingship, which she traces back to the time of Cleopatra II and III in the second century BCE. Her explanation in section 3.3, “Cleopatra, King’s Daughter,” of Cleopatra’s genealogy is far from clear. Two versions of the family tree are given. There is the traditional stemma (fig. 3.1), correctly omitting Cleopatra VI (Tryphana), although in the text on p. 31 she is stated to be a daughter of Ptolemy XII, wrongly I think. Fig. 3.2 is a variant of Hölbl’s stemma 2 (*History of the Ptolemaic Empire* [London and New York 2001]). But no indication is given in the text as to which is which. In addition Berenice IV, Ptolemy XII’s only legitimate daughter according to Huss and Hölbl, has disappeared completely. There are also a number of typos in both figures. Late Ptolemaic genealogy is a fiendishly difficult topic, and perhaps it would have been better left alone in a book of this nature.

Matters improve with A.’s account of what is known of the reign of Cleopatra’s father Ptolemy XII, his influence upon her after he took her as his coregent in 52 BCE, and her relationship with her siblings. The chapter concludes with an account of Cleopatra’s visit to Caesar in Rome. There is strangely no mention here of her sister Arsinoe IV being forced, perhaps at Cleopatra’s own urging, to walk in Caesar’s quadruple triumph at Rome in 46 BCE. Caesar subsequently exiled her to Ephesus (p. 43 gives the impression that she was exiled immediately after her capture at the end of the Alexandrian War). There she would be put to death by Antony at Cleopatra’s request in 41 BCE, a typical piece of familial ruthlessness which is mentioned only briefly by A. (pp. 41 and 44). Incidentally, in relation to Arsinoe’s exile, Hölbl, *History*, p. 237, suggested that Caesar may have wanted to keep her alive as a legitimate heir should the need arise, which somewhat undercuts the reports in some Roman writers of Caesar’s love and affection for Cleopatra referred to on p. 55. The chapter ends with a discussion of the (few) archaeological traces of Cleopatra in Rome.

Ch. 4, “Ruler, Regent and Pharaoh,” begins with a discussion of Cleopatra’s possible female role models. In keeping with her Egyptian slant, A. discusses such figures as Hatshepsut, Tiye, and Nefertiti, although Cleopatra is more likely to have found models within her own dynasty, such as Arsinoe II, Cleopatra III, or the latter’s older sister Cleopatra Thea, the great queen of

Syria, whose title Cleopatra would take. There follow sections on Ptolemaic iconography (including a summary of the *status quaestionis* concerning the triple uraeus, which A. links solely to Cleopatra herself: p. 71), Cleopatra as ruler, her advisors, documentary evidence for Cleopatra's Egypt, the queen as male pharaoh, her Egyptian titles, her role as priestess in the Egyptian temples, her portrayal in Egyptian-style statues and in temple reliefs, her portrayal as Hellenistic queen in portrait statues and on the coinage, and her acceptance of her son Ptolemy XV (Caesarion) into a co-regency in 37/6 BCE and statues of the young king, both hellenising and Egyptian. This is a good chapter, well illustrated and densely packed with information.

Ch. 5, "Cleopatra's Capital and Court," takes us on a brief tour of Alexandria and beyond. Apart from its fame as a centre of learning, Alexandria was notorious for its luxury, its decadence, and its urban violence. In the early years of Cleopatra's co-regency with her brother Ptolemy XIII, the city had been extensively damaged by the fires set by Caesar's troops in the course of the street fighting described in the *Alexandrian War*, but later years would see a surge of building activity both public – Cleopatra's construction of her great Isis temple with its colossal busts of the queen as Isis and Caesarion as Harpocrates (pls. 4.17 and 4.18) and the initial work on the immense Caesareum – and private, as the city expanded ever further eastwards.

In Ch. 6, "Cleopatra as a Goddess," A. describes the growth of the Ptolemaic dynastic cult, which saw both kings and queens deified and given a place as *synnaoi theoi* alongside other principal gods as well as being granted temples of their own. This leads A. into a discussion of Cleopatra's divine titles, and statues of the queen primarily as Isis and as a universal goddess. In fact, Cleopatra's personal cult as a divine being rivalled that of Isis herself, being attested still in the late fourth century CE (p. 132).

Chs. 7, "Cleopatra, Mark Antony, and the East," and 8, "Death of a Queen, Rebirth of a Goddess," give a mainly historical account of Cleopatra's relationship with Antony from their initial meeting at Tarsus through to their defeat at Actium, Antony's attempted suicide and death from his self-inflicted wounds, and Cleopatra's own successful suicide. Whether this was by snake bite or poison remains unclear in our sources and A. sensibly leaves the matter open, although opining that the story that Cleopatra had a hollow hair comb filled with poison seems the most probable (p. 174). The sections in chapter 7 include an excursus of questionable relevance on Antony's other women (section 7.3), a straightforward account of the Donations of 34 BCE (section 7.5) and a short section on the coinage of Cleopatra and the joint overseas coinage of Cleopatra and Antony. There is little analysis given here, and it is also notable that, compared to the wealth of illustration in the earlier chapters, there are

no plates in Chs. 7-9. Is this because they might have shown us, as the written sources do, a different Cleopatra from the Egyptian queen whom A. has been arguing for, even as late as section 7.4 “Cleopatra – Ambassador for Egypt”? The queen of these later years was a Cleopatra who despite her nickname “the Egyptian” was not primarily Egyptian but resolutely Macedonian, the true heir and successor of Cleopatra Thea, of Cleopatra I whose marriage to Ptolemy V had first brought the Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires together, and ultimately of Alexander the Great.

The final chapter, Ch. 9, “The Legacy of Cleopatra,” is disappointingly short. However A’s statement that “it was not really until later in the first century CE that ‘Egyptomania’ took hold in Rome” (p. 191) serves as a useful counterbalance to D.E.E. Kleiner’s recent *Cleopatra and Rome* (Cambridge, MA, and London 2005), where everything egyptianizing in Rome seems to be traced back to Cleopatra’s early visit in 46 BCE. It is also interesting to learn what happened to Cleopatra’s children (section 9.6): Caesarion lured back to Egypt and put to death by Octavian (“it is bad to have too many Caesars”), the younger children taken to Rome and brought up by Octavia, Antony’s widow.

Finally, A. is strongest on her assessment and presentation of the Egyptian and art historical/archaeological evidence, but less assured on her treatment of the Greek and Roman literary sources, which really come to the fore in any consideration of the later years of Cleopatra’s life when she was with Antony. There is a good choice and wide range of illustrations, particularly of the Egyptian material, and a full and up-to-date bibliography. But unfortunately for readers of this journal she makes little use of papyrological evidence, which could have been used to fill out further the background of Cleopatra’s Egypt.

In conclusion I can do no better than to borrow from and expand on the words of Morris Bierbrier, reviewing three other recent books on Cleopatra (J. Fletcher, *Cleopatra the Great: The Woman Behind the Legend*, P. Southern, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and J. Tyldesley, *Cleopatra: Last Queen of Egypt*) in *Egyptian Archaeology* 33 (2008) 40-41: “If you want a vivid romanticized version of Cleopatra’s life, read Fletcher. If you want a detailed discussion of the Roman politics of the era, read Southern. If you want a straightforward accurate account of what is known of the queen’s life, read Tyldesley.” To which I would add: “If you want a well researched and illustrated account of Cleopatra within her contemporary Egyptian context, read Ashton.”

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Tomasz Derda, Ἀρσινόιτης νομός: *Administration of the Fayum under Roman Rule*. The Journal of Juristic Papyrology, Supplements 7. Warszawa: Faculty of Law and Administration, Institute of Archaeology, and Fundacja im. Rafała Taubenschlaga, 2006. xviii + 345 pages + plate. ISBN 83-918250-6-X.

Derda (D.) offers a detailed study of the administrative divisions within the Arsinoite nome in Roman times (the first four centuries of Roman rule) and of the administrative superstructure in which the nome fitted rather than a study of the administration (its personnel, their competencies, etc.) per se. He does not offer *fasti* of nome officials, which can be found elsewhere (except those of officials at the level of the *komogrammateiai* included in the fourth chapter), nor a discussion of taxation, but provides a tentative chronology of changes over time in the period studied. Some of this is speculative and will no doubt stimulate further studies. One wonders why the cover shows a picture of a papyrus from the Hermopolite nome (*P.Ryl.* 2.86), and few will subscribe to D.'s idea that life in villages of the Arsinoite nome "must have simply been boring" (p. 111; certainly not in comparative perspective).

D.'s study will be the first port of call for those interested to find out where (literally and notionally) some institution, official, or place in the Arsinoite nome fitted in at a given moment in the first four centuries of Roman rule and how this may have changed in the course of this period. D. dates major reforms in the third century rather than the fourth, which he sees as a period of transition (a more detailed account of the period after 341 is available in B. Palme, "*Praesides und correctores der Augustamnica*," *Antiquité Tardive* 6, 1998, 123-135). After the fourth century the evidence from villages at the outskirts of the Arsinoite nome (accounting for ca. 30% of all papyri) dries up as did the villages themselves, so that it would be hard to produce a follow-up study for Late Antiquity conceived along the same lines. Most of the evidence from the later period comes from the capital of the nome itself, which is not very well known in the earlier period.

The Arsinoite nome was traditionally divided into three *merides*, which go back to Ptolemaic times. Depending on the period, in Roman times there were three *strategoï* or just two, when two *merides* (Themistos' and Polemon's) were combined under one *strategos* (the other being Herakleides' *meris*). D. dates the division of the nome under three *strategoï* to after AD 60 (before that one *strategos* governed the nome as a whole; to get there D. offers an ingenious hypothesis to avoid having two *strategoï* at the same time in the early period on p. 95, footnote 99, *sub 2*: Dionysodoros was *strategos* before *and* after one

Apollonios). After 136/7 and until ca. 260 the nome was governed by two *strategoi*. D. presents this (on p. 282) as his most important finding. Somewhat uncautiously (in view of the title of his book) he takes it (on p. 42) that the Arsinoite nome was therefore three, then two nomes in the stated periods, which is incorrect (the idea that the Arsinoite “nomes” were nomes *sui generis* [p. 88] does not help; I would say the *division* of the nome was *sui generis*).

The contents of the book may be briefly reviewed here. In the first chapter D. discusses the (human intervention in the) natural environment (pp. 8-14; one wonders why the wall at Itsa was six meters high when the “pool” [basin] it dammed up reached a maximum depth of a mere metre [p. 11 with footnote 23]) and the topography (pp. 14-23 with a rather artificial map on p. 21; critical of Katja Mueller [the articles preceding the monograph mentioned in the last paragraph of this review] on pp. 15-16, but accepting most of her proposals except the identification of Nilopolis and Kerkeesis; still, it adds up to 24 toponyms identified for certain with ca. 100 about which there is more or less doubt). Next D. discusses the Heptanomia at length, which is odd because the Arsinoite nome was not part of it (it shared the same *epistrategos*, until the abolition of the office in AD 297). On the late Ptolemaic date of BGU 8.1730 (discussed on pp. 25-28) see now D.J. Thompson, “Cleopatra VII: The Queen of Egypt,” in S. Walker and S.-A. Ashton (eds.), *Cleopatra Reassessed* (London 2003) 31-34 at 32. That text still divides Egypt into nomes south of Memphis (a.k.a. the Thebaid) and (if we add text in line 4 we assume went missing) north of Memphis. The Heptanomia was “carved” out of the Thebaid (with the addition of the Letopolite nome north of Memphis) only after the Ptolemies, toward the end of Augustus’ reign. There is a new edition of Ptolemy the Geographer (Ptolemaios, *Handbuch der Geographie*, ed. A. Stückelberger and G. Grasshoff, vol. 1 [Basel 2006]), which should be consulted for pp. 32-34. Perhaps the riddle of the eleven nomes in *P.Oxy.* 47.3362.16-17 (pp. 37-40) can be solved if we add the Arsinoite nome (which I still regard as one nome), the Antinoite “nomarchy,” the Small Oasis, and the Nilopolite nome to the Heptanomia.

The second chapter gradually winds its way down to the *strategoi* of the Roman period, who were recruited by the Romans from other nomes. On p. 87 D. explains this oddity (similarly on p. 149 for the *komogrammateis*) as a smart move on the part of the Romans, but I suspect that outsiders were even more prone to corruption than local *strategoi* would have been. True, outsiders had no personal interest in the nome they governed, so they would not try to evade paying taxes there as a local *strategos* might, but they were also essentially “unconnected” and at the mercy of local advisers. At any rate it goes too far to assume an institution must have worked out well if the Romans clung to it for centuries (so D. on p. 284; cf. the “rational” explanation why they divided

the administration of the [otherwise too big] Arsinoite nome on p. 283; the undivided Hermopolite nome was as big as the Arsinoite nome). The Romans also changed their mind about putting outsiders in charge of nomes in the early fourth century, when the *strategos* alias *exactor* was a local “magnate” (those attested only as *exactores* should be added to the *fasti* of *stratego*i in J.E.G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* [Firenze 2006], even if only for convenience; at the village level the Romans had gone back to local men even earlier in the third century). For the provenance of *P.Fouad* 23 (mentioned on p. 101) see P. van Minnen, *ZPE* 96 (1993), 118-119.

In the third chapter D. rehearses his earlier study on “Toparchies in the Arsinoite Nome: A Study in Administration of the Fayum in the Roman Period,” *JJP* 33 (2003), 27-54. Toparchies succeeded the nomarchies (of the smaller variety) sometime after AD 70 (notwithstanding the fact that village toparchs are attested earlier, but these apparently have nothing to do with toparchies). Uniquely for Roman Egypt Arsinoite toparchies were numbered (pp. 122-143). Why such toparchies were introduced ca. 118 remains a mystery, because they were not manned by administrators who would have been the intermediaries between the villages and the nome (or *meris*). Instead the *komogrammateis* reported directly to the *strategos* and the royal scribe. Unfortunately there is a gap in our knowledge about the Arsinoite toparchies between 167 and 247, after which two numbered toparchies always occur together as an administrative unit. On p. 128 D. interestingly dates *SPP* 10.91, written in a literary hand, to the second half of the third century (the “Potter’s Oracle” being the closest parallel).

In the fourth chapter D. focuses on the *komogrammateiai* comprising several villages each, with a prosopography of *komogrammateis* (including *presbyteroi* replacing them; the presentation alphabetically by village is rather unimaginative). The map on p. 169 is again rather artificial, as it puts some of the (originally 30-50) *komogrammateiai* in the desert.

In the fifth chapter D. addresses the *pagi* (on pp. 263-279; twelve are attested so far, but thirteen are assumed on the even more artificial map on p. 273, which does not make “hydrological” sense). *Pagi* were introduced in the early fourth century and made the Arsinoite nome like other nomes for the first time in its history. Here D. rehearses what he had previously published as “*Pagi* in the Arsinoite Nome: A Study in the Administration of the Fayum in the Early Byzantine Period,” *JJP* 31 (2001), 17-31.

Given the time coverage, D.’s book can be regarded as a kind of sequel to K. Mueller, *Settlements of the Ptolemies: City Foundations and New Settlement in the Hellenistic World* (Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA, 2006), but both books have different axes to grind, with Mueller’s evidence being much different from

D's. Those interested in the administrative history of the Arsinoite nome will find something of interest in D's work, even if it does not answer (or even raise) all their questions. For the administrative superstructure they may want to continue to consult J.D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* 1-2 (Opladen 1975-1982), which covers all of Egypt. For the nitty-gritty of the (fiscal) administration of the nome, F. Reiter's study (*Die Nomarchen des Arsinoites. Ein Beitrag zum Steuerwesen im römischen Ägypten* [Paderborn, München, Wien, and Zürich 2004]; belatedly summarized by D. on p. 62, footnote 4) demonstrates that enormous progress can be made in areas of study not covered by D. by a study of the relevant evidence, which is indeed abundant and remarkably understudied. D. has barely touched the surface of the Arsinoite nome. His study on its administrative divisions was long overdue – but is also premature as a study of (the) administration of the Arsinoite nome.

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Marguerite Hirt Raj, *Médecins et malades de l'Égypte romaine. Étude socio-légale de la profession médicale et de ses praticiens du 1er au IVe siècle ap. J.-C.* Studies in Ancient Medicine, Vol. 32. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006. xx + 386 pages + 1 foldout. ISBN 90-04-14846-9.

In this ambitious study Hirt Raj (H.R.) attempts to fill a gap left by K. Sudhoff, *Ärztliches aus griechischen Papyrus-Urkunden. Bausteine zu einer medizinischen Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus* (Leipzig 1909). Hers is the first full-length study of the history of the medical profession in Egypt, even if it covers only the Roman period including the fourth century (no doubt H.R. included the fourth century so as not to lose out on the public doctors' reports that date to this century; otherwise the evidence is mostly earlier). Unlike Sudhoff, whose interests were "catholic" and who regarded his work as preliminary to writing a cultural history (*bien avant la lettre*) of Greek medicine in the Hellenistic and Roman period, H.R. focuses on the social (and legal) position of doctors in Graeco-Roman Egypt as it appears in Greek documents. H.R. does not make much of the numerous literary papyri of the Roman period with medical texts in Greek, nor does she take Roman-period papyri in Egyptian into account. Even so there are some odd omissions. On pp. 47-48, e.g., H.R. notes the absence of *oculistes* in Greek documents from Roman Egypt, but this ignores *P.Oxy.* 42.3078 (listed on p. 344), an oracle about consulting a particular eye doctor in Hermopolis. (The text is additionally interesting for the fame of certain doctors beyond the borders of their own nome.)

Greek documents are more useful as a source of information on the social (and legal) position of doctors in the first four centuries of Roman rule than on anything having to do with medical science per se (but there is lots of relevance to a cultural history in Sudhoff's sense). In the first chapter H.R. grapples with the eternal issue: is Egypt perhaps a special case that can be ignored, or is it worthwhile studying the Egyptian evidence even when one is really more interested in the rest of the Graeco-Roman world? (Studying Egyptian evidence for its own sake is not an option, after all.) H.R. cuts this Gordian knot by filling in the missing details in the picture as it emerges from the Egyptian evidence by drawing on ... what we know from elsewhere in the Graeco-Roman world. This explains why we get long sections in the book that draw almost exclusively on such evidence (mostly literary) from elsewhere. In that way the relevance of H.R.'s study is assured by a kind of *petitio principii*. Still, there is a lot of interesting material presented in the book.

Thus, in the second chapter H.R. first discusses the status of the medical profession in the Greek world. More papyrological and more interesting is the

section on medical training (pp. 32-41). The only certain apprenticeship contract for a doctor is from the Ptolemaic period (*P.Heid.* 3.226; *O.Tait* 2.1987 of the third century AD is deemed “très douteux”). Young doctors appear as well (the one in *P.Alex.Giss.* 14 is 17 years old, but H.R. duly records parallel cases from Latin inscriptions from the Roman West). A doctors’ association occurs only in Alexandria (on pp. 41-42 H.R. proposes a new reading for lines 2-3 of *I.Alex.Kayser* 97 of AD 7; more on p. 63 on the *archiatros* honored in this inscription; the only other *archiatros* in the Roman period before the fourth century occurs in *P.Oslo.* 2.53). For doctor’s specialization (pp. 44-67, including such “specialists” as circumcisers, *sages-femmes*, *archiatroi*, and embalmers) she refers to the famous case of an Egyptian *iatroklystes* in *UPZ* 1.148; Demotic evidence would add other specializations. On the level of culture of the *pepaideumenos* doctor see now the first volume of the Budé Galen (2007). The lengthy section on payments for services (pp. 70-101) is rather trite. The most interesting evidence is from the Ptolemaic period, for which H.R. was able to draw on *P.Count* before publication and on the Ptolemaic evidence for a special tax levied for public doctors called *iatrikon*.

This segues nicely into the third chapter, which concerns the public activities of doctors (pp. 102-122), more particularly public doctors in the fourth century AD (in Oxyrhynchus such doctors numbered four in the period 316-354 at least). The evidence relates to their role as expert advisers to officials, not as “care givers.” They report on assaults that had been brought to the attention of these officials through petitions (earlier there is some papyrological evidence for *sages-femmes* reporting on *inspectio ventris*; pp. 119-122). On pp. 148-156 H.R. discusses *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.1-2 of the early third century. Against Roberts she thinks that the doctor in this text is not writing from Alexandria, but rather a local doctor temporarily away from home on a mission for the army (on *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.1 see now also *O.Krok.*, pp. 144-145).

The most interesting section of the fourth chapter is that on doctors and their privileged legal status (pp. 220-231). In the discussion of the citizen status of doctors, secondary literature on the case of Harpokras for whom Pliny famously asked Trajan for Roman citizenship *via* Alexandrian citizenship is missing (e.g., J.E.G. Whitehorne, “Becoming an Alexandrian Citizen,” *Comunicazioni* 4, 2001, 25-34).

In the fifth chapter H.R. offers more theoretical than “documented” considerations on the distinction between rational and non-rational (magical [on this see especially pp. 264-278] and “sacred”) medicine. How this difference was perceived in Egypt is not so clear. H.R. does not invoke the evidence of Sophronius (admittedly early seventh century; see my review of Sophrone de Jérusalem, *Miracles de saints Cyr et Jean*, ed. J. Gascou [Paris 2006] in this

volume, pp. 291-292), but she places so much emphasis on the changes that Christianity supposedly brought to people's "perception" of the medical profession that mentioning Sophronius would not have been out of place in a book that otherwise takes its own chronological limitations with a grain of salt.

H.R.'s conclusion minimizes the positive influence Alexandrian medicine might have exercised on the Egyptian *chora* but nevertheless sees doctors there as the first "rational" choice over other alternatives for healing (until Christianity changes all that in the late fourth century). None of this will come as a surprise.

There are some helpful lists, of *archiatroi* (p. 312; mainly of the fourth century and after), of the *iatrikon* tax (pp. 313-316; only attested in the Ptolemaic period and therefore rather odd here), of public doctor's reports and of military doctors (on either side of a foldout between pp. 316 and 317), and of all named doctors (in chronological order) from the early Ptolemaic period to the rather fuzzy end of antiquity in the sixth-seventh century (pp. 317-331; this oddly includes doctors from outside Egypt who inscribed their name at tourist sites; at any rate, this is again rather generous for a book on the first four centuries of Roman rule). In an appendix (pp. 335-338), text and translation of two key documents (*P.Ross.Georg.* 3.1-2) are given. This is followed on pp. 339-347 by a list of sources (literary, epigraphical, and papyrological) mentioning doctors. Each entry is given a date and a place as well. Another list of sources that are referred to for some other reason follows on pp. 347-351. A hefty bibliography and rather selective indices conclude this useful but not very exciting volume.

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A.K. Bowman, R.A. Coles, N. Gonis, D. Obbink, and P.J. Parsons (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts*. Graeco-Roman Memoirs 93. London: Egypt Exploration Society; 2007. xiv + 407 pages + 30 plates. ISBN 0-85698-177-X.

For over a century now new volumes of Oxyrhynchus papyri have been adding further pieces to the puzzle of Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt and steadily expanding our most detailed database of papyri from a single site. Studies continue to be written on many aspects of these papyri, from small articles with corrections or new readings to monographs on larger issues.¹ What has been lacking, however, is an up-to-date survey of the main scholarship on all this material. This arduous task has now been accomplished in the form of *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts*.²

The volume under review goes back to a symposium held under the same title at Oxford and London in 1998 on the occasion of the centenary of the publication of the first volume of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Most of the lectures given on that occasion appear as articles in the present volume. But the editors have done much more than just collect essays by an impressive number of leading scholars in papyrology and other fields to summarize the importance of these papyri. Firstly, they have attempted to put the texts into their physical context by asking specialists to write about the excavations, both past and present, and the material remains of the site (hence the title). Secondly, they reprint important articles by W.M.F. Petrie and E.G. Turner, which serve as convenient starting points for the articles that follow. Thirdly, this volume contains a significant amount of archival material, such as hitherto unpublished papers by Grenfell and Hunt and photographs. These features make this book a survey as well as a document of more than a century of Oxyrhynchus studies.

The twenty-seven contributions are divided into three very broad categories. A convenient introduction to the first part, on the excavations at Oxyrhynchus, and basically to the whole book, is the first chapter by Revel Coles ("Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts"). He introduces a wide range of topics, such as what the site looks like today, the history of the excavations, what we can learn about the ancient city from the excavations, and how we can connect the material remains to topographical references in the papyri.

¹ See, most recently, A. Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Cambridge, MA, 2008).

² A popularizing version was published in the same year by one of the editors, P.J. Parsons, as *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish: Greek Lives in Roman Egypt* (London 2007).

This is followed by a reprint of a 1982 article by Turner (chapter two), which describes the early history of the Graeco-Roman Branch of the Egypt Exploration Society, especially in connection with the excavations of Grenfell and Hunt at el-Bahnasa between 1896 and 1907.³ These excavations are also the subject of the next contribution by the late Dominic Montserrat. His topic, the media coverage of the early excavations, is engaging and original. On the basis of mostly non-scholarly media such as newspaper and magazine articles and the papers of Grenfell and Hunt, Montserrat illustrates how the discoveries of papyri reached the general public and how the excavators in turn needed, and consequently did their best, to stimulate this coverage to keep the excavations going. In the fourth chapter, Alain Martin directs the reader's attention to the papyri from el-Bahnasa that were acquired by the Deutsche Papyruskartell and ended up in Strasbourg. In discussing three lots of papyri from el-Bahnasa, Martin gives several interesting examples of the short time it took for papyri taken from the site to arrive at Strasbourg and shows the benefits of detailed archival research for the localization of Oxyrhynchus papyri in (formerly) German collections.

With the fifth chapter, we leave the Grenfell and Hunt excavations and move to the other explorations and excavations of the site. In 1922 Flinders Petrie visited the site, the description of which, a chapter from his book *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos* (1925), is reprinted, along with a series of photographs. Petrie's description of the great theatre, the third-largest extant from the Roman period, is particularly important since hardly anything of it is left today. Therefore Donald Bailey bases himself on this description in his comments on the theatre in chapter six. In addition to giving a list of blocks from the theatre that ended up in the British Museum, Bailey also reviews its date (probably second-century CE) and accommodation (ca. 12,500). In the subsequent chapter, Klaus Parlasca discusses the mostly funerary sculpture of Roman date from various collections worldwide that has an Oxyrhynchite provenance and includes some previously unpublished pictures of grave stelae taken by Hunt in 1906/7 at el-Bahnasa.

The last three chapters of the first part summarize the other archaeological expeditions on the site. Chapter eight is a very brief (only one and a half pages) summary by Rosario Pintaudi of the Italian papyrus excavations at el-Bahnasa carried out in 1910-1914 and 1927-1934. We then move to the more recent excavations, starting with the Kuwaiti excavations led by Géza Fehérvári between 1985 and 1987, which mostly concentrated on the medieval remains. The last

³ See now also D. Rathbone, "Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus and in the Fayum," in P. Spencer (ed.), *The Egypt Exploration Society: The Early Years* (London 2007) 199-229.

contribution in this part deals with the present excavations by the Catalan-Egyptian mission under Josep Padró, which started in 1992. This mission has made great progress in uncovering Graeco-Roman Oxyrhynchus. Not only have parts of the Upper (northwest) Necropolis been thoroughly excavated,⁴ new discoveries have been made such as the eastern gate underneath a minaret of the mosque of Zain al-'Abidin with a stretch of the eastern city wall,⁵ a Graeco-Roman necropolis to the south west of the city and the western stretch of the city wall with possibly another gate. These new discoveries are described and illustrated with a map (Fig. 10.8) in which all the features of the Graeco-Roman town are included.⁶ Still more is to be expected in the future and it is to be hoped that papyrologists will work together with archaeologists to try to match the new archaeological remains with the detailed topographical references in the papyri.⁷

The second and third parts of the volume are devoted to the interpretation of the papyri (with the exception of chapter nineteen, which seems to fit better in the first part). The second part ("Papyri, Society, and Government") starts with two articles by Turner ("Roman Oxyrhynchus" of 1952 and "Oxyrhynchus and Rome" of 1975), which give a good impression of Roman Oxyrhynchus as an important provincial town and particularly of its administration and ties with Alexandria and Rome. These two chapters are expanded upon and updated by Alan Bowman in chapter thirteen ("Roman Oxyrhynchus: City and People"), who returns to the question of whether Oxyrhynchus can best be considered a provincial backwater or a town of the utmost importance (probably the answer lies somewhere in the middle). With Roger Bagnall ("Family and Society in Roman Oxyrhynchus") the focus then shifts to society. He begins with a number of important observations on the limitations of the Oxyrhynchite documentation and continues with a discussion of family, women, and slavery. The picture that arises seems to conform in large part to what we

⁴ Some tombs of this necropolis had already been excavated by Petrie; systematic excavations by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization started here in 1982, after a tomb (now no. 1) had been laid bare by clandestine diggers.

⁵ The progress made is evident even within this volume, as the gate was not yet known to the Kuwaiti team excavating the mosque in the 1980s (see p. 114).

⁶ For the most recent publication on the excavations at Oxyrhynchus, see J. Padró (ed.), *Oxyrhynchos I. Fouilles archéologiques à el-Bahnasa (1982-2005)* (Barcelona 2006).

⁷ Cf. J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit. Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption* (Frankfurt 1990) 34, who in his study of the topography of Oxyrhynchus said about the then available archaeological and papyrological evidence: "Während einerseits das schriftliche Material reichlich vorhanden ist, sind die baulichen Überreste derart dürftig, daß man sich kein Bild mehr von der antiken Stadt machen kann."

know from elsewhere in the Roman world, especially for the wealthier classes, but this may not be the complete picture and there are also glimpses of different patterns in the evidence as appears, for example, from the family archives from the artisan class.

After four general chapters on Roman Oxyrhynchus, chapter fifteen by Dieter Hagedorn has a more specific topic, which is moreover not confined to Oxyrhynchus: the municipalization of the nome capitals. By studying the offices of *kosmetes*, *exegetes* and gymnasiarch, Hagedorn comes to the important conclusion that, *contra* Bowman and Rathbone,⁸ the creation of municipal offices did not start immediately after the Roman conquest and, consequently, that the municipalization was a more gradual and complex process.

In chapter sixteen, Jane Rowlandson traces developments in the relationship between town and countryside in the Oxyrhynchite nome from the Ptolemaic period until the fourth century CE. The following chapter (seventeen), by Michael Sharp, shows that the food supply of Roman Oxyrhynchus was not dissimilar from that of other major towns in the Nile valley but at the same time had its own unique features like the organization of grain distributions. In the last chapter of this part, J. David Thomas focuses our attention on the approximately one hundred Latin texts from Oxyrhynchus (listed in an appendix on pp. 239-243). After a discussion of the nature of these papyri and their importance for the development of Latin palaeography, Thomas summarizes the evidence for Roman citizens in these texts, thus taking up some of the comments in the first chapter of this part by Turner (chapter eleven). Contrary to Turner, he does not think that Roman citizens were necessarily literate in Latin but suggests that a direct connection is rather to be sought between Roman citizens and documents like birth declarations which needed to be drawn up in Latin.

We enter the third part of the volume ("Literature, Art, and Science") with chapter nineteen by Luigi Lehnus, which deviates somewhat from the other contributions in this part as it gives an overview of the correspondence preserved in Hunt's personal copy of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Chapter twenty is the well-known 1956 article by Turner on "Scribes and Scholars," which is refined by means of two new contributions by Peter Parsons on "Copyists of Oxyrhynchus" (twenty-one) and Dirk Obbink on "Readers and Intellectuals" (twenty-two).⁹ After an overview of the schools of Oxyrhynchus by Raffaella Cribiore (twenty-three), we move away from texts for a bit to read about draw-

⁸ A.K. Bowman and D. Rathbone, "Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt," *JRS* 82 (1992) 107-127.

⁹ In an appendix to Obbink's article, a re-edition of *P.Oxy.* 18.2192 is provided by R. Hatzilambrou.

ings preserved on papyrus (twenty-four). In this chapter, Helen Whitehouse shows some fascinating examples of such drawings, about 370 of which remain unpublished, and the problems in interpreting them. In chapter twenty-five, Alexander Jones explains in what way the papyri from Oxyrhynchus contribute to our knowledge of ancient astrology and astronomy.

The last two chapters focus on Christianity. The first of these (twenty-six), by Eldon Jay Epp, addresses the significance of the New Testament papyri from Oxyrhynchus for biblical scholarship, a significance which is more to be sought in their diversity and quantity than in their direct influence on the critical biblical text. The closing chapter is by the late Sarah Clackson, who gives an overview of Christian Oxyrhynchus and its Coptic texts. Surprisingly, only a few of these texts have been published, and Clackson estimates that at least 400 more Coptic papyri, both literary and documentary, still await publication. This chapter is thus not only well placed chronologically, it also presents one of the greatest challenges of the Oxyrhynchite material: the publication of a volume of *P.Oxy.Copt.* The book closes with an archival section, including the excavation reports of Grenfell and Hunt with notes (twenty-eight) and a list of objects from Oxyrhynchus in the British and Victoria and Albert Museums (twenty-nine), as well as several indices.

Overall, this book succeeds very well in fulfilling its aim of giving a first, comprehensive overview of more than a century of scholarship on Oxyrhynchus and its texts.¹⁰ The contributions regularly overlap or repeat information that has been given previously, such as in the first part where similar descriptions of the archaeological remains of Oxyrhynchus come back in several of the ten contributions, but these features are understandable given the wide variety of contributions and the editorial choice of including older contributions; the wealth of scholarship provided should rather be seen as cumulative. The book has a beautiful layout and pictures, is well edited, and offers excellent syntheses of and new insights into published material, as well as the challenges of the unpublished material. But what is perhaps most important is that it presents to those students and scholars less familiar with the material from Oxyrhynchus a clear illustration of the immense quantity and diversity of its finds.

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¹⁰ Remarkably absent, though, is a chapter on Late Antique Oxyrhynchus on the basis of Greek documents, a topic which has received much attention in recent years. E.g. the Apion family is only mentioned on pp. 179 and 216-217.

A. Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: A Study of an Egyptian Temple Based on Greek Sources*. The Journal of Juristic Papyrology, Supplements 4. Warszawa: Institute of Archaeology, and Fundacja im. Rafała Taubenschlaga, 2006. xviii + 462 pages + 28 plans and photographs + one unnumbered photograph. ISBN 83-918250-3-5.

It does not often happen that a substantial new body of Greek inscriptions from Egypt is published.¹ When, moreover, this is done by an expert in the field, who has done important work on Greek inscriptions from the Sudan, Egypt, and other areas of the Mediterranean, one cannot but feel a sense of excitement when opening this book.² And indeed, reading through Adam Łajtar's (henceforth: Ł.) study and edition of 330 Greek texts from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, the excitement never ceases. This is a model study for any future publication of Greek inscriptions from an Egyptian temple site.

As can be seen in the preface, work on the inscriptions began in 1988, when Ł. first participated in the Polish archaeological mission at Deir el-Bahari, and he has worked on the project on and off for almost twenty years. The 330 inscriptions are not all unpublished, since André Bataille published a large part of them in 1951.³ Ł. re-edits these inscriptions and over the years has added a significant number of new wall inscriptions, for a total of 325.⁴ Moreover, he includes three ostraka and two "stone inscriptions" (one on a column and another on fragments of a stela). For his study Ł. makes use of an excellent publication of the Ptolemaic sanctuary within the complex, including its relief decoration and hieroglyphic inscriptions.⁵ On the other hand, a group

¹ Many thanks to Richard Burgess for some improvements to the English of this review.

² Łajtar's main editions of larger collections of Greek inscriptions are: *Die Inschriften von Byzantion* 1 (Bonn 2000); *Catalogue of the Greek Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum* (Leuven 2003); and with A. Twardecki, *Catalogue des inscriptions grecques du Musée national de Varsovie* (Warszawa 2003).

³ A. Bataille, *Les inscriptions grecques du temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari* (Cairo 1951).

⁴ Ł. speaks of 322 wall inscriptions on p. 18, ca. 322 on p. 87 and 323 on p. 107, whereas his catalogue contains 325 numbers.

⁵ E. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari* (Warszawa 1984). There are also a few more published inscriptions in hieroglyphic and demotic from elsewhere on the temple terrain, which are mentioned in the useful survey of the sources on pp. 16-20.

of about 180 demotic inscriptions still awaits publication (pp. 18, 94). Since Ł's study concerns the cult site only in the Graeco-Roman period, he has omitted Greek texts from the late sixth century onwards, when the complex was being reused as a monastery (the monastery of St. Phoibammon).⁶ Also excluded are figurative graffiti because they cannot always be dated with certainty to the Graeco-Roman period (pp. 107-108).

The book is divided into two parts. The second is an edition of all known Greek texts from the temple dating to the Graeco-Roman period, while the first is an attempt to reconstruct what these inscriptions tell us about the cultic activities inside the temple complex during this period. In the first part, which is divided into fifteen chapters, Ł. shows an intimate familiarity with the Egyptian and Greek texts, and the temple itself. He is also completely up-to-date on recent work on the temple by his compatriots and frequently alludes to their views about aspects of the site. The result is a highly detailed picture of the religious activities in the temple from the third century BCE until the second century CE (and, to a lesser extent, the third and fourth centuries CE). In addition, Ł. displays a vast knowledge of Graeco-Roman Egypt, especially of its religion, which places these local activities in a wider context. Thus the first part in itself constitutes an important contribution to the study of religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt.

The first chapter sets the scene by describing the surrounding landscape and the site and its history up to the Ptolemaic period. The description of the different parts of the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut is detailed and can be followed with the help of two ground plans of the temple (Figs. 1-2), but it would have helped the uninitiated reader if the names of the different parts of the complex had been provided on the plans themselves or in a key or legend; this is an important consideration since the specific parts are frequently referred to throughout the first part of the book.

In the second chapter, Ł. continues by providing the background to the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep, who were venerated together in the temple in the Graeco-Roman period. Both were prominent men in their time, who were deified after a long and complex process. Imhotep, who lived in the twenty-seventh century BCE, was worshipped as a god in Memphis from the seventh or sixth century BCE onwards and was only introduced late in the Theban area. Amenhotep, son of Hapu, on the other hand, who lived in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries BCE, had a mortuary temple in Medinet Habu until

⁶ For the monastery, see W. Godlewski, *Le monastère de St Phoibammon* (Warszawa 1986), with an edition of the Coptic wall inscriptions from the monastery on pp. 141-152. Ł. announces (on p. 107) that he will publish the Greek graffiti from the monastery he has collected on another occasion.

the beginning of the Ptolemaic era. Since the earliest references to the cult of Amenhotep at Deir el-Bahari date exactly to this period, it is generally assumed that the cult was transferred from Medinet Habu around this time. After a fine overview of the sources on the cult available for study, in chapters four and five the intriguing question is addressed of how the cult of Amenhotep, which thus already existed at Deir el-Bahari from the turn of the fourth and third centuries BCE onwards, and that of Imhotep became associated with each other. On the basis of the Egyptian and Greek texts, Ł. makes it clear that Imhotep was not worshipped alongside Amenhotep from the beginning but was only introduced later. As he plausibly suggests, the moment of introduction may well have coincided with the large-scale rebuilding and renovation of the Hatshepsut temple in the second half of the second century BCE in order to boost the still not unquestionable divine status of Amenhotep at this time.

Chapter six serves as an introduction to a study, in the following chapters, of the heyday of the temple cult from the second century BCE to the second century CE, to which period most of the inscriptions date. On the basis of the distribution of the inscriptions, which can be followed in detail through maps at the end of the book (Figures 3-8),⁷ Ł. discusses which parts of the upper terrace were still in use for the Graeco-Roman temple cult. For example, the Solar Complex on the northern side of the upper court bears no visitors' inscriptions and was thus not in use, and a figurative dipinto painted five metres above the ground indicates that this building had been filled up with sand at this time. Most of the rest of the upper terrace seems to have been used, as well as a small chapel in front of the Punt portico on the lower (second) terrace. The two innermost of the three central sanctuaries of the Hatshepsut temple served as the sanctuary for the Graeco-Roman temple, and they also therefore do not contain visitors' inscriptions. The third one, the Bark Shrine, did, and was probably demarcated by a curtain.

Chapter eight discusses the gods worshipped, above all Amenhotep and Imhotep, and how they are referred to in the inscriptions. Amenhotep is mentioned far more often, and Imhotep (called Asklepios in the Greek inscriptions) never occurs without Amenhotep. Thus the sanctuary remained primarily associated with Amenhotep in the Graeco-Roman period. In chapter nine, the cults of the temple are discussed. In addition to the cult of Amenhotep/Imhotep, there is also slight evidence for a cult of the Ptolemies. As for the main cult, several aspects of it are treated, mainly healing through incubation and

⁷ The absence of names for the different parts of the temple in the key maps (Figs. 1-2, see above), prevents an easy location of the following maps of these parts (Figs. 3-8). Moreover, the subdivision of these parts into sections with Roman numerals, as mentioned in the captions, should have been indicated in the maps themselves.

dream oracles. Chapter ten treats the evidence for the forms of worship, such as daily rituals, occasional festivals and religious associations.⁸ Most of our knowledge of the priests of Deir el-Bahari, as is made clear by chapter eleven, derives from demotic papyri with a Western Theban provenance, not from the inscriptions from the temple itself. The scanty evidence points to the whole range of priesthoods from higher- (*hm-ntr* and *wcb*-priests) to lower-ranking priests (*wn-pr*).⁹ Again mostly on the basis of papyri and not inscriptions from the site itself, the income and expenses of the temple are treated in chapter twelve, which is in itself an excellent brief survey of the temple economy in Graeco-Roman Egypt.

With chapter thirteen, we move to the visitors to the temple. The majority of the inscriptions were left by visitors, which gives Ł. the opportunity to study their names, origin and professions in detail. From his analysis, it appears that during the early existence of the cult of Amenhotep (until the renovation in the second century BCE), most visitors had Greek names, and Ł. thinks that they were ethnic Greeks. After the second century BCE, as a rule the names are local and Egyptian, which indicates that in this period the sanctuary primarily attracted only people from the region. From their professions it seems that they were, with the exception of the occasional priest or high official, from the middle and lower classes. This leads to the interesting question if these visits by people from the region can be called “pilgrimages.” According to the definition of pilgrimage that Ł. gives – “a trip of considerable longevity and duration to a holy place undertaken by someone for religious motives” (p. 85) – few of the visits were in fact pilgrimages, and this is also the reason why he calls the inscriptions not pilgrimage but visitors’ inscriptions.¹⁰

In chapter fourteen, Ł. continues his analysis of the inscriptions by noting the way in which, by whom, and where they were written (mostly at eye-level,

⁸ See now J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE)* (Leuven 2008) 202-214, for a similar discussion on the basis of demotic and Greek inscriptions of rituals, festivals, and associations in fourth- and fifth-century Philae. As I do (pp. 204, 208-209), Ł. tries to look for connections between the dates mentioned in the inscriptions and specific festivals (pp. 64-66). Unlike the situation at Philae, there do not seem to be obvious connections, e.g. with the Choiak festival, although some dates in the inscriptions suggest that the visitors came during certain festivals, e.g. the Opet festival in the month Paophi.

⁹ For a similar overview, on the basis of inscriptions, of the priests of fourth- and fifth-century Philae, see Dijkstra (n. 8) 193-201. The difference with Philae is that a large proportion of the inscriptions was inscribed by priests there, whereas this does not seem to be the case at Deir el-Bahari.

¹⁰ The situation at Philae is again different, as many inscriptions were incised by priests, so these cannot be called visitors’ inscriptions; see Dijkstra (n. 8) 187.

but sometimes also while kneeling or standing high above the ground on a ladder; graffiti are mostly found outside the inner sanctuary, dipinti inside). There follows an excellent discussion of the different formulae used in the inscriptions and what these formulae tell us about the reasons for producing these inscriptions in the first place.¹¹

The last chapter (fifteen) is devoted to the cult site after the majority of the inscriptions disappear from the record in the second century CE. A group of twelve inscriptions survive from a later period. They are quite different in character from the earlier examples and were all found together in four niches in the southern part of the western wall of the court. At least six, if not all, of them belong to a corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis, who came to the temple to sacrifice a donkey on the occasion of the *nḥb-k3w*-festival on 1 Tybi over a period of ca. fifty years (between 283/4 and 333/4). After a discussion of what this corporation did in the temple and how we are to imagine the rituals they performed, L. comes to the plausible conclusion that the regular cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep came to an end in the second century, for otherwise the visitors' inscriptions would have continued to be inscribed.¹² The end of the regular cult did not mean, however, that the site did not remain associated with Amenhotep and Imhotep. This is made clear by an inscription dated to 283 (no. 161), which mentions the two gods. Furthermore, it would seem that certain groups, like the ironworkers from Hermonthis, were still attracted to the site more than a century after the regular cult fell out of use. With their last inscription in 333/4, however, the traditional cults and practices at Deir el-Bahari definitively ceased to exist. L. ends with a brief account of the "afterlife" of the temple. He points to the amazing continuity of the healing aspect of the traditional cult into Christian times, with the monastery of St. Phoibammon, and even modern times, with the nearby tomb of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, where women are still performing certain rituals to obtain fertility.

The second part of the book contains an edition of the 330 Greek inscriptions. The wall inscriptions are numbered 1-325, the ostraka A 1-3 and the "stone inscriptions" B 1-2. Each entry contains a detailed physical description of the inscription and its location on the wall (the location in the temple complex is indicated in Figures 3-8), measurements, whether it is unpublished or published, dating, a hand drawing, transcription, critical apparatus, translation

¹¹ Cf. for the formulae used in inscriptions in fourth- and fifth-century Philae, Dijkstra (n. 8) 187-191.

¹² I reach a similar conclusion in my study of the Late Antique inscriptions at Philae, which end in 456/7. In the same way as L., however, I do not exclude the possibility that certain groups kept coming to the site, see Dijkstra (n. 8) 216-217 (with reference to L.'s fifteenth chapter).

and commentary. It would go too far to discuss the wealth of details brought to the fore in Ł's edition, but let me note here only the commentary on no. 163 (p. 248), one of the ironworkers' inscriptions. In Ł's own *editio princeps* of 1991, he dated this inscription to 357, but Bagnall corrected the date to 327; Ł. takes the occasion to summarize the whole discussion concerning the dating again and suggests a possible alternative date of 326.¹³ The edition is followed by extensive indices of the demotic and Greek, including a highly useful "grammatical index" (with syntax, morphology and so on), a concordance listing all the previously published inscriptions, and a chronological table of the inscriptions. It is a pity, though, given the many references to other sources and the excellent treatment of various topics, that there does not follow an index of sources or a general index.

To conclude, this is a magisterial study that is much more than just an edition of the Greek inscriptions of the temple at Deir el-Bahari. It is important both for its wider implications and its details, and this review cannot even do justice to all the contributions on small points (e.g. the discussion of inscriptions of the *proskynema*-type on pp. 67, 90-91) that Ł. makes. In particular, this study brings to life the beliefs and practices of the ordinary visitors to the temple, a topic that is still relatively neglected in studies of Egyptian temples. More such detailed local and regional studies are needed in order for us to grasp the complexity and diversity of the religious activities that took place in the temples of Graeco-Roman Egypt and their fate in Late Antiquity. As for the site of Deir el-Bahari, a publication of its demotic inscriptions and figurative graffiti is eagerly awaited.

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¹³ Previous discussions on the date in A. Łajtar, "Proskynema Inscriptions of a Corporation of Iron-Workers from Hermonthis in the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari: New Evidence of Pagan Cults in Egypt in the 4th Cent. A.D.," *JJP* 21 (1991) 53-70, and R.S. Bagnall, "The Last Donkey Sacrifice at Deir el-Bahari," *JJP* 24 (2004) 15-21.

Laura Miguélez Cavero, *Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid, 200-600 AD*. Sozomena: Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts, Vol. 2. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008. xi + 442 pages. ISBN 978-3-11-020273-1.

During the Late Roman Empire, Egypt made a significant contribution to Greek poetry, and several sizeable texts from that area have been preserved thanks to the labour of Byzantine scribes. We thus have two very long poems by Nonnus of Panopolis (the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John*) as well as Triphiodorus' *Sack of Troy* and Colluthus' *Rape of Helen*. Colluthus is said to have come from Lycopolis, and Triphiodorus' name is typical of Upper Egypt. As for Musaeus, the author of *Hero and Leander*, some modern scholars believe that he is close to Nonnus and suspect an Egyptian origin, although we have no hard evidence to support that hypothesis. Other noteworthy poets are attested through indirect sources at the same time and in the same area. The Bodmer codices, which also come from Upper Egypt, have yielded in the past two and a half decades the Christian *Visio Dorothei*, as well as other poems, mainly ethopoeae.

Therefore it would seem likely that the Thebaid harboured a school of poetry centered around the dominant figure of Nonnus. At least such has been the assumption among many scholars over the past decades, an assumption which Laura Miguélez Cavero (henceforth LMC) puts to the test. To achieve her purpose, she has collected evidence relating to poetic activity in Upper Egypt, including indirect sources and papyrus fragments, and she has tried to put this information in the wider perspective of what we already know of the Thebaid through documentary papyri.

It should be said from the outset that LMC's use of the word "poetry" is limited to hexametric poetry: drama, lyric verses, and elegy do not belong to the scope of her study. This gives the book a certain level of homogeneity, since all the texts discussed, in one way or another, are clearly descendants of the Homeric epics.

After a very brief introduction, LMC starts with a catalogue of poets active in Upper Egypt, beginning with those whose works have been preserved by Byzantine scribes (Nonnus, Triphiodorus, etc.). This is followed by a catalogue of all the papyrological evidence regarding hexametric poetry from the third till the sixth century AD, in its essence a convenient update for the hexametric part of Heitsch's *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* (first edition 1963). She does not provide the Greek texts, but offers a brief summary of each fragment. It should be noted that this catalogue of papyri

covers the whole of Egypt, and not only the Thebaid; many pieces come from Oxyrhynchus, the Fayyum, etc.

In the second chapter of the book, LMC describes some specific aspects of hexametric composition in the Roman Empire. Metrical constraints become very strict, with a number of rules that applied neither to the Homeric epics nor to the hexametric poetry of the Hellenistic period. The verse structure becomes more rigid, and poets are careful to avoid numerous word combinations: the more difficult the better, seems to be the motto of the day. Poets also try to convey to their audience the complete sensory experience of the scenes they describe, with an emphasis on sound, smell, touch, taste, and sight. They seek variety, change, and contrast. Several of those poets are thus men of exceptional skill, who pay attention not only to content, but also to style.

This takes us to Chapter Three, where LMC describes the setting in which such poets could have learned their trade. She collects information on the school curriculum, mainly through the testimony of teaching exercises preserved on papyri. She also offers a broad description of the daily life in and around Panopolis, on the basis of documentary papyri.

In Chapter Four the reader moves away from description towards argument: using the rich material available in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, LMC underlines the close relationship between hexametric poetry of the Late Roman Empire and the teaching of rhetoric. Not only does the art of Nonnus conform very closely with the teaching found among writers of theoretical works on rhetoric (Menander Rhetor, Hermogenes, etc.), but in practice this poet makes extensive use of motives found broadly in rhetoric. LMC thus devotes one section each to narrative, ecphrasis, paraphrase, ethopoea, and encomium. This is where she can make full use of the papyrological material, in order to show that many such motifs are not the result of innovation on the part of Nonnus, but appear also in numerous fragments, most of which are more ancient than the author of the *Dionysiaca*.

LMC reaches the conclusion that, although Nonnus' influence on hexametric poetry is undeniable, one cannot properly speak of a "school of Nonnus": poets found in the Thebaid around his time are only the tip of a huge iceberg of which the discovery of many papyri has given us a faint glimpse. One famous case is Dioscorus of Aphrodito, who – among modern scholars – competes with Quintus Smyrnaeus for the title of "worst poet of Antiquity." Dioscorus and others continue, however imperfectly, the work of their predecessors, and in doing so they are also clearly influenced by rhetoric.

A book on the topic has been lacking for a long time, and one may wonder why it took so long for someone to undertake the task of writing it. The most obvious answer is that it required a scholar with considerable learning and the

capacity for producing an engaging synthesis. The reader will learn a lot from this study: not only has LMC closely examined most original sources – both very long poems, short fragments, and the works of rhetors – but she has made extensive use of secondary literature. On the way, we encounter such lively figures as Panteleios, with his ethopoea on the Athenian warrior who kept standing at Marathon even after he was dead; or Morrheus, a black man who, according to Nonnus, tried to wash his body white by bathing in the sea; or we are reminded of the gravestone erected on behalf of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus by his parents in AD 94. Triphiodorus' *Sack of Troy* is also very interestingly interpreted as the poet's rendering of the song of Demodocus mentioned in the *Odyssey*. I found chapter four, which deals with the influence of school practice on so-called Nonnian poetry, especially convincing. The book ends with a large and up to date bibliography.

On the whole, this book will prove very useful to scholars with an interest in the Greek poetry of the Empire. There are, however, some minor problems of organization. First, the reader might have benefitted from a more explicit introduction to the purpose of the study. After the first three introductory pages, LMC starts at once with a long description of poetry in the Thebaid. It is only later that one discovers that this study is going to be restricted to hexametric poetry. A few pages on the central argument of the book at the beginning, together with a clear explanation of the methods used, would have made it easier to get past the catalogue of sources. The reader might find it disturbing to have to wait till the end of Chapter One to read the following: "In this study I intend to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the hexametric poetry composed in Egypt, particularly in the Thebaid, in the third to sixth centuries. I will leave out the work of Dioscorus of Aphrodito, as it has been recently reedited and thoroughly commented, though it will be used for comparison purposes."

The area around Panopolis is described in a lively way in Chapter Three, but is it different from what we find in the rest of Egypt? The reader could feel uneasy with the fact that many of the papyri quoted in the book do not actually come from the Thebaid at all, but from Middle Egypt. One ends up wondering whether the question of the "Panopolis miracle" has been sufficiently answered. Papyrus finds show that poetry was practised in schools throughout Egypt. Had more papyri from the Delta or Alexandria been preserved, our view of hexametric poetry in Egypt would no doubt have been quite different. The Egyptians' alleged craze for poetry – if we are to believe Eunapius – seems to have applied to the whole country. Nevertheless, it remains difficult to understand what produced an apparent cluster of high level hexametric poets in the Panopolis area during the Late Roman Empire.

LMC uses a fluent style, and De Gruyter has provided a neat layout. It is a pity that the editor apparently left the proof-reading entirely in the hands of the author: typos and spelling mistakes are not few (I recorded 73, and may have missed some), and in some places the book follows some strange rules of hyphenation.

Notwithstanding these minor points, this is definitely a book worth reading. Anyone interested in the Greek poetry of the Roman period will profit enormously from the synthesis produced by LMC and be grateful to her for having set the so-called “school of Nonnus” in a wider context.

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Sophrone de Jérusalem, *Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean* (BHG I 477-479), traduction commentée par Jean Gascoü. Paris: De Boccard, 2006. 242 pages. ISBN 2-7018-0209-1.

This is the first translation into a modern language of the 70 “miracles” (miraculous healings at the shrine) of the martyrs Cyrus and John reported by the monk and “sophist” Sophronius, *quondam* patriarch of Jerusalem. The Greek text exists in a modern edition (Fernández Marcos 1975), but it is clear from many of the 1355 footnotes to the translation that there is still room for improvement. Gascoü adds many corrections of his own to those previously made by J. Duffy. The result is somewhat awkward to use on its own or even in conjunction with the Greek text, especially when one is in a hurry. But paying close attention to Gascoü’s scholarship is always rewarding.

Sophronius himself was healed in about 610-615 by Cyrus and John, as he reports in the last miracle (no. 70). For the other miracles he relies on eye-witness accounts of “groupies” at the shrine who had themselves been healed, but also on stories going back a longer time and transmitted by a caretaker or through earlier collections of miracles. Most of the miracles are (as usual) “oniric” healings (through incubation) of “hopeless” cases that had been “given up” by professional doctors. Sophronius is at pains to point out the inability of traditional Greek (pagan) medicine to heal people. Instead he operates on the notion that many diseases, especially the more spectacular ones, are caused by demons. Cyrus and John are therefore supposed to be more effective.

Sophronius debunks the “iatrosophists” and has often been credited with more than ordinary knowledge of the medical profession. Gascoü is rightly skeptical of this. Sophronius is a well-educated, clever man, and such medical “expertise” as he retails would not be outside the ordinary knowledge of the well-educated.

In the last miracle Sophronius reports a vision in which Cyrus and John (under different identities) have a conversation about him. John is looking for “Homer” (Sophronius), and luckily Sophronius is healed from his Homeric blindness, both literal and literary (although he continues to use the occasional Homerism in his text). Gascoü (as Fernández Marcos before him) refers to Jerome’s more famous dream in footnote 1320. Sophronius outdoes Jerome in that the reference to Homer fits his blindness rather well.

What do papyrologists stand to gain from this text? A glimpse of life in and around Alexandria in late Antiquity that is otherwise not very well known. There is hardly anything directly relating to the rest of Egypt. This is partly because Sophronius himself is a foreigner. Another reason is his reluctance to engage in things Egyptian because by the early seventh century most of Egypt

outside the Mediterranean coast seems to have been monophysite, i.e. heretical according to Sophronius. Only once does he engage in a direct confrontation with monophysitism, in miracle no. 39.5, where a certain “Egyptian” is told to get himself re-baptized in the “Jordan” (according to Sophronius an Alexandrianism for the baptismal font operated by the orthodox church of Alexandria). Far more prominent are other heretics, Julianites and Gaianites, and pagans, especially those who cling to the naturalist medical tradition. It is not clear whether anyone who took Hippocrates and Galen seriously (and was therefore regarded by Sophronius as a pagan) was a “real” pagan. In the case of one Gesios, Sophronius makes clear that the man was baptized to “conform” but mocked his baptism.

Sophronius can hardly ever be trusted. Yet through it all he gives details about places and practices that help us understand this or that aspect of the topography of Alexandria in Late Antiquity (the reason why G. got interested in Sophronius in the first place) or what people did when sick. The details about the topography are illuminated by the many footnotes G. provides. The details about the practices are now better understood thanks to G.’s translation. Previous scholars, especially Nissen, relied on the antiquated text in Migne. G.’s translation allows students of religion and folklore in Late Antiquity to update Nissen, a project G. modestly leaves to his readers.

All in all, G.’s labors have been rewarding (textual improvements and a better understanding of topographical details) and will be rewarding for those who hitherto had to cope with the often difficult Greek text.¹

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¹ Since the publication of G.’s work the following studies on Sophronius and the healing shrine of Cyrus and John have come out: P. Grossmann, “Zur Gründung des Heilungszentrums der Hl. Kyros und Johannes bei Menuthis,” in E. Czerny, I. Hein, H. Hunger, D. Melman, and A. Schwab (eds.), *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak* (Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA, 2006) 3:203-212; R. Teja, “De Menute a Abukir. La suplantación cristiana de los ritos de la incubatio en el templo de Isis en Menute (Alejandría),” in J. Fernández Ubiña and M. Marcos (eds.), *Libertad e intolerancia religiosa en el imperio romano* (Madrid 2007) 99-114; J. Gasco, “Les origines du culte des saints Cyr et Jean,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 125 (2007) 241-281; idem, “Religion et identité communautaire à Alexandrie à la fin de l’époque byzantine d’après les *Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean*,” in *Alexandrie médiévale* 3 (Le Caire 2008) 69-88; and Y. Stolz, “Kanopos oder Menouthis? Zur Identifikation einer Ruinenstätte in der Bucht von Abuqir in Ägypten,” *Klio* 90 (2008) 193-207. P. Allen, *Sophronius of Jerusalem and Seventh-Century Heresy: The Synodical Letter and Other Documents* (Oxford 2009) 21, n. 62, lists other studies by A.M. Orselli and S.R. Holman.

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