THE BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF PAPYROLOGISTS

Volume 51
2014

Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

Contents

American Society of Papyrologists

The American Society of Papyrologists (ASP) was founded in 1961 to further the study of ancient Greek and Latin papyri and of the materials contained in them. The Society supports research in papyrology, which is now taken to include Demotic, Coptic, and Arabic papyri as well. Since 2003 it also actively supports the teaching of papyrology through the Summer Institutes in Papyrology.

Members of the American Society of Papyrologists may join the Association Internationale de Papyrologues (AIP), which sponsors the triennial international congresses of papyrology and subsidizes such scholarly enterprises as the *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden*. Members of the American Society of Papyrologists receive the annual *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, currently in its fifty-first year, and through their dues help support the American Studies in Papyrology monograph series (fifty-three volumes published so far), the papyrology panels at the annual meetings of the American Philological Association (early January) and the Society of Biblical Literature (late November), and the Summer Institutes in Papyrology.

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Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 7-26

A Homeric Papyrus from Tebtynis[1]

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Abstract

Full edition of *P.Tebt.* 3.2.899 *descr.*, a second-century BC papyrus retrieved from mummy cartonnage, containing Homer, *Iliad* 6.

P.Tebt. 3.2.899, published in 1938 as a *descriptum*, preserves fragments of a second century BCE papyrus roll of Homer, *Iliad* 6. The fragments, which were recovered from cartonnage, belong to the Tebtynis papyrus collection at the University of California, Berkeley, and carry UC (University of California) call numbers.[2] The papyrus is listed in Mertens-Pack[3] as no. 773 and has also informed M.L. West's edition of the *Iliad* (1998-2000) as well as his *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (2001). Although they have been consulted by scholars, the fragments, which preserve portions of verses 2-347 and represent eleven columns, have yet to receive a formal edition. There are in total 43 catalogued fragments, some without any discernible text. Eight small fragments remain unplaced in the current edition.

Two of the unplaced fragments now catalogued as *P.Tebt.* 3.2.899, although they are admittedly rather small with only a few visible letters, are likely not from Homer; they were perhaps included with the Homeric fragments because they are also written in a Ptolemaic literary hand. These two fragments are inventoried as UC 2074 (P.Tebt. 0899) -b) Homer, *Iliad* VI and UC 2077 (P.Tebt. 0899) -d) Homer, *Iliad* VI and are transcribed at the end of this article, together with the remaining six unplaced ones. The reverse of *P.Tebt.* 3.2.899 contains a badly mutilated register with measurements of land specifically mentioned. The register is written in a documentary hand, but no information as to date survives in it.[3]

[1] We would also like to thank Professor Todd Hickey for granting access to the papyrus and for encouragement along the way.

[2] Images of the papyri according to these inventory numbers are available at http://tebtunis.berkeley.edu/form. There the caption for frs. 2075 and 2076 mistakenly refer to 1075, 1076.

[3] On Frr. 1053a, 1053b, 2065a, and 2065b the documentary writing is upside down with respect to the Homer text.

The original size of the bookroll may be estimated to be about 30 cm in height. A column of writing is on average 9-10 cm wide, or about average for a hexameter column.[4] The number of lines per column is on average 33. The hand is practiced and consistent, with few ligatured letters, and is the work of a professional scribe. Hunt ascribed the text to after 150 BCE, and probably we should assign it to the late second century BCE based on palaeographical parallels.[5] The papyrus presents typical Ptolemaic features such as ζ formed with three strokes, the middle stroke being rather small. Π is also formed in three strokes with an elongated or broad top. The center of θ is sometimes written closer to a dot than a line. The two strokes of λ meet at the top with a slight extension of the right member, and τ has a curved top. The handwriting is closest to that of *P.Tebt.* 3.1.697 (*Odyssey* 4.796-5.264), particularly in the formation of ζ, ε, λ, θ, and υ. Similarities to other, securely dated Ptolemaic papyri are found in *P.Tebt*. 3.1.728 (official letter dating to II B.C.), and P.Mich. inv. 6947 (a royal decree dated January 7, 197 BCE). Like in other Ptolemaic Homeric papyri, terminal *nu* is often missing, even when the following line begins with a vowel (see ll. 11, 20, 114, 140, 142, 204, 235, 237).[6]

Of the 346 lines of text preserved by *P.Tebt*. 3.2.899, many are badly mutilated, but some are quite legible and complete. The text of these fragments is attested in 48 other papyri, including 13 currently unpublished fragments from the Ashmolean collection.[7] Although the published description indicates that the first 3 columns (through l. 108) are written parallel to the papyrus fibers, the fiber orientation is actually vertical (↓) to the writing for all of the Homeric fragments, except for the final column where the papyrus has been repaired (UC 1055b).[8] The text is restored *exempli gratia* to M.L. West, *Homeri Ilias, Volumen prius rhapsodias I-XII continens* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1998). Alternate readings from the available papyri are also listed in the notes, using West's simplified numeric notation.

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[4] W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 166.

[5] The second century BCE date of the papyrus seems to have achieved broad acceptance; see S.A. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (Köln and Opladen 1967) 73.

[6] Cf. West (n. 5) 17.

[7] For a list of currently catalogued Homeric papyri, see M.L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (Munich and Leipzig 2001) 88-138, and the online database of Homeric papyri maintained through the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, DC: http://chs.harvard.edu/wa/pageR?tn=ArticleWrapper&bdc=12&mn=1168. For a careless quotation of verse 264 at Herodium, Palestine, see now *ZPE* 183 (2012) 15-20.

[8] The captions of the online images (cf. above, n. 1) refer to the side with the Homeric text as "recto" and that with the documentary text as "verso."

The papyrus is remarkable for several reasons. A later reading (μεσσηγὺς ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου καὶ στομαλίμνης) that Aristarchus believed was original is attested here in l. 4. Additionally, the papyrus is evidence of a unique reading at ll. 156-157 where the plural θεοί is attested in the singular and the verb in l. 157 is altered to agree with the singular noun. The change seems uncharacteristic of Homer. Several lines (ll. 222-223) that were considered dubious in the scholia are attested here, thus providing an early date for their attestation. Of interest also are several scribal omissions, namely the loss of one of the epithets describing Hector in l. 263 and the loss of an entire line at 283. Finally, an early date for the reading πύργον is attested in this papyrus (l. 237), giving further support that the reading φηγόν arose later.

To the right of the transcribed Greek text below are indicated the points where the testimony of the various fragments (arabic numbers = UC call numbers) begins and ends.

Iliad *6.2-347*

P.Tebt. 3.2.899 *descr.* — Late second century BCE
MP³ 773, Collart 270

Column 1

– –
πολ]λα̣ δ̣ [2062b begins
α̣λ[λ]ηλων ιθυ̣[νομενων
με̣[σ]σ̣η̣γυ̣ς̣ π[οταμοιο κ]α̣ι̣ στ̣[ομαλιμνης 2062a begins
Α[ι]α̣ς δ[ε] π̣ρ̣ω[τος Τελαμωνιος ερ]κ̣ος Αχαι[ων
Τ̣ρωων ρηξ[ε φαλαγγα φοως δ ε]ταροισιν [
αν̣\δ/[[θ]]ρα β̣αλων̣ [ος αριστος ενι Θ]ρ̣ηκεσσι τε[τυκτ]ο
υ[ιον] Ε̣υσσω[ρου Ακαμαντ η]υ̣ν τε μεγαν̣ [τ]ε
τ̣[ον ρ εβ]α̣λ̣εν [πρωτος κορυθος] φ̣αλ̣ον ιπποδ̣α̣σειης
] . [περη]σ̣ε δ αρ οστεον εισω
] . . [σκοτο]ς ο̣σ̣σ̣ εκαλ̣υψε
] . [α]γ̣α̣θ̣ο̣ς Διομηδης 2062b ends
] ο̣ς̣ [εναιεν ευ]κ̣τ̣ι̣μενη εν Αρισβηι
] φιλος δ ην [ανθ]ρ̣ωποισ[ιν]
παν]τ̣α̣ς γαρ φιλεεσκεν οδ̣ωι επ̣ι̣ οικια ναιων
ο]ι ου τις των τοτε γ ηρκεσε λυγρον ολεθρον
π̣ρ̣ο̣σ̣θεν υπαν̣[τια]σ̣ας αλλ[αμ]φω θυμον απηυρα
α̣υ̣[τον κ]αι θερα̣[ποντα Κ]αλησ̣ι̣ο̣ν̣ ος ρα οι ιππων
ε]σκε[ν] υ̣φ̣η̣ν̣[ιοχος τ]ω̣ δ αμφω γαιαν εδυτην

Δ]ρησον [δ Ευρυαλος κα]ι Οφελτιον εξεναριξεν̣
βη] δε̣ μ̣[ετ Αισηπον κ]α̣ι̣ Π̣[η]δ̣α̣σ̣[ον ο]υ̣[ς 2062a ends
νηις Αβα̣ρ̣β̣α̣[ρεη 2063a begins
Βου]κ̣ο̣λιων [
πρε]σ̣βυτατος [
ποι]μ̣αινων [
η δ υ]π̣οκυσαμ̣[ενη
και με]ν̣ τ̣ων [
Μηκισ]τ̣η̣[ιαδης 2063a ends
– –
lines 29-35 missing
– –
Ευρυπυ]λο̣ς δε [2063b begins
] επειτα β̣[οην 2063b ends
– –

Column 2
upper margin preserved
γ]αρ ο[ι α]τ̣υ̣ζομε[νω 2064 begins
βλαφθ]ε̣ν̣τ̣ε̣ [μ]υ̣ρ̣ι̣κινω α̣γκυλον α[ρμα
ρυμ]ωι α̣υ̣[τ]ω με[ν
α]λ̣λοι ατ̣υ̣ζομε[νο]ι φ̣[οβ]ε̣[οντο
τρ]ο̣χ̣[ο]ν εξ[εκ]υλ[ι]σθη
ε]π̣ι̣ σ̣τ̣ο̣μ̣[α π]αρ δε οι εστη
Μενελαο]ς εχων δολιχο̣[σκ]ι̣ο̣ν̣ [εγ]χος
Α̣[δρηστος δ αρ επειτ]α λαβω̣ν ελ̣λ̣ισσετο γ̣ο̣υ̣ν̣ω̣[ν 2062a (2nd col.) begins
ζ[ωγρει Ατρεος υιε σ]υ δ αξια δεξα̣ι̣ αποινα̣
π̣ο̣λ̣[λα δ εν αφνειου] π̣α̣τ̣[ρο]ς κειμ[ηλια κ]ει̣ται
χαλ[κος τε χρυσος] τ̣ε̣ π̣ο̣λ̣[υκ]μ[ητος τε σι]δηρο[ς
τω[ν κεν τοι χαρισαι]το πα[τηρ απερεισι α]π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣α̣
ε̣ι̣ [κεν εμε ζωον] πεπυθο̣ι̣τ̣ [
ως [φατο τωι δ αρ]α̣ θυμον ε̣ν[ι 2062a (2nd col.) ends
ε]μελλε θο̣α̣ς [
θεραπον]τι κα[τ]α̣[ξεμεν
κ]αι ομ[ο]κλησα̣[ς
] δ̣ε̣ σ̣υ̣ κ̣η̣δ̣ε̣α̣ι̣ ουτως
α̣ν̣δ̣[ρων η σοι αριστα π]ε̣π̣ο̣ι̣η̣[τ]αι κατ[α οικο]ν 2064 ends; 2063c beg.
προ[ς Τρωων των μη τις υπεκ]φυγ̣οι αι̣πυ̣ν ολ[εθρον 2063d begins
χειρ[ας θ ημετερας μηδ ον τινα γασ]τερι μ̣ητηρ̣

κ̣[ουρον εοντα φερoι μηδ ος φυγοι] α[λ]λ αμα παντες 2063 c, d end
– –
lines 60-62 missing
– –
Αγαμ]εμνων 2065a begins
] Ατρειδης δε
]εγχ̣ος
μακρ]ον α̣υσας
Αρηο]ς̣
] μ̣ε̣τ̣ο̣π̣ισθ[ε]ν
] ι̣[κ]ητα̣ι
] τα̣ εκηλ[οι 2065a ends
– –
lines 71-73 missing

Column 3
– –
δαμ]ε̣ν̣[τες 2065b begins
παρ]α̣σ̣τ̣α̣ς
ο]χ αριστο̣[ς
υμμ]ι̣ μ̣αλισ̣τ̣α̣
ο]υ̣ν̣ε̣κ̣ α̣ρ̣ι̣[στοι 2065b ends
– –
lines 79-82 missing
– –
] επει [1053a begins
ημει]ς μενεν̣ . . . [
κα]ι μα̣λ̣α̣[
Εκ]τορ αταρ συ̣[
μ]ητερι σηι και εμ̣[ηι
ν]η̣ον Αθηνα̣[ιης] γλ[αυκωπιδος
οι]ξασα κληιδι θ̣υρας ι̣εροι[ο
πε]π̣λον ο ο[ι δο]κ̣[ε]ε̣ι χα̣ρ̣ι̣ε̣[στατος
ει]ν̣α̣[ι] ενι μμ̣[εγαρωι] κ̣α̣ι̣ ο̣[ι
Αθ]η̣ναιη̣ς [ε]π̣[ι
κα]ι οι υ̣π̣οσκ[εσθαι δυοκα]ι̣δεκα βου[ς] εν̣[ι
η]νις ηκεστ[ας ιερευσε]μεν αι κ ε̣λεηση[ι
ασ]τυ τε κα̣[ι Τρωων αλ]οχους κ̣[α]ι νηπι[α
α̣[ι κεν Τ]υδ[ε]ος υιον αποσκηι Ηλιου ιρης
α̣γρ̣ιον [αι]χμη̣την κρατερον μηστωρα φο̣[βοιο

ον δη ε̣γω̣ κ̣α̣ρτιστ[ο]ν Αχαιων φημι γενεσθα[ι
ουδ Αχ[ι]λ̣η̣α̣ [πο]θ ω̣δ̣ε̣ γ εδειδιμεν ορχαμον αν̣[δρων
ομ πε[ρ φασι] θεα̣ς ε[ξεμ]μ̣εναι αλλ οδε λιην
μ̣α̣ιν[εται] ο̣υ̣δ̣ε̣ τ̣ι̣ς ο̣ι̣ δ̣υ̣ν̣α̣ται μενος ισοφαρ[ιζειν
ω̣ς̣ ε̣φ[αθ Εκ]τωρ δ ου [τι] κ̣α̣σιγνητω̣ι̣ α̣π̣ιθη[σεν
ε]ξ οχε̣[ων] συν τευχε̣[σι]ν α[λτο
ο]ξεα δο[υρα] κ̣ατα στ̣ρ̣[ατο]ν̣ [ωιχετ]ο̣ π̣[αντη 1053b (1st col.)
οτρυν]ω[ν] μαχε̣ε̣[σθαι εγειρε δε φυλοπιν αι]νην begins
ελε]λ̣[ι]χ̣θησα[ν] και ε̣ν̣α̣ν̣τ̣[ιοι εσταν] Α̣χ̣[αι]ων
] υ̣π̣ε̣χ̣ω̣ρ̣ησα[ν λ]η̣ξ̣α̣ν δε̣ πονοιο
τι]ν α̣θ̣α̣να[των εξ ο]υ̣ρ̣ανου ασ̣τ̣[ε]ροεντος 1053a, b (2nd col.) end
lower margin preserved

Column 4
upper margin
κατελθεμ]εν ω̣ν̣ ελε[λι]χθεν 2066a begins
] μ̣ακ̣ρο[ν α]υ̣σας
] επικουροι
] θ̣[ουρι]δ̣ο̣[ς] α̣λ̣κης
ηδ]ε̣ γε̣[ρ]ο̣υ̣σ̣ιν
ημε]τ̣ε̣ρ̣η̣ι̣ς αλοχοισι
υπο]σ̣χεσθα̣ι δ εκ̣α̣τ̣ο̣μ[β]ας
κο]ρ̣υ̣θα̣[ι]ο̣λος Εκ[τωρ
αυχεν]α̣ δερ̣μ̣α̣ [κε]λ̣αιν̣ον̣
ασπι]δο[ς] ομφ[αλο]ε̣σ[ση]ς
Γλα]υ̣κο̣[ς δ Ιππολοχοιο παις κ]α̣ι Τυ̣δ̣ε[ος υιο]ς 2066c begins
] μεσο̣[ν αμφοτερων συνιτην] μεμα̣ωτ̣[ε] μ̣α̣χ̣ε̣[σ]θ̣α̣ι̣
] ο̣τ̣ε [δη σχεδον ησαν επ αλλ]η̣λοισιν ιο̣ν̣[τ]ε[ς 2066c ends
προτε]ε̣ρ̣ο̣[ς] προ[σεειπε βοην] α[γαθος Δι]ο̣μηδης 2067a begins
] ε̣σ̣σ̣ι̣ φ̣[ερισ]τ̣ε κα̣[ταθνητ]ω̣[ν ανθρω]πων 2066a ends
γ]α̣ρ̣ π̣ο̣τ̣ ο̣π̣ω̣πα [
π]ρ̣ι̣ν αταρ μ̣ε̣ν̣ ν̣υν γε[
θ]αρσει [ο]τ ε[μο]ν δολιχ[οσκιον
δ[υστ]ηνων δε τε παιδες [
ε̣ι δ̣[ε τι]ς αθανατ̣ω̣ν γε κατ[
ο]υκ̣ α̣ν̣ ε̣[γ ω γ]ε̣ [θ]εοισιν [
ο]υ̣δε̣ [Δρυ]α̣ν̣τ̣[ος Λυκοοργο]ς̣ 2067b begins
δ]η[ν η]ν . . α̣ [θεοισ]ιν [επουρανιοισιν εριζ]εν̣
πο]τ̣ε̣ [μαινο]με[νοιο Διωνυσοιο τι]θηνας
ηγαθε]ον [Νυσηιον αι δ αμα πασ]α̣ι̣

κα]τε[χευαν υπ ανδροφον]οιο Λυκουργου
βου]π̣λη̣[γι Διωνυσος δε φοβη]θεις 2067a ends
κολ]π̣ω̣[ι 2067b ends; 2068a beg.
γα]ρ̣ ε̣χ̣ε̣ τ[ρομος
οδυσαντ]ο θ̣ε̣ο̣ι̣ [
εθηκ]ε̣ Κ̣[ρονου παις ουδ] α̣ρ ετ[ι
απη]χ̣θετο π̣α̣σι θεοισι
θ]εοις ε̣θ̣ε̣λ̣ο̣ιμι μαχεσ̣[θ]α̣ι
βροτω]ν̣ ο̣ι̣ α̣ρ̣[ου]ρης καρπον εδουσι
α]σ̣σ̣[ον πε]ιρα[θ] ικηαι 1053b (2nd col.) begins
τ]ο̣ν̣ δ̣ [προσηυ]δ̣α̣ φ[αι]δ̣ι̣μος υιος 2068a ends
Τ]υ̣[δειδη
οι]η̣ [
φ[υ]λ̣λ̣α̣ [
τηλ]ε̣θ̣[οωσα 1053b (2nd col.) ends
lower margin preserved

Column 5
lines 149-150 missing
– –
ημε]τερην [1054 (1) begins
πο]λ̣ι̣ς̣ Ε̣φ[υρη
ενθ]α̣ δε Σισυ̣φ̣[ος
Σ̣ι̣σ̣[υφ]ος Αιο̣λ̣ι̣δ[ης ο δ αρα Γ]λαυκ̣ο̣[ν] τε[κεθ 1054 (2) begins
α]υ̣τ̣α̣ρ̣ Γ̣λαυκο̣[ς ετικτε]ν αμυμ̣ονα Ε̣[λλεροφοντην
τ]ωι δε θεος καλ̣[λος τε κ]αι ηνορεην ε̣ρ̣α[τεινην
ω̣π̣α̣σεν αυτα[ρ οι Προι]τος κακ[α
εκ] δημ̣ο̣υ̣ ε̣λ̣[ασσεν] ε̣[π]ε̣ι πο[λ]υ̣ φ̣ε̣ρ̣τ̣[ερος] η̣ε̣ν̣ 1054 (1) ends
Αργειων Ζευ]ς̣ [γαρ οι] υ[π]ο̣ σ̣κ̣η̣π̣τ̣ρ̣[ωι
] Π̣ροιτου̣ επεμηνατ̣ο [
κρυπ]τ̣αδιη φιλοτητι μιγημεναι αλ̣λα [
π]ειθ αγαθα φρ[ο]νεοντα δα̣[ι]φ̣[ρονα
η] δ̣ε ψευσαμεν̣η Π̣ροιτον β[ασιληα
164 τεθναιης ω Π[ρ]οιτ η κακτανε Β̣[ελλεροφοντην
... ο̣ς̣ μ̣ εθε̣λ̣εν φιλοτητ[ι] μιγημεναι ο̣[υ]κ̣ ε̣[θελουσηι
.. ω̣ς̣ φατο τον δ̣ε̣ [αν]ακτα χολος λα̣β̣ε̣[ν
167 κτειν]α̣[ι] μερ ρ αλεεινε σεβασσατ̣[ο γαρ] τ̣[ο] γ̣[ε
πεμπ]ε δε μιν̣ [Λ]υκιηνδε π̣ο̣ρ̣ε̣[ν δ ο γ]ε̣ σημα̣[τα
γραψα]ς̣ εν̣ πιν̣ακι π̣τ̣υ̣κ̣τ̣ω̣[ι
δει[ξαι] δ̣ η̣ν̣ω̣γει ω̣ πενθερ̣ω ο̣φ̣[ρ 1054 (3) begins

αυτ̣[αρ ο βη Λυκιηνδ]ε θεω̣ν̣ υπ αμ̣[υμονι
α̣λλα̣ [οτε δη Λ]υ̣κ̣ι̣[ην ιξ]ε̣ Ξ̣α̣ν̣θο[ν
προ[φρονεως μιν τιεν α]ναξ Λυ[κιης
ενν[ημαρ ξεινισσε κ]α̣ι εννεα βο[υς 1054 (2), (3) end
lower margin preserved

Column 6
upper margin preserved
αλλ οτε δη δεκ[ατη 2069 begins
και τοτε μιν ερε̣[ε]ι̣[νε
οττι ρα οι γαμβ̣ρ[οιο
αυταρ επε[ι] δ̣η̣ ση[μα
πρωτον μεν ρα Χι̣[μαιραν
πεφνεμεν ουδ αρ εη[ν
προσθ̣ε λεων οπιθ̣[εν
δ]ε̣ι̣ν̣ο̣ν̣ α̣π̣ο̣πν[ειουσα
και την μ̣ε̣ν κατεπε̣φ̣[νε
δευτερον αυ Σολ̣υ̣[μοισι
καρτιστην δη̣ τ̣η̣[ν
τ̣ο̣ τ̣ριτ̣ον αυ κ[ατεπεφνεν
] δ [αρ α]π̣ε̣ρ̣χ̣ο̣μ̣[ενωι
ε]κ̣ Λ[υκ]ι̣[η]ς ευρ̣[ειης
] το[ι] δ ου [τ]ι̣ παλ[ιν
κ]α̣τε[πε]φ̣[νεν
γι]ν̣[ωσ]κ̣[ε 2069 ends
– –
lines 192-198 missing
– –
χαλκοκορ]υστ̣[ην 2071a begins
]
αλα]τ̣[ο
ανθρω]π̣ω̣ν̣ αλ̣ε̣ι̣ν̣ω̣ν̣
]
κ]υ̣δ̣[αλι̣μοισι
Α]ρ̣[τ]εμ̣ι̣ς εκ̣τ̣α̣
φημ]ι γενεσθα̣[ι
μ]οι̣ μ̣α̣λ̣α̣ πο̣λ̣λ̣ ε̣πε̣[τελλεν 2071a ends
lower margin preserved

Column 7

upper margin preserved

υ]π̣ειροχο̣ν̣ εμμεναι [2070 begins
πατε]ρων α̣ι̣σ̣χυ̣ν̣ε̣μ̣εν οι μ̣εγ̣[
κα]ι̣ ε̣[ν] . [
κ]α̣ι̣ α̣ι̣μ̣[ατος ευ]χ̣ο̣μ̣α̣ι̣ ε̣ι̣ν̣[αι
γηθησε]ν̣ δ̣ε β̣ο̣[η]ν α̣γα̣θ̣ος Διομηδη̣ς̣
κατε]π̣ηξεν ε̣[πι] χθονι πο̣υ̣λυβο̣τ̣ε̣[ιρηι
μειλιχιοι]σι προ̣[σηυδ]α̣ ποιμε̣ν̣α̣ λ̣α̣[ω]ν
ξειν]ος π[ατρωιο]ς̣ [
] δ̣ι̣ο̣ν αμυμον̣α̣ [
μεγαρ]οισιν εε̣[ικο]σ̣ιν [
] πορον ξε̣ι̣νη̣ι̣α̣ κ̣α̣λ̣[α
ζωσ]τηρα διδου̣ φο̣ι̣[νικι] φ̣α̣ε̣ι̣νον
δ]ε χρυσεον δεπας [αμφι]κ̣υ̣π̣ε̣[λλον
κατελε]ιπον ιων ε[.]ς̣ δωμα̣ς̣ εμ̣[ο]ισι[ν
μεμνημ]αι επει μ ετι τ[υ]τθ̣[ον εο]ντα
Θηβηισι]ν απωλετο λ[αος Αχ]α̣[ιων
με]ν̣ εγω̣ ξε̣ι̣ν̣ο̣ς̣ φ̣[ιλος 2070 ends

– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

lines 225-228 missing

– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

] ο̣ν̣ [κε] δ̣[υνη]α̣ι̣ 2072 begins
επαμειψο]με̣ν οφρα [κ]α̣ι̣ ο̣ιδε̣
] ε̣υ̣κ̣ομ̇εθ ειν̣α̣ι̣
] α[ι]ξαντε
] ε̣π̣ι̣στω̣[σ]αντ̣ο̣
ε̣ν̣θ̣ α̣υ̣[τε Γλαυκωι Κρονιδης φρεν]ας ε̣ξελετο̣ Ζε̣υ̣ς 2071a begins
ο̣ς πρ[ος Τυδειδην Διομηδεα τε]υ̣χε α[μ]ειβε
χρυσεα χ[αλκειων εκατομβοι εν]ν̣ε̣αβ[οιω]ν
Ε]κ̣τ̣[ωρ δ ως Σκαι]α̣[ς τε πυλας και π]υργον ι̣κανε
α]μφ αρ̣[α μιν Τρωων αλοχοι θεον] ηδε θ[υγ]ατρες
ε̣ιρομ̣ε̣[ναι παιδας τε κασιγνητ]ους τε [ετ]α[ς] τε 2071a, 2072 end

lower margin preserved

Column 8

upper margin preserved

κ̣α[ι] ποσ[ιας ο δ] επειτα̣ θ[εο]ις ευχεσ[θαι 2070 (2nd col.), 2068b begin
πασας̣ [εξειη]ς πολλη[ισι δε κ]ηδη ε̣[φηπτο
αλ̣λ̣ ο̣[τε δη Πρι]αμοιο δο̣[μον

ξε̣σ̣[της αιθο]υ̣σ̣ωσι [2068b ends
πε̣[ντηκον 2070 (2nd col.) ends
– –
lines 245-246 missing
– –
κο]υ̣ρ̣α̣ω̣[ν] δ̣ ε̣τ̣[ερωθ]ε[ν] ε[ναντιοι 2073 begins
δ]ω̣δεκ [εσ]αν [τε]γε̣ο̣ι̣ θ[αλαμοι
α]λλη̣λ̣ω̣ν δεδμη̣[μενοι] ε̣νθα [
κοιμων]το Π̣ρ̣ιαμοιο πα̣ρ̣ α̣ιδο̣ιη̣ις αλ̣οχο̣[ισιν
ηπι]οδωρος ε̣ν̣αντιη ηλυθ[ε
εσαγο]υ̣σ̣[α θυ]γατρ̣ω̣ν ειδ[ος
]χ̣ε̣ι̣ρ̣ι̣ ε̣[πο]ς τ [εφ]ατ εκ [
] τ̣ι̣π̣τ̣[ε λιπων] πο̣[λε]μον θ[ρασυν
δυσ]ω̣ν[υ]μο̣ι̣ υ̣[ιες 2073 ends
– –
lines 256-260 missing
– –
] οινος̣ [2074a begins
] . . . . . [ca. 3 ετ]η̣ι̣σ̣ι̣ν̣
απαμειβομ]ε̣νος πρ̣ο̣σ̣ε̣φη κ̣ο̣ρ̣υ̣[θαιολος
] μ̣ελιφρωνα ποτνια μη[τερ
απογυιωσηι]ς μενεος αλχης δε λ̣[αθωμαι
ανιπτηισ]ιν Δι̣ι λει̣β̣[ει]ν α̣ι̣θοπ̣α [
αζ[ομαι ουδε πηι ε]στι κελαινε̣φεει Κρ[ονιωνι 2072 (2nd col.) begins
αιμ[ατι και λυθρωι] πεπαλα[γ]μενος ε[υχε]τ̣[αασθαι
αλλα̣ σ̣[υ γε] π̣ρ̣ος ναιης [Α]θ̣η̣ν̣α̣ιης [2074a, 2072 (2nd col.) end
lower margin preserved

Column 9
upper margin preserved
αολ]λ̣[ι]σσασα γερα̣[ιας 2075 begins
χα]ρ[ι]ε̣σ̣τ[α]το̣[ς
αι κ] . [[τ]]σο̣ι̣ [
Αθην]αιης [επι γ]ουν̣ασι̣ν̣ η̣υ̣κ[ομοιο
υποσχεσ]θαι [δυο]κα̣[ιδ]εκα βο[υς
ι]ε̣ρε̣[υσ]εμεν αι κ ελεησ̣[ηι
Τρ]ω̣ω̣ν α̣λοχους και νηπι̣α̣ [
] υιο̣ν απ̣οσχη̣[ι Ιλιο]υ ιρ̣[ης
αιχμητη]ν̣ κρα̣τ̣ε̣ρον̣ με̣[στω]ρ̣[α] φ̣ο̣β̣ο̣ιο
προ]ς νηον Αθηναι̣η̣ς̣ [α]γ̣ελ̣ειης

280 Π]α̣ριν μετελευσομαι οφρα κε̣λευ̣σ̣[ω
ειπο]ντος ακουε̣μ̣εν ως δε ο̣ι̣ α̣υ̣θ̣ι̣
282 μεγ]α̣ γαρ μιν Ολυ[μπιο]ς ετ̣ρεφ̣ε̣ π̣[η]μ̣α
284 ι]δ̣ο̣[ι]μι κατελ[θον]τ̣ Αιδος ε̣ι̣σ̣ω̣
285 εκλελα]θεσ̣θ̣α̣[ι 2075 ends

– –

lines 286-287 missing

– –

288 κ]ηω̣ε̣ν̣τ̣α̣ 1055a (1st col.)
289] ε̣ρ̣γ̣[α γυναίκ]ων 2076b begins; 1055a
290 Σι]δο[νιων τας αυτος] Α̣λ̣ε̣ξ̣α̣ν̣δ̣ρος θ[εοειδης 2076a begins/(1st col.)
η̣γαγ̣[ε Σιδονιων επ]ιπλ[ως] ε̣υ̣ρε̣α ποντ̣[ον
τ̣η̣ν οδο[ν ην Ελενην πε]ρ̣ ανηγ̣α̣γε̣ν̣ ευ[πατερειαν 2076b ends
τω̣ν ε̣ν [δ]ω̣ρ̣ο̣ν̣ Α̣θ̣η̣ν̣[ηι 1055a (1st col.)
ος κ[αλλιστος
295 ασ[τ]η̣ρ̣ [αλλ]ων 1055a (1st col.)
[
α̣ι̣ δ̣ οτε ν̣[ηον
τησι̣ θυ̣ρ̣[ας 2076a ends
possible lower margin preserved

lines 299-305 missing from bottom of Col. 9 or top of Col. 10 or both

Column 10
possible upper margin preserved
] κα̣[ι 1055a begins
προ]π̣α̣ρ̣ο[ιθε
δυοκαιδε]κ̣α β̣ους [
ιερευσομ]εν αι κ ελεησηις
310 αλοχ]ους και νηπια [
ανεν]ευε δε Π̣αλλ[ας
κ]ο̣υ̣[ρη]ι̣ μ̣εγαλοι[ο
Αλ]ε̣ξ̣α̣ν̣δ̣ρου ε̣βε̣[βη]κ̣ι̣
συ]ν̣ [α]ν̣δ̣ρασ̣ι̣ν̣ ο̣[ι
315 η̣[σαν ενι Τροι]η̣ι̣ ε̣ρ̣[ι]β[ωλακι] τεκ̣τ̣ο̣νε[ς
ο̣ι οι ε̣[π]ο[ι]η̣σ̣α̣ν̣ θαλαμο̣ν̣ κ̣α̣ι̣ δωμ̣α̣ [
εγγυθι τ̣ε Πριαμοιο και Ε̣κ̣τ̣[ορ]ο̣ς εν [
ενθ Εκτ̣ω̣ρ εισηλθ̣ε διφ[ι]λος εν δ αρα
[εγχος εχ ενδε[κα]π̣ηχυ παροιθ̣ε̣ δ̣ε̣ [
320 αιχμη̣ χ̣αλκειη̣ περι̣ δε χρυσεος θ̣ε̣ε̣ π̣ο̣[ρκης

τον δ ευρ εν θα̣[λα]μ̣ω̣[ι π]ε̣ρ̣ι̣[κα]λλεα τε̣υ̣[χε
ασπιδα και θω̣[ρηκα και αγκ]υ̣λα̣ τ̣ο̣ξ αφοω̣[ντα
Αργειη Ελενη σ̣υ̣ν̣ α̣ρα̣ δ̣μωιησι γυναιξ̣[ιν
η̣στ̣ . επ̣ αμφιπολ̣ο̣[ισι] π̣ερ̣ικ̣λ̣υ̣τα [
τον δ [Εκ]τ̣ω̣ρ νικ̣[εσσεν] ι̣δ̣ων αισχρο̣ι̣ς̣ ε̣π̣[εεσσιν
δαιμον[ι ου] με[ν καλα χολον το]νδ ενθεο θυ[μωι
λαοι με̣ν [φθινυθουσι περι πτο]λιν α̣ι̣π̣[υ
μαρναμ[εν]οι σου̣ δ̣ [
αστυ τοδε αμφιδεδ[ηε   ca. 5   ] . [.] . [
ε̣ι̣ τινα πο̣υ με[θιεντ]α̣ ι̣δ̣ο̣ι̣ς̣ στυγ[ερου
. . . [1055a ends

lower margin preserved

Column 11

– –
] . [. .] . [.] . . [1055b begins
ερ]ε̣ω̣ συ̣ δε [
τ]οσσον [
] εθελον δ [αχει
παρειπο]υ̣σ̣ α̣λοχ̣[ος
πολεμ]ο̣ν δοκε̣[ει
] ν̣ι̣κη δ̣ [ε]π̣α̣[μειβεται
επιμει]νον αρηια τευχ̣ε̣α̣ [
μετει]μι κιχησεσθαι δε σ ο̣[ιω
] τ̣ο̣ν̣ δ̣[ο]υ̣ τι προσεφη κ̣ο̣ρ̣υ̣θ̣[αιολος
Ελε]ν̣η̣ μυθ̣[ο]ισι προ̣σ̣ηυδα μ̣[ειλιχιοισιν
] κ̣υ̣νος κακομ[η]χανο̣υ̣ οκ[ρυοεσσης
η]μ̣ατι τω οτε μ̣ε πρωτ[ον
] πρ̣[οφερουσα κακη αν]εμοιο̣ θ̣[υ]ε[λλα
πολυφλοισ]β̣ο[ι]ο θ̣[αλάσσης   1055b ends
– –

4 The line should be restored μ̣ε[σ]σ̣η̣γ̣ὺ̣ς π[οταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου κ]α̣ι̣ στ̣[ομαλιμνης, a reading that was known to Aristarchus; so quidam ante Ar, Ar^2 cum commentariis, 410. Interestingly, Aristarchus does not appear to have known the Vulgate reading (μεσσηγὺς Σιμόεντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων Ar^b 6b 409 479 580 1043 tt Z Ω) and gives preference to the reading attested here. The reading of our papyrus is, however, unlikely to be original based on the evidence that στομαλίμνη is a new word and does not appear in Greek prior to Aristarchus and Strabo and therefore not prior to the second century BCE.

A later variant attributed to Chaeris (μεσσηγὺς ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου καὶ Σιμόεντος) is also attested in the scholia. Cf. West (n. 5) 71-73 on *P.Hibeh* 193 (= West's no. 410, above).

7 αν̣\δ/[[θ]]ρα: The ink of δ is indistinguishable from the main hand; θ is crossed out with a horizontal stroke. Other examples of the δ/θ spelling interchange in the Ptolemaic period appear to be limited to ουδείς and similar words; see Mayser, *Grammatik* 1.1:148-149 (Gignac, *Grammar* 1:97 gives a few more examples from the Roman period).

9 εβ]α̣λ̣εν: ἔβαλε mss.

12 Διομηδης: so 409 579 Ω; Μενέλαος t.

15 γαρ: so 6b 409 Z Ω; μεν t.

16 των τοτε γ: των γε τοτ 1043 t Ω (τον γε A).

18 οι: so Z; τόθ᾽ Ω.

20 εξεναριξεν̣: left side and part of diagonal of terminal ν survive, compressed against ε.

21 Π̣[η]δ̣α̣σ̣[ον: so Ω; Τήρεχον Schol.^{bT}

22 ναις h57.

27 με]ν̣ τ̣ων: so 6b t Ω; των μεν O.

35 *P.Par*. 3 = West 87 has ποιμενον (not noted by West), but C. Gallazzi, *ZPE* 112 (1996) 187 reports πο̣ι̣μενω̣ν̣.

39 βλαφθεντ[[α̣]]ε 87.

45 ελλ̣ι̣σσετο: *ed.pr.* does not dot letters; ἐλισσετο Z Ω.

55 ου̣τως̣: so 1044 tt*ZΩ; αυτως Io.Alex. rr.

56 πεποίηνται F^{a} T; -έαται Zen?

90 ο: ος Hdn ZΩ.

91 ει]ν̣α̣[̣ι]: the space for the second ι , where there has been surface damage, is very cramped, and perhaps it was omitted.

– μμ̣[εγαρωι]: the reading of W H V; *l.* μεγαρωι.

93 *l.* υποσχεσθαι. For κ written in place of χ see line 96.

96 *P.Par*. 3 has the correct αποσχη; *l.* Ιλιου.

99 *PSI* 7.749 has Αχιλ̣α. ω̣δ̣ε γ: so 6b 1050 Z Ω; ωδ TR; ἐδείσιμεν Lib.

103 τευχε̣[σι]ν: The lacuna seems wide enough for three letters; perhaps the *sigma* was written twice.

105 μαχε̣ε̣[σθαι: so *h* W; μαχέσασθαι Ω*; μαχέσεσθαι Φ.

107 φόνοιο Ω. πονοιο is a unique reading. πόνοιο occurs elsewhere in Homer (*Iliad* 5.567; 11.430; 12.356; 15.235; 19.227; 21.137, 249) usually in final position and with a verb of "ceasing from," although not with λήγειν. λήξαιμι φόνοιο appears at line end in *Odyss.* 22.63 (other examples of final φόνοιο in *Iliad* 9.567, *Odyss.* 24.484).

109 The Vulgate has ως. The scribe is inclined at times to substitute final σ for ν.

111 GHP give a variant version of the line ending in ἀγχιμαχηταί.

112 The end of the line in the Vulgate reads ἀμύνετε ἄστει λώβην. The papyrus clearly attests to the reading of Ar 6b Z Ω (. . . μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς; cf. 8.174 *et al.*).

115 δ: so 6b t T^{s} Ω*; θ' F W V; om. T^{a}.

120 It would be equally possible to read μεσσ̣[ον.

131 η]ν . . α̣ [θεοισ]ιν: The received text reads ην ος ρα θεοισιν. Following ν (above which there is a vertical stroke), a speck of ink, then ink from a rounded letter, perhaps ο?

133 ηγαθε]ον: Ink from possible supralinear addition (rounded letter?) over ν.

143-148 The readings of these line beginnings, preserved on the right portion of fr. 1053b, have been attempted on the basis of the received text but are uncertain.

155 Ε̣[λλεροφοντην: so Zenodotus and τινες according to Eustathius (1.446.21, 2.2.270.5). West cites the papyrus as evidence for Βελλεροφόντην, given by the manuscripts, but the remains of the last surviving letter of the line appear to fit ε or σ better than β. There is no comment by Hunt.

156-157 The singular θέος … ὤπασεν (Vulgate θεοί … ὤπασαν) of the papyrus is unlikely to be original. Bellerophon's blessings arguably come from the gods and not god in the singular. Perhaps the singular is a result of attraction to καλλος?

167 Error by attraction; *l.* μεν.

170 η̣ν̣ω̣γει: so t Z Ω*; ἠνώγειν Ar A^{a} B^{a} E.

– ο̣φ[ρ: Top right of ο, upper part of loop and parts of the vertical of φ are missing; ω[ς Hunt, picked up by West, is untenable.

180 ουδ αρ instead of η δ αρ in the Vulgate text; cf. Hes. *Th*. 295-6, *Hymn. Ap*. 351.

187 α]π̣ε̣ρ̣χ̣ο̣μ̣[ενωι: Hunt's reading of π, although it is faint, appears to be correct. ἀνερχομένωι Ω; ἐπερχ- quidam ap. Did. 21^{t}; ἀναερχ- H P.

188 ευρ̣[ειης: ἐείκοσι t T.

202 *l.* αλεεινων.

208 There are what appear to be two additions above the line, one (resembling a ξ leaning to the left) above χ and one (perhaps θ) above first ε of εμμεναι.

213 πο̣υ̣λυβο̣τ̣ε̣[ιρηι: πολυποτει[ρηι 412.

215 πατρωιδος 412.

216 δι̣ο̣ν is likely an error by attraction to the accusatives ἀμύμονα Βελλεροφόντην.

221 ε[.]ς̣: The received text has ἐν; did the scribe intend εἰς?

222-223 These two verses are called into question in the scholia of T (ἄτοποι οἱ δύο στίχοι), but are present in the papyrus. The early date of this papyrus attests that the suspicion regarding them arose later while leaving open the possibility that they were an early interpolation into the text of Homer (see West [n. 7] 196).

231 *l.* ευχομεθ.

232-233 In the right margin next to each of these lines are traces of a few letters that appear not to pertain to them; they include a horizontal in 232 and a triangular letter in 233.

233 ε̣π̣ι̣στω̣[σ]αντ̣ο̣: so P; και] επιστω[σα]ντο Hunt; πιστώσαντο 413 1060 t Z Ω.

237 πύργον is attested in two other papyri (400 582). A case can be made that πύργον is preferable to φηγόν because Hector appears to be coming into the city and hence within the walls rather than through the gates and outside the city (hence φηγόν). φηγόν is not attested in the papyri, but only in A^{s} and Ω^{*}.

238 θυγατ̣ε̣ρες 413.

241 πᾶσι μάλ᾽ quidam ante Ar.

– κ]ηδη: κήδε᾽ 1060 Z Ω.

243 The Vulgate reads αιθουσηισι; αιθουσησι 189.

248 Papyrus 480 is the only witness to the reading μοι following ἔσαν. The witness of this papyrus further suggests that μοι is a later expansion.

250 Hunt read αιδοιης in place of αιδοιηις, perhaps a simple typographical error as the ι is rather certain. The reading of this papyrus (αἰδοίῃς) is supported by Aristarchus and Ω while 189 A^{γρ} and others attest the reading παρὰ μνηστῇς, a reading that appears intended to obviate the meaning of the line.

263 The reading of this papyrus ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη is attested also in 189 and 413 (cf. *Iliad* 6.520, τὸν δ᾽ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ), although the omission of the epithet is likely the result of a scribal error; ἠμείβετ᾽ ἔπειτα μέγας 400 Z Ω.

264 *l.* μελιφρονα.

265 μένεος δ᾽ P.

– ἀλχῆς: *l.* ἀλκῆς. δε; τε tt Z Ω.

267 There is insufficient room at the beginning of the line to allow for the reading of 189 (*P.Osl.* 2.7) ἁζόμεναι. *l.* κελαινεφέι.

268 πεπαλα[γ]μενος: so w26; Hunt described this as a mistake for the standard πεπαλαγμένον 413 480 tt Z Ω.

269 ναιης: surely by confusion with ᾽Αθηναίης; *l.* νηόν, with the Vulgate.

270 αολλισσασαι 480.

272 σοι Hunt. τοι 189 413 Ω; οἱ 480 W. The scribe appears to have written τοι initially; σ was later written over the left portion of τ.

274 The second column of Fr. 2070 preserves an upright stroke probably from the initial κ of this verse or the initial η of 275.

275 [ιερευσεμεν]η 413.

276 α̣λοχους: sinuous ink smudge over lower part of α.

277 υιο̣ν: ο looks like a small α but may be a very small ο with a diagonal stroke across the top right. There is an indecipherable correction above απ̣οσχη̣[ι.

278 *l.* μηστωρα. The reading of P.Soc.Pap.Alex. 213 μνή[σ]τωρ, is unlikely here, and the traces of ink appears to fit ε better than ν.

280 μετελευσομαι: a horizontal stroke is written across the top left of μ, as though to cancel it.

– κε̣λευ̣σ̣[ω: so Hunt, D; καλέσσω 413 480a Ω*.

281 δε̣: so Bekker; the Vulgate reads ως κε οι αυθι.

282 ετραφε 480a DF.

283 om. 270; hab. 1 413 Ω. The omission of the line, Τρωσί τε καὶ Πριάμωι μεγαλήτορι τοῖό τε παισίν, interrupts the flow of the narrative and is likely the result of a visual copying error. This error and the omission of the epithet in line 263 perhaps characterize the scribe.

288 κ]ηω̣ε̣ν̣τ̣α̣: written in the left margin of the main column of fr. 1055a opposite verse 321, the characters are smaller than normal, and the writing drops downward slightly to the right. The η seems secure, while the ink of the other characters is considerably more faint. Since the received text of 288 has only 31 letters, it seems unlikely that the writer wrote only this version of the verse and still had to use such extensive space projecting into the margin (compare verse 295 below, which should have had a letter count of 37 and still barely extends into the margin of fr. 1055). Perhaps there was some kind of addition or correction in 288 that took up several additional letter-widths – or κηωεντα was simply written in the margin as a variant or correction. A different and longer (35 letters) version of the verse, η δ᾽ εἰς οικον ιουσα παρίστατο φωριαμοῖσιν is given by Ar^{ab} 1 (where a later hand refers to it as νόθος) D^{m}. See also on 293.

289 γυναικ]ων: ων is preserved on Fr. 1055a.

291 επ]ιπλ[ως] (so 1 413 tt Ω) is perhaps slightly favored by the spacing over the reading of the Vulgate επιπλους.

293 δ]ω̣ρ̣ο̣ν̣ Α̣θη̣ν̣[ηι: these traces appear in the left margin of the main column contained in Fr. 1055a, opposite verse 326. The ink of ω is dark and only slightly damaged, but that of the remaining characters is faded (comparably to that at the end of 288). ηι may have been written in the space now covered by the opening characters of 326. See also the note on 288; the comments made there as to why the writer had to use such extensive space in the margin (the received text of 293 has 34 letters) also apply here. No significant variants are attested for 293.

295 αλλ]ων: on 1055a to left of verse 328.

297 α̣ι̣ δ̣: ἀλλ᾽ T.

298 Below the remains of this line are probable remains of a lower margin, although the surface has some tears and certainty is not possible.

306 Above, what could be part of an upper margin; see previous note.

307 There appears to be a horizontal ink stroke across αρ.

311 ἀνένευσε Favorin. rr.

313 Αλ]ε̣ξ̣α̣ν̣δ̣ρου ε̣β̣ε̣[βη]κ̣ι (*l.* ἐβεβήκει): so 1063 Z F; Αλεξαν]δρου̣ ε̣βεβηκει Hunt; Ἀλεξάνδροιο βεβήκει Ω.

321 ευρ: so 415 584 tt Ω; *l.* ηυρ (so Fick). See note on l. 288.

322 ασπιδα written over αχ̣πιδα. The error may have resulted when the scribe mistakenly looked to the beginning of l. 320 (αἰχμή) instead of l. 322. See also note for l. 283.

323 Ελενη perhaps corrected from ελνη: the second ε is squeezed horizontally. Hunt read Αργειη Ελενη σ̣υ̣ν̣ αρα δμωησι γυναιξι, noting that the σ and ν of συν are almost certain. Ἀργείη δ᾽ Ἑλένη 190 ApS Ω, δ᾽ om. 415 (Αργείην Ἑλένη) t*; Ελενη δε παρα 400; μετ᾽ αρα 190 415 Z Ω. δμωησ[ι 190.

324 η̣στ̣ . επ̣: the received text has ηστο και. In our papyrus, the left side of η survives but appears to be split into two strokes. τ is largely intact, but a partly damaged stroke curves downward from its right extremity; then an upright followed closely by ε; then a letter resembling π but with smudged left upright and ends of horizontal turning upward. Did the writer at first intend to write μετ? 190 (*PSI* 977) has ειατοκ αμφιπολοισι. Regarding writing in the left margin from the previous column, see notes on ll. 288 and 293.

325 *l.* νεικεσσεν.

328 σου: The received text has σέο.

330 ε̣ι̣ (ον Ar^{ab} 191): letters partially obscured by a large smudge of ink. The smudging continues into the margin directly underneath, where there also are an upright stroke like ι, a high horizontal, then, after a space, a possible descender as if from ρ (these do not appear to correspond to 331).

333 The surviving traces are very scanty; verse cannot be verified.

339 415 has επαμειμεται with β written over second μ.

343 μυθ̣[ο]ισι: a diagonal stroke across μ, as if to cancel it.

– προ̣σ̣ηυδα μ̣[ειλιχιοισιν: so 191 400 Ω (μετηῦδα W[a]); προσηῦδα δῖα γυναικῶν A$^{\gamma\rho}$; προσηυδα[415, π[481.

344 κακομ[η]χανο̣υ̣ο κ[ρυοεσσης: so 191 415 tt Z Ω; κακομηχάνοο κρυοέσσης West fol. Payne Knight.

Appendix

The following fragments are glassed together with the above fragments. They remain unplaced either because the text is too fragmentary or because they likely belong to something else entirely. Each fragment bears the current UC call number and was initially labeled as Homer, *Iliad VI*.

2066b

– – – – – – – –
] . [ca. 4] . [
] . [ca. 4] . [
]γλ . ραυ[
]υ . τησε[
]ωτοισ[
]υ . . . [
– – – – – – – –

2071b

– – – – – – – –
]μ[
]α . . δ̣ι̣ο̣ν̣[
]ο . . τκ . [
]σικ[
– – – – – – – –

2074b

– – – – – – – –
] . . . . [
] . . . [
]οω̣[
]ι̣νονιο . . . νη[
]πλ . . . . . ε̣ναι̣σ̣[
]ε̣ι̣χ μνα[
] . . ην̣ . [
– – – – – – – –

2077a

– – – – – – – –
] . [. . .] . . [
] . . [
]θεσ[
] . [ ] . [
– – – – – – – –

2077b

– – – – –
] . ι[
]μ̣ . [
– – – – –

2077c

– – – – –
]πε . . [
]τυε[
]σε[
– – – – –

2077d

]σ̣αρκ̣
] . . [ ] .
]τ̣α̣

2077e

]υ̣ω̣[
] . . . . [
]χασ[
] . . . . [
]επροσ[

2077g

Parts of four lines of writing, very difficult to read but appearing to include diacritical marks and/or interlinear additions; conceivably tachygraphic.

2077h

– – – – –
] . [
] . οε[
]μ̣[
]πο[
] . . [
– – – – –

2077i[9]

– – – – –
]στυο[
– – – – –

[9] The hand of this fragment differs from the others.

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 27-33

A Homeric Papyrus at Yale

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Abstract

Edition of a Homeric papyrus with *Iliad* 9.272-291, earlier published in description as *P.Yale* 1.9.

P.CtYBR inv. 1062 H. x W. = 15.7 x 6.5 cm I/II AD
LDAB 1734; TM 60610; *MP*[3] 841.3; West 494a.1 Apotheke? Oxyrhynchus?

The papyrus[1] was described in the first volume of *P.Yale*,[2] where the editor writes that the scrap was bought from M. Nahman in 1931 in Cairo and reportedly came from Abutig (K.A. Worp[3] suggests that it may be from Oxyrhynchus). It preserves on the *recto* the beginnings of verses 272-291 of the ninth book of the *Iliad*, and on the *verso* faint remains of a few letters of an unknown text (a list?). The Homeric passage is very similar to *Iliad* 9.130-149, from which our two scribes (the lower ten lines are written with a different pen) seem to "borrow" some readings. Perhaps our text is not from a complete roll but was intended for instructional use (writing exercise?).

There is a lower margin of 2 cm, and part of the bottom edge seems intact and original. The leading[4] varies from about 0.6 cm to 0.8 cm (in the five lowest lines), and the line spacing[5] from 0.25 cm to 0.5 cm. The right margin is about 0.6 cm at most. The column and roll(?) heights are indeterminable (the latter was, obviously, more than 18 cm).[6] The width of the column may be estimated to have been 12 cm. There are occasional small, dark discolorations on the surface.

[1] I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Yale University for support in publishing the papyrus.

[2] For a photograph see http://brbl-media.library.yale.edu/papyrimg/Z4216673.jpg.

[3] "A Note on the Provenances of Some Greek Literary Papyri," *JJP* 28 (1998) 207.

[4] "The vertical space between lines of text, measured from base to base line," W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 342.

[5] Leading minus letter height.

[6] The fragment measures ca. 16 cm in height. Assuming that the first preserved line is the first line of the column, if we add at least 2 cm of an upper margin, the roll (sheet) would be at least 18 cm in height.

The writing is in medium-sized cursive uncials that appear to have been written quickly, with many ligatures. Two different hands appear to be represented: the upper ten lines (*Iliad* 9.272-281) are written in a slightly smaller, more regular, less cursive, and less sloping script, while the remaining lines (*Iliad* 9.282-291) are in a largish, very sloping, cursive script on a wider leading. Bilinearity is poorly maintained by both hands, especially by the second one. Letters exhibit some characteristics of the Severe Style. The first letter of each line is larger, especially in the second hand.

α is written with a loop; β is large; the right oblique of δ and λ starts well before it meets the left one; ε in the upper hand is in two separate movements (circle and crossbar), but in the lower it is cursively written in one sequence, the cross-stroke in both hands extending to touch the following letter; ε, θ, ο, σ are tall and rather narrow; η is cursive, with the right vertical written in one sequence with the crossbar; κ is cursive, in one sequence; μ is in three movements, with a deep, rounded middle element touching the base line and vertical strokes bending outward; ν in the upper hand is "typical," like capital N, but in the lower hand it is written cursively, in one sequence (the letter looks almost like π with a small loop at the upper tip of the right hasta); ξ is written zig-zag; ο is usually small; υ is in one sequence (V-shaped); ω, rather broad and tall, is well rounded.

The hands may be compared to *P.Oxy.* 5.482 (*Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, second half of II AD; Roberts, *GLH* 17b), Musée du Louvre E 3320 (Alcman, I AD; *GMAW* 15), *P.Oxy.* 18.2161 (Aeschylus, II AD; *GMAW* 24), *P.Mich.* 2.121 (abstracts of contracts, AD 42; *GMAW* 59), *P.Lond.Lit.* 108 (Aristotle, late I AD; *GMAW* 60), *P.Oxy.* 27.2471 (cancellation of a loan, about AD 50; *GMAW* 64), and *P.Gr.Berol.* no. 26a (document, AD 159-160), and may be dated to I/II AD (I AD *ed.pr.*).

There are no certain lectional signs or other reading aids. Maas' law does not operate. In fact, it seems that there is a vertical row of dots at the left edge of the column: dots are sometimes "covered" by the first letter, but sometimes they may be seen (see, e.g., lines 11, 14, 18). Aside from the "borrowing" alluded to above, there are many errors (see commentary), while l. 289 presents the curious ορτον in place of the vulgate's οἶκον and in l. 279 there may be a new reading.

Based on *LDAB*[7] and the *Homer and the Papyri* database,[8] the following ancient manuscripts contain portions of the Homeric text covered by our papyrus:

[7] www.trismegistos.org.

[8] www.stoa.org/homer/homer.pl.

P.Oxy. 3.548 (9.235-301; III AD; Π[64])
P.Berol.inv. 7807 (9.277-288; II-III AD; Π[79])
P.Oxy. 11.1390 (9.287-296; V AD; Π[208])
P.Med.inv. 7181 (9.285-292; II AD; Π[491])
P.Ant. 3.160 (9.222-344; III-IV AD; Π[491a])
P.Köln 1.30 (9.283-291; II AD; Π[600])

I have compared the text of the papyrus mainly with Martin L. West's edition (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1998). I consulted also the editions of W. Leaf (2nd edition, London 1902) and H. van Thiel (2nd edition, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 2010). In the *lacunae* I provide West's text and in the commentary I use his *sigla*. I print lectional signs following the scribe's practice in the manuscript.

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

[εξελεθ αι] τ̣οτε καλλι ενικω[ν φυλα γυναικων
τας μεν τ̣[ο]ι̣ δ̣ωσ[[ων]] \`ει´ μετα δ εσ̣[σεται ην τοτ απηυρα
κουρην̣ Β̣ρ̣[ι]σ̣ηος και επι μεγ̣[αν ορκον ομειται
μη ποτε̣ [τη]ς̣ ευνης επιβ̣[ημεναι ηδε μιγηναι
η θεμις ε̣[στ]ι̣ν αναξ ηδ αντ̣ρων̣ [η τε γυναικων
ταυτα με[ν] α̣υτικα παντα̣ παρ̣ε̣[σσεται ει δε κεν αυτε
αστυ μεγα Π̣ριαμοιο θεοι δω[ωσ αλαπαξαι
νηα αλις χρυ̣[σ]ου και χαλκου ν̣η[ησασθαι
εισελθων ο̣[τ]ε κεν̣ τ\`δ´αδεωμεθα̣ [ληιδ Αχαιοι
Τρωιδας δε γυν̣α̣ι̣κ̣α̣ς̣ εεικοσ̣[ιν αυτος ελεσθαι
αι τε μετ Αργειην Ελενην κα̣[λλισται εωσιν
ει δε κεν Αρκος ικοιμεθ Αχα̣[ιικον ουθαρ αρουρης
γαμβρος κεν οι εη̣\`ο´ις τισι δε σ̣[ε ισον Ορεστηι
ος οι τηλυγετος τρεφεται θ[αλιηι ενι πολληι
τρις δε μοι εισι θυγατρες εν̣[ι μεγαρωι ευπηκτωι
Χρυσοθεμις και Λαοδικη [και Ιφιανασσα
ταων κ εθελησθαι φιλην̣ [αναεδνον αγεσθαι
προς ορτον Πηληος ο τ αυ̣[τ επι μειλια δωσει
πολλα μαλ οσ ου πω τις̣ [εηι επεδωκε θυγατρι
επτα δε οι̣ δ̣ωσω ευ ν̣[αιομενα πτολιεθρα
margin

272 Read κάλλει.

273 δ̣ωσ[[ων]]\`ει´: Probably the scribe (based on the less cursive shape of ε) corrected later δώσων (not δώσω, as *ed.pr.*) to δώσει, crossing out ων and adding above it ει (only once, not twice like *ed.pr.*), making the read-

ing conform to the vulgate. Cf. 9.131 τὰς μέν οἱ δώσω, μετὰ δ᾽ ἔσσεται ἣν τότ᾽ἀπηύρων.

274 κουρηṿ: The last letter is damaged, however the remains perfectly suit ν, and after it there are traces of β (its upper loop is clearly visible). The papyrus supports the majority of the medieval tradition (Ω); so prints Leaf. Aristarchus[9] preferred κούρη, attested in codices M N P (so-called *h* family) and chosen by West. Leaf ad 9.132 notes: "there is little to choose between κούρην and κούρη: the latter is more logical, but the accusative is very natural after ἥν." Cf. 9.132.

– και επι: So Π^{64} codd. (Ω), Leaf; ἐπὶ δέ Aristarchus, M N P (*h*), preferred by West. Cf. 9.132.

276 η: Above it a thin, faint oblique descending from the left, perhaps accidental and meaningless, but a grave accent, ὴ (due to a second pen?) cannot be excluded; ἥ (Herodian) schol. 8.111, B$^{\text{ante corr.}}$ E F T$^{\text{corr.}}$ W, preferred by West; ή A; η D; ἧ B$^{\text{corr}}$ C T$^{\text{ante corr.}}$ R$^{\text{corr.;}}$ ἧ $^{\text{ante corr.}}$ G. Cf. 9.132,

– ηδ: So some late MSS; ἥ τ᾽ most codd. (Ω*), preferred by West; ἥ τ᾽ A B E F; ἧτ᾽ C; ητ᾽ Π^{64}; omitted in T; πέλει R (in this codex the verse looks exactly like 9.134: ἣ θέμις ἀνθρώπων πέλει, ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν). Worth noting is the fact that the scribe of our papyrus mistakenly writes δ for τ and vice versa (cf. below). Perhaps he intended ἥ τ᾽, as in the vulgate (cf. 9.289).

– αντ̣ρωṿ: The letter after the first ν is blurred, however the traces do not suit the expected δ (as in *ed.pr.*): there is a vertical and a high horizontal dash, apparently τ. Read ἀνδρῶν. Mayser-Schmoll[10] give many examples of such τ< >δ interchange, including also from the *Iliad*, e.g. αἰγίτι, ἀποτρύφυ (*sic*) *P.Lond.Lit.* 27 (I BC), τωδεκάτου *P.Tebt.* 1.105 (BC 103), while Gignac[11] cites numerous Roman period documentary examples.

279 χρυ̣[σ]ου και χαλκου: So Π^{64} codd. (Ω), preferred by West; χαλκοῦ καὶ χρυσοῦ some late MSS., cf. 9.137.

– ν̣η[ησασθαι: The first letter is doubtful. Theoretically, the shape suits the expected ν, however the left hasta is very oblique and its upper tip touches

[9] In codex A against verse 9.274 there is such a note: Ἀρίσταρχος / + κούρης (*sic*) Βρησῆος / ἐπὶ μέγαν (δὲ?) ὅρκον (cf. however ad 9.132: Ἀρίσταρχο(ς) κούρη Βρισῆο(ς) / ἐπὶ δὲ μέγαν ὅρ/κον ὀμοῦμαι).

[10] E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* 1.1, rev. H. Schmoll (Berlin 1970) 147.

[11] F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* 1 (Milano 1975) 80.

the right oblique of the preceding υ. In fact the hypothetical ν looks more like λι. The tradition has unanimously νηήσασθαι here. Possibly the papyrus has a different reading: λίην – x, perhaps λίην εἶναι; cf. 21.566 λίην γὰρ κρατερὸς περὶ πάντων ἔστ᾽ ἀνθρώπων. Perhaps, however, it is only a blunder of the scribe (especially since N looks almost like ΛΙ).

280 κεν̣: The last letter is slightly doubtful. *Ed.pr.* suggests that ν was corrected from ιε (i.e. the scribe at first wrote κειε), however I suppose that it is a clumsy ν, written in one sequence, with a blob at the upper tip of the right hasta.

– τ`δ΄αδεωμεθα: Above the τ was written δ (its horizontal stroke is in fact the crossbar of τ), however the second error was not corrected. Read δατεώμεθα. Gignac[12] gives many intervocalic examples of such interchange of δ and τ.

281 Τρωιδας: Read Τρωϊάδας.

282 τε: So one late MS (*teste* Leaf), The tradition (Ω) has κε, preferred by editors.

283 Αρκος: σ corrected from ι. Read Ἄργος. Mayser-Schmoll[13] give few examples of such interchange of γ and κ including ᾽μαστίκου for ἐμαστίγουν in *UPZ* 1.12.39 (BC 158), but Gignac[14] notes that it is very frequent.

– ικοιμεθ: The second ι seems to be crossed out (perhaps accidentally, or written two times) and ε is corrected from η (*ed.pr.* wrongly –μεθ᾽ from –μετ). ἱκοίμεθ᾽ is attested in the whole tradition (so Π^{64} Ω) and preferred by West. Naber conjectured ἱκώμεθ', cf. 9.141.

284 εη`ο΄ις: What was written at first in the main text is doubtful. After ε there are traces of two letters superimposed one on another, most probably η and ο. It is difficult to determine which one was first. In addition, ις looks like it was corrected (by the scribe) from η, so the first reading was ε ̣η (ἐόη? ἐήη? Cf. ἔηι in 9.142). Later there was another correction: above the blurred, superimposed character ο was added (judging from the large shape, it may be due to the hand of the lower text), forming ἔοις, which is attested also in Π^{64}, *testimonium* and codd. (Ω) and is preferred by West. Some late MSS have ἔῃς, preferred by Leaf. Cf. 9.142.

– τισι: Read τίσει.

[12] *Grammar* 1:81-83; cf. Mayser-Schmoll, *Grammatik* 1.1:146.

[13] *Grammatik* 1:143-144.

[14] *Grammar* 1:77.

286 τρις: Read τρεῖς.

– μοι: Apparently from 9.144: οἵ vulgate, edd.

287 Χρυσοθεμις: ρ perhaps corrected from an unknown letter, υ perhaps from ο. Above ο, possible trace of a faded acute accent.

288 Read τάων ἥν κ᾽ ἐθεληισθα.

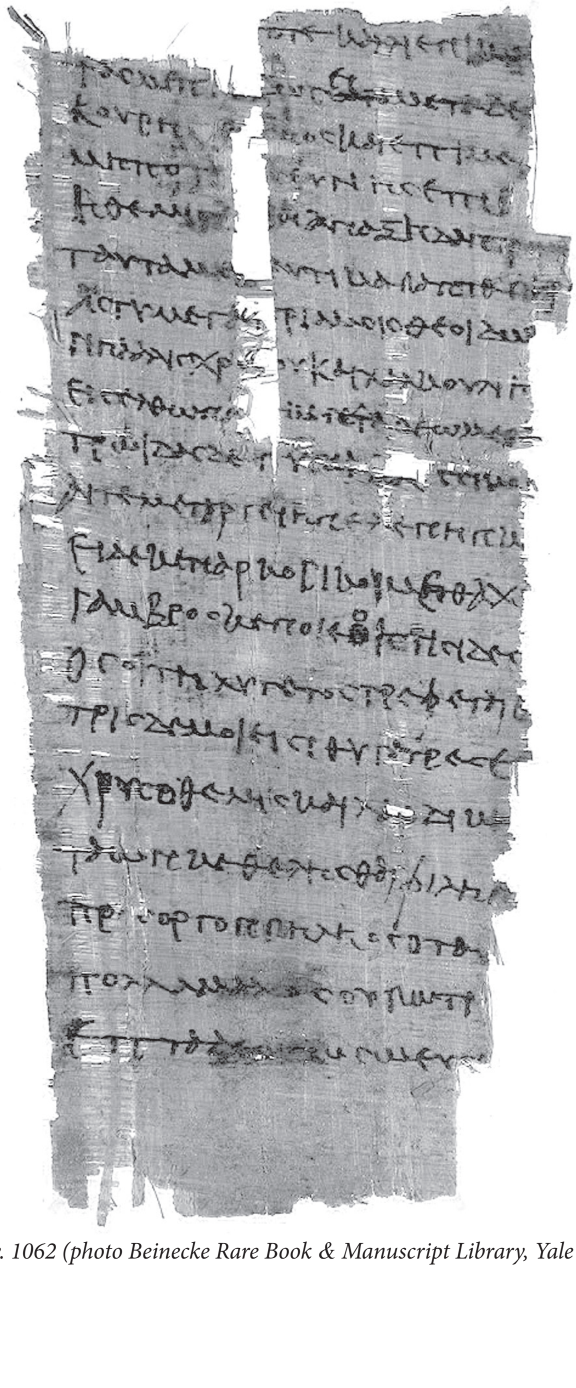
289 ορτον: A new reading (οργον *ed.pr.*, which is hardly possible: the left part of the crossbar is damaged but visible). ὀρτόν = βωμός *teste* Hesychius; οἶκον *vulg.*

– τ: A new reading. The tradition (Π[64] Ω) has δ', preferred by West. Cf. on 276.

290 οσ: Read ὅσσ᾽, as the medieval tradition (Ω); ω[ς Π[491]. *Ed.pr.* prints that ος is "over erasure for ὅσσ᾽"; however, this "erasure" appears to be no more than a dark discoloration of the surface, as in other places.

291 οι̣: So T H (*teste* van Thiel, Leaf); τοι appears in the vast majority of the tradition. *Ed.pr.* wrongly prints that the papyrus has τοι, which in addition is "over erasure." This "erasure" appears to be again just dark discoloration.

– δ̣ωσω: A new reading. The tradition has δώσει. Both of the variants in this line are from 9.149, where the tradition has ἑπτὰ δέ οἱ δώσω εὖ ναιόμενα πτολίεθρα.



P.CtYBR inv. 1062 (photo Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University)

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 35-39

A Homeric Papyrus from Oxyrhynchus

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Abstract

Edition of a third century CE papyrus (*P.Oxy.* 3.535 *descr*.) from Oxyrhynchus with Homer, *Iliad* 1.43-59.

papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.p363 H. x W. = 13.0 x 5.7 cm
P.Oxy. 3.535 *descr*.; MP[3] 570; West 114 Oxyrhynchus, III CE

This fragment of a book-roll on medium brown papyrus contains portions of the middle of lines from *Iliad* 1.43-59. An average of eight letters per line are written along the fibers. The back is blank. As the papyrus is broken on all sides, the original margins cannot be estimated, but the average width of each letter (0.45 cm) suggests that column width would have been approximately 16 cm, if each line were preserved to its full extent.[1] There are four vertical cracks on the left side of the papyrus. The text offers no new readings.

The hand is roughly bilinear, exhibiting many characteristics of the "formal mixed" or "severe" style.[2] Bilinearity is interrupted below the line by the letters ρ, υ, and φ (e.g., in lines 45, 49, and 53) and more subtly by the letters α and χ (e.g., in lines 45 and 46). The vertical descenders in the letters ρ and υ occasionally curve to the left (e.g., in line 49). Overall characteristics of the

[1] The average width of letters and column width are derived according to W.A. Johnson's formulae in the introduction to his *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 10-12. The average width of each letter is calculated by dividing the total width of the extant lines (63.2 cm) by the total number of extant and partial characters (142), or 63.2/142 = 0.45 cm. To find the original width of the column, one needs to multiply the average width of each letter by the average number of characters per line. For these particular lines that average is 35.7, which is very close to Johnson's suggested average of 35.5 for Homeric verse without *iota* adscript (p. 12). The resulting column width of approximately 16 cm (35.7 x 0.45 = 16.1 cm) is slightly higher than Johnson's normal range of 11-14 cm for hexameter verse in book-rolls from Oxyrhynchus (p. 116).

[2] E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. P.J. Parsons (BICS Suppl. 46; London 1987) 22, hereafter abbreviated as *GMAW*[2]; cf. G. Cavallo, "Greek and Latin Writing in the Papyri," in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 131-134.

hand are a slight slant to the right, a tendency to run together the crossbar of ε, θ, and τ with the letters that follow (e.g., in lines 48 and 55), occasional ligatures, a contrast between broad (μ, ν, τ, ω) and narrow (ε, θ, ο, c) letters, and a flat-bottomed ω (e.g., in line 44). Similar hands may be found in *P.Oxy.* 67.4635 (*scholia minora, Il.* 2; late II-early III CE), *PSI* 10.1169 (*Il.* 14; III CE), and PSI inv. 576 + *PSI* 11.1190 (*Od.* 5; late II-early III CE).[3] These *comparanda* suggest a date range from the late second to mid-third century CE.[4]

Various lectional signs have been added to the text throughout. Acute and grave accents (e.g., in lines 45, 46, 48, 51), a high dot (line 48), a rough breathing (line 56), and a correction (line 57) all appear to be written by a second hand, as these marks are above the line and the ink often appears either to be slightly darker than that of the original hand (e.g., in lines 46 and 51) or slightly lighter (e.g., in line 45).[5] The style of the letter ε, which corrects the erroneous reading in line 57, is similar to that found in cursive hands. An organic *diaeresis* (line 47), however, appears to be written by the original hand as it is nearly level with the top of the line and contains no discernible difference in ink shade from the original hand. *Iota* adscript is not written. There are also some evident spaces between words that coincide with *caesurae* in the third (lines 55, 56) and fourth feet (line 47) of the hexameter.[6]

The use of accents seen here is typical for the period in that they serve to resolve potential syntactical or metrical ambiguities in the text for the reader. That is, they are used on the syllable or syllables preceding an oxytone in order to prepare the reader for the rise in pitch at the end of a word (e.g. ὲχεπευε̣[in line 51).[7] In a different but related situation, the combination of the high dot following νεω]ν· and the grave accent on the first syllable of μὲτα (line 48) prevents the reader from misconstruing what is in reality an adverb in *tmesis*

[3] *P.Oxy.* 67.4635 in J. Spooner, *Nine Homeric Papyri from Oxyrhynchos* (Florence 2002) pl. 6; *PSI* 10.1169 in Cavallo (n. 2) pl. 5.28, 134; PSI inv. 576 + *PSI* 11.1190 in M. Manfredi (ed.), *Papiri dell'Odissea. Seminario Papirologico 1977-78* (Florence 1979) pl. 7.

[4] For a recent edition of other Homeric fragments from Oxyrhynchus of the same time period (II-III CE), see *BASP* 48 (2011) 7-26.

[5] The shape of the rough breathing in line 56 appears to be a rounded form of the second type described by Turner (*GMAW*² [n. 2] 11).

[6] Turner notes that spaces can mark the close of a period, but the spaces here do not coincide with this use (*GMAW*² [n. 2] 8).

[7] J. Moore-Blunt, "Problems of Accentuation in Greek Papyri," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 29 (1978) 140; C.M. Mazzucchi, "Sul sistema di accentazione dei testi greci in età romana e bizantina," *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 146; R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta, GA 1996) 85.

(μετὰ) for a preposition in *anastrophe* (μέτα) modifying νεω]ν.[8] The rarity of a given word, as suggested, for example, by its appearance in the *scholia minora*, seems to increase the likelihood that it will have a lectional sign or an accent in this text.[9] This papyrus contains a number of features that suggest the original and second hand could be that of an advanced student or teacher (e.g., spaces between words, organic *diaeresis*, high dot, rough breathing).[10] Texts used by advanced students or teachers, however, are very difficult to distinguish from those of educated individuals and, for this reason, an educational context is only one of many possible contexts for this fragment.[11]

These same lines are also attested by the following papyri:[12]

P.Yale 2.90 (MP^3 561.1, West 453a; mid II CE); 1.1-94
PSI Il. 2 (MP^3 564.01; II/III CE); 1.30-45
P.Mich. inv. 13 (MP^3 565, West 374; II/III CE); 1.32-57
P.Oxy. 15.1815 (MP^3 566, West 111; III CE); 1.33-50, 59-75
P.Oxy. inv. 27 3B 39/G(1-3)d (MP^3 565.001; II/III CE); 1.33-48
P.Lond.Lit. 1 (MP^3 567, West 112; II CE); 1.37-54
P.Hamb. 2.155 (MP^3 560, West 373; I CE); 1.37-51, 55-67
P.Mich. inv. 1576(v) (MP^3 566.1, West 519; III CE); 1.37-47
P.Oxy. inv. 85/18(a) (MP^3 566.002; ined.); 1.37-46
P.Mil.Vogl. 1.1 (MP^3 569, West 321; II/III CE); 1.39-55
P.Oxy. inv. 97/41(a) (MP^3 569.031; ined.); 1.41-56
PSI Il. 4 (MP^3 569.03; II/III CE); 1.41-52
PSI Il. 3 (MP^3 569.02; II CE); 1.41-48
P.Medin.Madi 1 (MP^3 569.1, West 521; II/III CE); 1.42-49
P.Gen. inv. 95 + *BKT* 5.1.3 + *BKT* 9.61 + *P.Aberd.* 134 + P.Louvre inv. AF 12809 (MP^3 571, West 116; I/II CE); 1.44-60, 54-64
P.Bodm. inv. 48 (MP^3 571.01, West 115; III CE); 1.45-58

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8 Moore-Blunt offers a similar example of a grave accent in the word πὲριδρυοc helping to prevent a misreading in *scriptio continua* for the preposition in *anastrophe* πέρι (Moore-Blunt [n. 7] 153).

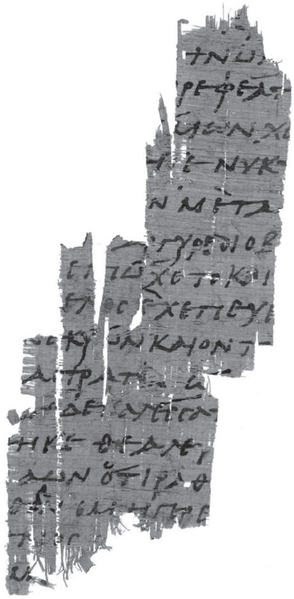
9 J. Lundon includes ἤϊ' and ἐπῴχετο, the former of which bears a *diaeresis* and the latter of which bears an accent in this fragment (lines 47, 50), in his most recent edition of *Scholia Minora in Homerum*: *An Alphabetical List* (Trismegistos Online Publications 7; Köln-Leuven 2012).

10 Cribiore (n. 7) 83-86 characterizes the latter three features as the work of intermediate to advanced students or teachers.

11 Cribiore points out this general difficulty in her *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton 2001) 138.

12 More than half of the *Iliad* papyri that have come to light contain passages from the first six books (Cribiore [n. 11] 194).

– – – – – – – – – –
ε]κ̣λυ̣[ε
καρ]ηνων [
αμφ]η̣ρεφέα τ[ε
] ώ̣μων χω̣[ομενοιο
] ηϊε νυκτ[ι
νεω]ν· μὲτα δ̣[
γεν]ε̣τ αργυρεοιο β[ιοιο
] επώχετο και [
] β̣ελοc ἐχεπευε̣[
] νεκύων καιοντο̣ [
αν]α cτρατον ώχ̣[ετο
αγορ]η̣ν̣δε καλέccατ[ο
] θηκε θεα λευ[κωλενοc
Δα]ν̣αων ὅτι ρα θν̣[ηcκοντac
ηγερ]θ[[ο]]\ε/ν ομηγερε[εc
ανιcταμ]ενοc μ̣[ετε]φ̣[η
αμ]με̣ [
– – – – – – – – – –



49 γεν]ε̣τ: The letter π in the subsequent line shows that the gap visible in the digital image is illusory. The descender visible on the left side of the gap in this line belongs to the letter τ. There are faint traces of ink to both the left and the right of this descender that are barely visible in the digital image. The curved traces of ink on the left side of the descender suggest the letter ε. Identification of the ink on the right side of the descender is difficult, because the ink at the top of the descender appears to be broken and, even if the gap is closed, there is a small wedge missing from the papyrus here. These ink traces may be part of the crossbar of the letter τ or they may be the right edge of a ligature of the letters τ and ο. If one accepts the first possibility, the apparent elision of the letter ο before the next word (αργυρεοιο) suggests that this papyrus was not consistently written in *scriptio plena*, though there is no other place where elision would be expected in this fragment with which to compare.[13]

– αργυρεοιο: There is what appears to be a grave accent over εο. However, a close examination of the ink on the crossbar of the letter ε reveals that it has been broken and that the papyrus fiber containing the rest of the lengthened crossbar of the letter ε has been lifted above the line. When one

[13] Turner notes that individual scribes did not consistently write in *scriptio plena* (*GMAW*[2] [n. 2] 8).

(mentally) replaces the crossbar of the letter ε, a ligature of the letters ε and ο appears, consistent with that of the letters τ and ο in line 50 below.

51 ἐχεπευε̣[: The lunate curve at the right edge suggests the letter ε, as does the slight thickening near the middle of the curve where one would expect the crossbar of the letter ε to join it. Although the vulgate has the letter κ here (ἐχεπευκές), an upturned end on the vertical stroke of the letter κ would be unparalleled in this fragment, suggesting that the scribe may have skipped the letter κ and written the letter ε by mistake in anticipation of the letter ε in the final syllable of this adjective.

54 αγορ]η̣ν̣δε: A misaligned fiber at the left edge of the papyrus contains ink that appears to belong to the letter η and that may obscure the left vertical of the letter ν. A hook-shaped stroke at the top of the right vertical of what appears to be the letter ν could be a serif (though one unparalleled for the letter ν in this fragment) or an *apostrophe* separating the word αγορ]η̣ν̣ from the word δε.[14] The ink mark above the letter δ in this line could be a stray ink mark or the termination of a long acute accent beginning over the letter η (cf., e.g. καλέccατ[ο), which was broken off in connection with the long crack visible between the letters ν and δ.

56 ὅτι: A rough breathing is marked only here, along with an acute accent. Similar examples of a round rough breathing combined with an acute accent may be found in *PSI* 10.1169, col. 1, 246, 250.

57 ηγερ]θ[[ο]] \ε/ν: The correction above this line uses an ε similar to what one would expect from an informal hand. This correction may have arisen from the scribe's anticipation of the letter ο beginning the next word in the line (ομηγερε[εc). For a parallel, see the cursive interlinear correction above *Il*. 2.481 in Turner, *GMAW*[2] (n. 2) pl. 14.

[14] Turner points out this use of the *apostrophe* (*GMAW*[2] [n. 2] 11).

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 41-45

A Letter from Harpalos and Sarapion(?)

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Abstract

Edition of the second half of a letter from Harpalos and Sarapion(?) to Harpalos and Ellious.

P.CtYBR inv. 1564[1] 10.8 x 11.3 cm Provenance unknown, II-III CE

This papyrus was purchased for Yale University by Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff from Maurice Nahman in Paris, July 1935, with funds donated by Edward Stephen Harkness and Horatio McLeod Reynolds. It constitutes the second half of a letter from Harpalos and Sarapion to Harpalos and Ellious, as the address on the back indicates. There are nine complete lines of text on the front and two lines on the back. The writing on the front proceeds with the fibers (→) but so does the writing on the back, which is a result of the scribe's turning the papyrus 90° after folding in order to write the address for dispatch. The papyrus is broken at the top, and there are some holes and abrasions, but the surviving text as a whole is intact. Five folding lines are evident on the papyrus and the right edge on the front side is conspicuously straight in contrast with the other three tattered edges. Interestingly, the scribe has drawn a horizontal line the width of the text beneath the conclusion of his letter. It is unclear whether an ἔρρωσο farewell was written below the horizontal line; it may have been omitted altogether, for which there are parallels.[2] The precise provenance of the text is unknown and none of the persons mentioned can be specifically identified. The purpose of the letter is unclear, although we may infer from the extant text that it concerned family matters, since the sender's mother, perhaps also the recipient's mother, sends along her greetings to more than one person.

The handwriting is very roughly bilinear, written in neat majuscule letters with a fluid ductus. The letters have a tendency to incline slightly to the

[1] I would like to thank Roger Bagnall, Peter van Minnen, and the anonymous reviewers of *BASP* for their helpful comments which greatly improved this paper.

[2] See T.V. Evans, "Valedictory ἔρρωσο in Zenon Archive Letters from Hierokles," *ZPE* 153 (2005) 155-158.

left, are mostly detached, and written with finials on the tips of some letters (especially δ, η, κ, π). *Epsilon*'s curved back is occasionally broken at its center, being joined by two, separate curves. The right vertical hasta of *eta* is shorter than its counterpart and curved. The hand can be compared to that of *P.Tebt*. 2.479 (account of expenses, 3rd century CE) and *P.Tebt.* 2.417 verso (letter, 3rd century CE), but it may also be compared to that of *P.Tebt.* 2.495 (letter, 2nd century). It is also similar but neater in appearance to the hand of *P.Yale* 1.78 (letter, 2nd century). We may thus tentatively assign a date of 2nd-3rd century CE to the papyrus.

– – – – – – – – – – – – –
→ [ ] . [ἀσ-]
πάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ μήτηρ μου
καὶ ὡς ἄρτι κάθηται ἡ-
μῶν̣ ἐχόμενα. ἀσπά-
ζετα̣[ί] σε Διδύμη καὶ
Σαραπιάς. καὶ ἐρωτῶ-
μεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακα-
λοῦμεν γράψατε ἡμεῖν
ἐπιστολὴν περὶ τῆς
σωτηρίας ὑμῶν.
– – – – – – – – – – – – –

Verso

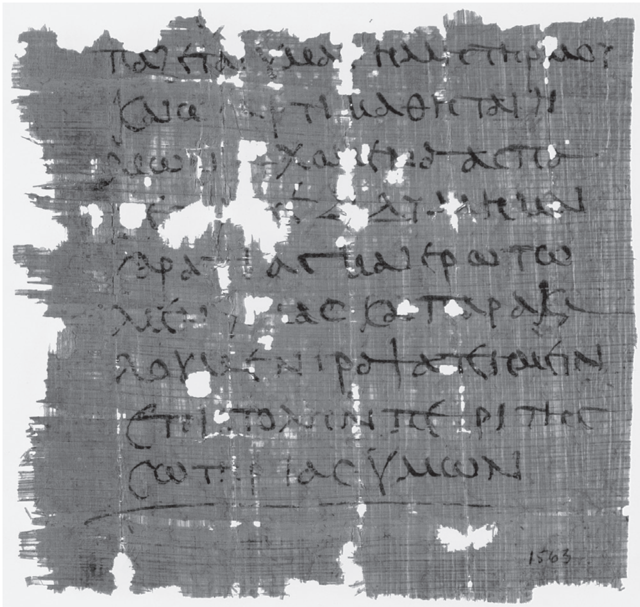
→ [Ἁρπά] \/ λω̣ι̣ καὶ Ἐλλιηοῦτι
/\ ἀπὸ Ἁρπάλου καὶ Σαραπί(ωνος?)

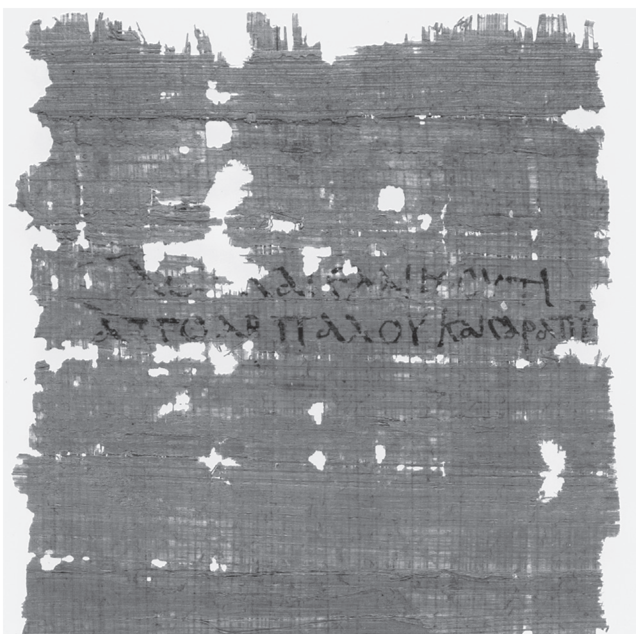
8 ἡμῖν *verso vel* Σαραπι(άδος)

"My mother greets you (pl.) and at present she is sitting with us. Didyme and Sarapias greet you (pl.). And we ask and encourage you (pl.) to write a letter concerning your (pl.) health.

(*Verso*) … to Harpalos and Ellious from Harpalos and Serapion(?)."

2 ἡ μήτηρ μου: It is common for letter writers to use the phrase "*my* mother" even when the writer and recipient(s) have the same mother. The same is also true of phrases such as "my brother, my sister, my father," etc. Cf. *P.Mert*. 2.82.17; *BGU* 3.843.10-11; *SB* 16.12981.13-15. There is a horizontal stroke coming off the first *eta* of μήτηρ; this may have been a first attempt at the cross stroke of the following *tau*.





3 ὡς ἄρτι: The forms ἕως and ὡς are interchangeable; cf. *P.Kell.* 1.74.18, *O.Did.* 428.4, *P.Athen*. 63.21.

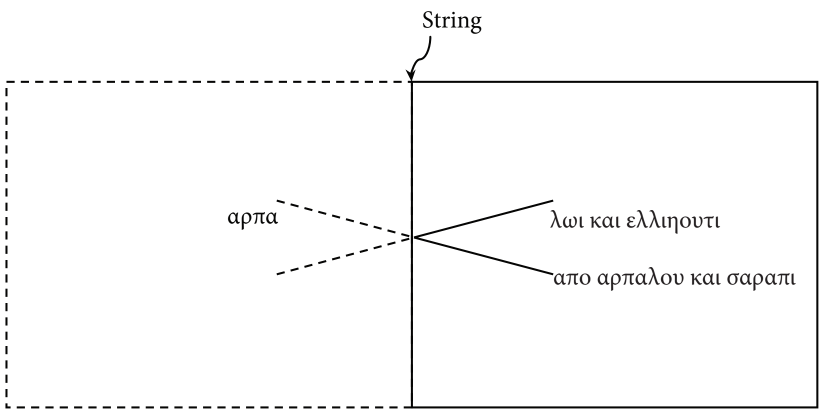
– κάθηται: The term here may mean "reside, dwell, stay, live" as in 2 Esd. 21:6, Matt. 4:16; see LSJ s.v. κάθημαι. But it may also have the more usual meaning "sit," in which case the authors may be indicating that the mother "at present is sitting with us," that is, as the letter was being composed. This is supported by the use of ἄρτι, which frequently denotes (of time) "just now," "presently," "just at present" (LSJ s.v. ἄρτι); cf. *P.Mich.* 3.203.10, *P.Mich*. 8.500.5, *P.Mich.* 8.510.16.

4 ἐχόμενα: ἔχω is here being used as a preposition followed by a genitive of person (i.e., "with us"); see LSJ, *Suppl*. s.v. ἐχόμενα. The phrase ἐχόμενα σου occurs in *P.Col*. 8.215.24. This word was sometimes misspelled as ἐχόνομα, as in *P.Oxy*. 8.1160.8, and P.Mich. inv. 5805.19-20.27. See H.C. Youtie, "A 'Lost' Parallel for εχονομα," *CPh* 32 (1937) 155-158 (=*Scriptiunculae* 2:805-809).

6-8 ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν: The phrase occurs exactly in this form in the New Testament, in Paul's letter to the Thessalonians (1 Thess. 4:1). Cf. also *O.Ber.* 2.129.14, *O.Did.* 410.3, *P.Col.* 8.215.21, *P.Oxy.* 4.744.7, *SB* 24.16293.3.

8 γράψατε: The verbs ἐρωτάω and παρακαλέω normally take an infinitive or subjunctive, occasionally being preceded by either ὅπως or ἵνα, but the imperative is frequently used as well. See, e.g., *P.Brook*. 17.9, *P.Berl.Sarisch.* 14.8, *P.Apoll*. 69.18, *P.Oxy.* 34.2731.17-18, *P.Oxy*. 59.4008.3, *P.Mich.* 8.481.33. The use of the imperative can be explained as a shift to direct speech.

Verso



Ἁρπά]λω̣ι̣: I initially ruled out this reading given the large amount of space before the *lambda* and took it to be a monosylabic name beginning with *lambda*. But I now adopt Peter van Minnen's observation that the scribe drew an "X" over a now missing string, and that Ἁρπα- was likely written to the left of that, on the missing, first half of the papyrus:

– Ἐλλιηοῦτι: The name may be a variant of Ἐλλιοῦς, which is attested only once: as a patronym in *P.Sakaon* 49.4 (Ἐλλιοῦτος). The latter is probably itself a misspelling of the very common name Ἑριεύς and can be explained by the frequent liquid interchange λ > ρ (on which see Gignac, *Grammar* 1:102-107).

– Σαραπί(ωνος?): The name is most probably abbreviated given that (1) the letters on this line become increasingly compressed, (2) the sheet may be complete at this point (i.e., not broken), and (3) there are markings above and through the top of the *iota* suggesting an abbreviation marker. The edge of the sheet where this name breaks off corresponds to the bottom on the front, and the letter has already reached its conclusion at this point. The name could be Σαραπίωνος or Σαραπίαδος. According to the Trismegistos People database, Σαραπίων (#5663) is attested more than 5,100 times, whereas Σαραπιάς (#5662) is attested only 517 times, approximately only 10% of the total. It is also unclear whether the Σαραπιάς in l. 6 on the front would be the same person as here in the address.

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 47-57

A Loan of Money with Interest[1]

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Abstract

Edition of a fourth-century Greek documentary papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (P.Col. inv 185) recording a one-month loan of thirty talents with built-in interest of 3,000 drachmas.

In 1924, the text published here as P.Col. inv. 185 arrived at Columbia University through the papyrus cartel of H.I. Bell, who had acquired the piece from the dealer M. Nahman.[2] Although many pieces acquired by Columbia during this year were found at Karanis, the contents of the text rather suggest a findspot in the Oxyrhynchite nome (see below). As preserved, the papyrus measures 24.7 (H.) x 7.5 (W.) cm. The margins at the top (1.3 cm), bottom (2.7 cm), and left (1.3 cm) survive mostly intact; the right half of the original document, however, has broken off along the central vertical fold. Each line, therefore, is missing between 18 and 22 characters. The preserved papyrus, moreover, displays a prominent vertical fold line down the center, more pronounced at the bottom of the text, indicating that the original document was folded in half twice.

The 26 lines of Greek on the document's *recto* run along the fibers and are written in two distinct hands. The first (lines 1-21) writes large letters with thick

[1] Preliminary work on this project was begun during a seminar at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World in the fall of 2012, and I owe a debt of gratitude both to my fellow students, for their comments and suggestions, and to Roger Bagnall, for introducing me to the world of papyri, reading and commenting on several drafts of this article, and providing me with transcriptions and notes of previous students. Additional work was conducted during a three-week stay at the Institut für Papyrologie (Universität Heidelberg), funded by a grant from New York University's Antonina S. Ranieri International Scholars Fund. For permission to publish the text, I am grateful to the Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Columbia University. I also wish to thank Andrew Monson and Michael Peachin for reading and discussing with me various parts of the text, and the anonymous readers for their many helpful comments. All remaining errors in transcription and interpretation are my own.

[2] Number XVI.13 in Bell's inventory. For Bell's purchases on behalf of American universities, cf. *P.Col.* 7, pp. 2-4, and *P.NYU* 1, pp. ix-x.

strokes and few ligatures. The second (lines 22-26) is faster, with smaller letters that incline to the right. The *verso*, meanwhile, contains a one-line docket written either by a third hand or by the first, but with thinner strokes.

Dating to 345 CE, the text, which is drawn up in the form of a cheirograph, contains an acknowledgement from Aurelius Didymus, of the Oxyrhynchite village Pakerke, that he has received 30 talents of silver as a loan; the full name of the lender, from Oxyrhynchus, is not preserved.[3] The period of the loan was to be a single month, beginning on the first of Thoth (August 29) and ending on the thirtieth (September 27), and interest was to be paid at a rate of 3,000 drachmas per month, or 20% per annum. Interestingly, the two parties had done business previously, and if the loan was not repaid on time, the borrower was to pay a fixed amount of interest, rather than a penalty. The purpose of the loan is not given, and it is uncertain whether it was ever fully repaid.

In many ways, the document is highly typical of its period in both structure and content, following the normal pattern for loans contracted between a city-dwelling creditor and a village debtor and finding its closest parallels in *P.Oslo* 2.41 and *SB* 14.12088, dating to 331 and 346 respectively.[4] The present text, however, is among a very small body of fourth-century loans whose term is known to have lasted only a single month. Worp, in his 1995 edition of the Greek papyri from Kellis, discovered only five such loans: *P.Oslo* 2.41, *P.Sakaon* 64, *P.Sakaon* 96, *P.Select* 7, and *P.Stras* 4.278.[5] To these must also be added the more recently published *P.NYU* 2.23, *P.Oxy.* 61.4124, and *P.Oxy.* 61.4125. Of this corpus, the present text is unique in explicitly stating a rate of interest in cash.[6] This rate, however, is only given in abbreviated form on the *verso*, with

[3] For the prevalence and development of the cheirograph in Oxyrhynchus, see U. Yiftach-Firanko, "The *Cheirographon* and the Privatization of Scribal Activity in Early Roman Oxyrhynchos," in E. Harris and G. Thür (eds.), *Symposion 2007: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Durham, 2.-6. September 2007)* (Vienna 2008) 325-340.

[4] The topic of loans in the papyri, and in the fourth-century in particular, has given rise to a significant bibliography: see, for instance, H.-A. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Darmstadt 1994) 118-121; O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia*, 2nd ed. (Milan 1988) 225-229. Though not directly addressing the period at hand, see also B. Tenger, *Die Verschuldung im römischen Ägypten (1.-2. Jh. N. Chr.)* (St. Katharinen 1993).

[5] *P.Kellis* 1, pp. 115-120.

[6] *P.Oxy.* 61.4124 (and possibly 4125) and *P.NYU* 2.23 belong to a body of loans that were ostensibly extended "without interest" (ἄνευ τόκου). This phrase, however, was likely used in order to conceal "loan sharking practices" on the part of the lender. See P.W. Pestman, "Loans Bearing No Interest?" *JJP* 16-17 (1971) 7-29; J.C. Shelton, "Two Contracts of Loan from the Michigan Papyrus Collection," *JJP* 18 (1974) 157-162.

the *recto* merely stating that the total sum to be repaid included both the principal and an unstated amount of interest.

As noted by Worp, the interest rates on nearly all short-term loans in the fourth-century exceeded the legal limit of 12% per annum, perhaps reflecting an attempt by lenders to limit risk during a time of inflation.[7] In the case of those one-month loans for which he was able to make calculations, Worp discovered that the rates of interest all exceeded 40%.[8] Moreover, in the two cases where the loan was extended "without interest," the concealed fixed rate likely exceeded 50%.[9] The present text, therefore, is unique not for the fact that its interest rate exceeded the 12% legal limit, but for having a rate significantly closer to that limit than similar loans from the same period.

P.Col. inv. 185   H. x W. = 24.7 x 7.5 cm   Oxyrhynchus, 29 August 345 CE

ὑπατείας Φλαουίων [Ἀμαντίου καὶ Ἀλβίνου]
vacat   τῶν [λαμπροτάτων, Θὼθ .]
Αὐρήλιος Δίδυ̣μος Π[ca.18   ]
ἀπὸ κώμης Πακέρκη [Αὐρηλί-   ca.11   ]
Διογᾶτος ἀπὸ̣ τῆς [λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν]
πόλεως χαίρε̣ιν. ὁμ[ολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ]
σοῦ ἐν χρήσι διὰ̣ χιρὸς [ἐξ οἴκου ἀργυρίου Σεβασ-]
τῶν νομίσματος τά̣[λαντα τριάκοντα]
καὶ δραχμὰς τρισχιλ̣[ίας, γ(ίνεται) (τάλαντα) λ καὶ (δραχμαὶ) ͵Γ,
   σὺν δια-]
φόρου, ἅπερ ἐπά̣ναγ[κες ἀποδώσω τῇ τρια-]
γάσι τοῦ Θὼθ τοῦ ἐ̣[νεστῶτος μ (ἔτους) κβ (ἔτους) ιγ (ἔτους)]
ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερθέσ̣[εως καὶ εὑρησιλογίας·]
εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκτίσω̣ [ὑ]π̣ὲ̣ρ̣ [τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος]
χρόνου [τ]όκον τὰ στ̣[αθέντα πρὸς ἀλλήλους,]
μενοῦντός σοι λόγο[υ πρὸς ἐμὲ περὶ ὧν]
ἄλλων σοὶ χρεωσστ[ῶ καθ᾽ ἕτερα γράμματα]

---

[7] *P.Kellis* 1, pp. 115-120. For this 12% legal rate, see H.E. Finckh, *Das Zinsrecht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (Erlangen 1962) 27-42. For the differences between rates of interest levied in cash and those levied in kind, see D. Foraboschi and A. Gara, "Sulla differenza tra tassi di interesse in natura e in moneta nell'Egitto greco-romano," *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Papyrology* (Ann Arbor 1981) 335-343.

[8] According to Worp's calculations in *P.Kellis* 1, pp. 117-119, the rate of *P.Stras* 4.278 was 40%, *P.Oslo* 2.41 approximately 80%, *P.Sakaon* 96 greater than 96%, *P.Select* 7 100%, and *P.Sakaon* 64 between 60% and 200%.

[9] For *P.Oxy.* 61.4124 and *P.NYU* 2.23, the editors calculated concealed rates of 50% and 60% respectively.

ἄχρι τῆς καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν [ἀποδόσεως, γινομέ-]
νης σοὶ τῆς πρά̣ξε̣ω̣[ς παρά τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν]
ὑπαρχόντ̣ων̣ μ̣οι̣ πά̣[ντων. κύριον τὸ χειρό-]
γραφο̣ν̣ ἁπλο̣ῦν γρ̣α[φὲν καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς]
ὡμο̣λόγησ̣α̣. *vacat*
(m. 2) Αὐρήλιο[ς] Δίδυμ[ο]ς̣ ὁ̣ π̣[ροκείμενος ἔσχον τὰ τοῦ]
ἀργυρίου̣ τ[ά]λ̣αντα̣ τ̣ριάκον̣[τα καὶ δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας]
σ̣ὺν διαφ[ό]ρ̣ῳ̣ κα̣ὶ ἀποδώσω [ὡς πρόκειται, καὶ ἐπερωτη-]
θ̣εὶς ὡ[μο]λ̣ό̣γ̣ησα. Αὐ̣ρ̣ήλιος Πα̣[ca. 10 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ]
αὐτοῦ̣ φ̣[αμέν]ου μ̣ὴ̣ [εἰδέναι γράμματα.]

Verso
χι(ρόγραφον) Διδύμου ἀπ̣ὸ Πακέρκη κεφ(αλαίου) (ταλάντων) λ
vacat ἐκ (δραχμῶν) ͵Γ ἀπὸ Θὼθ μ (ἔτους)

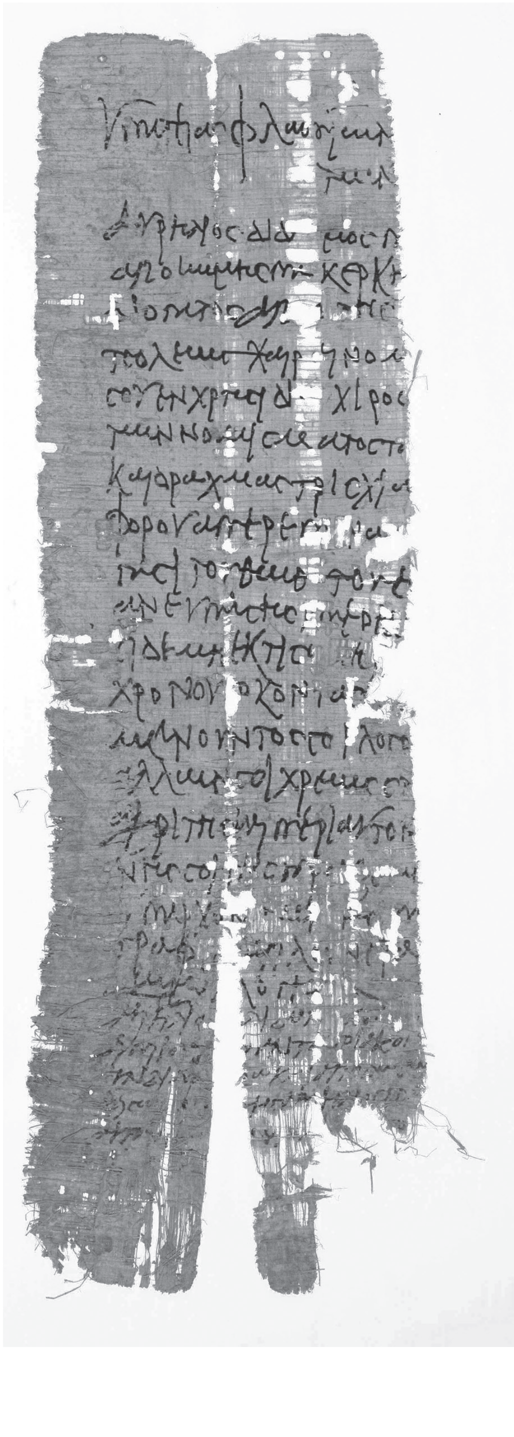
1 φλαουΐων pap. 7 χρήσει, χειρός 9-10 διαφόρῳ 10-11 τριακάδι 13 ἐκτείσω 15 μένοντος 16 χρεωστῶ 17 αὐτῶν *Verso* χειρόγραφον

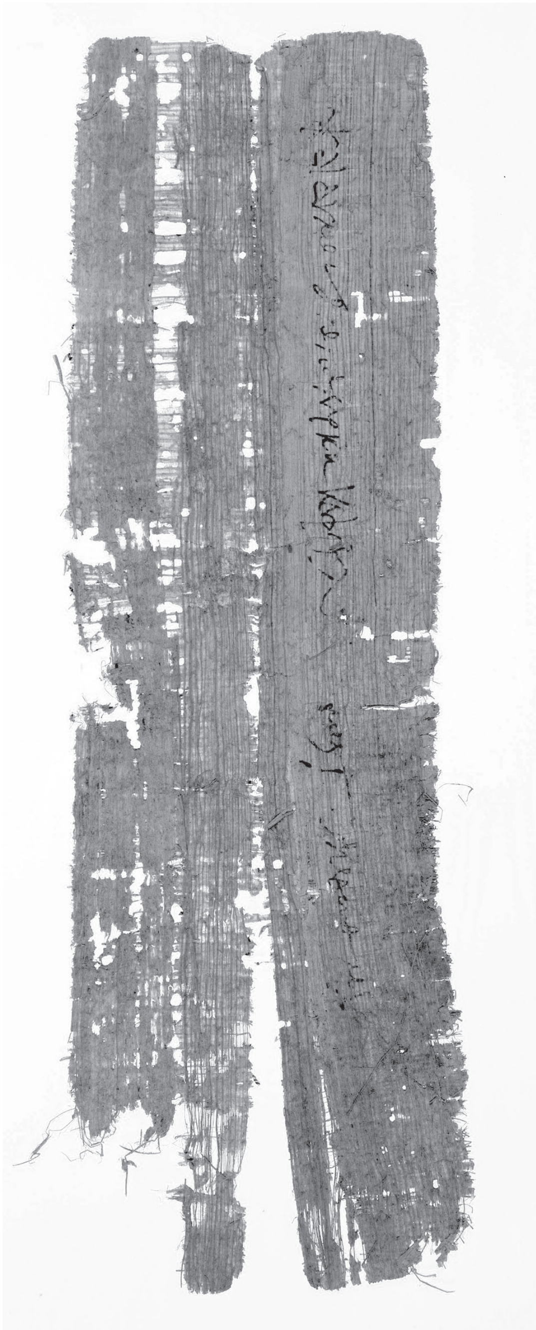
"In the consulship of Flavius Amantius and Albinus, the most illustrious, Thoth 1(?).

Aurelius Didymus, son of P-…, from the village of Pakerke, to Aurelius/Aurelia …, son/daughter of Diogas, from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from you as a loan from hand to hand out of your house thirty silver talents and three thousand drachmas of Imperial coinage, that is 30 talents and 3,000 drachmas, including interest, which of necessity I will repay to you on the thirtieth of Thoth of the present (Oxyrhynchite) year 40, 22, 13, without any delay or excuse. And if not, for the time exceeding (the term), I will pay to you as interest what we have mutually fixed, with you retaining the claim against me concerning the other debts which I owe you according to other contracts until there is a repayment regarding these, (and) with you having the right of execution against me and all my possessions. This cheirograph written in a single copy is valid, and having been questioned, I gave my consent.

I, Aurelius Didymus, have received as a loan thirty talents of silver and three thousand drachmas including interest and I will repay as aforesaid, and having been questioned, I gave my consent. I, Aurelius P-…, wrote for him because he says that he does not know letters.

(*Verso*) Cheirograph of Didymus from Pakerke, in the sum of 30 talents, at a rate of 3,000 drachmas, from the month of Thoth (in) (Oxyrhynchite) year 40."





1-2 The consuls of 345 CE, Ἀμάντιος and Ἀλβῖνος, and the month when the term of the loan began, Θώθ, can be securely supplied on the basis of the date given on the *verso* (see below).[10] This may have been followed by the numeral α; however, because this is missing from the dating formula on the *verso*, I have not restored it here.

4-5 The Oxyrhynchite nome contained two villages with the name Πακέρκη, one in the Eastern toparchy and one in the Middle toparchy. It is uncertain to which village the present text refers.[11] The lacuna to the right, meanwhile, would have contained the name of the lender including the dative Αὐρηλίῳ or Αὐρηλίᾳ.

5 The name Διογᾶς, here the lender's patronymic, occurs most often in documents from Oxyrhynchus and thus further supports our locating the loan and its contracting parties in that nome.[12] The honorific formula supplied here for Oxyrhynchus has been chosen on the basis of chronology. The size of the lacuna, however, would also accommodate the simple formula λαμπρᾶς.[13]

8 The restoration of τάλαντα τριάκοντα is clear from the subscription and *verso*. In the middle of the fourth-century, the purchasing power of 30 talents in silver was approximately a single artaba of wheat.[14]

9 In comparable texts of this period, the total sum of the loan is almost always reckoned in both full and abbreviated forms. See, for instance, *P.NYU* 2.23.7, *P.Oslo* 2.41.12, *P.Oxy.* 45.3266.8, and *P.Oxy.* 61.4124.12. As such, I restore here γ(ίνεται) (τάλαντα) λ καὶ (δραχμαὶ) ʼΓ, a formulation which also appears on the *verso*.

9-10 The prepositional phrase σύν διαφόρῳ, reconstructed here from its repeated occurrence in line 24, indicates that the interest on the loan has

[10] For the consuls of 345, see R.S. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta 1987) 224-225; R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Leiden 2004) 135 and 185.

[11] See Calderini, *Diz.geogr*. 4:21-22, *Suppl*. 2:145-6, *Suppl*. 3:117, *Suppl*. 4:103, *Suppl.* 5:77; P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchite* (Florence 1981) 131-133; and A. Benaissa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome: A Papyrological Survey* (Trismegistos Online Publications 4; Köln-Leuven 2012) 241-245.

[12] According to the Trismegistos onomastic database (http://www.trismegistos.org), more than 69% of attestations of Διογᾶς in texts with a provenance occur in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

[13] See D. Hagedorn, "Ὀξυρύγχων πόλις und ἡ Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις," *ZPE* 12 (1973) 277-292.

[14] R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (Atlanta 1985) 37-41.

been built into the total sum to be repaid, 30 talents 3,000 drachmas. The rate of interest, however, is only made explicit on the *verso* (see below). In other loans using this phrase, which is most common in loans in kind from the Oxyrhynchite nome, the principal and interest are listed separately before being added together to calculate the total sum to be repaid; see, for instance, *P.Oxy.* 7.1040.6-12 and *P.Oxy.* 77.5109.9-17.[15]

10 On the basis of the formula used in parallel texts, we would expect the indirect object σοι to follow ἀποδώσω; however, because the same indirect object is omitted from lines 13 and 25, I have not restored it here.

10-11 The word that ends line 10 and begins 11 is problematic, with the letter combination γασι elsewhere unattested. Because of its position, we expect a word in the dative case stipulating a date during the month of Thoth by which the loan must be repaid. The most likely candidate is the word τριακάδι, here misspelled as τριαγάσι. Although this particular scribal error is without parallel in the papyri, the nominative τριακάς is sometimes mistakenly used for τριακάδι in such contexts (for example, *P.Stras.* 1.19.2). Similar confusion between the consonants *delta* and *zeta*, meanwhile, occurs in *P.Lond*. 6.1914.6, where εἰκάζι appears in place of εἰκάδι. A misspelling of this word (εἰγάσι) is in fact theoretically possible in this case; however, because comparable loans virtually all terminate at the end of the month, and because the rate and amount of interest almost certainly demand a period of a full month, τριαγάσι is to be preferred.

11 There is no *a priori* way to determine whether ἐνεστῶτος or εἰσιόντος follow the definite article; the chronology of the loan, however, demands the former. According to the *verso*, the term of the loan began on the first of Thoth, the same date on which the Oxyrhynchite year began.[16] As argued above, meanwhile, the present line indicates that the loan was to be repaid by the end of this same month. As such, the period was either a single month (if ἐνεστῶτος) or thirteen months (if εἰσιόντος). This latter possibility, however, would give the loan an unattested duration and an implausibly low rate of interest. Therefore, the term would have been a single month, from the first through the thirtieth of Thoth, and we may here safely reconstruct ἐνεστῶτος. The remainder of the line likely presented the year in the Oxyrhynchite era, which would appear as a

[15] For this expression, see N. Lewis, "The Meaning of σὺν ἡμιολίᾳ and Kindred Expressions in Loan Contracts," *TAPA* 76 (1945) 126-139 (repr. in *On Government and Law in Roman Egypt: Collected Papers of Naphtali Lewis* [Atlanta 1995] 17-30).

[16] For the beginning of the Oxyrhynchite year, see Bagnall and Worp (n. 10) 30-31.

series of numerals representing the regnal years of Constantine I, Constantius II, and Constans, as in *P.Harr.* 1.82.10 and *SB* 14.12088.19.[17]

13 Although the sense is clear, the precise words following ἐκτίσω are problematic, as the commonly used formula ἐκτίσω σοι τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος does not correspond with the extant traces. If, as it seems, the descending stroke with which the line breaks off belongs to a *rho*, the most likely candidate is the preposition ὑπέρ, as in *P.Sakaon* 64.12. This reconstruction, however, does not provide for the expressed indirect object σοι, which appears in all parallel texts.

14 Following τόκον τὰ σταθέντα, we expect a phrase disclosing the amount to be paid per month in case of late payment. The customary formula for this, however, does not fit the lacuna. Instead, I supplement here πρὸς ἀλλήλους, a prepositional phrase that so appears in two similar short-term loans, *P.Oxy*. 61.4125.24-5 and *SB* 14.12088.23. This restoration not only fits the lacuna, but also accords well with the relationship between borrower and lender discussed in the following lines.

15-16 The restoration of these two lines is complicated by a lack of fourth-century parallels. The phrase begun by μενοῦντος is common in loans, contracts, and receipts from the first through third centuries, but rare later. The present reconstruction is based on the formulae of *P.Vind.Sal*. 6.23-5 (190 CE), *P. Turner* 33.8-10 (211), and *PSI* 12.1250.14-15 (265). No extant parallels, however, use the verb χρεωστέω, instead preferring forms of ὀφείλω. The lacuna of line 16 is restored following the line's closest parallel in *PSI* 6.702.14-15; other possible objects of κατά include συνγραφάς (*P.Flor*. 1.81.6), ἀσφαλείας (*P.Leid. Inst.* 25.11), and χειρόγραφα (*P.Genova* 2.62.29).

17 The phraseology of this line is without parallel in the papyri, and the reconstruction therefore tentative. If we are correct in assuming that αὐτόν is a misspelling of αὐτῶν, then the noun governed by ἄχρι must refer to the repayment of obligations discussed in the previous lines. Moreover, because the restoration of γινομένης is secure, the remaining lacuna would accommodate no more than 16 characters. As such, the most likely candidate is ἀποδόσεως, which is the proper length and is so used in, for instance, several contemporary loans from Kellis (*P.Kell*. 1.42.19, 1.43.13, 1.44.12, 1.46.25).

18-21 The restoration of these highly formulaic lines, which appear with little variation in myriad fourth-century contracts, follows most closely *SB* 14.12088.23-27 and *P.Oxy*. 45.3266.19-22.

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[17] Bagnall and Worp (n. 10) 56.

22-26 A short *paragraphos* separates the main body of text from the subscription below. With the exception of the sum to be repaid, the subscription is almost exactly parallel to those of other fourth-century loans, such as *P.Gen.* 1².12.25-30, *P.Nag Hamm.* 63.14-19, *P.Oslo* 2.41.25-29, *P.Oxy.* 61.4125.31-36, and *SB* 14.12088.29-35.

23 It is on the basis of this line that I restore τάλαντα τριάκοντα to line 8. The remainder of the line is supplied from its counterpart in line 9.

25-26 Within the papyri, a number of different formulae are so used by scribes writing on behalf of illiterate clients.[18] In line 26, I restore φαμένου in order to account for the *phi*, *omicron*, and *upsilon* on either side of the vertical fold. With this word in place, the remainder of the line, μὴ εἰδέναι γράμματα, can then be supplied from the formula used in such texts as *P.Heid.* 4.309.6-7, *P.Oxy.* 69.4753.31-32, and *SB* 14.12088.34-35. The line breaks off with several scattered traces belonging to unassignable letters.

Verso Although we cannot be certain that the *verso* was not written by the first hand, there are enough divergences to suggest the work of a third. As customary, this one-line docket records, in abbreviated form, the name and location of the borrower and the amount borrowed; see, for example, the *verso*s of *P.Sakaon* 64 and *P.Oxy.* 61.4124. Unlike the *recto*, however, "Aurelius" is here omitted from the borrower's name. The docket also uniquely notes the loan's rate of interest using the preposition ἐκ, the symbol for δραχμή, and the numeral Γ. Although not explicitly stated, interest in contemporary loans is almost universally quoted on a monthly basis. This rate of interest, 3,000 drachmas per month on a principal of 30 talents, thus equates to 20% per annum. Such a method of noting interest is not so used in any other fourth-century loan, but appears frequently in lists and accounts.

As discussed above, the prepositional phrase ἀπὸ Θώθ informs us that the period of the loan began during the month of Thoth. Because no numeral immediately follows the name of the month, we cannot *a priori* exclude the possibility that the loan began at a date later than the first. However, because the chronology of the loan demands a full-month term, and because loans virtually all begin at the opening of the month, the omission here is far more likely to indicate that the period began on the first of Thoth, equivalent to August 29.[19] It is on this basis that we restore the date in line 2. The numeral

[18] For the meaning of these various formulae, see H.C. Youtie, "Ὑπογραφεύς: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt," *ZPE* 17 (1975) 218 (= *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* 1:196).

[19] Bagnall and Worp (n. 10) 159.

μ and the sinusoidal curve that conclude the line, moreover, date the text to Oxyrhynchite year forty, which corresponds to 345/346 CE.[20] The month of Thoth during which the loan was active, however, would have fallen only in 345, allowing us to safely restore the consuls Ἀμάντιος and Ἀλβῖνος to line 1 and the regnal years to line 11.

[20] Bagnall and Worp (n. 10) 135 and 185. Although no traces remain, this date may have been followed by the regnal years of Constantius II and Constans, as reconstructed in line 11.

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 59-67

An Assessment from Karanis[1]

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Abstract

A fourth-century account from the Michigan collection that is argued to have originated in Karanis and dated to 351/352 CE.

History, Provenance, and Physical Description

The document's history, thanks to internal and archival evidence, can be loosely reconstructed. It was purchased from Maurice Nahman by Harold Bell in May 1925 and came to the University of Michigan in October 1926 as a gift of the brothers Oscar and Richard H. Webber of Detroit.[2] Although its provenance was unknown and listed neither in Bell's preliminary report of July 16, 1925, nor in his description of September 5, 1925, it shares a number of features with documents known to derive from fourth-century Karanis in the Arsinoite nome. The most striking is the name Sabinus son of Mys (l. 2), which appears also in *P.NYU* 1.11a.59 and *P.Col.* 7.189.5-6. The possibility that this is the same Sabinus is bolstered by an analysis of other names in the document, which collectively substantiate the provenance: in the fourth century, the

[1] Work on this fragment commenced during the American Society of Papyrologists' 2012 Summer Institute in Chicago. I am grateful to the institute's other participants and its instructors – especially James Keenan – for comments and collaboration. Thanks are owed to *BASP*'s anonymous readers, to the University of Manitoba for financial support, and to Arthur Verhoogt and the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection. The image of the papyrus is digitally reproduced with the permission of the Papyrus Collection, Graduate Library, University of Michigan.

[2] APIS records the names Oscar Weber and Richard H. Webber, but J.G. Pedley, *The Life and Works of Francis Willey Kelsey: Archaeology, Antiquity, and the Arts* (Ann Arbor 2012), indicates that they were brothers, and indexes them under Webber. Following an examination of Kelsey's papers in the University of Michigan's Bentley Historical Library in June 2013, Todd M. Hickey has confirmed that Pedley is correct.

names Ptollas,[3] Antiouris,[4] Tapaeis,[5] and Kanaout[6] are found predominantly (if not exclusively) in documents from Karanis.

We should not be surprised that such a papyrus shows up in the 1925 consignment: in the introduction to *P.NYU* 1, Naphtali Lewis noted that many documents from fourth-century Karanis were included in purchases made by Bell in the years 1922-1925.[7] According to Bell's records, the 1925 consignment was spurred by a disagreement with Nahman over the value of rolls in the previous year's purchase: his preliminary report remarks that he had requested "all the papyri [Nahman] had in stock at a low valuation so as to redress the balance."[8] Given the dispute, it is perhaps no surprise that Nahman's redress proved no less inadequate:

> Under this [heading "Lot 3"] I have placed a great mass of material which in Nahman's invoice appears under several headings. Taken as a whole this material, which was designed principally to make up for the excessive price of the October [1924] rolls, is very disappointing. There is a large amount of rubbish or fragments which promise little. These I have not described separately. Even of the pieces (349 separate numbers, many of them including two or more different fragments) which I have picked out for separate description the majority are imperfect, often unattractive in appearance, and of inferior interest, such as accounts, registers, or contracts of common types. The best of this lot are the Coptic papyri. Many of these also are very imperfect, but there is a fair proportion of interesting material.

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[3] See Trismegistos People (available online at http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/index.php). For Ptollas (Nam_ID 5346), Trismegistos yields 64 hits in the fourth century, 61 of which (95.3%) derive specifically from Karanis.

[4] For Antiouris (Nam_ID 6601), Trismegistos yields 86 hits in the fourth century, all of which derive specifically from Karanis.

[5] For Tapaeis (Nam_ID 6071), Trismegistos yields 24 hits in the fourth century, nineteen of which (79.2%) derive from Karanis. One of the five exceptions comes from the Arsinoite nome (but not specifically from Karanis).

[6] For Kanaout (Nam_ID 24935), Trismegistos yields seventeen hits in the fourth century, sixteen of which (94.1%) derive specifically from Karanis.

[7] *P.NYU* 1, p. ix. Several other Michigan texts from the same purchase come from Karanis: P.Mich. inv. 3662a (= *SB* 22.15720), 3662b (= *SB* 22.15721), 3367 (= *SB* 22.15758). Cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Varia Papyrologica III," *ZPE* 100 (1994) 266, who claimed, additionally, a provenance of Karanis for P.Mich. inv. 3254 (= *SB* 22.15719) on the basis of Michigan's inventory. The file, however, includes no such record.

[8] H.I. Bell report, July 16, 1925, box 2, Francis Willey Kelsey Papers (1894-1928), Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

Bell is no more enthusiastic in his description of the consignment's contents: regarding the papyrus that would be inventoried as P.Mich. inv. 3676 he remarks simply: "(228) Account. Early IV. Imperfect. 10" x 5½"."[9]

Bell's description can now be elaborated upon: the papyrus preserves twenty lines of an account written with the fibers in a single column and is light brown in color. Given its dimensions (26.6 x 14.4 cm), the column is likely complete, or missing (at most) a line or two. A vertical strip in the center of the fragment just before a *kollesis*, approximately 3 cm wide, is abraded – badly in places – and several of the assessment's amounts are difficult to read (e.g. ll. 5, 8, 10, 13-15); others have wholly disappeared (e.g. ll. 9, 17).[10] The left-hand margin is small (1 mm), and there is 5 cm of blank space to the right of the column (with the exceptions of ll. 1 and 16, the latter of which contains entries for two individuals; see commentary *ad loc*. below). Additionally, at right between ll. 17 and 18 there appears a large sum that can only be the column's total.[11]

The hand is semi-cursive with an occasionally rapid *ductus*. Letters are typically in the range of 6 mm tall. The internal evidence indicating a provenance in fourth-century Karanis is consistent with the palaeography: Bell (as was noted above) dated the document to the early part of the century, and the hands of *P.Sakaon* 25 (327 CE), *P.Oxy*. 36.2767 (323 CE), *P.Col*. 7.135 (335 CE), and *O.Mich*. 3.1022 (342 CE) suggest more specifically a date in the second quarter of the century. The sums at stake in the assessment are not inconsistent with palaeographical indicators, but are easier to reconcile with a date in the middle of the century. For although accounts such as *P.Nag Hamm*. 22 (298-333 CE) and *SB* 20.15040 (323-324 CE) include figures in the thousands and myriads of talents, it has also been argued that assessments in such amounts are unlikely to antedate the spike in inflation of the 350s.[12] If one accepts the tentative reading of a tenth indiction in the first line, the result is a date in 351/352 CE.

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[9] H.I. Bell report, September 5, 1925, box 2, Francis Willey Kelsey Papers (1894-1928), Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

[10] Because of the abrasion, the symbol for talents in the first nine lines is regularly faint or damaged, although its presence is certain: in those places in the text dots will be employed in resolving the symbol.

[11] See below, commentary on l. 21. The Temseu Skordon codex similarly provides sums in the margin at right when a folio's column lacks space at the bottom. See R.S. Bagnall, J.G. Keenan, and L.S.B. MacCoull, *A Sixth-century Tax Register from the Hermopolite Nome* (Durham 2001).

[12] R.S. Bagnall and P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Currency in the Fourth Century and the Date of *CPR* V 26," *ZPE* 24 (1977) 120; see also the commentary on l. 1.

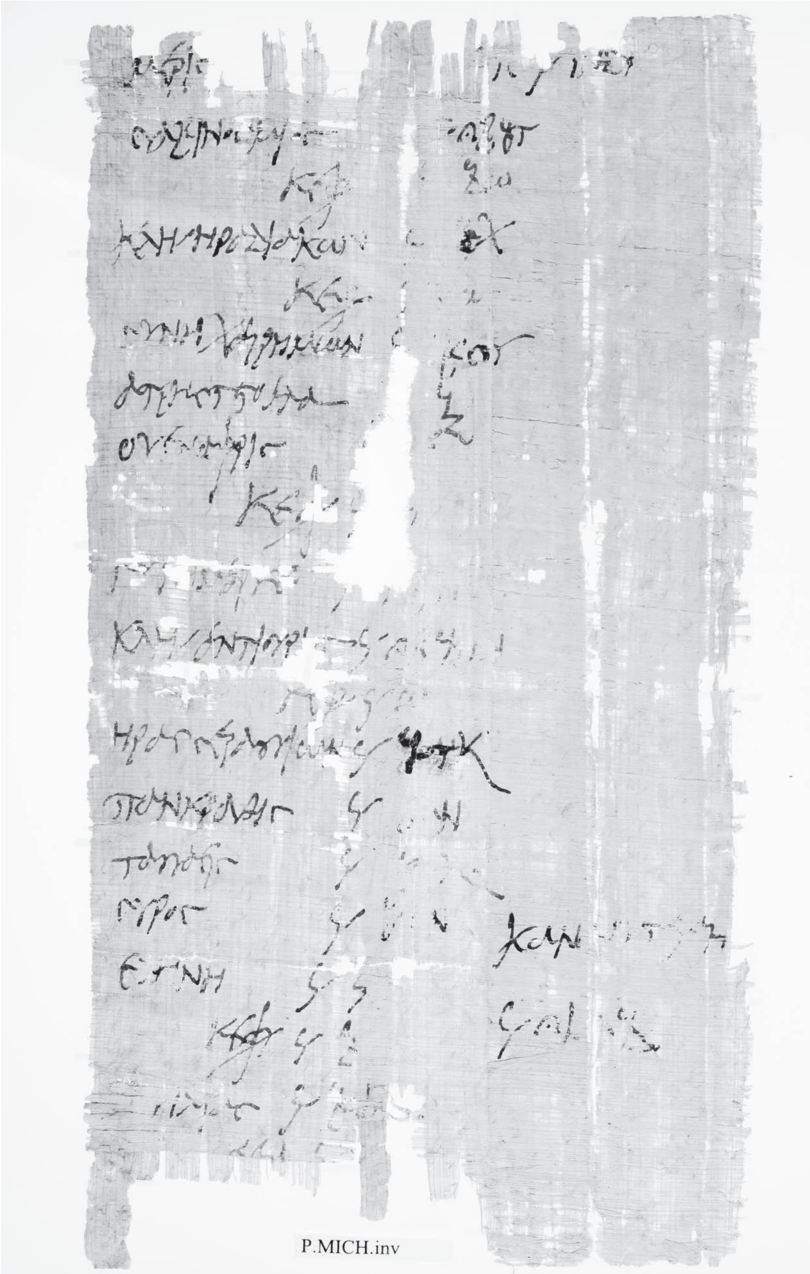
Text

P.Mich. inv. 3676 H. x W. = 26.6 x 14.4 cm Karanis (?), 351/352 CE (?)

μερισ[μοῦ . . . .] . . ς ι̣/ ἰ̣ν̣δι̣(κτίονος)
Σαβῖνος Μιὸς (τ̣α̣λ̣ά̣ν̣τ̣ω̣ν̣) (μυριάδες) β ʼΒ̣τ
κεφ( ) (τ̣ά̣λ̣α̣ν̣τ̣α̣) ʼΔω
κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἡρᾶ διάκων (τ̣ά̣λ̣α̣ν̣τ̣α̣) ʼϛ̣χ
κεφ( ) (τ̣ά̣λ̣α̣ν̣τ̣α̣) . ω
γ̣υνὴ Χαιρήμων (τ̣ά̣λ̣α̣ν̣τ̣α̣) ʼΒσγ̣
Ἁτρῆς Πτολλᾶ [(τάλαντα)] ʼΖ
Οὐενᾶφρις (τ̣ά̣λ̣α̣ν̣τ̣α̣) .
κεφ( ) (τ̣ά̣λ̣α̣ν̣τ̣α̣) [ ] .
γ̣υ̣ν̣ὴ Μᾶρκο̣ς̣ (τάλαντα) . . . .
κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἀντιούρις (ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) β̣ ʼΗτ̣ν
κεφ( ) (τάλαντα) ω
Ἡρᾶς Σεραπίων (τάλαντα) ʼΓ̣τκ
Πανκράτης (τάλαντα) Ἀ̣σν
Ταπάεις (τάλαντα) Ἀ̣χ̣λ̣
Σύρος (τάλαντα) ʼΒτ̣ν̣ Καναοῦ̣τ (τάλαντα) ʼΗ
Ἑλή̣νη (τάλαντα) ʼΔ̣ . [ ]
κεφ( ) (τάλαντα) ʼΔ (ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) ιδ̣ ʼΔ
Ἠλίας (τάλαντα) ʼϛ̣φ .
κεφ( ) (τ̣ά̣λ̣α̣ν̣τ̣α̣) .

2 Read Σαβῖνος Μυός 4 ς corr.; read διάκονος 6 Read Χαιρήμονος 10 Read Μάρκου 11 Read Ἀντιούρεως 13 Read Σεραπίονος; ʼΓ̣τκ corr. 17 Read Ἑλένη

"Assessment [for ?], tenth(?) indiction: Sabinus son of Mys 22,300 talents; *keph*( ) 4800 talents; heirs of Heras the deacon, 6600 talents; *keph*( ) 800+(?) talents; wife of Chairemon, 2203 talents; Hatres son of Ptollas, 7000 talents, Ouenaphris [?] talents; *keph*( ) [?] talents; wife of Marcus, [?] talents; heirs of Antiouris, 28,350 talents; *keph*( ) 800 talents; Heras son of Serapion, 3320 talents; Pankrates, 1250 talents; Tapaeis, 1630 talents; Syros, 2350 talents; (*in the right margin)* Kanaout, 8000+(?) talents; Helene, 4000+ talents; *keph*() 4000 talents; Elias, 6500+ talents, *keph*() [?] talents; [total:] 144,000 talents."



P.MICH.inv

Commentary

1 A pair of comparable accounts (*P.NYU* 1.13 and *P.NYU* 1.14) suggest the supplement μερισ[μοῦ μηνί, an introductory formula which defines the text as an assessment.[13] But while μερισ[μοῦ would mark the beginning of the document, I doubt whether μηνί or a month name should be assumed in the lacuna. The traces at the end of the line are read tentatively, but might refer to a tenth indiction.[14] Neither NYU text, however, includes an indictional date after the month name, while a third parallel text (*P.Col.* 7.129) has an indictional date but no month name.

If the reading of a tenth indiction is accepted, the document most likely dates to 351/352 CE,[15] which is consistent with both palaeographical and economic indicators. The hand, as was previously noted, has parallels in the first half of the fourth century, and although there survive texts with figures in the thousands and myriads of talents from this era (e.g. *P.Nag Hamm.* 22; *SB* 22.15040) the sums at stake in the assessment correspond better to the spike in inflation in the 350s.[16] Bagnall and Sijpesteijn, for example, re-dated four parallel documents (*P.NYU* 1.13, *P.NYU* 1.14, *P.Col.* 7.129, and *P.Mich.* 12.651) to the 360s based, among other considerations, on the amounts paid in tax.[17] A date of 351/352 accords with both indicators.

2 The symbol for talents (ς´) appears throughout the document, though here only a portion of the diagonal is visible before the symbol for μύριας/μυριάδες (ᴖ), which also appears in ll. 11 and 18. Units in the thousands are marked throughout by a curl or crest surmounting the numeral.[18]

Names throughout the document are typically presented in the nominative case, even in the second position, where a genitive denoting the individu-

[13] *P.NYU* 1.13 begins μερισμοῦ μηνὶ Παῦνι and repeats the formula (with different months) in ll. 17 and 21, while *P.NYU* 1.14 begins μερισμοῦ μηνὶ Ἁθὺρ / εἰς Χοίακ (1-2).

[14] I would restore the right side of the lacuna as follows: δεκάτ]ε̣ι̣ς ι̣/ ἰ̣ν̣δι̣(κτίονος), assuming the genitive δεκάτης. For the combination of ordinal and alphabetic numeration, cf. *P.NYU* 1.3 (336/337 CE).

[15] Other possible tenth indictions are 336/337 and 366/367 CE.

[16] On the spike in inflation in the early 350s, see the discussion of R.S. Bagnall in *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (Chico, CA 1985) 43-46, as well as the updated figures in the appendix to *P.Kell.* 4, pp. 225-229.

[17] Bagnall and Sijpesteijn (n. 12) 121-123.

[18] This method of notation went out of fashion over the course of the fourth century and was replaced by the slanting diagonal stroke below the letter. See H.J.M. Milne and T.C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London 1938) 62-64. Cf. *P.Ryl.* 4.616 (312 CE), which is an early example of the later practice, and *P.NYU* 1.14 (363 CE), in which text both the curl (l. 11) and the diagonal stroke (ll. 3-10) indicate thousands.

al's relationship to another would be expected. Thus, Chairemon and Marcus' wives are the γυνὴ Χαιρήμων (l. 6) and γυνὴ Μᾶρκος (l. 10), respectively. The entry for the heirs of Heras the deacon (l. 4), however, has the deacon's name in the genitive but his title in the nominative (κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἡρᾶ διάκων),[19] and the practice with patronyms is also inconsistent: Ἡρᾶς Σεραπίων (l. 13) is left in the nominative, while Σαβῖνος Μιός (l. 2) and Ἀτρῆς Πτολλᾶ (l. 7) provide the genitive.

For the individual named Σαβῖνος Μιός (l. 2), see also *P.NYU* 1.11.59 and *P.Col.* 7.189 (where the patronym is also iotacized).[20] Prosopography, in this case and in others, is consistent with a provenance in fourth-century Karanis (see further *History, Provenance, and Physical Description* above, as well as commentary on ll. 7-8, 13, and 16 below).

3 The unresolved abbreviation κεφ( ), which is indented on this papyrus, is also found in *P.NYU* 1.14 and *P.Col.* 7.129. Its meaning is unclear. In his comment on the former text, Naphtali Lewis remarks that it presumably "designates some per capita impost, but it is not clear how the payments so designated differ from the others, with which they are included in arriving at the total given at the bottom of the list. Whatever their exact nature, they represent a fixed charge (3000 talents), not a percentage of the amounts in ll. 3 and 5, to which they appear to be appended."[21] Roger Bagnall concurs in his edition of the latter text and notes, simply, "I do not know what it means."[22]

On the Michigan papyrus, the amount is not fixed: while the three instances of the abbreviation are followed variously by ʼΔ (l. 18), ω (l. 12), or the sum ʼΔω (l. 3 and possibly l. 5), the inclination to assume a fixed charge of 4800 talents and to emend or supplement the entries in ll. 5, 9, 12, 18, and 20 to that end is at odds with what can be read. Line 12, in particular, is incompatible with reading ʼΔω (4800), and the scant traces in l. 9 are to my mind unlikely to be from ʼΔω. On the basis of these two lines, I decline to restore it in ll. 5, 18, and 20, where it is conceivable. Instead, I note only that the figures at stake (800, 4000, 4800) are all multiples of 800.

The observation that the entries for κεφ( ), where complete, are equal to or lower than the amount of the assessment, suggests an alternative to Lewis' fixed charge hypothesis:[23] if one resolves κεφ( ) as κεφ(άλαιον) and interprets

[19] Similarly, in the entry for the κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἀντιουρις (l. 11), the case of the name is unclear: see the commentary *ad loc.*

[20] If, in fact, the same Sabinus son of Mys is at stake in all three texts, the indiction year of 351/352, if correct, can be used to date *P.NYU* 1.11 and *P.Col.* 7.189 more firmly.

[21] *P.NYU* 1, p. 33.

[22] *P.Col.* 7, p. 22.

[23] Where the entries are incomplete (e.g. ll. 4-5, 8-9, 19-20), the possibility that κεφ( ) is greater than the amount of the assessment cannot be discounted.

the sum listed as capital on deposit or prepaid,[24] the difference between the assessment and the entry for κεφ( ) would be the balance due for the individuals listed. In the absence of parallels for this hypothesis, however, it can only be posited tentatively (see commentary on l. 21 for the impact of this interpretation on the sums of the account).

4 The abbreviation κλη( ) refers to heirs (i.e. κλη(ρονόμοι)) as in *P.Col.* 7.129 and *P.NYU* 1.14. The traces read as ϛ seem to be a correction written over another integer (as in l. 13).

5 One might restore a sum of ʼΔω (4800), but cf. the comment on l. 3.

6 The final integer is oddly shaped: it consists of a serpentine upright with a diagonal extending upwards to the right from its midpoint. The shape most resembles γ, but because integers less than ten do not appear elsewhere in the text, we expect a figure between ι and ϙ in this position. The traces are consistent with none of the options. Similarly, while the traces for the middle integer resemble ο, it is more likely to be σ since a figure between ρ and ϡ is expected.

7-8 *O.Mich.* 1.577.9 mentions an Ἁτρῆς Οὐ[ενᾶφρ]ις, and *P.Stras.* 9.858.12 mentions a Οὐενᾶφρις Πτολλᾶ. The provenance of both texts is fourth-century Karanis: even if our account does not date to the same generation, the overlap suggests a connection. The names Ἁτρῆς, Πτολλᾶς, and Οὐενᾶφρις were most likely popular locally, if not preferred and handed down by a particular family (as with Sabinus son of Mys in l. 2).

11 Given the scribe's inconsistent practice elsewhere (see commentary on l. 2) one can accent the name Ἀντιουρις as nominative (Ἀντιοῦρις) or genitive (Ἀντιούρις = Ἀντιούρεως). I have analyzed as an iotacized genitive on the assumption that the correct form was written: the assessment's other entry for heirs – those of Heras the deacon (l. 4) – has Heras' name in the genitive.

13 The name Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίων appears with near exclusivity in fourth-century documents from Karanis (with the patronym in both the nominative and genitive).[25] All three digits of the entry for Heras appear to have been reentered, presumably as a correction. The thousands digit is more likely to be γ than α: cf. the shape of the integer on *P.Mich.* 12.651.11.

[24] See LSJ s.v. 5.

[25] See *O.Mich.* 1.631.4; *P.Col.* 7.126.4, 15, 27; 7.161 (*passim*, with both spellings: Σαραπίων and Σεραπίων); *P.Col.* 7.166r.1; *P.Mich.* 12.651.7; *P.NYU* 1.11a.181; *P.Mich.* 12.649 (*passim*); *P.NYU* 1.19.4. Beside the fourth century, see *PSI* 9.1034.23 (a second/third century document from Oxyrhynchus); and *SB* 12.10792.6, 18 (Oxyrhynchus, 182 CE).

14 τ is tiny: it consists of the nadir of the tail of α, which continues upward as a ligature into the top of the left-hand vertical of η.

15 The entry for this line, particularly the first integer, is difficult: the tick indicating thousands is clear, but apart from a diagonal to the right, the traces are few and unclear. I read α, but ε is possible as well.

16 This line contains two entries and extends all the way to the right-hand margin. A scribal error likely led to the initial omission, but subsequent insertion, of the entry for Kanaout, another name that appears almost exclusively in documents from fourth-century Karanis.[26]

17 The entry for Helene initially appears to duplicate the symbol for talents (ς´), but comparison with the shape of ʼΔ in the following line suggests that an entry for 4000 talents is likelier, and that two of the three sides of Δ have been abraded. For the misspelling of the name, cf. *P.Flor*. 1.78.10; *C.Pap. Gr*. 1.35.17 (= *P.Oxy*. 1.19.17).

19 The disputed thousands figure is more likely to be S than Δ, since the cap is ligatured horizontally into φ, leaving the triangle open at bottom right. On the digital image, a crack in the fibers seems to contain traces of ink consistent with the upper bar of ε, but autopsy under magnification is less conclusive: nevertheless, if not S, E is the next likeliest integer.

21 Following several blank cm of abraded papyrus in l. 17 after the entry for Helene, the symbol for talents appears again and is followed by an amount that surpasses the sum of the account's individual entries: the column's visible amounts total 104,900 talents, while this single entry is for 144,000 talents. It is presumably the sum of the column: the difference of 39,100 between this and the visible amount can be explained by the illegible and lost entries in ll. 5, 8-10, 17, 20. The sum's position between ll. 17 and 18 – it is not horizontally level with l. 17 – is further evidence that it constitutes a discrete entry in the ledger. Given that over 26 cm of the column are extant, no more than a line or two is lost at the bottom of the column.

If one interprets the entries for κεφ( ) as prepaid capital or deposits, the sums change somewhat: the visible entries for κεφ( ) add up to 10,400 talents, and if the sum of the column's assessments in 144,000 talents, only 94,500 talents (instead of 104,900) are assessed therein since 10,400 will have already been deposited. On this interpretation, the difference between the individual assessments and the column's total widens: 49,500 talents must be lacunose or illegible.

[26] See n. 6 above.

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 69-76

A Letter Ordering the Release of a Prisoner[1]

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Abstract

Edition of a 7th-8th century letter peremptorily ordering the release of a prisoner. The text mentions γραμματηφόροι and invokes the name of a *dux* named Ioannes.

P.Col. inv. 197 H. × W. = 11 x 31.3 cm VII-VIII CE

This papyrus was purchased by Columbia University from M. Nahman through H.I. Bell in 1924. The top, right, and bottom margins of the *recto* are intact. A cut has removed the left margin of the text on the *recto* and the right margin of the *verso*, excising an unknown amount of text on both sides. The cut begins approximately 4 cm from the bottom and slices cleanly into the text at an 8° angle. An irregular tear has removed the left margin of the bottom 4 cm. There is some damage caused by folding that affects the first third of what survives in line 3. The remaining damage to the papyrus consists of several small holes that do not, for the most part, affect the text.

The text consists of five lines, written against the fibers. The professional hand is cursive, inclined to the right, and very rapid. It is representative of the handwriting broadly dated to the 7th and 8th centuries, and particularly to that class that H.I. Bell referred to as the "current" (as opposed to "minuscule") style of that period.[2] Most of the surviving 7th-8th century documents in a "current"

[1] I first worked on P.Col. inv. 197 in 2006 as part of the ASP Summer Papyrological Institute at Columbia University. The document is owned by and resides in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Columbia University. I am grateful to R.S. Bagnall, H. Behlmer, and R. Cribiore for their gracious supervision. I acknowledge, as well, the collegiality and helpfulness of the other participants. R. Ast and the anonymous readers provided helpful feedback. The infrared photograph, captured in a 40 nm bandwidth centered at 950 nm, was taken by the Brigham Young University Ancient Textual Imaging Group. The photo is reproduced here courtesy of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Columbia University.

[2] H.I. Bell, "Two Official Letters of the Arab Period," *JEA* 12 (1926) 265-281.

hand happen to consist of communications between government officials, and this text is no exception.[3] Several documents whose handwriting closely resembles that of this text are dated to the first decade of the 8th century: *CPR* 8.82 (699 or 700), *P.Apoll.* 7 (709-712), and *P.Apoll.* 72 (703-715). However, other very close parallels are found in documents dated about a half century earlier: *CPR* 14.32 (655), *CPR* 22.2 (643-4), and *SB* 6.9462 (657). While all of the above parallels have similar letterforms, they all present slower hands. The text on the back is written along the fibers (the page was flipped horizontally) and consists of a one line address.

The document presents an order to release a prisoner. The order mentions petitioners (γραμματηφόροι), invokes an authoritative official (a *dux* named Ioannes), commands the prisoner's release with two imperatival constructions using ἀπολύω, and adds three prohibitive subjunctives forbidding the letter's recipient to detain the prisoner any longer. The tone is sharp and peremptory and the invocation of the *dux* seems almost threatening. Reference to γραμματηφόροι and the usage of imperatival ἀπολύω are found in other contemporary release orders.[4] Appeals to administrators are also conventional in this type of document; however, the administrators involved are usually the addressees of the letter. In this papyrus the intended recipient must be a minor official; the more powerful *dux* is invoked as merely being aware of the case in question.[5]

Other than the name Ioannes, the identity of this *dux* remains uncertain due to the document's lack of a specific date and of any indication of provenance; however, general distribution patterns of papyri as well as features of mid-seventh to early eighth century Egyptian ducal administration might shed some light on the pool of potential candidates.

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[3] *CPR* 22, pp. 6-8.

[4] *P.Sijp.* 24 a (643-644), *CPR* 30.27 (643-644), *P.Sijp.* 24 c (643-644), *CPR* 25.20 (630-650), P.Vindob. G 16791 (VII), *P.Heid.*7.411 (VII), *PSI* 7.824 (VI). See also F. Morelli, "Grammatêphoroi e vie della giustizia nell'Egitto tardo antico," in E. Cantarella (ed.), *Symposion 2005. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Wien 2007) 358-360; and J. Gascou, "Trois ordres de libération d'époque arabe," in A.J.B. Sirks and K.A. Worp (eds.), *Papyri in Memory of P.J. Sijpesteijn* (Oakville, CT. 2007) 161-167.

[5] Morelli explains why appeals to authorities in these documents seem to be more important than legal argumentation, "Chi ha subito un'ingiustizia e – come è presumibile per buona parte della popolazione egiziana – non ha un'idea chiara di diritto e procedimenti giudiziari, si rivolge semplicemente e in maniera ingenua ad un personaggio influente, spesso – anche se non necessariamente – a un ufficiale." See also A.A. Schiller, "The Courts Are No More," in *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra* (Milano 1971) 500-502.

The office of *dux*, which had been exclusively military prior to the sixth century, was expanded and redefined by Justinian's *Edict* 13 of 539 to have jurisdiction over military and civilian affairs. The combined provinces (eparchies) of Aegyptus 1 and 2, Augustamnica 1 and 2, and Thebais Superior and Inferior each were provided a *dux et Augustalis* with a subordinate *praeses* assisting in civilian administration. Arcadia appears not to have had its own *dux*, but was governed by a *praeses* subordinate to the *dux et Augustalis Thebaidis* just as the *praeses Thebaidis* was. Following the Sassanid occupation of 619-629, Constantinople changed Egypt's administrative structure. The divided provinces were restored to their pre-sixth century forms: Aegyptus, Augustamnica, Thebais, and Arcadia. Each of these, now including Arcadia, was administered by its own *dux et Augustalis*.[6] After the Muslim conquest of Egypt in 642, this administrative organization was left largely alone with the exception that the *dux* appears to have been relieved of all military authority.[7] There are *duces Arcadiae* attested along with *duces Thebaidis* for a decade;[8] however, the eparchies of Arcadia and Thebais merged into a single administrative unit sometime between 655 (the date of *CPR* 14.32, the last known reference to a *dux Arcadiae*) and 669 (the date of *P.Mert.* 2.100, the first dated Islamic period reference to a *dux Arcadiae et Thebaidis*).[9]

For the first fifty years of Islamic rule, the ducal eparchies controlled some sixty subordinate pagarchies, each consisting of a town and its associated agricultural holdings. Each pagarchy was presided over by a pagarch who was responsible for implementing ducal policy and collecting revenue on the local level. By the beginning of the eighth century, the pagarchs began to be controlled more directly by the caliph-appointed governor in the Egyptian capital

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[6] *P.Prag.* 1.64 (636), refers to a *dux et Augustalis Arcadiae*. For an overview of the civil and military administrative changes in Egypt throughout the sixth and seventh centuries, see B. Palme, "The Imperial Presence: Government and Army," in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World 300-700* (Oxford 2007) 244-270.

[7] See *CPR* 14.32 (655) which presents a *dux* without military power; see also B. Palme, "The Province of Arcadia," *Imperium and Officium Working Papers* (Vienna 2011) 3-4 (http://iowp.univie.ac.at/?q=node/156; accessed 6 May 2014); also J.M. Carrié, "Séparation ou cumul? Pouvoir civil et autorité militaire dans les provinces d'Égypte de Gallien à la conquête arabe," *Antiquité Tardive* 6 (1998) 120-121.

[8] For *duces Thebaidis* in this period, see J. Gascou and K.A. Worp "Pròblemes de documentation Apollinopolite," *ZPE* 49 (1982) 89-91. For *duces Arcadiae*, *SB* 8.9749, *CPR* 14.32, and *CPR* 24, p. 204.

[9] For date of *P.Mert.* 2.100 and the identification of the *dux Arcadiae et Thebaidis*, see J.G. Keenan, "Two Notes on *P. Merton* II 100," *ZPE* 16 (1975) 43-44; and *P.Apoll.*, pp. 20-25.

of al-Fusṭāṭ, frequently bypassing the *dux* entirely.[10] Eventually pagarchs took over all of the administrative duties of the *duces* and the office of *dux* was discontinued.[11]

Because 99.7% of all published papyri with geographic identifiers dated between 625 and 725 CE come from either Thebais (82.0%) or Arcadia (17.7%), the *dux* in this papyrus likely presided over one or, depending on the date, both of these jurisdictions.[12] The *fasti* are far from complete for this period of time, so the Ioannes of this papyrus may very well be a previously unknown *dux*; however, there is one known individual that is a good candidate: Ioannes, a *dux Arcadiae*, is the addressee of an Arsinoite receipt (*CPR* 14.32) dated to 655.[13] A date for the papyrus during the mid-seventh century, the period of time when the authority of the *dux* had not yet begun to diminish, is attractive because it renders the implied threat of the letter writer more potent.

↓ ἐ]π̣ειδὴ οἱ γ̣ραμματηφόροι προσῆλθαν χάριν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ
θέλησον δεχόμενος
τ]ὴ̣ν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦτον ἀπολῦσαι καὶ μὴ κρατήσῃς αὐτὸν μίαν

[10] For the increasing dependence on the pagarch and the corresponding decline of the *dux* in early Islamic Egypt, see P.M. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State: The World of a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official* (Oxford 2014) 88-90; J. Simonsen, *Studies in the Genesis and Early Development of the Caliphal Taxations System* (Copenhagen 1988) 116-123; and K. Morimoto, *The Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Early Islamic Period* (Dohosha 1981) 91-93.

[11] P.M. Sijpesteijn points out that the increased autonomy of the office of pagarch at the beginning of the eighth century directly corresponds with the replacement of Christian pagarchs with Muslims. See Sijpesteijn (n. 10) 88-90, 102-104. The last three attestations of the ducal office date to the first half of the eighth century and each of these refer to the title *dux* without a name. See Sijpesteijn (n. 10) 104.

[12] These numbers come from the Trismegistos database (http://www.trismegistos.org/tm/search.php; accessed 6 May 2014). The search was limited to all texts in the database from Egypt that: (a) were written on papyri, (b) had a geographic identifier, and (c) were dated within the range 625-725 CE with "non-strict" criteria. The actual results of the 2391 total documents were: 1960 or 82.0% from Thebais (Trismegistos geographic *sigla* U01-U17), 424 documents or 17.7% from Arcadia (U19-U22, 00a-00d, and L01-L02), and 7 documents or 0.3% from Aegyptus and Augustamnica combined (L03-L21).

[13] Possibly the same Ioannes as the Arsinoite pagarch attested in earlier papyri dated between 645-650. See *CPR* 14.1.6-7 n. where G. Fantoni explains, "after holding the office of pagarch, the natural promotion was to Duke of Arcadia"; see also J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance* (Oxford 2001) 139. For a listing of many seventh and eighth century *duces* from Thebais and Arcadia, see Gascou and Worp (n. 8) 89-91.

ἡμέραν καὶ μόνον
] . . ε̣[. .] . τουτο̣ν̣ [ἀπ]ο̣λυ̣σο̣ν̣. εἰς τὸν γ̣ὰρ κύριν Ἰωάννην τὸν δοῦκα ἦλθεν τὸ πρᾶγμα̣
μ]ὴ̣ ο̣ὖν κρατήσῃς αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ ἀπόλυσον τὸν ἔχεις ἐκεῖ καὶ μὴ ζητήσῃς
κράτη]σον αὐτόν. †

Verso

†
→ † ἐπίδο(ς) Θωλλο [2-3]σ[. .] . vac. † π̣αρὰ̣ Θεωδώ̣[ρου

3 κύριον 6 επιδ^{o} pap.; Θωλλῳ

"... since the petitioners have come on account of his son, then, upon receipt of ... the letter, release him and do not detain him in custody one day. And only ... release this man for the case has come to the attention of Lord Ioannes, the *dux* ... Therefore, do not keep him in custody but release the one you are holding there and do not seek ... keep him in custody.

(*Verso*) Deliver to Thollos ... from Theodoros ..."

1 ἐ]π̣ειδή: It is not known how much text is missing on the left side. Even though many contemporary letters begin with ἐπειδή, even more begin with a conventional greeting, in this case perhaps "Θεόδωρος Θωλλῳ χαίρειν" (names restored from the *verso*).

– γραμματηφόροι προσῆλθαν: The γραμματηφόροι are petitioners, not professional letter-carriers. In petitions and letters dated later than the fifth century CE, almost all γραμματηφόροι can be shown to be individuals with a direct interest in the contents of the letter in question. Release orders such as this certainly qualify as the sort of document that might be expected to be delivered by an interested party, and a reference to γραμματηφόροι is conventional. Official letters and petitions of this sort frequently begin, as here, with a phrase containing γραμματηφόρος or γραμματηφόροι followed by an aorist form of ἔρχομαι or προσέρχομαι.[14]

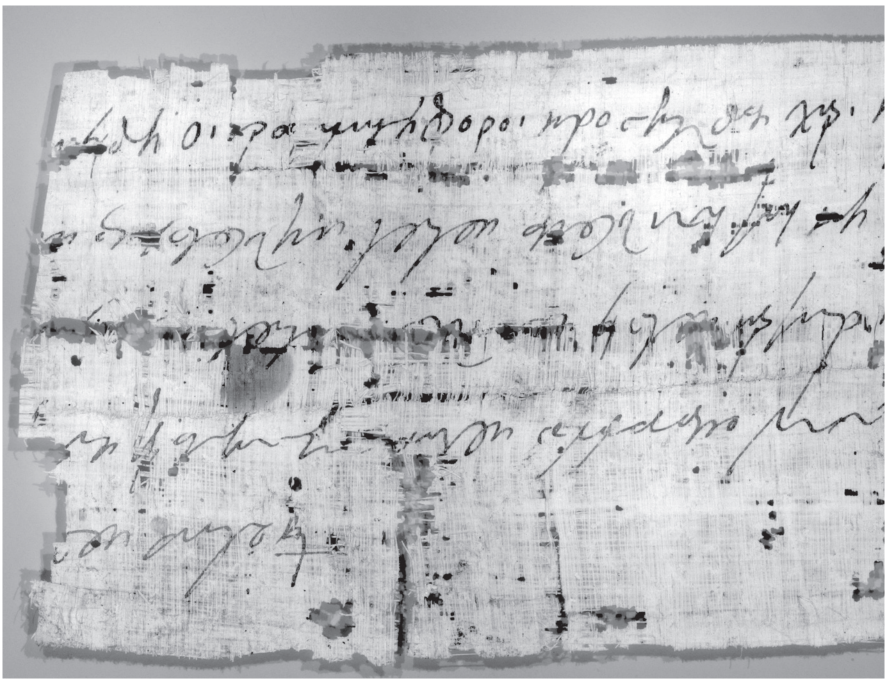
– αὐτοῦ: There is no obvious antecedent for this pronoun in the surviving text. If the text lost on the left of the margin was lengthy enough to contain a conventional greeting, the identity of the prisoner's father, the αὐτός, would

[14] For a list of examples of this conventional beginning, see Morelli (n. 4) 357-358. See the whole article (pp. 351-371) for a general and thorough treatment of the usage of γραμματηφόροι in late ancient legal texts.

logically be Θεόδωρος, the sender (from the verso). Even if the missing space is too small to contain a greeting, it is conceivable that the antecedent could be understood from the address alone. Cf. *PSI* 7.824, another release order (of property, not of a prisoner), which retains its left margin. Its first line reads ὁ γραμματηφόρος ἦλθεν λέγων ὅτι ἔχεις τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. Again, there is no obvious antecedent for the αὐτοῦ other than the sender or the γραμματηφόρος himself.

– θέλησον: Perhaps an indicator of courtesy, but if so, the only one in the letter. It may simply be acting as an auxiliary verb introducing an infinitival command with the original semantic sense of θέλω having faded.[15]

2 τ]ὴ̣ν ἐπιστολήν: The line length is not known with certainty, but because the logical object of δεχόμενος from line 1 is ἐπιστολήν, the missing text must further describe the letter. Perhaps the missing text is only ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολήν, or the more lengthy τὴν παροῦσάν μου τὴν ἐπιστολήν. Whatever is



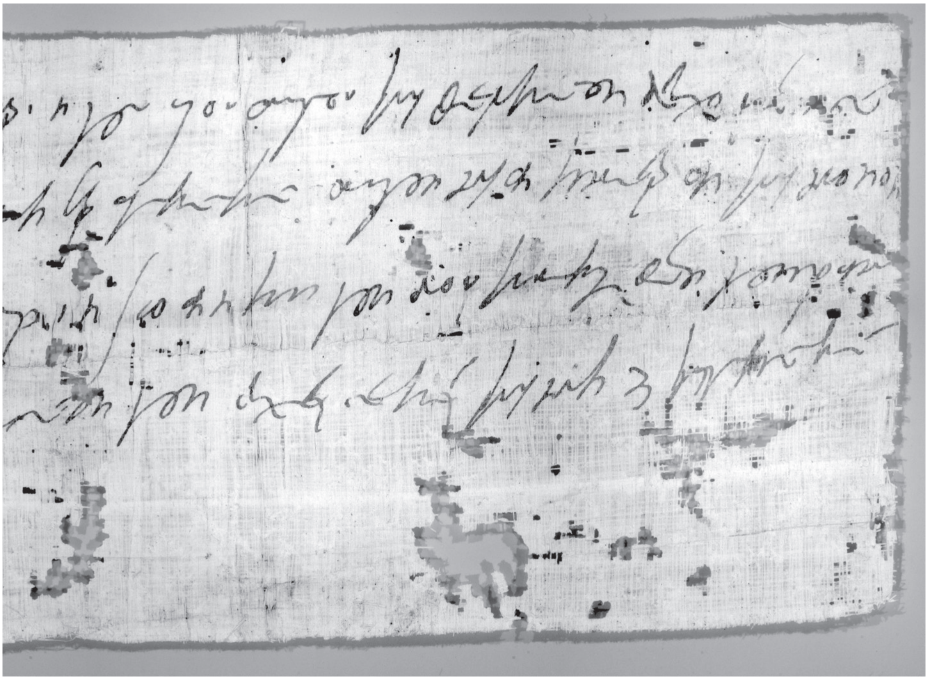
[15] See J.A.L. Lee, "Auxiliary θέλω," in T.V. Evans and D.D. Obbink (eds.) *The Language of the Papyri* (Oxford 2010) 21. Some other papyri that use θέλω in this imperatival construction but have no other indication of conventional courtesy include *P.Mich.* 8.521, *P.Mich.* 18.794, and *SB* 18.13110.

in the lacuna, lines 1 and 2 seem to be closely connected: θέλησον requires an infinitive like ἀπολῦσαι, and the sense of the two lines fits the rest of the papyrus.

3 εἰς τ̣ὸ̣ν̣ γάρ: Postponement of γάρ and other postpositives after closely related elements, such as articles with nouns, and prepositions with objects, is not unusual, particularly among documentary papyri from the early Islamic period when approximately one out of every six occurrences of γάρ is postponed.[16]

4 The missing text likely provides further information about the πρᾶγμα for which the prisoner has been incarcerated.

5 κράτη]σον: If there is a significant loss of text, the lacuna must include an object infinitive being controlled by the prohibitive subjunctive at the end of line 4, followed by an imperative – perhaps something like μὴ ζητήσ̣ῃ̣ς | [ἀντισχεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηκέτι κράτη]σον αὐτόν, "don't try to resist, but no longer detain him." On the other hand, if there is relatively little text lost, the -σον



[16] See S.M. Bay, "The Deferment of Postpositive Particles in Greek Documentary Papyri," *BASP* 46 (2009) 75-79.

beginning line 5 could still be the ending of an aorist imperative, κράτη]σον, but this time it would be acting in lieu of an objective infinitive to μὴ ζητήσῃς.[17] For the repetition of the verb κρατέω, note that both it and forms of ἀπολύω have already been repeated in this text. The writer has one point to make and does not seem to mind being redundant.

6 Θωλλῳ: There are contemporary parallels for names similar to that of the intended recipient of this letter. Θολλος occurs in the genitive singular as the patronymic of a Greek signature in two bilingual Coptic/Greek documents, *Stud.Pal.* 8.818.5 (VIII, Arsinoite) and *CPR* 2.131.5 (VIII, republished as *CPR* 4.129a.5), as well as in Coptic in *O.Crum ST* 378.1 as ⲧϩⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩ, where it is a nominative.

– π̣αρὰ̣ Θεωδώ̣[ρου: Because the papyrus has been flipped horizontally, the missing left margin is also the missing right margin of the *verso*. If there is significant text missing to the left of line 1, there might also have been additional descriptors of the sender.

[17] See Mandilaras, *Verb* §758 & §760.

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 77-100

Bacchylides Fr. 60 M. and the *Kassandra*[1]

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Abstract
Discussion of the identification and classification of Bacchylides' fr. 60 M. in connection with the poem *Kassandra* in *P.Oxy*. 23.2368.

Fragments 60 and 61 of Bacchylides, first edited by A. Vogliano as *PSI* 10.1181, were discovered at Oxyrhynchus on the *verso* of a documentary papyrus that contains a report of judicial proceedings (*PSI* 14.1441).[2] The two frag-

[1] A short presentation on Bacchylides's fr. 60 M. was given with Ioannis Lambrou (UCL) at the KCL "Research Seminar on Greek Literary Fragments" organized by Giambattista D'Alessio (March 2011), while a version of this paper was presented at the Advanced Seminar in the Humanities at Venice International University (November 2012). Research for the presentation at the VIU was conducted while I held a short-term post-doctoral research fellowship in 2012 at the Radboud University Nijmegen in the Netherlands. The argument has benefited from discussions with Chris Carey, Ettore Cingano, André Lardinois, Floris Overduin, Vanessa Cazzato, Thomas Coward, Mark de Kreij, and Eveline Rutten. I thank Giuseppe Ucciardello who kindly read an earlier draft of the article and provided insightful comments, and also Giambattista D'Alessio for reading and commenting on the final version as well as for discussing with me the argument of the paper. I am grateful to the editors of *BASP* and to the anonymous readers for their acute criticism and comments. All remaining errors and infelicities are my own.

[2] Paola Degni describes the *recto* with Tav. XXIX in G. Cavallo, E. Crisci, G. Messeri, and R. Pintaudi (eds.), *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico* (Firenze 1998) 116. The papyrus can be dated in the mid-third century CE: Sopatros, a Roman official, who is mentioned in the document of the *recto*, is characterized as κράτιστος, an adjective used for those who were ἐπιστρατηγοί in office – α]ὐτός τε ὁ κράτ[ιστο]ς Σώπατρος (*PSI* 14.1441.7). The dates of Sopatros' career as epistrategos can be confirmed by other papyri: in *P.Oxy.* 47.3345 (209 CE) he is called ἐπιστρατηγός, while in *P.Oxy.* 12.1459 (226 CE) he is characterized as ἐπιστρατηγήσας. The reference to the name and office of Sopatros narrows down the possible date to *ca*. 224-226 CE, a date that can be taken as terminus post quem for the *verso*. See J.D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and*

ments are divided by a coronis placed on the left side margin, which probably indicates the end of a triad that coincides with the end of the poem,[3] as well as by a title that is placed between two asterisks. The title (ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΙΔΕΣ) is applied to the second fragment and is positioned between the two fragments and in the middle of the line above the first line of the second fragment. The title presumably is the work of the scribe of the main text.[4] Both fragments are incomplete: we only possess the title and the first three lines of the second fragment, and we are missing the first part of the first poem – presumably the strophe or another triad including the strophe of the second triad – that ends with the semi-paeanic refrain ἰὴ ἰή. This paper will discuss specifically fr. 60, its identification and classification by the Alexandrians, in an attempt to both connect it with the poem *Kassandra* in *P.Oxy*. 23.2368 and reveal the possible Hellenistic classification of both fragments. It will more specifically rework the assumption of a plausible identification of fr. 60 with the *Kassandra*, a view that has already been envisaged by Gallavotti[5] and dismissed by a number of scholars since.[6]

Roman Egypt, Part II: The Roman Epistrategos (Köln 1982) 83, n. 89, with the list at pp. 190-203. G. Ucciardello, *Frammenti di Lirica "Corale" Adespota: Edizione e Commento* (unpublished PhD Università degli Studi di Catania 1999-2000) 135-138, also notes that the informal writing of the papyrus on the *verso* can be dated in the mid-third century AD.

[3] The asterisks and the coronis are used in the papyrus in a manner similar to Pindar's paeans. See especially *Paean* 6, D6 in I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans: A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genres* (Oxford 2001). On the coronis, the paragraphos and titles, F. Schironi, *To Μέγα Βιβλίον: Book-ends, End-titles, and* Coronides *in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry* (Durham N.C. 2010).

[4] G. D'Alessio, "The name of the Dithyramb: Diachronic and Diatopic Variations," in B. Kowalzig and P. Wilson (eds.), *Dithyramb in Context* (Oxford 2013) 121, notes that "titles for melic songs are attested for dithyrambs and nomes, and for the long poems of Stesichorus on the nature of whose genre we have no information," e.g. Pindar's Dith. 2 (fr. 70b M.) Κ]ΑΤΑ[ΒΑΣΙΣ] ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥ[Σ] (Snell) Η ΚΕΡΒΕΡΟΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ, Bacchylides *Ode* 15 ΑΝΤΗΝΟΡΙΔΑΙ Η ΕΛΕΝΗΣ ΑΠΑΙΤΗΣΙΣ, Stesichorus' ΙΛΙΟΥ ΠΕΡΣΙΣ (196-205 *PMG*), Corinna's (?) ΟΡΕΣΤΑΣ (690 *PMG*), Timotheus' ΚΥΚΛΩΨ (780-783 *PMG*).

[5] C. Gallavotti, "Review of Snell, B. *Bacchylidis Carmina cum Fragmentis* (sextum ed.)," *RFIC* 28 (1950) 265-267.

[6] E.g. B. Snell, *Bacchylidis Carmina cum Fragmentis. Post. Fr. Blass et Guil. Suess* (Leipzig 1958) 53*; H. Maehler, *Bacchylides, Carmina cum Fragmentis. Post B. Snell* (Leipzig 1970) liv; H. Maehler, *Bacchylides, Carmina cum Fragmentis* (Leipzig 2003) lvi; J. Irigoin, J. Duchemin, and L. Bardollet, *Bacchylide. Dithyrambes, épinicies, fragments* (Paris 1993) 256. Snell, Maehler, and Irigoin put forward the same argument for dismissing the possibility of identifying fr. 60 with the *Kassandra*, and this will be discussed below.

Fr. 60 M. (*PSI* 1181)[7]

] . να
]ίδον δέμας
] .
] . υς
] . . [.]θ . [ ]
] . ε[.] . . [. . . .] . . ν
ὑ]π̣ὲ̣ρ ἁμετέρ[ας]
τ]ατος ἐράτυ[. . . .]μ̣ατα
δ]υσμενέω[ν . . .]χ̣οίμεθα
ἀκρίτοις ἀλ̣ι̣[άστοις]
ὑπὸ πένθε[σιν ἥ]μεναι·
κρυόεντι γὰρ [ἐν π]ολέμω<ι>
δ̣ίμενακα . [. . .]α̣ι̣ παν
κιχέταν λ̣ι̣[. . . . .] . [. .] .υ
. τερι πατρι . [. . . . . .]οι
αι σφιν θο[. . . .]δ̣[. . .]ν̣
εὐανθέο̣[ς . .] . αρε̣[. . ἐλ]ευθερίας
Ἀχέρον[τι γ]ὰρ οὐ [πα]θέων ἀδαεῖ[8]
ε̣ὐηρατ̣[. . . .]ν̣α̣ι̣[.]ο̣μων
τ'] Ἀΐδαο . [. . .]ν̣
—
<ΕΠ> μάλ' ἔγε[. . .] τοι[α]ύτα φάτις·
ἐπεὶ δοκ[ὸν σ]κια[ρῶ]ν
ἐπ{ε}ὶ πολυ[δεν]δρέ[ω]ν ἀκ̣τ̣ῶν
κῦμα πό[ρευσ'] ἀπ' Ἰλίου,
θεῶν τι[ς ἀ]μ̣-
φανδὸ[ν]
αὖθι μένε̣[ιν . . . . .]ερ̣ . μ̣ίδι
τὸν δ' οὐλόμε[νον . .]ε̣ιμε̣ν̣
προφυγεῖν θά̣[νατ]ο̣ν̣·
ἐ]πασσύτεραι δ' ἰα̣[χαί]
οὐρανὸν ἶξον̣ [ ]

[7] The text of Bacchylides is taken from Herwig Maehler's Teubner edition (2003), unless otherwise stated. The translation of frr. 60 and 61 and of the other passages of Bacchylides is that of D.A. Campbell's Loeb edition – D.A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric IV: Bacchylides, Corinna, and Others* (Cambridge, MA 1992) – with alterations. Translations of other passages in the paper are my own, unless otherwise stated.

[8] In v. 18 I adopt the supplements and reading of Vogliano.

ἀ̣έλπτω<ι> περὶ χάρ[μα]τ̣ι̣ [ ]
οὐδ᾽ ἀνδρῶν
θώκοισι μετε[.] . [.] .΄τ̣ω[ν στόμα
ἄναυδον ἦν,
νέαι δ᾽ ἐπεύχο[ν]τ̣[ο] . [.] . λ̣λ̣α̣ι
ἰὴ ἰή. ⊗

Fr. 61 M.

ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΙΔΕΣ
Ἰοδερκέϊ τελλόμεναι
Κύπριδι νεοκέλαδον
ε]ὐειδέα χορόν
desunt reliqua

Fr. 60: "... form ... for the sake of our (youth?) (he? they?) checked? the (chariots?) of the enemy, we should endure to sit under uncountable unabating sorrows; for in chilling war ... (they) came ... father('s) ... (to) them ... (of) flourishing freedom to Acheron who is not unaware of sorrows ... lovely ... (houses?) of Hades ... such was the utterance that (was aroused? occurred?); when the wave led the ship from Troy on to the shadowy forested headlands, a god (said) openly that they should remain there ... [and] should escape accursed death. Many cries reached heaven in unexpected joy, nor was (the mouth) of men unheard ... on the benches; and young women prayed ... *iē iē*!"

Fr. 61: "LEUCIPPIDES. (We/They?) form a beautiful chorus of a new song for violet-eyed Cypris ..."[9]

The extant part of fr. 60 starts amid the poem's mythical narrative. A group of young women (v. 36 νέαι) is portrayed sailing or having sailed from Troy (vv. 23-24 ἐπ{ε}ὶ πολυ[δεν]δρέων ἀκτῶν/ κῦμα πό[ρευσ᾽] ἀπ᾽ Ἰλίου), presumably after the Trojan war, to an unknown place; the destination is not given. They are apparently victims of war (vv. 11, 12 ὑπὸ πένθε[σιν ἤ]μεναι, ἐν πολέμω<ι>), and they are depicted lamenting their fate. Their lament is given in direct speech (v. 7 ὑ]π̣ὲ̣ρ ἁμετέρ[ας], v. 9]χ̣οίμεθα), and they refer to Hades and to Acheron (vv. 18, 20 Ἀχέρον[τι, Ἀΐδαο) presumably expressing a wish

[9] In fr. 60.25-29 I differentiate my translation from Campbell's who translates "(one) should remain there ... while the other should escape accursed death," on which see below. Campbell also assumes that the subject of the participle τελλόμεναι in fr. 61 is the performers, a conclusion that cannot be certain from the surviving lines.

for death in the event of their enslavement. The direct speech is interrupted by a narrative description: a god interferes and decides that they should stay at the place where they probably arrive (v. 27 αὖθι μένẹε[ιν) and should escape accursed death (vv. 28-29 τὸν δ᾽ ... προφυγεῖν θά̣[νατ]ọν). The divine interference brings unexpected joy to the group of women (v. 32 ἀ̣έλπτω<ι> περὶ χάρ[μα]τ̣ι), as if their prayers have been answered. The poem ends with references to songs (vv. 30-31 ἐ]πασσύτεραι δ᾽ ἰα̣[χαί]) by both men and women (v. 33, 36 οὐδ᾽ ἀνδρῶν, νέαι δ᾽ ἐπεύχο[ν]τ̣[ο]), and its concluding line is a paeanic quasi-refrain (v. 37 ἰὴ ἰή) uttered by (the) young women.

The poet and the title

Both fragments have been ascribed to Bacchylides since Snell's 1934 Teubner edition, but, although they are both printed in subsequent editions of Bacchylides' poems, commentators and editors still express doubts on whether the author is indeed Bacchylides.[10] Simonides has been seen as the other main candidate, and Davison in particular has argued for this ascription.[11] His argument rests on a testimony in Plutarch (*De exilio* 602c10-d1) that Simonides wrote a poem about women in exile that included at least one lament in direct speech, a feature that is also found in fr. 60 (vv. 7-20). His second argument refers to partial metrical correspondence between fr. 60 (vv. 11-13) and Plutarch's quotation, ἴσχει δὲ πορφυρέας ἁλὸς ἀμφιταρασσομένας ὀρυμαγδός (= Sim. 571 *PMG*). Davison rests the attribution to Simonides primarily on the supposition that the theme of lamenting women being exiled from Troy is unique of Simonides. As Page has shown, the metrical correspondence between the fragment and the quotation in Plutarch could be valid only if we assume that Plutarch had omitted either a whole word or a whole line. Page has reasonably argued against the suggestion that Simonides composed the two poems,[12] but he expressed no conclusions regarding the authorship of the poems. In any case, coincidences of subject-matter, treatment, and metre are not enough evidence to suggest Simonidean authorship for the fragment, and the two fragments have been perceived as composed by Bacchylides on

[10] E.g. B. Snell, *Bacchylidis Carmina cum Fragmentis. Post Blass et Guil. Suess* (Leipzig 1949) 46*; Snell (n. 6) 53* and Maehler (n. 6) lvi in both editions: "Maxime dubium, an frr. 60 et 61 Bacchylidis sint."

[11] J.A. Davison, "The Authorship of the 'Leucippides' Papyrus," *CR* 48.6 (1943) 205-207.

[12] D.L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri: Poetry* (Cambridge, MA 1942) 383-385. See also D.L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962) 652 (i) *PMG:* "causam video nullam cur Simonidi tribuatur (=Bacchyl. fr. 60 Snell)."

grounds of style.[13] The main argument in favor of this ascription has been the abundance of compound and ἅπαξ adjectives (e.g., fr. 60 ἀκρίτοις, ἀλ̣ι̣[άστοις], εὐανθέο̣[ς, εὐηρατ[…, πολυ[δεν]δρέ[ω]ν, fr. 61 ἰοδερκέϊ, νεοκέλαδον), which is recognized as one of Bacchylides' prominent stylistic features.[14] A number of other features in fr. 60 are also reminiscent of Bacchylides' poetic style. The blurring of voices, the deconstruction of narrative frames, the change in narrative mood, the interference of the divine that affects the characters' fate in the mythological exemplum, and the abrupt ending that coincides with the end of the mythical narrative almost repeat specific traits that are predominantly characteristics of Bacchylides' poetry.

More specifically, the blurring of voices is an established Bacchylidean technique.[15] The voices of the men and women singing in the mythological narrative of fr. 60 are fused with the voices of the performers of the poem. The passage creates an overlap between the poem's narrative and its performance; the ἰὴ ἰή in the mythical narrative is projected onto the external and performed song and the boundaries between the mythical narrative and the song's performance become indistinct. At the closure of Bacchylides' *Ode* 17, female and male voices sing together and this poem also deconstructs its narrative frame (B. 17.121-131):

ἐπεί
μόλ᾽ ἀδίαντος ἐξ ἁλός
θαῦμα πάντεσσι, λάμ-
πε δ᾽ ἀμφὶ γυίοις θεῶν δῶρ᾽, ἀγλαό-
θρονοί τε κοῦραι σὺν εὐ-
θυμίαι νεοκτίτωι
ὠλόλυξαν, ἔ-
κλαγεν δὲ πόντος· ἠΐθεοι δ᾽ἐγγύθεν

[13] Cf. E. Lobel, *P.Oxy*. 25.2430, n. 2: "it has been proposed to recognize Simonides in PSI 1181 … I will say no more than that it would take very strong evidence to persuade me that the style is Simonidean."

[14] C. Segal, "Bacchylides Reconsidered: The Epithets and the Dynamics of Lyric Narrative," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 22 (1976) 99-130; D.L. Cairns, *Bacchylides, Five Epinician Odes (3, 5, 9, 11, 13)* (Cambridge 2010) 37-41. On the sources and traditions on which Bacchylides' diction and epithets draw, E. Dolfi, *Storia e funzione degli aggettivi in Bacchylide* (Firenze 2010).

[15] See C. Carey, "Ethos and Pathos in Bacchylides," in I.L. Pfeijffer and S.R Slings. (eds.), *One Hundred Years of Bacchylides* (Amsterdam 1999) 20; I.L. Pfeijffer, "Pindar and Bacchylides," in I.J.F. de Jong et al. (eds.) *Narrators, Narratees, and Narratives in Ancient Greek Literature* (Leiden 2004) 230-232; Cairns (n. 14) 48-49, 189-200, 210-211.

νέοι παιάνιξαν ἐρατᾶι ὀπί.[16]
Δάλιε, χοροῖσι Κηΐων
  φρένα ἰανθείς
ὄπαζε θεόπομπον ἐσθλῶν τύχαν.

"... when he returned unwet from the sea, a miracle for everyone, and the gods' gifts shone on his limbs, and the splendid-throned maidens cried aloud with new-founded joy, and the sea resounded; and nearby the youths raised a paean with lovely voice. God of Delos, rejoice in your heart at the choirs of the Ceans and grant a heaven-sent fortune of blessings."

The vocal reactions of the singing groups in both *Ode* 17 and fr. 60 frame the mythical narrative and the end of the poem. *Ode* 17 may not have the paeanic refrain, but it makes an explicit reference to paeanic songs that are sung by the young men (vv. 127-128 ἠίθεοι ... νέοι παιάνιξαν). In *Ode* 17, however, the young men and women are indirectly connected with the performing Cean chorus, whose identity is explicitly stated at the end of the poem (vv. 129-130 χοροῖσι Κηΐων).[17] Despite this "vocal" confusion, the closure of *Ode* 17 creates a distinction between the two situations (myth and occasion) by differentiating the verb tenses: the verbs that refer to the chorus *en route* to Crete are placed in the past (v. 126 ὠλόλυξαν, v. 128 παιάνιξαν), whereas the verb referring to the god Apollo is in the present tense (v. 131 ὄπαζε). Unlike the end of *Ode* 17, fr. 60 does not return to the occasion of performance and ends abruptly within the mythological narrative; the temporal line remains the past (v. 35 ἐπεύχο[ν]-τ̣[ο]). This poetic ending of fr. 60 coincides with the end of the mythical narrative in a fashion similar to both *Odes* 15 and 16. Both these poems end in mid-sentence. The end of *Ode* 15 coincides with the end of Menelaus' speech on ὕβρις (B. 15.57-63) and it allows the audience to draw their own conclusions on the connections between the speech and Menelaus' visit at the house of Priam. Similarly, Deianeira's reception of Nessus' gift at the very last line in

16 Cf. Call. *Hec*. 69.9-10 Hollis = *SH* 288.9-10 ὁ μὲν φάτο, τοὶ δ᾽ ἀΐοντες/ πάντες ἰ̣ὴ παιῆον ἀνέκλαγον, αὖθι δὲ μίμνον with A.S. Hollis, *Callimachus, Hecale* (2nd ed.; Oxford 2009) ad loc., where he emphasizes the emotions expressed by the verb ἀνέκλαγον and also comments that the cry ἰ̣ὴ παιῆον may "be a shout of joy and triumph unconnected with Apollo."

17 I. Rutherford, "Odes and Ends: Closure in Greek Lyric Poetry," in D.H. Roberts, F.M. Dunn, and D. Fowler (eds.), *Classical Closure: Reading the End in Greek and Latin Literature* (Princeton 1997) 47-48, interprets the closure of this poem as "frame and seal" (p. 46). He classifies the poem as a paean and thus suggests that the closure is a back-projection to the mythical antecedent of the poem's performance and genre.

Ode 16 (B. 16.31-35) points to an unspoken and remote part of the myth that the audience is asked to narrate on their own.

Beyond endings and narrative frames, the narrative itself in fr. 60 moves between two different emotional experiences; the grim and negative feelings of the women who mourn for their fate and express how death is preferable to slavery (fr. 60.18-20) are unexpectedly replaced by cries of joy as soon as their circumstances change (fr. 60.25-37). The transition from grief to joy resembles *Ode* 17; the youths and the maidens rejoice when Theseus returns from Poseidon's abode (B. 17.121-129) and this reaction replaces their previous distress when Theseus dives into the sea (B. 17.92-96). The sudden switch in narrative mood in fr. 60 is presented as the result of divine interference in the fragment. A *deus ex machina* is often the reason for the sudden transition from a distressing situation to a joyful condition in Bacchylides. Croesus in *Ode* 3 questions the divine and expresses his desire to die rather than live in slavery (B. 3.28-31). His daughters grieve for their imminent death and their grief unexpectedly becomes joy, as divine rain puts out Croesus' pyre (B. 3.47-58). Likewise, Proteus in *Ode* 11 prays to Artemis to save his daughters from the madness that Hera induced in them (B. 11.95-109) and his wish is granted after the narrative description of their suffering. In all three passages – fr.60 and *Odes* 3 and 11 – direct speech precedes the divine interference. The speaker calls upon the divine to be asked for a favor that is subsequently granted, or in the case of Croesus the speaker questions its power that is later confirmed by its intervention. In this sense, the change in the characters' fate, which ultimately alters the narrative situation, could be characterized as a θαῦμα.

The title of fr. 61 is an additional piece of evidence in favor of the ascription of both fragments to Bacchylides. Despite the semi-paeanic *iē iē* refrain at the end of fr. 60 and the continuous classification of both fragments in modern editions as dubia,[18] the existence of the title ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΙΔΕΣ for fr. 61 makes it plausible that both frr. 60 and 61 are part of Bacchylides' dithyrambic corpus.[19] They both seem to be a continuation of the dithyrambs of Bacchylides in the papyrus at the Britich Library (*P.Lond.Lit.* 46 and P.Lond. inv. 733) whose titles

[18] Snell (n. 10) 46*: "Ipse propter finem fragmenti 60 exclamationem ἰή exhibentem paeanibus haec carmina attribuerim (cf. Pind. pae. 1.5, 2.107, 4.62 etc.), fr. 61 autem rettulerim." L. Käppel and R. Kannicht, "Noch einmal zur Frage 'Dithyrambos oder Paian?' im Bakchylideskommentar P.Oxy. 23.2368," *ZPE* 73 (1988) 23, who believe that the fragment is a paean because of the paeanic refrain.

[19] Similarly A. Severyns, *Bacchylide. Essai Biographique* (Paris 1933) 142, 151; Irigoin (n. 6) 256; D. Fearn, *Bacchylides: Politics, Performance, Poetic Tradition* (Oxford 2007) 174-175, n. 34; D'Alessio (n. 4) 127.

run down to the letter I. Their arrangement is based on first-letter alphabetization. The titles, as those are found in the London papyrus, run as follows.

• *Ode* 15 ΑΝ]ΤΗΝΟΡΙΔΑΙ : [ΕΛΕΝΗ]Σ ΑΠΑΙΤΗΣΙΣ, double title, mutilated and given as inscription in the margin above the column. The two titles are alternatives and the second title is written under the first.

• *Ode* 16 [ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ (*vel* ΔΗΙΑΝΕΙΡΑ?)], the title was presumably written in the left side margin of the column. The margin is lost and consequently the title.

• *Ode* 17 Η]ΪΘΕΟΙ [ ] ΘΗΣΕΥΣ, double title in the left side margin that contains marks of *diairesis* for ΗΪΘΕΟΙ. It is not clear whether ΘΗΣΕΥΣ, which appears in a second line, is part of a single title and ΚΑΙ was lost in the lacuna or a separate secondary title connected by Η as in the case of *Ode* 15.[20]

• *Ode* 18 ΘΗΣΕΥΣ, the title is clear and in the left side margin of the column.

• *Ode* 19 ΙΩ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ, both title and patron are clear and in the left side margin of the column.

• *Ode* 20 ΙΔΑΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙΣ, title and patron are both clear and in the left side margin of the column.

Fr. 61, the second passage on the papyrus in question, has the title ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΙΔΕΣ. Assuming that the poem is indeed one of Bacchylides' compositions and that it is a dithyramb, the title of fr. 61 raises the possibility for that of fr. 60 to begin either with Κ or Λ.

On the assumption that the title of fr. 60 begins with Κ, Milne proposed the titles ΚΑΣΤΩΡ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΗΣ and ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙ.[21] The second proposal of Milne, ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙ, deserves only a marginal reference. It is based exclusively on two details in the fragment: the mention of Ilium in line 24 (ἀπ' Ἰλίου), and Milne's reading Πρι]αμίδ[ες in line 36. The island (v. 23 ἀκτῶν) would then be Samothrace, and the women would be portrayed as travelling from Troy to Samothrace.[22] Kabeiroi apparently had relations with Troy and the Dioscuri (Paus. 10.38.5.5-7.7), but nothing in the poem can be used as a conclusive argument in favor of the preference of their name for the title. Additionally, Milne's reading Πρι]αμίδ[ες is unreliable; traces on the papyrus strongly sug-

[20] F.G. Kenyon, *The Poems of Bacchylides from a Papyrus in the British Museum* (London 1897) 154, suggests that it is more probable that Ode 17 did not have only the title *Theseus* but two alternative titles mainly because *Theseus* was the title of Ode 18.

[21] H.J.M. Milne, "More Bacchylides?" *CR* 47.2 (1933) 62 and *JEA* 19.1-2 (1933) 69.

[22] The connection of Kabeiroi with Samothrace is based on Hdt. 2.51 and Pherec. 1A 3F48 *FGrH*. The Kabeiroi are, however, also connected with Lemnos and Imbros, on which see *RE* s.v. "Kabeiroi."

gest Vogliano's reading for the final letters on the papyrus that was adopted by both Snell and Maehler (.[.].λλαι).[23]

Regarding the first proposal ΚΑΣΤΩΡ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΗΣ,[24] Milne restores lines 27-29 of the fragment in such a way as to refer to Castor and Polydeuces and to their post-mortal fate: one was to dwell in Hades, in order for the other to dwell on Earth (B. fr. 60.21-29).[25]

μάλ' ἐγγ̣[υᾶτο] τοι[α]ύτα φάτις
ἐπεὶ δόκ̣[ιμο]ς κία[θε]ν
ἐπ{ε}ὶ πολυ[δεν]δρέων ἀκτῶν
κῦμα πε[ρῶν] ἀπ' Ἰλίου
θεῶν τι[ς, ἀ]μ-
  φανδὸ̣ν [δ' ἀπέδειξεν
αὖθι μένε[ιν τὸν μὲν π]αρ' Ἅιδι
τὸν δ' οὐλόμε[νον κατὰ κ]ο̣σμον
προφυγεῖν θά̣[νατον·

"Strongly confirmed was this report when in visible proof there stepped upon the wooded shore, travelling across the sea from Ilium, a god, who clearly proclaimed that the one was to stay there in Hades, the other in order due to escape accursed death."[26]

The restoration of the above passage made to fit into Milne's attempt to detect the story of the divine twins in the poem creates problems with the narrative sequence. It is obvious that he presupposes a suppressed τὸν μέν in line 27 in order to correspond to τὸν δέ in line 28. It could be that the clause refers to the existence of two adversary situations, and the marker δέ requires μέν in the missing lines of the fragment. If we accept the reading τὸν δ' οὐλόμε[νον,

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[23] This has been confirmed by Giambattista D'Alessio and Giuseppe Ucciardello who examined the papyrus itself.

[24] The title of fr. 61 ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΙΔΕΣ could reinforce the choice of ΚΑΣΤΩΡ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΗΣ as a potential title, since it creates a thematic affinity between the two poems. Although the Leucippides were betrothed as wives to the cousins of the Dioscuri, Idas and Lynceus, the Dioscuri carried them off to Sparta as their own wives: Theocr. 22.137-151; Lyc. *Alex*. 545ff. with scholia ad 547; scholia ad Pi. *N*. 10.60; Apollod. 3.10.3-11.2. The Dioscuri accompany the Leucippides in visual art (*LIMC* 189-211): e.g. the painting by Polygnotos at the Anakeion in the agora of Athens (Paus. 1.18.1, *LIMC* 189), the North frieze of the Heroon from Gjölbaschi-Trysa (Vienna, KM, *ca*. 379 BCE, *LIMC* 208).

[25] Cf. Hom. *Od*. 11.298-304; Pi. *N*. 10.49-59.

[26] Text and translation are taken from Milne, "More Bacchylides?" (n. 21).

without assuming that τὸν δέ is a cluster, then the existence of δέ in line 28 could indeed be suggestive of the existence of a μέν in the previous lines, or it could at least refer to two adversary situations in the clause without presupposing a suppressed μέν.[27] Although grammatically the assumption holds water, the reference to the Dioscuri reads like an *anakolouthon* in the narrative sequence of the poem. The above restoration of the passage suggests that the subject of the direct speech was the worry about the fate of the Dioscuri. Why would women, captives of war, be including in their lament a wish about the Dioscuri? Fr. 60 sings of women, captives of war, leaving Troy's shores, lamenting their ill-fated life and making a wish for death. Castor and Polydeuces could indeed have been mentioned in lines 27-29, but the reference to them could have been circumstantial or paradeigmatic for the wish of the women either to die or to be saved by a god whilst they are in captivity.[28] Δέ in our passage could simply be used to mark the progression of the narrative. In this sense, τόν would be the article of οὐλόμε[νον that would refer to the noun θάνατον and the sentence would then refer to that which the god granted to the lamenting group of women: the possibility to escape death and to remain, presumably, at their new abode (B. fr. 60.24-29).[29]

κῦμα πό[ρευσ'] ἀπ' Ἰλίου,
θεῶν τι[ς ἀ]μ̣-
  φανδὸ[ν]
αὖθι μέν̣ε[ιν . . . . .]ε̣ρ̣ . μ̣ίδι
τὸν δ' οὐλόμε[νον . .]ε̣ίμε̣ν̣
προφυγεῖν θά̣[νατ]ο̣ν̣.

"... when the wave carried the ship from Ilium, a god (said) openly that (they?) should remain there ... and should escape accursed death."

The need to see a reference to the Dioscuri should be interpreted as an attempt to attach to the poem a title beginning with K. The mythical background of the divine twins supports neither the title nor their inclusion in the narrative. The Dioscuri do not belong in the mythological legend of Troy; they were already dead by the time of the Trojan War and it is impossible for

[27] J.D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (Oxford 1954) 166, points out that "occasionally ὁ μέν, etc., has to be understood before ὁ δέ, etc," although in some cases ὁ δέ could be an afterthought, and it is hardly necessary to suppose an ellipse of ὁ μέν. Cf. Pi. *P.* 3.108, *P.* 4.184, *P.* 9.23, where τὸν δὲ does not respond to previous τὸν μέν.

[28] This would of course require an introductory ὡς in the sentence.

[29] Cf. B. 3.47-58 for a similar change of mood in the poem that is the result of the granting of a wish.

them to have been at Troy[30] and to have accompanied the women. If they were invoked in a parabolic manner, then it could have been as protectors of the weak or of those at sea.[31] Even this connection makes it on the whole unlikely that the theme of the song were the Dioscuri. The title, in case one existed for this fragment, should in some way be related, at least in part, to the poem's narrative. We could therefore argue in favor of titles that are related to Trojan women, to a group of females that leaves Troy and finds a new land, or to the Trojan War more generally.

Given the scribal habits on the main papyrus of Bacchylides' dithyrambic poems, we could reasonably assume that fr. 60 was classified by the Alexandrians as a dithyramb and was thus given a title. The title of fr. 61 is also a hint that fr. 60 was not categorized as a paean.[32] Titles of extant paeans are of a different nature; they function more like descriptions. A complete title for a paean would include the name of the community, usually in the dative, the location where the performance took place, and/or the deity/hero celebrated in the poem, e.g. Pindar's *Paean* 8 M.: ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΠΥΘΩ. Titles of dithyrambs usually emphasize the narrative contents of the poem.[33] Based on these assumptions, the paeanic quasi-refrain at the end of the poem (*iē iē*) could reasonably have created confusion in the library, similar to the one created for the *Kassandra* (*POxy*. 23.2368).

Fr. 60 M. and the Kassandra

P.Oxy. 23.2368 preserves a commentary on *Dithyrambs* that records Aristarchus' disagreement with Callimachus about a poem called *Kassandra*: Callimachus classified the poem as a paean, whereas Aristarchus considered it to be a dithyramb and gave it the title *Kassandra*. The confusion was presumably

[30] Cf. Hom. *Il*. 3.236-238 δοιὼ δ' οὐ δύναμαι ἰδέειν κοσμήτορε λαῶν/ Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ πὺξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα / αὐτοκασιγνήτω, τώ μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ. It is also clear from the account of the *Cypria* in Proclus's *Chrest*. (13-27 Allen) that the assembly of the leaders of Greece to help Menelaus took place after the "death" of the Dioscuri.

[31] E.g. Alc. fr. 34 *PLF*; E. *Hel*. 1496-1512; Hdt. 2.43.

[32] C.M. Bowra, in his review of Severyns (n. 19), *CR* 47.6 (1933) 240, suggests that the title of fr. 61 makes it possible that both fragments are *partheneia* written for Spartans. His suggestion rests on [Plut.] *de Mus*. 1136f where it is said that Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides composed poems for Spartans. We do not, however, have any preserved titles for *partheneia*, and the semi-paeanic refrain at the end of fr. 60 would have been out of context in poems of this nature.

[33] D'Alessio (n. 4) 114. See the titles of Bacchylides' dithyrambs and n. 4 above.

created because of the inclusion in the poem of the paeanic epiphthegma *iē iē*. The fragmentary ὑπόμνημα points out that Aristarchus attributed to it the title ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΑ because it dealt with Cassandra (vv.12-14). *P.Oxy*. 23.2368.1.9-20 read as follows.[34]

ταύτην τὴν ᾠδὴν Ἀρίσταρχ(ός)
γε μὲν διθ]υραμβικὴν εἶ-
ναί φησι]ν διὰ τὸ παρειλῆ-
φθαι ἐν α]ὐτῆι τὰ περὶ Κασ-
σάνδρας,] ἐπιγράφει δ᾽αὐτὴν
Κασσ]άνδραν, πλανη-
θέντα δ᾽ α]ὐτὴν κατατάξαι
ἐν τοῖς π]αιᾶσι Καλλίμαχόν
φησιν ὡς] οὐ συνέντα ὅτι
] . . μα κοινὸν ἐ-
στι τοῦ δι]θυράμβου· ὁμοί-
ως δὲ ὁ Φ]ασηλίτης Διονύσιο(ς).

9 Lobel 11-16 Lobel 14-15 Luppe.a πλανη[θείς[35] 14 καὶ Κασσ] Luppe.a, Maehler.b, Rutherford; Ἴλιον ἤ Κασσ] Luppe.b; (οὕ)τω Κασσ]

[34] With the exception of lines 14 and 18 where the supplements are not provided, the text is that of H. Maehler in G. Bastianini, M. Haslam, H. Maehler, F. Montanari, and C.E. Römer (eds.), *Commentaria et Lexica Graeca in Papyris Reperta*, *Pars I. Commentaria et Lexica in Auctores, Vol.1. Aeschines-Bacchylides, Fasc. 4. Aristophanes-Bacchylides* (Berlin 2006) 294. The apparatus criticus refers to E. Lobel, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XXIII* (London 1956) ad 2368; C. Galavotti, "Review of The Oxyrhynchus Papyri part 23 by Edgar Lobel," *Gnomon* 29.6 (1957) 419-425; H. Maehler, *Bacchylides, Carmina cum fragmentis* (Leipzig 1970) = Maehler.a in the apparatus; H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin and New York 1983) fr. 293; W. Luppe, "Dithyrambos oder Paian? - zu Bakchylides carm. 23 Sn./M.," *ZPE* 69 (1987) 9-12 = Luppe.a in the apparatus; L. Käppel and R. Kannicht (n. 18); W. Luppe, "Nochmals zu Kallimachos' Gattungszuordnung bakchylideischer Lieder," *Analecta Papyrologica* 1 (1989) 23-29 = Luppe.b in the apparatus; I. Rutherford, "Pindar 'Paean' VIIIa, the 'Cassandra' of Bacchylides and the Anonymous 'Cassandra' in P.Oxy. 2368: An Exploration in Lyric Structure," *Eos* 79 (1991) 5-12; G. Ucciardello, "Riesame di P.Oxy.2368: Alcuni Problemi di Lettura e di Interpretazione," *Analecta Papyrologica* 8-9 (1996-1997) 61-88; G. Ieranò, *Il Ditirambo di Dioniso. Le Testimonianze Antiche* (Pisa 1997) T208; H. Maehler, *Bacchylides, Carmina cum fragmentis* (Leipzig 2003) = Maehler.b in the apparatus.

[35] Luppe.a (n. 34) 11 proposes πλανη[θείς instead of πλανη[θέντα. In such a case the subject of the participle would be Aristarchus and the translation would change in the following way: "Aristarchus, having been misled, says that this song is dithyrambic

Gallavotti; οὖν Ucciardello[36] 17 Luppe.a et Rutherford; διὰ τὸ ἰή,] Lobel, Gallavotti, Snell, Maehler.a, Käppel-Kannicht, Ieranò 18 in. Luppe.a;]ΤΓΜ vel]ẸΓΓΜ (παραδιή]γημα) sec. Lobel (ἐπίφθ]εγ{γ}μα ?); obloquitur Luppe.b qui aut]ΓΗΜ legendum aut ΓΓΜ in ΓΗΜ corrigendum esse censet (μύθου διή]γημα); ἐπίφθ]εγ{γ}μα Maehler.a, Lloyd-Jones/Parsons, Ucciardello, Ieranò; ἐπίφθ]ẹγμα Gallavotti; μύθου σύσ]τημα Maehler.b 19 τοῖς δι]θυράμβοις Luppe.a-b; καὶ δι] Lobel, Maehler.a, Lloyd-Jones/Parsons, Käppel-Kannicht, Ieranò

"Aristarchus says that this song is dithyrambic because the story of Cassandra has been included in it, and he entitles it *Kassandra*. He says that Callimachus classified it among the paeans because he was misled and did not realize that [...] is common also in the dithyramb. Similarly Dionysius of Phaselus."

Line 18 has drawn much scholarly attention and the text has been reconstructed in a number of ways. The suggestions made by both Maehler (μύθου σύσ]τημα)[37] and Luppe (παραδιή]γημα/ μύθου διή]γημα) are based mainly on one of the two Platonic forms of the dithyrambic genre that supposedly had

because the story of Cassandra has been included in it, and he entitles it also *Kassandra*"; cf. criticism in Rutherford (n. 34) 10, n. 22, who points out that Luppe's reading would allow us to conclude that the fragment comes from a commentary on *Paeans* rather than on *Dithyrambs*. Also, Luppe.a (n. 34) 9 takes all infinitives and participles in vv. 14-19 to be governed by the verb ἐπιγράφει in v.13.

[36] One can only guess what the short word before Κασσ]άνδραν in v.14 was, and any suggestions made should be addressed with caution. Lobel (n. 34) 54 makes no suggestion but excludes the possibility that it could have been τήν. The supplements recommended by Luppe.a and Luppe.b (n. 34) as well as Maehler.a (n. 34) – καὶ or ἤ – suggest that the poem already had a title and Aristarchus added the title *Kassandra* as an alternative; cf. Pindar's *Dith*. 2 (fr. 70b M.) or Bacchylides' *Ode* 15. Gallavotti (n. 34) 420 proposes (οὕ)τω and Ucciardello (n. 34) οὖν to show that Aristarchus chose the particular title because of the existence of the narrative on Cassandra. L. Käppel and R. Kannicht (n. 18) 21 accept Luppe's supplement καί but not the explanation that *Kassandra* is an alternative title. They see καί as confirming emphatically that the title chosen by Aristarchus was indeed the *Kassandra*. Although it is impossible to know with certainty the word that preceded the title assigned to the poem by Aristarchus, καὶ has been the most popular choice in editions of the text thus suggesting that the title of Aristarchus was indeed secondary. It is odd however that, had the poem had more than one titles, the commentator only refers to the title added by Aristarchus and makes no comment on any additional titles. This silence may suggest that the poem did not have a title until Aristarchus assigned one to it.

[37] Cf. Maehler.a (n. 34) who supplements ἐπίφθ]ẹγ{γ}μα.

an extended narrative,[38] and recommend a supplement that would underline the narrative of the poem. Lobel, on the other hand, supplemented the missing part of line 18 with the word ἐπίφθ]εγ{γ}μα,[39] as he assumed that the confusion was created because of the existence of the paeanic cry in the poem.[40] Ucciardello, after re-inspecting the papyrus, argues that Lobel's supplement is palaeographically superior to Luppe's and Maehler's: in line 18 of *P.Oxy.* 23.2368 the letter that preceded the Μ is either Γ or Σ, which excludes the suggestions ΔΙΗΓΗΜΑ and ΣΥΣΤΗΜΑ. The letter before the Γ or Σ is in all probability a Γ that is preceded by a letter connected to it, for example an Ε that is written in the papyrus having the horizontal bar longer and usually attached to the letter following.[41] This makes the reading]ΕΓΓΜΑ and Lobel's initial suggestion ΕΠΙΦΘ]ΕΓ{Γ}ΜΑ the least objectionable.[42] The text (vv. 16-19) would thus change in the following way.

ἐν τοῖς Π]αιᾶσι Καλλίμαχον
] οὐ συνέντα ὅτι

[38] Pl. *R.* 394c2-3 δι' ἀπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ – εὕροις δ' ἂν αὐτὴν μάλιστά που ἐν διθυράμβοις. cf. *Lg.*700a4-5 καὶ ἄλλο, Διονύσου γένεσις οἶμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος. The testimonia for the two forms of dithyrambs, the Dionysiac and the narrative, are collected in Ieranò (n. 34) esp. T8, 25-34 with pp. 168-172; see also A.E. Harvey, "The Classification of Greek Lyric Poetry," *CQ* 5.48 (1955) 173.

[39] Although Lobel (n. 34) prints ἐπίφθ]ẹγμα in the text, he still raises the possibility in his palaeographical note that the word could have been written with two –γγ-, ἐπίφθ]εγγμα. Rutherford (n. 3) 97 applies the supplement of Lobel and points out that "most παιᾶνες had narratives also, so it would be surprising if Aristarchus presupposed that narratives had no place in the παιάν" (p. 98).

[40] This opinion is followed by Rutherford (n. 34) 11-12 and D'Alessio (n. 4) 119. Although Luppe.a (n. 34) does not read ἐπίφθ]εγ{γ}μα in the particular line, he does incorporate the paeanic *iē* in line 17, which he says is readable in the commentary, a remark that the image of the papyrus cannot confirm.

[41] A T could be preceding Γ, but only if we accept that the writer made a mistake. I thank the editors of *BASP* for drawing my attention to the possible letters before] . . μα in line 18. See also the description in Ucciardello (n. 34) 78-82. *Contra* S. Schröder, *Geschichte und Theorie der Gattung Paian* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1999) 110, who finds not only the sequence -τγμα impossible but also the sequence -γγμα.

[42] D'Alessio, in his review of Schröder (n. 41), *BMCR* 2000.01.24, comments that "the, apparently unnoticed, fact that the spelling mistake involved in this reading is probably no mistake at all, since φθέγμα sometime [is] spelt with a double gamma in the imperial period" – LSJ. s.v. φθέγμα, on which G. Ucciardello, "φθέγμα/φθέγγμα ed alter sequenze –γγμ-: Teoria Grammaticale e Prassi Grafica," *Analecta Papyrologica* 12 (2000) 63-93.

18 τὸ ἐπίφθ]ε̣γ{γ}μα κοινόν ἐ-
στι τοῦ δι]θ̣υράμβου·[43]

"[…] Callimachus classified it among the paeans because he was misled and did not realize that the epiphthegma is common also in the dithyramb."

The above restoration consequently reinforces the argument in favor of the existence of the *iē* refrain in the poem.[44] Bacchylides' *Ode* 17 can also be called as evidence in favor of the suggestion that the *iē* cry was the reason for the classificatory confusion and disagreement. The end of the poem with the word παιάνιξαν and the invocation of Apollo Delius was no obstacle for the Alexandrians to include the poem with the rest of Bacchylides' dithyrambs, presumably because it did not have the *iē* cry.

The above supplements and interpretation change predominantly our perception of the textual marker, which we assume that the Alexandrian scholars considered to be typically paeanic. The correspondence between the *iē* cry and the paeanic genre becomes less than clear and obvious.[45] One could conclude that the *Kassandra* may well have been classified as a dithyramb and thus included in a collection of dithyrambs, or indeed a collection of paeans, if it was initially categorized as a paean. We should, however, bear in mind that Callimachus never edited any authors and did not produce any commentaries. His taxonomy in his *Pinakes* suggests that he attempted to collect, catalogue

[43] Text taken from Ucciardello (n. 34) 87. The supplement διὰ τὸ ἰή in v.17 (see apparatus criticus above) would clarify the word ἐπίφθ]εγ{γ}μα.

[44] Ucciardello (n. 34) 64, 78-82.

[45] An absolute correspondence between the paeanic cry (ἰὴ ἰὴ παιάν) and the paeanic genre is already to be found in the Peripatetic scholar of Alexandria Hermippus of Smyrna - Hermippus fr. 48 Wehrli = Ath. 15.696a-596b. Later sources reveal the need to identify the paeanic refrain or the evocation to the god Paean with the paeanic genre: Eusth. Comm. in *Il.* 1109, 28, IV p. 62.18-20 (van der Valk) παιανίζειν, ἤγουν ᾄδειν Παιᾶνι Φοίβῳ ὕμνον παιᾶνα, οὗ ἐπῳδὸς τὸ "ἰὴ Παιάν," ὅπερ ἦν παιανικόν τι ἐπίρρημα. Compare Pindar's **pae.* XXI, where the *iē*-cry is followed by an address to Hera, but was classified among the *Prosodia*, with D'Alessio in his review of Schröder (n. 41), *BMCR* 2000.01.24, where he points out that "according, at least, to Aristarchos ... the *paeanic* epiphthegma was probably not just the 'ie' cry but its occurrence together with an address to Paian." The list of the paeanic refrains one can find in poems that are considered to be paeans in L. Käppel, *Paian. Studien zur Geschichte einer Gattung* (Berlin 1992) 66-67, does not distinguish between the paeanic and the semi-paeanic cry (existence or absence of the paean-element in the refrain), and does not take into account the classification in Hellenistic editions of a number of those poems that were not classified as paeans (e.g. Bacchylides' *Ode* 17). On the typology of the paeanic refrain with or without the paean-element, Rutherford (n. 3) 68-72.

and categorize the Greek texts that were available in the library into several classes grouped by genre.[46] This corresponds to the commentator's attention to his presumably mistaken classification of the poem.[47] In regard to Aristarchus, although one cannot be certain, the *verbum technicum* ἐπιγράφει may suggest a first-hand classificatory activity and not work on a current edition. Nonetheless, the verb is coupled with the title Aristarchus chose for the poem (ἐπιγράφει δ'αὐτὴν/ … Κασσ]άνδραν ...) in contrast to the verb that is used for Callimachus' classificatory activity (κατατάξαι).[48] If Aristarchus had been the first to have inserted the poem in an edition of dithyrambs, the commentary would have been more explicit in stating the fact. It is thus plausible to argue that ἐπιγράφει is used by the commentator for the entitlement of the poem.[49] The descriptive quality of the comments and the emphasis to the attached title, in contrast to the quasi-judgmental statement about Callimachus' view, suggest that the poem may have already been part of an edition, which Aristarchus, but not Callimachus, had at hand.[50]

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[46] On Callimachus' *Pinakes*, R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the end of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford 1968) 127-134.

[47] Cf. Schröder (n. 41) 111, n. 1, points out that Callimachus probably catalogued the poem in his *Pinakes*. Maehler *CLGP* 1.4 (n. 34) ad vv. 14-19: "Aristarchs Kritik wird sich auf seine Πίνακες beziehen (frr.429-452 Pf.)."

[48] Cf. Ath. 11.496e-f Δίφιλος Αἱρησιτείχει (τὸ δὲ δρᾶμα τοῦτο Καλλίμαχος ἐπιγράφει Εὐνοῦχον); 1.29a ὅτι Ἀριστοφάνους τὰς δευτέρας Θεσμοφοριαζούσας Δημήτριος ὁ Τροιζήνιος Θεσμοφοριασάσας ἐπιγράφει; 7.293a ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς μέσης κωμῳδίας, ποιεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Ἐγκλειομέναις (οὕτω γὰρ ἐπιγράφει τὸ δρᾶμα); scholia ad E. *Andr*. 445 ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος ἐπιγραφῆναί φησι τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ Δημοκράτην.

[49] Cf. Luppe.b (n. 34) 28: "Nach ἐπιγράφει δ'αὐτήν erwartet man nichts als den Titel"; Ucciardello (n. 34) 74-75; *CLGP* 1.4 (n. 34) 297, where Maehler argues that Callimachus must have grouped the untitled poem with the paeans, but it was identified and reclassified as a dithyramb after Aristarchus attributed to it the title *Kassandra*; E. Lobel and D. Page. *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* (Oxford 1955) 54, express their doubts whether lines 9ff imply a reclassification by Aristarchus. See G. D'Alessio, "Pindar's 'Prosodia' and the Classification of Pindaric Papyrus Fragments," *ZPE* 118 (1997) 54, who argues that 'the use of ἐπιγράφει for the *Cassandra* ... strongly suggests ... that the arrangements of the standard edition of Bacchylides was the work of Aristarchos, rather than that of Aristophanes."

[50] Note the absence of the name of Aristophanes of Byzantium from the ὑπόμνημα. Cf. the disagreement about the classification of Pindar's *Pythian* 2 recorded in the scholia (Inscr. 10-14) and similarly the absence of the name of Aristophanes of Byzantium, on which N. Lowe, "Epinikian Eidography," in S. Hornblower and C. Morgan (eds.), *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals: From Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire* (Oxford 2007) 171-172. It is far from certain whether ὁμοίως for the opinion/reaction of Dionysius of Phaselus refers to Callimachus' classification of the poem as a paean (i.e.

The fragmentary poetic lines that are drawn from the extant part of the ὑπόμνημα suggest an occasion and performance context for the *Kassandra*. The beginning of the poem presumably refers to the goddess Athena (Ἀθηνᾶς), and the performance of the poem that was accompanied by the sounds of *auloi* (αὐλῶν πνοᾶι) apparently takes place at or near a temple (of Athena), or at a sacred space (ἱερᾶν ἄωτο[ν] … τέμενος).[51] The rest of the *Kassandra* is lost, but the poem has been identified as one of Bacchylides' dithyrambs. The assumption that the ὑπόμνημα refers to one of Bacchylides' poems is based on a testimony of Porphyrio.[52] Porphyrio comments how Proteus in Horace's *Ode* 1.15 foretells the future Trojan War as Cassandra does in one of Bacchylides' poems (Porphyrio ad Hor. c. 115).[53]

Hac ode Bacchylidem imitatur; nam ut ille Cassandram facit vaticinari futura belli Troiani, ita hic Proteum.

Dionysius also classified the poem as a paean), or to Aristarchus' criticism of Callimachus and his classification of the poem as a dithyramb (i.e. Dionysius also criticized Callimachus and classified the poem as a dithyramb).

[51] In *CLGP* 1.4 (n. 34) 298 Maehler suggests that the lemma could also read either [τὸ πάνθ]ειον τέμενος or [τὸ Ἐρέχθ]ειον τέμενος both of which are connected with Athena, the Panathenaic or the Erechthean respectively.

[52] Maehler (n. 6, ed. 2003), H. Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides. Zweiter Teil. Die Dithyramben und Fragmente* (Leiden 1997) 268-271, and *Bacchylides: A Selection* (Cambridge 2004) in the apparatus fontium of fr. 23, includes both the scholia to Pi. *P*. 1.100 and Servius ad Verg. *Aen*. 11.93 assuming that they refer to Bacchylides' *Kassandra*. Both sources create a link between the commented passage and Bacchylides' dithyrambs – Helenos' prophecy to send Philoctetes to Troy in order to besiege the city, and the shields the Arcadians are described as holding in the particular passage in the *Aeneid* are similar to the ones they hold in Bacchylides' dithyrambs respectively. The above sources however do not explicitly refer to Bacchylides' *Kassandra*; they merely create a link between aspects and features of the Trojan War and Bacchylides' dithyrambs, which ultimately generates the scholarly need to assume that the reference is to his *Kassandra*. The inclusion of both these passages could be based on the comment of F. Blass, *Bacchylidis Carmina cum Fragmentis* (Leipzig 1899) ad fr.8, that actually includes the text of Servius ad Verg. *Aen*. 11.93: "Non omisi, quamvis cum Neuio putem ad frg. chart. p. 158sq (*Κασσάνδρα*), pertinere. Nam Servii 'sicut habuisse Arcades' referenda ad illa 'propter numina illic depicta'; Arcadum autem mos ideo memoratur Bacchylidesque eius testis advocator, quoniam eidem apud Vergilium quoque inducuntur."

[53] Cf. Scholia Lactantii Placidi ad Stat.*Theb*. 7.330-331 (Sweeney, Vol.1: "... hic Bacchylides Graecus poeta est, quem imitates est Horatius in illa ode [1.15] in qua Proteus Troiae futurum narrat excidium."

"This ode imitates Bacchylides; for as he makes Cassandra prophesy about the Trojan War, so here Proteus."

The commentary in *P.Oxy*. 23.2368 mentions two criteria for the poem's generic classification: (1) the presence of an *epiphthegma* (refrain),[54] either the *iē* refrain or one of its variations, that according to Callimachus was "typical of the 'paeans,' but for Aristarchos it was common to both paians and dithyrambs,"[55] and (2) "the presence of a (presumably extended) narrative about Kassandra."[56] This in conjunction with Porphyrio's comment has led scholars to conclude that the poem referred to by Porphyrio is the one entitled *Kassandra* by Aristarchus, and this *Kassandra* is in retrospect one of Bacchylides' dithyrambs.[57] The conclusion is tentative, as the poem of Bacchylides mentioned in Porphyrio's commentary could be any other poem of his. Similarly, the *Kassandra* in the commentary does not necessarily need to be identified as one of Bacchylides' compositions.

Be that as it may, the features one detects in the extant dithyrambic corpus of Bacchylides can be used as evidence to argue that it is plausible to identify the poem mentioned in *P.Oxy*. 23.2368 as one of Bacchylides' compositions. The peculiar nature of Bacchylides' dithyrambic poems, especially their lack of the Dionysiac narrative that is expected in dithyrambs has drawn much scholarly attention.[58] While Pindar's dithyrambs seem to be embedded in cultic and

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[54] Also Rutherford (n. 34) 11 and D'Alessio (n. 4) 119; B. Acosta-Hughes and S.A. Stephens, *Callimachus in Context: From Plato to the Augustan Poets* (Cambridge and New York 2012) 107. The need to include the (semi-)refrain in modern editions as the paeanic marker – presumably in order to explain and perhaps excuse Callimachus' mistaken classification, according to the scholiast at least – is evident in Maehler's 2003 edition of Bacchylides' *Kassandra* (B. fr. 23).

[55] D'Alessio (n. 4) 119-120; see also T. Gelzer, "Μοῦσα αὐθιγενής: Bemerkungen zu einem Typ Pindarischer und Bacchylideischer Epinikien," *MH* 42 (1985) 95-96. Cf. Rutherford (n. 3) 97-98 who points out that Aristarchus' classification of the poem as a dithyramb "need not entail that he did not believe that the presence of a comparatively complex παιάν-refrain would not imply classification as a *Paian*."

[56] D'Alessio (n. 4) 119-120; see also Käppel-Kannicht (n. 18) 23.

[57] The first to have made this assumption was Lobel (n. 34). Although he points out that he has found "no coincidence with the lemmata of this text by which the conjecture can be verified," his speculation has been accepted since.

[58] E.g. B. Zimmermann, *Dithyrambos: Geschichte einer Gattung* (Göttingen 1992) 64-103; Fearn (n. 19) 205-225; C. Calame, "The Dithyramb, a Dionysiac Poetic Form: Genre Rules and Cultic Contexts," in B. Kowalzig and P. Wilson (eds.), *Dithyramb in Context* (Oxford 2013) 341-352. It has recently been argued that the term *kyklios choros* is probably more appropriate to refer to performances of public non-dramatic choral poetry in classical Athens as it avoids the cultic term *dithyrambos*. This can accurately

poetic contexts that are related to Dionysus,[59] Bacchylides' dithyrambs are not associated with Dionysian mythological and cultic contexts.[60] The diction of the majority of Pindar's fragmentary dithyrambs draws attention to this Dionysiac context: *Dith.*1 (fr. 70a M.) βρομιάδι θο̣ί̣νᾳ (v. 11); *Dith.* 2 (fr. 70b M.) δ̣ι̣θ̣ιυράμβων (v. 2), Βρομίου̣ [τελε]τάν (v. 6), ἐν ὀργαῖς Βακχίαις (vv. 20-21), Διόνυσ[.] .́ (v. 31); *Dith.* 3 (fr. 70c M.)]πλόκον σ[τεφά]νων κισσίνων (v. 7), πόν̣ο̣ι̣ χορῶν (v. 16); *Dith.* 4 (fr. 75 M.) ἐπὶ τὸν κισσοδαῆ θεόν, τὸν Βρόμιον, τὸν Ἐριβόαν τε βροτοὶ καλέομεν (vv. 9-10). On the contrary, Dionysus is absent from the mythical narratives and the performative poetics of Bacchylides' dithyrambic compositions. His dithyrambs are predominantly mythological narratives and, with the exception of *Ode* 19, these narratives are unrelated to Dionysus and include no topical allusions. Bacchylides' dithyrambic compositions have also been seen as innovative.[61] The dialogic *Ode* 18 is an experiment with the form of the dithyrambic genre and recalls the proto-form of tragedy, while *Ode* 17 that has been classified as a dithyramb ends on a paeanic note and consequently mixes features from both genres. The extended narrative and the blurring of boundaries between the dithyramb and the paean are particularly relevant to the *Kassandra*. The ancient commentary (*P.Oxy*. 23.2368) suggests that the puzzlement about the genre of the poem *Kassandra* presumably resulted from the lack of explicit diction in connection to a Dionysiac cultic context, or alternatively from the presence in the text of both dithyrambic (extended narrative) and paeanic markers (semi-paeanic refrain). Thus, based also on the poetics of Bacchylides' dithyrambs, one can argue with certainty that the poem mentioned in *P.Oxy*. 23.2368 is one of Bacchylides' compositions.

As mentioned at the beginning of the paper, a number of scholars played with the idea that fr. 60 could be the *Kassandra*, but they dismissed it because of

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apply to Bacchylides' dithyrambic compositions. On *kyklioi choroi* and the *dithyrambos*, L. Käppel, "Bakchylides und das System der chorlyrischen Gattungen im 5. Jh. v.Chr.," in A. Bagordo and B. Zimmermann (eds.), *Bakchylides: 100 Jahre nach seiner Wiederentdeckung* (Munich 2000) 22-27; Fearn (n. 19) 163-180, 205-212; P. Ceccarelli, "Circular Choruses and the Dithyramb in the Classical and Hellenistic Period: A Problem of Definition," in B. Kowalzig and P. Wilson (eds.), *Dithyramb in Context* (Oxford 2013) 153-170; D'Alessio (n. 4).

[59] Calame (n. 58) 336-341.

[60] Cf. the proto-dithyramb of Archilochus (fr. 120 W.) that is presented as the song for the god Dionysus.

[61] F. Garcia Romero, "The Dithyrambs of Bacchylides: Their Position in the Evolution of the Genre," in A. Bagordo and B. Zimmermann (eds.), *Bakchylides* (above, n. 58) 47-57 has placed them in a medial position and has claimed that they are essential documents for understanding the evolution of the genre in form and content.

Porphyrio's comment that Cassandra prophesied the Trojan War in the poem.[62] The surviving part of the fragment includes no prophecy. It rather narrates the consequences of the Trojan War and portrays Greeks or Trojans leaving Troy and settling in other parts of the Mediterranean. Part of the verses we possess, however, are narrated in direct speech. Rutherford observes that, if we were to trust Porphyrio's scholion, the structure of Horace's *Odes* 1.15 would probably have been mapped onto Bacchylides' poem: the prophecy that closes Horace's poem is introduced with a short speech-frame.[63] Assuming that Porphyrio does refer to Aristarchus' *Kassandra* and a prophecy was indeed part of the poem's narrative, while also accepting that the *Kassandra* could indeed be identified with fr. 60,[64] the possible narrative scenarios are two: (1) The female voices that lament in direct speech (v. 7 ὑ]π̣ὲ̣ρ ἁμετέρ[ας], v. 9]χοίμεθα) in the fragment could have included in their narrative an embedded narrative where Cassandra would predict the misfortunes of the Trojan War.[65] In this case, the mythological time would move between two time-frames: the remote past before the Trojan War, where Cassandra prophesied the consequences of the destruction of Troy, and the post-war present of the female refugees and survivors. The surviving part of fr. 60 would thus be divided into two parts: lines 1-20 that would predict the destruction through Cassandra, and lines 21-37 that would confirm the prophecy. The latter group would also harmonize the fall of Troy with the presence in the Mediterranean of populations who claimed to be descendants of Trojan survivors or Greek wanderers.[66] (2) The

[62] E.g. Snell (n. 6) 53*; Maehler.a and Maehler.b (n. 34) lvi; Irigoin, (n. 6) 256.

[63] Rutherford (n. 34) 9.

[64] We cannot rule out the possibility that other poems now lost had a similar textual situation, i.e. prophecy. See e.g. *P.Oxy*. 4.660, on which G. Ucciardello, "A Single Scribe in *P.Oxy*. IV 660 + *P.Oxy*. XXIII 2623 + PSI inv. 1907 (Choral Lyric: Simonides?)," *ZPE* 160 (2007) 7-8, and Rutherford (n. 34) 5-8 on Pindar's Paean VIIIa. Nevertheless, the poem referred to in *P.Oxy*. 23.2368 is the sole poem that bears the title *Kassandra*. R. Nickel, *Lexikon der antiken Literatur* (Darmstadt 1999), registers no other poem/book as preserved with the title *Kassandra*. He mentions only Κασσανδρείς, a story from Kassandreia, by Lycophron from which we only possess the title.

[65] Cf. E. *Andr*. 295-300, where the chorus refers to Cassandra's prophetic utterance; Pi. *Pae*. 8a = fr. 52i (A) M., on which Rutherford (n. 34) 5-8 and Rutherford (n. 3) 236-238.

[66] E.g. Trojans: Hom. *Il*. 20.302-312 where Aeneas is mentioned as surviving Troy, Hdt. 5.122.2 mentions some remaining Teucrians in the north east of Asia Minor. It seems that for Herodotus the Teucrians are the original inhabitants of the Troad; cf. Hdt. 5.13.10-12 ὁ δὲ Στρυμὼν οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, εἴησαν δὲ Τευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἄποικοι, Hdt. 2.118; Hdt. 4.191 reports that a Libyan tribe claimed that they were descendants of the Trojans, Strabo 6.1.14 records that the Greek city of Siris was originally occupied by Trojans. Greeks: Philoctetes is reported to have founded Krimissa,

prophecy of Cassandra may have been introduced by the voice of the (performing) chorus before the beginning of the lamentation proper, and thus before the extant part of the fragment.[67] This again would have been done in an embedded narrative that would be almost external to the main mythological exemplum.

Because of this lack of reconciliation between Porphyrio's testimony and the absence of a prophecy in fr. 60, Maehler has proposed the title ΛΑΟΜΕΔΟΝΤΙΑΔΑΙ for fr. 60. His suggestion is based on Vergil, *Aen*. 3.248, where Celaeno, the oldest of the Harpies on the Strophades, calls Aeneas and the Trojans Laomedontiadae.[68] The epithet is used in scorn in the words of Celaeno,[69] who in a hostile prophecy proclaims the sufferings and wanderings of the Trojans. A title such as this would of course bring to mind the Trojan descent of the women, but it is nonetheless in the masculine form. Unless we accept that the first part of the poem included references to men in association with Laomedon,[70] it cannot apply collectively to the female figures who narrate the extant fragment, especially if it is selected because of their Trojan origin. The titles for Bacchylides' dithyrambs suggest that the Alexandrians chose them not necessarily after the main character of the poem nor after the primary narrative voice. They were rather prompted either by the main theme of the narrative, or by an important figure in the mythological exemplum.[71] The two titles for *Ode* 15 are connected with the main purpose of Menelaus' visit to Troy (Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις), or with the family whose house he visits (Ἀντηνορίδαι,

Petelia and Makalla in South Italy (Lyc. *Alex*. 911-929, Strabo 6.1.3, 6.2.5), Pylians with Nestor and/or Epeios in particular are said to have founded Lagaria (Strabo 6.1.14), Metapontion (Just. *Epit*. 20.2.1, Vell. Pat. 1.1) and Pisa (Serv. ad Verg. *Aen*.10.179). On Greeks and Trojans who inhabited Italy and Sicily after the Trojan War, see in more detail A. Erskine, *Troy Between Greece and Rome: Local Tradtion and Imperial Power* (Oxford 2001) 131-156.

[67] In both suggested scenarios, the length of fr. 60 would have been as long as two triads; cf. Pi. *Pae.* 2, 6, and 8 M.

[68] Maehler.a and Maehler.b (n. 34) lvi.

[69] In this case, at least, the epithet has implications of treachery, on which R.D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil, Books 1-6* (London 1972) ad loc. Laomedon was known to have cheated the gods of the promised rewards for building the walls of Troy and his impiety and dishonesty were notorious; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.18-24, Verg. *Geo*. 1.502-502, *Aen*. 4.542. The epithet is used in the singular for Priam in Verg. *Aen*. 8.158, 162.

[70] Cf. B. 17, ἠΐθεοι is mentioned in the narrative (B. 17.43, 93 and 128) but note how, with the exception of the peaenic utterance at the end of the poem, these male figures do not speak; also B.15, with the reference to Antenor (B. 15.1).

[71] One could argue for the need of the Alexandrian scholars to find titles that would allow them to arrange the poems in an order, in the case of Bacchylides' dithyrambs alphabetically.

B. 15.1 Ἀντή]νορος);[72] *Ode* 17 is entitled either Ἠΐθεοι, after the narrative and mythological identity of the chorus (B. 17.43, 93 ἠϊθέων and 128 ἠΐθεοι), or Θησεῦς, after the subject of the paternal trial; *Ode* 18 has the title Θησεῦς after the subject of discussion between the chorus and Aegeus, in spite of the fact that Theseus is not named in the poem; *Ode* 19 has Ἰώ who, in this case only, is the main subject of the poem; although one cannot be certain, Ἴδας may have been a figure in the narrative of *Ode* 20 and thus the title of the poem. The commentator claims that Aristarchus applied the title because the poem includes in its narrative a story related to Cassandra. It is thus possible that for the poem *Kassandra* the character of Cassandra (and her prophecy) was not the focus of the narrative, but was indirectly referred to and included in the narrative. The identification of the *Kassandra* in *P.Oxy*. 23.2368 with fr. 60 still holds water even if we do not accept that Porphyrio refers to this particular poem in his commentary. One should perhaps question the connection between the two. Both the *Kassandra* in *P.Oxy*. 23.2368 and fr. 60 feature the *iē* refrain and both may have been classified as dithyrambs. This conclusively suggests that they are the same poem.[73]

Fragment 60 is a puzzling poem mainly due to the *iē* marker at its closure, its genre, and its position in Bacchylides' corpus. The parallels between the poem in the ancient commentary (*P.Oxy*. 23.2368) and fr. 60 are numerous: (1) the ἰὴ ἰή refrain is included in both poems and in the case of the *Kassandra* it was presumably the reason for the disagreement between Aristarchus and

[72] Kenyon (n. 20) 138-139 comments how the title *Antenoridai* refers to the first part of the poem, while the second title describes the second part of the poem that is the portion of the poem preserved in the papyrus.

[73] Giambattista D'Alessio has suggested to me in private communication that fr. 60 M. could be identified with Bacchylides' fr. 9 M, an idea he will develop in the future. No text of the fragment survives, but commenting on Verg. *Aen*. 2.201 Servius states that Bacchylides told a version of the myth of Laocoon and his wife. In it the two snakes that traditionally appear in Laocoon's story are turned into humans. In Sophocles' *Laocoon* as well as in Arctinus the Trojans are divided into two groups, and it is then decided that one group would stay, whereas the second would leave Troy. It is thus reasonable to assume that this detail would feature in Bacchylides' dithyramb in connection with Laocoon. Although this identification implies that the semi-paeanic refrain would exist in two poems of Bacchylides (the *Kassandra* and fr. 60), this mythological twist, as D'Alessio explained, would fit within the narrative of the poem: fr. 60.27 αὖθι μένε[ιν, fr. 60.29 προφυγεῖν. The title ΛΑΟΚΟΟΝ would also fit in the alphabetically arranged dithyrambs of Bacchylides. D'Alessio would also take into consideration the possibility that the Cassandra and the Laocoon episodes featured in the same poem, but thinks that this is perhaps less likely, since Bacchylides' other preserved dithyrambs seem all to focus on a single event.

Callimachus, (2) both poems make an association with the Trojan War, (3) fr. 60 and the *Kassandra* are likely to be both dithyrambs, and (4) the title ascribed to them begins with K in the case of *Kassandra*, or could begin with K in the case of fr. 60. The strongest arguments, however, in favor of the plausibility of the identification of fr. 60 with the *Kassandra* are the extended non-Dionysiac narrative that plausibly also existed in the *Kassandra*, the cry ἰὴ ἰή, and the classification of the poems as dithyrambs. The presence of the semi-paeanic cry in fr. 60 could have caused confusion and classificatory disagreements similar to the one concerning the *Kassandra*. I find it difficult to believe that this confusion would not have been registered in later commentaries and scholia or mentioned in the ὑπόμνημα (*P.Oxy*. 23.2368) as a negative or positive example of classifying melic poems.[74] This is inevitably an *argumentum e silentio* and it is not meant to put forward the conclusion that our knowledge about poetry of the archaic and classical era and about the scholiastic tradition is by any means complete. It is, however, paradoxical that a poem with the same textual and performance marker that once caused disagreement among the Hellenistic scholars never became a subject of discussion in a similar manner among scholars in the Alexandrian library or among other circles of commentators and grammarians in antiquity.

[74] R. Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia* (Cambridge 2009) 11, notes that "a very common ... principle for a commentator is to compare similar passages and to back the argument with parallels. ... On occasion, such notes provide clusters of parallels, which points to the systematic treatment of the relevant phenomenon." See in the scholiastic corpus of Pindar, e.g. scholia ad *Ol*. 1.91a, the disagreement on the genre of *Pythian* 2 (Inscr. 10–14), scholia ad *P*. 4.313a and 318b and ad *N*. 6.85b.

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 101-108

Artabas of Grain or Artabas of Grains?

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Abstract

Survey of the use of the singular and plural with Greek words for grain. The original plural gives way to the singular in the course of the Hellenistic period, but the plural reappears in the later Roman period for barley, whereas wheat, for which σῖτος is then used rather than πυρός, occurs in the singular. There are, however, a number of exceptions to the general picture, often depending on the case in which the words occur.

In classical Greek and Latin, names of materials are usually plural, as if individual parts of the material are indicated rather than the total mass. One example in R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* 2.1 (1898) 15, is taken from Xenophon's *Anabasis* 6.4.6: πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὄσπρια, "barley(s), wheat(s) and beans." When discussing the value of grain Polybius 34.8.7 states that ὁ μὲν τῶν κριθῶν Σικελικὸς μέδιμνος ἐστι δραχμῆς, ὁ δὲ τῶν πυρῶν ἐννέα ὀβολῶν, "the price of barley(s) is one drachma for a Sicilian medimna, that for wheat(s) is nine obols." E. Schwyzer and A. Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik* 2 (1950) 43, notice that the difference between singular and plural in such cases is often "ohne materiellen Bedeutungsgrund." According to LSJ, κριθή (and ὄλυρα) are "mostly in plural." As an early example for the singular they quote *P.Grenf*. 2 29, a second century BC papyrus, where both πυρός and κριθή are used in the singular. For πυρός the lexicon also gives a long lists of examples in the plural, side by side with the singular. In classical authors words for grain appear only infrequently, given the subject matters treated by them. Homer prefers the plural πυροί , but can change to singular *metri causa*.[1] Aristophanes, Demosthenes, Dio Chrysostom, Herodotus, Plato, Plutarch, Polybius, Xenophon, and the Hippocratic Corpus (nearly) always use the plural; in Lucian πυρός is used in the singular, κριθή in the plural. Plural and singular are attested side by side, in Galen, in the Septuagint,[2] in Flavius

[1] Cf. P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* 2 (Paris 1963) 30.

[2] The Septuagint usually follows the Hebrew model. In Hebrew the plural is used for grain as a material, after threshing, the singular for grain as a plant on the field; cf. W.

Josephus, and in the New Testament. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (1984) § 141, n. 11, give one example of the plural of κριθή. In all these cases, instances are too few to be statistically relevant.

In the inscriptions (checked with the PHI online database[3]), the plurals πυρῶν (162 instances) and κριθῶν (36 instances) heavily predominate: there are only 6 matches for πυροῦ[4] and just one for κριθῆς.[5] In Attica only plurals are attested, e.g. in the famous grain tax law *SEG* 48 (1998) no. 96. The singular forms are all late Hellenistic or Roman, but plural forms are found a few times as late as the 230s AD.[6]

According to E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri* 2.1 (1936) 34-35, both singular and plural are used in Ptolemaic papyri, with a preference for the plural when amounts of grain are given in artabas.

In this article I map the use of singular and plural for the four types of grain most commonly found in papyri. My starting point was the Papyrological Navigator, but searching with this instrument was problematic, because the common combination πυροῦ/κριθῆς/ὀλύρας ἀρτάβαι is usually abbreviated. With the help of Mark Depauw[7] I was able to filter out the hundreds of abbreviated forms, where singular or plural is supplied by modern editors, while keeping the passages where the words in question are marked as uncertain by dotted letters. I checked all passages where the words are fully written out, usually in the genitive.

Genesius and E. Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1909) 418, note m.

[3] http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions.

[4] *I.Fay*. 1.70.15 = *Prose sur pierre* 29 = *OGIS* 1.177 (97 BC); *I.Fay*. 1.71.14 = *Prose sur pierre* 31 = *OGIS* 1.179 (95 BC); *IG* 4².1.66.31 (74 BC); W. Peek, *Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros* (Berlin 1969), no. 40.8 (III/IV AD); L.M. Ugolini, *Albania Antica* 1 (Roma 1927) no. 197.19 (Roman period); R. Heberdey and E. Kalinka, *Bericht über zwei Reisen* (Wien 1897) 48.63 (Roman period). The accusative πυρόν is found in four texts: *IG* 2².1088 = *TAM* 5.2.1180 = *SEG* 47.163.28 (τὴν περὶ τὸν πυρὸν ἀφθονίαν; Hadrian); *I.Ephesos* 211 (ἀθροιζόμενον πανταχόθεν πυρόν; II AD); *SEG* 56.1359.1.11 and 27 (Hadrian); *TAM* 2.791 = *IK Arykanda* 39 ([σῖτον καὶ] πυρόν; II AD); *SEG* 58.1536.36-37 (πυρόν and κρειθήν in a damaged context; AD 129). Because PHI often quotes different publications of the same text side by side, one has the impression that there are more examples.

[5] *IG* 4².1.92 = W. Peek, *Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion* 40 (examples 1 and 2); the third example (*SEG* 46.940) is an editorial supplement.

[6] *SEG* 39.1277 and 1279 from Lydia; *IG* 2².1064 = *SEG* 30.82.27 from Athens.

[7] With thanks to Mark Depauw and Dorothy Thompson for commenting upon an earlier draft of this note.

1. πυρός

	BC3	BC2	BC1	AD1	AD2	AD3	AD4	AD5-6	total[8]
πυροῦ	55	209	124	198	708	471	166	2/0	1713
πυρόν	23	52	23	20	47	46	10	0	228
πυρῶι/πυρῷ	7	9	8	15	43	41	7	1	94
πυρός	3	1	3	1	2	1	0	0	13[9]
πυρῶν	167	71	15	0	1 ?	1	2?	0	251
πυρούς	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
πυροῖς	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0[10]
total	257	342	173	234	803	561	171	0	2302
% sing./plur.	35/65	79/21	91/9	100/0	100/0	99/1	99/1	-	

The above table clearly shows that the plural predominates in the third century BC (169 plural vs. 88 singular), but the situation is reversed in the second century (71 plural vs. 271 singular). From the second century onwards the plural is only found in the genitive. The 15 first century BC plurals are mostly from the beginning of the century.[11] Most examples of plurals in the Roman period are due to false or uncertain readings.[12]

[8] This column is not the total of the preceding columns, but is counted directly from the attestations in PN. Texts dated over more than two centuries are counted twice in the columns by century.

[9] In seven other instances πυρός in PN is the genitive of πῦρ.

[10] The only example of πυροῖς in *PSI* 8.936.2 (VI AD) is a supplement: ὑ̣π̣[ὲρ] παντοίων ἐκφο̣[ρίων ἐν πυροῖς] κ̣α̣ὶ̣ κ̣ριθαῖς. Though the supplement is not unlikely, we have not counted it. There are no examples of the nominative plural.

[11] The only later examples are *BGU* 4.1192 (60-50 BC), *PSI* 10.1098 (51 BC); *P.Bingen* 45.13 (an order by Cleopatra in 33 BC; here one finds τὴν τῶν πυρῶν καταγωγήν, perhaps due to high brow language in a royal letter, but in l. 2 one finds the singular πυροῦ ἀρτάβας); *SB* 26.16745 (15 BC); *BGU* 16.2611 (10 BC).

[12] *SB* 14.11303.7 (πυ̣ρ̣ῶν; dated AD 50-99, but the text is perhaps earlier); *SB* 14.11431 (AD 96; [εἰς σ]πορὰν πυρῶν, but the reading of the end of the word is uncertain); *P.Wisc*. 1.9.30 (the editor reads πυ̣ρῶν προ̣σφορ[ά]ν, but the beginning is heavily abraded and this is clearly an example of the formula διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ NN ἔτους τούτων προσφορὰ εἶναι σοῦ; cf., e.g., *P.Oxy*. 9.1208. 22, *P.Oxy*. 51.3638.28 or *PSI* 15.1550.25-26; I read ll. 29-30 as follows: διὰ τὸ τ[ὰ ἀ]πὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τετάρτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους τ̣ο̣ύ̣των προσφορ̣[ὰ] εἶναι σοῦ); *SB* 5.7822 (AD 208; P.J. Sijpesteijn, *P.Customs*, p. 173, corrects πυρῶν in l. 2 into ἐλαιῶν in l. 3); *P.Cair.Isid*. 61.3 (AD 323; τιμῆς πυρῶν βασιλικῶν; the reading of πυρῶν is far from certain: the first editor read τελῶν). In *P.Laur*. 1.12 bottom

In the third century BC the plural is fairly ubiquitous in the expression πυρῶν ἀρτάβαι, which is found 30 times against 3 examples of the singular πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι.[13] Even in the genitive, however, the change from plural to singular already sets in in the third century BC, especially when ἀρτάβαι is omitted.[14] The singular is more often used in the accusative and the dative and particularly when the text deals with "a field of wheat" rather than with the product,[15] e.g. βοτανίζω τὸν πυρόν (*P.Lond.* 7.2174.3; *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59635.9).[16] In the genitive the singular is often found when the word is accompanied by an adjective or by the article, e.g. πυροῦ καθαροῦ, ἀκοσκινευτοῦ, λευκοῦ, τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ κε (ἔτους) πυροῦ, or simply τοῦ πυροῦ.

(AD 250), slightly damaged and without context, the reading seems unavoidable (with thanks to R. Pintaudi for a photograph). Certain examples are *CPR* 5.8.17-19 (IV AD; πάντων̣ τ̣ῶν περιγ̣[ινο]μένων [ἐξ] αὐτῆς πυρῶν τε καὶ ἀχύρων; notice that here even the word ἀχύρος is used in the plural, which is unusual), *SB* 16.13035.3 (IV AD; πυρῶν (ἀρτάβαι) ε; checked on photograph kindly provided by L. Criscuolo) and *PSI* 1.95.5 (πυροὺς ἢ ἐνέχυρον). I have not been able to check *P.Oxy.* 3.530.2-3, where a correction occurs in a damaged context.

[13] *P.Ent.* 90.3 (reading checked on the original); *P.Petrie* 3.105.1; *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59569.4; *O.Leid.* 34 is no doubt second century, on the basis of the script (checked by F.A.J. Hoogendijk) and the superfluous *iota* adscript ἔχωι in l. 2. Similarly, *BGU* 3.1005 is second rather than third century BC (checked on a photograph kindly provided by F. Reiter; the formulas are similar to those of some Pathyris loans, e.g. *P.Grenf.* 2.29). In *P.Sorb.* 3.10 the supplement [πυροῦ] should be corrected to [πυρῶν]. In *O.Wilcken* 1253 (checked on a photograph kindly provided by A. Benaissa) and in *O.Taxes* 2.104 I prefer the reading πυρῶν (with high-rising *ny*) to the editor's πυροῦ. Similarly in *P.Genova* 3.114.9-13 πυρῶν should be read each time even though this results in unexpected expressions such as φορικοῦ πυρῶν (l. 9) and ἀγοραστοῦ πυρῶν (l. 10): the ending –ου is clearly different from –ων. No doubt σίτου is understood in these two cases. The term ἀγοραστός is often used without σῖτος; cf. T. Reekmans, "Σῖτος ἀγοραστός in Ptolemaic Egypt," *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* 2 (Milano 1957) 203-210.

[14] E.g. in *P.Lond.* 7.1991 the singular is used in ll. 44, 73 (πυροῦ), 23, 80, 109 (κριθῆς), but the plural in ll. 5 and 118 (κριθῶν); ὀλυρῶν is plural throughout (ll. 29, 61, 93, 116, 136); in *P.Lond.* 7.1194, a similar account, the plural is the usual form (e.g. ll. 5, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23, etc.), but the singular is found in the expression ἔχει πυροῦ/κριθῆς εἰς ἰδιόσπορα (ll. 101, 109); in the enumeration ll. 185-192 and 255-260 singular πυροῦ and κριθῆς contrast with plural ὀλυρῶν, but in l. 292 the plural κριθῶν is found in a parallel passage. Similarly, in *P.Lond.* 7.1995 plural and singular are found side by side.

[15] Cf. biblical Hebrew in n. 1 above; a similar distinction is apparently made in classical Latin; see E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins* 1 (Lund 1956) 29-30.

[16] Perhaps the singular can be explained in the same way when the grain is used for sowing, as in *P.Petrie* 3.95.7 ([σπόρ]ος πυροῦ (ἄρουραι) θ) and in *P.Yale* 1.31 (σπέρμα εἰς τὸ λ (ἔτος) πυρ[ο]ῦ ἑβδομήκοντα).

The word πυρός disappears from the lexicon after about AD 350.[17] It is replaced by σῖτος, which is always used in the singular, as was already the case in the classical language.

2. κριθή

	BC3	BC2	BC1	AD1	AD2	AD3	AD4	AD5	AD6	total
κριθῆς	49	40	19	47	133	118	122	9	16	575
κριθήν	21	3	1	6	17	22	8	2	3	83
κριθῇ/κριθῆι	9	5	2	4	21	10	1	2	2	46
κριθή	2	0	2	0	5	3	1	0	0	13
κριθῶν	90	7	2	0	0	0	55	46	39	225
κριθάς	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
κριθαῖς	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
κριθαί	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
total	177	55	26	57	174	152	187	59	67	951
% sing. /plur.	45/55	87/13	92/8	100/0	100/0	100/0	71/29	22/78	32/68	

As with πυρός, the plural is more common than the singular in the third century BC. The singular is used mainly when κριθή is not in the genitive or when it is further defined. The second and first century BC examples of plural κριθῶν are all followed by a figure ("xx artabas of barley," though the word for artabas is often omitted). Since the two first century examples date from 98 and 97 BC (*P.Ryl.* 2.71 and 72), plural forms disappear at the very beginning of the first century BC. There are no plural forms in the Roman period, but

[17] See H. Cadell, "Le renouvellement du vocabulaire au IVe siècle," *Akten des XIII. Papyrologenkongresses* (München 1974) 64-65; eadem, *Cd'É* 48 (1973) 329. As P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp point out in *P.Mich.* 20, p. 28, n. 25, there are in fact a few late fourth century examples, e.g. *P.Col.* 7.160 (AD 354), *SB* 22.15286. 29 (AD 362), *P.Mich.* 20.803-809 (AD 366-372), *BGU* 4.1092.17 (AD 372), *P.Vindob.Sijp.* 13.9 and 25, and *BGU* 12.2148 (AD 375). The rare references to πυρός in sixth century documents found in PN, are all supplements by the editors, where [πυροῦ] or (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) should be corrected into [σῖτος] or (σίτου ἀρτ.), e.g. *BGU* 17.2722 passim; *CPR* 19.46.3; *P.Bad.* 4.95.19, 55, 264, 265, 342, 419, 555 (corrected in *BL* 11); *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67006.2 (κατὰ σπ̣ο̣ρὰ̣[ν π]υ̣ρῶν corrected in *BL* 3:33); *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67129.15; *P.Flor.* 1.37.5 (*BL* 1); *P.Michael.* 60.10; *P.Sijp.* 11e (in margine; reading doubtful), *P.Strasb.* 6.597, *P.Strasb.* 7.657.7; *PSI* 8.936.2-3 ([ἐν πυροῖς καὶ] κριθαῖς, no doubt to be corrected into [ἔν τε σίτῳ καὶ] κριθαῖς); *SB* 14.12948.v; *Stud.Pal.* 20.126.11 ([πυ]ροῦ; AD 515)

then, unexpectedly, the plural returns in the middle of the fourth century[18] and gets the upper hand in the Byzantine period. The overwhelming majority of plural instances are in the genitive: the accusative plural is all but absent,[19] the nominative is found in five texts of the third century BC only, the dative plural turns up in the 6th century AD, mainly in the expression ἔν τε σίτῳ καὶ κριθαῖς.

3. ὄλυρα[20]

	BC3	BC2	BC1	AD1-5	AD6	total
ὀλύρας (gen.)	19	19	13	0	0	38
ὄλυραν	9	8	0	0	0	17
ὀλύραι/ὀλύρᾳ	1	1	0	0	0	2
ὄλυρα	1	2	0	0	0	3
ὀλυρῶν	31	14	2	0	0	46
ὀλύρας (acc.)	0	0	0	0	1	1
total	51	44	11	0	1	108
% sing. /plur.	40/60	68/32	81/19			

The spread of the word ὄλυρα ("emmer") is similar to that of πυρός: usually plural in the third century BC, except when there is a defining adjective or article, and a growing number of attestations of the singular in the second and first centuries[21]. The word did not survive into the Roman period, because *triticum dicoccum* (ὄλυρα) was replaced on the menu by *triticum durum* (πυρός).[22] The only attestation in the Byzantine period (*P.Cair.Masp*. 67002.3.10) uses

[18] *O.Kellis* 255, which is dated by the editor to the 3rd-4th cent., may well belong to the fourth century. All other instances date from the 340s or later. The plural κριθῶν may, therefore, be used to establish a terminus post quem of ca. 330 for a whole series of texts dated more generally to the fourth century AD: TM 31712; 32833; 32223; 33333; 33544; 33740; 34180; 34378; 34722; 72773; 72777; 73914; 73971; 74107; 74121; 74183. TM 32978 and 41691, which are dated to the first half of the fourth century by the editors, may belong to the second quarter of that century.

[19] The only example is *PSI* 5.543 (III BC).

[20] Nominative and dative plural are not attested.

[21] The two first century examples are *UPZ* 1.118 (probably 83 BC) and *BGU* 4.1202 (18 BC). I have excluded *BGU* 8.1926, where the word is in lacuna.

[22] See, e.g., R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 24 and n. 52; a different opinion in A. Battaglia, *Artos. Il lessico della panificazione nei papiri greci* (Milano 1989) 44-46.

olyra as a symbol for near starvation (ἐν τῷ χειμῶ[ν]ι δρόξιμα [l. τρώξιμα, "raw vegetables"] καὶ ὀλύρας ἐσθίομεν).

4. φακός[23]

	BC3	BC2	BC1	AD1	AD2	AD3	AD4	AD5	AD6	total
φακοῦ	11	23	15	11	96	48	22	11	6	202
φακόν	0	1	3	4	15	5	2	0	0	29
φακῶι/φακῷ	4	15	4	2	7	2	0	0	0	34
φακός	2	1	0	0	3	4	1	0	0	9
φακῶν[24]	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6
total	22	40	22	17	131	59	25	11	7	280

The word φακός is so rare in classical authors and in inscriptions that no clear view is possible about the use of its number. In Galen and in the Corpus Hippocraticum, singular and plural are found side by side.[25] In the papyri the plural is found only six times, all except one in the third cent. BC.[26] I have mainly included this word because here Greek prefers the singular where modern languages have the plural: "one kilo of lentils, un kilo de lentilles, ein Kilo Linzen."

Conclusion

In classical Greek and in koine literary Greek, including the inscriptions, the mass nouns πυρός, κριθή, and ὄλυρα are usually plural. This remains so in the early Ptolemaic papyri, especially in genitive expressions like πυρῶν ἀρτάβαι. In the second century BC the plural is replaced by the singular. Only the genitive plural survives until the end of the century. Early examples of singulars are often found when the word for grain is somehow determined.

[23] The numerous instances of the nominative singular φακός "mole" in personal descriptions are excluded manually.

[24] There are no plural forms attested for nominative, accusative and dative.

[25] See G. Maloney and W. Frohn, *Concordantia in Corpus Hippocraticum* 5 (Hildesheim-New York 1986) 4570-4571.

[26] *P.Mich.Zen*. 2.12; *PSI* 6.620.8 (φακῶν ἀρτάβαι); *P.Petrie* 3.76 passim (with and without ἀρτάβαι); *Wilck.Chrest*. 198.17 (φακῶν ἀ(ρτάβαι); *P.Petrie* 3.37b.v; the unexpected 6th century example *SB* 18.13779 is certain.

By the early first century BC the evolution is complete, also in the genitive,[27] and in Roman papyri only the singular is found. The reason why this change occurred escapes us.

In the course of the Roman period, first ὄλυρα and then πυρός disappear from the language. Κριθή survives, and the plural returns in the Byzantine papyri, no doubt as yet another example of Atticism.[28] In the terminology developed by A. Wierzbicka,[29] the general evolution of these words could be described as moving from "pluralia mostly: names denoting collections of small things, possible to count but normally not counted" to "singularia only: names of substances with a minimal unit."

[27] One may wonder whether words for grain have developed in Greek from count nouns to mass nouns; cf., e.g., G.G. Corbett, *Number* (Cambridge 2000) 78-80, or, more generally, D. Massam, *Count and Mass across Languages* (Oxford 2012). I did not find examples, however, of words changing from count nouns to mass nouns in the course of time, as seems to be the case in ancient Greek.

[28] Cf. W. Clarysse, "The Democratisation of Atticism: Θέλω and Ἐθέλω in Papyri and Inscriptions," *ZPE* 167 (2008) 144-148; N. O'Sullivan, "The Future Optative in Greek Documentary and Grammatical Papyri," *JHS* 133 (2013) 93-111.

[29] A. Wierzbicka, "'Oats' and 'Wheat': The Fallacy of Arbitrariness," in J. Haiman (ed.), *Iconicity in Syntax* (Amsterdam-Philadelphia 1985) 309-342, esp. 338-339.

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 109-126

Noms doubles et prosopographie ombite

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Abstract

Analyse onomastique et prosopographique du dossier ombite *O. Joachim* 1-29, comportant des textes commémoratifs de rituels funéraires animaliers de la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque. Considérations sur le milieu administratif dont ce dossier est issu.

Les *ostraca* grecs et démotiques *Prinz Joachim* 1-29 furent acquis à Assouan et offerts à l'Université de Strasbourg en souvenir des cours d'égyptologie suivis par le Prince auprès de W. Spiegelberg.[2] Voici tout juste cent

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[2] Le Prince Joachim de Prusse, fils de l'empereur Guillaume II, fut inscrit ("Immatrikulation") comme *Studiosus juris* à la *Rechts- und staatswissenschaftliche Fakultät* de l'Université de Strasbourg le 27 avril 1912 d'après A(rchives) D(épartementales) du B(as-)R(hin) AL 103 156 (minute d'un compte-rendu de la cérémonie). W. Spiegelberg ne faisait pas partie des professeurs pressentis à l'origine pour l'édification du prince (d'après la liste des invités à la cérémonie d'*Immatrikulation*, "die als Lehrer des Prinzen in Aussicht genommenen Professoren"), mais il fut en revanche invité parmi ses *Lehrer* à la cérémonie d'*Exmatrikulation*, le 30 juillet 1913 (*Straßburger Korrespondenz* n° 59, 30 juillet 1913, p. 153). En effet, à côté d'enseignements dont l'intérêt pratique pour un prince impérial est évident ("Geschichte der Begründung des Deutschen Reiches," "Geschichte der französischen Revolution," "La France et les Français," cours de droit, d'économie nationale et mondiale, de géographie, de physique, de géologie, etc.), le *Prinz* s'initia aussi à des disciplines à finalité plus culturelle: "Einführung in die italienische Kunst," "Griechische Kunst," "Geschichte der Kunst der Stadt Rom," et, au *Winter-Semester* (octobre) 1912 – (mars) 1913, "Ägyptische Kunst bei Prof. Dr. Spiegelberg" (ADBR AL 103 156 [certificat de fin d'études]). La générosité du prince fut rapidement célébrée par une publication, puisque l'*editio princeps* des *ostraca*, acquis à Assouan lors d'un voyage du *Prinz Joachim* en Égypte au début de l'année 1913 ("anfangs dieses Jahres," F. Preisigke et W. Spiegelberg, *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka. Griechische und demotische Beisetzungsurkunden für Ibis- und Falkenmumien aus Ombos* [Strasbourg 1914], *Vorwort*), était déjà achevée en octobre 1913 (date du *Vorwort*). Cette rapidité

ans, leur coéditeur, F. Preisigke, y distinguait trois ensembles typologiques, les *Beisetzungsurkunden* (toujours en grec), les *Gedächtnisurkunden* (en grec ou en démotique) et les *Säuberungsurkunden* (toujours en démotique).[3] Sans les répartir aussi formellement dans des catégories distinctes, nous pourrions définir la plupart d'entre eux comme des commémorations de rituels funéraires animaliers. Outre les allusions à ces rituels, les textes les plus complets comprennent une date de règne, toujours sous Ptolémée XII (Néos Dionysos),[4] et la mention des personnages officiels sous l'autorité desquels s'étaient déroulées les festivités; ces individus sont identifiés, ou non, par un titre se référant à leur fonction, selon les cas, dans l'administration lagide, au sein d'un temple d'Ombos ou dans le thiase réuni autour du culte des ibis et des faucons sacrés.

Dans une démonstration magistrale (mais inutilement polémique), H. Sottas[5] rectifia une série d'erreurs de lecture et d'interprétation dans l'édition et le commentaire institutionnel de F. Preisigke – l'éditeur avait pris des titres égyptiens translittérés en grec pour des noms propres, mal interprété des séquences de dénomination et restitué erronément des anthroponymes, et c'est donc une édition largement revue que F. Bilabel fera paraître dans le *Sammelbuch* (3.6027-6034; 6920-6933). En lien avec le projet de la *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, W. Peremans et E. Van 't Dack ont ensuite consacré un chapitre de leurs *Prosopographica* aux "Instances administratives de l'Ombite d'après les *Ostraca Pr. Joachim*," en montrant, à la suite de Preisigke, leur importance pour l'étude de "l'administration civile et financière de l'Ombite au I^er^ siècle av. J.-C."[6] Une des difficultés auxquelles les différents auteurs se sont heurtés est la concurrence, dans des séquences d'attestations du titulaire d'un titre et de ses variantes, de deux anthroponymes différents, dont l'un est majoritairement attesté, tandis que l'autre, intercalé au sein de la succession des occurrences, n'y apparaît qu'une seule fois. Pour réconcilier l'onomastique et la chronologie au sein d'un système administratif cohérent – et expliquer la concomitance de deux stratèges, de deux toparques et de deux kômogrammates sur le même site, W. Peremans et E. Van 't Dack ont imaginé un modèle complexe supposant des subdivisions administratives appariées, dans un emboîtement de niveaux

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de la publication, dont l'objectif était scientifique mais aussi, dans une certaine mesure, honorifique, contribue sans doute à expliquer les quelques erreurs et le manque de coordination des deux éditeurs (cf. ci-dessous, note 5).

[3] Preisigke et Spiegelberg (n. 2) 32-33.

[4] La datation est bien établie; cf. Preisigke et Spiegelberg (n. 2) 20-22.

[5] H. Sottas, "Le thiase d'Ombos," *RA* 13 (1921) 24-36.

[6] W. Peremans et E. Van 't Dack, *Prosopographica* (Leuven 1953) 105-112.

hiérarchiques (stratège de nome/hypostratège de toparchie, etc.),[7] selon un organigramme comparable à la situation d'autres nomes de Thébaïde,[8] mais que les formulations des documents n'attestent pas explicitement parmi les *O.Joachim*. À vrai dire, il n'est pas certain que cette construction ait contribué à réellement clarifier les questions que soulève le dossier, dont l'interprétation est rendue difficile à cause du bilinguisme probable des auteurs des textes, qui devaient penser alternativement, et parfois simultanément, en grec et en démotique. Dans son chapitre consacré au "Basilikos Grammateus in the Ombite Nome," J.F. Oates pointe en effet la faiblesse de l'argumentaire: "Pelaias is called strategos (and other things) in 79 and through to 53 with one interruption by Thotoes in 73. Peremans' argument that he was a hypostrategos or some such is totally unconvincing. There are no valid parallels," pour conclure en maintenant provisoirement cette documentation à l'écart: "All in all I feel it is necessary to put this evidence aside until better understanding of the situations in them appears."[9]

L'objectif de la présente contribution est de suggérer que l'utilisation de noms doubles[10] dans les milieux élitaires de la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque

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[7] Peremans et Van 't Dack (n. 6) 108-112. À propos de doublons de titulaires d'une même charge, on notera en revanche que W. Huß, *Die Verwaltung des ptolemaiischen Reichs* (München 2011) 71, n. 327, semble toujours tributaire de l'interprétation erronée des éditeurs (qui comprenaient le titre de πορθωτης comme un anthroponyme), lorsqu'il évoque "*zwei* Beamte" différents dans *O.Joachim* 2.8 = *SB* 3.6028.8, et *O.Joachim* 4.4 = *SB* 3.60304: les deux passages concernent un seul et même homme, Hermias, fils de Kallias. T. Kruse, "Zum βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς im ptolemäischen Ägypten. Bemerkungen zu John F. Oates, *The Ptolemaic Basilikos Grammateus*," *Tyche* 12 (1997) 156, commettait auparavant la même erreur ("Die Texte erwähnen regelmäßig zwei Beamte namens Hermias und Porthotes …," tout en paraissant critiquer J.F. Oates sur ce point ("O(ates), der im übrigen nur den Hermias erwähnt …," p. 156, n. 20).

[8] Peremans et Van 't Dack (n. 6) 110.

[9] J.F. Oates, *The Ptolemaic Basilikos Grammateus* (Atlanta 1995) 103 et 104.

[10] W. Clarysse, "Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration," *Aegyptus* 65 (1985) 64, a souligné la fréquence de l'usage de noms doubles en particulier parmi les hommes actifs dans l'administration et dans l'armée, catégorie sociale à laquelle appartiennent les personnages étudiés ci-dessous. Le même auteur pointe encore le risque de confusion prosopographique engendré par l'onomastique géminée: "how difficult it has become for us to recognise such a person if different texts give only one of his names" (p. 65, à propos du village de Kerkéosiris; cf. aussi les remarques conclusives, p. 66). Sur les doubles noms en général, R. Calderini, "Ricerche sul doppio nome personale nell'Egitto greco-romano," *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 221-260, et 22 (1942) 3-45; J. Quaegebeur, "Greco-Egyptian Double Names as a Feature of a Bi-Cultural Society: The Case Ψοσνευς ὁ καὶ Τριάδελφος," dans J.H. Johnson (éd.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond* (Chicago 1992) 265-272; S.

a pu contribuer à la confusion des prosopographes et de montrer que cette hypothèse simplifierait la description du cadre administratif et religieux dans lequel furent rédigés les *O.Joachim*. Malgré les critiques légitimes formulées à l'encontre de leur *editio princeps*, le commentaire de Preisigke ne doit pas être revu dans sa totalité, loin de là, et il apparaît même qu'il a ouvert la voie implicitement à l'hypothèse du redoublement onomastique, à propos d'un des protagonistes du rituel funéraire de l'an 22 (12 mars 59 *a.C.*), qui portait le titre de *sẖ dmỉ n Ỉmbꜣ*, "scribe de village d'Ombos," et le nom égyptien de *Qny-Ḥr*, fils de *Twtw* (*O.Joachim* 25.2). Le raisonnement de F. Preisigke, que W. Peremans et E. Van 't Dack rejetaient au profit d'une construction théorique,[11] peut cependant être adopté mot pour mot[12]: "In der demotischen Urkunde Nr. 25 vom Jahre 22 erscheint ein Keni-Hor, Sohn des Totoês, Dorfschreiber von Ombos. Wie die Liste auf S. 36 zeigt, ist Καλλίας Ἑρμίου für die Jahre 16 bis 28 als κωμογραμματεύς nachweisbar, mithin auch für das Jahr 22, und zwar, wie ich eben ausführte, für die Stadt Ombos."[13] La solution la plus simple pour expliquer la présence, parmi les cadres d'un même thiase et dans une même période, d'un *sẖ dmỉ* et d'un κωμογραμματεύς dont les noms et patronymes diffèrent est d'identifier un seul "secrétaire de village" possédant un double nom, dont le versant grec ne nous est connu, en l'occurrence, que par les textes grecs et le versant égyptien, seulement dans un *ostracon* démotique. À l'instar de sa dénomination personnelle, la carrière de Kallias alias Qenyhyris se déroulait en parallèle dans l'administration lagide – où il est successivement désigné comme τοπογραμματεύς, τοπογραμματεὺς καὶ κωμογραμματεύς et κωμογραμματεύς[14] – et au sein de l'association religieuse du sanctuaire d'Her-

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Scheuble, "Griechen und Ägypter im ptolemäischen Heer. Bemerkungen zum Phänomen der Doppelnamen im ptolemäischen Ägypten," R. Rollinger, B. Gufler, M. Lang et I. Madreiter (éd.), *Interkultualität in der Alten Welt. Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts* (Wiesbaden 2010) 551-560; S.P. Vleeming, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications* (Leuven 2011) 973-975; S. Coussement, "New Light on the Hawara Undertakers *P.Ryl.* 4.587 and 588 and the Expression of Identity in Ptolemaic Egypt," *BASP* 49 (2012) 259-275, part. p. 271-272; S. Coussement, Παρὰ τὸ Ἕλληνα με εἶναι: *Polyonymy and the Importance of Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Leuven, thèse de doctorat inédite 2012 [*non vidi*]); Y. Broux, *Elite Strategy vs Popular Characterization: Double Names in Roman Egypt* (Leuven, thèse de doctorat inédite 2012).

[11] Peremans et Van 't Dack (n. 6) 110-111; pourtant, dans un premier temps E. Van 't Dack, "Recherches sur les institutions de village en Égypte ptolémaïque," dans *Ptolemaica* (Leuven 1951) 38, semblait accepter l'hypothèse de F. Preisigke.

[12] Dans le même sens, cf. *BL Dem*, p. 420.

[13] Preisigke et Spiegelberg (n. 2) 58-59.

[14] Preisigke et Spiegelberg (n. 2) 36.

mès alias Thôt (<ἡ> τοῦ Ἑρμαίου σύνοδος, *O.Joachim* 2.12 = *SB* 3.6028.12), dont il est le président sur toute la période connue (ἀρχιθιασίτης en 78, προστάτης τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ en 54) et dont il exerce la fonction de "supérieur du faucon" (*pꜣ wr n pꜣ bἰk*) de 77 à 74-72.[15] Cette conclusion prosopographique suppose l'occurrence d'un redoublement onomastique à deux générations successives, pour Kallias alias Qenyhyris et pour son père Hermias alias Totoeus. Or, on observera que le prédécesseur de Kallias dans la fonction de τοπογραμματεύς, dans le plus ancien texte du dossier (*O.Joachim* 1.6 = *SB* 3.6027.6, en 79 *a.C.*), se nommait précisément Totoeus, et il est donc possible que la même charge ait été transférée du père au fils.[16]

La deuxième identification du titulaire d'un double nom procède de la mise en équation des textes démotique et grec de deux *ostraca* rédigés le même jour, à l'occasion du même rituel animalier. En tenant seulement compte du texte égyptien (*O.Joachim* 26), W. Peremans et E. Van 't Dack en proposaient l'interprétation institutionnelle suivante: "Aux ll. 4-6 on lit: *Pꜣ-tj-Ḥr-/wr ἰrm Gllἰꜣ pꜣ mr-ἰḥ (?)/n (?) sḥn(.w?) n mꜣ ͑*. Le titre *sḥn*, suivi de l'indication de l'endroit *mꜣ ͑*, se rencontre encore ailleurs et désigne la fonction de νομάρχης, de μεριδάρχης, de τοπάρχης ou de κωμάρχης. Puisque dans cette période tardive la fonction autonome de nomarque a disparu et qu'il est improbable de rencontrer à Ombos plusieurs comarques de village, agissant comme des collègues, il faut, semble-t-il, traduire le titre dans ce cas par τοπάρχης."[17] Précisons d'emblée que, pour l'énumération des traductions possibles de *sḥn mꜣ ͑* sous la forme d'un titre grec en –άρχης, les auteurs se fondent seulement sur trois exemples, dont deux sont, précisément, représentés par l'*O.Joachim* 26, tandis que le troisième se rapporte vraisemblablement à un méridarque[18] – le raisonnement est donc quasi circulaire. Le nœud du problème réside dans la découpe de la séquence d'anthroponymes aux lignes 4-6: "Cette fonction (de τοπάρχης)," continuent les auteurs, "est assumée par Peteharoéris et Kallias. Après *Gllἰꜣ* on lit *pꜣ mr-ἰḥ* (?), traduit par W. Spiegelberg "der Rinderhirt(?)." Seulement le nom propre *Pꜣ-mr-ἰḥ* = Πελαίας n'est pas exclu et le personnage de ce nom pourrait être soit le collègue de Peteharoéris et Kallias, soit le père de ce dernier." W. Peremans et E. Van 't Dack optaient pour la seconde hypothèse, mais la solution est en réalité dictée par la comparaison avec le deuxième texte

15 Sottas (n. 5) 32-33.
16 Voir ci-dessous note 43.
17 Peremans et Van 't Dack (n. 6) 109.
18 Peremans et Van 't Dack (n. 6) 100-101.

rédigé à la même date,[19] en grec cette fois, dont les deux savants ne tenaient pas compte dans la discussion:

O.Joachim 15 (= *SB* 3.6926)
Comptabilité commémorative d'un rituel funéraire animalier

1	Ἔτους κβ Φαμενωυθ ζ̅,	L'an 22, le 7 Phaménôth,
2	ταφῆς ἰβίων καὶ ἱεράκων,	lors des funérailles d'ibis et de faucons,
3	ἐπὶ Ἑρμίου, πορθωτου, καὶ	en la présence d'Hermias, le supérieur de Thôt,
4	Καλλίου τοῦ Μενάνδρου, πουερ-	et de Kallias, fils de Ménandros, le supérieur
5	ενπβηκις, Πελαίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ,	du faucon, (et de) Pélaias, le stratège,
6	ἐπεκαθέσταται ἱερὰ ζῶα	ont été mis en place
7	ἀριθμῶν φ (γίνονται) φ.	500 animaux sacrés, ce qui fait 500.

Comme l'a bien montré F. Preisigke,[20] la formule ἐπί + gén. introduisant le nom des officiels ne signifie pas seulement "tandis qu'Untel exerçait telle ou telle fonction," mais plus concrètement "en la présence d'Untel, titulaire de telle fonction." La tournure égyptienne correspondante, comme nous allons le voir, un circonstanciel attribuant aux trois hommes le statut de *sḥn.w*, "dirigeants, autorités, administrateurs" (substantif clairement lié à la racine *sḥn*, ⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ, "ordonner"), invite même à identifier, dans le syntagme [ἐπὶ + nom + titre], la nuance contextuelle "en la présence et sous l'autorité d'Untel, Untel et Untel." Sont mentionnés, en l'occurrence, les trois officiels les plus importants au sein du thiase, dans la perspective du rituel accompli ce jour-là: πορθωτης (*pꜣ wr Ḏḥwty*), "le supérieur de Thôt," d'une part, et πουερενπβηκις (*pꜣ wr n pꜣ bỉk*), "le supérieur du faucon," désignent les deux responsables de l'association qui dirigeaient les rites et processions entourant les funérailles d'ibis et de faucons, auxquels leur titre les rattache respectivement.[21] Quant au stratège du nome

[19] Un troisième texte fut rédigé à cette même date, *O.Joachim* 25 déjà évoqué à propos de Qenyhyris; son examen de détail n'est pas utile à la discussion prosopographique, mais j'en étudie la signification religieuse dans une autre contribution, qui s'intitulera: "Harpocrate au chien et le statut rituel des cadavres de Qasr 'Allam," à paraître dans *Archimède* 1 (2014).

[20] Preisigke et Spiegelberg (n. 2) 31.

[21] Sottas (n. 5) 26-31; Fr. de Cenival, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques* (Le Caire 1972) 6 (*P.Lille Dem.* 29.11-13); cf. p. 162-164; Fr. de Cenival, "Deux papyrus inédits de Lille avec une révision du P. dém. Lille 31," *Enchoria* 7

ombite, il est systématiquement nommé parmi les protagonistes qui assistaient aux rituels funéraires.[22] Quoiqu'il ne porte pas de titre lié spécifiquement au synode, on comprend que dans sa fonction de plus haute autorité administrative de la province il exerçait de droit un patronage sur les activités de l'association religieuse dont il devait être membre.

Avec cette triade d'officiels pour structure de référence, revenons à l'*ostracon Joachim* 26, rédigé le même jour:

O.Joachim 26.
Texte commémoratif d'un rituel funéraire animalier
Face convexe

1	*ḥsb.t 22.t ỉbd 3 pr.t sw 7*	L'an 22, le 7 Phaménôth,
2	*Pꜣ-dỉ-Sbk sꜣ Mnntrs*	Pétésouchos, fils de Ménandros,
3	*tw=w wꜥb tꜣ wꜥb.t*	on a purifié l'atelier d'embaumement
4	*n tꜣy rnp.t ỉw Pꜣ-dỉ-Ḥr-*	en cette année, tandis que Pétéhar-
5	*-wr ỉrm Gllyꜣ Pꜣ-mr-ỉḥ*	oèris et Kallias, et Pélaias
6	*n sḥn.w n mꜣꜥ*	étaient les dirigeants du lieu.

Face concave
Πετεσουχος | Μενάνδρου | Κυρηναῖος

La lecture "7" du jour du mois, que W. Spiegelberg accompagnait prudemment d'un point d'interrogation, est probablement correcte[23]: il s'agirait d'une graphie hiératisante, et non démotique, de la date. Cette particularité curieuse pour un mot aussi banal trahirait-elle la main d'un hiérogrammate exercé au hiératique? La même date est exprimée dans *O.Joachim* 25 au moyen d'une graphie plus classiquement démotique, mais les caractéristiques paléographiques montrent que les deux textes ont des auteurs différents.

Le rituel funéraire animalier paraît évoqué sous des angles différents dans la commémoration grecque de l'événement (*O.Joachim* 15 = *SB* 3.6926) et dans

(1977) 13, 33-34. Aux occurrences connues alors, on ajoutera S.P. Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes and other Short Texts* (Leuven 2001), n° 33 (coupe en bronze dédicacée à Thôt, au bénéfice d'un supérieur de Thôt [*pꜣ wr Ḏḥwty*]); n° 158 (supérieurs de Thôt [*nꜣ* / *pꜣ wr Ḏḥwty*) parmi les dirigeants d'une association impliquée dans les funérailles d'animaux sacrés]). Cf. *ProsPtol* 3, p. 248-249; 9, p. 236-237. Voir aussi ci-dessous, note 58.

[22] Preisigke et Spiegelberg (n. 2) 38.

[23] La lecture de la date est renforcée du fait que l'*O.Joachim* 25, daté également du 7 Phaménôth, commémore lui aussi le rituel de "purification de la *wꜥb.t*."

ses pendants démotiques (*O.Joachim* 25 et 26)[24]: les trois textes doivent se rapporter à des phases différentes d'un même processus cérémoniel, qui fut probablement patronné par les mêmes responsables du thiase. La formule qui énumère leur nom dans *O.Joachim* 25.4-6, se lit sans difficulté, malgré les points d'interrogation dont W. Spiegelberg, par précaution méthodologique, assortit trois de ses leçons. L'ensemble est une proposition subordonnée circonstancielle tout à fait régulière, *ỉw A + B + C n sḥn.w n mꜣʿ*, "… tandis que A + B + C étaient dirigeants du lieu." Le *n* au début de la ligne 6 ne devrait pas susciter le doute, non plus que la lecture de *sḥn.w.* W. Spiegelberg écrivait à propos du déterminatif de ce mot: " Die Gruppe ist ganz eigentümlich mit (?) determiniert, falls ich richtig lese,"[25] et traduisait "Ortsverpächter(?)." En réalité, dans , le déterminatif précédant les traits du pluriel doit plutôt se lire , l'homme pourvu d'un bâton à la main connotant, en l'occurrence, une fonction d'autorité – car la traduction "Verpächter," pour *sḥn*, a depuis lors été abandonnée au profit de celle de "dirigeant," conformément à une notion générale que l'on pourrait rendre en grec par ἄρχων.[26] Dans un autre cadre, *mꜣʿ* = τόπος, déterminant le terme *sḥn*, peut évoquer un district administratif,[27] mais il convient de rappeler que *mꜣʿ* se rencontre aussi dans le contexte institutionnel des associations religieuses et professionnelles, où il peut désigner un local de réunion, une salle de *symposion* (*mꜣʿ n swr*) ou un emplacement réservé à la confrérie dans un environnement cultuel.[28] Dans le cadre de la

[24] Le texte grec évoque la mise en place des animaux momifiés, probablement dans la nécropole au terme d'une procession, tandis qu'*O.Joachim* 26 commémore un rituel spécifiquement consacré à l'atelier d'embaumement des volatiles, la "purification de la salle pure", qui permettait probablement d'en réactiver cycliquement la sacralité, d'après les statues de Djed-her le Sauveur (E. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-ḥr-le-sauveur* [Le Caire 1956] 105-106, l. 29-30, 36-38); cf. C. Thiers, "Civils et militaires dans les temples. Occupation illicite et expulsion," *BIFAO* 95 (1995) 501, 514, 515, n. 125, peut-être autant par un nettoyage matériel que par une purification symbolique. *O.Joachim* 25 fournit plus de détails sur les phases cultuelles de la cérémonie, que je commenterai ailleurs (*cf.* note 19).

[25] Preisigke et Spiegelberg (n. 2) 15, n. 2.

[26] Cf. Peremans et Van 't Dack (n. 6) 96.

[27] Voir ci-dessus note 18.

[28] Pour un exemple de *mꜣʿ n swr* où se réunissent les membres d'une association consacrée au culte funéraire d'animaux sacrés, précisément à Ombos, voir J. Quaegebeur, "La désignation 'porteur(s) des dieux' et le culte des dieux-crocodiles dans les textes des époques tardives", dans *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier 1984) 162-163; P. Dils, "Les *ṯꜣj (nꜣ) ntr.w* ou θεαγοί. Fonction religieuse et place dans la vie civile," *BIFAO* 95 (1995) 158, n° 36; également comme emplacement d'une association, *mꜣʿ n tꜣ ẖne.t n Ḥr-pꜣ-ẖrd.ṱ*, F.L. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus*

commémoration des rituels funéraires auxquels participe le thiase d'Hermès, c'est logiquement vers ce second champ sémantique qu'il faut orienter l'interprétation: les trois officiels énumérés dans chacun des textes sont nommés parce qu'ils ont présidé au rituel *in situ*. Ce "lieu," en l'occurrence, pourrait même être connoté d'une dimension funéraire, conformément à une acception partagée aussi bien par τόπος ("burial-place," LSJ s.v. i 5[29]) que par *mꜣ*ʿ ("lieu de mémoire" du défunt ou "tombe").[30] Le scribe a raturé le premier signe de la séquence d'anthroponymes, commençant probablement par écrire le début du "*G*" de *Gllyꜣ*, avant de reprendre *Pꜣ-dỉ-Ḥr-wr*. Ensuite, la lecture de *Gllyꜣ* = Kallia(s) ne pose pas de problème, non plus que celle de *Pꜣ-mr-ỉḥ* = Pélaias (au lieu du titre "der Rinderhirt(?)"[31]), paléographiquement satisfaisante et renforcée par le contexte onomastique local. L'ordre des personnages nommés dans le texte grec *O.Joachim* 15 = *SB* 3.6926 – qui se reproduira encore dans la commémoration de l'année suivante, ἐπὶ | Ἑρμίου /πουερθωτ̣[ο]υ̣\ καὶ | Καλλίου τοῦ | Μενάνδρου | πουερπεβηκι | καὶ Πελαί(ο)υ̣ στρα(τηγοῦ) (*O.Joachim* 16 = *SB* 3.6927[32]) – invite dès lors à identifier *Gllyꜣ* à Kallias, fils de Ménandros, le supérieur du faucon, et *Pꜣ-mr-ỉḥ* à Pélaias,[33] le stratège. L'absence de conjonction avant le nom de ce dernier gênait l'éditeur: "Dann würde vor dem Namen entweder die Sohnesbezeichnung oder die verbindende Partikel fehlen." On observera cependant que les conjonctions *ỉrm* et καί occupent la même position aussi bien dans le document grec (*O.Joachim* 15 = *SB* 3.6926.3) que dans l'*ostracon* démotique (*O.Joachim* 26.5), entre le premier et le deuxième terme de l'énumération, non entre celui-ci et le troisième. Si le texte démotique laisse

2 (Oxford 1935), Ph. 443, l. 1-2. Sur τόπος comme terrain et local d'une association religieuse ou professionnelle, É. Bernand, "Τόπος dans les inscriptions grecques d'Égypte," *ZPE* 98 (1993) 106-108. Je remercie pour ces informations Cassandre Hartenstein, qui prépare un article sur "Épigraphie, papyrologie, topographie urbaine: le cas des locaux d'association."

[29] Bernand (n. 28) 109, observe cependant que "τόπος pour désigner l'ensemble d'un terrain funéraire, une sépulture, paraît très rarement attesté dans les inscriptions grecques d'Égypte."

[30] P.W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.): A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri contained in the Archive* (Leuven 1993) 466-467; *CDD* M, p. 24 (version 10:1, 13/7/2010).

[31] Preisigke et Spiegelberg (n. 2) 16, n. 2 ; cf. Peremans et Van 't Dack (n. 6) 109-110.

[32] L'édition proposée dans la DDbDP, consultée le 13/02/2014, réintroduit des erreurs par rapport à l'édition du *Sammelbuch*. D'après un examen sur l'original, l'auteur a d'abord écrit Ἑρμίου καὶ | Καλλίου, puis ajouté entre les deux lignes πουερθωτ̣[ο]υ̣, qui se rapporte au personnage nommé à la ligne du dessus; dans la translittération des deux titres commençant par *pꜣ wr*, il vocalise de la même manière πουερ–.

[33] Dans le même sens, cf. *BL Dem*, p. 420 ; corriger *ProsPtol* 3, no. 11949.

planer une ambiguïté – “*Pꜣ-mr-ỉḥ*” est-il en position de coordination ou doit-on sous-entendre un signe *sꜣ*, “fils de” (pourtant explicitement écrit dans la dénomination de la ligne 2), le grec, en revanche, montre sans équivoque que la mention du stratège Pélaias est coordonnée aux deux précédentes. On doit peut-être attribuer au hasard le fait que, dans les deux langues, les deux premiers personnages de la triade sont rapprochés au moyen d'une conjonction, mais il est aussi possible que les auteurs respectifs des deux textes[34] aient voulu énoncer en parallèle les ritualistes responsables des deux sections de volatiles, “le supérieur de Thôt (ibis)” et “le supérieur du faucon.” Ceci nous ramène au premier nommé des trois officiels, dans chacun des deux textes: il est très vraisemblable qu'Hermias, le πορθωτης d'*O.Joachim* 15 = *SB* 3.6926, et *Pꜣ-dỉ-Ḥr-wr*, dans *O.Joachim* 26, ne soient qu'un seul et même homme. Cette hypothèse s'accorderait très bien avec la seule mention, dans l'ensemble du dossier, d'un autre titulaire de la charge de πορθωτης (*pꜣ wr Ḏḥwty*) qu'Hermias fils de Kallias. En effet, alors que ce dernier est attesté dans cette fonction en 78, 77, 75, 74, 72, 65, 59, 58, 53[35] (donc avant et après le *Pꜣ-dỉ-Ḥr-wr* mentionné en 59 dans *O.Joachim* 26), un texte non daté énonce le *cluster* onomastique suivant : Πετεαρσνουφις | Πετεαροηριος | πορθωιτης (*O.Joachim* 22 = *SB* 3.6933[36]). Il se pourrait donc bien que Pétéarsnouphis ait succédé à son père Pétéharoèris – alias Hermias fils de Kallias – dans la fonction de “supérieur de Thôt,” principal ritualiste des processions de la confrérie aux côtés du “supérieur du faucon.”

Reste une dernière anomalie dans la succession des titulaires de la stratégie, que F. Preisigke avait soulignée et laissée sans solution: cette fonction est exercée par un certain Ménandros en 79, puis par Pélaias, attesté comme stratège en 78, 77, 75, 74, 72, 65,[37] 59, 58, 54, 53, dans une série continue interrompue seulement en 73, où ce fonctionnaire se nomme Totoeus.[38] Pour résoudre cette dernière irrégularité, l'éditeur concluait à la simple “faute de scribe”: “Wie die Liste zeigt, ist zwischen Jahr 2 und Jahr 3 Μένανδρος durch Πελαίας

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[34] L'*ostracon Joachim* 15 (= *SB* 3.6926) et les lignes grecques d'*O.Joachim* 26 paraissent écrites par des mains différentes (comparer Μενάνδρου dans les deux textes).

[35] Sottas (n. 5) 32.

[36] D'après l'original, la lecture Πετεαρσενουφις, avec un –ε– dans –σενουφις, reprise à F. Preisigke par F. Bilabel faute de photographie (*SB* 3.6933), est erronée; *cf. DN* 1.3:288-289 (s.v. *Pꜣ-dỉ-ỉrỉ-ḥms-nfr*).

[37] Au lieu de καὶ Πόρτης τοῦ Ἑμμίου τῶν (Preisigke et la DDbDP, consultée le 15/02/2014) ou de καὶ Πόρτης τοῦ Ἑρμίου τῶν (*SB* 3.6924), la ligne 5 d'*O.Joachim* 13 (daté de 65 *a.C.*) se lit καὶ στρατηγοῦ Ἑρμίου τῶν; cf. déjà P. Jouguet, dans Sottas (n. 5) 26, n. 1 (d'où *BL* 7:190), et Peremans et Van 't Dack (n. 6) 107. Corriger en conséquence *ProsPtol* 1, no. 994 = 1078; cf. *ProsPtol* 8, no. 994 = 1078.

[38] Voir la liste des occurrences, dans Preisigke et Spiegelberg (n. 2) 38.

ersetzt worden. In Urkunde Nr. 7 ist Τοτοέους στρατη(γοῦ) offensichtlich ein Schreibfehler; es muß entweder Πελαίου στρατηγοῦ heißen, oder Τοτοέους τοπογραμματέως, da in Urkunde Nr. 1 ein Τοτοεῦς als τοπογραμματεύς vorkommt. Letztere Möglichkeit ist aber unwahrscheinlich, weil dann in Urkunde Nr. 7 der Stratege überhaupt fehlen würde, und weil zu dieser Zeit der τοπογραμματεύς anders heißt." Revenant plus loin sur le même problème, le savant concluait finalement: "Die Unstimmigkeit ist nicht aufzuklären."[39] Dans un premier temps, cette opinion fut reprise par E. Van 't Dack: "Totoeus et Pelaias semblent gouverner en même temps. Probablement l'auteur peu consciencieux de cet *ostracon* a-t-il commis une erreur en attribuant à Totoeus un faux titre."[40] Mais par la suite, en bonne méthode, W. Peremans et E. Van 't Dack proposèrent au contraire, "avant de corriger l'auteur, d'interpréter le texte tel qu'il se présente" (p. 108). Cependant, cet exercice louable se faisait au prix d'une construction assez complexe, qui n'est pas réellement étayée par les textes eux-mêmes: il fallait supposer que le titre de στρατηγός, appliqué à Totoeus et peut-être à Ménandros, ne désignait pas un stratège, mais son subordonné, un hypostratège ou un épistate de toparchie, dont le titre surévalué cadrerait avec "cette période tardive où l'inflation des titres a atteint son point culminant" (p. 108). Nous avons lu plus haut la réaction de J.F. Oates à propos de cette hypothèse. Il faut en outre souligner l'ambiguïté de titulature que supposerait la cohabitation, sous les calames d'une même communauté de scribes, de titres semblables mais de signification différente. À ce propos, W. Peremans et E. Van 't Dack observaient que l'*ostracon* citant le stratège Ménandros "ne mentionne ni l'étendue de la circonscription, ni le titre aulique, ni les charges usuelles, cumulées par le stratège du nome" (p. 109, n. 1). Cependant, si certains textes du dossier développent, en effet, la titulature du stratège "incontesté" Pélaias (titre aulique,[41] rattachement au nome Ombite, responsabilités financières), d'autres mentionnent seulement sa qualité de στρατηγός (en 59, 58, 54[42]), de la même façon que pour les stratèges Ménandros et Totoeus. Il est donc aussi délicat de proposer une interprétation à géométrie variable de ces titres, en conjecturant au besoin des nuances administratives que les textes n'imposent pas, que de corriger ceux-ci en les supposant fautifs. En fin de compte, il est beaucoup plus simple d'identifier les stratèges Pélaias et Totoeus comme un seul homme, détenteur d'un double nom à l'image des deux autres respon-

[39] Preisigke et Spiegelberg (n. 2) 38 et 57.

[40] E. Van 't Dack, "Recherches sur l'administration du nome dans la Thébaïde au temps des Lagides," *Aegyptus* 29 (1949) 31.

[41] L. Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt: Introduction and Prosopography* (Bruxelles 1975) 132, no. 0148, p. 240, no. 00296.

[42] Preisigke et Spiegelberg (n. 2) 38.

sables de la triade commentée plus haut.[43] Mais pourquoi, se demandera-t-on, le dossier grec atteste-t-il surtout le nom "Pélaias" et seulement une fois "Totoeus"? Lorsqu'un seul nom d'une dénomination double est exprimé, il est parfois difficile d'identifier le facteur du choix d'un des deux anthroponymes aux dépens de l'autre. Le contexte privé ou public et la connotation grecque ou égyptienne de la fonction occupée par l'individu peuvent jouer,[44] de même que la langue employée par le scribe peut activer l'emploi du nom grec ou égyptien – mais ces critères n'opèrent pas systématiquement et, du reste, les noms du stratège sont tous deux égyptiens.[45] En définitive, la psychologie, la mémoire, les habitudes individuelles de l'auteur, autant de facettes délicates à objectiver, peuvent aussi constituer le facteur déterminant. À cet égard, on observera que l'*O.Joachim* 7 = *SB* 3.6033 – où apparaît la mention du stratège Totoeus –, de même qu'*O.Joachim* 1 = *SB* 3.6027 – où figure le stratège Ménandros –, emploient un même formulaire[46] (énoncé de la titulature royale dans la formule de datation, immédiatement suivie du verbe καθέσταται, orthographe de ζῶια avec un ι, titre "bref" du stratège, absence des translittérations grecques des titres *pꜣ wr Ḏḥwty* et *pꜣ wr n pꜣ bἰk*, présence du terme ἀριθμῶι dans le dénombrement final), ils paraissent donc se calquer sur un même modèle, différent des usages suivis dans les autres textes du dossier. Des habitudes personnelles distinctes d'un scribe à l'autre, ou l'inconstance dans la méthode de rédaction (reproduction d'un modèle stéréotypé ou rédaction plus libre et donc aléatoire, etc.) suffisent peut-être à expliquer, en l'occurrence, les variantes de dénomination et le choix d'un des deux anthroponymes au lieu de son jumeau.

La combinatoire présidant à l'association de deux noms personnels complémentaires est transparente dans certains cas: ainsi Hermias alias Pétéha-

[43] Dans ces conditions, il faut renoncer, *contra* H. Bengston, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit. Ein Beitrag zum antiken Staatsrecht* (München 1952, verb. ND 1967) 60, n. 3, et Peremans et Van 't Dack (n. 6) 108, à identifier le topogrammate Totoeus (alias Hermias), *ProsPtol* 1, no. 612 – probablement le père de Kallias alias Qenyhyris (voir ci-dessus) –, et le stratège Totoeus (alias Pélaias), *ProsPtol* 1, no. 338 – à moins, bien entendu, de supposer que le stratège détenait un nom triple, ce qui alourdirait encore, sans nécessité impérieuse, le poids des conjectures.

[44] Comme l'a montré Clarysse (n. 10) 57-66, dans un article qui a fait date; cf. aussi Scheuble (n.10) 552-556; S. Coussement (n. 10, "New Light") 272.

[45] D'après l'étude de Y. Broux (n. 10) 111-112, à l'époque romaine, les combinaisons de noms doubles les plus fréquentes étaient monolingues grec-grec, venaient ensuite les combinaisons bilingues grec-égyptien (18.47%), puis grec-latin et, avec 9.76% de fréquence, égyptien-égyptien. La situation linguistique de l'époque ptolémaïque est évidemment différente, mais la combinaison de deux noms égyptiens ne paraît pas surprenante en soi.

[46] Sans pour autant être écrits par la même main, semble-t-il.

roèris est-il placé, simultanément, sous l'égide d'Haroèris et d'Hermès alias Thôt, divinités associées dans le culte des ibis et des faucons sacrés[47] – tous deux, du reste, avaient leur sanctuaire dans la ville d'Ombos.[48] L'emploi d'une épithète du dieu de l'embaumement Anubis, le chien "gardien de troupeau" (vieux copte ⲡⲉⲗⲟⲓϩ),[49] dans le nom Pélaias (*Pꜣ-mr-ỉḥ*),[50] pourrait également faire sens dans un milieu très impliqué dans les rituels de funérailles animales. On note aussi le nom Παχομπελαιας, "l'image de faucon du gardien de troupeau" (*Pꜣ-ʿẖm-pꜣ-mr-ỉḥ*),[51] établissant un lien entre l'épithète –πελαιας et le rapace. Quant au second nom de Pélaias et d'Hermias, Totoeus – un anthroponyme évoquant le dieu sphinx *Twtw* –, l'ubiquité de sa famille onomastique à l'époque hellénistique et romaine[52] suffirait à expliquer sa présence à Ombos. Mais on observera plus spécifiquement que le dieu Toutou est étroitement associé aux différentes formes d'Horus – il est d'ailleurs lui-même nommé "Horus" à Philae, dans une de ses représentations en sphinx, et on répertorie des anthroponymes *Ḥr-twtw* / Ἁρπατοθοης et *Twtw-Ḥr*.[53] Il est surtout significatif de constater la présence de Toutou dans le temple de Kôm Ombo, où il est mis en parallèle, justement, avec le dieu Haroèris.[54] Dans cette scène, Toutou

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[47] Sur l'organisation commune du culte des ibis de Thôt et des faucons d'Horus, S. Cauville, "La chapelle de Thot-Ibis à Dendera édifiée sous Ptolémée Ier par Hor, scribe d'Amon-Rê," *BIFAO* 89 (1989) 63-64; D. Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König* 1 (Wiesbaden 1989) 159. Parallèlement au phénomène de la simple traduction d'un nom en grec et en démotique, souvent observé et invoqué par les chercheurs (par exemple Scheuble [n. 10] 556-557; Coussement [n. 10, "New Light"] 271), le souhait d'apparier deux anthroponymes complémentaires répondant à une complémentarité théologique de deux divinités couramment associées pourrait constituer un facteur d'explication supplémentaire de la combinatoire des noms doubles; dans le même esprit, Broux (n. 10, *Double Names*) 133 montre que "The two names could also refer to different gods that enjoyed a special relationship with one other," en commentant des paires constituées de noms théophores se référant à des divinités liées par un lien familial.

[48] L'*Hermaion* est mentionné dans *O.Joachim* 2.12 = *SB* 3.6028.12; quant à Haroèris, il partage avec Sobek le temple ptolémaïque et romain de Kôm Ombo; cf. A. Gutbub, *Kôm Ombo* 1 (Le Caire 1995) xiii-xvi.

[49] H. Satzinger, "The Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus," *JARCE* 12 (1975) 44, n. af.

[50] *DN* 1.1:190.

[51] *O.Eleph. DAIK* 113.8 (Éléphantine, Ier/IIe s.); cf. tm–nam id 11404. Une interprétation alternative consisterait à traduire "Le faucon gardien de troupeau," sans postuler un génitif.

[52] J. Quaegebeur, "Tithoes, dieu oraculaire?" *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 106-108; O. Kaper, *The Egyptian God Tutu: A Study of the Sphinx-God and Master of Demons with a Corpus of Monuments* (Leuven 2003) 186.

[53] Kaper (n. 52) 113-115, 185.

[54] Kaper (n. 52) 234, R-6.

est identifié dans la légende comme le décan *ỉpds*, guidant *ẖ3w*, le décan de la mort. Or, sous cette forme astrale, le dieu sphinx est régulièrement associé à un binôme composé d'Horus et de Thôt, respectivement assimilés aux décans *ỉpds* et *smd*: ceux-ci sont figurés à côté, au-dessus ou sur le dos du lion Toutou. Dans ces compositions attestées aussi bien dans des temples qu'en contexte funéraire humain, selon plusieurs versions, le dieu ibis tend un *oudjat* à son homologue faucon, en référence à la reconstitution de l'œil lunaire.[55] Or, il est possible que ces associations de Toutou avec Thôt-ibis et Horus-faucon trouvent un écho dans le culte des volatiles sacrés, car une prière écrite sur la paroi d'une tombe thébaine d'ibis et de faucons souhaite aux animaux momifiés: "Puisses-tu vivre, puisse ton *ba* vivre, ô l'ibis-roi, puisses-tu rajeunir, puisse ton corps rajeunir, ô Osiris–l'ibis, Osiris–le faucon (*bỉk*), Osiris–l'image de faucon (*ꜥẖm*), Osiris–Toutou, Osiris–Horus maître de Létopolis" (*ꜥnẖ=k, ꜥnẖ by=k, p3 hb pr-ꜥ3 ꜥ.w.s., rpy=k, rpy 3ḥ=k, Wsỉr p3 hb, Wsỉr p3 bỉk, Wsỉr p3 ꜥẖm, Wsỉr Twtw*,[56] *Wsỉr Ḥr-nb-Ḫm*). Le contexte est très similaire à celui des *ostraca Prinz Joachim*, car un *graffito* voisin énonce les noms de participants au rituel funéraire (*n3 rmṯ.w ṯ3y nṯr.w*, "les hommes qui transportent (en procession) les dieux (momifiés)"[57]), membres d'une confrérie dirigée par un "supérieur de Thôt" (*p3 wr Ḏḥwty*), un "supérieur du faucon" (*p3 wr bỉk*) et un "lésonis de Thôt" (*p3 mr-šn Ḏḥwty*).[58] Il est donc probable que le nom Totoeus de deux des participants aux rites funéraires animaliers se référait, lui aussi, à une divinité directement impliquée dans le domaine d'activité de l'association.

[55] S. Sauneron, "Le nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle du dieu Toutou-Tithoès," *JNES* 19 (1960), pl. VIIIA, X; Kaper (n. 52) 71-72, R-3, 13, 30, 36, 45, 70.

[56] Marquis de Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, et P.E. Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-9* (Londres 1908), n° 2, pl. 26; cf. Kessler (n. 47) 166. W. Spiegelberg assortit à juste titre la lecture de *Twtw* d'un point d'interrogation (p. 19), car la graphie n'est pas complète. Sa leçon est néanmoins vraisemblable, car les traces visibles pourraient correspondre à la partie supérieure des deux groupes *tw* et à un segment vertical ainsi qu'au trait horizontal du signe de la momie debout.

[57] Cf. Quaegebeur (n. 28) 166; Dils (n. 28) 156, 165, 167.

[58] Marquis de Northampton, Spiegelberg, et Newberry (n. 56), pl. n° 11, pl. 27; cf. Sottas (n. 5) 35-36. Je profite de cette note pour signaler, parmi les autres personnes dont les noms sont énumérés, un nouvel exemple de "parfumeur" (*ꜥnṯ̂*, orthographié en l'occurrence *ꜥnt3y*, n° 11, l. 10), qui n'avait pas été déchiffré jusqu'ici. La présence, au sein du personnel chargé du culte des momies d'animaux, d'un spécialiste des produits employés dans l'atelier d'embaumement confirme l'interprétation donnée ailleurs sur ce nom de métier (Fr. Colin, "Le parfumeur (*p3 ꜥnṯ̂*)," *BIFAO* 103 [2003] 100-101).

Le dernier nom servant de pôle à un redoublement onomastique, Kallias, en binôme avec Qenyhyris, est *a priori* plus difficile à expliquer comme une référence aux cultes locaux, puisqu'il s'agit d'un anthroponyme bien grec, banal même, que l'on trouve très largement attesté dans toutes les régions du monde hellénique et en Égypte.[59] La prudence philologique recommanderait sans doute d'arrêter ici l'enquête onomastique. Mais il n'est peut-être pas sans intérêt de faire un bref détour par l'étymologie grecque de ce nom, sans surestimer, mais sans sous-estimer non plus le niveau d'éducation des élites grecques et égyptiennes d'Ombos.[60] On observera en particulier qu'à côté de l'anthroponyme, il existe un usage de καλλίας comme nom commun,[61] d'après un fragment de Dinarque, *Contre Pythéas*: "comme ceux qui élèvent les καλλίας dans les maisons."[62] L'explication de la *Souda*, où est préservé le fragment, nous apprend que καλλίας signifie ici πιθήκους, car les Attiques, enclins à préférer des euphémismes aux mots mal connotés, "appelèrent le singe un 'καλλίας'" (diminutif évoquant la beauté, "le joli").[63] Outre cette occurrence athénienne sous le calame d'un logographe, le terme est utilisé, manifestement sans nécessiter de glose et à nouveau dans un contexte domestique, dans un mime d'Hérondas,[64] qui était lu en Égypte, où le manuscrit a été découvert. Au IIe siècle, enfin, Galien[65] évoque encore le substantif καλλίας comme un terme euphémique désignant le singe – manifestement ressenti de son point de vue comme un animal disgracieux. Les connotations du singe, et en particulier du babouin, animal de Thôt, sont pratiquement inverses dans une perspective égyptienne. Si, comme il est possible, l'acception simiesque de καλλίας était connue dans les familles cultivées d'Ombos – qui constituaient les élites du

[59] Pour le monde grec en général: W. Pape et E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Braunschweig 1875), s.v. Καλλίας (p. 598-599), et voir tous les volumes parus de P.M. Fraser et E. Matthews (éd.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* 1-5 (Oxford 1987-2010), s.v. Καλλίας. Pour l'Égypte, Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, et Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, s.v. Καλλίας.

[60] Cf. la vision assez pessimiste de Oates (n. 9) 103: "The texts are written in pidgin Greek with a style of nomenclature unlike that of any other area of Egypte. The Ombite nome centered on Elephantine is the southernmost outpost of Ptolemaic control and how secure and attached it was in the first century may be questioned," à propos de la maîtrise de la nomenclature grecque des fonctions administratives.

[61] P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 2009 [éd. orig. 1968], s.v., p. 467); R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (Leiden 2010) 625.

[62] Dinarque, fr. 6, 2, 3 (éd. Sauppe; Nouhaud).

[63] Souda, s.l. κ 215 (éd. Adler 1.3:18), καὶ τὸν πίθηκον οὖν καλλίαν προσηγόρευσαν.

[64] Hérondas 3 (Διδάσκαλος), 41; Mètrotimè compare son vaurien de fils à un singe grimpant sur le toit de sa maison.

[65] Galien 18 b, p. 236, cf. p. 611 (éd. Kühn).

thiase d'Hermès –, les membres bilingues qui s'employaient à combiner, dans les dénominations géminées, des anthroponymes évoquant les dieux patrons de la confrérie auraient-ils manqué de faire le rapprochement avec le singe divin? Chacun sait qu'en écriture ptolémaïque, l'hiéroglyphe du babouin  (et variantes) compte parmi ses valeurs classiques les lectures *Ḏḥwty*, "Thôt," et *nfr*, "parfait, bon, beau,"[66] en plus de sa signification iconique de "babouin" (*ỉʿnỉ*).[67] Un hiérogrammate rompu à l'exercice très sérieux du jeu de mots et de graphies aurait-il résisté à l'envie d'établir des ponts étymologiques, fortuits à nos yeux mais peut-être signifiants aux siens? Dans cette hypothèse, les thiasites d'Ombos attachaient-ils au nom "Kallias," en vertu de sa double référence à la "beauté" et à un "singe" apprivoisé, une connotation hermétique, aux sens étymologique et philosophique, et y voyaient-ils une allusion au babouin de Thôt? Nous entrons bien entendu ici dans le domaine de l'impondérable,[68] et par conséquent de l'indémontrable.

[66] *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine* (Montpellier 1988) 244-245; C. Leitz, *Quellentexte zur Ägyptischen Religion, I: Die Tempelinschriften der griechisch-Römischen Zeit* (Berlin 2006) 161; D. Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische. Eine Grammatik mit Zeichenliste und Übungsstücken* 1 (Hützel 2007) 204.

[67] Erman-Grapow, *Wb* 1:41.5-9; 1:191.10.

[68] Cf. Ph. Derchain, *Les impondérables de l'hellénisation. Littérature d'hiérogrammates* (Turnhout 2000) 17. Les jeux d'association envisagés ici peuvent paraître trop savants pour être crédibles et j'ai hésité à les exprimer à propos de locuteurs qui, bien entendu, n'ouvraient pas le LSJ au moment de nommer leurs enfants et ne fondaient pas leurs réflexions théologiques sur les outils modernes de l'égyptologie. L'inconnue déterminante est la question de savoir si l'acception de καλλίας comme la désignation d'un singe était connue et pratiquée dans la population d'Ombos – il n'y a pas de doute, en revanche, que le rôle du babouin comme animal de Thôt était banal et universellement connu (non par le biais de l'écriture hiéroglyphique, que très peu de gens apprenaient, même parmi les lettrés, mais à travers le culte des animaux sacrés). Le dossier des ostraca grecs et démotiques issus de l'école du temple de Narmouthis montre, du moins, qu'à l'époque romaine et dans un milieu de prêtres égyptiens bilingues les élèves pouvaient être initiés à un vocabulaire grec parfois rare, voire limité au niveau de langage des orateurs classiques. Voir Fr. Colin, "Sagesses égyptiennes et orateurs athéniens: cas d'école sur les bancs de Narmouthis (*O. Narm. dém.* I 25 et 26)," dans Fr. Colin, O. Huck et S. Vanséveren (éd.), *Interpretatio. Traduire l'altérité culturelle dans les civilisations de l'Antiquité* (Strasbourg, sous presse). À la réflexion, cet exemple m'invite à formuler une hypothèse d'interprétation qui, si elle n'est pas démontrable en l'état, présente l'avantage d'ouvrir une piste cohérente par rapport aux autres procédés d'associations onomastiques attestés parmi les *ostraca Prinz Joachim*.

Kallias alias Qenyhyris (topogrammate et kômogrammate, versus président du thiase et *pꜣ wr n pꜣ bi͗k*),[69] Hermias alias Pétéharoèris (basilicogrammate[70] versus *pꜣ wr Ḏḥwty*)[71] et Pélaias alias Totoeus (stratège versus patron de l'association)[72] sont tous les trois fonctionnaires dans l'administration lagide – et de haut rang, dans le dernier cas –, mais le dossier des *ostraca Prinz Joachim* les révèle surtout dans la perspective de leurs activités au sein d'une confrérie entretenant les rituels funéraires des ibis et des faucons sacrés. Cette perméabilité des versants grec et égyptien de la haute société provinciale de la période ptolémaïque avancée s'exprime encore dans la revendication d'une *origo* cyrénéenne par deux membres de l'association, dont l'un répondait à la dénomination mixte de Pétésouchos, fils de Ménandros et commémora sa participation à un rituel égyptien de purification de l'atelier d'embaumement (*O.Joachim* 4 = *SB* 3.6030; *O.Joachim* 26) – il n'est d'ailleurs pas impossible que cet homme ait appartenu à la famille du stratège prédécesseur de Pélaias et, dans ce cas, ce pourrait même être un de ses fils.[73] Dans la seconde moitié du

[69] *ProsPtol* 1, no. 588 = 805 = 806 = 3, no. 7353 (où deux Kallias sont confondus, le fils de Hermias et celui de Ménandros; cf. *O.Joachim* 17 = *SB* 3.6928, où Kallias fils d'Hermias n'exerce plus la fonction de *pꜣ wr n pꜣ bi͗k*, désormais assumée par l'autre Kallias, le fils de Ménandros déjà nommé dans cette fonction en *O.Joachim* 15 et 16 = *SB* 3.6926 et 6927) = 8, no. 588 (à corriger et déplacer) = tm per–id 9522 + tm per–id 9674.

[70] Voir à ce sujet Oates (n. 9) 104, la remarque de Kruse (n. 7) 156, n. 20, et Ch. Armoni, *Studien zur Verwaltung des Ptolemäischen Ägypten. Das Amt des Basilikos Grammateus* (Paderborn 2012) 18-20.

[71] *ProsPtol* 1, no. 443 = 980 = 1039 = 3, no. 7352 = 8, no 443 = 980 = 1039; cf.*ProsPtol* 8, no. 994, à réunir avec l'individu mentionné dans *ProsPtol* 1, no. 1071; cf. *ProsPtol* 8, no. 1071 = 558a (à corriger et déplacer) = tm per–id 7857 + tm per–id 11946.

[72] *ProsPtol* 1, no. 303 = 403 = 991 = 8, no. 303 = 403, à réunir avec l'individu mentionné dans *ProsPtol* 1, no. 1070 = 8, no. 1070 (à corriger tous deux et à déplacer) et avec *ProsPtol* 1, no. 338 = 8, no. 338, lequel doit être distingué de *ProsPtol* 1, no. 612 (cf. ci-dessus note 43) = tm per–id 11843 + tm per–id 11844 + tm per–id 14323 (où les deux occurrences citées [consultation 26/02/2014] devraient être découplées sous deux identifiants personnels différents).

[73] Ce lien ne peut, évidemment, être démontré. Notons, en revanche, que Ménandros est déjà attesté comme nom d'un hipparque qui exerçait peut-être aussi la fonction de stratège ou d'épistate de l'Ombite dans le dernier tiers du II^e^ s. *a.C.* (*I.Th.Sy.* 190; cf. le commentaire p. 134-135, l. 5-6 n.; cf. aussi H. Henne, *Liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens à l'époque gréco-romaine* [Le Caire 1935] 25; Van 't Dack [n. 40] 30-31; G. Mussies, "Supplément à la liste des stratèges des noms égyptiens de H. Henne," dans E. Boswinkel, P.W. Pestman et P.J. Sijpesteijn [éd.], *Studia papyrologica varia* [Leiden 1965] 24 [rétablir la coquille "SB 8349" en "SB 8389"]; Mooren [n. 41] 131, n° 0147; p. 153, n° 0198; p. 223, n° 0084), probablement dans une génération antérieure au stratège Ménandros nommé dans *O.Joachim* 1 = *SB* 3.6027; il est vraisemblable que les

I[er] siècle avant notre ère, l'implication majeure des autorités publiques locales, au plus haut niveau hiérarchique, dans la vie religieuse de thiases consacrés à des cultes égyptiens se confirme dans d'autres dossiers bien connus. On songe ainsi aux associations religieuses (*ẖne.t*) probablement patronnées par les membres d'une famille hermonthite qui cumulait en son sein la stratégie et les plus prestigieux sacerdoces locaux,[74] ou encore à "La grande association (*ẖn.t*) d'Hathor," dont des stèles furent dédicacées par Ptolémaios, fils de Panas, simultanément stratège et grand prêtre des principales divinités du temple de Dendera, en compagnie du kômogrammate – qui était aussi *mr-šn* – et des "membres de l'association tous réunis" (*nꜣ rmṯ.w n ẖn.t (n) wꜥ sp*).[75]

différents homonymes Ménandros appartenaient à une même famille de l'élite locale, qui se transmettait de hautes fonctions militaires et administratives au fil des générations. D'autre part, Pétésouchos, fils de Ménandros et Kallias, fils de Ménandros (*pꜣ wr n pꜣ bἰk*) (Sottas [n. 5] 32) pourraient être un seul homme, Pétésouchos alias Kallias, possédant un nom double, mais rien n'exclut qu'il s'agisse au contraire de deux frères. En effet, l'hypothèse de la gémination onomastique, si elle n'est pas démontrée par des recoupements indiscutables, n'est économique que lorsqu'elle permet de simplifier la solution d'une anomalie apparente. On notera encore que, lorsque le stratège Ménandros est remplacé dans ses fonctions par le stratège Pélaias, un Ménandros est encore nommé cinq ans plus tard parmi les cadres du thiase, juste après le stratège Totoeus alias Pélaias (*O.Joachim* 7.6 = *SB* 3.6033.6). Il est possible qu'il s'agisse de l'ancien stratège, gardant un rôle important au sein du thiase.

[74] Fr. Colin et C. Hartenstein, "Documents démotiques de Strasbourg, I: jour de fête sur la rive gauche," *CdÉ* 88 (2013) 261-262.

[75] Vleeming (n. 21), n° 167; 168; *cf.* S. Cauville, "Dieux et prêtres à Dendera au I[er] siècle avant Jésus-Christ," *BIFAO* 91 (1991) 84-85, 90-92.

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 127-160

Late Ptolemaic Capitation Taxes and the Poll Tax in Roman Egypt

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Abstract

The Roman census and poll tax (*laographia*) in Egypt are regarded as an Augustan innovation and a poignant symbol of imperial domination and fiscal exploitation. The argument of S.L. Wallace in 1938 for continuity from the Ptolemaic period has failed to win many adherents. Yet the Ptolemaic evidence cannot be so easily dismissed. One antecedent was the salt tax of the third century BCE, but its rate was far lower than the Roman *laographia* and it disappears in the second century BCE. The continuity from the capitation taxes attested under Ptolemy XII Auletes and Cleopatra VII is much stronger. One source that is often overlooked is a group of tax receipts from Karanis, which potentially shed light on the transition to the Augustan period in the Arsinoite nome. The Roman administration substantially reformed the capitation taxes but did not create a heavier fiscal burden on the taxpayers.

The publication of two closely related papyri (*P.Tebt.* 1.103 and 189) from the late Ptolemaic period that mention a *laographia* opened a debate more than a century ago about whether the Augustan census and poll tax were inherited from the Ptolemies. Wilcken had assumed that the Romans introduced these institutions and regarded the passage in 3 *Maccabees* (2.28), which mentions a poll tax called *laographia* under Ptolemy IV, as an anachronism.[1] While Grenfell and Hunt initially confirmed his hypothesis, they revised their position along with Wilcken himself in light of the texts in *P.Tebt.* 1.[2] Wallace went further, arguing that the Ptolemies had instituted a seven-year census cycle to

[1] *O.Wilck.* 1, pp. 230-249, esp. 245, 435-455; cf. n. 146 below.

[2] *P.Tebt.* 1.103 intr., pp. 445-448, and *W.Chr.* 288 intr., p. 340; cf. *P.Oxy.* 2, pp. 207-214, and *P.Oxy.* 4.711 intr., pp. 176-177.

collect a general poll tax in Egypt called the *syntaxis*.[3] Tcherikover and Evans subsequently disputed Wallace's claim.[4] Their view was key to undermining what Lewis later derided as the "illusory half-truth" of Ptolemaic-Roman continuity: "Whatever may be true about the still-debated Ptolemaic *syntaxis*, it is simply a fact that the poll tax called *laographia* was a Roman innovation."[5]

Previous arguments for discontinuity have often hinged on the observation that the term *laographia* was not used in the sense of a poll tax during the Ptolemaic period or on the distinction, founded on specious definitions, between a "poll tax" and a "capitation charge."[6] Wallace identified as capitation taxes what tax registers in Roman Egypt call "distributed" taxes (μερισμοί), which he characterized as "a specific sum divided by the number of persons liable ... to obtain the rate," in contrast to the Roman poll tax.[7] However, some texts classify the *laographia* as one of the distributed taxes and some attributed by Wallace to this category, such as the dike tax, bath tax, and guard tax, were assessed like the *laographia* at uniform rates no matter how many taxpayers there were.[8] Tcherikover maintained that a proper poll tax must be "a tax of a general, not of a local character ... and not [imposed] in order to maintain a certain institution." Yet this distinction is artificial and differs from ordinary usage.[9] The main characteristic of any capitation tax is that it is levied on persons at a standard rate, independently of their income, property, consumption,

[3] S.L. Wallace, "Census and Poll-Tax in Ptolemaic Egypt," *AJPh* 59 (1938) 418-442; the only recent scholar to favor this view is L. Capponi, *Augustan Egypt: The Creation of a Roman Province* (London 2005) 140-141.

[4] V.A. Tcherikover, "*Syntaxis* and *Laographia*," *JJP* 4 (1950) 179-207; J.A.S. Evans, "The Poll-Tax in Egypt," *Aegyptus* 37 (1957) 259-265; similar doubts were already raised about the *syntaxis* in *O.Wilb.*, pp. 28-32, and C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels 1939) 383-387.

[5] N. Lewis, "Graeco-Roman Egypt: Fact or Fiction," *Pap.Congr. XII*, pp. 6 and 14.

[6] For this distinction, see Tcherikover (n. 4) 182-184, Evans (n. 4) 259-263, and D.W. Rathbone, "Egypt, Augustus and Roman Taxation," *CCG* 4 (1993) 86-99.

[7] S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton 1938) 134.

[8] Wallace knew only *P.Col.* 2.1.5 (134 CE, Arsinoite) for the expression λαογ(ραφίας) καὶ ἄλλω(ν) μερισμ(ῶν), but cf. *BGU* 9.1891.5 (133 CE, Arsinoite) and *O.Lund* 5.3 (137 CE, Theban). For the fixed rates of the dike, bath, and guard taxes, see Wallace (n. 7) 140-143, 146-148, 155-159.

[9] Tcherikover (n. 4) 183; Margaret Thatcher's "community charge" in the UK was considered a poll tax, when it was introduced in 1989 to fund local government services; in American English poll tax has come to mean a tax levied as a requirement for voting, so capitation tax is the equivalent of British poll tax.

or occupation, and typically according to some kind of census.[10] This was true of the late Ptolemaic capitation taxes, whose purpose was not necessarily to fund specific institutions and whose relationship to the Roman *laographia* is closer than scholars currently admit.

Let us not downplay the importance of Augustus's fiscal reforms. Rather than a single poll tax, we find several capitation taxes levied on adult males in the late Ptolemaic period with confusing names whose rates seem to have been assigned locally, in some cases by dividing the village's tax liability among the inhabitants. These taxes disappear from our sources in the early Roman period, suggesting that the Augustan administration abolished or subsumed them under the new *laographia*. The assessment of the rates, the collection of installments, and the writing of receipts were aspects of the process that arguably underwent the most significant changes. To highlight these differences but also to adhere to scholarly conventions, the term "poll tax" is reserved in this article for that of the Roman period. However, one should not mistake it for a technical term corresponding to a distinction discernable in the papyrological evidence. There are, on the contrary, significant continuities between the local capitation taxes of the late Ptolemaic period and the Roman poll tax, which will receive greater emphasis below.

The most important point on which this study departs from earlier ones concerns the economic impact of the Augustan reforms. Since Rostovtzeff's vivid characterization of Roman exploitation in Egypt, the *laographia* has served as the principal evidence for a high-tax regime compared with that under the Ptolemaic monarchy. Strabo's comment (17.1.53) that the Theban revolt in 30/29 BCE broke out "because of the taxes" (διὰ τοὺς φόρους) has been read as an allusion to the introduction of the poll tax.[11] Lewis writes, "behind this laconic remark must lurk the fact that for the Egyptian peasants the advent of the Augustan regime meant higher taxes, or more efficient collection than under the last Ptolemies, or both."[12] Rathbone assumes that Ptolemaic capitation taxes continued to be collected in the Roman period: "The novelty was Octavian's additional imposition of an imperial tribute on the whole population in the form of a substantial annual poll-tax."[13] The evidence

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[10] Wilcken in *O.Wilck.* 1, p. 258, defines the μερισμοί as "Abgaben ..., die zu gleichen Teilen auf die Köpfe der Bevölkerung repartirt waren" and the *Kopfsteuer* (p. 232) as "eine Abgabe, die Kopf für Kopf in gleicher Höhe erhoben wird."

[11] M.I. Rostovtzeff, "Roman Exploitation of Egypt in the First Century A.D.," *Journal of Economic and Business History* 1 (1929) 346; Lewis (n. 5) 7; Rathbone (n. 6) 88; cf. already *O.Wilck.* 1, p. 248.

[12] Lewis (n. 5) 7.

[13] Rathbone (n. 6) 98.

for late Ptolemaic capitation taxes reviewed here casts significant doubts on their interpretation of the *laographia* as a heavy new fiscal burden.

The Ptolemaic laographia

The existence of a Ptolemaic census, though not a seven-year cycle as Wallace envisioned, ought to be uncontroversial.[14] There are many examples in both Greek and Demotic of house-by-house population registers in the third and second century BCE. Some scholars have suggested that the Demotic term *spsp* means "census," but the evidence is sparse and ambiguous.[15] Prior to the Theogonis papyri of the first century BCE there is just one Ptolemaic attestation of the Greek term *laographia*, where it means a population register or census. The reference is from a fragmentary account of money taxes containing figures as high as 8, 14, and 27 bronze talents: "and the (taxes?) based on the census."[16] In the early Ptolemaic period, the house-to-house census was used to assess the salt tax, which was in effect a poll tax.[17] It fell on both males and females, unlike the poll taxes in the late Ptolemaic and Roman period. The house-by-house census adds up women and men separately since they paid different rates (Table 1), with teachers, policemen, athletic victors, Dionysiac artists, and later others being exempt. Converted into wheat, these rates were relatively low and declined sharply over time. It is often supposed that the disappearance of the salt tax in the early second century BCE was due to its incorporation into the late Ptolemaic *syntaxis* and then as a component of the *syntaximon* into the poll tax in the Roman period.[18]

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[14] M. Hombert and C. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte romaine* (Leiden 1952) 47: "Ainsi il est incontestable que la pratique du recensement romain en Égypte trouve son origine immédiate dans les institutions ptolémaïques"; cf. pp. 47-52 for refutation of Wallace's thesis; W. Clarysse and D.J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt, Volume II: Historical Studies* (Cambridge 2006) 10-35.

[15] R. Ritner, review of F. de Cenival, *P.Lille Dem.* 3, *CdÉ* 63 (1988) 279-280; J. Quack, "Verwaltungsprobleme in Elephantine (Neuanalyse von pBerlin 13537)," *Enchoria* 29 (2004-2005) 62-63; for its rendering as "Abgabe" or "tax levy" see *P.Berl.Dem.* 3.13537; *P.Count.* 2.449 n., p. 82; *P.Agri* 8 = A. Monson, *Agriculture and Taxation in Early Ptolemaic Egypt* (Bonn 2012) 133-134; cf. Clarysse and Thompson (n. 14) 17.

[16] *P.Ryl.* 4.667.ii.4 (second century BCE?): ̣καὶ τὰ ἐγ λαογραφ[ίας].

[17] M. Gibbs, "Poll Tax, Ptolemaic," in R.S. Bagnall, K. Brodersen, C.B. Champion, A. Erskine, and S.R. Huebner (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Oxford 2012) 5387-5388.

[18] Rathbone (n. 6) 91-92, 96; W. Clarysse and D.J. Thompson, "The Salt-Tax Rate Once Again," *CdÉ* 70 (1995) 226; W. Clarysse, "Salt Tax," in Bagnall et al. (n. 17) 6023-6024; Gibbs (n. 17) 5387-5388; for the *syntaximon*, see notes 134-135 below.

Table 1: Annual Salt-Tax Rates in Early Ptolemaic Egypt

Period	Male Rate	Wheat equiv.*	Female Rate	Wheat equiv.*
Rate A (263-254)	1 dr. 3 ob.	0.75 *art.*	1 dr.	0.5 *art.*
Rate B (254-231)	1 dr.	0.5 *art.*	3 ob.	0.25 *art.*
Rate C (243-217)	4 ob.	0.33 *art.*	1 ob. 4 *ch.*	0.13 *art.*

* The conversion rate of 2 dr./*art.* is the median price attested in Egypt *ca.* 270-210 BCE.[19]

The two papyri mentioning a *laographia* for the assessment of the tax called *syntaxis* come from the village of Theogonis in the southwest Arsinoite nome and are dated to Thoth of year 21, probably of Ptolemy XII (61 BCE).[20] Each begins with a similar heading and contains a long list of names. In one the heading reads: "Year 21, Thoth, census of Theogonis by person of those who pay *syntaxis*."[21] In the other text, it is more elaborate: ἔτους κα̣ [Θωὺθ] ῑ λαογρ(αφία) Θεογο(νίδος) τῶν τε[τελε]κότων τὴν σύνταξ[ιν κ]α̣ὶ̣ τὸ{ν} ἐπιστατικ(ὸν) ἐν τῷ κ̣ [(ἔτει) κα]θὼς ὁ λογευτής, "Year 21 [Thoth] 10th, census of Theogonis of those who have paid the *syntaxis* and the *epistatikon* in year 20 according to the tax collector."[22] The crux is line 3, where Hoogendijk proposes to read instead, σύνταξ[ιν εἰ]ς τὸ{ν} ἐπιστατικ(όν) and to translate, "contribution for the *epistatikon*-tax" (Figure 1).[23]

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[19] The median is the same whether derived from the list of K. Maresch, *Bronze und Silber. Papyrologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Währung im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Opladen 1996) 181, or from that of H. Cadell and G. Le Rider, *Prix du blé et numéraire dans l'Égypte lagide de 305 à 173* (Brussels 1997) 28-29.

[20] The reign of Ptolemy X (94 BCE) is also possible but Grenfell and Hunt, *P.Tebt.* 1.103 intr., pp. 446-447, slightly favor the later date; cf. F.A.J. Hoogendijk, "The Practice of Taxation in Three Late Ptolemaic Papyri," *Pap.Congr. XXV*, p. 313. The later dating is supported by Demotic papyri from the same batch of crocodile mummies, which probably date to the reign of Ptolemy XII; see B.P. Muhs, "A Late Ptolemaic *Grapheion* Archive in Berkeley," *Pap.Congr. XXV*, pp. 581-582.

[21] *P.Tebt.* 1.103.1-2: (ἔτους) κα Θωύθ, λαογρ(αφία) Θεογο(νίδος) κατ᾽ ἄνδρα τελού[ντ]ων σύνταξιν.

[22] *P.Tebt.* 1.189.1-4.

[23] Hoogendijk (n. 20) 314-315.

Figure 1: Facsimile of *P.Tebt.* 1.189.3 *recto*

There are certainly traces of ink after the putative *sigma*, which anyway looks more like the end of an *alpha* (cf. the *sigma* and *alpha* in the words *syntaxis* and *epistatikon*), explaining why Grenfell and Hunt read *alpha iota*.[24] Moreover, there are receipts for both *syntaxis* and *epistatikon* among the contemporary ostraka from Karanis discussed below. In two of the bilingual texts, *syntaxis* appears in Demotic as a loan-word, where it is clearly the name of the tax rather than a word meaning contribution.[25] These receipts seem to imply two different taxes but, as we shall see, the similarity of the payments makes one wonder if they could refer to the same tax. The other Theogonis text quoted above (*P.Tebt.* 1.103.1-2) demonstrates that one could refer to the taxes by the term *syntaxis* alone.

The taxpayers in the lists are exclusively male. In *P.Tebt.* 1.189 there are 272 names, in a few cases with a professional title, followed at the end of the list by an account calculating the amount due: 263 men (ἄνδρες) owed 900 drachmas each; 8 men paid 750 drachmas; and one flute player known as "good Kephalion" paid just 500 drachmas. If this were for the entire year, then the rates would be comparable to the salt tax but quite low relative to the Roman *laographia*. In the course of preparing a new edition, Hoogendijk has shown that Grenfell and Hunt's transcription is incomplete. Below column 10 a scribe wrote in a more cursive hand an account of sums due in the following month, Phaophi. Four men had been added to the list and the rates were different: 267 men paid 650 drachmas each; 7 men 350 drachmas; and Kephalion again 500 drachmas. Consequently, she argues that the tax was paid monthly as a kind of poll tax.[26]

Extrapolating from figures for the months of Thoth and Phaophi yields the annual estimates shown in Table 2. Now that the newly read column provides independent evidence for payments in two consecutive months, it is worth

[24] Roberto Mascellari kindly checked the original in Berkeley and prefers κ]α̣ὶ̣ over εἰ]ς (personal communication, 22 February 2013).

[25] *O.Mich.* 2.701-702, new edition in A. Monson, "Receipts for *Sitônion*, *Syntaxis*, and *Epistatikon* from Karanis: Evidence for Fiscal Reform in Augustan Egypt?" *ZPE* (forthcoming).

[26] Hoogendijk (n. 20) 315, 317; monthly payments had already been assumed by Wallace (n. 3) 435-436 and Préaux (n. 4) 385; Rathbone (n. 6) 91-92, on the other hand, believes that the rate in Thoth was for the full year and compares it to the earlier salt tax.

remembering that residents of the Arsinoite nome in the Roman period, unlike those of other nomes, often paid the poll tax in eleven monthly installments.[27] The rate in Theogonis admittedly varied, so it is conceivable that taxpayers paid lower rates as the year progressed or paid nothing at all in some months; it is merely a hypothesis that payments continued on the same scale throughout the year. Yet one would not expect an annual tax to be paid in full in the autumn, months after the harvest. Moreover, the hypothesis accords with the tax rates in the Herakleopolite nome (cf. Table 5 below). Similar taxes were imposed there on villages as an annual lump sum, whose tax collectors distributed the burden among the inhabitants at standard rates per person. It is uncertain whether that was also the case in Theogonis. Apparently only those residing in the village each month paid the tax there, which led to fluctuations in revenue that could have caused problems similar to those described in the Herakleopolite petitions.[28]

Table 2: The Capitation Tax in Late Ptolemaic Theogonis (*P.Tebt.* 1.189)

Month	Total revenue*	Stand. rate	Wheat equiv.†	Annual est.	Wheat equiv.†
Thoth	41 tal. 2850 dr.	900 dr.	0.6 *art.*	1 tal. 4800 dr.	7.2 *art.*
Phaophi	29 tal. 4250 dr.	650 dr.	0.4 *art.*	1 tal. 1800 dr.	5.2 *art.*
Thoth + Phaophi	71 tal. 1100 dr.	1550 dr.	1 *art.*	1 tal. 3300 dr.	6 *art.*

* The total due from all inhabitants at both the standard and reduced rates.[29]
† The conversion rate of 1500 dr./*art.* based on *P.Tebt.* 1.121.140-141.[30]

[27] See note 135 below; Wallace (n. 3) 435-436 argued on the basis of the Roman practice that *P.Tebt.* 1.189 records monthly rates, which Rathbone (n. 6) 91, n. 33, criticizes as circular reasoning.

[28] *P.Tebt.* 1.121.102-137 records the new income from thirteen men who just enrolled that month at 650 dr. each (Φαῶφι προσγί(νεται), lines 103-117) then subtracts 550 dr. for "exempted persons" (διάφορον ἀπολυομέ(νων), lines 118-119) making 1 tal. 900 dr. From this increase in revenue, a decrease is subtracted of 1 tal. 200 dr. because of the departure of ten men from the village (ἀπεληλυθότω(ν), lines 125-137), who thereby ceased to owe the tax in Theogonis; cf. *BGU* 8.1843 and 1846 discussed below.

[29] *P.Tebt.* 1.189.207 and 276 with Hoogendijk (n. 20) 317 and 319, using her line numbering; the extra 1700 dr. added in Phaophi at *P.Tebt.* 1.189.273 is explained by *P.Tebt.* 1.121.102-137 as the revenue from thirteen new taxpayers minus the lost revenue from ten persons who left the village (see n. 28).

[30] This is relatively high: the barley price of 720 dr./*art.* in *P.Tebt.* 1.189 *verso* descr. converts to 1200 dr./*art.* wheat at the usual 5:3 ratio, which is the median price *ca.* 130-30 BCE; Maresch (n. 19) 182.

Valuable information can be derived from the accompanying accounts of the same year, *P.Tebt.* 1.121 and 189 *verso*, where the official or tax farmer balances his expenses against the monthly tax revenue. *P.Tebt.* 1.121 lists all expenses from Thoth 24th, where the account begins, to Phaophi 1st, after which a new section with income due in Phaophi begins. These expenses add up to 41 talents 1080 drachmas, a sum that corresponds closely to the total revenue due in the month of Thoth as given in *P.Tebt.* 1.189 *recto* (shown in Table 2), perhaps indicating a small surplus.[31] *P.Tebt.* 1.189 *verso* continues the expense account through the month of Phaophi, where Hoogendijk has discovered that the total of expenses for that month, 32 talents 300 drachmas, is balanced against the total revenue due in Phaophi given in *P.Tebt.* 1.189 *recto*, namely, 29 talents 4250 drachmas. It shows a remainder of 2 talents 2100 drachmas, which she explains as a loss suffered by the tax farmer.[32] The nature of these monthly expense accounts, which give us no reason to suspect that they were not kept for the rest of the year, adds further credibility to the notion that the tax was charged monthly.[33]

The accounts even allow us to determine how much tax revenue was spent locally and how much was transferred to the central administration. Since the expenses for Thoth are complete, we know that 74% of the tax revenue was transferred to the *polis* and 26% was spent locally.[34] "To the *polis*" probably means to the royal bank in the nome capital, Krokodilopolis, but it could conceivably refer to Alexandria. Most of the local expenses seem to have been administrative, including the costs of donkey drivers, by which the money was transported, and armed guards (e.g. μάχιμοι) to protect them. Payments to the agents or guards of higher-level officials are common, especially those of the *oikonomos*, the chief tax official of the nome.[35] There is an expense for the transport and provisions of officials visiting Theogonis on behalf of the nome *strategos*, who oversaw the census: "27th: to the agents of the *strategos* who came because of the census (*laographia*): 4 silver drachmas at 1600 (drach-

[31] *P.Tebt.* 1.121: 18 tal. 3350 dr. (line 20) + 1 tal. 1120 dr. (line 40) + 12 tal. 2250 dr. (line 59) + 3 tal. 1080 dr. (lines 60-80) + 6 tal. 340 dr. (line 101) = 41 tal. 2180 dr.

[32] *P.Tebt.* 1.189 *verso* ll. 336-337 and *recto* ll. 276-277 with Hoogendijk (n. 20) 319, using her line numbering.

[33] Similar monthly accounts that balance tax revenue against expenses were kept by the keepers of the γραφεῖον archive identified by Muhs (n. 20) 583-584, e.g. *P.Tebt.* 1.140 descr. (72 BCE) and UC inv. 1731 and 2489 (unpublished).

[34] *P.Tebt.* 1.121: transfers (lines 6, 48, 82) = 30 tal. 4340 dr.; all expenses (see n. 31) = 41 tal. 2180 dr.

[35] *P.Tebt.* 1.121.34, 43, 59, and 83.

mas/stater)."[36] One entry on Phaophi 1st records a payment of 1 talent 3000 drachmas to the "tax collectors" (λογευταῖς), which seems to suggest that they were paid a monthly salary.[37] Two expenditures, 600 drachmas for a priest of Tebtynis and 1 talent 500 drachmas for the god-bearers of Souchos, had ostensibly a religious purpose.[38]

The transfers to the *polis* ought to provide further clues about the nature of the tax. *P.Tebt.* 1.121 designates the first of these in Thoth as the "payment (διαγραφή) of the superintendence (ἐπιστατεία) and chief of police (ἀρχιφυλακιτεία) on the 20th to the *polis.*" It is followed by a second payment four days later on the 24th of Thoth. The total 260 silver drachmas, equated to 17 bronze talents 2000 drachmas.[39] Subsequent large payments in Thoth designated only as διαγραφή were presumably the same type of transfer to the *polis*.[40] Similarly, the account of Phaophi in *P.Tebt.* 1.189 *verso* records an expenditure of one bronze talent paid "to those who have come because of the superintendence (ἐπιστατεία) for the second installment (ἀναφορά)."[41] Another payment in Phaophi to the *polis* of 12 silver drachmas or 4250 bronze drachmas makes no reference to the ἐπιστατεία.[42] The use of this term admittedly lends to support to Hoogendijk's identification of the whole tax with the *epistatikon* despite the doubts raised above about her reading.[43] In any case, the tax cannot have been the salary for the village ἐπιστάτης or ἀρχιφυλακίτης, as has sometimes been suggested on analogy with the scribal tax (γραμματικόν), because the funds were transferred at least as far as Krokodilopolis if not further.[44] Alternatively, one may suppose that ἐπιστατεία and ἀρχιφυλακιτεία refer to the office of the nome-level police superintendent (ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακιτῶν) but the amounts are simply too large for any person's salary.

If the hypothesis of monthly payments is correct, then the revenue was so great that some share of the money transferred out of the village was probably sent to Alexandria. Even if it stayed in the nome, it would be credited to the

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[36] *P.Tebt.* 1.121.60-61: κζ. τοῖς [π]αρὰ τοῦ στρα(τηγοῦ) ἐληλυθό(σι) χάριν λαογρ(αφίας) ἀρ[γ]υ(ρίου) (δραχμαὶ) δ Ἀχ; Hoogendijk (n. 20) 316.

[37] *P.Tebt.* 1.121.94.

[38] E.g. *P.Tebt.* 1.121.67: [ἱ]ερεῖ Τεβτύνεως χ; line 76: θεαγῶν Σούχου (τάλαντον) α φ.

[39] *P.Tebt.* 1.121.2-6; the account is similar to *P.Tebt.* 1.179 descr., which requires further study.

[40] *P.Tebt.* 1.121.48 and 82: 11 tal. on the 25th and 2 tal. 320 dr. on the 28th.

[41] *P.Tebt.* 1.189 descr.: τοῖς ἥκοσι χάριν ἐπιστατή(ας) τῆς β ἀναφορᾶς (τάλαντον) α.

[42] *P.Tebt.* 1.189 descr.

[43] Hoogendijk (n. 20) 315.

[44] Préaux (n. 4) 385; Hoogendijk (n. 20) 315; cf. *P.Tebt.* 1.97 intr., pp. 426-428; Wallace (n. 7) 70, 279.

central administration at the royal bank for its general expenses. Extrapolating from Thoth and Phaophi, the annual revenue would have been about 5695 silver drachmas from a village with approximately 280 adult males, averaging 20 silver drachmas each.[45] Given a total population of 30,000-70,000 adult males in the Arsinoite nome and ignoring tax-exempt groups, the government could expect 100-230 silver talents. Hypothetically, 1-2 million men in Egypt paying such a tax would generate revenue of 3300-6700 silver talents.[46] Even on the minimalist assumption that it was paid only in the months of Thoth and Phaophi that are preserved in the accounts, 949 silver drachmas or 3 drachmas 2 obols per person, the nome-level revenue from this capitation tax would be around 17-40 silver talents, the equivalent of 40,000-50,000 *artabai* of wheat.[47] That alone is theoretically enough to pay a generous salary to 200-400 of the highest-ranking nome officials and their entire staffs, so the idea that the tax's purpose might have been to pay officials' salaries must be abandoned entirely.[48] Either scenario assumes that the administration was able to collect the tax from the entire adult male population, which seems overly optimistic. Many would surely have escaped the census or the tax collector in Theogonis and elsewhere. The census reforms of Augustus made collection easier to enforce than it was for the Ptolemies, so the Romans could potentially lower the tax rate and still gain revenue.

[45] Calculation: 71 tal. 1100 dr. (Thoth + Phaophi) × 6 = 427 tal. 600 dr. annually = 5695 silver dr. at the stater price of 1800 bronze dr. used in this text, which is also the median for the late Ptolemaic period, Maresch (n. 19) 196-198. After several adjustments, the number of taxpayers in Theogonis was 281 men in Thoth and 283 men in Phaophi, Hoogendijk (n. 20) 316-317; cf. the 20 dr. rate for κάτοικοι in *BGU* 8.1779 discussed below.

[46] For the population estimates, see A. Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans* (Cambridge 2012) 37-40; cf. Ptolemy XII's alleged revenue of 12,500 tal. (Strabo 18.1.13) or 6,000 tal. (Diod.Sic. 17.52.6).

[47] Calculation: 71 tal. 1100 dr. ÷ 1800 dr./stater = 949 silver dr..; the median wheat price *ca.* 130-30 BCE was 1200 dr. (= 2.67 silver drachmas); Maresch (n. 19) 182, 196-198.

[48] Kleon, the chief engineer of the Arsinoite nome in the mid-third century BCE, was paid 300 silver dr. and a grain allowance plus another 300 silver dr., 12 1/2 *art.* of wheat, and 25 *art.* of barley for his staff; *P.Petr.* 2.13 (17) (255/254 BCE); cf. T. Reekmans, "Le salaire de Cléon," *APF* 20 (1970) 17-24; for the suggestion that this was the purpose of the *epistatikon*, see above, n. 44.

Capitation-tax receipts from Karanis

A group of receipts for *sitonion*, *syntaxis*, and *epistatikon* from Karanis may shed light on the transition from the Ptolemaic to the Roman period.[49] An even larger number of the receipts do not specify the name of the tax but are so similar to the others that they must refer to one of these taxes, probably *syntaxis* or *epistatikon*.[50] Uncertainty about the dating has always presented an obstacle to their historical interpretation. While Youtie admitted that at least some may be late Ptolemaic, he strongly suspected that the corpus as a whole is from the reign of Augustus.[51] Only three receipts are firmly dated, all of them to Augustus. Most of the texts give the payments in large bronze-decimal drachmas, while a number of others employ the silver-standard with its single drachma and obol units, including the three dated to Augustus.

One indication of an earlier dating for some of the receipts that Youtie did not consider is that the term *sitonion*, "grain levy," appears exclusively in the Ptolemaic period in connection with soldiers' pay.[52] It is attested as the name of a capitation tax in the Herakleopolite petition (*BGU* 8.1846) from the reign of Cleopatra VII discussed in the next section. It is therefore likely that the twelve receipts for this tax, which are denominated in bronze-decimal units, date to the same period. This accords with Youtie's first-century BCE appraisal of their handwriting.[53] One of the people who paid the *sitonion* also received receipts in bronze-decimal units for *epistatikon* and for an unspecified tax, so at least some of these other receipts were contemporary.[54] Moreover, the receipts for *syntaxis* and *epistatikon* have an obvious parallel in the late Ptolemaic tax registers from Theogonis. In one receipt, the taxpayer's profession is given as a "guest" (ξένος) mender. The technical term ξένος is used in another petition from the Herakleopolite nome under Cleopatra VII to designate a person who

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[49] For a more detailed study of these texts, see Monson (n. 25).

[50] Thus H.C Youtie, "Notes on *O.Mich.* I," *TAPA* 71 (1940) 643-644 (examples g and h).

[51] Youtie (n. 50) 642-643, n. 69; cf. H.C. Youtie, "Critical Notes on Karanis Ostraka," *Berytus* 8 (1944) 88, n. 29.

[52] *UPZ* 2.206 intr., pp. 240-241; *P.Hamb.* 2.170 (241 BCE, Oxyrhynchite); T. Reekmans, "Σῖτος ἀγοραστός in Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni* 2 (Milan 1957) 204, n. 15; R. Bogaert, "Les opérations des banques de l'Égypte ptolémaïque," *AncSoc* 29 (1998-1999) 103, n. 205; C. Armoni, *Studien zur Verwaltung des Ptolemäischen Ägypten. Das Amt des* Basilikos Grammateus (Paderborn 2012) 65, n. 110.

[53] *O.Mich.* 2.715-726.

[54] *O.Mich.* 2.741 (*epistatikon*), 765 (unspecified).

paid capitation taxes away from his original home; the term even appears in the Theogonis tax registers.[55]

Since it will be necessary to discuss the Roman poll tax or *laographia* in more detail below, it suffices to note here that this tax was often called *syntaxis* in the Arsinoite nome, where it was usually bundled with smaller charges into a tax called *syntaximon* paid in monthly installments.[56] Tcherikover was the first to discuss whether the Karanis receipts constituted evidence for the Roman poll tax. Assuming that all ostraka were from the reign of Augustus, he regarded the multiple irregular installments denominated in bronze-decimal units as uncharacteristic of the poll tax. With due caution, given the uncertain dating, he concluded that the receipts merely showed the continuation of Ptolemaic capitation taxes into the Augustan period, not evidence for the poll tax, an interpretation that subsequent scholars have followed.[57] The unstated implication is that these capitation taxes co-existed with the new Augustan poll tax, for what must have been an enormous fiscal burden.[58] Yet why should there be "Ptolemaic" *syntaxis* receipts from Augustan Karanis but not a single receipt for the Roman poll tax, especially when the latter was also called *syntaxis*?

The key to the dating and historical interpretation is arguably the use of bronze-decimal units versus the silver standard for payments in the receipts. The decimal units represent Ptolemaic denominations that disappeared during the Augustan period except as a unit of account. The last dated text with a payment on the old system is a receipt for an obscure "chief-huntsman tax" from 10 CE. However, as Wilcken observed, the silver standard began to replace the old system from the beginning of the Roman period.[59] Out of 266 texts

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[55] *O.Mich.* 2.712; see n. 98 below.

[56] See notes 134-135 below.

[57] Tcherikover (n. 4) 188-189; Evans (n. 4) 261-262; Rathbone (n. 6) 91, n. 33, dates the *syntaxis* receipts *O.Mich.* 2.709-714 to the reigns of Ptolemy XII or Cleopatra VII on the grounds that the payments are too small for the Roman poll tax; cf. Capponi (n. 3) 139, 238, n. 105, who cites the Karanis *syntaxis* receipts as evidence for the poll tax without addressing Tcherikover's or Rathbone's counter-arguments.

[58] Cf. Rathbone (n. 6) 98, quoted above at n. 12, and similarly D.W. Rathbone, review of L. Capponi, *Augustan Egypt*, *CR* 57 (2007) 489: "C.'s revisionist suggestion that the Roman poll-tax was not a novelty but a combination of Ptolemaic capitation taxes ... is implausible because, as she notes, the *huikê*, *chômatikon*, and so on all continued as separate levies."

[59] *O.Wilck.* 2.1545 with discussion in *O.Wilck.* 1, pp. 726-727; L.C. West and A.C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Princeton 1944) 15, 17; a Demotic document from Soknopaiou Nesos of 20 BCE, *DDD* 3.36, line 15 (= S.L. Lippert and M. Schentuleit, *Urkunden* [Wiesbaden 2010]), already employs the silver standard (cf. *P.Ehevertr.*, pp. 311-312).

dated 30 BCE-10 CE that refer to drachmas, I managed to find only fourteen that certainly use Ptolemaic bronze-decimal units, of which maybe six relate to taxes.[60] The Roman poll tax, by contrast, was denominated in silver from as early as there is evidence for it.[61] Thus the Karanis receipts with payments in bronze-decimal units must at least be earlier than 10 CE and chances are that they date to the late Ptolemaic period.

Furthermore, the receipts denominated in bronze decimals display a different pattern of payments from the silver-standard receipts. What Tcherikover found to be inconsistent with the Roman poll tax was that some texts record numerous small installments within a single month. For example, according to one receipt for the *syntaxis* of regnal year 11, the taxpayer paid 100 bronze drachmas on Hathyr 14th, 80 bronze drachmas on Hathyr 23rd, and 120 bronze drachmas on Hathyr 27th.[62] The most extreme examples of multiple small payments show twelve or sixteen installments in the course of two months on a single ostrakon.[63] Of the forty-two bronze-decimal receipts for *syntaxis*, *epistatikon*, and unspecified taxes, sixteen show two or more payments (38%).[64] Only six of thirty-four receipts on the silver standard (18%) record two payments and none more than two, though four more mention a span of dates for a single amount.[65]

At an exchange rate of about 400 bronze drachmas to one silver drachma, the bronze-decimal payments have no parallel in poll tax receipts of the Ro-

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[60] Taxes: *P.Tebt.* 2.345 (28? BCE), land-tax register; *O.Bodl.* 2.951 (21? BCE), date-palm receipt; mason-tax receipt; *SB* 26.16543 (2 BCE), receipt for τιμ̣(ῆς(?)) or π̣υρ̣(οῦ); *O.Leid.* 42 (*ca.* 7 CE), bath-tax receipt; *O.Wilck.* 2.1545 (10 CE), chief-huntsman receipt. Other references: *P.Oxy.* 78.5166 (*ca.* 29-20 BCE); *BGU* 4.1205 (28 BCE); *BGU* 4.1194 (27 BCE); *P.Fay.* 101 (*ca.* 18 BCE); *P.Fay.* 44 (16? BCE), *P.Amst.* 1.41 (10 BCE); *PSI* 10.1099 (6/5 BCE); *SB* 12.10942 (4 BCE); *O.Mich.* 1.17 (4 BCE); cf. West and Johnson (n. 59) 17, nn. 19-20, and A. Gara, *Prosdiagraphomena e circolazione monetaria* (Milan 1976) 16-17.

[61] E.g. *O.Bodl.* 2.407 (23 BCE), see below for further examples of Augustan poll-tax receipts in silver.

[62] *O.Mich.* 2.710.

[63] *O.Mich.* 2.737 (*epistatikon*), 12 payments, Pharmouthi 25th-Pachon 20th; *O.Mich.* 2.754 (unspecified), reedited by Monson (n. 25), 16 payments, Choiak 27th to Mecheir 13th.

[64] By type: *syntaxis* 4/12, *epistatikon* 2/5, unspecified 10/25; none of the *sitonion* receipts illustrate this but only because the partial-month payments were demonstrably recorded on separate ostraka.

[65] By type: *syntaxis* 1/13, *epistatikon* 0/11, unspecified 5/10. However, if one includes those with a span of dates, the percentage (34%) is similar to the bronze-decimal receipts: *syntaxis* 3/13, *epistatikon* 1/11, unspecified 6/10.

man period or in the silver-standard receipts for the same taxes from Karanis.[66] Some installments are as low as 40 drachmas, equivalent to roughly one half of an obol. Even adding the installments together, the median payment per bronze-decimal receipt, 240 drachmas (see Table 3), would be less than one drachma. This low median is largely due to the fact that many small payments within the same month were often recorded on separate ostraka, which is clearly evident in the *sitonion* receipts of year 17 issued to a single person.[67] By contrast, one finds far less variation in the amounts paid in the silver-standard receipts, so there is no reason to suppose that additional payments were made in the same month and recorded elsewhere. These observations underscore the likelihood that the two groups are not contemporary.

By estimating the annual rates and converting the money into wheat, we can compare the Karanis receipts with other evidence for Ptolemaic capitation taxes and for the Roman poll tax. The monthly distribution of receipts is fairly even, so it seems reasonable to assume that payments were made throughout the Egyptian year.[68] The data from texts denominated in bronze-decimal units are shown in Table 3. The annual rates are calculated on the basis of the median and the mean total of each receipt. The wheat equivalents of the bronze-decimal payments illustrate even more starkly why they cannot be contemporary with the silver-standard payments. Reckoned in a common medium, early Roman nominal prices were higher than late Ptolemaic ones roughly by a factor of three, a transition that occurred in the reign of Cleopatra VII (see below). The median price of wheat in the early Roman period, 8 drachmas/*artabe*, can be expressed in bronze units as 3200 drachmas/*artabe*.[69] Recalculating the wheat equivalents in Table 3 at this price would give us amounts that are radically less than those found in the silver-standard receipts.

[66] The late Ptolemaic median was 450:1, while rates of 350:1, 400:1, and 450:1 are attested during the Augustan period; see West and Johnson (n. 59) 14 and Maresch (n. 19) 115-119, 196-198.

[67] *O.Mich.* 2.717-718 (Choiak), 719-720 (Pharmouthi), 721-722 (Pachon), 723-725 (Payni); note that the payments in 723-724 occurred on the same day!

[68] For the monthly distribution, see Monson (n. 25).

[69] For 8 dr./*art.* as the median price of wheat *ca.* 30 BCE-150 CE, see H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten* (St. Katharinen 1991) 13-15, 18.

Table 3: Tax Receipts in Bronze-Decimal Units from Late Ptolemaic Karanis

Name of tax	Median	Annual estimate	Wheat equiv.*	Mean	Annual estimate	Wheat equiv.*
syntaxis (n=12)	500 dr.	1 tal.	5 *art.*	860 dr.	1 tal. 4320 dr.	8.6 *art.*
sitonion (n=11)	100 dr.	1200 dr.	1 *art.*	200 dr.	2400 dr.	2 *art.*
epistatikon (n=5)	230 dr.	2760 dr.	2.3 *art.*	490 dr.	5880 dr.	4.9 *art.*
unspecified (n=24)	290 dr.	3540 dr.	3 *art.*	660 dr.	1 tal. 1920 dr.	6.6 *art.*
all (n=52)	240 dr.	2880 dr.	2.4 *art.*	595 dr.	1 tal. 1140 dr.	6 *art.*

* The conversion rate of 1200 dr./*art.* is the median price attested in Egypt *ca.* 130-30 BCE.[70]

The extreme variability of the totals in receipts with bronze-decimal units, ranging from 60 to 4000 drachmas, admittedly makes the annual estimates very uncertain. As noted above, the median most likely underestimates the rates because the numerous receipts with just one or two small payments were likely accompanied by further installments within the same month. The mean may help to correct the imbalance because large payments probably cover one month or longer but it is sensitive to distortion by unusual outliers.[71] In three cases with payments listed for one month or more on a single ostrakon the totals are 400, 970 and 1000 drachmas per month.[72] It may be a false assumption that the monthly or annual rate was the same every year or even every month. The late Ptolemaic tax register from Theogonis reveals that the *syntaxis* and *epistatikon* varied, with most inhabitants paying 900 drachmas in Thoth but only 650 in Phaophi. The Karanis data, uncertain as they may be, suggest a rate of taxation on the same scale as this.[73]

[70] Maresch (n. 19) 182.

[71] For a full tabulation, see Monson (n. 25). The *sitonion* estimate is especially doubtful because all but one receipt (*O.Mich.* 2.716-726) are from a single person in small amounts 60-120 bronze dr., sometimes within the same month of the same year, while *O.Mich.* 2.715 is from another person for 1200 bronze dr.

[72] *O.Mich.* 2.704 (unspecified), 400 dr. Hathyr 7th to Choiak 6th; *O.Mich.* 2.737 (*epistatikon*), 970 dr. Pharmouthi 25th-Pachon 20th; *O.Mich.* 2.754 (unspecified), 1000 dr. Tybi 1st-30th (or 1460 dr. for 46 days Choiak 27th-Mecheir 13th = 950/mo.).

[73] The fact that many Karanis receipts record sums of 1000 dr. or more (*O.Mich.* 1.297, 301, 2.714, 715, 754, 3.985), 2000 dr. or more (*O.Mich.* 1.295, 302, 3.980, 982, 4.1113), and even 4000 dr. (*O.Mich.* 3.1000) makes it unlikely that *P.Tebt.* 1.189 *recto* gives annual rates, as Rathbone (n. 6) 91, n. 33, assumed.

Dating the bronze-decimal receipts to the late Ptolemaic period removes precisely the ones that Tcherikover found to be incongruent with the Roman poll tax because of the irregular payments. As Table 4 indicates, the remaining silver-standard receipts closely resemble the poll tax or *syntaximon* receipts from the Arsinoite nome discussed below. If one compares, for example, the second-century CE tax rolls from Karanis, where daily incoming payments of the poll tax and other money taxes were recorded, the vast majority of entries mirror the sums in the Karanis ostraka.[74] Thirteen of the thirty-four receipts (38%) or seventeen of the thirty-seven installments (46%) attested in them were for exactly 4 drachmas, another seven receipts (21%) or eight installments 22%) were for 2 drachmas. A minority of payments was for 3, 6, or 8 drachmas or amounts appearing only once. The outlier is an unspecified payment of 28 drachmas, which explains the misleadingly high averages for "unspecified" and "all" receipts in Table 4.[75]

Table 4: Tax Receipts in Silver-Standard Units from Roman Karanis

Name of tax	Median	Annual estimate	Wheat equiv.*	Mean	Annual estimate	Wheat equiv.*
syntaxis (n=13)	4 dr.	48 dr.	6 *art.*	4 dr.	48 dr.	6 *art.*
sitonion (n=0)	-	-	-	-	-	-
epistatikon (n=11)	4 dr.	48 dr.	6 *art.*	4 dr.	48 dr.	6 *art.*
unspecified (n=10)	4 dr.	48 dr.	6 *art.*	8 dr.	96 dr.	12 *art.*
all (n=34)	4 dr.	48 dr.	6 *art.*	5 dr.	60 dr.	7.5 *art.*

* The conversion rate of 8 dr./*art.* is the median price attested in Egypt *ca.* 30 BCE-150 CE.[76]

The Karanis ostraka still leave open the question whether the *syntaxis* and *epistatikon* were two separate taxes or refer to the same tax. Youtie assumed that the Karanis *epistatikon* was that of the temple, so only priests would have paid it.[77] In the village of Theogonis, however, the same tax that *P.Tebt.* 1.103

[74] *P.Mich.* 4.1.223 (171/172 CE), 224 (173 CE), and 225 (175 CE).

[75] Cf. the following receipts for *syntaximon*: *P.Tebt.* 2.349 (28 CE), 20 dr., 2.464 (48/49 CE), >24 dr., 2.558 (100 CE), 30 dr. 1 ob. 2 *ch.*

[76] Drexhage (n. 69) 13-15, 18; the eight Upper Egyptian prices dating 13 BCE-65 CE are quite low, all close to the median of 3.5 dr./*art.*, and may distort the situation in Middle Egypt during these years; if one excludes them, the median was 7.8 dr./*art.* before 50 CE and 8.9 before 150 CE.

[77] Youtie (n. 51) 88; before the second century CE, temples normally paid the *epistatikon* on behalf of its priests but two late Ptolemaic receipts may anticipate the practice

calls the *syntaxis* is called *syntaxis* and *epistatikon* (or simply *epistatikon* according to Hoogendijk) in *P.Tebt.* 1.189. There the tax was clearly levied on the adult male population, not only priests, and the reference to ἐπιστατεία and ἀρχιφυλακιτεία on the *verso* suggests that it was related to the police superintendent.[78] A fragmentary papyrus of the late first century BCE mentions a tax called ἐπιστατεία φυλακιτῶν but it seems to be paid by the guards (φύλακες) rather than the population at large.[79] A small capitation tax for the maintenance of the guards (φυλάκων) accompanying the poll tax is attested starting in 57/58 CE in Upper Egypt and in the second century CE in Middle Egypt.[80]

It is remarkable how similar the payments for *syntaxis* and *epistatikon* are in the Karanis ostraka. The fact that so many receipts of this type omit the name of the tax altogether suggests that there was no difference between them. It is unlikely that all inhabitants paid both *syntaxis* and *epistatikon* at the rate of 4 drachmas per month, much less another 4 drachmas per month for the *syntaximon*. According to the interpretation proposed here the receipts denominated in bronze-decimal units relate to a capitation tax of the late Ptolemaic period identifiable with the *syntaxis* and *epistatikon* of Theogonis. The silver-standard receipts show that the *syntaxis* and *epistatikon* continued into the Roman period. They may have been two names for the same tax. Alternatively, they were two different taxes, with the *syntaxis* being identical to the Roman poll tax and the *epistatikon* perhaps being paid only by priests. In any case, the Karanis receipts suggest that Augustus merely standardized the existing capitation taxes, rather than imposing a heavy new fiscal burden.

Capitation taxes in the Herakleopolite nome

Several late Ptolemaic papyri from the Herakleopolite nome provide further evidence for capitation taxes under Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra VII that were either abolished or transformed into the *laographia* during the Augustan period. The situation is confusing owing to the different types of assessment attested in the sources. Several taxes described in this section, namely, the *sito-*

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common in the second century CE of levying it as a capitation tax on them; *O.Edfou* 2.244 (104 BCE) and 3.362 (100 BCE); cf. *P.Tebt.* 1.5.63 n. (118 BCE) and *P.Fay.* 51 (186 CE) intr., p. 176.

[78] Cf. *P.Tebt.* 1.97 (118 BCE) intr., pp. 426-428.

[79] *P.Oxy.* 4.803 descr. (late first century BCE); C. Homoth-Kuhs, *Phylakes und Phylakon-Steuer im griechisch-römischen Ägypten* (Leipzig 2005) 31-32.

[80] Homoth-Kuhs (n. 79) 149-192; cf. the ἐπιστατεία for the salary of guards in *P.Leid. Inst.* 33 (129 CE) and the ἐπιστατεία φυλακιτῶν of the second-century Mendesian nome, *P.Ryl.* 2.213, p. 316, *P.Thmous* 1, p. 38, Wallace (n. 7) 279.

nion in Toy and the stater-tax in Titeris, were levied on villages as lump sums and distributed among the population at fixed rates. Similar levies for military provisions in this period were sometimes linked to landholdings but that was probably not the case here. Contemporary texts discussed below (*BGU* 8.1779 and 14.2429) leave the impression of standard rates for privileged and non-privileged status groups more like the Roman poll tax, though the irregular amounts make it conceivable that these were lump sums distributed per head within villages or some larger area. For the present argument, the important point is that none of these taxes continued to be levied in the Roman period alongside the poll tax and their burden on the taxpayers was much greater than the Herakleopolite rate of the poll tax.

The *sitonion* of the Karanis ostraka has its parallel in *BGU* 8.1846 (51-49 BCE) from the beginning of the reign of Cleopatra VII. This is a petition sent by the inhabitants of the village Toy to Soteles, the highest official of the nome, the στρατηγός καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων.[81] The fifty (male) inhabitants report that they used to be charged 100 silver drachmas for *sitonion*, at a rate of 2 silver drachmas per person, plus an additional "carriage" fee (καταγώγιον) for payment in bronze.[82] After an unspecified official named Agathokles had raised the total to 150 silver drachmas, Soteles himself doubled that amount to 300, at 6 silver drachmas per person. Agathokles subsequently raised it once more to 360 silver drachmas prompting the villagers to beg Soteles to bring it back down to 300 silver drachmas. Just as in the case of the Theogonis papyri from the Arsinoite nome, it was the *strategos* in the contemporary Herakleopolite nome who oversaw the assessment of a capitation tax in an Egyptian village, which was probably also based on a census (*laographia*).

The abrupt increases in the annual rate of *sitonion* in Toy could be linked to Ptolemy XII's debasement of the silver tetradrachma from 90% to as low as 33% silver in 53/52 BCE.[83] Demanding the tax in silver at higher rates may have aimed to compensate for the return of debased coins as well as to bring in some good silver still in circulation, though Gresham's law would limit its effectiveness.[84] Before 53/52 BCE, the initial tax of 100 silver drachmas would correspond to about 38 *artabai* of wheat or 3/4 *artabe* per person. If wheat

[81] For Soteles, see *Pros.Ptol.* 1:334; for the combination of these two offices in the first century BCE, see Armoni (n. 52) 101-102, 105.

[82] More specifically, καταγώγιον covers the costs of transporting bronze coins; see *P.Tebt.* 1.35.5 n., p. 132; cf. *BGU* 14.2431.2 n., p. 118. It was also charged on the payments for the capitation taxes denominated in silver but paid in bronze in late Ptolemaic Theogonis, *P.Tebt.* 1.121.8.

[83] R.A. Hazzard, *Ptolemaic Coins: An Introduction for Collectors* (Toronto 1995) 51-53.

[84] For hoarding of the old silver after 53/52 BCE, cf. Hazzard (n. 83) 89.

prices tracked the decline in silver content already by 51-49 BCE and thus began to approximate their Augustan levels, then the current tax, 360 silver drachmas, would correspond to just 49.6 art, about 1 *artabe* per person. With such inflation one would expect a corresponding plunge in the bronze price of the stater, which fluctuated in the second and first century BCE according to supply and demand. *BGU* 8.1827, dated securely to the first year of Cleopatra VII (51 BCE), attests an exchange rate of 1550 drachmas per stater, which is below the median (1800 drachmas) but not unprecedented for the late Ptolemaic period.[85] Moreover, the same text, an alimentary settlement, allocates 60 *artabai* of olyra and 60 silver drachmas for a woman's upkeep, similar to the rate in an earlier contract.[86] Auletes' children may have tried to maintain the fiduciary currency system despite the silver debasement, at least until Cleopatra VII's reforms after 44 BCE.[87] To judge by their petition, the villagers of Toy perceived the increasing taxes as a real burden. If we assume no shift in prices between 53/52 and 51-49 BCE, which seems reasonable enough, then the wheat equivalent of the current tax of 360 silver drachmas would correspond to 136 *artabai* or 2.7 *artabai* per person.

The *sitonion* was money used to compensate Ptolemaic soldiers for their purchase of grain.[88] In the Herakleopolite nome in the first century BCE, such expenses were apparently levied on villages and then on their population as capitation taxes.[89] *BGU* 14.2431, which is presumably roughly contemporary with the petition to Soteles, is a tax account of the village of Phebichis in the Herakleopolite nome. It begins with the revenue "for two (?) grain levies (σειτωνίων): 2600 drachmas, for carriage 104 drachmas, equals 2704 drachmas, of which to the bank: Phamenoth 1st 500 drachmas, 30th 940 drachmas, Pharmouthi 23rd 928 drachmas, Mecheir 25th 64 drachmas, Mesore 30th 272 drachmas, equals 2704 drachmas." These were large lump sums paid in silver (as shown by the non-decimal units) by the tax collector at the end of the year. Unfortunately, the rates are not given but if we apply the high and low ones attested in Toy, we get a population of around 360 or 1300 adult males, which

[85] Two other late Ptolemaic papyri, *BGU* 8.1885 (possibly from the same group as our texts of Cleopatra VII) and *P.Oxy* 4.784, report a price of just 1350 dr./stater, the lowest attested; Maresch (n. 19) 196-198.

[86] *UPZ* 1.118.10-14 (136 or 83 BCE), which values emmer at the unusually high price of 2 silver dr./*art.* (cf. *UPZ* 1, pp. 409 and 551, n. 14) corresponding to 5 silver dr./*art.* of wheat at the customary conversion rate of 2:5 for emmer to wheat prices.

[87] Cf. Hazzard (n. 83) 89.

[88] See n. 52 above.

[89] Cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* 2.10 intr. = *O.Wilck.* 2.1535 (88 BCE), a receipt for the "price of wheat".

implies a total of about 1000 or 4000 inhabitants.[90] By the first century BCE, Phebichis had become the administrative center of a new Peri Phebichin toparchy, in which the village of Tale (mentioned in line 8) was probably located.[91] However, this estimate may exclude some people because the next entry of the account is labeled: "discount (παράτιμον), entirely out of silver, 410 drachmas" followed by the dates of payment.[92] On the analogy of *BGU* 8.1779.14-15 and *BGU* 14.2429.13-14, where settlers (κάτοικοι) and Greeks (Ἕλληνες) respectively pay discounted rates of the village capitation tax, perhaps the lower amount in this entry was paid by those eligible for the discount.[93]

Two further entries record payments of money by tax collectors into the bank "for the price of wine" (τιμὴ οἴνου), which is presumably another military expense levied as a capitation tax just as the *sitonion*.[94] The wine stipend may have been due to the settlers (κάτοικοι) but this is unlikely since they were not necessarily active soldiers entitled to rations. It is also conceivable that this was the amount that they paid at a rate lower than the other villagers in the last entry.[95] On the other hand, an earlier receipt records a payment of 3,000 bronze drachmas (= about 7 silver drachmas or 2.5 *artabai* of wheat) "for the price of wheat (τιμὴ πυροῦ) on behalf of the *kleros* of Herieus son of Herieus that you cultivate" to supply his soldiers dispatched with Platon, the *strategos*. In this case, it was evidently an emergency charge on the leaseholder of the *kleros* to pay for rations of the army sent to crush the Theban revolt of 88 BCE.[96]

Another petition to Soteles, the στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων of the Herakleopolite nome, *BGU* 8.1843 (50/49 BCE), is from the inhabitants of

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[90] On the ratio of adult males to inhabitants of 1:2.909, see R.S. Bagnall and B. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1994) 103 n. 35. If σειτωνίων β̣ means the *sitonion* of two years, the population would be half this; cf. *BGU* 14.2429.1, discussed below.

[91] Cf. *BGU* 14.2435 intr., pp. 131-132; the fact that Tale is ordered under it in both texts supports this hypothesis; on this village, see also M.R. Falivene, *The Herakleopolite Nome* (Atlanta 1998) 207-208.

[92] *BGU* 14.2431.6; as the editor notes (n. 6) the payment in silver explains the absence of καταγώγιον.

[93] Another suggestion by one of the anonymous reviewers is that it was a "discount" because it was paid in real silver without the carriage fee.

[94] *BL* 9:34: τρά(πεζα), the local bank.

[95] *BGU* 14.2431.8: τῶν ἐν Ταλῃ̣ \κ̣(ατοίκων)/.

[96] *P.Ross.Georg.* 2.10 intr. = *O.Wilck.* 2.1535 (88 BCE); on the revolt, see B. McGing, "Revolt Egyptian Style: Internal Opposition to Ptolemaic Rule," *APF* 43 (1997) 296-299 and A.-E. Veïsse, *Les "révoltes égyptiennes": recherches sur les troubles intérieurs en Égypte du règne de Ptolémée III à la conquête romaine* (Leuven 2004) 64-73; cf. Paus. 1.9.3; *SB* 3.6300; *P.Bour.* 10-12; *P.Bad.* 2.16.

the village Titeris and concerns a so-called "stater tax" (στατηρίσκος or on the more likely reading στατηρισμός).[97] The villagers complain that a drought caused resident guests (ξένοι) to return to their home villages and to pay the stater tax there. These were people officially registered elsewhere who paid taxes in their host village. They also appear in the Theogonis tax register and the Karanis receipts from the Arsinoite nome. It was evidently a technical term in the Ptolemaic tax administration that anticipates the concept of the "fiscal domicile" (ἰδία) and the status of those away from it (ἐπὶ ξένης or ἐπίξενοι) for paying the poll tax during the Roman period.[98]

Despite its name, the stater tax was presumably not fixed at that rate but levied on the entire village collectively because the departure of the guests forced the remaining inhabitants of Titeris to pay higher rates *per capita*, which they allegedly could no longer afford. Presumably it was divided among them equally, as the *sitonion* was in the village of Toy. The fact that resident guests (ξένοι) had to pay it speaks in favor of it being a capitation tax rather than one distributed according to landholding sizes. *BGU* 8.1850 (48-46 BCE) is a petition to Eurylochos, Soteles's successor as στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, where an individual complains about the so-called "talent tax" (ταλαντισμός) for five *arourai* of cleruchic land (κατοικικοῦ κλήρου). Préaux supposes that the taxes were analogous and both linked to landholdings.[99] However, it is not likely that resident guests would become exempt from a land tax by moving back to their home village, nor is a silver stater equivalent to a bronze talent, so they were surely different taxes. In a new petition to Soteles that has just been published, a Greek priest of Demeter complains of being charged the στατηρισμός, which he formerly did not pay, and asks to be granted the same exemption that Egyptian priests in his village enjoy. The editor cites an unpublished papyrus in Berlin stating that the tax was levied in the metropolis and the entire Herakleopolite nome. Since the priest's petition makes no reference

[97] For the reading, cf. Préaux (n. 4) 403, n. 3.

[98] *P.Tebt.* 1.121.108, *O.Mich.* 2.712; cf. *P.Tebt.* 1.5.6 n. For the Roman period, see Wallace (n. 7) 121, Hombert and Préaux (n. 14) 63-76, H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung* (Bonn 1964) 150-152, 168-176, Bagnall and Frier (n. 90) 14-15, T. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung* (Leipzig 2002) 1:64-65, 2:651-652; A. Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart 2009) 70-73, 313-315, 446, 449-450; cf. *P.Princ.* 13 (c. 35 CE) intr., p. 79, and *P.Tebt.* 2.391.11 n. (99 CE) for the collection of the poll tax from resident guests from other villages.

[99] Préaux (n. 4) 403; cf. W. Huss, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit* (Munich 2001) 682, n. 75.

to land and the στατηρισμός was charged even in the metropolis, it is now almost certain that this was a capitation tax.[100]

There is contemporary evidence from the Herakleopolite nome for annual capitation taxes levied on adult male villagers at standard rates independent of landholdings. *BGU* 8.1779, which dates after the month of Choiak in the second year of Cleopatra VII (June-August 50 BCE), even shows a fiscal distinction between settlers (κάτοικοι) and commoners (λαοί), just as in the Roman period. A village scribe of Tesenephy in the Herakleopolite nome reports complaints to a superior (the *strategos*?) about extortion by three men, probably tax collectors, who were responsible for the rents of neglected royal land and money revenues from the village.[101] The latter were evidently derived from a capitation tax (or several taxes bundled together) on adult males levied at two different rates according to status.[102] The ten male settlers (κάτοικοι) paid 20 silver drachmas each, while the rate paid by the twenty other male villagers (λαοί) is lost in the lacuna. It is possible that even this tax was levied on the village as a lump sum and only afterwards distributed as a capitation tax; the fact that the village scribe needed to specify the rates per person implies a lack of uniformity in the nome. The privileged rate of 20 silver drachmas, probably worth about 7.5 *artabai* in this period, is similar to the annual rate estimated above for the village of Theogonis in the Arsinoite nome.[103]

This text can be compared with *BGU* 14.2429, a list of villages with the number of male inhabitants and the rate of an unnamed capitation tax. In this case, the same rates applied across several very small villages but once again they had to be specified, so perhaps the rates were based on a lump sum due from a higher level such as the toparchy rather than being standard in the nome. The text begins with the heading "year 19 to 20", which the editor assigns to Ptolemy X or XII (94-92 or 63-61 BCE). Egyptians paid a rate of 92 silver drachmas 1 obol, while Greek men (Ἕλληνες), possibly equivalent to

[100] *BGU* 20.2845 (51-49? BCE) intr., pp. 54-5 on P.Berol. 16250.11-12: στατηρισμόν, ὃν ἡ μητρόπολις καὶ ὅλος ὁ Ἡρακλεοπολίτης διαγέγραφεν.

[101] The verb παραλογεύειν in l. 8 suggests excessive taxation by a λογευτής; this was the title of the tax collector confirming payment of *syntaxis* and *epistatikon* in *P.Tebt.* 1.189.1-4; the was also the one who collected the poll tax in the Augustan period, e.g. *BGU* 7.1590(b).5 (6/7 CE, Philadelpheia).

[102] *BGU* 8.1779.14-17: ἕκαστον μὲν ἄνδρα τῶ̣ν̣ κατοίκων ἀνδ(ρῶν) ι ἀνὰ ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) κ ω̣ν̣ . . . καὶ τῶν λ̣α̣ῶν ἄλ̣λ̣ω̣ν̣ ἀ̣ν̣δ̣(ρῶν) κ α̣ . . . . χαλκ̣οῦ [(τάλαντα) . .]. An anonymous reviewer suggests that τῶν κατοίκων ἄνδ(ρες) and τῶν λ̣α̣ῶν ἄλ̣λ̣ο̣ι̣ ἄ̣ν̣δ̣(ρες) would give better sense to the text.

[103] The wheat conversion is based on the median wheat price (1200 dr.) divided by the median stater price (1800 dr.) *ca.* 130-30 BCE; Maresch (n. 19) 182, 196-198.

the κάτοικοι of the previous text, paid about 25% less, 69 silver drachmas.[104] There was a similar reduction in the Theogonis capitation tax (*syntaxis* and *epistatikon*) described above.[105] However, the privileged persons there had no apparent distinction that would explain the difference; most had Egyptian names, though this does not rule out the possibility that they were Greeks or at least regarded as such for tax purposes.[106]

As much as *BGU* 14.2429 appears to record a capitation tax based on a census of villages, the rates denominated in silver drachmas are implausibly high for the dates proposed by the editor, so one may have to abandon the interpretation unless there is some monetary explanation.[107] The heading "year 19 to 20" could mean that the payments covered two years, implying rates of 46 drachmas 1/2 obol for Egyptians and 34 drachmas 3 obols for Greeks but even these are too high. A possible solution would be to attribute the papyrus to the reign of Cleopatra VII, post-dating both Ptolemy XII's silver debasement in 53/52 BCE and Cleopatra's currency reform sometime after 44 BCE (see below). By 34-32 BCE, the debased currency system had presumably stabilized at the new price levels that we find under Augustus. We could hypothesize a wheat price of about 7.25 silver drachmas/*artabe* for this period based on the decline in silver content or use the Roman median price of 8 drachmas/*artabe* as a proxy for the end of Cleopatra's reign.[108] At the latter rate, the wheat equivalent for the Greek and Egyptian capitation taxes then comes out to be roughly 4.3 and 5.8 *artabai* respectively. It is remarkable that the tax rates in the Herakleopolite nome summarized in Table 5 were so much higher than those in the Roman period, shown in Table 6 below.

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[104] Rathbone (n. 6) 93 does not explain why he believes, "the levies were not proper capitation taxes."

[105] *P.Tebt.* 1.189 *recto*: in Thoth, 900 dr. standard and 750 dr. reduced rate (17% less); in Phaophi, 650 dr. standard and 350 dr. reduced rate (46%) less.

[106] Hoogendijk (n. 20) 317-318.

[107] Assuming 1800 dr./silver stater and 1200 dr./*art.* of wheat, to use the late second to first cen. BCE medians (cf. Maresch [n. 19] 182, 196-198), that is, 2.67 silver dr./*art.*, then the wheat equivalent is about 35 *art.* for Egyptians and 26 *art.* for Greeks.

[108] The total 7.25 silver dr./*art.* = 2.67 (see n. 84) × 0.9 (old silver content) ÷ 0.33 (new silver content); for this decline, see Hazzard (n. 83) 89; Maresch (n. 19) 67-68; E. Gölitzer, *Entstehung und Entwicklung des alexandrinischen Münzwesens von 30 v. Chr. bis zum Ende der julisch-claudischen Dynastie* (Berlin 2004) 32, 45. Such a hypothesis accords with the median wheat price in Roman Egypt of 7.8 dr./*art.* before 100 CE or 8 dr./*art.* before 150 CE; the median was also 7.8 dr./*art.* before 50 CE in Middle Egypt but only 3.5 dr./*art.* in Upper Egypt; Drexhage (n. 69) 13-15, 18.

Table 5: Summary of Capitation Taxes in the Herakleopolite Nome

Date	Papyrus	Rate *per capita* (in silver dr.)	Wheat equiv.*	Wheat equiv.†
51-49	*BGU* 8.1846	*sitonion* 7.2 dr.	2.7 *art.*	-
50	*BGU* 8.1779	20 dr. for κάτοικοι ? dr. for λαοί	7.5 *art.* ?	- -
32/31?	*BGU* 14.2429	34 dr. 3 ob. or double for Ἕλληνες 46 dr. 0.5 ob. or double for others	- -	4.3 *art.* or double 5.8 *art.* or double

* The conversion rate of 2.67 dr./*art.* is the median price (1200 dr.) divided by the median bronze price of silver (1800 dr./stater) attested in Egypt *ca.* 130-30 BCE.[109]
† The conversion rate of 8 dr./*art.* is the median price attested in Egypt *ca.* 30 BCE-150 CE.[110]

The most explicit evidence for the continuity of the poll tax from the Ptolemaic to the Roman period is yet another papyrus from the Herakleopolite nome. *BGU* 4.1198 is a petition from an Egyptian priest to the prefect Gaius Turranius in the 26th year of Augustus (5/4 BCE). It merits a full translation:

> To Gaius Turranius from Soterichos son of Nouchis, a priest chosen by his fellow priests Haryothes, Harsiesis, and Soterichos, priests of Isis, Sarapis, Harpsenesis, and Asklepios in Bousiris of the Herakleopolite nome beyond Memphis. Great governor, formerly *even in the time of the queen* (Cleopatra VII) until the 25th year of divine Caesar Augustus (6/5 BCE), we four priests out of the six who perform sacred services and carry out purifications and sacrifices two by two were undisturbed on account of the poll tax (*laographia*) but in the present 26th year of Caesar (5/4 BCE) because Epiodoros the royal scribe of the nome registered us for collection we were pressed into payment on account of the poll tax (*laographia*) for four years, each of us 64 silver drachmas, and on account of dike-taxes 108 silver drachmas. We therefore ask ...[111]

[109] Maresch (n. 19) 182, 196-198.
[110] Drexhage (n. 69) 13-15, 18.
[111] The text, as it was copied down on the papyrus, ends here. The figures correspond to the poll tax at 16 dr. and the dike tax (χωματικόν) at 6 dr. 4 1/2 ob. per person annually; cf. Wallace (n. 7) 127, 141. On this text, see further Kruse (n. 98) 2:632, 709 and Jördens (n. 98) 340.

The implication is clear: Augustus's *laographia* was the continuation of a capitation tax under Cleopatra, including its exemption for priests. Rathbone argues that, "their careful wording ... shows that they were not claiming that the actual tax called *laographia* went back to Cleopatra VII"; for him it shows only that they based their claim on some "previous exemption from Ptolemaic capitation charges."[112] The priests, on the other hand, obviously regarded the *laographia* as the same tax that existed before, expecting that the prefect would recognize this fact as well. If the *laographia* was a Roman innovation, why would the priests give the Ptolemies the credit for the exemption that they enjoyed until 6/5 BCE? It would have been in their interest to show gratitude for the decision of Augustus or his prefect Cornelius Gallus, who supposedly (according to modern scholars[113]) introduced the *laographia* prior to the Theban revolt of 30/29 BCE.

The origins of this tax-exemption are more plausible in the Ptolemaic period than under Augustus.[114] While the Romans recognized some traditional priestly privileges, that is not the same as introducing new ones and the evidence rather suggests that they limited them where they could.[115] The problems for the priests in the petition seem to have started with the introduction of the new Roman census on a seven-year cycle, which is first attested in regnal year 20 (11/10 BCE).[116] Since poll taxes were paid in installments throughout the year, the collection of taxes based on the results of this census could only have begun in regnal year 21 (10/9 BCE). A four-year interval corresponds to the four years of arrears for *laographia* that the priests had to pay in regnal year 25 (6/5 BCE).[117] It is quite conceivable that their petition and others like it were the catalyst that prompted the prefect Gaius Turranius to issue his edict at the end of the same year (June 4th, 4 BCE), ordering all temples to submit lists of priests and dependents as well as their functions for him to inspect (ἐπικρίνω),

[112] Rathbone (n. 6) 96.

[113] *O.Wilck.* 1, p. 248; Rostovtzeff (n. 11) 346; Lewis (n. 5) 7; Rathbone (n. 6) 88.

[114] Priests initially paid the Ptolemaic salt tax but were soon exempted, probably in the reign of Ptolemy III: *P.Petr.* 3.59b = *W.Chr.* 66 = *P.Count* 16 (third century BCE, Arsinoite); Clarysse and Thompson (n. 14) 55-56 and esp. 58. *BGU* 20.2845 states explicitly that Egyptian priests in a Herakleopolite village were exempt from the capitation tax called στατηρισμός under Cleopatra VII (cf. n. 100 above).

[115] Despite recent revisionism and caricature of Augustus's policy, e.g. D. Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun* (Turnhout 2012) 1-7, 229-231, no one has persuasively refuted the evidence for tighter state control of temples, of which Jördens (n. 98) 41-46, 338-343 is the best analysis; cf. Monson (n. 46) 218-227.

[116] Bagnall and Frier (n. 90) 4-5.

[117] Cf. Rathbone (n. 6) 90, n. 27, who dates the first cyclical census to 10/9 BCE.

so that he could eliminate those not of priestly origin.[118] The decree probably had a fiscal purpose, limiting the number eligible for exemption, because subsequently priests reaching the age of maturity for the poll tax underwent an analogous state inspection (ἐπίκρισις) to establish their priestly descent.[119] Taken together, the two texts suggest not only that the priests were undisturbed by the poll tax until the census reforms of 11/10 BCE but also that the Roman prefect Turannius accepted the argument that a previous exemption in the Ptolemaic period should entitle them to an exemption from the *laographia*. The Roman innovation was that they must be recognized as priests by the state's inspectors and not exceed the approved number for each temple.

The Roman Laographia

As noted above, it is often suggested that Strabo refers to the introduction of the *laographia* when he claims that the revolt of the Thebaid in 30/29 BCE broke out "because of the taxes" (διὰ τοὺς φόρους).[120] It is doubtful, however, that it would have been possible for Augustus to introduce a new poll tax within a few months of seizing the province without first conducting a census. Most Egyptian taxes were not even due until after the revolt was suppressed in April 29 BCE. The main point of Strabo's passage is that Egypt is so peaceful that it requires a relatively small military presence: "for the Egyptians are not warlike despite their considerable numbers, nor are the neighboring peoples."[121] Since the Roman poll tax affected the whole country and was highest in the Arsinoite nome, there must have been reasons for the Thebans in particular to revolt, reasons that are not hard to guess. The region had long bristled under the Ptolemies' fiscal pressure, which was probably made worse by the unsuccessful revolt in 88 BCE and by Ptolemy XII's fiscal crisis. In the trilingual commemoration of his victory in April 29 BCE, the prefect Cornelius Gallus himself stresses the continuity of the revolts, claiming that the Thebaid was "a common terror of all kings" in the Latin version and that it had "never submitted to the kings" in the Greek version.[122]

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[118] *BGU* 4.1199; Jördens (n. 98) 339, n. 38.

[119] *O.Wilck.* 1, pp. 241-242; W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1905-1908) 2:62-63; C.A. Nelson, *Status Declarations in Roman Egypt* (Amsterdam 1979) 60-62; Kruse (n. 98) 2:709-710, 728-733; Jördens (n. 98) 338-339; Monson (n. 46) 219-220.

[120] See n. 11 above.

[121] Strabo 17.1.53.

[122] *I.Philae* 2.128 = F. Hoffmann, M. Minas-Nerpel, and S. Pfeiffer, *Die dreisprachige Stele des C. Cornelius Gallus* (Berlin 2009) 119-121, 144-147: *communi omnium regum*

Rome's victory over Cleopatra presented the Thebans with no better opportunity to renew their struggle against the fiscal system that the Ptolemies had developed. Prior to Gallus's campaigns in the south, it was perhaps uncertain to the Thebans how far Rome was willing to go to integrate Upper Egypt into the empire. Philo of Alexandria, writing just a few decades after the revolt of 30/29 BCE and probably referring to this as well as earlier ones, claimed that the Egyptians were "in the habit of sparking great seditions from very small sparks" given their natural insubordination "at every trivial or common occurrence."[123] One may doubt the value of this source but he seems to have believed that Egyptian revolts were a long-term pattern rather than a response to Roman provocations. Ammianus Marcellinus blames Gallus for the illicit exploitation of Thebes, comparing him to the Persian king Cambyses: "Long afterwards, Cornelius Gallus, as *procurator* of Egypt when Octavian was ruling Rome, drained the city again with numerous appropriations," though this was presumably during or after his campaign.[124] Ultimately, we cannot know why Thebes revolted but the introduction of the poll tax is not the most plausible hypothesis.

The earliest receipt for the *laographia* of the Roman period is dated to the 7th year of Augustus (February 23 CE) according to its paleography and formula, while the first to name Caesar (Augustus) explicitly as the ruler dates to his 9th year (22/21 BCE).[125] Like all *laographia* receipts from his reign, the payments were reckoned on the silver standard rather than in Ptolemaic bronze-decimal units. The abundance of *laographia* receipts on ostraka starting in the Roman period admittedly leaves the impression that this was a new tax. Wallace, however, dismissed the absence of earlier receipts. For him, Augustus's reforms were limited to "the resumption of giving receipts for capitation taxes and the introduction of the συμβολικά, a charge for those receipts, by which the bureaux for the collection of the taxes were made partially or perhaps

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formidine (lines 6-7) and μὴ ὑποταγεῖσαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν (line 16); cf. Veïsse (n. 96) 74-76 and esp. 240-241.

[123] Philo *In Flacc.* 17.

[124] Amm. Marc. 17.4.5: *longe autem postea Cornelius Gallus Octaviano res tenente Romanas, Aegypti procurator, exhausit civitatem plurimis interceptis*; Hoffmann et al. (n. 122) 134 propose this as a possible cause of the revolt.

[125] *O.Bodl.* 2.407 (23 BCE); *O.Strass.* 1.38 (22/21 BCE); the next earliest is *O.Ash.Shelt.* 6 (21/20 BCE); on the Roman poll tax in Egypt, see *O.Wilck* 1, pp. 230-249, *P.Oxy.* 2.254 intr., pp. 207-214; *P.Oxy.* 4.711 intr., pp. 176-177; *O.Wilb.*, pp. 28-33; Wallace (n. 7) 116-134; L. Neesen, *Untersuchungen zu den direkten Staatsabgaben der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Bonn 1980) 117-135; Tcherikover (n. 4); Evans (n. 4); Rathbone (n. 6) 86-99; P.A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford 1990) 324-346, 531-540; *O.Strass.* 2, pp. 77-81.

even wholly self-supporting."[126] The charge for receipts was normally included tacitly in the amount paid.[127]

While these early *laographia* receipts come from Upper Egypt, the first evidence from the Arsinoite nome is a declaration dated to the 11th year of Augustus (19/18 BCE).[128] The text is significant in part because it shows that the poll tax was called the *syntaxis*, just as in the texts from Theogonis and Karanis discussed above. The term "*syntaxis* of the people" (λαικὴ σύνταξις), recurs regularly in the Arsinoite nome during the Roman period as a designation of the *laographia*.[129] It is possible that the term *syntaxis* had also been used in Upper Egypt because an unpublished Demotic tax receipt on an ostrakon from Edfu employs *syntaxis* as a loan word written in alphabetic signs.[130] The same phenomenon is observable in two bilingual receipts for *syntaxis* with bronze-decimal payments from Karanis.[131] The Edfu text is otherwise identical in its formula to the many Demotic receipts among the Edfu ostraka for the "bronze poll tax" (*ḥmt ᶜp.t*), which is the normal equivalent of *laographia* in the Roman period. However, this *syntaxis* receipt as well as two poll-tax receipts from the same group, one of which likewise dates to year 16 (perhaps 15/14 BCE), differ from the rest in one interesting respect: these are the only three examples where the payment is denominated in bronze-decimal units.[132] Therefore, they are not later than Augustus and would be the only examples of such denominations of the poll tax in the Roman period, so they may be late Ptolemaic.[133]

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[126] Wallace (n. 3) 441-442; cf. Hombert and Préaux (n. 14) 51-52. For συμβολικά-charges on Roman receipts for capitation taxes, see Wallace (n. 7) 123-124.

[127] See *P.Cair.Mich.*, p. 9.

[128] *P.Grenf.* 1.45 = *W.Chr.* 200a; *P.Benaki* 1 = *SB* 26.16683 is dated to regnal year 5 of Augustus (25 BCE) or Tiberius (19 CE) based on palaeography; Rathbone (n. 6) 88, n. 12, sees evidence for the poll tax also in *P.Fay.* 1.43, a receipt from the Arsinoite village of Euhemereia dated by palaeography to year 2 of Augustus (28 BCE).

[129] All examples are from the Arsinoite nome: *P.Mich.* 2.121 *recto* ii.8 (42 CE, Tebtynis); *SB* 14.11586 with 11587 (47 CE, Philadelpheia); *P.Strass.* 6.522 (87 CE, Bakchias); *PSI* 8.902 with *P.Mich.* 5.355 (first century CE, Tebtynis); *P.IFAO* 1.27 (98-117 CE, Ptolemais Euergetes); *SB* 20.15038 (117 CE, Tebtynis).

[130] O.IFAO inv. D170-M5; I am grateful to Déborah Kott for sharing her transcriptions and photographs of these texts, as well as for permitting me to cite them here. They will be edited in her Ph.D. dissertation at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris.

[131] *O.Mich.* 2.701-702, with Monson (n. 25).

[132] O.IFAO inv. D263-N1: year 16, 2000 dr. for the poll tax (*ḥmt ᶜp.t*); O.IFAO inv. D170-M5: year 16, 660 dr. for *syntaxis*; O.IFAO inv. D176-M5: year 20, 2500 dr. for the poll tax (*ḥmt ᶜp.t*).

[133] Cf. *O.Edfou* 224 (104/103 BCE) and 362 (100 BCE), receipts for the *epistatikon* of priests.

Even more frequently, texts from the Arsinoite nome use the cognate term *syntaximon* to denote a bundle of payments "like the *syntaxis*."[134] The basic poll-tax rate for villagers was 40 drachmas but additional charges made the total rate of the *syntaximon* 44 drachmas 6 *chalkoi* per year. It was typically paid in eleven monthly installments of about 4 drachmas each but other installments are also attested.[135] One of the minor charges was about 4 obols for the salt tax, which is ostensibly similar to the last rate attested in the third century BCE (cf. Table 1) but actually much less because of the silver debasement and monetary reforms of Cleopatra VII. It is plausible that the salt tax was integrated into the one larger payment known as *syntaxis* in the late Ptolemaic period. Its inclusion in the Roman-period *syntaximon* distinguishes it from other charges such as the bath and pig taxes that were paid separately.[136]

Table 6 provides an overview of the net rates of the *laographia*, excluding additional taxes or fees paid with it. These varied inexplicably between nomes with the Arsinoite rate being much higher than anywhere else. A privileged rate was applied to those registered as metropolitan residents or gymnasial members except in the Thebaid, where inhabitants of the cities seem to have paid the same rate as villagers. To obtain metropolitan status, it sufficed as evidence that both parents were registered in the city. For gymnasial status, on the other hand, one had to trace one's ancestry back to the census of 4/5 CE. The members were called settlers (κάτοικοι) or Greeks (Ἕλληνες) in the Arsinoite nome and "those from the gymnasium" (οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου) elsewhere.[137] There is a striking parallel to the distinction in the Herakleopolite nome of the late Ptolemaic period between κατοίκοι and λαοί in *BGU* 8.1779 (50 BCE) and between Ἕλληνες and the rest in *BGU* 14.2429 (32/31? BCE), where the former paid the capitation tax at a privileged rate. Gymnasial status was possibly intended to ensure that village elites who were not residents of the metropolis but attached to village gymnasia were not stripped of their privi-

[134] Wallace (n. 3) 435-436.

[135] Wallace (n. 7) 122-126; *P.Cair.Mich.*, pp. 18-22; see e.g. *BGU* 13.2291 (6/5 or 5/4 BCE) and *P.Fay.* 45 (10/11 CE). Besides 4 dr., *P.Giss.* 3.94 intr., p. 86 lists the following other installments attested for the *syntaximon*: 8 dr., 12 dr., 20 dr., 24 dr., 25 dr. 2 ob., 5 dr. 2 ob., 1 dr. 2 ob., 32 dr., 30 dr. 1 ob. 2 *ch.*

[136] Wallace (n. 7) 123-124, 184; see n. 18 above.

[137] Nelson (n. 119) 10-39; 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 2002) 337-353; G. Ruffini, "Geneaology and the Gymnasium," *BASP* 43 (2006) 71-99; Y. Broux, "Creating a New Local Elite: The Establishment of the Metropolitan Orders of Roman Egypt," *APF* 59 (2013) 143-153.

leges with respect to capitation taxation when Augustus granted a discounted rate to the urban masses (at least in Middle Egypt), which they did not have in the Ptolemaic period.[138]

Table 6: Net *laographia* rates in Roman Egypt[139]

Nome	Privileged rate	Wheat equiv.*	Standard rate	Wheat equiv.*
Mendesian	8 dr.	1 *art.*	16 dr.	2 *art.*
Memphite	8 dr.	1 *art.*	?	-
Arsinoite	20 dr.	2.5 *art.*	40 dr.	5 *art.*
Herakleopolite	8 dr.	1 *art.*	16 dr.	2 *art.*
Oxyrhynchite	12 dr.	1.5 *art.*	16 dr.	2 *art.*
Hermopolite	8 dr.	1 *art.*	16 dr.?	2 *art.*
Tentyrite	16 dr.	2 *art.*	?	-
Coptite	16 dr.	2 *art.*	?	-
Thebes	10 dr.	1.25 *art.*	10 dr.	1.25 *art.*
Hermonthite	16 dr.?	2 *art.*	16 dr.	2 *art.*
Eileithuyopolite	16 dr.	2 *art.*	?	-
Apollonopolite	16 dr.	2 *art.*	?	-
Elephantinite	16 dr.	2 *art.*	?	-
Dakhleh oasis	?	-	9 dr. 1 ob.	1.13 *art.*

* The conversion rate of 8 dr./*art.* is the median price attested in Egypt *ca.* 30 BCE-150 CE.[140]

Table 6 is also helpful for answering the main question of this article: did the Roman *laographia* constitute a heavy new burden on the Egyptian population? Converting the rates into their wheat equivalent based on the median price of 8 drachmas/*artabe* in the early Roman period facilitates comparison with the Ptolemaic taxes discussed in the previous sections. If the payments in the consecutive months of Thoth and Phaophi in Theogonis continued on the same scale throughout the year, then its wheat equivalent of about 6 *artabai* (see Table 2) was slightly higher than the village rate in the Arsinoite nome, which equals roughly 5 *artabai* of wheat, even with the additional charges

[138] Monson (n. 46) 267-268; similarly, Broux (n. 136) 149.
[139] *O.Strass.* 2, pp. 80-81, with further bibliography.
[140] Drexhage (n. 69) 13-16, 18.

contained in the *syntaximon*. The Karanis ostraka suggest a similar level of taxation in the late Ptolemaic period (see Table 3).

The texts from the Herakleopolite nome in the reign of Cleopatra VII point to an even heavier burden compared with the Roman *laographia* (see Table 5). The *sitonion*-tax charged in Toy started out at two drachmas, which was probably less than one *artabe* of wheat in this period, but rose to over 7 drachmas worth perhaps 2.7 *artabai* of wheat. Given its connection with soldiers' provisions, this was possibly an extraordinary demand in addition to regular taxation. *BGU* 8.1779 (50 BCE) and *BGU* 14.2429 (32/31? BCE) indicate rates of 20 drachmas and higher for the capitation tax, which by any measure surpass the privileged and villager rates in the Herakleopolite nome of 8 drachmas and 16 drachmas (equivalent to about 1 and 2 *artabai* of wheat) in the Roman period.

There were additional capitation taxes in Roman Egypt, which require further study. Including them complicates the argument but does not substantially alter the conclusions. The dike tax (χωματικόν) had been assessed on land in the Ptolemaic period. The petition of the priests in Bousiris in the Herakleopolite nome (*BGU* 4.1198) shows that it was levied as a capitation tax by 10/9 BCE at the annual rate of 6 drachmas 4 1/2 obols. Whether this was an innovation of the late Ptolemaic period or of Augustus is uncertain. Almost the same rate, 6 drachmas 4 obols, is attested elsewhere in Roman Egypt and is the equivalent of about 5/6 *artabe* of wheat.[141] Roughly two drachmas per year, equivalent to 1/4 *artabe* of wheat, were charged for the guard tax (φυλάκων), which is first attested in 57/58 CE, though a similar guard tax (φυλακιτικόν) had been assessed on cleruchic land in the Ptolemaic period.[142] Wallace regarded the pig tax (ὑική) in Roman Egypt as a capitation tax but it may have continued to be based on land or pig ownership as in the Ptolemaic period. In any case, the rate was low: one drachma one obol in the Arsinoite and about two drachmas elsewhere, the equivalent of 1/8 and 1/4 *artabe* of wheat, except in Upper Egypt where it is not attested.[143] Together all of these contributed an added capitation-tax burden equivalent to less than 1 1/2 *artabai* of wheat, which was partially offset by other fiscal changes.

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[141] Wallace (n. 7) 140-143; *P.Köln* 9.376 intr.; Capponi (n. 3) 141-142; evidence published after Wallace's book shows that the Ptolemaic χωματικόν was still a land tax in the late second century BCE: *P.Tebt.* 3.2.860 (138 BCE) and 1043 (172/171 BCE), *SB* 8.9899b.14 (113 BCE), *P.Paramone* 8.14 (148/147 or 137/136 BCE), and *P.Köln* 7.313.15-16 (186 BCE).

[142] Wallace (n. 7) 146-148; Homoth-Kuhs (n. 79) 149-192, esp. 160, 163-164, 167, 183.

[143] Wallace (n. 7) 143-145; for doubts that it was a capitation tax, cf. Capponi (n. 3) 151-152.

Conclusion

This article revisits an old debate about the possible Ptolemaic origins of the Roman poll tax. It is impossible to return without qualifications to the opinion that prevailed in the early twentieth century. Articulated most forcefully by Wallace, this view asserted that the Ptolemaic *syntaxis* was a general poll tax based on a census (*laographia*) that continued into the Roman period. Yet the arguments put forth for rejecting that thesis, especially those of Tcherikover and Evans, are not convincing either. A reevaluation of the late Ptolemaic papyri from the Arsinoite and the Herakleopolite nomes suggests a more balanced picture of continuity and change.

The distinction between Hellenistic capitation taxes and the Roman poll tax that Tcherikover first proposed is too categorical and artificial.[144] As we have seen, the existence of a census used for taxation goes back to at least the third century BCE, when Ptolemy II introduced the salt tax. Looking outside of Egypt, there is some evidence for a capitation tax in Koile Syria paid in money, perhaps at the rate of 2 silver drachmas per person, in the late Achaemenid and early Ptolemaic period.[145] Perhaps the historicity of the passage in 3 *Maccabees* mentioning the subjection of Jews to a *laographia* under Ptolemy IV, which is usually interpreted as a capitation tax, ought be given more credence.[146] Upon annexation to the Seleucid empire in 200 BCE, Antiochus III granted the priests in Jerusalem exemption from a capitation tax (ἐπικεφάλιον), which they must have paid under Ptolemaic rule.[147] By 181 BCE there was a capitation tax called *syntaxis* in the village of Kardakon, of the territory of Telmessos in Asia Minor, which then belonged to the Attalid kingdom having previously been under Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule.[148] If the Roman *tributum capitis* became a standard feature of provincial taxation it was because many imperial

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[144] Tcherikover (n. 4) 182-184.

[145] A. Lemaire, "Administration in Fourth-Century B.C.E. Judah in Light of Epigraphy and Numismatics," in O. Lipschitz, G.N. Knoppers, and R. Albertz (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* (Winona Lake 2004) 59-60; cf. [Arist.] *Oec.* 2.1.4.

[146] *P.Tebt.* 1.103 intr., p. 447, and Wallace (n. 3) 437; cf. *O.Wilck.* 1, p. 246, and *O.Wilb.*, p. 30; Clarysse and Thompson (n. 14) 17 point out that Alexandria rather than Judea was the context for this passage and suggest that *laographia* means only a census here, not a poll tax.

[147] Josephus, *AJ* 12.3.142-143; Wallace (n. 3) 438-439; G.G. Aperghis, *The Seleukid Royal Economy* (Cambridge 2004) 164-166, 167.

[148] C. Mileta, *Der König und sein Land. Untersuchungen zur Herrschaft der hellenistischen Monarchen über das königliche Gebiet Kleinasiens und seine Bevölkerung* (Berlin 2008) 212.

subjects in the Hellenistic East had long been accustomed to capitation taxes in one form for another.

The Egyptian evidence suggests that the political and economic turbulence of the later Ptolemaic period led its rulers to innovate with new capitation taxes to extract money taxes from their subjects. The salt tax, which both men and women paid, disappears by the early second century BCE, though the census evidently continued throughout the second and first centuries BCE. Préaux doubted whether the census itself implied the existence of a poll tax but the evidence speaks strongly in favor of it being used for taxation in the late Ptolemaic period.[149] From the reign of Ptolemy XII, if not earlier, the census was used in Theogonis to collect the *syntaxis* and *epistatikon* on the adult male inhabitants of the village. Under Cleopatra VII population counts were also necessary for the assessment of capitation taxes, whether the rates were standard across villages or based on a lump sum distributed by local officials among the inhabitants. Only the receipts from Karanis for *sitonion*, *syntaxis*, and *epistatikon* give us a glimpse into the experience of individual taxpayers, who made frequent payments throughout each month of irregular amounts.

While it is uncertain whether Karanis was typical for the payment of Ptolemaic capitation taxes, the practice there changed dramatically in the Roman period. Once the Karanis *syntaxis* and *epistatikon* receipts switch to the silver standard, they closely resemble other poll tax receipts in the Arsinoite nome. In the Herakleopolite nome, the reduced rates for "Greeks" and *katoikoi* under Cleopatra VII prefigure the privileged status of the gymnasial group in the Roman period. The priests too could trace their exemption from the *laographia* in the early years of Augustus back to the Ptolemaic period. The guest residents (*ξένοι*) who appear in connection with capitation taxes in both the Arsinoite nome and the Herakleopolite nome during the late Ptolemaic period are paralleled in the poll tax and census regulations of the Roman period.[150] By this analysis the importance of Augustus's reforms was arguably that he standardized the existing census and the assessment of capitation taxes, transforming them into a system that was more homogenous across Egypt.

To the extent that our sources enable us to estimate the rates, the late Ptolemaic capitation taxes appear to have been as high as and perhaps in some places much higher than the Roman poll tax. While the rates in the Arsinoite nome appear relatively constant, those in the Herakleopolite are astonishingly high under Cleopatra VII compared with the rates in the Roman period. This stems largely from the fact that the Arsinoite nome paid the highest attested

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[149] *O.Wilb.*, pp. 28-29.

[150] See n. 98 above.

rates for *laographia*, 40 drachmas for villagers and 20 drachmas for privileged groups, while the residents of the Herakleopolite paid just 16 and 8 drachmas respectively. During the late Ptolemaic period, the taxes in the Arsinoite and the Herakleopolite were perhaps more similar to one another. The reasons for the rate differences between nomes generally in the Roman period remain elusive. One group that probably benefited enormously from the Augustan reforms is the urban population in Middle Egypt. It is unlikely that residents of the metropolis had any privilege in the Ptolemaic period like that of the settlers (κάτοικοι), whose own discount was not as generous as it would be in the Roman period. Instead they probably paid the same rates as villagers.[151]

If these arguments are correct, our understanding of the economic impact of the Augustan reforms requires revision. Rather than seeing the *laographia* as an instrument of exploitation, it may be interpreted as an attempt to create a more efficient and equitable system for the taxpayers than what had existed previously. Depopulation was reportedly acute during the time of Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra VII, particularly in the Herakleopolite nome, which means above all a decline in the registered population, as people fled the levies on villages that were distributed as capitation taxes.[152] Many people must have escaped the Ptolemaic census and taxation altogether. To compensate for those it could not reach, the monarchy was even more dependent on its most productive subjects, those who were unwilling to abandon their land or place of business and could therefore be compelled to pay taxes. Augustus's reforms improved the state's capacity to assess and enforce poll-tax liability, introducing the census cycle, predictable rates, and the widespread use of written receipts. For the real taxpayers, the Roman fiscal regime was probably more of a relief than a burden. It created incentives for everyone to settle down, accumulate possessions, and become participants in a regulated economy.

[151] Cf. Rathbone (n. 6) 96: "the reduced rate for metropolites must have been a Roman innovation because they invented the category of metropolites."

[152] *BGU* 8.1835.9-10 (51/50 BCE), "poverty and depopulation" (ἀσθένεια καὶ ὀλιγανδρία); cf. *BGU* 8.1815 (before 60 BCE), 1843 (50/49 BCE) discussed above, and 1858 (64-44 BCE) with Préaux (n. 4) 500-502; see also *BGU* 14.2370 intr., pp. 6-8, and 2429 intr., p. 114, for few adult males in Herakleopolite villages.

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 161-189

Recognizing Greek Literacy in Early Roman Documents from the Judaean Desert

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Abstract

It is not possible to quantify Greek literacy in early Roman Palestine by counting the number of Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek documents found in the Judaean desert. The three second-century archives of Babatha, Salome Komaïse, and Bar Kokhba probably derive from a similar socio-economic level, and most of the documents they contain were written by scribes. What about individual Greek literacy and bilingualism? Someone who could understand, speak, read, and write a second language and someone who could only understand and speak it were both bilingual, but only one was literate. First-century texts from Masada written in Aramaic, Greek, and Hebrew were produced and used for the same purposes, implying that two or three languages were spoken by many and read by some. Some witnesses in the second-century archives signed their names in Greek in practised hands. Some or even many who lacked literacy probably could understand and speak Greek. Law courts, dealings with Romans, and business activities required communication in Greek. But it seems that few or only some acquired Greek literacy.

Just under one-third of the documentary texts found in the Judaean desert were written in Greek. Such figures encourage the conclusion that Greek was actively used by those who deposited the texts. But as the archives of Babatha, Salome Komaïse, and Bar Kokhba demonstrate, Greek documents were usually written by professional scribes. So the percentage of Greek documentary texts cannot provide an accurate indication of literacy (i.e., written ability). Instead, the papyrological evidence must be carefully sifted for indications of non-scribal literacy. In demonstrating how this might be done, it will be shown that Greek literacy was not limited to scribes and the elite. With the help of linguistic theory, the ancient possibilities inherent in the terms "bilingual" and "bilingualism" will be discussed in relation to the persons and witnesses in the archives. While some of these were literate bilinguals, it will be found that the majority of people with ability in Greek were probably illiterates with a kind of aural/oral bilingualism – Greek could be understood, spoken, and perhaps read, but not written.

Literacy by numbers?

Table 1 below is based on a survey by Cotton, Cockle, and Millar of documentary texts found at various locations along the eastern edge of the Judaean desert/western side of the Dead Sea (nos. **174**-**374**).[1] They include the archive of Bar Kokhba, the charismatic leader of the Second Jewish Revolt (AD 132-135), and the archives of two women, Babatha and Salome Komaïse, both from Maḥoza at the southern end of the Dead Sea (dated AD 93/94-132 and 125-131 respectively). Maḥoza was just inside the Nabataean kingdom (the Roman province of Arabia from AD 106), but this was an area where borders meant very little.[2] Towards the end of the first century, Babatha's birth family migrated from Ein Gedi, which was located about the middle of the Dead Sea on the Judaean side, to Maḥoza. Likewise, her second husband Judah came from Ein Gedi, where the other members of his birth family continued to live during the period of the archive. A few documents from Arabia are also included in Table 1 because they were probably found in Judaea.[3] In addition, Table 1 includes ostraca and papyri discovered during the excavation of Herod the Great's fortified palace and other buildings on top of the rock of Masada. It was at Masada that the last of the Jewish rebels (the Zealots whom Josephus called *Sicarii*) held out against the Romans until the end of the First Jewish Revolt (AD 66-73[74]). Thus, 73(74) is the *terminus ante quem* for the papyrus documents, while the ostraca, since "they were all written on the spot," can be dated to 66-73(74).[4] Some homogeneous groups of ostraca from Masada, however, have not been

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[1] H.M. Cotton, W.E.H. Cockle, and F.G.B. Millar, "The Papyrology of the Roman Near East: A Survey," *JRS* 85 (1995) 214-235 at 226-233.

[2] Cotton, Cockle, and Millar (n. 1) 215. On the location of Maḥoza see H.M. Cotton and J.C. Greenfield, "Babatha's *Patria*: Maḥoza, Maḥoz ʿEglatain and Ẓoʿar," *ZPE* 107 (1995) 126-134.

[3] Cotton, Cockle, and Millar (n. 1), nos. **174**-**175**, **177**-**179**.

[4] Y. Yadin, "The Excavation of Masada – 1963/64: Preliminary Report," *IEJ* 15 (1965) 1-120 at 103. There were no finds from the Bar Kokhba period. It appears that Bar Kokhba and his men did not use Masada during the Second Revolt, perhaps because the demise of the rebels in 73(74) was "still fresh in their memories" (119).

included in the table. They are listed here with the assigned numbers (in bold) and descriptions taken from Cotton, Cockle, and Millar.

230. 301 ostraca tags with one, two, or more characters written in Jewish script (nos. 1-281) and palaeo-Hebrew with some Greek characters (nos. 282-301). Most were discovered near the storehouses and seem to have been used for rationing food during the siege.[5]

231. 79 ostraca tags with names in Jewish script written above two large, single characters, one in palaeo-Hebrew and the other in Greek (nos. 302-359), or one in Jewish script and the other in palaeo-Hebrew (nos. 360-380). Perhaps token substitutes for money used in rationing food.[6]

232. 39 ostraca tags with single names in Jewish script (nos. 381-419). Lots or tokens denoting ownership.[7]

234. 12 ostraca lots in Jewish script, perhaps those mentioned by Josephus in *BJ* 7.395?[8]

240. 26 ostraca with scribbles (probably resulting from scribes testing the pen).[9]

241. 4 ostraca in Syriac, 1 in Palmyrene(?), and 1 that may be a forgery.[10]

264. 22 ostraca tags with Roman names in Latin. Lots for assigning duties? Dated after Spring 73(74).

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[5] The tags numbers are those assigned by Y. Yadin and N. Naveh, *Masada*, vol. 1: *The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965, Final Reports: The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions* (Jerusalem 1989) 12-16. Cf. Y. Yadin, *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* (London 1973) 191.

[6] See Yadin and Naveh (n. 5) 17-19. The combinations are Yehoḥanan with *alpha* and *yod* in palaeo-Hebrew (nos. 302-350), Yehudah with *beta* written right to left and *samekh* in palaeo-Hebrew (nos. 351-359), and Simeon with *gimel* in Jewish script and *dalet* in palaeo-Hebrew (nos. 360-380).

[7] See Yadin and Naveh (n. 5) 3, 20-23.

[8] Naveh (in Yadin and Naveh [n. 5] 28-31) questions Yadin's suggestion (in Yadin [n. 5] 197, 201), following Josephus, that these were the lots drawn by the ten men who were, when all hope had been lost at the end of the siege, to kill their fellow Zealots.

[9] See Yadin and Naveh (n. 5) 63-64 (nos. 616-641). A further 10 ostraca with writing exercises in Jewish script, which Cotton, Cockle, and Millar (n. 1; see Yadin and Naveh [n. 5] 61-63, nos. 606-615) assign to the same number, are included in Table 1.

[10] See Yadin and Naveh (n. 5) 66-67, nos. 678-681, 682, and 667 respectively. A further 54 ostraca (varia written in Jewish script), which Cotton, Cockle, and Millar (n. 1; see Yadin and Naveh [n. 5] 65-68, nos. 642-666, 668-677, 683-701) assign to the same number, are included in Table 1.

After these texts are taken out of the picture, the remaining texts from Cotton, Cockle, and Millar's survey can be quantified as follows. Bilingual texts are abbreviated as G/L when a text that is predominantly Greek also has some Latin, as G/H when a largely Greek text has some Hebrew, as A/G when Greek takes a back seat to Aramaic (A-H = Aramaic and Hebrew double document), and so on.

Table 1: Documentary papyri from Judaea/Syria Palaestina

Dates	Bilingual	Greek	Aramaic	Hebrew	Jewish	Latin	Nabataean	Uncertain	Total
Up to 66		1	8		1	1	1		12
66-73(74)	A/G 2; L/G 2	29	59		64	21			177
74-131		32	37	1			7	A?H? 22	99
132-135	A-H 1	4	20	17				A?H? 1; H? 4	47
After 135		5				10			15
Undated	G/H 1	64	1	3	1			A?H? 1	71
Total	6	135	125	21	66	32	8	28	421
Percent	1.4	32.1	29.7	5.0	15.7	7.6	1.9	6.6	100

It might be inferred that use of Greek was just ahead of Aramaic, but there are a number of complicating factors. The term "Jewish script" describes the square script used by Jews to write both (Jewish) Aramaic and Hebrew.[11] The majority of texts from Masada were designated "Jewish script" because it was not possible to decide on the language of composition. According to Naveh, Hebrew was used "alongside Aramaic," but the "main language used for writing" was Aramaic.[12] Therefore, use of Aramaic would have been greater than the final percentage in the Aramaic column might suggest. The 64 documents dated 66-73(74) and written in Jewish script are all ostraca. They have been included here because they have Greek counterparts from the same location. But they are only the tip of the iceberg, as a glance back at the excluded numbers will confirm. However, if all of the tags, tokens, and lots written in Jewish script

[11] Cotton, Cockle, and Millar (n. 1) 226, n. 14. During the Second Temple period there was a gradual transition from the "early" Hebrew to the Aramaic script, "from which a script developed that is exclusive to the Jews and which could thus be called 'Jewish script' (thus many scholars) or the 'square script'": E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis 1992) 219.

[12] Yadin and Naveh (n. 5) 9.

had been included in Table 1, the result would have been an unrepresentative distortion of the overall picture, as far as that can be ascertained (more will be said below on both points). It should also be mentioned that a number of documents dated 74-131 have signatures[13] or subscriptions and signatures[14] in other languages. There are two Aramaic documents with at least one Greek signature, but the majority are predominantly Greek (14 of 32 Greek documents). In a strict sense, these are bilingual documents which further complicate any attempt to quantify literacy.

In a recent book Bagnall argues convincingly that papyrus finds must first be contextualised before conclusions can be drawn about patterns in documentary evidence. Can observable patterns be attributed to (1) the "nature of the sites from which papyri have been found in a particular period," (2) the "types of find spots" within those sites and the "specific nature of the finds, especially archival masses," and/or (3) changes in external circumstances ("government, law, and custom") that may have contributed to preservation or not?[15] All three questions are applicable here. First, the ostraca tags and lots from Masada are unusual in the sense that they appear to have served a unique purpose in a time of war. As mentioned, the bulk of the ostraca tags (see no. **230** above) "were found near storehouses, so perhaps they had something to do with the rationing system of the Zealots during the siege."[16] Along similar lines, Yadin wonders whether the names (see nos. **231**, **232** above) were "of commanders, or of brigades, and the troops of the particular unit were given these 'chits' to draw their rations?"[17] Second, the bulk of the papyrus finds come from troves that were preserved because the documents were wrapped securely and secreted

[13] The following are the numbers assigned by Cotton, Cockle, and Millar (n. 1): **271**, Aramaic with signatures in Aramaic and one in Greek; **286**, Aramaic with signatures in Aramaic and Greek; **175**, Greek with four Nabataean and one Greek signature; **177** (*P.Yadin* 1.16), Greek with Nabataean signatures; **193** (*P.Yadin* 1.14), **204**, Greek with Nabataean and Aramaic signatures; **198** (*P.Yadin* 1.31), **209** (*P.Yadin* 1.23), **212** (*P.Yadin* 1.26), Greek with Aramaic signatures.

[14] The following are the numbers assigned by Cotton, Cockle, and Millar (n. 1): **191**, Greek with Aramaic subscription; **194** (*P.Yadin* 1.15), **201** (*P.Yadin* 1.17), **202** (*P.Yadin* 1.18), **203** (*P.Yadin* 1.19), **207** (*P.Yadin* 1.21), Greek with Aramaic subscriptions and signatures; **206** (*P.Yadin* 1.20), Greek with Aramaic and Greek subscriptions and Aramaic signatures; **208** (*P.Yadin* 1.22), Greek with Nabataean subscription and Aramaic signatures.

[15] R.S. Bagnall, *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 2011) 73-74. He also recommends that scholars ask whether editorial choices might have privileged the publication of certain kinds of texts over others.

[16] Yadin (n. 5) 191.

[17] Yadin (n. 5) 190. See also Yadin (n. 4) 112-113.

away, probably during the Second Revolt. In contrast, the number of preserved non-archival papyri is relatively small, simply because of the less advantageous circumstances of their deposition.[18] Third, if the ostraca written in Jewish script are put aside, the use of Hebrew is low in comparison with Greek and Aramaic, with the majority of verifiably Hebrew texts dated to the Bar Kokhba revolt.[19] If documentary use of Hebrew can be linked to revolutionary sentiment in the second century, then perhaps the first-century documents from Masada were similarly affected because they too were written in a time of revolt.[20] The further implication is that both revolts might have affected the raw numbers and skewed the evidence in favour of Jewish script. For all of these reasons, the surviving evidence cannot be considered to be representative, and any effort to quantify Greek literacy via a simplistic comparison of numbers is flawed. That does not mean that general conclusions cannot be drawn. They will derive, however, from the specific socio-economic contexts suggested by the evidence.

Masada

Apart from the 64 ostraca written in Jewish script, there are a total of 59 Aramaic, 29 Greek, 21 Latin, and 6 bilingual texts from Masada (see Table 1). Most are ostraca, but there are also papyri. While the Aramaic **238** may have had a similar purpose to those numbers excluded above, it has been included here because there are corresponding Greek documents.

Aramaic and Jewish Script

233. 9 ostraca, Aramaic, lists of names.[21]
235. ostracon, Aramaic, letter demanding payment.[22]
236. ostracon, Aramaic, fragment of a letter.
237. ostracon, Aramaic, fragment of a letter.
238. 28 ostraca, Aramaic, instructions for supplying bread. Perhaps connected with rationing.[23]

[18] See Bagnall (n. 15) 29-32.
[19] Cotton, Cockle, and Millar (n. 1) 214.
[20] Contrast Naveh who thinks that even the use of palaeo-Hebrew "need not always be interpreted on nationalistic or religious grounds" (in Yadin and Naveh [n. 5] 7).
[21] See Yadin and Naveh (n. 5) 24-27 (nos. 420-428).
[22] For nos. **235**, **236**, and **237** see Yadin and Naveh (n. 5) 49-51 (nos. 554, 555, and 556 respectively).
[23] See Yadin and Naveh (n. 5) 52-57 (nos. 557-584).

239. 19 ostraca, Aramaic, amounts.[24]
240. 10 ostraca, Jewish script, writing exercises.[25]
241. 54 ostraca, Jewish script, *varia* (inscription is difficult or uncertain).[26]

Greek

248. 6 ostraca, delivery instructions (cf. **238**).[27]
249. ostracon, instructions? (cf. **238**).
250. ostracon, ledger with names and amounts in drachmas.[28]
251. ostracon, ledger with numbers (cf. **239**).
252. ostracon, memorandum?
253. 2 ostraca, *abecedaria* (cf. **240**).[29]
254. 7 ostraca, names.[30]
255. 2 ostraca, several characters, perhaps writing exercises (cf. **240**).[31]

Greek papyri

242. letter from Abaskantos to Judah (cf. **235**-237).[32]
243. three Greek characters written on wood (the only example from Masada).
244. list of names? (cf. **233**).[33]
245. fragment of a letter (cf. **235**-**237**).

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[24] See Yadin and Naveh (n. 5) 58-60 (nos. 585-594, 597-605).

[25] See Yadin and Naveh (n. 5) 61-63 (nos. 606-615). A further 26 ostraca with scribbles, which Cotton, Cockle, and Millar (n. 1; Yadin and Naveh [n. 5] 63-64, nos. 616-641) assign to the same number, are among the excluded texts in the section *Literacy by numbers?* above

[26] See Yadin and Naveh (n. 5) 65-68 (nos. 642-666, 668-677, 683-701). For the excluded nos. 667 and 678-682 see **241** in *Literacy by numbers?*

[27] For nos. **248** and **249** see H.M. Cotton and J. Geiger, *Masada*, vol. 2: *The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965, Final Reports: The Latin and Greek Documents* (Jerusalem 1989) 113-119 (nos. 772-777 and 778 respectively).

[28] For nos. **250**, **251**, and **252** see Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 119-122 (nos. 779, 780, and 781 respectively).

[29] See Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 122-123 (nos. 782-783).

[30] See Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 123-127 (nos. 784-790). No. 784 may have contained a longer list of names.

[31] See Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 127 (nos. 791-792).

[32] For nos. **242**, **243**, **245**, and **246** see Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 85-88, 90-93 (nos. 741, 743, 745, 746 respectively).

[33] See Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 90-91 (no. 744).

246. fragments of one or two letters (cf. **235**-**237**).

Latin papyri

258-**259**, **261**-**263**. 16 documents or parts of documents.[34]

Bilingual papyri

239. 2 ostraca, amounts in Aramaic and Greek (see the same no. above).[35]
247. list of names, Latin and Greek (cf. **233**, **244**).
260. beginning of a Latin letter, one word of Greek on the *verso*.

The notable thing about this list is that there are Greek counterparts for virtually every kind of text written in Aramaic and Jewish script.[36] There are lists of names in Aramaic (**233**) and Greek (**244**; cf. **254**). Writing exercises in Jewish script (**240**) are matched by two *abecedaria* written in Greek (**253**). Likewise, there are Aramaic (**235**-**237**) and Greek (**242**, **245**-**246**) letters, and Aramaic (**238**) and Greek (**248**, **249**?) instructions. Although the Greek ledger **250** does not have a precise counterpart, **251** does have a parallel in amounts written in Aramaic (**239**). Cotton and Geiger argue that almost all of the Greek documents were written by Jews, and they are probably correct in saying that Aramaic, Greek, and Hebrew were used indifferently and for the same purposes.[37] The point is driven home by the use of Greek on tags (see **230** and **231** in *Literacy by numbers?* above), and the occurence of Greek alongside Aramaic in two ostraca containing amounts (see **239**).

The Greek papyri from Masada include: a literary fragment preserving a partial line of twelve characters, possibly from the LXX, written between two notional lines in a simple bookhand; a wooden tablet with three Greek characters (] . . . . κοι); two fragments possibly from a list of names written in "beautifully drawn" characters; and a scrap of papyrus with a few legible characters.[38] There are also three letters, two of which are comprised of badly damaged fragments preserving scant remains written in cursive hands. In both cases they are recognizable as letters because the salutatory formula ἔρρωϲο is

[34] The provenance of the Latin letters and documents and probably the bilingual texts as well (**247**, **257**, **260**) was the Roman camps near Masada.
[35] See Yadin and Naveh (n. 5) 59 (nos. 595 and 596).
[36] So Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 9.
[37] Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 9.
[38] In order these are *P.Masada* 739, 743, 744, 747 in Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 81-93.

preserved.[39] In the third letter (*P.Masada* 741), Abaskantos writes to his brother Judah (Ἰούδα τῷ ἀδελφῷ) about the delivery of lettuce.[40] The *ed.pr.* notes that the letter could come from any of the three periods of occupation, the time of Herod, Herod's death to 66, or 66-73(74). The hand is upright and ornamented with half-serifs, loops, and hooks; but it looks more occasional than practised, perhaps the product of a private writer rather than a scribe.[41] While a rough bilinearity is maintained, a number of characters in addition to χ, φ, and ρ extend below the line. Very similar things can be said of *P.Masada* 740, a thin strip of parchment which preserves parts of fourteen lines.[42] The *ed.pr.* describes the hand as "neat and practised" and generally bilinear, while noting that it is uneven with several letters written in two or three different ways. Again, the contraindications make the hand look more occasional and private than scribal and practised.[43] The eleventh line]ετουσπθ̣[appears to mark the text as documentary and points to a date between AD 25 and 35 (depending on the era). The indentation of the twelfth line may have signalled the start of the next document on the same page.

In the introduction to their volume, Cotton and Geiger suggest that the Masada evidence "may provide at least part of the long sought-for missing link" in the discussion of how much Greek was spoken in first-century Palestine.[44]

> One should not attach too much importance to quantity: the greater amount of material written by Jews in Semitic languages rather than in Greek may not reflect their relative prevalence. It is possible that the balance is tipped in favour of the Semitic languages only because most of the finds date from the last period of Jewish occupation of Masada, when users of Aramaic and Hebrew prevailed.[45]

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[39] *P.Masada* 745, 746 in Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 91-92.

[40] *P.Masada* 741 in Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 85-88 and pl. 8; *SB* 24.15988; Yadin (n. 4) 103. Cf. the different reconstruction of P. Arzt, "Abaskantos an Iudas: Neuedition von P.Masada 741," *APF* 44 (1998) 228-239.

[41] See Cotton and Geiger (n. 27), pl. 8. There is no digital image in the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library and none is available for purchase from the Israel Antiquities Authority.

[42] Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 82-85.

[43] See Cotton and Geiger (n. 27), pl. 8. There is no digital image in the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library and none is available for purchase from the Israel Antiquities Authority.

[44] Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 9.

[45] See Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 2-3, 9-10, esp. 9.

They think that Jewish script may have greater representation because "the majority of the *sicarii*, and perhaps the other refugees, belonged to the poorer classes of society," while the use of Greek was probably greater among persons of "relatively high economic status."[46] While this is reasonable, certainty one way or the other is difficult. Greek letters written in cursive hands were probably produced by scribes, and other papyri are too fragmentary to be assessed properly. As for the ostraca in particular, Cotton and Geiger are of the opinion that "Greek replaced Aramaic only occasionally, or possibly only with a small minority of Jews. It seems that Greek was used for writing names, for writing abecedaria, and rarely for longer instructions and letters."[47] While the latter statement may be true as far as the ostraca are concerned, it does not take into account papyrus letters, the vagaries of preservation, or the possible linguistic implications of the highly nationalistic context. If any of the apparent preference for Jewish script (20 [21?] Aramaic and 17 [18?] Hebrew texts) as against Greek (4 texts) during the Second Revolt was operative in 66-73(74), it would skew the figures in Table 1 in favour of Jewish script (again, certainty either way is difficult).[48] It should not be forgotten, as well, that Greek delivery instructions and ledgers were meant to be read, which would seem to indicate that (1) ability in Greek was not limited to persons of higher economic status, and (2) that Greek had penetrated everyday life in the second half of the first century. The same inferences will come to the fore in relation to documents dated to the second century. But before moving to the three archives and bilingual documents they contain, a brief examination of bilingualism will be helpful.

Aural literacy and bilingualism

In a study of graffiti from the Syro-Arabian desert, Macdonald shows that some members of oral societies were able to acquire literacy apart from formal schooling. This is a notable omission in many discussions of literacy which assume that formal education was essential for acquisition of even very basic literacy. Ancient nomadic societies learnt to read and write Safaitic and cut tens of thousands of graffiti into the stones of the Syro-Arabian desert between the first century BC and fourth century AD. Learning to read and write Safaitic was of no apparent use for nomads, not least because "both the language

[46] Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 10.

[47] Cotton and Geiger (n. 27) 113.

[48] Cf. H.M. Cotton, "The Languages of Legal and Administrative Documents from the Judaean desert," *ZPE* 125 (1999) 219-231 at 220-225. A number of Hebrew (*P.Mur*. 29, 30) and Aramaic (*P.Mur*. 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26) texts from Wadi Murabbaʿat might also be dated to the First Revolt.

and script would have been incomprehensible to their Aramaic- and Greek-speaking settled neighbours." Moreover, "the script would have confused their literate nomadic neighbours further south, since they used several of the same or similar signs for different sounds."[49] There are also bilingual Safaitic-Greek and Greek-only graffiti. So as these desert nomads moved around and interacted with their Greek-speaking neighbours, some also learned how to read and write Greek. Macdonald describes a personal experience as a hypothetical explanation of how this may have occurred.

> If, for instance, a nomad in Arabia was guarding a caravan or visiting an oasis and saw someone writing a letter or doing his accounts, he may well have said "teach me to do that," simply out of curiosity. I and others have had just this experience with Bedouins on excavations. Because the nomad comes from an oral culture he has a highly developed memory and so learns the skill very quickly. In my case, I wrote the unjoined forms of the letters of the Arabic alphabet on the Bedouin's hand and the next day he was writing his name and mine, still in the rather wobbly unjoined forms of the Arabic letters I had written on his palm.[50]

After citing a similar example, he asserts that it is easy "for someone with a well-trained memory to pick up not merely the letter forms, but the concept of dividing units of sense (that is words) into sounds, and expressing each of these by a particular sign."[51] Having learnt the alphabet and the sounds of individual letters, an individual could have acquired written literacy aurally by sounding out words. That is, rudimentary Greek literacy might follow on from spoken ability without formal schooling.[52] Linguists refer to such people as *primary* bilinguals, defined as those who have "picked up two languages by force of circumstances" without receiving systematic instruction in either language. In contrast, *secondary* bilingualism involves the addition of a second language via formal instruction.[53]

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[49] M.C.A. Macdonald, "Literacy in an Oral Environment," in P. Bienkowski, C. Mee, and E. Slater (eds.), *Writing and Ancient Near Eastern Society: Papers in Honour of Alan R. Millard* (New York 2005) 49-118 at 75; repr. in M.C.A. Macdonald, *Literacy and Identity in Pre-Islamic Arabia* (London 2009), Chapter I.

[50] Macdonald (n. 49) 78-79.

[51] Macdonald (n. 49) 96.

[52] For more on alternative routes to literacy apart from formal schooling see N. Horsfall, "Statistics or States of Mind," in J.H. Humphrey (ed.), *Literacy in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor 1991) 59-76.

[53] H. Baetens Beardsmore, *Bilingualism: Basic Principles* (2nd ed.; Clevedon 1986) 8.

In order to understand the complexity of the possibilities inherent in bilingualism, the idea of *functional* bilingualism is also useful. At the minimalist end of a spectrum of ability, a person is functionally bilingual if s/he is able "to accomplish a restricted set of activities in a second language," perhaps by using a small number of grammatical rules and a limited lexis. At the maximalist end of the spectrum, a person is able to conduct a wide range of activities in a dual linguistic environment. Although s/he "may not possess sufficient command of nuanced expression in the second language to operate in the same way that a monoglot would, they nevertheless succeed in understanding almost everything they read and hear, and speak and write sufficiently coherently for their interlocutors to appreciate their message."[54] In these terms, the number of secondary and maximally functional bilinguals in first- and second-century Judaea/Syria Palaestina and Arabia would have been small. But the number of primary and minimally functional bilinguals was probably much greater.

A range of bilingual abilities is also implied in the distinction between *receptive* (or *passive*) and *productive* (or *active*) bilingualism. Receptive bilinguals can understand a second language, in either spoken or written form, but cannot speak or write it, while productive bilinguals can both understand and speak and/or write a second language.[55] Using these terms, a range of bilingual abilities in two languages (L1, L2) and four language skills can be charted (see Table 2).[56] A type 1 productive bilingual can "manipulate the four basic language skills in two languages," while a type 5 productive bilingual "would be illiterate but could understand and speak two languages"; and there are a range of other productive possibilties in between.[57] Human infants have natural capacity and are "eminently capable of acquiring two languages simultaneously."[58] But the number of infants in areas adjacent to the Judaean desert who were well placed to do so – that is, in constant interaction with Greek-speakers – may not have

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54 Baetens Beardsmore (n. 53) 15-16.

55 Baetens Beardsmore (n. 53) 16, 18; J. Edwards, "Foundations of Biligualism," in T.K. Bhatia and W.C. Ritchie (eds.), *The Handbook of Bilingualism* (Oxford 2006) 7-31 at 10. "Receptive bilingualism is relatively easy to acquire … and is a less time-consuming learning task in that it does not involve the laborious acquisition of language patterns that must be at ready command for fruitful conversation or written communication with a speaker of another language" (Baetens Beardsmore [n. 53] 16).

56 Adapted from Baetens Beardsmore [n. 53] 20.

57 Baetens Beardsmore (n. 53) 19. The patterns in Table 3 do not exhaust the range of possibilities.

58 F. Genesee, "Rethinking Bilingual Acquisition," in J.-M. Dewaele, A. Housen, and L. Wei (eds.), *Bilingualism: Beyond Basic Principles. Festschrift in Honour of Hugo Baetens Beardsmore* (Clevedon 2003) 204-228 at 223. They are "as well prepared for dual language learning as for single language learning" (209).

been high. It is more likely, perhaps, that some/many children and adults became productive bilinguals via less consistent contact.[59]

Table 2: Patterns of Individual Bilingualism

Language Skills	Productive Bilingualism				
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5
Listening comprehension	L1, L2	L1, L2	L1, L2	L1, L2	L1, L2
Reading comprehension	L1, L2	L1, L2	L1	L1	
Oral production	L1, L2	L1, L2	L1, L2	L1, L2	L1, L2
Written production	L1, L2	L1	L1		

Language Skills	Receptive Bilingualism				
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5
Listening comprehension	L1, L2	L1, L2	L1, L2	L1, L2	L1, L2
Reading comprehension	L1, L2	L1	L1, L2	L1	
Oral production	L1	L1	L1	L1	L1
Written production	L1	L1			

Receptive bilinguals do not progress to oral or written production of Greek because circumstances do not require it.[60] Receptive bilingualism could develop, in the ancient context, when a person was in contact with Greek but did not have to speak it in order to maintain an adequate income or the necessities of life. On the productive side, most Jews who learnt to speak Greek would have done so only because of circumstances. As for the literate, some must have learnt to read and write Greek through systematic instruction, whether at school or at home.[61] But it is also probable that some individuals acquired

[59] *Simultaneous* second-language acquisition "describes exposure to more than one variety [of language] from the onset of speech or, at least, from a very young age (some commentators have suggested age three or four as a rather arbitrary cut-off)," while *successive* second-language acquisition "refers to the addition, at a later age, of a new variety to an existing maternal one": Edwards (n. 55) 11-12. Successive second-language acquisition can also be divided into early (older children) and later (adult) forms. See also J.M. Meisel, "The Bilingual Child," in Bahtia and Ritchie (n. 55) 91-113.

[60] Affective or social inhibitions may also prevent productive output (Baetens Beardsmore [n. 53] 147, 150).

[61] Under the Principate some children (mainly boys) were taught to read and write at home or through an extended kinship connection. In the Latin world, the duty was

reading comprehension and/or basic Greek literacy in the manner described by Macdonald. However, a qualification may be in order. Some or many of those Jews who learnt to read and/or write Greek via aural means may have stopped at reading comprehension, meaning they did not take the next step and learn, by the same means, to write Greek. That would seem to be the more likely scenario in a literate society because, in contrast to an oral society like that of the Bedouin, people in Judaea/Syria Palaestina and Arabia could turn to a scribe when a document needed to be written.[62] However, as Bagnall points out, there was still plenty of room for "private, informal, spontaneous, and ephemeral communications, writing for which one did not need to spend the time and money to go to a professional scribe."[63] So it would be wrong to conclude that reading comprehension acquired by phonetic means only seldom progressed to writing ability acquired by the same means.

The Babatha and Salome Komaïse archives

Both archives were found in the Cave of Letters at Naḥal Ḥever, a wadi located about 4.5 km south of Ein Gedi. Of the 35 documents in the Babatha archive (dated AD 93/94-132), 6 are in Nabataean, 3 in Aramaic, 17 in Greek only, and 9 are in Greek with subscriptions or signatures in Aramaic or Nabataean or both.[64] The smaller archive of Salome Komaïse (dated 125-131), who

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emphasised. See W.V. Harris, "Literacy and Epigraphy, I," *ZPE* 52 (1983) 87-111 at 95, n. 33; A.D. Booth, "Elementary and Secondary Education in the Roman Empire," *Florilegium* 1 (1979) 1-14; S.F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome: from the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (Berkeley 1977) 20-46; B. Rawson, *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy* (Oxford 2003) 146-209.

[62] Macdonald (n. 49) 49 defines an oral or non-literate society as "one in which literacy is not essential to any of its activities, and memory and oral communication perform the functions which reading and writing have within a literate society." In contrast, a "literate society" is "one in which reading and writing have become essential to its functioning, either throughout the society (as in the modern West) or in certain vital aspects, such as the bureaucracy, economic and commercial activities, or religious life." Thus, a predominantly oral society in which the majority of people are illiterate can be designated "literate" because its administrative, commercial, and/or religious functions depend on literacy. Therefore, both Judaea/Syria Palaestina and Arabia were literate provinces. This definition has the advantage of recognizing that literate individuals were always close at hand.

[63] Bagnall (n. 15) 142.

[64] See N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri*, with Aramaic and Nabataean signatures and subscriptions edited by Y. Yadin and J.C. Greenfield (Jerusalem 1989) = *P.Yadin* 1. The Greek texts of Babatha's

was also from the village of Maḥoza, contains 7 documents, 6 of which are in Greek.[65] "The two women must have known each other since their families' properties were abutted by the same neighbours, and [many of] the same witnesses signed their documents."[66] This suggests that both women moved in the same well-to-do circles. Despite this, Babatha always has others sign for her διὰ τὸ αὐτῇς μὴ ε⟨ἰ⟩δένα⟨ι⟩ γράμματα, which in this case seems to mean "that she was illiterate [i.e., unable to write] in any language."[67] As Cotton points out, a Greek subscription was not required, since Babatha's husband Judah (יהודה) wrote his own subscription in Aramaic. Thus, it appears that Babatha was incapable of writing either language.[68] Before 106, when the Nabataean kingdom became part of the Roman province of Arabia, legal documents were written

documents are nos. 5, 11-35, and 37. The Aramaic and Nabataean subscriptions to nos. 15, 17, 18, 19-22, and 27 are edited by Y.Yadin and J.C. Greenfield in a separate section (135-149). The Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic texts (nos. 1-4, 6-10, and 36) are published in Y. Yadin, J.C. Greenfield, A. Yardeni, and B. Levine, with contributions by H.M. Cotton and J. Naveh, *The Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri* (Jerusalem 2002) = *P.Yadin* 2. The papyri are designated *P.Yadin* in Cotton, Cockle, and Millar (n. 1), the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist_papyri.html), and HGV (http://papyri.info/browse/hgv), but *P.Babatha* in DDbDP (http://papyri.info/browse/ddbdp).

[65] See H.M. Cotton, "The Archive of Salome Komaïse, daughter of Levi: Another Archive from the 'Cave of Letters'," *ZPE* 105 (1995) 171-208; H.M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and other Sites, with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts (The Seiyâl Collection II)* (Oxford 1997) 60-64 (Aramaic: no. 12 [= *P.Hever* 12]), 158-237 (Greek: nos. 60-65 [= *P.Hever* 60-65]). There is uncertainty as to the exact number of documents in the archive. *P.Hever* 1 (= *P.Yadin* 2.36) and *P.Hever* 2, both written in Nabataean, are also thought to belong to the archive: see H. Eshel, "Another Document from the Archive of Salome Komaïse Daughter of Levi," *SCI* 21 (2002) 169-171.

[66] Cotton (n. 65) 172. E.g., Yohesaf Ḥananiah, who signs one of the Greek documents in Aramaic (*XḤev/Ṣe Gr.* 1 = *P.Hever* 64), also signs in Aramaic five documents in the Babatha archive.

[67] Cotton and Yardeni (n. 65) 145. For the text see Lewis (n. 64) 58-64 (*P.Yadin* 1.15).

[68] H.M. Cotton, "Subscriptions and Signatures in the Papyri from the Judaean Desert: the Χειροχρήστης" *JJP* 25 (1995) 29-40 at 38. The formula usually means unable to write Greek: see H.C. Youtie, "Ἀγράμματος: an Aspect of Greek Society in Egypt," *HSCP* 75 (1971) 161-176; id., "Ὑπογραφεύς: the Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt," *ZPE* 17 (1975) 212-221; id., "Because They Do Not Know Letters," *ZPE* 19 (1975) 101-108; W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge 1989) 140-143.

in Nabataean.[69] After that time, there are 32 documents in Greek, 4 in (Jewish) Aramaic, and 2 in Nabataean.[70] "Thus, the intimate connection between provincialisation and the use of Greek in legal documents … is firmly established," at least as far as Nabataea/Arabia is concerned.[71] Despite the presence of a small number of documents in other languages, Greek seems to have been required for the main body of legal documents, while Aramaic and Nabataean were acceptable for subscriptions.[72] Aramaic and Nabataean were also the signature languages of most of the witnesses. *P.Yadin* 1.5 and 1.11, in which all of the signatures are in Greek, are the exceptions. This means that a minority of witnesses had, at the very least, Greek "signature literacy" (see below).

One of the Greek documents in the Salome archive is the conclusion to a land declaration that was written by a Nabataean scribe Onainos son of Saʿadalos (ἐ[γράφη διὰ τοῦ] χειροχρήστου Οναινου Σααδαλλου).[73] There were also several Jewish scribes: X son of Simon who wrote *P.Yadin* 1.19; Theënas son of Simon who wrote *P.Yadin* 1.13, 14, 15, 17, and 18 (Θεενας Σίμωνος λιβράριος ἔγραψα);[74] and Germanus son of Judah who wrote *P.Yadin* 1.20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, and 34 (ἐγράφη διὰ Γερμανοῦ λιβραριοῦ /᾽Ιούδου).[75] The

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[69] *XḤev/Ṣe Gr.* 3, if it is from Arabia and if it is dated to 99 rather than 109, may be the only Greek document dated before 106: see H.M. Cotton, "Loan with Hypothec: Another Papyrus from the Cave of Letters," *ZPE* 101 (1994) 53-59.

[70] Lewis (n. 64) 6, 13-19. Jewish Aramaic and Greek appear in Nabataean legal documents only after 106: Cotton (n. 48) 226. Jewish Aramaic was probably a recent acquisition, perhaps brought by Jews after AD 70: M.C.A. Macdonald "Languages, Script, and the Uses of Writing among the Nabataeans," in G. Marcoe (ed.), *Petra Rediscovered: Lost City of the Nabataeans* (New York 2003) 37-56 at 47.

[71] Cotton (n. 48) 227. In contrast, the annexation of Judaea in AD 6 did not induce a general shift to the use of Greek in legal documents. The first securely dated Greek legal document from Judaea (*P.Yadin* 1.11) may not have been written until 124 (Cotton [n. 48] 228). However, there are many other kinds of first-century Greek documents, not to mention quite a number of undated Greek documents.

[72] Cf. J.G. Oudshoorn, *The Relationship between Roman and Local Law in the Babatha and Salome Komaïse Archives: General Analysis and Three Case Studies on Law of Succession, Guardianship, and Marriage* (Leiden 2007) 63-92, who shows that Aramaic subscriptions were an integral part of the legal documents in the archives.

[73] Cotton (n. 65) 176 (*XḤev/Ṣe Gr.* 5 = Cotton, no. II); cf. Cotton (n. 68) 29-40. If this is a copy, the original subscription may have been written in Nabataean: Cotton (n. 48) 228.

[74] Lewis (n. 64) 235. The papyrus reads λιβλαριος.

[75] Cf. *P.Yadin* 1.27 which has Γ̣ε̣ρμαν̣[ὸ]ς ᾽Ιούδ[ο]υ ἔγραψα. Lewis thinks that the term *librarius* means military clerk (citing *BGU* 423, *P.Mich.* 166, and *SB* 10530) and, therefore, that Germanus (and by implication, Theënas as well), had been temporarily employed as a military clerk by the Roman army (Lewis [n. 63] 88). In contrast, B. Isaac

latter was a type 1 productive bilingual. After he had written the Greek text of *P.Yadin* 1.27, a receipt dated 19 August 132, Babatha's guardian appended a subscription in Aramaic which Germanus then translated literally into Greek beginning with the word ἑρμηνεία.

Greek was not the mother tongue of any of the parties in the Babatha archive. The absence of ligature, incorrect syllabification, Semitisms, and Latinisms show that this also applies to the scribes.[76] While opportunities to become literate were limited in rural areas,[77] some Jews obviously managed to do so, including some who were not scribes. Since the majority of Jewish witnesses sign their names in Jewish script, signatures written in Greek may also be indicators of written literacy.[78] Six of seven witnesses to *P.Yadin* 1.5 were Jews (probably from Ein Gedi) who signed in Greek. If the first word on the papyrus was ἑ]ρμη̣[νε]ί̣[α, the document was a translation.[79] In any case, the witnesses signed in Greek in competent cursive hands.[80] The seven witnesses to *P.Yadin* 1.11 also sign in Greek. The first is Gaius Iulius Proclus, a Roman soldier, whose hand is halting and unpractised. The other six witnesses are Jews. The first three have practised cursive hands, the fourth is competent, and the sixth appears to be unpractised.[81] The fifth hand, that of Σίμων Σίμωνος, is poorly preserved. But if it is the same Simon son of Simon who signed *P.Yadin*

argues that the term was also used for "commercial copyists of formal documents" and that the scribes were "local people with an official function": "The Babatha Archive: A Review Article," *IEJ* 42 (1992) 62-75 at 73-74.

[76] Lewis (n. 64) 13-19. Cf. R.S. Bagnall, review of Cotton and Yardeni (n. 65), *BASP* 36 (1999) 134-135, who has reservations about some of the Latinisms identified by Lewis. For a recent discussion of phonological, morphosyntactic (use of cases), and syntactic transfer from Demotic to Greek see M. Vierros, *Bilingual Notaries in Hellenistic Egypt: A Study of Greek as a Second Language* (Brussels 2012).

[77] Harris (n. 68) 91.

[78] Cf. H.M. Cotton, "Greek Letters," in Cotton and Yardeni (n. 65) 351-366 at 361 with n. 25. See also C. Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen 2001) 314, who makes this argument in relation Aramaic subscriptions and signatures.

[79] There is room for 5-6 letters before ρ and no traces remain of the ι in Lewis' transcription:]ρμη̣[ ]ι̣[, Frag. a, col. i, l. 1 (Lewis [n. 63] 37); ἑ]ρμη̣[νε]ί̣[α, (Lewis [n. 63] 39, fr.. a, col. i, l. 1). For a digital image see http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-300434. See also Lewis (n. 64), pl. 1.

[80] The signatures of the μ[άρ]τυρε[ς are on the last two strips on the right-hand side of frag. b: see Lewis (n. 64), pl. 2. There is no image of frag. b in the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library and none is available for purchase from the Israel Antiquities Authority.

[81] See http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-299448 for a digital image. See also Lewis (n. 64), pl. 4.

1.5, then the hand was competent. Lewis argues that the papyrus is a copy of the original which, in this case, was held by the lender.[82] The Greek translation of an Aramaic subscription adds weight to that suggestion (ll. 30-1). But, again, the witnesses still authenticate the copy by signing in Greek.[83] Most of the thirteen Jewish witnesses to these two documents were used to writing more than just their names. Therefore, they were very likely type 1 productive bilinguals. Although one practised signature is probably evidence enough, signing more than once in Greek, as in the case of Σίμων Σίμωνος, increases the likelihood of non-scribal literacy (cf. Θαδαῖος Θαδαίου who signed his name in Greek to *P.Yadin* 1.14, 15, 20, and 23).[84] Only the hands of the Roman soldier and the final signatory to *P.Yadin* 1.11 bear some of the hallmarks of the hesitant, awkward "signature literacy" of the (otherwise) illiterate,[85] but even they are slightly more "accomplished" than that. These men may have been type 2 or type 3 productive bilinguals.

Some/many who lacked written literacy probably had spoken ability in Greek, as Sevenster has shown in his discussion of specific documents.[86] About the time that he became Babatha's second husband, Judah borrowed 60 silver denarii from Magonius Valens, a centurion of a Thracian cohort stationed at Ein Gedi (*P.Yadin* 1.11). The surety for the loan was a courtyard, connected with his father Eleazar's house, that Judah had the legal right to mortgage or lease. The house itself was situated across the road from the Roman military post (πραισίδιον). Negotiations over this loan were probably conducted in Greek. Comparison has been made with a document from Murabbaʿat which

[82] Lewis (n. 64) 42. It should be noted in passing that Greek copies of documents confirm that Greek was the language of the Roman administration and judiciary.

[83] So H.M. Cotton as reported in Oudshoorn (n. 72) 157. Cotton had previously argued that *P.Yadin* 1.11 was not a copy because there is no sign that the document is a certified copy and the loan appears to have been paid back since Judah, Babatha's husband, later gave the courtyard mentioned in the document to his daughter (see *P.Yadin* 19). Therefore, one would "expect the original to be returned (perhaps cancelled) to Judah, rather than that he should keep a copy": see Cotton (n. 48) 228-229, n. 69; H. Cotton, "Courtyard(s) in Ein-gedi: *P.Yadin* 11, 9 and 20 of the Babatha Archive," *ZPE* 112 (1996) 197-201.

[84] See Lewis (n. 64), pls. 9, 12, 24, and 31.

[85] Cf. the examples of "name literacy" in R. Thomas, "Writing, Reading, Public and Private 'Literacies': Functional Literacy and Democratic Literacy in Greece," in W.A. Johnson and H.N. Parker (eds.), *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome* (Oxford 2009) 13-45 at 18-24.

[86] J.N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the Early Christians Have Known?* (Leiden 1968) 161-165.

also involves borrowed money and a Roman soldier (*P.Mur*. 114).[87] In another document Babatha sends a summons to guardians of her son to appear before the Roman legate, Iulius Iulianus, at Petra (*P.Yadin* 1.14). Legal proceedings like this were usually conducted in Greek, perhaps with an interpreter on hand.[88] But as Sevenster observes, it "would have simplified the proceedings" had the parties themselves spoken Greek.[89] On this occasion, Judah wrote an Aramaic subscription in his own hand. He also wrote in Aramaic his *ketubba* or marriage contract with Babatha (*P.Yadin* 1.10). There are "mistakes and repetitions,"[90] but the hand is cursive and practised. However, the ability to write Aramaic should not be equated with a lack of ability in other languages, specifically spoken ability in Greek. Since he was able to write Aramaic and negotiate with a Roman centurion in Greek, Judah was probably a type 3 productive bilingual.

Several other papyri suggest communication in Greek.[91] When Babatha and Judah appeared before a census official to declare her land (P.Yadin 1.16), she confirmed the declaration by an oath to the *genius* (τύχη) of the Lord Caesar (ὄμνυμι τύχην κυρίου Καίσαρος καλῇ πίστει ἀπογε|γ̣ρ̣ά̣φ̣θ̣α̣ι̣). The possibility that the oath was made verbally is heightened because this is an official declaration rather than a record of a legal act or transaction.[92] There are also summons and counter-summons by Babatha and a Roman woman, Iulia Crispina, to appear in legal proceedings before the Roman governor (*P.Yadin* 1.25). This is the same Iulia Crispina who wrote and signed a Greek subscription at the

[87] H.J. Polotsky, "The Greek Papyri from the Cave of Letters," *IEJ* 12 (1962) 258-262 at 259. For the text see P. Benoît, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabbaʿât* (Oxford 1961) 1:240-243, no. 114.

[88] C.M. Kreinecker, "How Power and Province Communicate: Some Remarks on the Language of the (Non-)Conversation between Pilate and Jesus," in P. Arzt-Grabner and C.M. Kreinecker (eds.), *Light from the East: Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament. Akten des internationalen Symposions vom 3.-4. Dezember 2009 am Fachbereich Bibelwissenschaft und Kirchengeschichte de Universität Salzburg* (Wiesbaden 2010) 169-183 at 177-178. According to Hezser (n. 78) 317, one can "assume that a Roman court 'would prefer, or even insist on, the use of the Greek language' as the *lingua franca* of all government and legal proceedings in the East," citing A. Wasserstein, "A Marriage Contract from the Province of Arabia Nova: Notes on Papyrus Yadin 18," *JQR* 80 (1989) 93-130 at 118, n. 70. See also n. 82.

[89] Sevenster (n. 86) 163.

[90] Y. Yadin, J.C. Greenfield, and A. Yardeni, "Babatha's *Ketubba*," *IEJ* 44 (1994) 75-101 at 76-77.

[91] The following points are also made by Sevenster (n. 86) 163-165.

[92] The translation of the Latin subscription of the cavalry prefect Priscus (ll. 36-8) may mean that *P.Yadin* 16 is a Greek copy of the original declaration made for Babatha.

bottom of *P.Yadin* 1.20. She seems to have had some kind of association with Judah's family in Ein Gedi. A couple of things stand out here, one following on from the other: Jews, Romans, and Nabataeans were involved in relationships of various kinds without regard to borders; and Jews and Nabataeans probably used Greek, the common language of the empire, when communicating with Romans. Since she could write neither Aramaic nor Greek but could, it appears, confirm her land declaration by an oath in Greek, Babatha may have been a type 4 or 5 productive bilingual, i.e., a functional bilingual with a productive ability located somewhere along the minimal-maximal spectrum.

Finally, there appears to be evidence of accommodation of Graeco-Roman culture in two of the marriage contracts in the archives. In his Aramaic *ketubba* Judah promises to provide for Babatha "[according to the l]aw of Moses and the Judaeans"(לאנת[ה כדי]ן מושה ויה[ו]דאי).[93] In contrast, in his Greek marriage contract Judah Cimber son of Ananias promises to provide for Shelamzion (Judah's daughter by his first wife Miriam) and their children ἑλληνικῷ νόμῳ, "in accordance with Greek law" (*P.Yadin* 1.18). The formula is expanded in Salome's marriage contract. The groom, Joshua son of Menahem, "undertakes to follow Greek law and custom" in providing for both her and the children to come (αὐτῆς] τ̣ε καὶ τῶν {καὶ τῶν} μελ̣λόντ̣ω̣[ν τέκ]ν̣ω̣ν̣ νόμ[ῳ]| ἐ̣[λλη]ν̣ικῷ καὶ ἑλλ̣[η]ν̣ι̣κ̣ῷ τρόπῳ).[94] As far as Cotton is concerned, these are not Jewish documents – "not only the Greek language but the entire ethos and diplomatics of the Greek marriage contract have been adopted by the contracting parties."[95]

Greek might have been used for legal documents in order to make them enforcible in Roman courts or to register them in the archives.[96] But cultural accommodation would seem to be the best explanation for the fact that Greek custom[97] was to govern the obligations of the Jewish husband to his wife and future children. This has caused some consternation among Jewish scholars

[93] Yadin, Greenfield, and Yardeni (n. 90) 79.

[94] *P.Yadin* 37: Cotton (n. 65) 206.

[95] Cotton (n. 65) 207.

[96] Wasserstein (n. 88) 118, n. 70; Cotton and Yardeni (n. 65) 153-154; Cotton (n. 48) 230. Two papyri mention depositing "with the public authorities" (τευχίσει αὐτὴν διὰ δημο|σίων, *P.Yadin* 19, ll. 26-27 [pap. τευχιζζει]; τευχίσω σο[ι] δ̣ι̣ὰ δη|μοσίων, *P.Yadin* 20, ll. 35-36), "which must refer to the city archives (ἀρχεῖα)": H.M. Cotton, "The Guardianship of Jesus Son of Babatha: Roman and Local Law in the Province of Arabia," *JRS* 83 (1993) 94-108 at 101-102. On Roman courts in Arabia see H.M. Cotton and W. Eck, "Roman Officials in Judaea and Arabia and Civil Jurisdiction," in R. Katzoff and D. Schaps (eds.), *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert* (Leiden 2005) 23-44. On state archives see W.E.H. Cockle, "State Archives in Graeco-Roman Egypt from 30 BC to the Reign of Septimius Severus," *JEA* 70 (1984) 106-122.

[97] See J. Geiger, "A Note on *P.Yadin* 18," *ZPE* 93 (1992) 67-68.

who seem loath to accept that Jews could have been so Hellenized. Katzoff argues that while the Roman and Greek elements in P.*Yadin* 1.18 "are the most obvious superficially, the Jewish elements are in some respects the most fundamental."[98] This view was vigorously rejected by Wasserstein who asserted that in every respect *P.Yadin* 1.18 is a Greek document.[99] Cotton then demonstrated that Jewish marriage contracts written in Greek are strikingly similar to their Egyptian counterparts.[100] Yet both Wasserstein and Cotton argue that the Jews in the Babatha archive were not Hellenized. For Cotton, this is because "most of them do not know Greek."[101] But, as we have seen, Greek might have been spoken and perhaps read by some/many, even if written by only a few/some. Even with his strong view that *P.Yadin* 1.18 is a Greek document, Wasserstein is at pains to distance Jews from the spectre of Hellenization. He refers to assimilation and integration rather than Hellenization. The environment to which Jews are assimilated, "in spite of using Hellenic elements, is

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[98] R. Katzoff, "II. Legal Commentary," 236-247 at 236 in N. Lewis, R. Katzoff, and J. Greenfield, "*Papyrus Yadin* 18," *IEJ* 38 (1987) 229-250. R. Katzoff, "Judaean Desert, Documents from," in R.S. Bagnall, K. Brodersen, C.B. Champion, A. Erskine, and S.R. Huebner (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, pp. 3636-3637 (accessed on-line), explains the reference to Greek custom as "the husband's declaration that he will provide his wife with a Greek, that is, a dominant-class, standard of living." For his detailed argument see *IEJ* 38 (1987) 239-242.

[99] Wasserstein (n. 88) 105-130. N. Lewis, "The World of *P.Yadin*," *BASP* 28 (1991) 35-41, defends Katzoff in relation to several aspects of Wasserstein's argument.

[100] H.M. Cotton, "A Cancelled Marriage Contract from the Judaean Desert," *JRS* 84 (1994) 64-86. The crux of the disagreement and the foremost issue in the study of Jewish history in antiquity is the role of Jewish/rabbinic law in the documents from the Judaean desert. Did rabbis lead the Jews in the second century and is rabbinical literature representative of Jewry and the Judaism of the period? See Cotton and Yardeni (n. 65) 153-156, 227-228, 273-274; H.M. Cotton, "The Guardianship of Jesus Son of Babatha: Roman and Local Law in the Province of Arabia," *JRS* 83 (1993) 94-108; H.M. Cotton, "The Rabbis and the Documents," in M. Goodman (ed.), *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford 1998) 167-179; Z. Safrai, "Halakhic Observance in the Judean Desert Documents," in R. Katzoff and D. Schaps (eds.), *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert* (Leiden 2005) 205-236; L.H. Schiffman, "Reflections on the Deeds of Sale from the Judaean Desert in Light of Rabbinic Literature," in Katzoff and Schaps, 185-203; Oudshoorn (n. 72); and R. Katzoff, "P.Yadin 21 and Rabbinic Law on Widows' Rights," *JQR* 97 (2007) 545-575.

[101] Cotton (n. 100) 65. Cf. A. Wasserstein, "Non-Hellenised Jews in the Semi-Hellenised East," *SCI* 14 (1995) 111-37, and L.H. Feldman, "The Influence of Hellenism on Jews in Palestine in the Hellenistic Period," in id., *Judaism and Hellenism Reconsidered* (Leiden 2006) 1-34, esp. 29-32, whose vigorous defence of Aramaic leaves very little room for Greek-speaking Jews in Palestine.

not by virtue of that use to be thought of as Hellenized."[102] Yet the "remarkable degree of assimilation" evident in *P.Yadin* 1.18 forces him to concede that that same environment was "partly but not completely Hellenized."[103] Babatha and Salome may not have had a Greek education, but they were Hellenized in some degree because they were willing to accommodate not insignificant aspects of Graeco-Roman culture.[104] Babatha was not averse, after all, from swearing to the τύχη of the emperor.

The Bar Kokhba archive

Most other published documents from the Judaean desert are very fragmentary.[105] But there is another archive, that of Bar Kokhba, which is significant for the letters it contains: one bundle of fifteen letters found in the so-called Cave of Letters at Naḥal Ḥever;[106] and another 11 letters from Murabbaʿat.[107] Although Bar Kokhba signed only one,[108] most of the letters were written by

[102] Wasserstein (n. 88) 125. The "assimilation noticed here is not necessarily an assimilation to Hellenism *tout court* but an assimilation to an environment that in spite of not being Hellenized uses Hellenic elements; and conversely, to an environment that in spite of using Hellenic elements, is not by virtue of that use to be thought of as Hellenized." See the same tension in Wasserstein (n. 101).

[103] Wasserstein (n. 88) 125, 129. Cf. Lewis (n. 64) 130, who refers to "the Hellenizing tendencies of the younger generation of Jewish families in the area."

[104] Hellenization, defined as the common Graeco-Roman culture of the eastern Mediterranean, involved various levels of assimilation, acculturation, and accommodation. Barclay defines *assimilation* as the degree of social integration with non-Jews (in social interaction and social practices), *acculturation* as the extent of familiarity with Greek *paideia* (education, language, and ideology), and *accommodation* as the reaction to acculturation (whether in the direction of embracing or opposing Greek culture): J.M.G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: from Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE – 117 CE)* (Berkeley 1996) 92-98. The benefit of these terms is that they allow for flexible Jewish responses to Hellenism as it was taken over and modified by the Romans (in the early Roman period, 63 BC – AD 135).

[105] See the discussion of Hezser (n. 78) 320-327.

[106] Yadin et al. (n. 64), nos. 49-51, 53-58, 60-63 (Hebrew and Aramaic letters), and nos. 52 and 59 (Greek letters). Nos. 8 (Greek subscription) and 64 (Greek text) are illegible. Bar Kokhba's followers may have hidden in the cave from the approaching Roman army in the winter of 134/135: Y. Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba, the Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Last Jewish Revolt against Imperial Rome* (London 1971) 34. See also Y. Yadin, "Expedition D," *IEJ* 11 (1961) 36-52.

[107] See J.T. Milik, "Textes hébreux et araméens," in Benoît et al. (n. 87), nos. 42-52; for the plates see vol. 2, pls. xlv-xlviii.

[108] *P.Mur.* 43: see Benoît et al. (n. 87) 159-161.

scribes in his name. As well, most of the letters were sent to one or both of two military leaders in Ein Gedi, Yonathes (Yehonathan) son of Beianos (בעין or בעיה) and Masabala son of Shimʿon (Shimeon).[109] The Murabbaʿat letters are written in Hebrew, the "revolutionary" language in which Bar Kokhba's coins were inscribed. Those from the Cave of Letters are written in Aramaic (8), Hebrew (3-5), and Greek (2).[110] That some of the letters were written in Aramaic and Greek shows, according to Hezser, "that his followers' familiarity with these everyday languages often prevailed over ideological concerns."[111] This is certainly true, except that Aramaic may also have had revolutionary "credentials" because it was written in the same Jewish script as Hebrew.

One of the Greek letters (*P.Yadin* 2.52, see below, Plate 2) may imply that Greek was used in preference to Hebrew which Bar Kokhba promoted for nationalistic reasons – ἐγράφη | δ[ὲ] Ἑληνιστὶ διὰ | τ[ὸ ὁρ]μὰν μὴ εὑρη|θ[ῆ]ναι Ἑβαεστὶ | γ[ρά]ψασθαι, "it [*scil.* the letter] was written in Greek because the effort/desire to write in Hebrew was not to be found" (see Plate 1).[112]

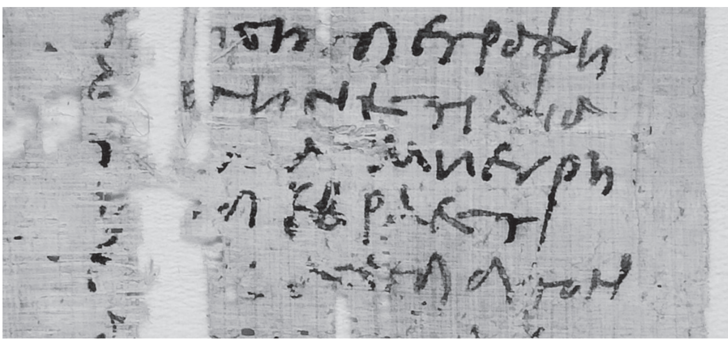

Plate 1: *P.Yadin* 2.52 ll. 11-15 (courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority; photo Clare Amit)

But the reconstruction τ[ὸ ὁρ]μάν of Lifshitz has come in for some criticism. Given the nationalistic context, Howard and Shelton argue that (1) lack of motivation would not be an acceptable excuse, and (2) the Doric ὁρμάς is

[109] Yadin (n. 106, *Bar Kokhba*) 124.

[110] For the Greek letters see Yadin (n. 106, "Expedition D") 42, 44 (nos. 3 and 6); B. Lifshitz, "Papyrus grecs du désert de Juda," *Aegyptus* 42 (1962) 240-256; Cotton (n. 78) 351-366.

[111] Hezser (n. 78) 283-284. Yadin (n. 106, *Bar-Kokhba*) 124 suggests "Hebrew had just lately been revived by a Bar-Kokhba decree."

[112] Lifshitz (n. 110) 241. See http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-300502 for a digital image.

not used in Classical and *koine* Greek (ὁρμή).[113] They suggest a name such as Ἑρ]μᾶς, i.e., it was written in Greek because Ἑρ]μᾶν "could not be found to write in Hebrew or Aramaic."[114] But, as Obbink observes,]μας appears to fit the ink traces better than]μαν.[115] Cotton follows Yadin with διὰ τ[ὸ ἡ]μᾶς, but reads μὴ εὑρη|κ̣[έ]ν̣αι Ἑβαεστὶ | ἐ̣[γγρ]ά̣ψασθαι instead of εὑρη|θ[ῆ]ναι Ἑβαεστὶ | γ[ρά]ψασθαι. This reconstruction gains support from the fact that the passive εὑρηθ[ῆ]ναι would normally require "a purpose clause or an object clause of effort" rather than the infinitive alone. Citing a number of examples, she argues convincingly that εὑρίσκειν followed by an infinitive can mean "to be able" and so translates "because of our inability (= we are unable) to write Hebrew (or Aramaic)."[116]

Written by a scribe, the letter is signed in Greek by its author Soumaios. He is almost certainly Nabataean[117] like two witnesses of the same name in the Babatha archive: [Σ]ο̣υ̣μαιος Κα̣[.]αβαιου μάρ̣(τυς) (*P.Yadin* 1.19.34) and Ἀβδερε̣ύ̣ς Σ̣ουμα̣[ι]ο̣υ̣ | μάρ(τυς) (*P.Yadin* 1.12, ll. 16-17).[118] The reference to the "camp of the Jews" ([π]α̣ρεμ̣βολὴν Ἰου|δ[αί]ων, *P.Yadin* 2.52, ll. 9-10) is

[113] G. Howard and J.C. Shelton, "The Bar-Kokhba Letters and Palestinian Greek," *IEJ* 23 (1973) 101-102.

[114] According to Howard and Shelton (n. 113) 102, n. 6, "any name which will suit the space and traces will do."

[115] D. Obbink, "Bilingual Literacy and Syrian Greek," *BASP* 28 (1991) 51-57 at 52, 54. He suggests διὰ | τὸ̣ [ἀφο]ρ̣μάς in the sense of "opportunity, chance, or means" of doing something, i.e., it "has been written in Greek on account of no opportunity having been found of having it written in Hebrew." There is, however, no space for five letters between τ and the first μ.

[116] Cotton (n. 78) 359. Cotton follows H. Lapin, "Palm Fronds and Citrons: Notes on Two Letters from Bar Kosiba's Administration," *HUCA* 64 (1993) 111-135 at 122, and G.W. Nebe, "Die beiden griechischen Briefe des Jonatan Archivs in Engedi aus dem zweiten jüdischen Aufstand 132-135 n. Chr.," *Revue de Qumran* 17 (1996) 276-277, in reading ἐ̣[γγρ]ά̣ψασθαι, while tentatively offering an alternative reconstruction and different punctuation of the two sentences in ll. 11-19 (see Cotton [n. 78] 360).

[117] Obbink (n. 115) 57; see also Lapin (n. 116) 115-116. This rules out Lifshitz's suggestion ([n. 110] 287) that Sou[mai]os is a Greek transliteration of Shimeon (ben Kosiba). See also H.W. Cotton, "The Bar Kokhba Revolt and the Documents from the Judaean Desert: Nabataean Participation in the Revolt (P. Yadin 52)," in P. Schäfer, *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome* (Tübingen 2003) 133-52.

[118] Cotton (n. 78) 361, n. 24, citing E. Puech, "Présence Arabe dans le manuscrits de "la Grotte aux Lettres" du Wadi Khabra," in H. Lozachmeur (ed.), *Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée par L'Unité de recherche associée 1062 du CRNS, Études sémitiques, au Collège de France, le 13 novembre 1993* (Paris 1995) 39, n. 8, prefers the reconstruction Αβδαρετας to Ἀβδερε̣ύ̣ς (that of Lewis).

probably another indication of non-Jewish origins.[119] Therefore, as far as Soumaios is concerned, Ἑβραεστί probably refers to Jewish script in general rather than Hebrew or Aramaic specifically. As a Nabataean, Soumaios "would have no problem with [Jewish] Aramaic except for the script," which is different from that used for Nabataean Aramaic.[120] But Soumaios is not the scribe. The pronoun ἡ]μᾶς indicates that both the author, Soumaios, and the scribe were unable to write Jewish script.

The letter with its abrupt and commanding style is characteristic of Bar Kokhba, but most of the other letters begin with the name "Shimeon ben/bar Kosiba."[121] Yadin suggests a connection with *P.Yadin* 2.57, an Aramaic letter sent to a certain Yehudah at Qiryat ʿArabayya, which was somewhere between Bar Kokhba's camp and Ein Gedi.[122] The letter orders Yehudah to send two men and two donkeys to the military commanders at Ein Gedi. The donkeys were to be brought back loaded with palm branches and citrons (for the feast of Succoth or Tabernacles). Yadin argues that Yehudah may not have been there when the letter arrived, so Soumaios, a member of his staff, hastily forwarded the letter with a covering note (i.e., *P.Yadin* 2.52).[123] This would explain why the tone is reminiscent of Bar Kokhba. Soumaios has the scribe write:

m. 1 Σου̣[μαι]ος Ι̣ωναθηι
Β̣ε̣ι̣ανου καὶ Μα-
[σ]αβαλα[ι] χαίρειν.
ἐ̣π̣ιδὴ ἔπεμσα πρὸς
ὑ̣μ̣ᾶς Ἀ[γ]ρίππαν σπου-
δ[άσα]τε πέμσε μοι
θ̣[ύ]ρ̣σ̣ου[ς] καὶ κίτρια,
ὅ[σον] δυ̣ν̣ασθήσεται,
ἰ̣ς [π]α̣ρεμ̣βολὴν Ἰου-

[119] *Contra* Obbink ([n. 115] 56, n. 18), the cultural distancing from Jews used by Christian writers in the NT – e.g., τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων (John 11:55) – would not apply here.

[120] Cotton (n. 78) 359.

[121] Yadin (n. 106, *Bar-Kokhba*) 124.

[122] "Shimʿon to Yehudah son of Menasheh at Qiryath ʿArabayya (or ʿArbayyah): I have delivered to you two donkeys (in order) that you dispatch along with them two men to Yehonathan son of Baʿyan and to Masbalah (in order) that they pack up and deliver to the camp, to you, palm branches and citrons. And you are to send additional persons from your place and let them bring you myrtle branches and willows. And prepare them, and deliver them to the camp (למחיה), because the (or: its) population is large. Farewell" (transl. in Cotton [n. 78] 357).

[123] Yadin (n. 106, *Bar-Kokhba*) 132.

δ[αί]ων καὶ μὴ ἄλως
π[οι]ή̣σηται. ἐγράφη
δ[ὲ] Ἑληνεστὶ διὰ
τ[ὸ ἡ]μᾶς μὴ εὑρη-
κ[έ]ναι Ἑβαεστὶ
ἐ[γγρ]ά̣ψ̣ασθαι. αὐτὸν
ἀπ̣[ό]λυσαι τάχιον
δι[ὰ τ]ὴν ἑορτὴν
κα[ὶ μ]ὴ̣ ἄλλως ποιή-
ση̣[ται].
m.2 Σουμαιος
ἔρρωσο

4 ἐπειδὴ ἔπεμψα 6 πέμψαι 7 κίτρεια 8 δυνασθήσετε 9 εἰς 10 ἄλλως 11, 18-19 ποιήσητε 12 Ἑλληνιστί 14 Ἑβραϊστί

"(*First hand*) Soumaios to Yonathes son of Beianos and to Masabala, greetings. Since I have sent to you Agrippa, hurry to send me wands and citrons, as much as you will be able, for the camp of the Jews, and do not do otherwise. It (*scil.* the letter) was written in Greek because of our inability to write Jewish script. Release him (i.e., Agrippa) more quickly on account of the festival, and do not do otherwise. (*Second hand*) Soumaios, farewell."[124]

The military leaders at Ein Gedi, Yonathes and Masabala, seem to have been slow to respond to the request. Another Greek letter (*P. Yadin* 2.59), which was also sent to Yonathes and which contains no apology for the use of Greek, may refer to their tardiness in the same matter.[125] The first three lines of the letter read:

> [Α]ννανος(?) Ιωναθη̣ τῶι ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.
> ἐπεὶ Σιμων Χωσιβα αὖθι ἔγραψεν πέμψαι traces
> [πρὸς] χρείαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν

"Annanos (or Aelianus?) to Yonathes his brother, greetings. Since Simon son of Koziba wrote again to send … for the need of our brothers."[126]

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[124] Cf. Cotton (n. 78) 354. On the ritual use of θύρσοι ('wands') in connection with Tabernacles see Lapin (n. 116) 117-118.

[125] Yadin (n. 106, *Bar-Kokhba*) 132-133. For the edition and plate see Cotton (n. 78) 363-366.

[126] Palaeographically, the reconstructed name of the sender could be either Annanos or Aelianus (Cotton [n. 78] 364-365). If the latter is correct, the sender may be another Nabataean unfamiliar with Jewish script (so Cotton [n. 78] 365) or simply a non-Jew

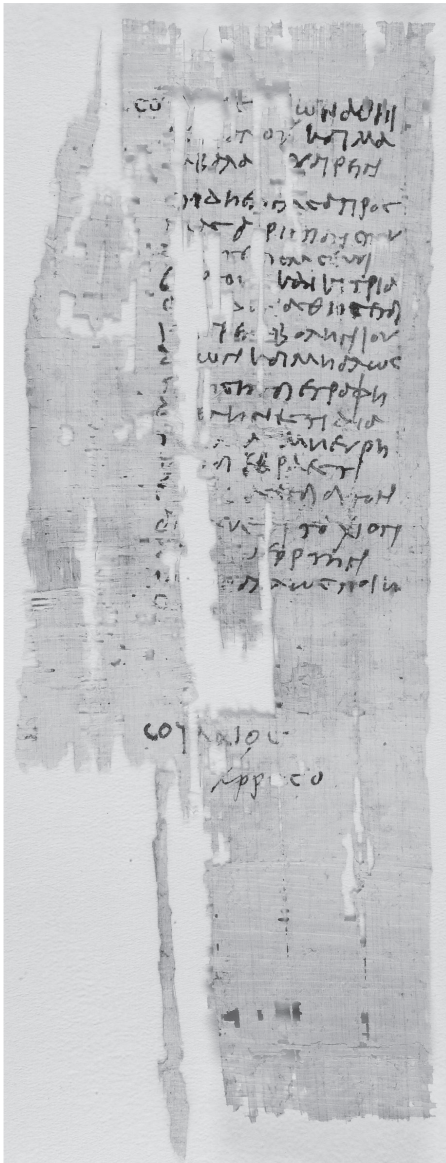

Plate 2: *P.Yadin* 2.52 (courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority; photo Clare Amit)

(so Yadin [n. 106, *Bar-Kokhba*] 132). "The cognomen Aelianus is attested even before the Hadrianic period" (Cotton [n. 78] 365 with n. 30).

Yadin describes the military leaders as "people of the land," a term used "to designate unlearned people not to be relied upon to keep the letter of the law."[127] But they cannot have been quite so rustic, since the two letters strongly imply that they were able, at the very least, to read Greek.[128] Yadin assumes that Yonathes (Yehonathan) was the brother of Miriam, the first wife of Babatha's husband Judah.[129] If so, brother and sister, both from Ein Gedi, may have moved in the same socio-economic circles as Judah and Babatha. As for Bar Kokhba himself, two Greek loan-words in his Aramaic letters probably connote an ability to speak Greek.[130] One of the words is found only once in rabbinical literature.[131] This means that the Greek Minor Prophets scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (dated 50 BC - AD 50) could very well have been used by the rebel leader and his men.[132] It provides further evidence for the picture that has emerged of Bar Kokhba and his military leaders as, at a minimum, type 2 or 3 productive bilinguals.

Conclusion

Any attempt to quantify the amount of Greek literacy on display in documents recovered from the Judaean desert is hampered by the unique nature of many of the ostraca, the small number of non-archival papyri, and a preference for Hebrew/Jewish script during the Second and perhaps the First Revolt. Generalizations are, however, still possible. From Masada, a small number of papyri and many more ostraca are probably traceable to private writers (type 1 productive bilinguals) and there are Greek counterparts and more for virtually every kind of text written in Aramaic and Jewish script. The implication is that type 2 productive bilinguals were not wanting. Although the language of the excluded tags, tokens, and lots can only be described as Jewish script, Naveh reaches the conclusion that Aramaic was the main language of spoken

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[127] Yadin (n. 106, *Bar-Kokhba*) 129.

[128] See E.M. Meyers and J.F. Strange, *Archaeology, the Rabbis, and Early Christianity* (Nashville 1981) 87.

[129] Yadin (n. 106, *Bar-Kokhba*) 233-234. Cf. Lewis (n. 64) 25; Cotton (n. 78) 355.

[130] כאספליה = ἐν ἀσφαλεία, "in safe custody' (*P.Yadin* 54) – see Yadin (n. 106, "Expedition D") 41-42; A. Yardeni (ed. and tr.), *A Textbook of Aramaic and Hebrew Documentary Texts from the Judaean Desert and Related Material* (Jerusalem 2000) 171, 67; אוכלסה = ὄχλος, "crowd," here: "people" (*P.Yadin* 57) – see Lapin (n. 116) 113-114.

[131] Yadin (106, Bar-Kokhba) 125.

[132] Sevenster (n. 86) 172-173; E. Tov, "The Greek Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert," in S. McKendrick and O.A. O'Sullivan (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text* (London 2003) 97-122 at 100.

and written communication. But epithets and nicknames, in particular, demonstrate that Hebrew was also spoken. Therefore, he draws the further justifiable conclusion that "there was a mixture of languages – Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek – and many inhabitants of [first-century] Judaea were bilingual or even trilingual."[133]

Although scribes wrote the documents in the second-century archives, a minority of witnesses had degrees of Greek literacy, and quite a number of these were probably type 1 productive bilinguals. Despite the nationalistic fervour of the times, indications of cultural accommodation in the women's archives suggest that Jews outside the Greek cities were not so resistant to Hellenization as to cling to Aramaic like a tenet of faith.[134] Jewish script may have been preferred, but the written use of Greek continued during the Second Revolt. The witnesses who signed in Greek and the two military leaders at Ein Gedi probably had moderate surplus resources like Babatha, Judah, and their extended families. Law courts, general dealings with Romans, and some business activities required communication, whether acquired by primary or secondary means, in Greek. But it appears that few/only some of those with moderate surplus resources went on to become maximally functional bilinguals, or at least that is the impression that the consistent employment of scribes conveys (for the same reason, the number may have been higher). At higher socio-economic levels, secondary and maximally functional (type 1 productive) bilingualism can be assumed, while at lesser levels primary and minimally functional bilingualism was probably quite common. No doubt receptive bilingualism also existed among those who had contact with Greek but did not need to speak or read it.[135]

[133] Yadin and Naveh (n. 65) 8-9. "Hebrew was the language of the priests in the Temple, in particular, and the tongue used to describe religious rites, in general."

[134] This is the whole tendency of Wasserstein's argument in (n. 101) 118-131.

[135] I would like to thank the three anonymous readers whose comments led to improvements in this article.

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 191-198

Notes on Papyri

Styles and desires in P.Oxy. *10.1291*

In *P.Oxy*. 10.1291 (November 25, AD 30) a woman, Zois, writes to her brother Ischyrion to inform him about two specific matters. First, in lines 3-8 she states that "no one brought me a letter about the loaves of bread, but look, if you send a letter by Kollouthos, an artaba will come to you immediately" (translation by R.S. Bagnall and R. Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt. 300 B.C.-A.D. 800* [Ann Arbor 2006] 334).[1] The text is presented in the editions in the following form:

3 οὐδ[εί]ς μοι ἤνεγκεν
4 ἐπιστολὴν περὶ ἄρτων,
5 ἀλλ' εὐθέως, ἠ ἔπεμ-
6 ψας διὰ Κολλούθου
7 ἐπιστολήν, εἰδοῦ ἀρ-
8 τάβηι σοι γίνεται.

There is nothing unreasonable in the translation in Bagnall and Cribiore, but it hinges on the interpretation of the letter η in l. 5, which is taken as the conditional εἰ. But there are two problems. First, I could not find an exact parallel for a conditional sentence interrupting the main clause beginning with the adverb εὐθέως. Second, the conditional "if you send" does not translate the aorist εἰ (for η on the papyrus) ἔπεμψας. In addition, even if we translate it as "if you sent," the aorist does not justify Bagnall and Cribiore's note that "Zois apparently knows that Ischyrion is likely to need an artaba of bread, but in the absence of a specific request she has held off acting" and that this makes the composition of the letter "punchy and vivid rather than subtle."

In my article "Punctuation Matters in Some Papyri" in H. Harrauer and R. Pintaudi (eds.), *Gedenkschrift Ulrike Horak (P. Horak)* (Firenze 2004) 1:285-287, I had discussed the syntax of the adverb εὐθέως, followed by ὡς or ἐάν, "as soon as" in respect either to past or future actions. In *P.Oxy.* 10.1291.5 neither ὡς nor ἐάν can be understood in place of η.[2]

[1] B. Olsson's translation in *Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit* (Uppsala 1925), no. 20, was "Niemand hat mir einen Brief wegen Brot gebracht, aber siehe, sogleich wirst Du eine Artabe bekommen, wenn Du mir Brief durch Kolluthos sendest."

[2] Moreover, even if we assume that η is a mistake for ἤν (= ἠάν = ἐάν), after it we should expect the subjunctive; for ἐάν = ὅταν see H. Cuvigny, "'Quand Hroïs aura accouché

Therefore, it is necessary to explore another possibility: in Σ Thuc. 1.124.1 (ABFM) μὴ πολὺ ὕστερον: ἀλλ᾽ εὐθέως δηλονότι the commonplace phrase ἀλλ᾽ εὐθέως (which is also recorded in our papyrus[3]) explains the Thucydidean phrase μὴ πολὺ ὕστερον. In addition, there are many passages where it is said that εὐθέως is understood as "little later."[4] The adverb ὕστερον is one of the words that are followed by the comparative ἤ; see LSJ s.v. ἤ B1; LSJ s.v. ὕστερος IV2b; Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §2459; Kühner-Gerth 2, §540.1[5]; cf. Thuc. 1.51.5 κατέπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἢ ὤφθησαν; Dem. 59.55 οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ γὰρ ὕστερον ἢ ἐξέπεμψεν ὁ Φράστωρ τὴν τῆς Νεαίρας θυγατέρα, ἠσθένησε; Procop., *Vand.* 3.15.31 τρισὶ μάλιστα μησὶν ὕστερον ἢ αὐτοῖς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ὁ ἀπόπλους ἐγένετο. Of course, εὐθέως ἤ could not stand in Greek, since εὐθέως is not an adverb to indicate comparison. Therefore, it is more plausible that an adverb such as ὕστερον is understood

…' ἐάν = ὅταν dans l'expression de l'éventuel," *BIFAO* 112 (2012) 97-99.

[3] Cf. also *P.Flor*. 3.382.50 (before AD 223); *P.Hamb*. 2.192.7 (III AD); P.*Panop.Beatty* 2.105 (AD 300).

[4] Εὐθέως and μικρὸν ὕστερον explain αὐτίκα in Photius and Suda s.v. αὐτίκα· εὐθέως, παραχρῆμα, συντόμως, πρὸς ὀλίγον, μικρὸν ὕστερον. τὸ δὲ αὐτίκα μάλα ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐθύς; cf. also Dositheus, *Ars Gram.* 40 ἔπειτα ὕστερον εὐθέως mox and Gennadius Schol., *Gram*. 1, p. 422 (Jugie-Petit-Siderides) ἔτι τάξεως, οἷον ἑξῆς, ἐφεξῆς, εὐθύς, εὐθέως, αὐτίκα, μετ᾽ οὐ πολύ, μετ᾽ ὀλίγον, παρευθύς, ἀδιαστατί, ἀκαρεί, μεταξύ, ἡγουμένως, ἑπομένως, ἀμέσως ἀδιαλείπτως, πρότερον, ὕστερον.

[5] In this footnote I would like to discuss briefly another parallel issue, that of the adverb εὐθέως followed by the temporal πρότερον, πρόσθεν, προτοῦ or πρίν, with the meaning "sooner than" or "before" something happens (see Smyth, *Greek Grammar,* §2458-2460; Kühner-Gerth 2, §568). The use of the indicative finds parallels in literature, both with the adverbs πρότερον or πρόσθεν (see Smyth, §2458-2460; Kühner-Gerth 2, §568a "πρίν [πρὶν ἤ, πρότερον ἤ] wird mit Indikative einer historischen Zeitform oder des historischen Präsens verbunden, wenn die Rede von einem vergangenen, wirklich eingetretenen Ereignisse ist … Gewöhnlich steht der Aorist, der eine vorhergegangene, seltener das Imperfect, das eine mit dem Hauptsatze gleichzeitige Handlung ausdrückt. Im Hauptsatze steht eine historische Zeitform"), but in papyri only the subjunctive or the infinitive were used in the clause: cf. *P.Hamb*. 2.192.4-9 (III BC) εὐθέως εἰσελθοῦσα εἰς τὴ̣ν Ἀντινόου οὐκ ἠμέλησά σου τοῦ ἐντολίου, ἀλ̣λ᾽ εὐθέως, πρὶν ἢ βασταχθῆ τὰ σκεύη, ὠνησάμην αὐτό; *P.Petr*. 2.37.10-12 (246/245 BC) καὶ πρότερον ἢ Διογένην σοι γράψαι ἠνώιξαμεν; *P.Fay*. 124.8-9 (II AD) καὶ νῦν οὖν πάλειν ἐπιράθην γράφιν σ[ο]ι πρὶν ἤ τι περαιότερ[ο]ν ἐνχιρήσω πο[ι]εῖν. In addition, cf. *P.Sarap*. 92 (II AD), ll. 15-16, where πρίν is used as adverb, τὸ πρὶν ἢ γράφῃ μοι δι᾽ ἡμερῶν, ἐκεῖ πέ̣μπω. Moreover, in the following examples the syntax προτοῦ or πρότερον followed by an infinitive is justified because of a previous infinitive: *PSI* 4.343.2-4 (255 BC) μὴ θαυμάσηις ἐπὶ τῶι Νικόλαον ἀπελθεῖν προτοῦ ἢ τὸν λόγον συνθεῖναι; *PSI* 4.330.2-3 (258/257 BC) ὤ[ι]μην οὖν σοὶ μὲ̣ν̣ γράφειν πρότερον ἢ ἀντιτεῖναι.

after εὐθέως.[6] In Anast. Sinait. *Hexaemeron* (Baggarly-Kuehn) οὕτως εὐθέως ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέπει the two adverbs (εὐθέως ὕστερον) are placed together to indicate that the action[7] followed immediately: the revised text of *P.Oxy.* 10.1291.3-8 οὐδ[εί]ς μοι ἤνεγκεν ἐπιστολὴν περὶ ἄρτων, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθέως <ὕστερον> ἢ ἔπεμψας διὰ Κολλούθου ἐπιστολήν, εἰδοὺ ἀρτάβηι σοι γίνεται is smooth and coherent and easy to translate: "no one brought me a letter about the loaves of bread, but immediately, after you sent the letter by Kollouthos, an artaba was prepared (or is prepared) for you."[8] The present tense in the clause ἀρτάβηι σοι γίνεται is not futuristic, as Olsson writes in his commentary, but it should be considered a perfective (or, alternatively, progressive). With this approach I have at best given a likely interpretation of the text that Zois had just received a letter from Ischyrion by Kollouthos and immediately afterwards she replies to Ischyrion saying that she has already prepared (or that she is preparing) an artaba of bread to be sent. Instead of the Zois' punchy style of the first interpretation we have Zois' care and efficiency.

The second issue concerns Ischyrion's staying in Alexandria. The text was interpreted as: "If you wish to depart to Alexandria, Apollos son of Theon is going tomorrow."[9]

ἐὰν
δὲ θέρῃς εἰς Ἀλεξάν-
δρεα ἀπελθεῖν, Ἀπολ-
λῶς Θέωνος ὑπάγει
αὔριον.

This interpretation was based on the possible phonological mistake of θέρῃς instead of θέλῃς and on the infinitive ἀπελθεῖν depending on this "want." This syntax requires that Zois has left out the apodosis of the conditional "if you wish to depart to Alexandria." This apodosis would be a phrase such as

[6] Cf. the example in *P.Hamb.* 2.192.4-9 cited above, εὐθέως εἰσελθοῦσα εἰς τὴν̣ Ἀντινόου οὐκ ἠμέλησ̣ά σου τοῦ ἐντολίου, ἀλλ̣᾽ εὐθέως, πρὶν ἢ βασταχθῇ τὰ σκεύη, ὠνησάμην αὐτό, where εὐθέως is followed by πρὶν ἤ.

[7] In Joh. Chr., *PG* 57, 411 κἂν μὴ εὐθέως, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀπολαύσῃ τῆς ἐδωδῆς and *PG* 63, 725 κἂν μὴ εὐθέως, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀπολαύσῃ τῆς ἡδονῆς, it is clear that εὐθέως and μικρὸν ὕστερον are very close in terms of time.

[8] For other instances of sending artabas of bread, cf. *P.Ryl.* 2.229.7-10 and 21 (AD 38), where Aphodisios sent three artabas of bread to Ammonios, but the latter wants him to send three more. *BGU* 4.1095.14-15 (AD 57), where Ptolemaios had to bring two artabas of bread.

[9] The text was translated by Olsson (n. 1) as "Wenn Du nach Alexandria reisen willst, so reist morgen Theons Sohn Apollos."

γίγνωσκε ὅτι… (Olsson's "so"), "know that Apollos son of Theon is going tomorrow." The hyperbaton θέρῃς… ἀπελθεῖν with the indication of the prepositional εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρεα (l. Ἀλεξάνδρεια<ν>[10]) between the verb and the infinitive is an unusual, but acceptable, syntactical structure in the Greek papyri, where – except for a few instances, such as *P.Fay.* 123 (*ca.* AD 100), ll. 18-19 καὶ βούλομαι πρὸς Σαβεῖνον ἀπε̣λ̣θ̣ε̣ῖ̣[ν] – the position of the prepositional phrase is after the infinitive.

However, the scribe of our private letter seems to be educated, having a nice handwriting and writing without grammatical, syntactical, or phonological mistakes. The verb θέλω is so well known that a spelling mistake in this verb would be so curious, especially considering that the subjunctive in -ῃς is written correctly. In Gignac, *Grammar* 2:105 only the present example is mentioned, while in DDBDP *ca.* 100 examples of θέλῃς (θέλης) are found, and the form is written correct, even in cases where the scribes are almost illiterate and the rest of their text is full of mistakes.[11] A form of the verb θερίζω with the meaning "do summer-work" or "pass the summer" (see LSJ s.v. θερίζω I1 and II) is not possible, because the letter is written in winter (it dates from November 25). Also, other possibilities, such as the meaning "harvest" cannot apply here, because in the months November-December only the sowing of cereal crops and the gathering of olives occur.

At this point I would like to propose an alternative interpretation, although undoubtedly other remedies of the text will also be suggested in the future. Arguably we should take the form θέρῃς as the second singular of the aorist subjunctive of the verb θέρομαι (see LSJ s.v. θέρω). One of the literal meanings of the verb is "to become hot or warm" (see LSJ s.v. θέρω 1). In that case the phrase εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρεα ἀπελθεῖν, "to depart to Alexandria," is the apodosis of the conditional ἐὰν δὲ θέρῃς. Ἀπελθεῖν is an imperative infinite, which is not rare in the papyrological texts; see Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §765. The translation of lines 8-12 would be: "If you are boiling, depart to Alexandria. Apollos son of Theon is going tomorrow." The ideal weather and climate of Alexandria was always praised in the ancient literary sources,[12] and Zois' advice or exhortation

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[10] Cf. the same spelling in *BGU* 16.2611.5 (10 BC) εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρεα.

[11] The place of writing of this private letter in not known, so we cannot say whether its origin is from the Fayyum (where the phoneme /r/ merged with /l/ (see Gignac, *Grammar* 2, pp. 106-107) or another place in Egypt.

[12] See for instance Strabo 17.1.7 with the commentary of S. Radt (ed.), *Strabons Geographika, Band 8. Buch XIV- XVII: Kommentar* (Göttingen 2009) 418.9ff. n., and N. Biffi, *L'Africa di Strabone. Libro XVII della Geografia. Introduzione, traduzione e commento* (Modugno 1999) 265; cf. the discussion in P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 1:5 and 2:6, n. 14. For the temperatures in Alexandria and Cairo (com-

could be the first instance of this recorded in the papyri.[13]

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pared also with the Upper Egypt) in the 19th century (pre-industrial period) see "The Campaign in Egypt: Climate of Alexandria and Cairo," *The British Medical Journal* no. 1131 (Sept. 2, 1882) 429-430.

[13] On the other hand, we could have here a metaphorical use of the verb θέρομαι, although it does not appear in the literary or documentary sources. However, the verb θερμαίνω comes from θέρω, and its metaphorical use is attested (see LSJ s.v. 2; esp. Herod. 1.20 οὐ τοῦτο μή σε θερμήνῃ); Cf. also Dositheus, *Ars Gram.* 75 θερμαίνω calfacio (cf. *OLD* s.v. *calefacio* 4); Σ Eur., *Hec.* 875 ἀπὸ τοῦ θέρω τὸ θερμαίνω ἐτυμολογεῖται τὸ θράσος, ὅπερ μετατιθέμενον γίνεται καὶ θάρσος. καὶ θράσος μὲν ὁ ἀλόγιστος θυμὸς, θάρσος δὲ ὁ ἔλλογος ἐπὶ ψυχῆς; Σ Hom., *Il.* 6.331 θέρηται, θερμαίνῃ· νῦν δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ καίηται. Therefore, to take these lines to mean that Zois writes to her brother that "if you feel excited, go to Alexandria. Apollos son of Theon will go tomorrow" should not be rejected. To express a simple or strong will, it is not necessary to use only the verb θέλειν. In the papyrological texts we also find βούλεσθαι, (ἐπι)ζητεῖν (e.g. *P.Flor.* 3.332.6-8 (AD 114-119), ἐπιζητεῖ νῦν μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων γυμναστικῶν φίλων πῶς ἐπιθῆταί μοι ἀπόντος σου), ἐπιθυμεῖν, ὀρέγεσθαι (e.g., *P.Lond.* 5.1677.7 [AD 566/567] ἀρετὴν ἣν ἐπέχει ὀρέγεται διατελεῖν; *P.Lond.* 5.1678.4), ἐπείγεσθαι (e.g., *P.Oxy.* 1.120, 17 [IV AD], αἰπείγεται [l. ἐπείγεται] ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.), depending on the object (noun or infinitive etc.). In l. 3 of *BGU* 2.665 (I AD) the text runs as [ἐ]τ̣ηγανίζετο ἀναβῆναι, ὅπως σε παρακαλέσῃ [ε]ὐλαβεῖν αὐτήν (in N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* [Oxford 1983] 80, this part of the text was not translated). LSJ s.v. τηγανίζω ("to fry in a frying-pan") refers to this papyrus that has a dubious meaning, but Olsson (n. 1) 70 notes that "vor Eifer brennen. Herwerden: 'incendere, incitare.' Vgl. καίομαι, ἐκκαίομαι (Röm. 1,27)"; Δημητράκος, s.v. τηγανίζω 2, in reference to this papyrus attributed a metaphorical meaning to the verb: "φλέγομαι, κατέχομαι ὑπὸ σφοδρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας." This meaning might be true, but also, in Modern Greek there is the meaning "I am given a hard time, suffer" (see Γ. Μπαμπινιώτης, *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* [Αθήνα 2006], s.v. τηγανίζω: "μτφ. υποβάλλω (κάποιον) σε μεγάλη δοκιμασία, τον ταλαιπωρώ πολύ"), and the latter could also apply to the passage in *BGU* 2.665.3.

P.Nag.Hamm. *66*

P.Nag.Hamm. 66 is a Greek letter retrieved from the cartonnage of Nag Hammadi Codex VII along with dozens of other, sometimes related letters in Greek and Coptic. The edition of the texts (Leiden 1981) was preceded by their illustration in *The Facisimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Cartonnage* (Leiden 1979). *P.Nag.Hamm*. 66 is dated palaeographically to the fourth century, and other, dated items from the same covers are from the mid-fourth century. The letter contains various instructions, including (lines 6-15):

σπούδασ̣ον
κεῖραι τὰ πέντε ἐρ[. . .]
Κ̣άρια ἐριδίων καὶ ἄφες
παρὰ σοὶ ἕως ἂν καταλά-
βω σε. σπ[ο]ύδασον̣ μ̣ὴ
πωλῆσαι ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἕως
ἂν καταλάβω σε, ἐπειδή-
περ οὐ δύναμαι ἐλθεῖν
νυνὶ διὰ τὴν ταραχὴν
τῶν τειρώ̣ν̣[ων

This is translated as: "Be sure to shear the five Carian … of wool, and keep them with you until I meet you; make sure not to sell any of them until I meet you, since I am not able to come at present, because of the disturbance of the recruits."

In the note to lines 7-8, the editors consider ἐρ[ίφια], "shear the Carian goats of their hair," but apart from the odd construction with the genitive, one wonders what Carian goats are doing in Upper Egypt. In the same note, the editors draw attention to a faulty entry in the *WB*, where κάριον was listed under *kappa* but δισκάριον was meant. The editors of *P.Nag.Hamm* 66 should have taken this mistake to heart. In line 8 of their text, κ̣άρια must also be the end of a noun. I suggest πο]κ̣άρια, "fleeces." The expression ποκάρια ἐριδίων occurs literally in *P.Mich.* 3.214.21, a letter from the well-known Paniskos to his wife.[14] The verb κείρειν occasionally takes πόκον (or πόκους) as its object (see *P.Mil.Vogl.* 4.212.1.11 and 5.6 of AD 109), and the diminutive ποκάριον is merely a Late Antique alternative to πόκος. As a translation of *P.Nag.Hamm.* 66.7-8, "shear the five fleeces of wool" (the author has in mind) would seem acceptable. What precedes πο]κάρια in line 7 remains uncertain. ἔρ[ια would seem superfluous, but note *P.Enteux.* 2.5: κείρω τὰ ἔρια.

[14] Cf. P. Heilporn, "Des nouvelles de Paniskos," *BASP* 49 (2012) 119-138.

In another, early fourth-century letter, *P.Kell.* 1.66, the lacuna following ἀ[γό]ρασόν μοι ἐριδίων in line 10 may be supplemented with [πόκον/πόκους (for πόκον ἐριδίων see *SB* 18.13593.19, another roughly contemporary letter) or ποκάριον/ποκάρια rather than a form of σάκκος as suggested by the editor in the note. In *P.Nag.Hamm.* 3.9, an account of, among other things, textile products (στρώματα, στημ[in the next couple of lines), we can also supply πο]καρίων.

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P.Lund. *4.13*

The availability of digital photos on the internet allows scholars worldwide to check various problematic readings and passages in papyri published long ago in far-away places. With this new tool there is, at least in my view, much useful work still to be done. A question raised by my colleague Jean Gascou (Paris) drew my attention to an unexpectedly interesting case, that of *P.Lund.* 4.13 = *P.Choix* 25 = *SB* 6.9349 = TM 31251. Unfortunately, it is not yet indicated in the HGV or the PN that a splendid digital photo of this text is now available.[15] This photo allows me to propose a new reading for line 2 where the *ed.princ.* reads:

(1) τῷ τὴν στατιῶνα ἔχ̣ον-
(2) τι κώ(μης?) Ἰβ(ιῶνος) (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων)

The re-edition in *P.Choix* 25 reads line 2 as follows: τι κώ(μης) . . . . β(ενε)-φ(ικιαρίῳ). My own reading is as follows: τι κώμ(ης) ὑποβ(ενε)φ(ικιαρίῳ), the initial *upsilon*, the *pi*, and the *omicron* being damaged but not probematical.

To my knowledge the function of a *subbeneficiarius* is not yet attested, but there is no problem with rendering Latin *sub-* in compounds indicating an office or rank by Greek ὑπο-. Cf., e.g., *BGU* 2.668.16 et *passim alibi*: ὑποδιάκ̣(ονος), and *P.Bad.* 6.173.2: ὑ̣π̣ο̣βοηθ(ός) = Lat. *subadiuva*. For various other possibilities, see the WörterListen, 17th version (January 2014), pp. 487-489.[16]

Santpoort-Zuid K.A.Worp

[15] http://www.papyri.info/apis/lund.apis.27?rows=3&start=15&fl=id%2Ctitle&fq=series_led_path%3Alund%3B*%3B*%3Bapis&sort=series+asc%2Cvolume+asc%2Citem+asc&p=16&t=794.

[16] I am grateful to my colleague Jean Gascou, with whom I happily collaborated over three decades, for stimulating me to produce this new reading of a new term.

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 199-215

Christian Inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia 1 (2013)

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Abstract
First installment of an annual overview of published inscriptions in Greek and Coptic from Christian Egypt and Nubia.

Whereas a large number of Greek inscriptions from Egypt are regularly included in the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* and covered in the *Bulletin Épigraphique*, nothing similar exists for Coptic inscriptions, and they remain dispersed over a variety of publications that are sometimes hard to come by.[1] The artificiality of this split on the basis of language has become more and more poignant over the last couple of decades, as the interest in Coptic epigraphy has grown and scholars of Christian Egypt (covering roughly the Late Antique and medieval periods) find it increasingly natural to study its two main languages, Greek and Coptic, side by side.[2]

The first two authors discussed the issue during the 27th International Congress of Papyrology held at the University of Warsaw in August 2013 and came to the conclusion that there is a clear need for an epigraphical bulletin that provides an annual overview of published inscriptions from Christian

[1] This lacuna is partly remedied by *SB Kopt.*, which includes many inscriptions, but its volumes appear irregularly and do not constitute an annual epigraphical bulletin in the vein of *SEG* or *BÉ*.

[2] See J. van der Vliet, "L'épigraphie chrétienne d'Égypte et de Nubie: bilan et perspectives," in A. Boud'hors and D. Vaillancourt (eds.), *Huitième congrès international d'études coptes*, vol. 1 (Paris 2006) 303-320, which in many ways can be regarded as a blueprint for the current project, in part. pp. 304, 310 on the methodological imperative to study Greek and Coptic inscriptions together. Cf. the (very brief) section on "le domaine copte" in F. Bérard et al., *Guide de l'épigraphiste*, 4th ed. (Paris 2010) 330-333, with some attention to the interaction between Greek and Coptic.

Egypt in both Greek and Coptic.[3] It immediately appeared to us that such a bulletin should also include Christian Nubia. As a particularly vibrant, recent scholarly interest in this area demonstrates,[4] Greek and Coptic inscriptions are an essential source of evidence for Christian Nubia, and its epigraphical record shows many commonalities with that of Christian Egypt.[5] As a result, the third author, who is a specialist in the epigraphy of both Christian Egypt and Nubia, was invited to join the team, and thus the idea of creating the present bulletin was formed.

"Christian Inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia" (CIEN) aims to facilitate the study of Christian Egypt and Nubia on the basis of epigraphical sources by providing an annual overview of published inscriptions in Greek and Coptic from both areas. The overview will not only collect all editions of inscriptions for any given year, but it will also include re-editions, reprints of previously published work, notes and studies that are based to a considerable degree on inscriptions. Moreover, we intend to go beyond a mere *Literaturübersicht* and offer our critical comments and corrections on these texts, if deemed relevant or useful. We are well aware of the difficulty surrounding the term "Christian" in our title,[6] but rather than attempting to come up with a strict definition, we use the term "Christian" rather loosely as the least problematic description of our focus. As a result of this inclusive approach, inscriptions of which the Christian character may not be immediately clear, but which belong to the same milieu, as well as inscriptions in other languages, such as Syriac, Arabic and Old Nubian, will occasionally be covered. Where possible mention will also be made of figural graffiti, which often occur with textual ones and are another neglected source of evidence for the study of Christian Egypt and Nubia.[7]

The entries are arranged in topographical order from north to south, going upstream from Alexandria to Aswan, followed by the Sinai, Eastern De-

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[3] For another epigraphical bulletin that focuses on a specific area of research, in this case Greek religion, see the Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion (EBGR), which is compiled by A. Chaniotis and published in the journal *Kernos* since 1991.

[4] See e.g. J.H.F. Dijkstra's review of G. Ochała, *Chronological Systems of Christian Nubia* (Warsaw 2011) in this volume, pp. 273-278.

[5] Van der Vliet (n. 2) 304.

[6] Cf. the similar problem of identifying what constitutes a Christian amulet, for which see the discussion in T.S. de Bruyn and J.H.F. Dijkstra, "Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraka and Tablets," *BASP* 48 (2011) 170-171.

[7] See J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Syene I: The Figural and Textual Graffiti from the Temple of Isis at Aswan* (Mainz/Darmstadt 2012) 19-20.

sert, and oases, then continuing upstream in Nubia.[8] When provenances are approximate (for instance, "Upper Egypt"), such entries will be listed before specific locations within that wider area. Each entry starts with a heading in bold containing the basic information: the modern name of the site, with the ancient name (if any exists) in brackets, the language and type of inscription and the date (if the date is still under discussion, it is left out of the heading). The entry itself succinctly describes the physical aspects of the inscription (including scribal habits, palaeography and decoration) and its contents (with specific attention to onomastics, formulae, and functions). In the case of re-editions and notes, fewer descriptive information is given and the emphasis is on differences with the first edition. With respect to studies using inscriptions, we highlight the contribution of the inscriptions to the overarching theme and mention any observations on individual texts that we deem important, such as new readings. In order to make the bulletin as accessible as possible to non-specialists, we have been liberal in providing text in the original language(s) and translations.

We sincerely hope that CIEN will prove a useful research tool for anyone interested in Christian Egypt and/or Nubia and invite colleagues who publish inscriptions that are to be included in our bulletin, especially those that appear in less accessible venues, to send their publications to us. In what follows we provide the first installment of the bulletin, which covers the inscriptions published in 2013. Any inscriptions that we have missed or will be published with a 2013 date but have not yet appeared at the time of writing will be included in the next bulletin.[9]

1. Dating formula in Coptic inscriptions. J. van der Vliet, "*Christus Imperat:* An Ignored Coptic Dating Formula," in Y.N. Youssef and S. Moawad (eds.), *From Old Cairo to the New World: Coptic Studies Presented to Gawdat Gabra on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Leuven 2013) 173-184. The Coptic dating formula "Christ being king over us" (ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲭ(ⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟ)ⲥ ⲟ ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ϩⲓϫⲱⲛ, and variants) is attested in inscriptions, colophons of manuscripts, and legal texts from the 8th-13th centuries. The author argues that, drawing upon Byzantine imperial ideology, the formula arose as a reaction to Muslim rule and acquired a new, eschatological meaning that denies the political present and situates the scribe and his community in the extra-temporal reign of

[8] As is done, e.g., in "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan," published annually in the journal *Orientalia.*

[9] We would like to express our sincere thanks to Peter van Minnen and Timothy Renner for comments on a first draft of this bulletin and Jean-Luc Fournet for his thoughts on nos. **26-33** below.

Christ. The author discusses Coptic inscriptions from various sites in Egypt and Nubia.

At p. 176, he translates the Sahidic Coptic building inscription *SB Kopt.* 3.1584.9-15 (Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, inv. A 14529; Upper Egypt, 10 October 697) on the basis of new readings from the photograph printed on an unnumbered plate in W. Brunsch, "Koptische und griechische Inschriften aus Alexandria," *WZKM* 84 (1994) 9-34.

At p. 179, he offers a re-edition of the dating formula (ll. 1-4) of a Bohairic inscription (Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. 359; Lower Egypt, 897/898 CE) from the photograph and facsimile reproduced in I. Kamel, *Catalogue général des antiquités du Musée Copte, Nos. 1-253. Coptic Funerary Stelae* (Cairo 1987) 108, 224, no. 60.

2. el-Lahun (Ptolemais Hormos). Greek dedication to the Virgin Mary, 6th-7th cent. G. Nachtergael, "Dédicace d'un monument à la Vierge Marie," *Ricerche di egittologia e di antichità copte* (henceforth *REAC*) 13 (2013) 59-62, reprinted from *REAC* 8 (2006) 11-14 = *SEG* 56.1985. *Ed. princ.* (as an epitaph): G. Giamberardini, "La preghiera nella chiesa copta," *Studia Orientalia Christiana. Collectanea* 8 (1963) 66-67, no. 15, Pl. VIII. Relief (Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. 1641) showing the Virgin Mary between two angels in praying gesture (see the plate in the *ed. princ.*; for the correct interpretation of the scene, see P. Grossmann, T. Derda, and J. van der Vliet, "Monuments of Christian Sinnuris [Fayyum]," *Eastern Christian Art* 8 [2011] 41). In between and below the figures, a Greek inscription asks God's help for the dedicator, Elias, the *oikonomos* of an unnamed sanctuary of the Virgin. The dedicatory formula (with ἐγένετο τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον "this work came into being") is typical of building inscriptions. Note that the monument is said to owe its existence to the πρόνοια "providence" of the Virgin (cf. *I.Philae* 2.220-221) and the ἐπίνοια "initiative" (if thus read correctly) of the dedicator (cf. *OGIS* 2.580, from Cilicia).

3-6. Upper Egypt. Four Greek/Coptic funerary stelae. *Ed. princ.* T.S. Richter in S. Hodak, T.S. Richter, and F. Steinmann, *Coptica: Koptische Ostraka und Papyri, Koptische und Griechische Grabstelen aus Ägypten und Nubien, spätantike Bauplastik, Textilien und Keramik* (Berlin 2013) 128-131, 155, cat. nos. 55-57, 71. Four funerary stelae, two in Greek (though printed in Coptic font) and two in Coptic, with a fifth fragment (cat. no. 72, perhaps from Qaw el-Kebir [Antaeopolis]) lost in World War II without sufficient documentation to warrant an edition; three of the four stelae carry the εἷς Θεός "one God"-formula (**3**, **5-6**); from the former collection of Georg Steindorff, now in the Egyptian Museum of the University of Leipzig; here presented in roughly geographical order.

3. Faiyum or Middle Egypt. Greek funerary stela, 7th/8th cent. Cat. no. 55, Pl. 29, *ed. princ.* (but earlier reproductions in exhibition catalogues exist). Limestone stela (48 x 44 x 4.7 cm), judging by the material from the Faiyum or Middle Egypt, for two individuals, Hor and Ioannes, depicted as *orantes* on either side of three crosses of different sizes, one of which is on a standard. The text is Greek with the εἷς Θεός-formula and a brief invocation of St. Michael, though Hor's name is spelled with a ϩ.

4. Northern Middle Egypt or Abydos region? Coptic funerary stela, ca. 9th cent. Cat. no. 71, Pl. 41, *ed. princ.* Lower left hand corner of a limestone stela (10.7 x 9.1 x 2.8 cm) with a decorated rim in "arabesque" style. The text is no fake but part of a Sahidic funerary prayer, similar to *SB Kopt.* 1.745-746 (both from Abydos, 10th century). Read: [ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ]‖ ⲛ̇ϣⲉⲛϩ̣[ⲧⲏϥ ⲛϥⲁⲁϥ ⲛⲙ]‖ⲡϣⲁ ⲛⲥ̣[ⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲧ]‖ⲙⲏϩ ⲛⲣⲁ[ϣⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲙⲏⲓⲧⲛ ϣⲁ]‖ⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲙ̣[ⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ]‖ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲕⲗ[ⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ] " ... merciful God, and make him(?) worthy to hear that voice full of joy, saying: 'come to me, blessed ones of my father, and inherit the kingdom'" (cf. Matt. 25:34). Palaeography suggests a date in or around the 9th century.

5. Armant (Hermonthis)? Coptic funerary stela, 6th-7th cent. Cat. no. 57, Pl. 30, *ed. princ.* (but earlier reproductions in exhibition catalogues exist). Limestone stela (67 x 32 x 4.0-5.9 cm) of Hermonthis-type, in the shape of a gable with a cross in a laurel wreath, for a man named Papnoute. Greek εἷς Θεός-formula followed by a Coptic dating lemma (with ⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲙⲁϥ for Sahidic ⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ "to go to rest," confirming a provenance in the Theban region).

6. Esna region? Greek funerary stela, 7th-8th cent. Cat. no. 56, Pl. 28, *ed. princ.* Sandstone stela (28 x 24 cm) of so-called Esna-type, with a cross on a small pedestal in a decorated *aedicula*, for a certain Ioannes. The Greek text contains the εἷς Θεός-formula; the stone reads in l. 1 βειοων for βοηθῶν and in l. 2 ιωαννηο for Ἰωάννης (the stonecutter got confused over round letters).

7-9. Zawyet el-Maiyitin, near Kom el-Ahmar. Coptic funerary stelae, 6th-8th cent. F. Calament, "Rive gauche, rive droite: des éclaircissements sur un toponyme de l'Hermopolite. Autour de la stèle Louvre E 27221," in A. Boud'hors and C. Louis (eds.), *Études coptes XII. Quatorzième journée d'études* (Paris 2013) 37-46, edits or re-edits three Coptic stelae of deceased persons from Temjeu and discusses the location of this toponym. The general appearance (coarse limestone blocks of ca. 25 x 38 cm) and the text of the three inscriptions are quite similar (ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ N.N. ⲡⲣⲙ ⲧⲉⲙϫⲏⲩ ⲁϥⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ "our brother N.N. the man of Temjeu went to rest"; date; ϥⲑ "Amen," in two cases preceded by ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ "in peace"). Since one of them (**9** below) was found during excavations by R. Weill in 1912 in the necropolis of Zawyet el-Maiyitin, near Kom el-Ahmar, the two other stelae probably share the same provenance. This constitutes a new argument for the identification Τεμσεὺ Σκόρδων = ⲧⲙⲭⲏⲩ = Dimšaw wa Hāšim. At p. 44, the author mentions that the toponym is also attested in a papyrus (now *SB Kopt.* 4.1766.3) and an inscription from Bawit (*ed. princ.* J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît* [Cairo 1904] 126, no. 7).

7. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. E 27221. *Ed. princ.* R.-G. Coquin, "Deux stèles funéraires coptes (Louvre E. 27.220 et 27.221)," *BIFAO* 83 (1983) 101-102 = *SB Kopt.* 1.743 = Calament, pp. 37-38, Fig. 1. Coptic funerary stela of "our brother" Papa Iakob from Temjeu and Mine his brother; Iakob died on 17 Pharmouthi, that is, 12 April (not 25 April as stated in the commentary; all conversions need to be corrected) and Mine on 1 Mecheir (26/27 January).

8. Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. 198. *Ed. princ.* G. Sobhy, "Miscellanea," *BSAC* 5 (1939) 76-77 = *SB Kopt.* 2.1091 = Calament, pp. 38-39, Fig. 2. Coptic funerary stela, beginning with an invocation to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit and asking to remember (ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ) "our brother" Papa Phib from Temjeu, who died on 25 Pachon (20 May). At l. 5, ⲁϥⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙϥ should be edited as ⲁϥⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙ<ⲙⲟ>ϥ.

9. Beaufort-en-Vallée, Musée Joseph-Denais, inv. BF 913.00.74. *Ed. princ.* Calament, pp. 40-41, Fig. 3. Coptic funerary inscription (25 x 38.5 x 4.8 cm) of "our brother" Anoute from Temjeu, who died on 25 Mecheir (19/20 February; note that ϫⲟⲩⲧⲏ in l. 4 means "twenty-five," not "twenty"). Under the 5 lines of text is a simple decoration consisting of a two-strand plait; the letters were painted in red.

10. el-Ashmunein (Hermopolis). Greek funerary inscription. *Ed. princ.* P. Grossmann and D.M. Bailey, "The South Church at Hermopolis Magna (Ashmunein): A Preliminary Account," in K. Painter (ed.), *"Churches Built in Ancient Times." Recent Studies in Early Christian Archaeology* (London 1994) 64-65 = A. Łajtar, "Bemerkungen zu drei kürzlich veröffentlichten griechischen Inschriften aus der Spätantike," *ZPE* 114 (1996) 143-146 (no. 3) = *SEG* 44.1455 = *I.Hermoupolis* 21bis = *BÉ* 1999.597. The inscription on a marble slab, mentioning a λῃστοδιώκτης "officer chasing robbers" Dorotheos (ll. 3-5), was found reused with another, later inscription below it in the floor of the baptismal tank of the South Church and dated by Łajtar (p. 144) to before ca. 450 CE, when the church was built (though cf. n. 11, where he allows for the possibility of a later date for both inscriptions).

In a note on *I.Hermoupolis* 21bis published in *BASP* 50 (2013) 286, P. van Minnen observes that the term λῃστοδιώκτης only occurs in 6th- and 7th-century texts and argues on the basis of *CPR* 25.35 (mid-7th century, perhaps 619-629 CE, see J.-L. Fournet, review of *CPR* 25, in *BASP* 47 [2010] 291), which is probably also from Hermopolis and mentions a λῃστοδιώκτης with a name on -όθεος (l. 14), for identifying the two persons and dating the inscription to the mid-7th century, while assigning an even later date to the second inscription and reuse of the slab in the church.

11. Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit. Coptic and Arabic inscriptions. D. Bénazeth, "Le bassin fatimide du Musée Copte, inv. 5919, et sa surprenante provenance de Baouit," in A. Boud'hors and C. Louis (eds.), *Études coptes XII. Quatorzième journée d'études* (Paris 2013) 151-168. The contribution studies a group of five metal bowls, all dating to the 11th-12th centuries and sometimes bearing Arabic inscriptions, in particular Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. 5919, which is identified as coming from the 1902 excavations at Bawit. The remainder of the article discusses the place of this inscribed Fatimid bowl in the history of the site. At p. 160, the author lists the known Arabic graffiti from the monastery, which are all mixed with or written near Coptic texts, and at pp. 162-163 the Coptic inscriptions dated with a Hijra year (the most recent one is probably dated to AH 422, that is, 29 December 1030-18 December 1031 CE). The Arabic graffiti, mainly known from old photographs or descriptions, are only described (though p. 160, n. 40 mentions a possible reading *barakat [Allah]* "benediction of God"). Most of these texts are written in or close to the churches, which fell out of use in the 11th century.

12. Area of monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit (?). Coptic funerary stela, 7th-9th cent. (?). *Ed. princ.* M. Capozzo, "Matériaux coptes dans les Musées du Vatican," in A. Boud'hors and C. Louis (eds.), *Études coptes XII. Quatorzième journée d'études* (Paris 2013) 56-57, Fig. 7. A translation, commentary and facsimile of the text were already published by M.A. Murray, "Coptic Stela of Apa Telemē," *Ancient Egypt* 1 (1914) 156-158. The stela (height 53 cm) was found by W.M. Flinders Petrie in Egypt in 1913 and, thanks to the intervention of J. Capart, entered the Museo del Pontificio Istituto Biblico (inv. D 2062), after which it was transferred to the Musei Vaticani in 1982.

The text commemorates the death of Apa Teleme; it begins with a long invocation (ll. 1-21) to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, our fathers Michael and Gabriel, our mother Mary, our father Adam, our mother Eve, the 24 Elders, our fathers the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles, the martyrs, the confessors, the archbishops, the bishops and the great men Apa Apollo, Apa Anoup, Apa Phib, Apa Makarios and his sons, Apa Moses and his brethren, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Apa Joseph the wanderer, Apa Ammoni from Pseteshons, Apa Apolloni the martyr and all saints. The text continues with the ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ "remember"-formula, mentions the name of the deceased and his place of origin, and breaks off at the date (ll. 21-24). The mention of the saints of Bawit (Apollo, Phib and Anoup) indicates a probable location in (the neighborhood of) the monastery. The deceased, Apa Teleme, comes from Poureh, an otherwise unknown village (or perhaps it can be identified with Πουραηυ/ⲡⲱⲣⲁϩⲏⲩ in the south of the Hermopolite nome).

Capozzo's (re-)edition contains some typos or mistakes that can be corrected from the plate and from Murray's facsimile and notes. L. 9: ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟⲧⲉ → ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ. L. 11: ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲏ[ⲡⲓ]ⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ → ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲏ[ⲉ]ⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ. Ll. 12-13: ⲛⲉ[ⲛ]||ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ → ⲛⲉ`ⲛ´|ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ (with a small ⲛ written above ⲉ). Ll. 13-14: ⲁⲡⲁ | [ⲁ]ⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ → ⲁⲡⲁ | <ⲁ>ⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ. L. 15: ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲉ → ⲙⲛ <ⲛ>ⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲉ. L. 21: ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩ → ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ. Ll. 21-22: ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ|ⲁⲡⲁ → ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ|ⲛ ⲁⲡⲁ. L. 23: ⲛⲧⲁϥ[. . . . . .]ⲥⲟⲩϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ → ⲛⲧⲁϥ[ⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟ]ϥ̣ ⲥⲟⲩ ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ. The last line (24) is partly destroyed; since the end of this line is blank, the lacuna should have contained only a month name and possibly an indiction year.

13-18. Qaw el-Kebir (Antaeopolis). Six Greek funerary stelae, 6th-7th cent. G. Nachtergael, "Épitaphes grecques chrétiennes d'Antaioupolis," *REAC* 13 (2013) 75-80, reprinted from his *ed. princ.* in *REAC* 11 (2009) 69-74 = *SEG* 59.1756-1761. Limestone stelae of small dimensions with brief Greek epitaphs, four of them using ἐκοιμήθη/ἐκοιμήθησαν "she/he/they fell asleep" as the verb for dying (**14**-**17** below), here edited after G. Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, vol. 3 (London 1930), Pls. LII-LIV. A seventh inscription from the same group is *SB* 5.7564 = *SEG* 8.660 of 601 CE. For the site, see now B. Tudor, *Christian Funerary Stelae of the Byzantine and Arab Periods from Egypt* (Marburg 2011) 79-86, who notes that several of the stelae found by Brunton in 1922-1925 are now in the British Museum. An integrated (re-)edition of all Greek and Coptic inscriptions from Brunton's excavations remains a desideratum.

13. Nachtergael, pp. 76-77, no. 1, now in the British Museum (see for a photo, Tudor, *Stelae*, 86, Fig. 17, front only). The text on the front starts with a simple κύριε βοήθησον "Lord, help"-formula and contains the name of the deceased, Aplo; below the text are three *croix pattées*, the one in the center of larger size. The stone was apparently reused; the (unfinished?) back bears the beginning of the well-known Panopolite formula ⳨̣ Στήλη τοῦ "+ Stela of the [blessed N.N.]" (thus, correctly, Tudor, *Stelae*, 82-83). Aplo was therefore no stylite, as the editor proposes.

14. Nachtergael, p. 77, no. 2. Stela of Harau and his sister Senharau, with discussion of these two related names. Left of the last line is a *crux ansata.*

15. Nachtergael, p. 78, no. 3. Stela of Tam[. . .]; the gender of the owner (partly lost) is unclear.

16. Nachtergael, p. 78, no. 4; according to Tudor, *Stelae*, 82, now London, British Museum, inv. EA 68.793. Lower part of a stela, with two *cruces ansatae* beneath. The name of the owner is lost.

17. Nachtergael, p. 79, no. 5. Stela of Philotheos and Nonne, with discussion of the latter name (a Copticizing form of Nonnos).

18. Nachtergael, pp. 79-80, no. 6. Stela of Didymos, Herakleios and Maximinos.

19. Sohag (Shenoute Monastery). Greek funerary inscription, 6th-8th cent. *Ed. princ.* A. Delattre, "Deux papyrus coptes et une inscription grecque du Monastère Blanc," *BASP* 50 (2013) 196-201 (no. 3). Found during excavations of the Supreme Council of Antiquities in the 1980s or 1990s without recording the exact find spot; on a reused pink granite block (86 x 46 x 53 cm) of which parts on the left, right and top are missing; the stone cutter started out with longer lines (ll. 1-7) and continued with much shorter lines, perhaps on account of the shape of the block.

The text, dated loosely on the basis of the contents and the use of Greek to the 6th-8th centuries, contains 23 lines, one of which (l. 1) is reconstructed. In l. 2 a form of τελειόω can be read, probably ἐτε]λ̣ειώ̣[θη "he/she was perfected (in death)," "he/she died"; the name of the deceased is not preserved. After the date (a 14th indiction year; l. 3) follows the well-known formula ἀ[νάπαυσον τ]ὴν ψυχὴν … ἐν κόλ[ποις Ἀβρ(α)ὰ]μ καὶ Ἰσὰκ κ(αὶ) [Ἰα]κ̣ῶβ "give rest to the soul of … in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" (ll. 4-8) in enlarged form, that is, by adding καὶ μετὰ π̣ά̣ντων τ̣[ῶν] προφητῶν κ(αὶ) ἀποστόλων κ̣αὶ εὐαγγελεσ̣τ̣ῶν καὶ τῶν ἁγ̣ίων πατέρω(ν) ἡμ̣ῶν "with all the prophets, apostles and evangelists and our holy fathers" (ll. 8-15). These "holy fathers" are identified in ll. 15-23 as Apa Pkolios, Apa Psoios and Abba Sinouthios, better known under their Coptic names (Pgol, Pshoi and Shenoute) and all three prominent figures in the monastery's history. Pgol is given a rare designation, προπάτωρ "first father," "founder" (ll. 16-17), which is the equivalent of Coptic ⲡⲉⲛϣⲣⲡ ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ "our first father," used for Pgol in Shenoute's *Canons*.

The author also proposes to correct the reading of a *dipinto* from the Red Monastery (*ed. princ.* P. Dilley, "*Dipinti* in Late Antiquity and Shenoute's Monastic Federation: Text and Image in the Paintings of the Red Monastery," *ZPE* 165 [2008] 118-119) from ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ[ⲗⲟⲩ] ⲡⲣⲟⲡⲁⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲁ̣ⲣⲭⲏⲙⲁⲛⲁ̣(ⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩ) to Πκ̣ω̣[λίου] προπάτ̣ο̣ρος ἀρχημανδ̣(ρίτου), which would constitute a parallel in Greek for Pgol's designation in the Shenoute Monastery text.

20. Western Thebes (Tomb of Ramesses VI). Greek visitors' inscriptions. A. Łukaszewicz, "Polish Epigraphical Mission in the Tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9) in the Valley of the Kings," *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 22 (2013) 161-170. A brief announcement of a project to record the visitors' inscriptions in Demotic, Greek, Latin and Coptic from the tomb of Ramesses VI, thus updating and supplementing Baillet's *I.Syringes* (1926). No texts are given.

21. Aswan region and Lower Nubia. Greek and Coptic inscriptions. J. van der Vliet, "Contested Frontiers: Southern Egypt and Northern Nubia, AD 300-1500: The Evidence of the Inscriptions," in G. Gabra and H. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Aswan and Nubia* (Cairo 2013) 63-77, surveys 1200 years of interactions across the southern Egyptian frontier on the basis of inscriptions, mostly those in Greek and Coptic. In the first phase (298-639), he draws attention to the acculturation process of the peoples of northern Lower Nubia (through the inscriptions from Kalabsha and Tafa), including their gradual adoption of Christianity, and the remarkably high number of inscriptions left by the bishops of Philae, which served to enhance its Christian identity. The second phase (639-1173) saw a new divide between Islamic Egypt and Christian Nubia, which did not, however, preclude ongoing contacts between both sides of the frontier, as appears e.g. from the Nubians attested in the monastery of St. Hatre at Aswan (cf. **24** below). Following the fall of Qasr Ibrim in 1173, inscriptions dated to the third phase (until 1500) witness the lessening power of the Kingdom of Makouria south of the frontier.

22. Aswan region? Greek inscription on a lamp invoking St. Theopiste, ca. 450-650. G. Nachtergael and A. Papaconstantinou, "Une lampe d'Égypte au nom de sainte Théopistè," *REAC* 13 (2013) 43-45, reprinted from *REAC* 6 (2004) 87-89 = *SEG* 54.1730. *Ed. princ.* W.J. Fulco, "An Early Christian Lamp from Aswan Inscribed ΝΕΟΠΙCΤ," *RBi* 110 (2003) 86-88. A lamp with an invocation in Greek of St. Theopiste from Loyola Marymont University (LMU inv. 184), ascribed on the basis of the material to the Aswan region. Corrected reading by the first author; brief discussion of the saint by the second. A similar lamp has been found in Faras (Lower Nubia).

23. Aswan (Deir el-Kubaniya). Coptic inscriptions. In the first of three contributions (cf. **24-25** below) about monastic sites on the west bank at Aswan, R. Dekker, "Dayr al-Kubbaniya. Review of the Documentation on the 'Isisberg' Monastery," in G. Gabra and H. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Aswan and Nubia* (Cairo 2013) 93-103, brings together the evidence for the monastery of Deir el-Kubaniya, 10 km north of Aswan. She redates the church to the 10th/11th century, though she allows for an earlier predecessor (as she does for the monastery of St. Hatre, cf. **24**), and also briefly discusses (pp. 101-102, cf. 96-97) the ten Coptic graffiti that have been published from the site, including some texts intended for the edification of monks.

24. Aswan (monastery of St. Hatre). Coptic inscriptions. R. Dekker, "The Development of the Church at Dayr Anba Hadra. A Study of the Plasterwork and Dated Inscriptions," in G. Gabra and H. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and*

Monasticism in Aswan and Nubia (Cairo 2013) 105-115, analyzes the different layers of plaster in the monastic church of St. Hatre (the so-called monastery of St. Simeon) in conjunction with the dated Coptic inscriptions in order to refine its architectural history. She distinguishes five occupation phases: a rock-cut chapel preceding the construction of the church (6th/7th century); the construction of the church proper (7th/8th century); two renovations of the church (10th and 12th/13th centuries); and the opening up of the *khurus* to laymen (late 13th/14th century).

25. Aswan (Qubbet el-Hawa). Coptic inscriptions. R. Dekker, "An Updated Plan of the Church of Dayr Qubbat al-Hawa," in G. Gabra and H. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Aswan and Nubia* (Cairo 2013) 117-135, revises and updates the ground plan published in her "'New' Discoveries at Dayr Qubbat al-Hawâ, Aswan: Architecture, Wall Paintings and Dates," *Eastern Christian Art* 5 (2008) 19-36, and, in a similar analysis to the one mentioned in **24** above, refines the date of the church to the 10th/11th century, with a major renovation not long before the end of 1179. An appendix presents an overview of the paintings, a figural *dipinto* of a praying monk and a selection of inscriptions (pp. 132-134) with some corrections to published texts and new material, among which a Coptic *dipinto* on several pieces from a mud brick wall written in a presumably 10th/11th-century literary hand and twice mentioning the title ϩⲏⲅⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ "monastic superior." She also takes the occasion to announce a project, together with S. Torallas Tovar and A. Zomeño, to publish the Greek, Coptic and Arabic graffiti from the church.

26-33. Bahariya Oasis (Bir Shawish). Greek/Coptic inscriptions on ceramics, Late Antiquity. *Ed. princ.* M. Dospěl, "Written, Inscribed and Some Decorated Material from Bir Shawish, El-Hayz Oasis," in M. Dospěl and L. Suková (eds.), *Bahriya Oasis: Recent Research into the Past of an Egyptian Oasis* (Prague 2013) 91-112, reviews the written material found during recent excavations of the Czech mission in the el-Hayz Oasis (in the southern part of the Bahariya Oasis). After a brief description of the ostraka, the author publishes a selection of inscribed or painted ceramics, all from House 3 and dating to Late Antiquity (a more precise dating is not discussed, except for the wine jar fragment [**30**] and wine jar [**33**], which are dated to the second half of 4th/first half of 5th century and mid-5th/6th century, respectively):

26-28. Dospěl, pp. 94-96. Two oil lamps (excav. nos. 225/BS/07 and 54/BS/07; Figs. 6.1-2) and a lid of a vessel (no. 68/BS/07; Fig. 6.3) inscribed with the name Ἀπολλῶς (on the lid written in abbreviated form and with one λ as Ἀπολ<λῶς>) followed by the letters ββ.

29. Dospěl, pp. 96-98. A flagon (no. 13/BS/05; Fig. 6.4) with a text transcribed by the author in Coptic as ⲏⲓ ⲉ ⲧⲟⲓⲑⲟⲏ "house of Toithoe." This interpretation is certainly in need of revision, as the phrase is unparalleled in Coptic, though the name Τοιθοη may well be a variant of Τιθοῆς.

30. Dospěl, pp. 98-99. A sherd from a wine jar (surface find, no excav. no.; Fig. 6.5) with letters transcribed as the name Ἰσῶς or perhaps [Π]ισῶς (?). Again the reading is problematic as Pisos is unattested and Isos is only recorded five times and in papyri from the very end of the first to third centuries. There do seem to be traces of a letter before the ι, but given that it is not even clear whether letters are missing to the right, it would seem prudent to transcribe]ισωσ[and to leave it open whether the inscription is a name or something else entirely.

31. Dospěl, pp. 99-101. A water jar (no. 243/BS/07; Fig. 6.6) with the letters χμβ. The author discusses several possible interpretations.

32. Dospěl, p. 102. An amphora fragment (no. 226/BS/07; Fig. 6.8) with two lines of painted text, the second line containing the name Σαραπάμων. In the first line the author reads σαρ ρρρ, in which he sees the first three letters as an abbreviated notation of the name Σαραπάμων in l. 2. Also here it is unclear whether letters are missing towards the left, however, and the first letter does not seem to be a σ, as it is not ligatured at the top to the following α (as in l. 2). With all due reservation, the reading]ευρ̣ can therefore be proposed.[10]

For the cursive writing on such amphorae, see J.-L. Fournet, "La 'dipintologie' grecque: une nouvelle discipline auxiliaire de la papyrologie?" in P. Schubert (ed.), *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie* (Geneva 2012) 256-257, to which a reference would have been in place in general. The vessels published here mostly seem to conform to Fournet's first group (p. 250), carrying the name of the owner(s) (cf. the author's remark at p. 96).

33. Dospěl, pp. 103-105. A wine jar (no. 37/BS/07; Figs. 6.9-11) with the names Papnoute (or a variant; only the first letters Παπν̣[, whether Greek or Coptic, seem to be there on the photographs) and Petros (twice). The author's first proposal to read Coptic ⲕⲉ before the second Petros should be rejected and a Greek reading of the inscription therefore seems more likely.

The author also discusses several wine stoppers with inscribed figures, two of which (no. 129/BS/07 and no excav. no.; pp. 106-107, Pl. 6.2 and Fig. 6.12) may contain Greek letters, and a bowl decorated with a cross. The interpretation of the figure on the wine stopper no. 62.2/BS/07 (p. 107, Fig. 6.13) as a crucified person seems slightly far-fetched, as it could simply be a schematized representation of a man.

[10] As suggested by J.-L. Fournet (personal communication).

34-46. Lower Nubia. Thirteen Greek/Coptic funerary stelae. T.S. Richter in S. Hodak, T.S. Richter, and F. Steinmann, *Coptica: Koptische Ostraka und Papyri, Koptische und Griechische Grabstelen aus Ägypten und Nubien, spätantike Bauplastik, Textilien und Keramik* (Berlin 2013) 131-154, cat. nos. 58-70. (Re-)editions of an important collection of thirteen, mostly undecorated, sandstone stelae with various provenances in Lower Nubia; acquired on different occasions by Georg Steindorff and partly lost in World War II, and now in the Egyptian Museum of the University of Leipzig (cf. **3-6** above for the Egyptian pieces in the same collection). Two stelae are in Greek and eleven in Coptic. Of these five contain the (ϩⲁ) ⲡⲣⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ "in memory of/the memorial of"-formula (**36-40** below) and seven the θείᾳ προνοίᾳ/ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ "through the providence of God"-formula (**35** in Greek, **41-46** in Coptic). Probably due to technical reasons, superlinear dots (as distinct from strokes) and raised letters are not always printed correctly. Editorial procedure is not accounted for (which is particularly missed for the Greek items). Otherwise a fine edition, carefully made and richly annotated. The texts are presented here in roughly geographical order.

34. Kalabsha (Talmis)? Greek funerary stela, 6th-8th cent. Cat. no. 58, Pl. 31. *Ed. princ*. T.S. Richter, "Die neun Stelen Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig Inv.-Nr. 680-688 mit der Herkunftsangabe Qasr Ibrîm," in S. Emmel et al. (eds.), *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden 1999) 296-297 = *SEG* 49.2348 = *SB Kopt.* 3.1602. Greek epitaph of a *meizoteros* Epephanios, dating perhaps rather to the 6th-8th than 7th-9th centuries (see A. Łajtar, "Varia Nubica XII-XIX," *JJP* 39 [2009] 111). Undecorated stela of the ἔνθα κατακεῖται "here lies"-type with a prayer for rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs. Note the abbreviations by raised letters in ll. 4 (twice) and 6; in l. 8, read Ἰσάạḳ. To the bibliography, add J. van der Vliet, "Gleanings from Christian Northern Nubia," *JJP* 32 (2002) 181, 190.

35. Aniba? Greek funerary stela, 8th-9th cent. Cat. no. 67, Pl. 37. *Ed. princ*. U. Monneret de Villard, "Iscrizione di ʿAnibah," *Aegyptus* 6 (1925) 250 = *SB* 3.7190 = *SEG* 8.864 = G. Steindorff, "Christliche Grabsteine aus Nubien," in *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Rome 1941) 205-206, no. 1 = M.G. Tibiletti Bruno, *Iscrizioni nubiane* (Pavia 1964) 20, no. 40 = B. Boyaval, "*SB* 7190," *ZPE* 20 (1976) 23 = *SEG* 26.1716. Greek epitaph for Tanastasia (a Copticizing form of Anastasia) with θείᾳ προνοίᾳ-formula and prayer for rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs "together with all your saints." The editor usefully lists the differences with previous editions.

36-40. Qasr Ibrim (Primis). Five Coptic funerary stelae, ca. 9th/9th-10th cent. For stelae with the ⲡⲣⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ-formula much similar to the present **36-40** from the British excavations at Qasr Ibrim, see A.J. Mills, *The Cemeteries* *of Qasr Ibrîm* (London 1982) Pl. XCI; A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet, *Qasr Ibrim. The Greek and Coptic Inscriptions* (Warsaw 2010) 113-142, nos. 29-37. The first four (**36-39**) date to ca. 9th century, the fifth (**40**) to ca. 9th-10th century.

36. Cat. no. 59, Pl. 31, *ed. princ.* (but earlier mentions and reproductions in exhibition catalogues). Coptic epitaph (9.5 x 15.2 x 3.6 cm) of the ⲡⲣⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ-type for a woman named Parthe. The stone breaks off so that the prayer is lost.

37. Cat. no. 60, Pl. 31, *ed. princ.* Coptic epitaph (23.1 x 19.2 x 5.2 cm) of the ⲡⲣⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ-type for a man whose name is lost. The text contains a prayer for mercy of which the end is not preserved.

38. Cat. no. 61, Pl. 32, *ed. princ.* Coptic epitaph (35 x 22 cm) of the ⲡⲣⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ-type for a woman named Staurou with a prayer for mercy in God's kingdom.

39. Cat. no. 62, Pl. 33, *ed. princ.* (earlier mentions). Coptic epitaph (25 x 20 cm) of the ϩⲁ ⲡⲣⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ-type for a woman named Doka with a prayer for rest in God's kingdom.

40. Cat. no. 63, Pl. 33. *Ed. princ.* U. Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia medioevale*, vol. 1 (Cairo 1935) 115. Coptic epitaph of the ϩⲁ ⲡⲣⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ-type for a woman named [Hel?]lene with a prayer for rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs. The epigraphic field is contained within a simplified *aedicula*.

41. Qasr Ibrim (Primis). Coptic funerary stela, 11th cent. Cat. no. 64, Pl. 34, *ed. princ.* Coptic epitaph (33 x 19 cm) for a woman named Petrone, daughter of Kettiote. The text contains the ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲛⲟⲓⲁ-formula and a prayer for rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs. A date according to the Saracen era is given (l. 11, partly in a lacuna; see now also G. Ochała, *Chronological Systems of Christian Nubia* [Warsaw 2011] 154-155), as well as the age of the deceased (ll. 16-19).

42. Qasr Ibrim (Primis). Coptic funerary stela, 1034 CE. Cat. no. 65, Pl. 35. *Ed. princ.* T.S. Richter, "Die neun Stelen Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig Inv.-Nr. 680-688 mit der Herkunftsangabe Qasr Ibrîm," in S. Emmel et al. (eds.), *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden 1999) 301-303 = *SB Kopt.* 3.1604. Coptic epitaph for Eisousiko, the daughter of an otherwise unattested Bishop Markos (most likely of Qasr Ibrim), dating to AM 751 = 1034 CE. The stela has the ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲛⲟⲓⲁ-formula with a quote from Gen. 3:19, and a prayer for mercy and rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs. The reference to Adam is oddly repeated in ll. 10-13, where the verb ϩⲟⲣⲓⲍⲉ "to determine," is used. Note the use of the verb ⲕⲁ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ "to lay off the body" in the dating lemma (l. 14). In l. 15, the reading :ⲓⲉ̣: "(day) 15" would seem possible, which according to the tables of J. Thomann (see http://www.oriold.uzh.ch/static/coptic.html) falls on a Saturday, the day of Eisousiko's death as specified in the text (ll. 15-16). At the end of l. 21, read [ϩ]ⲁ̣ⲙ̣ⲏⲛ ⲅⲉⲛⲟ̣ⲧ̀́ (for ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲓⲧⲟ) "Amen, so be it," therefore plausibly the last line of the text.

43. Qasr Ibrim (or Faras?). Coptic funerary stela, 1092 CE. Cat. no. 66, Pl. 36. T.S. Richter, "Die neun Stelen Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig Inv.-Nr. 680-688 mit der Herkunftsangabe Qasr Ibrîm," in S. Emmel et al. (eds.), *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden 1999) 297-299 = *SB Kopt.* 3.1603. Coptic tombstone for a high state official, Marianou, dating to AM 809 = 1092 CE and therewith one of the latest dated Coptic epitaphs from Nubia. There is a large hole in the lower part of the stone, which indicates reuse. The text is of the ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲛⲟⲓⲁ-type with a quote from Gen. 3:19 and many peculiarities of phrasing and spelling; it contains a prayer for rest in the Kingdom of Heaven together with all God's saints (for ⲛ = ⲙⲛ in l. 13, see *I.Khartoum Copt.*, p. 3, n. 108) and to be made worthy of hearing the voice announcing either Matt. 25:34 or 25:21-23 (neither quote follows, however). In l. 8, Marianou is called ⲕⲣⲁⲧ(ⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ) ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭ(ⲟⲥ) "highest eparch," which appears to be a different function than eparch of Nobadia, see J.M. Plumley, "An Eighth-Century Arabic Letter to the King of Nubia," *JEA* 61 (1975) 245; *I.Khartoum Copt.*, pp. 12-13; G.R. Ruffini, *The Bishop, the Eparch and the King: Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim*, vol. 4 (forthcoming). The age of the deceased is given at the end (ll. 17-19), as 81 years. In the printed text, delete the bracket in l. 2, add a colon in l. 8 after ⲙⲁⲣ̣ⲓ̣ⲁ̣ⲛⲟⲩ and rather read -ⲟⲩⲱϩ̣ at the end of l. 17.

The provenance of the stela is debated. Note that several of the peculiarities of the text are now attested also beyond Faras, in roughly contemporaneous epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim itself (A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet, *Qasr Ibrim. The Greek and Coptic Inscriptions* [Warsaw 2010] 166-174, no. 45: -ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ for -ⲕⲟⲧⲕ, ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲁϩ for ⲉⲟⲩⲕⲁϩ) and Sai Island (A. Tsakos, "Medieval Funerary Inscriptions from Sai Island," *CRIPEL* 29 [2011-2012] 300-301, no. 5: use of ⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ, as in ll. 3-4 of the present stela, -ⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ for -ⲕⲟⲧⲕ). This makes the argument for a Faras provenance less cogent.

44. Qasr Ibrim-Faras region. Coptic funerary stela, 10th cent. Cat. no. 68, Pl. 38. *Ed. princ.* G. Steindorff, "Christliche Grabsteine aus Nubien," in *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Rome 1941) 207-208, no. 3. Coptic epitaph for Anna Osa with ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲛⲟⲓⲁ-formula (reconstructed) and a prayer for rest in the Heavens, together with all God's saints (for ⲛ = ⲙⲛ, see **43** above), and in the bosom of the Patriarchs. In l. 4 read ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ. The stela is reused; the backside (according to the *ed. princ.*, no photo exists) may have contained the first Nubian instance of the formula "peace be to this holy mountain," known from various sites in Upper Egypt (see B. Tudor, *Christian Funerary Stelae of the Byzantine and Arab Periods from Egypt* [Marburg 2011] 177-178). Based on the similar formulae and general appearance, this stela and the following ones (**45-46**), bought at Aswan, quite likely share a common provenance in the wider Qasr Ibrim-Faras region.

45. Qasr Ibrim-Faras region. Coptic funerary stela, 934 CE. Cat. no. 69, Pl. 39. *Ed. princ.* G. Steindorff, "Christliche Grabsteine aus Nubien," in *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Rome 1941) 206-207, no. 2. Coptic epitaph for Anna, daughter of Mariampe, "from the village of Mashlo, under Eor (?) West" (an unidentified location), dated to Diocletian year 651 = 934 CE. The text is of the ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲛⲟⲓⲁ-type with a quote from Gen. 3:19 and prayer for rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs and in the Kingdom of the Heavens. Note the spelling ⲡⲣⲟⲃⲁⲧⲱⲣ (for ⲡⲣⲟⲡⲁⲧⲱⲣ "forefather"; cf. **19**, ll. 16-17 above, where the word is spelled in the same way) in ll. 3-4. In l. 1, read ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲛⲓⲁ̈ (with *ed. princ.*: the stonecutter erroneously put the *diaeresis* on the ⲁ instead of the ⲓ) and at the end of l. 14 ⲅⲉⲛ̣̀ⲧ´ (for ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲓⲧⲟ) "so be it." The supralinear dots are not rendered correctly in the printed text.

46. Qasr Ibrim-Faras region. Coptic funerary stela, 10th cent. Cat. no. 70, Pl. 40. *Ed. princ.* G. Steindorff, "Christliche Grabsteine aus Nubien," in *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Rome 1941) 208-209, no. 4. Coptic epitaph for a deacon, Chael (in l. 9 read ⲭⲁ̣ⲏ̣[ⲗ]), containing the ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲛⲟⲓⲁ-formula with quote of Gen. 3:19 and prayer for rest in the Kingdom of the Heavens.

47. Qasr Ibrim ("Gebel Maktub"). Coptic/Greek visitors' inscriptions, 10th/11th cent. A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet, "A View from a Hill: A First Presentation of the Rock Graffiti of 'Gebel Maktub,'" in J. van der Vliet and J.L. Hagen (eds.), *Qasr Ibrim between Egypt and Africa: Studies in Cultural Exchange* (Leiden 2013) 157-166, is a preliminary report on the joint project to publish the graffiti recorded during the 1972 and 1988 campaigns of the Egypt Exploration Society at "Gebel Maktub," the name used by scholars for a hill 2 km east of Qasr Ibrim. The material consists of two figural and 154 textual graffiti, written either in Greek or Coptic or a mixture of both, with words and phrases in Old Nubian frequently interspersed. The texts consist of simple names, the formula "I, so-and-so, wrote (this)" and more elaborate texts to which a short prayer or invocation has been added; the Greek examples are more prone to follow biblical models (e.g. Ps. 50:3; Lk. 23:42) than the simpler prayers in Coptic. The dated texts range from 900/901 to 1045/1046, and probably the whole group dates from this timeframe. Of the names, most are Nubian or Nubianized, a feature which seems to have been commonplace in name-giving outside of the Nubian elite. The majority of visitors are clergymen, among whom are two as yet unknown bishops of Qasr Ibrim (Iesou and Krato) and one Chael, son of Bishop Kollouthos of Faras, who is well attested from elsewhere to have been bishop 903-923 (for a recent re-edition of this text by the authors, see their "*CIG* IV 8952 Revisited ['Gebel Maktub' near Qasr Ibrim]," in A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet [eds.], *Nubian Voices: Studies in Christian Nubian Culture* [Warsaw 2011] 141-148). Some clergymen specify that they belong to the cathedral of Qasr Ibrim, while other churches are indicated as owned by laymen (the church of Peter at Qasr Ibrim, that of Raphael at Tamit and another in the same place, of which the name is not extant). The hill probably served as a pilgrimage site.

48. Dongola. General guide to the antiquities. W. Godlewski, *Dongola – Ancient Tungul: Archaeological Guide* (Warsaw 2013). Frequently invokes the evidence of the inscriptions found during the Polish excavations, e.g. at pp. 86-87 (the inscribed burial crypt of Bishop Georgios, who died in 1113) and 116-117 (funerary stelae).

49. Dongola. Inscriptions as a historical source for the 11th cent. W. Godlewski, "Archbishop Georgios. Socio-Political Change in the Kingdom of Makuria in the Second Half of the 11th Century," *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 22 (2013) 663-677. Broad historical sketch, drawing largely on the epigraphical evidence from the Polish excavations.

50. Banganarti. The medieval name of Dongola in Greek and Old Nubian visitors' inscriptions, 13th-14th cent. A. Łajtar, "On the Name of the Capital of the Nubian Kingdom of Makuria," *Przegląd Humanisticzny* 12 (2013) 127-134. The author convincingly identifies the toponym ⲧⲟⲩⲅⲅⲟⲩⲗ (once ⲧⲟⲩⲅⲅⲟⲩⲗⲗ), found in the Greek and Old Nubian visitors' inscriptions from Banganarti, as that of Dongola. He tentatively translates it as "Place of the Belly" and, on account of the spelling with -ⲅⲅ- (not -ⲛⲅ-), argues that the name must be ancient.

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 217-228

Locating Arabic Papyrology: Fiscal Politics in Medieval Egypt as a Test-Case for Setting Disciplinary Boundaries and Standards[1]

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Review article of Werner Diem, *Arabische Steuerquittungen des 8. bis 11. Jahrhunderts aus der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung und anderen Sammlungen*. Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008. 116 pages. ISBN 978-3-447-05649-6.

Introduction

In this volume Werner Diem presents 64 new editions of tax receipts, mostly from the Heidelberg Papyrus Collection, but also from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the Berlin Papyrus Collection, the Austrian National Library, and the Khalili Collection. In a separate quire added at the back of the book, clear black and white plates are published of all the edited documents, and the volume concludes with several indices and a bibliography.

The number, extent, and deep learning of his publications have earned Diem a place of particular honor in the papyrological pantheon. His editions of various kinds of papyrus and paper documents, marked especially by his systematic treatment of philological features, such as the structure of formulae and linguistic peculiarities, have become something of a standard in the field. His method, perfected over a long and productive career, is impressively rigorous: lighting upon a particular genre of Arabic documents, he first examines the full corpus of published texts, building up an exhaustive database of expres-

[1] I would like to thank Alain Delattre and Federico Morelli for sharing their insights in Coptic onomastics and Greek numerals as well as Greek papyrological matters in a more general sense respectively. I would also like to thank Lucian Reinfandt for his useful remarks. Any remaining mistakes are, of course, my own.

sions and variant formulae. He then uses these inventories of variants to read his own texts, a method familiar to any papyrologist, but with this difference: by listing all the comparable formulae in the commentaries to his editions, Diem allows his readers indirect access to those databases. The book under review shows this method in action.

Tax-receipts have so far not been part of Diem's repertoire, but after examining one particular tax-receipt for a workshop in Oxford, he worked his way through the entire corpus of edited tax-receipts. The first fruits of this work were his publication "Philologisches zu arabischen Steuerquittungen aus Ägypten (8.-11. Jahrhundert),"[2] in which he presented his emendations of published Arabic tax-receipts from the eighth to the eleventh centuries. Having familiarized himself with the different formulae and structures of the receipts, he has turned in this volume to editing tax-receipts.

Papyrologists are used to dividing their material, which is typically fragmentary and divorced from context, into diverse periods and disciplines. The multilayered, multifaceted character of the documents typically leads in many directions at once: from the philological and linguistic to the material, codicological, historical, and literary. The result is, of necessity, commentaries and discussions that encompass a certain methodological eclecticism. With the rise of interdisciplinary research and an increase in historians' interest in documents, this blurring of disciplinary boundaries has only increased. This is good news for (Arabic) papyrology, as the impact of the editions we produce will be far greater. It also calls for caution, however, as a full understanding of a document requires not just insights into its particular cultural, linguistic, and historical background, but an integrated interpretative framework as well. So the papyrologist is always torn between producing editions of "interesting" texts from whatever period, genre, and place, and being a specialist working in and mastering a single domain. This is no different in Arabic papyrology, where the disciplinary background and personal preferences of the editor determine the depth and coherence of the analysis of individual texts.

The Arabic papyri have served two disciplines especially: linguistics and history. For both topics they form indeed a uniquely rich source. My comments will necessarily focus on the historical aspects of the texts in the current volume.[3]

[2] W. Diem, "Philologisches zu arabischen Steuerquittungen aus Ägypten (8.-11. Jahrhundert)," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 96 (2006), 55-111.

[3] For some suggestions for the many interesting additional historical observations that can be made on the basis of these texts, see my review of this volume in the *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung.*

Arabic tax-receipts on papyrus as a historical source

The present volume with a majority of "later" texts dating from the fourth/tenth (23) and fifth/eleventh (35) centuries and only six from the second/eighth (2) and third/ninth (4) centuries, does not claim to offer a representative selection or a diachronic overview, even though Diem occasionally adds remarks in his commentary on historical developments in the formulae (e.g. in the commentary to **17**.5 on p. 43 and the commentary to **13**.3 on pp. 36-37). However, with their exact dates and formulaic nature, fiscal receipts comprise an excellent source for the study of historical developments and have been successfully used for diachronic studies, especially by Gladys Frantz-Murphy (in *CPR* 21 and numerous articles referenced there). Instead, this volume offers examples of different kinds of receipts, from different periods and different areas in Egypt (Ihnās, Fayyūm, Ashmūnayn), but the large number of Heidelberg pieces, including very minimal and fragmentary samples, suggests there was an aim to be exhaustive concerning that collection.

The texts collected in this volume are receipts for tax payments, mostly for land-taxes (*kharāj*), sometimes qualified as meadow taxes (*kharāj al-marāʿī*) or date palm taxes (*nakhl*), and for the poll tax (*jizyat al-ra's* or *jāliya*). Most are issued to individual tax-payers paying small amounts of fractions of a dinar up to two dinars in land taxes, presumably for correspondingly small plots of land (following the rough estimation of Frantz-Murphy that one dinar of land taxes was paid for one faddān of land). Some, however, are for substantial amounts of dinars (e.g., land taxes **4**: 23 1/2 1/16, dated 227/841; **15**: 6, dated 331/942; **17**: 130, dated 341/952; **18**: 13, dated 344/955; **33**: 5 1/2, dated 457/1064; for the poll-tax **11**: 9 1/2 1/8, dated 318/930, which as Diem also comments on p. 33 is very high; and for unknown taxes **3**: 17 1/2 1/3 1/12 1/48, dated 205/820), suggesting the payments were made for a group of tax-payers or for an estate.

In this sense, it is useful to distinguish between payments made to government officials working for the fisc – recognizable from the mention of institutions such as *qusṭāl* or *jahbadh* for paymaster, the treasury, in Arabic *dīwān* or *bayt al-māl*, or the use of certain formulae and other visible elements, such as seals associated with the fisc – and those made to other collectors. Because of the fragmentary nature of the pieces and the still relatively small number of these kinds of texts that have been published so far, it is impossible to decide between the two with certainty in all cases. Interestingly, these texts show that while some cultivators paid a rent-tax to estate-holders (e.g. **8**, dated 301/913; **10**, dated 317/929; **12**, dated 323/934; **22**, dated 358/968; **31**, dated 444/1052), who subsequently paid taxes for their lands in one lump sum to the fisc (the large amounts paid in agricultural taxes in the name of one individual as discussed above), in the same period others paid their small amounts of taxes directly to the fisc presumably on land that they owned. In this light, it seems that the two documents which Diem left out of the publication, because, as he writes, they more probably relate to private payments than tax payments to the Muslim authorities (p. 12), would have fitted nicely into the category of rent-tax payments to estate holders.

Other documents edited in this volume give important insights into the management of rural estates. In two documents payments are made to estate-holders for land maintenance and the upkeep of infrastructure (Ar. *fī nafaqāt al-ūsīya*, **29**, dated 376-399/986-1008 and *ʿimāra*, **30**, dated 401/1010). These were additional payments made on top of any rent-tax paid for the land cultivated. In another receipt for 1 1/2 1/3 1/8 dinar, dated 391/1000, it is stated that the payment was explicitly excluding the maintenance costs of the dykes (*ghayr nafaqāt al-jusūr*, **26**).

In the volume Diem also edits a group of 15 paper tax receipts from the town of Abū Bilqās from the Heidelberg collection (**50**-**64**). In an introduction (pp. 81-87) Diem offers a careful analysis of the language and meaning of the texts, using a group of similar contemporary receipts edited by Geoffrey Khan.[4] His conclusion is that both the documents in the current volume and those edited by Khan should be considered receipts for rent-tax, called from the late fourth/tenth century onwards *ḍamān*, paid on state lands (Ar. s. *ḍayʿa* pl. *diyāʿ*). The difference compared with the documents discussed above is that the payments of rent-tax were made directly to the Muslim fisc rather than to estate holders. The tax-receipts are thus an important source to trace changes in the organization of land ownership and its relationship with the fisc over time.

Land-holding patterns and fiscal policies are important indicators for the economic, social and sovereignty ambitions – and limitations – of political powers. The relation between private and public land-holdings, the legal status of these properties, the subsequent character and method of payment of rent, tax, or a combination of the two for such lands, and the status and function of the managers and tenants of these lands are notoriously difficult to disentangle and categorize. Historical processes of state management and organization as well as relations between the province and the caliphal center, including the movement of personnel, and legal and administrative theory and practice all played a role. Together with the other documents edited in this volume, this group of *ḍamān* payments offers fascinating insights into the continuous movement from direct tax-collection by Muslim authorities to an indirect or-

[4] G. Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge 1993), nos. 140-159.

ganization via large estate-holders or tax-farmers and the existence of different systems at the same time.[5]

A very valuable addition to the art of editing is provided by Diem's relatively extensive descriptions of the texts that appear on the other side of the tax-receipts (which he has not edited in this volume and of which also no images are presented) and which he mines for additional information to extend our understanding of the receipts themselves. These descriptions give a good indication of the practice of re-using papyrus and paper for this genre of texts. This is especially true for texts **50**-**64**, some of which are written on parts of the same reused paper document. Diem concludes that these documents, all dating from the same two years (404-405/1013-1014) and having ended up in the Heidelberg collection en bloc, must have been found together, and he suggests that they were kept together by the anonymous payer, who functioned as a transmitter for the unspecified tenants and tax-payers (pp. 81-82). I would like to offer an alternative explanation. The receipts were indeed written in the same place, where they were subsequently also kept together, namely in the office of the fisc. In other words, the tax collectors kept copies of receipts issued to tax payers, possibly in summarized form, where they were found centuries later still together but composed as individual documents. This practice has been suggested by Claudia Kreuzsaler also for an earlier period.[6] Attention to the back side of edited texts follows a trend towards a holistic approach to documents, exemplified in book culture and manuscript studies, where the physical features of the texts, as well as additional (previously considered secondary) texts, are increasingly included in the discussion.

In another case Diem's interesting observation concerning the payments made in these documents seems to be at variance with tax-paying procedure. Diem mentions (p. 18) that many of the amounts paid are whole amounts of dinars ("glatte Dinarbeträge") minus a fraction of a dinar. He explains this as being the result of coins no longer having the full weight that their value indicates because of wear and tear or the coins having been clipped. The amounts recorded in the tax receipts are not, however, determined by the quality of the coins that the tax payers used, but are the amounts of taxes assigned by the fisc based on the sorts of crops cultivated, the manner of irrigation of the land, quality of the soil, seasonal variations, and other conditions that influenced

[5] See for an earlier period, P.M. Sijpesteijn, "Profit Following Responsibility: A Leaf from the Records of a Third-Century Tax-Collecting Agent. With an Appended Checklist of Editions of Arabic Papyri," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 31 (2001) 91-132.

[6] See for the Greek receipts dating from the seventh and eighth centuries all found together outside Madīnat al-Fayyūm, but issued to different individuals from different towns, Claudia Kreuzsaler in *Pap.Vind.* 6, pp. xix-xxi.

the productivity. In what kind of coins the tax-payers completed their fiscal obligation was not connected to the amount imposed by the fisc. The varieties of coins that were available (full weight, types of alloys, and whether cut or whole) did play a role in the calculation of the number of coins that had to be handed over by the tax-payers (and references to the quality of the coins abound in the present volume; see, for example, washed, *maghsūl*, in e.g. **20**.4, **21**.4; washed, of exact weight in **18**.5; washed, good in **17**.6), but as a method of computation. In other words, the fisc calculated an amount of (land) taxes in "ideal" full dinars (used as an abstract unit of calculation only), which was then converted into an amount of actual dinar coins to be paid by the tax-payers. Accounting for the difference between the stated value of the coin and its actual (weighed, re-calculated) worth, the fisc subtracted from each paid-in dinar a fixed amount to calculate the tax-demand it imposed. Thus the tax-demand stipulates and tax-receipts record a higher amount of dinars than that which had been calculated by the fisc in "abstract" dinars and which was used for internal administrative purposes only. A similar system seems to have been in use in the Byzantine period, and Greek papyri from the Islamic period also show the procedure, including the recalculation by tax offices as described above, at work, although the grounds on which amounts were subtracted in this calculation remain hotly debated.[7]

Personal and geographical names in Arabic tax-receipts

The malleability of Arabic papyrology's disciplinary boundaries, which tend to be stretched around a wide variety of materials, languages, places, and periods, often sits uneasily with the more specific demands of the core Egyptian context, and this has important consequences for the frame of reference in our editions. In this context, the treatment of personal and geographical names in editions requires some comments which might seem trivial, but which tie into important questions about the usability and impact of specialist publications.

Names contain important information about the historical processes of Arabization and Islamicization. Notoriously difficult to decipher because of the absence of vowels and diacritical dots distinguishing consonants and the many possibilities for rendering Coptic and Greek names into Arabic transcription, the identification of names in Arabic papyri is nevertheless greatly

[7] For the Byzantine period, see the discussion on παρά in K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia. Beiträge zur Geldgeschichte Ägyptens im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Opladen 1994) 54-57 and 62-66. For the Arab period, see F. Morelli, "Le monete d'oro contanti di SPP X 62 raddoppiato. Un altro registro alfabetico (dell'archivio di Flavius Atias?)," *ZPE* 189 (2014) 218-224.

aided by the quite extensive reference works for Coptic and Greek personal and geographical names now available. Monica Hasitzka's *Namen in koptischen dokumentarischen Texten* offers a regularly updated list of Greek and Egyptian names attested in Coptic documents.[8] The online Trismegistos portal contains a database of variants of geographical and personal names from papyrological and epigraphical resources in the different languages from Egypt between ca. 800 BCE and 800 CE.[9] Other databases, such as papyri.info, the Arabic Papyrological Database and the Brussels Coptic Database allow for quick searches through published material.[10] These are essential elaborations of, and corrections to, Preisigke's *Namenbuch* and Heuser's *Personennamen*,[11] which seem to have been Diem's primary reference works. These two fundamental works have both, besides their datedness, serious shortcomings. Preisigke's *Namenbuch* contains many "ghost names" and single attestations listed in it should always be examined very carefully, taking into account subsequent corrections.[12] So when finding a matching Coptic or Greek name, it is important to consider whether the name was current in the period in which the Arabic document was written. In **25**.8, dated 378/988, Diem suggests, for example, reading the name appearing in the Arabic as a variant of the Greek Mugos, which is attested only once in an early third-century CE text, and the Greek name Strabēs, a suggested reading in **14**.5, dated ca. 330/941, is only attested once in a text dated 338 CE. Similarly, the name Primos, read in **14**.6, does not appear after the mid-fourth century, while the name Satrianos, suggested as a reading in **14**.5, is attested only in four texts from the first to the late third century (the latest is dated 289 CE). Neither Satrianos nor Strabēs are attested in combination with Apa, although they are suggested as a possible reading by Diem in **14**.5. For those readers who cannot boast the same deep knowledge as Diem or those unable to read the Arabic editions, it is important to identify, also for the more common names, the Greek and Coptic names that lie at their base or to refer to the scholarly work where this is done. So Thidurāq is identified

[8] http://www.onb.ac.at/files/kopt_namen.pdf, Stand 22.1.2007.

[9] http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/index.php.

[10] http://orent.uzh.ch:8080/adp/project.jsp and http://dev.ulb.ac.be/philo/bad/copte/baseuk.php?page=accueiluk.php.

[11] F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschennamen soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumienschildern usw.) Ägyptens sich vorfinden* (Heidelberg 1922), and G. Heuser, *Die Personennamen der Kopten* (Leipzig 1929).

[12] See especially D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum. Supplemento al Namenbuch di Friedrich Preisigke* (Milan 1967-1971).

as the Arabicized form of the Greek Theodorakios in the commentary to **5**.5, but, for example, the names Andūna in **5**.6, Biqṭur and Thiyudur in **6**.3, Jirja in **8**.4, Marqūra in **15**.2, and Baqūq in **25**.3 remain without an explanation.

The vowelling of Coptic and Greek names written in Arabic letters, and whether one follows the historic, contemporary Coptic pronunciation of the name or the modern-day Arabic one, is another question raised by this volume. The Coptic name ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ, written in Arabic as بقطر, Diem transliterates as Buqṭur following Adolf Grohmann's vowelling of the name (cf. Boqṭor in *P.Cair.Arab.* 1.64.10; 2.93.6, 13) which corresponds to the modern Arabic pronunciation. It is usually preferable, however, to follow the contemporary Coptic vowelling, so Biqṭur and, in **7**.4, Jibra'īl (instead of Jabra'īl).

Finally, Diem is not altogether consistent in his transliteration of non-Arab names, sometimes normalizing them to familiar names such as Johannes (**27**.4, 7);[13] in other cases maintaining the Arabic orthography Yuḥannis (**14**.6; **19**.4; **25**.3; **31**.8), Thidurāq (for Theodorakis **5**.5) or mixing the two as in Apastrābe (**14**.5 for Coptic Apa Strabēs and Arabic Abasṭrābah ابسطرابه), Nīlammōn (**29**.3 for Coptic Nillammōn and Arabic Nīlamūn نيلمون) and Ṭelos (**49**.4 for Greek Telos and Arabic طلس) or in quoting J. von Karabacek "Andūna Sohn des Kyrillos" (p. 26 for Arabic Andūna ibn Qūrīl vs. Coptic Antōne and Kyrillos). Similarly, the Coptic month names are sometimes given in their Arabic transliteration, sometimes in the Coptic version. E.g., p. 45 "Baschans (Pachanes) und Payni" for Arabic "Bashāns wa-Ba'ūna," Coptic Pachōn and Paōni normalized as Pachon and Payni in secondary literature.

Another issue is the rendering of fractions in the transcription. The use of "/" in Diem's editions to indicate the oblique strokes used after Greek letters referring either to a fraction or an ordinal is rather confusing. Instead of writing the oblique stroke directly after the numeral it applies to in multiple fractions, all strokes appear at the end of all the numerals or added in the middle of a series (cf. **26**.2 γη// for 1/3 and 1/8 and **3**.2 γιβ// for 1/3 and 1/12). In some cases the strokes have ended up randomly between the Greek letters, so as to corresponding neither to the meaning nor to the representation on the papyrus. Cf. **2**.3 ς/κ/δ/μη for 1/6, 1/24, and 1/48. Whether this is the result of failure of the production process (in his "Philologisches zu arabischen Steuerquittungen" [n. 2] the strokes are placed directly after the numeral they refer to) remains unclear. In the list of suggested readings below, I have nevertheless added them for the sake of completeness. The / is also used by Diem to represent other signs in the papyri, such as a large oblique check mark (**35**) and the oblique stroke

[13] If the transliteration is based on the fact that the name is written again in Coptic letters below the Arabic document, this is not explained by the editor. The Coptic name, however, reads Iahanne and not Yohannes.

symbolizing the *mithqāl* weight (e.g. **59**.3). While the printed reproductions in these editions do not show that these signs have different meanings in the text, the use of / for fractions and ordinals also deviates from papyrological conventions where a small superscript accent (´) is used.

In other ways too the book deviates from conventions in the field. Diem eschews the abbreviations offered by the *Checklist of Arabic Documents* (http://www.aoi.uzh.ch/islamwissenschaft/forschung/isap/isapchecklist.html), constantly updated and available online, which aims at formalization of the field and incorporation of the Arabic material in the larger papyrological enterprise. It would have made his work even easier to use as these abbreviations are now making their way into most other Arabic papyrology publications. The exclusive use of *hijra* dates and the presentation in the indices of place and personal names only in Arabic letters also contribute to making this book less accessible to non-Arabists than it could have been.

Corrections of readings of Arabic tax receipts

As reviewers of document editions are expected to present also some corrections of the readings, I offer here a list of small points. I had to look hard to find things upon which to remark, and for the many question marks in Diem's editions concerning personal and geographical names I was mostly unable to offer alternatives.

2.3: In the edition read ς´ κδ´ μη´ for ς/κ/δ/μη.

3.2: In the edition read ιζ ϛ γ´ ιβ´ ر for ιζϛγιβ//ر.

4: This text is issued in the presence of the same two fiscal agents who also appear in *CPR* 21.46, and both documents are written in the same year 227/841. The handwriting of the two papyri is not the same, suggesting that the official receiving the money and having drawn up the document, which is lost in both texts, is not the same. Although he does not discuss the handwriting in this case, Diem does make note of this kind of information occasionally elsewhere (e.g. relating to document **5** on p. 24).

5.5: In the edition for بن سام الارملة, "son of S.ām, the widow," read: مرهام الارملة "Marihām, the widow." While it is very unusual to identify someone by his mother's name, rather than his father, the indication of profession, tribal *nisba*, etc. at the end of a name and patronymic refers rather to the person itself not his father (or in this case his mother). Marihām (cf. *P.Cair.Arab.* 2.73.11 etc.) corresponds to a very common Coptic name. In the edition read α ϛ γ´ ιβ´ for αϛγιβ//. The sign ر (1/48) is written on the same line 3 and belongs to the amount of dinars that was paid. In the commentary to line 5 read /γ ιβ´ for /γ ι/β/. The original edition *P.Philad.Arab.* 19b.9 has /γι´β´, while the translation reads *mithqāl* 3 1/12, with the photograph showing only one oblique stroke at the end of ιβ.

7.2-3: In the edition read *dīnārayn*? *wa-rubʿ dīnār wa-thulth* (*thalātha*) *qīrāṭ* for *suds wa-rubʿ maghsūl qīrāṭ*. As Diem already remarked amounts are listed in these receipts from large to small. *Maghsūl* follows rather than precedes the mentioning of the coin. *Thulth* is well readable before *qīrāṭ*, while a specification *dīnār* can be repeated after fractures (as Diem writes himself on p. 34). The letters left unedited by Diem at the bottom of the text can definitely be read *li-sanat* τ, for the year 300 as already suggested in the commentary. The other letters must refer to the amount, with *dīnār* written over it as usual.

8.10: There are traces of ϛ written ligatured to the *alpha* as in line 2. As Diem suggests the word at the beginning of line 6 seems to be the same as that which follows the name of the tax collector in line 7 which can indeed be read as Abū Qīr as suggested by Diem in the commentary. It might be another identifying marker than a name (and Ḥusayn does not seem a likely reading anyway), which is an unnecessary addition after the *kunya*, but for which I have unfortunately no convincing suggestion.

11: Diem's reconstruction of the beginning of this document (of which he gives a different version in the commentary from that in the edition) is unlike the formulae used in similar constructed documents which start *ṣaḥḥa li-fulān* … (**34** and J. von Karabacek, "Das arabische Papier. [Eine historisch-antiquarische Untersuchung.] Anhang. Transcription, Uebersetzung und Erklärung der auf Tafel III abgebildeten arabischen Papiere," *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* 2-3 [1887] 87-178, no. 4, as corrected by Diem, "Philologisches zu Steuerquittungen" [n. 2] 57). The traces visible after the lacuna compare rather to final *ʿayn* (cf. l. 4 *ʿazzahu*) than *ḥāʾ* (cf. l. 6 *li-kharāj*). Perhaps *dafaʿa lahu* can be read. The second number in the amount of dinars in lines 2 and 7 reads β/ (2/3) and not ϛ (1/2), which is not followed by an oblique stroke. This compares well with the amount written out in Arabic in lines 5 and 6 as 2 2/3 1/8 dinar. For this read at the end of line 5 *wa*. *Thumn dīnār* is lost in the lacuna at the beginning of line 6. The examples that Diem quotes in the commentary to support his reading of "2 2/3 dinar minus 1/24 dinar" to fit his reading of 2 1/2 1/8 in lines 2 and 7 all refer to whole amounts of coins from which smaller amounts are subtracted and thus seem to fall in a different category.

12: The patronymic in line 10 can well be read Safrā, attested in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th-century (*P.Cair.Arab.* 1.53.16).

14: The first word in line 2 can be read تيبه for the Coptic month Tybe. Tybe 9 works well and when only one reference to the date appears at the top of the document it seems to be the day of the month (cf. **10**). In the edition line 1 read ϛ γ´ κδ´ for ϛγκδ//. Primos, the name that Diem suggests to be read as بريم is not attested after the 4th century. Perhaps the name can be read as Karīm?

20: Perhaps the name of the tax payer can be read as Hatūr from the Coptic Hatōr which is well attested in the form ϩⲁⲧⲣⲉ in the papyri as a personal name (Hatsitzka [n. 8] p. 115).

21: The reading ϛ (1/2) in lines 2 and 8 is very doubtful as the few remaining ink traces do not compare well with the writing of one half.

22.5 The unidentified patronymic of Ibrāhīm can be read Muʿāwiya with defective long ā as it is often attested in the papyri.

26: It is not clear what the relevance is of the last sentence of the introduction "Der quittierte Betrag …" as the total amount paid is 1 1/2 1/3 1/8 dinar and 1/48 mithqāl, as it appears written in Greek numerals in line 2 and written out in Arabic in lines 7-8, while the other amounts mentioned in Diem's calculation in the introduction (i.e. 2 dinar minus 1 qirat) do not appear in the papyrus. In the edition read α ϛ γ´ η´ for αϛγη//.

27: In the edition read ϛ γ´ ιβ´ for ϛγιβ//. The Coptic name is clearly written ⲓⲁϩⲁⲛⲛⲉ which is a known variant of the name Yohannes.

30: To p. 59 n. 29 can be added the document mentioning an *ʿāmil al-sayyida umm amīr al-muʾminīn … ʿalā l-kharāj* (*P.Ryl.Arab*. 1.2.1.2)

33.2: The part of the document transcribed by Diem in the first line between the first and second lacuna ـ]ـيـ ـك[ـ is not visible on the photograph (Tafel 15). The name construction "son of the deacon (or another profession)" is uncommon.

39: The *nisba* of the tax collector can also be read al-Nūbī, which does not seem out of place for a tax collector.

52.5: For ثلث وثمن وربع read ثلثمن which corresponds with the translation and with which the amount written out in Arabic adds up to the same amount recorded with Greek numerals in lines 2 and 8. This reading compares better with the shapes visible in the photograph. In the edition lines 2 and 8 read ε γ´ κδ´ for εγκδ/.

54.2: In the edition read ϛ γ´ ιβ´ for ϛγιβ//.

58.8: The name partially read after the lacuna may be restored بقطر.

59.2: In the edition, read ϛ γ´ ιβ´ for ϛγιβ//. The reading of δ´ in line 3 is based on **60**.3, but there the numeral is hardly more clearly written.

62.3: In the edition read ϛ γ´ ι]β´ for ϛγι]β//.

63.2: In the edition read γ´ for γ.

There are also a small number of lesser omissions and mistakes. E.g. p. 28: the commentary on line 4 repeats note 19 of the previous page. – p. 35: Levi della Vida discusses *P.Cair.Arab*. 3.190 in the commentary on *P.Philad. Arab*. 9.4. – p. 38: the reference in the commentary to line 6 is to Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, p. 345. – p. 39, n. 21: add volume 1 to the reference to Goitein. – p. 46: the discussion of Coptic and Greek forms behind the Arabic name هدرى appear in *P.Hamb.Arab*. 1, p. 34. – p. 47: in the commentary to line 3 the correct reference is *P.Cair.Arab.* 1, p. 173. – p. 49: for دنايئر read دنانير. – p. 54 the reference in the commentary to line 1 is to *P.Cair.Arab.* 3.181. – p. 61: in the edition of line 9 read لاول as discussed in the commentary. – p. 81: there are 15 not 14 texts edited. – p. 82: as in other places read with full endings *ʾuddiya bi-smi muḍāmanati ʾAbū Bilqāsa*; *ʾuddiya bi-smi ḍamāni ʾAbū Bilqāsa* etc.

Heuser's *Personennamen* is omitted from the bibliography. Inconsistent is the additional (*dīnār*) which appears in the translation of **4**.5, but not in other texts. In the commentary to **5**.1 Diem refers to Grohmann's discussion of the way in which Coptic names are written in Arabic, but he does not do so in other places where these month names appear. For **51** Diem checked whether the day of the week fits with the calendar date given in the same papyrus, but he does not do so for the other texts. It is not clear why Diem calls the identification of "medina" as "sehr wahrscheinlich" the capital of the province al-Fayyūm or al-Ashmūnayn in **24** (p. 51), while similar identifications are not offered for other attestations of this word.[14] While Diem discusses in detail the letter shapes of the name he cannot identify, for example in **25**.6 and **26**.6 and 7 in the commentary, in other texts he merely leaves some letter shapes in the edition, sometimes repeating them in the translation (e.g. **8**.5, **12**.10) or leaving a blank (e.g. **8**.7, **21**.3, **27**.4) without a commentary.

These are cavils which in no way detract from what is an immensely important scholarly achievement: Diem offers numerous corrections of previous editions and interpretations of Arabic tax receipts, assembles new formulae and expressions, provides a wide range of extremely useful linguistic insights, *and* adds a large number of new texts according to the very high editing standards we are used to from him. With his two publications on Arabic tax receipts in hand, scholars will be much better equipped to attack the hundreds of similar unedited texts in collections around the world, providing the same kind of parallels and variations that Diem said helped him to improve his and others' readings (p. 12). The idiosyncrasies, in their way, testify to Diem's remarkable range as a scholar and the authority of his judgments. As a corpus the tax receipts form an important source for the economic, administrative, and political history of medieval Muslim Egypt. These editions and Diem's commentary will feed scholarly interests for years to come.

[14] See my discussion of this in more detail in my review in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung.*

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 229-239

Bronze Coins from Excavations in Alexandria

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Review article of O. Picard, C. Bresc, T. Faucher, G. Gorre, M.-C. Marcellesi, and C. Morrisson, *Les monnaies des fouilles du Centre d'études alexandrines. Les monnayages de bronze à Alexandrie de la conquête d'Alexandre à l'Égypte moderne*. Études Alexandrines 25. Alexandrie: Centre d'études alexandrines, 2012. 479 pages. ISBN 978-2-11-128616-0.

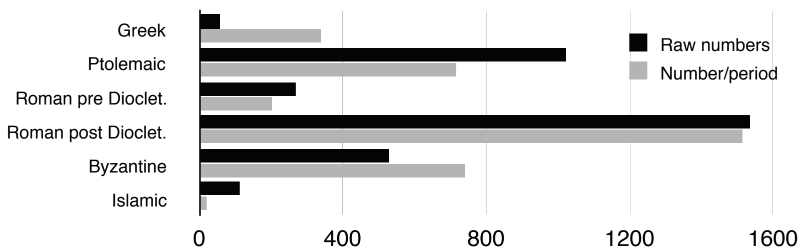
Between the years 1992 and 2004 Jean-Yves Empereur and his Centre d'Études Alexandrines carried out ten rescue excavations at a variety of sites within and at the edge of the ancient city of Alexandria. Three of these, on the sites of the Billiardo Palace ("Billiardo"), the Majestic Cinema ("Majestic") and the Lux Garage ("Lux"), are within the area covered in antiquity by the Caesareum; four, comprising the garden of the old British Consulate ("Consulat"), the former Cricket ground nearby ("Cricket"), the Radio Cinema ("Radio") and the Diana Theatre ("Diana"), are within the ancient residential quarter of the Broucheion in the north-east quarter of the city, close to the area of the ancient palaces; two more are close to the centre of the city, just off the ancient Canopic Way (the Greek Patriarchate, "Fouad") and a little to the west of the Caesareum (the Coptic Patriarchate, "Patriarcat"); the tenth is in the large necropolis outside the western wall of the city at Gabbari.

Each of these sites has its own characteristics in terms of topography, history of use, and preserved remains, which are briefly described in the introduction (pp. 12-15), with helpful colour maps (pp. 477-479). During the course of these excavations some 12,000 finds were identified by the archaeologists as coins. This volume provides a descriptive catalogue of the 3,529 of these that proved to be identifiable, at least to the point of assignment to a general chronological period. These periods and the number of coins they have yielded may be summarised as follows:

Greek (i.e., pre-Ptolemaic)	59
Ptolemaic	1,022
Roman to the reform of Diocletian (AD 294/295)	267
Roman from the reform of Diocletian to that of Anastasius (AD 498)	1,535
Byzantine (Anastasius to the Arab conquest)	528
Islamic and modern	118

At a basic level, therefore, this volume constitutes the first list of coin finds from a series of excavations across a major urban area of Greco-Roman, Byzantine and Islamic Egypt. Given the heterogeneity of the sites, and the randomness of their selection, there may be some hope that this constitutes a representative sample of coin loss over the whole period. The pattern that emerges is intriguing. Table 1 below provides both a summary of the raw numbers per period, and then the result of dividing that raw number by the number of years per period. It is immediately clear that there are patterns to be explained. Foremost, perhaps, among these, is the relative paucity of coinage from the period from Augustus to Diocletian. What we now need are comparative lists from other sites, to test how common this pattern is across the province. This new volume provides us, potentially, with a baseline with which to compare all new excavation finds from Egypt.

Table 1. Coins per period (raw numbers, numbers divided by length of period)[1]



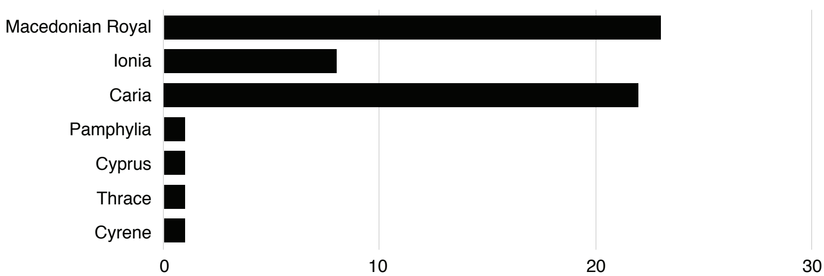
But this book is far more than a simple coin list. Each of the periods has been provided with an introduction to the coinage produced at and circulating within Alexandria and Egypt at that time. These serve, at the very least, as basic introductions to the coinage and monetary history of Egypt from the Ptolemaic to the Byzantine period.

[1] The numbers divided by length of period have then been multiplied by 200 to produce an index figure capable of clear illustration on the same graph.

The briefest of these, by Cécile Bresc, deals with the Islamic period. The ten sites excavated were not, on the whole, rich in Islamic material: three of the sites (Fouad, Lux and Majestic) yielded 75% of the Islamic coins (pp. 316-317). Of these, the largest number come from the Fouad site, where Mamluk levels were found intact. For the rest, Ottoman coins dominate.

The earliest coins from the excavations date from the fourth century BC and are published by Marie-Christine Marcellesi. As she notes (pp. 171, 193), the majority of these date to the first decades of the new city of Alexandria. All are bronze, with the exception of 3 tetradrachms in the name of Alexander (two of these are plated forgeries and presumably discarded as such in antiquity), an obol of Side in Pamphylia, and a fraction of uncertain mint. The geographic distribution of the mints represented is interesting:

Table 2. Origins of pre-Ptolemaic coins



As can be seen, Macedonian issues predominate, suggesting that they did so too in circulation in the early, post-conquest years (pp. 193-195). But the coins of Alexander and Philip are matched in number by those of Rhodes and Cos, perhaps suggesting that the tight liaison between these islands and Alexandria began very early (pp. 195-196). The picture that emerges of early Alexandria is one of vibrant, perhaps chaotic, but certainly open monetary circulation at the level of small change. However, the overall chronological distribution of the coins reinforces the point that when the Ptolemaic authorities closed Egypt to foreign currency in the early third century, this extended right down to the level of small change. Of the 59 foreign coins catalogued, just 4 seem certainly to belong after the closure.

It is worth noting here that the overall numbers of pre-Ptolemaic finds, apparently very small (1.6% of the total), may well be misleading. The majority of finds come from just two sites (Consulat and Cricket), where the excavators were able to reach the lowest levels of the city (p. 192). These two sites were both on a hill in antiquity, while the other excavated sites within the city were originally lower lying. If earlier levels had been accessible at these other sites, and had yielded similar proportions of fourth-century BC coins, then the picture would look quite different. The total number of Greek coins would have been in the order of 260, from a period of perhaps not more than 35 years of circulation. On a coins/period basis (cf. Table 1), this would suggest a level of small change in circulation that would not be seen again until the third century AD. It would certainly suggest that the reform of Ptolemy I that closed the currency system had the effect of reducing the amount of small change in circulation. Pending further excavation of lower levels this must remain speculative, but it seems to confirm a pattern that we find at nearby Herakleion-Thonis.

By contrast, the relative paucity of coins from Augustus to Diocletian seems to be less easy to explain in terms of pattern of excavation. Just 264 coins were recovered from a period of some 268 years of activity at the Alexandrian mint. Olivier Picard, who publishes this section of the catalogue, notes another peculiarity (p. 126): "Les pièces mises à jour dans les fouilles d'Alexandrie sont généralement très usées." A number of explanations present themselves. The early years of the Roman province saw a depressed level of productivity at the mint. Moreover the earliest Roman issues conformed to the last issues of Ptolemaic coinage, with which they seem to have circulated after the Roman conquest (pp. 127-128). Thus, the later Ptolemaic coins from Alexandria should perhaps be regarded as Roman, at least in terms of their deposit date. However, the issues of the last Ptolemaic period (series 10) are not numerous among the excavated coins either. The reforms of the coinage under Augustus (laid out by Picard, pp. 128-131, modifying slightly the arrangement at *Roman Provincial Coinage* 1, p. 689) may have resulted in the withdrawal of much earlier coinage, but once the weight standard of the final series became established this remained in use, with the addition of two larger denominations (Picard, pp. 131-132, essentially adopts the reconstruction of Milne[2]) until the reign of Marcus Aurelius. More probably, the answer is to be found in the changing structure of the coinage during this period. Following Nero's reform and the enormous increase in the production of base silver tetradrachms, the balance of production moved away from small denominations towards coins equivalent in value to the *denarius*.[3] As Picard notes, the majority of finds from the Alexandrian excavations are rather of small denominations (p. 169), a characteristic of excavations everywhere. These coins, in worn state, seem to have been working hard within the monetary economy.

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[2] J.G. Milne, "The Currency of Egypt under the Romans to the Time of Diocletian," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 7 (1914-1916) 158-163.

[3] To the bibliography on this topic we may now add the important article by K. Butcher and M. Ponting, "The Egyptian Billon Tetradrachm under the Julio-Claudian Emperors – Fiduciary or Intrinsic?" *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* 84 (2005) 93-124.

The subsequent Roman period, following the monetary unification of the Empire by Diocletian in AD 294/295 and the consequent abolition of the Alexandrian tetradrachm and closed currency system within which it operated, sees a significantly elevated level of coin loss in the city. Although the city was now open to the gold and silver coinage of the wider empire, the excavations have not yielded a single example. The 1,535 base metal coins of this period are catalogued and analysed with a series of helpful charts (pp. 283-289) by Marcellesi. Although products of the Alexandrian mint dominate, coins from other mints are now more regularly found, though with a marked preference for mints in the eastern half of the empire.

Overall 84% of the finds of this period are from the East. An exception to this pattern is provided by the brief period AD 312-324 when production at the Alexandrian mint seems to have slackened off, and a higher proportion of western coin entered Egypt (pp. 268-269 with 284, *graphique* 3). However, the sample of coins for individual periods is small (just 32 coins in this case). It is clear that this period saw the highest level of coin loss per annum of any experienced by the city. This must in large part be a result of the increased circulation of coined money, particularly at lower denominations. Another interesting feature of this period is the appearance of cast imitation coins. The evidence for these, including the moulds used for their production, has long been known. The Alexandria excavations now provide us with some interesting statistics for their prevalence at different periods in the fourth and fifth centuries. From the 330s, when such imitations constitute around 8% of the coins identified, the proportion increases to 85% in the first half of the fifth century (pp. 278-279 with 288, *graphique* 12). Even if such coins were more prone to be discarded, and thus to subsequent archaeological discovery, it seems nonetheless indisputable that more were there to be discarded. Moreover, as Marcellesi notes, it is likely that the numbers underestimate the proportions, since a higher proportion of the poorly produced cast coins are likely to lie among her "illisibles" (p. 279).

It is likely, in fact, that these execrable *nummi* continued to be used for some time into the sixth century. As Picard and Cécile Morrisson, who publish the Byzantine coinage note, the reform of Anastasius seems to have had a marginal impact at Alexandria. The bold new *follis* and its subdivisions were not produced in the city, and are barely found there. It is thus likely that *nummi* of the earlier period continued in use alongside the *nummi* of Anastasius and his immediate successors that did arrive in Egypt (pp. 291-293). The major change for Alexandria came in the reign of Justinian (AD 527-565) with the introduction at this mint, and this mint alone, of a coinage denominated at 12 *nummi*, 6 *nummi* and 3 *nummi* that continued until the Arab conquest. This coinage constitutes 95% of all finds from the Byzantine period, and it is clear that Egypt had once again become a closed-currency zone, where only the product of the Alexandrian mint circulated. In fact, it may be that the Alexandrian *nummus* had a different value to that outside the empire (p. 292).

While the sections discussed above are important, and have much to contribute to the monetary history of Alexandria and Egypt in the periods in question, it is without doubt the section on the Ptolemaic coinage which does the most to revolutionise our understanding of the coinage itself, and which will arguably have the greatest impact on papyrological study. Like all numismatists faced with a body of material from an Egyptian site to classify, Picard found himself in a state of *aporia*. When he began work in 1993, there existed no adequate classification of Ptolemaic bronze. The structure and chronology that existed had been pieced together in various places (often incorrectly) on the basis of control marks shared with silver, stylistic and (limited) metrological analysis, and the underlying belief that each king (or occasionally queen) must have his (or her) coinage. Realising the impossibility of proceeding on the basis of the existing literature, Picard set himself the Herculean task not just of publishing the finds, but also of establishing a new classification of the Ptolemaic bronze coinage. Twenty years later, this volume now brings us the results. Picard did not have to work alone, however. His burden was shared for the Alexandrian material with his student Thomas Faucher, co-author of this section of the catalogue, whose recent doctoral thesis has now been published in the *Études alexandrines* series.[4] In parallel, and occasionally in collaboration, Catharine Lorber has also been working on a reclassification of the entire corpus of Ptolemaic coinage, for which a number of preparatory articles have made major breakthroughs in the organisation of the bronze coinage of the third and second century.[5]

The net result of this happy synergy, published for the first time in this volume, is a new method of classifying Ptolemaic bronze that eschews the traditional categorisation by reign, and is organised instead on the basis of series. The series are distinguished by a combination of iconographic and metrological development. In some cases their terminal dates are determined by regnal

[4] T. Faucher, *Frapper monnaie. La fabrication des monnaies de bronze à Alexandrie sous les Ptolémées* (Alexandrie 2013).

[5] See, in particular, C.C. Lorber, “Large Ptolemaic Bronzes in Third-Century Egyptian Hoards,” *American Journal of Numismatics* 12 (2000) 67-92; ead., “Development of Ptolemaic Bronze Coinage in Egypt,” in F. Duyrat and O. Picard (eds), *L’ exception égyptienne? Production et échanges monétaires en Égypte hellénistique et romaine. Actes du colloque d’Alexandrie, 13-15 avril 2002* (Le Caire 2005) 135-157; and the works cited below, nn. 6 and 7.

eras, but in a number of cases changes occur within reigns, or series continue from one king to another without significant modification. The chronology will in places be subject to further revision, but the overall framework of the third and early second century has been arrived at by serious reconsideration of the hoard evidence by Lorber and Faucher. In total Picard and Faucher identify ten series, which may be summarised as follows:

Table 3: Ptolemaic bronze series

Series	No. of denominations	Reigns	Approximate dates
1	2	Ptolemy I	315-301 BC
2	4	Ptolemy I, II	305-261 BC
3	6	Ptolemy II, III	261-240 BC
4	7	Ptolemy III, IV	240-220 BC
5	8	Ptolemy IV, V	220-197 BC
6	8	Ptolemy V, VI	197-150 BC
7	6	Ptolemy VI, VIII Cleopatra II	150-115 BC
8	2	Ptolemy IX	115-114/113 BC
9	2	Ptolemy X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV	114/113-37 BC
10	2	Cleopatra VII	37-30 BC

The structure and chronology of series 1-4 are now well understood, and unlikely to change much. Similarly the coinage of Cleopatra VII presents few difficulties beyond the question of its precise point of introduction. The massive series 9 consists of a 20mm, 8g coin characterised by a head of Ammon on the obverse and two eagles on the reverse and a rarer smaller denomination of around 12mm and 1g with the same types. Its broad chronology is clear, and future refinement of the study of this coinage will depend on die-study, a forbidding task. The areas of substantial future discussion and refinement are likely to be within series 5-7, covering the period, as defined by Picard and Faucher, ca. 220-115 BC.

Ptolemaic coinage begins (series 1-2: pp. 22-24, 25-27) on a Greek model with small module coins that seem in their early phase, as we have noted above, to have circulated alongside other Greek bronzes. In 261 BC Ptolemy II undertook a wholesale reform of the bronze coinage, which resulted (series 3: pp. 33-38) in an increase in the number of denominations in production, in a range from a drachma (or rarely an octobol) at the top of the scale to a hemiobol at the bottom. The same denominational structure is maintained in series 4 (pp. 43-45), wherein the principal changes are the addition of a denomination (the triobol), and the appearance of a cornucopia at the shoulder of the eagle on the reverse of five of the denominations.

It is at this point that the debate is likely to begin. Series 5 (pp. 48-55) ostensibly continues on the same basic structure as series 4, but with an iconographical change in that the cornucopia moves from the shoulder of the eagle to the left field, the suppression of the largest denomination, and the introduction of three small denominations below the size and weight of the hemiobol of the two preceding series. For Picard and Faucher this change in denominational structure is sufficient to suggest a "rupture avec la logique des séries précédentes" (p. 48), and they decline at this point to assign denominational names to the coinage of this period. However, it appears that the metrology of the denominations that overlap series 4 and 5 is very similar (43mm – 72g; 35mm – 30g; 30mm – 24g; 20mm – 6g). A serious metrological study is required to clarify what is happening here, and will soon be available.[6] Undoubtedly some better-dated papyrological evidence could help too (see further below).

Beyond doubt, however, is the fact that series 6 marks a major change in the nature of Ptolemaic coinage. Picard and Faucher dub this "La Grande Mutation" (p. 60). The denominational structure undergoes a complete overhaul, with a general reduction in module and weight of the coinage. The main lines of this mutation were laid out by Faucher and Lorber (n. 7), and their reconstruction is followed in this volume. Series 6 subdivides into five subseries (6a-6e), and continues smoothly into series 7, which has three subseries (7a-c). Eight denominations are recorded in total, of which the heaviest begins at *c.* 35mm and ca. 40g, and the lightest (recorded only for 6c) is ca. 13mm and ca. 3g. Over the course of the five subseries, weights and diameters gradually decrease until by 7c the heaviest denomination is ca. 29mm and ca. 22g and lightest ca. 13mm and 2g.[7] The new denominations are marked by a significant change in iconographic repertoire. Heads of Isis, Herakles, Alexandria, the Nile, an unidentified helmeted head, and Athena now appear on Ptolemaic bronze for

[6] D. Wolf, "A Metrological Survey of Ptolemaic Bronze Coins," *American Journal of Numismatics* 25 (2013), forthcoming.

[7] The weights and diameters cited by Picard and Faucher in fact differ slightly from those in T. Faucher and C.C. Lorber, "Bronze Coinage of Ptolemaic Egypt in the Second Century BC," *American Journal of Numismatics* 22 (2010) 35-80 at 44. The former also attribute an additional denomination to series 7c (Svoronos 1237).

the first time, while the eagle or eagles remain a standard part of the reverse type (pp. 63-64). The break between series 6 and 7 is marked only by the appearance in series 7a of an obverse legend (ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ) in addition to the standard reverse legend (ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ). The Cleopatra in question is taken to be Cleopatra II rather than Cleopatra I, thus producing a later date for these issues than has previously been assumed. The obverse legend disappears in series 7b, which is distinguished instead by the addition of a monogram comprised of the letters *pi* and *alpha* on the reverse. Coins of the same module and weight as 7b but lacking this monogram are designated 7c.

Without doubt, the order that Faucher and Lorber have brought to this complex group of denominations is one of the great breakthroughs in Ptolemaic numismatics, not just because of the sequence it establishes for the coinage, but also for the opportunity it now offers to match the physical evidence of the coinage against the major change in monetary behaviour that has been observed in the papyrological evidence of the late third and early second centuries BC. This documentary evidence seems to suggest that the old system of drachms and obols was abandoned as a basis for accounting, and was replaced by a new unit of account for bronze, a drachma, that stood at the base of the system. This was not divided into obols and *chalkoi*, but rather was multiplied in a system that seems to be decimal. Since this drachma was, as a consequence, of much lower value than the drachma previously used for bronze (which equated to a silver drachma), prices expressed in this new bronze unit of account appear much higher than they had on the old system.

The question of how "La Grande Mutation" of the coinage relates to this *grande mutation* in accounting practice was reviewed at length by Faucher and Lorber, following discussion with Picard, who favoured the hypothesis that is now put forward by Picard and Faucher. Working backwards from the coinage of Cleopatra VII (series 10), where two denominations are marked 80 and 40 drachmas, and series 9 where Picard has identified the pentadrachm, they suggest that the largest denomination of series 6-7 was the 80 drachma, that the coin of smaller module but identical types was the 40 drachma, and that the remainder of the denominations consequently fall into place as 70, 60, 50, 20, 10 and 5 drachma coins (p. 68). As Faucher and Lorber note, this has the added advantage that the largest new denomination (80 drachmas) equates to the largest of the denominations of the drachma-obol system (the octobol) at a rate of 1 obol to 10 new bronze drachmas.[8] (It does, however, have the somewhat troubling effect of leaving series 6e-7c without the 40 drachma

[8] Faucher and Lorber (n. 7) 57-58.

denomination that is a central part of the system in series 6a-d, 8, 9 and 10.) As Picard and Faucher are at pains to point out, this new system of account and its accompanying coinage do not constitute the establishment of a "bronze or copper standard" either in the sense that the weight of these coins determined their value or that bronze was now being used as a measure of value in its own right: the value of bronze was still established by reference to the silver stater (p. 70).

Picard and Faucher leave open the question of the rate of exchange between the old coinage and the new (p. 68). However, it seems to be the case that the tetrobols of series 5 were countermarked after their withdrawal from circulation and re-issued as 80 drachmai.[9]

Having established the strong likelihood of a link between the introduction of series 6 and the Mutation in units of account, Picard and Faucher proceed to consider the absolute chronology of "La Grande Mutation." Here the papyri seem to offer greater precision, and a chapter by Gilles Gorre (pp. 109-124) specifically focuses on the evidence of the demotic papyri for the development of monetary behaviour. For the date of "La Grande Mutation" he concludes that the contract preserved in P.Berl. inv. 13593, dated 12 October 198, predates "La Grande Mutation," since silver and bronze are still being accounted for on the same system (pp. 114-118). Further precision may be achieved by consideration of the sale of a slave dated to 7 January 197 (*C.Ptol. Sklav*. 9) which still reckons in obols, and an inventory of goods from a legal dispute dated 22 September 197 (*P.Petrie* 2.32 (1)), wherein values are expressed in high quantities of bronze drachmas in multiples of 10, suggesting that "La Grande Mutation" has taken place. We thus arrive at a date between 7 January and 22 September 197 for the reform (p. 69).

The coinage thereafter remained relatively stable in terms of module and weight until the reform of Cleopatra. Series 8 and 9 are characterised rather by an extreme reduction in range of denominations produced. The former series seems to belong to the years 3 and 4 of Ptolemy IX (115/114-114/113 BC) and thus provides a welcome fixed point in the chronology, and a *terminus ante quem* for series 7. It consists of 80 and 40 drachma coins, whose modules (25-6mm, 12-15g and 18-20mm, 7-9g) are tolerably close to those of series 6 and 7. This is followed by series 9 consisting only of 40 drachma and 5 drachma denominations (16-20mm, 4-9g and 10-13mm, 0.5-2g). The wide variation in module and weight of these coins, together with the fact that, at their largest, the 40 drachma coins are heavier than those of series 6 probably suggests that the mass of coins unified within this series could bear a more detailed analysis.

[9] On this see S.M. Huston and C.C. Lorber, "A Hoard of Ptolemaic Bronze Coins in Commerce, October 1992 (*CH* 8, 413)," *Numismatic Chronicle* 161 (2001) 11-40.

Short of a die-study, only stylistic and metrological analysis can help resolve this issue.

This volume constitutes, then, a thorough publication of the site finds from Alexandria, but also an important contribution to the study of the monetary history of Greco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt, as well as a radical overhaul of the categorization of Ptolemaic bronze. For papyrologists, it will represent an important and useful introduction to the somewhat technical debates that have dominated recent years of numismatic study. But it hopefully also lays down a challenge. Where uncertainty still remains in the reconstruction of Ptolemaic monetary policy, particularly in the late third and early second century BC, leading up to and during "La Grande Mutation," what is now badly needed is more, dated documentary evidence to help us chart the concomitant changes in accounting practice. Much work remains to be done.

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Reviews

Andrew Monson, *Agriculture and Taxation in Early Ptolemaic Egypt: Demotic Land Surveys and Accounts* (*P. Agri*). Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 46. Bonn: Habelt, 2012. xii + 176 pages + 30 plates. ISBN 978-3-7749-3807-6.

This volume is a fine edition of a find of twelve Demotic administrative texts concerning agricultural and capitation taxes in the early Ptolemaic Period. The Demotic censuses and tax registers nicely compliment recent publications and republications of similar Demotic and Greek texts,[1] and the Demotic land surveys and reports of crops and rents are a welcome addition, currently paralleled primarily by later Greek examples.[2] A short introduction (pp. 1-5) and historical analysis (pp. 7-36) precede the transliterations, translations and commentaries (pp. 37-146), and a bibliography and indices follow them (pp. 147-176). The volume concludes with black and white photographic plates of the texts (pls. 1-30).

The introduction describes the papyri on which the texts were written, their provenance, and their date. The twelve Demotic texts were written on seven papyri now in the Cairo Museum. Texts **1-6** on three of the papyri were previously known from brief descriptions and photographs in Wilhelm Spiegelberg's *Die demotischen Denkmäler II*: *Die demotischen Papyrus* (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 74-75; Strasbourg 1908) 115, 251-252, and pls. 52-53 and 87-97. The unpublished photographic archives of the *Demotisches Namenbuch* project in Würzburg revealed additional fragments of these texts and papyri, as well as texts **7-12** on the other four papyri published in this volume. Monson was unable to access the original papyri in the Cairo Museum and thus relied on these photographs to produce his text editions as well as the photographic plates at the conclusion of the volume.

Monson suggests that all of the texts and papyri came from the same find. Spiegelberg attributed texts **1-5** to Tebtynis, but Monson questions this. Texts

[1] W. Clarysse and D.J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt, Volume 1: Population Registers (P. Count)* (Cambridge 2006).

[2] D.J. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris, an Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period* (Cambridge 1971); A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, *Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris: The Doings and Dealings of a Village Scribe in the Late Ptolemaic Period (120-110 B.C.)* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 29; Leiden 1998).

1, **4**, **6**, and **9** on four of the papyri mention the same village Pa-awy-semtaus, otherwise unattested. Texts **1** and **4** may also mention Tanis, presumably the one attested in the Herakleides division in the northeast Fayyum, but the reading is doubtful. Text **4** also mentions Kerkeesis, which is attested both in the Polemon division in the south Fayyum, and in the Herakleides division. Monson therefore tentatively proposes the provenance of the papyri to be near the village of Tanis in the Fayum. Texts **1** and **4** on two of the papyri mention the same scribe, Psennesis son of Sokonopis, whom Monson suggests was a village scribe. The texts consist of three land and topographical surveys (**1-3**), three reports of crops and rents (**4**, **7**, **10**), three census and tax registers (**8**, **9**, **11**), and three accounts (**5**, **6**, **12**). It has long been known from the papyri of Menches that village scribes were responsible for land and topographical surveys and reports of crops and rents, and it has been speculated that they were also responsible for censuses and tax registers. These papyri support that suggestion, because two of the census and tax registers (**8**, **11**) are written on the verso of two of the reports of crops and rents (**7**, **10**). Texts **1**, **2**, **4**, and **5** on two of the papyri mention regnal years 7 and 8 of a Ptolemy son of Ptolemy. Spiegelberg first identified the king as Ptolemy II, dating the texts to 279-277 BCE, then (p. 338) as Ptolemy III dating the texts to 241-239 BCE, but Monson suggests Ptolemy IV because of the inflated tax rates, dating the texts to 217-214 BCE.

The historical analysis discusses the proportions of different fiscal categories of land in these texts, the various forms of tenure on them, the sizes of the holdings, and the various rates of taxation on them. It begins by observing that the early Ptolemies greatly extended cultivation in the Fayyum through irrigation works, so that the population density was initially low compared with the long-settled Nile Valley. The Ptolemies assigned relatively little of the newly cultivable land in the Fayum to temples, however, compared to the Nile Valley. Instead, they designated most of it royal land or allotted it to individual cleruchs, predominantly Greek-speaking farmer-soldiers who could be called up to serve when needed. One of the report of crops and rents (**4**) states that there were 2182 13/16 arouras of royal land in the village of Tanis, accounting for 60% of the total land, and thirteen 100-aroura cleruchs and four 30-aroura cleruchs accounting for 39%, which proportion was typical of the Ptolemaic Fayum. There were also 260 11/16 arouras of royal land in the village of Pa-awy-semtaus. One of the topographic surveys (**3**) confirms that the holdings of 100-aroura cleruchs averaged just over 100 arouras, though they varied wildly in size from 23 5/32 to 250 29/32 arouras.

Monson astutely observes that the Ptolemies could lease royal lands to individuals, or could simply assign them to villages that then distributed the lands to their constituent households, a pattern also attested in the Roman

Period,[3] and possibly already in pharaonic Egypt.[4] The village scribes recorded these distributions on behalf of the state and held the households individually responsible for the rents on their lands. Households could redivide such lands among themselves each year. One of the land surveys (**1**) records that 8 to 10 lessees and 90 cultivators farmed 2182 11/16 arouras of royal land in the village of Tanis between regnal year 7 and 8, and that the village allotted extra land to some cultivators and received land from others. These holdings varied in size from 2 to 28 1/8 arouras in year 7, and from 2 to 36 11/16 arouras in year 8. The same land survey (**1**) records that 1491 7/8 arouras (69%) of the royal land paid rent at a rate of 6 3/4 artabas per aroura, regardless of whether it was sown with wheat, flax, safflower, clover, vetch or barley. Smaller amounts of land paid rent in kind at lower rates, including 224 9/16 arouras of pasture. On the other hand, one of the accounts (**2**) indicates that 28 individuals also paid money for the use of 107 1/2 arouras of pasture, at a rate of 1 deben or 9 kite per aroura. Each individual had to name a guarantor for his money.

It would have been useful if a section of the historical analysis had been devoted to capitation taxes, to contextualize the census and tax registers in the same manner as the land surveys and reports of crops and rents. Texts **8** and **9** are both labeled census registers, and text **9** is indeed a register of individuals organized by household. Text **8**, however, is a fragment of a summary record that named no individuals, only numbers of men and women, presumably to calculate capitation tax revenues, since males and females paid different rates and sometimes different taxes. It may have been a copy of a report prepared for the village scribe's superiors, like the summary report of crops and rents in text **7** on the recto of the same papyrus. Text **11** is labeled a tax register and is a list of individual women and their payments, presumably for an unspecified tax on women. Text **10** on the recto of the same papyrus is another report of crops and rents. Text **12** lists individual women and sums of money, and

[3] A. Monson, "Royal Land in Ptolemaic Egypt: A Demographic Model," *JESHO* 50.4 (2007) 363-397; and A. Monson, "Communal Agriculture in the Ptolemaic and Roman Fayyum," in S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Graeco-Roman Fayum. Texts and Archaeology* (Wiesbaden 2008) 173-186 at 182-186.

[4] C.J. Eyre, "Feudal Tenure and Absentee Landlords," in S. Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden in Altägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions Tübingen 18.-20. Juni 1990* (Untersuchungen zum Rechtsleben im Alten Ägypten 2; Tübingen 1994) 107-133; C.J. Eyre, "Peasants and 'Modern' Leasing Strategies in Ancient Egypt," *JESHO* 40.4 (1997) 367-390; and C.J. Eyre, "The Village Economy in Pharaonic Egypt," in A.K. Bowman and E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times* (Proceedings of the British Academy 96; Oxford 1999) 33-60.

while Monson labeled it an account, he admits that it closely resembles the tax register on text **11**.

The text editions are exemplary, and the reviewer proposes only relatively superficial corrections to the transliterations, translations and commentaries.

Texts **1**.1.1, 5, 6, 11, **2**.3.1, **4**.1.4, 8, 4.2, **5**.3.6: Read *ḥsb.t* rather than *ḥꜣ.t-sp*, see now Steve Vinson, "The Demotic 'Regnal Year' Group as *ḥsb*, 'Reckoning,'" *Enchoria* 30 (2006-2007) 151-154.

Text **7**.5: The transliteration correctly has *bnṱ (sṯꜣ) 30*, but the translation has "50 (ar.) with *benety*."

Text **12**.r.1.10, 2.1, 2, 5: Perhaps read *Ta-iwr(?)* rather than *Ta-swr(?)*; compare the clear writing of *Swr* in the same text on 1.3.

Handcopies are justifiably restricted to comparing the writings of a few key words. Complete handcopies of these long and repetitive texts would provide no new information without access to the original papyri to collate them.

In summary, this volume is a valuable contribution to both papyrology and ancient history. It makes available for the first time editions of important but long neglected Demotic administrative texts. Furthermore, it clearly explains how these texts relate to previously published Greek administrative texts, and how they revise the history of land tenure in ancient Egypt.

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Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 245-248

Charikleia Armoni, *Das Archiv der Taricheuten Amenneus und Onnophris aus Tanis (P.Tarich)*. Papyrologica Coloniensia 37. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2013. viii + 129 pages + 18 plates. ISBN 978-3-506-77934-2.

A(rmoni) here edits a small archive of mostly drafts of petitions in Greek from 189-184 BC. A related Demotic text (**15**) is edited by H.-J. Thissen. There are eighteen texts in all numbered **1**-**15** (**4**, **6**, and **9** come in two versions each) written on fifteen different papyri. All are illustrated on nine foldouts at the back.

The texts are almost all related to the same issue (except **14**, the Greek translation of a Demotic division of property). Two ταριχευταί (also known as ἐνταφιασταί) from Tanis in the north-eastern Fayyum (on which see *P.Agri*), Amenneus son of Horos and Onnophris son of Teos, are interested in the position of ταριχευτής in nearby Philadelpheia, a position alternatively called γέρας ταριχείας or γέρας ἐνταφιαστικόν and left vacant by Psenephmous, a ταριχευτής from Philadelpheia. His position should have been confiscated and put up for auction, because he was involved in the rebellion of 206-186 and died without a συγγενής, i.e., without heirs. His property was confiscated and put up for auction and remained in the hands of the successful bidder (**6a**.16-19 and **6b**.18-23), but his position had not been put up for auction. Three other ταριχευταί from Philadelpheia, Abykis, Pasis, and his son Kelechon(sis), had taken over his position without bidding for it.

Amenneus and Onnophris try to get the authorities to overturn this situation in two stages. First, starting April 15, 189, they make the case with the Alexandrian official in charge of the χρηματισταί while in Memphis that the three incriminated ταριχευταί had no right to take over the vacant position without the involvement of the authorities, because the confiscation (or, if the confiscation were reversed, the mere fact that Psenephmous died without heirs) should have led to a public auction. Amenneus and Onnophris do get some traction, but the three use their influence with the police to prevent the case from going forward, although a κατάστασις ("Gerichtsverhandlung" before the local χρηματισταί in Crocodilopolis; see **3**.10-17n.) is called for twice and Amenneus and Onnophris file an oath that they will appear at the hearing. Onnophris then goes to Alexandria on September 3 or 4 to see the official in charge of the χρηματισταί again, but instead of getting more traction with this official's χρηματισμός in hand, Amenneus and Onnophris are thrown in jail, the μεγάλη φυλακή (**1**.20) in Crocodilopolis, on September 25. After a while they petition the official in charge of παρασφραγισμός, which apparently includes locking them up (pp. 14-15), to release them, claiming that he has been misled and that they are innocent (**2**). This move is not immediately successful, and Amenneus and Onnophris go on to petition the local χρηματισταί again (**1**) on October 23. They also petition the Alexandrian official in charge of the χρηματισταί once more to get the στρατηγός of the Arsinoite nome involved (**3**). The latter is the addressee of **13**, another petition written from prison. Amenneus and Onnophris petition the χρηματισταί again (**4**) five months later, in March/April 188.

In the second stage, three years later, Amenneus and Onnophris add more fuel to the fire. Instead of just claiming that substantial amounts of state income are at stake, as they did in the first stage ([βα]σ̣ι̣λ̣ι̣κ[ῶ]ν̣ μ̣ε̣[ι]ζόνων, **1**.5), they now calculate for the διοικητής how much money the state could reclaim from the three incriminated ταριχευταί: in the up to nineteen years since they took over the position they collected the annual income of 4,000 drachmas, 12 talents 4,000 drachmas in all (**6a**.25 and **6b**.30). A.'s translation of **3**.7 implies that the three should have paid 4,000 drachmas to the state annually, but the reading ἃ ἔδ̣[ει κα]τ̣ʾ (ἔτος) α̣ὐ̣τ̣ο̣ὺ̣ς̣ πραχθῆναι is dubious. The parallel **8**.21 leaves out what was written between ἔδει and αὐτούς here, and **6b**.34 uses ἀναπ̣[ρ]α̣χθῆι instead of the simplex, which shows that Amenneus and Onnophris are urging the authorities to force the three to pay back what they had received over the years,[1] as A. herself has it on p. 4. ἔδει is not past but "modal imperfect," meaning "they should (now) pay (back)," not annually, as κατʾ (ἔτος) implies.[2] According to **8**.23-24, the προφήτης of Souchos should be instructed to sequester (κατ[εγ]γυῆσαι) the current income (τὰς γεινομ̣έ̣νας καρπ̣είας) from the position. Apparently, the Souchos temple in Crocodilopolis acts as the intermediary for the salary. It may also have collected the burial tax that paid for the salary. Amenneus and Onnophris petition the χρηματισταί again (**7**) and again (**8** and **9a** and **9b**) and eventually make an official bid to the ἐπιμελητής to acquire the position themselves for 1 talent (**10**). They now also petition the βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς (**11**). Again, they are thrown in jail, and this time they ask the στρατηγός of the Arsinoite nome to release them (**13**).

What makes the archive so interesting is the (re)formulation of the case over the years. There are minor and major differences between the texts, so that we can follow Amenneus and Onnophris in their thinking about, and the expression of, their case. Note, for example, the subtle difference between συνδιείρη<ν>ται in **6a**.21 and συνδιείλοντο in **6b**.25. Through it all, Amenneus and Onnophris seem rather persistent, arguing in strong terms against

[1] Note that πραθῆναι in **5**.g.i.16 is erroneously indexed under πράσσω instead of πιπράσκω. Only **5**.g is commented on. The other fragments of **5**, a collection of copies, are even in smaller print.

[2] I also do not expect ἔτος to be abbreviated in such an expression.

their nearby colleagues. (It is even possible that Amenneus is a half-brother of Abykis, whose mother Haynchis lives in Tanis and plays a role in the affair: she witnesses the division of the position between the three incriminated ταριχευταί, **9a**.12-16 and **9b**.13-15.) They often use language that is slightly off or, as A. calls it, "schwammig" (**6a**.14n.), vague enough to carry multiple meanings. In **11**.34-36 they use a phrase that is reminiscent of the New Testament: they request the βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς to take action in order that ἡμεῖς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς μὴ ἐγλυώμεθα, during the tiresome *Instanzenzug* from office to office. A. compares Matthew 15:32: Jesus does not want to let the masses go with an empty stomach μήποτε ἐκλυθῶσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ (cf. Mark 8:3).

In **1**.8 the expression κατισχύειν τοῖς ἰδίοις seems to occur (see the note), and this will also be the case in **3**.38 (where the note suggests συνεπισχύειν, but cf. **5**.c.4, d.5, and g.ii.5 for what seem to be other instances of κατισχύειν in these texts). Another parallel for the expression is *P.Sorb.* 3.104.3, where the phrase μὴ ἰσχύειν με τοῖς ἰδίοις, αὐτὸν δὲ ἰσχύειν is translated as "que je ne suis pas capable de construire par mes propres moyens et que lui en est capable." I think that in all cases the expression has a more general sense: (κατ)ισχύειν τοῖς ἰδίοις can be translated as "to be of independent means." In the case of the three incriminated ταριχευταί, their means allow them to bribe police officials (see **4a**.31-32 and **4b**.32-34).

When Amenneus and Onnophris make their first move, the rebellion was still going strong in Thebes, but elsewhere it had ended in 196. By the time they make their second move, Ptolemy was again master of all of Egypt. Apart from the persistent characterization of Psenephmous as one with the rebels (ἀποστάται), we do not learn a whole lot about the rebellion itself. He is characterized more than once as having fallen (πεσόντος in **7**.19, probably **8**.10, and **11**.10, but note ἀναι̣ρ̣[ε]θ̣ῆ̣ν̣α̣ι̣ in **10**.4) during the rebellion, suggesting that he took up arms and joined battle. (The verb πίπτω does not seem to occur elsewhere in this sense in documentary papyri.) Amenneus and Onnophris do not suggest a link between the rebel and the three incriminated ταριχευταί, because that might have actually weakened their case (if, for instance, one of the three, Pasis son of Psenephmous, was a συγγενής of the rebel Psenephmous). Since Psenemphous' position as ταριχευτής, which carried a fixed income, was now shared between the three, its value for each of them was only a third of what it had been for him. There are no other texts that mention confiscated positions as being auctioned off.

We also do not learn much about the funeral business at Philadelpheia other than that there were multiple ταριχευταί involved at any given time. It seems that Psenephmous was responsible for only part of the funeral business at Philadelpheia, because in **12**, official correspondence about the case from

April/May 184, the reading in line 13 suggested in the note, τετά̣ρ̣τ̣ην, must be correct. This is not a tax the three incriminated ταριχευταί should be paying, as A. thinks, but could be their share (μερίδα is understood; cf. μ̣ερ̣ίδ̣ας in line 14) of the whole funeral business at Philadelpheia. In line 15, εἰς (ἔ̣τ̣η̣) γ̣ requires an overstroke over the numeral, which is vaguely visible.[3]

The text edition is very reliable. There is a typo in **4a**.33 (cf. **4b**.34), where the papyrus reads, and A. translates, ὑμᾶς, not ἡμᾶς. In some texts, the line numbering could have been clearer. In **6b**, **8**, **10**, and especially **12**, runover text in long lines should have been indented or each line numbered separately. **7**.40 is actually line 39. The usual indices complete the volume, including an index of texts discussed (p. 129). A map locating the various places mentioned in the texts would have been helpful. There are three ταριχευταί from Moithymis in the Memphite nome who live in Tanis and are involved in the case (**9a**.16-22 and **9b**.16-22). Moithymis is just across the desert ridge separating Tanis and Philadelpheia from the Nile Valley. **1**.18 mentions two ταριχευταί from nearby Kerkesis. It is attractive to have the man "in charge of the δωρεά" in texts **9a**.11-12 and **9b**.10 be in charge of the former δωρεά of Apollonios the διοικητής near Philadelpheia (cf. p. 13).

This wonderful book is a bargain at €16.90.

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[3] Also restore μῆνες ε̣̅ in **4b**.12, where the overstroke is lost.

K. Maresch, *Ptolemäische Bankpapyri aus dem Herakleopolites (P.Herakl.Bank). Papyri der Sammlungen in Heidelberg, Köln und Wien*. Papyrologica Coloniensia 35. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2012. xiv + 339 pages + DVD. ISBN 978-3-506-77543-6.

P.Herakl.Bank, the 35th volume of the Papyrologica Coloniensia, publishes the bookkeeping of a Herakleopolite bank, dating to the 140s and 130s BC. The fragmentary papyri, extracted from mummy cartonnage, are part of three rolls and were acquired by the papyrus collections of Cologne, Heidelberg, and Vienna. Pieces from the Heidelberg and Vienna collections are part of the same roll (no. **2**). The first two rolls, dating to the 130s BC, were written by the same scribe and mention the banker Automedon. The third roll, which dates to the second half of the 140s BC, when the bank was directed by Apollonios, was written by another scribe. The three rolls contain annotations on their back (edited as nos. **4**, **5**, and **6**), preparing the transactions and daily balances of the recto (edited as nos. **1**, **2**, and **3**).

All places referred to in the bookkeeping are spread out over the Herakleopolite nome with the exception of Takona. Prosopographical identifications confirm the Herakleopolite origin. The bank accounts *P.Tebt.* 3.2.890, mentioning some of the same places, were undoubtedly written in the Herakleopolite nome as well (see p. 7 with n. 5). The Tebtynis text is, however, of an earlier date and deals with transactions of a private bank rather than with the daily business of a royal bank, as in *P.Herakl.Bank* (see p. 15). Some registers in *BGU* 14 mention the same people as *P.Herakl.Bank* and should therefore be dated to the second century BC (see pp. 12-13).[1]

The volume has a comprehensive introduction (pp. 1-79), dealing with technical issues and discussing the bookkeeping of the bank in detail. The place of origin and the dating are discussed in section I (pp. 1-14). The handwriting, prosopographical data and prices lead to a dating in the 140s (no. **3**) and 130s BC (nos. **1** and **2**). A further section (III, pp. 25-37) lists the abbreviations and other palaeographical difficulties found in bank accounts nos. **1** and **2** and their respective versos (nos. **4** and **5**), all written by the same hand. In particular the payment reasons are abbreviated, such as τι(μή) in τι(μῆς) μέλιτος or τι(μῆς) μέ(λιτος), να(ῦλον), σύ(νταξις), μισ(θός). Some ligatures are peculiar (μθ, αν). The abbreviations and ligatures are well illustrated by a series of photographs. The section on orthographical issues (IV, pp. 38-41)

[1] Also according to S. Scheuble-Reiter, *Die Katökenreiter im ptolemäischen Ägypten* (München 2012) 333-334, *BGU* 14.2441, 2444, and 2449 rather date from before 138 BC. The editor of the *BGU*-texts assumed a date in the first century BC.

deals with phenomena typical of the period, such as the interchange of ε and η, ει and η and the consonantal ι. The inconsistent use of cases is, fortunately, not problematic for the understanding of the bookkeeping. The names of the people involved in the transactions may be followed either by their father's name and/or their profession.

The nature of the payments and the people involved are discussed in section II (pp. 15-24). The bank is undoubtedly a royal bank (βασιλικὴ τράπεζα) or a branch (λογευτήριον): payments often involve taxes and such (including *syntaxis*, payments to *leitourgoi* or for work on the irrigation system) and many persons involved in the transactions are officials. Among them we find subordinates of Polemarchos, the nome governor who had assumed at the same time the financial office of the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, and other officials such as the πρὸς τῇ συντάξει or governmental administrators (ὑπηρέται). Other payers or recipients are craftsmen, traders, *katoikoi*, and people whose profession is unknown. Some of these people may be tax farmers who paid or cashed money through a state bank. But even if several transactions are of an official nature, some might be private transactions.

Sections V-VIII (pp. 41-70) deal with the entering of payments in bronze, silver and gold in the daily balances. *P.Herakl.Bank* and the above-mentioned *P.Tebt*. 3.2.890 use the bronze standard, customary from the end of the third century BC, but payments could also be done in silver or gold coins. Hence a kind of double bookkeeping was necessary: (1) as the daily balances had to be checked with the coins that the bank actually held in cash, the payments in gold, silver, and bronze had to be entered separately; (2) but as the bronze standard was the current standard, the silver and gold payments had to be converted into bronze: they were for that matter considered purchases or sales for which a price was established.

The entering of bronze payments (see VI on pp. 43-47) is straightforward. For each transaction a new line is used. The account holder is always listed first, followed by the person who either transfers money to the account or withdraws money from it. In case of a transfer of money to the account holder, the line is shifted to the left; in case of a withdrawal, the line is shifted to the right. At the end of the line, the sums paid are repeated: in case of a money transfer they are written somewhat to the left, in case of a withdrawal to the right, resulting in two columns with figures. Some variants to the standard procedure may be noted: the account holder could pay money to his own account, or the bank could pay or withdraw money.

Maresch unravels in detail the complicated bookkeeping mechanism for payments in gold or silver, departing from fragmentary data recorded on the recto and verso of the rolls. Here I summarize the procedure using a fictitious example. When a person wanted to pay or withdraw money in silver or gold (e.g., Sarapion wants to pay transfer taxes for the amount of 20 silver drachmas), the precious metal first had to be sold or purchased by the bank: the sale (πρᾶσις) or purchase (ἀγόρασις) was registered on the verso and its price was fixed in bronze (e.g., in the case of Sarapion: 20 silver drachmas = 1 talent 2,200 bronze drachmas). Then the roll was turned around and the actual transaction was registered on the recto, in bronze (e.g., Sarapion paid to the account of Ptolemaios, for the transfer tax: 1 talent 2,200 bronze drachmas). As at the end of the day the cash (not only in bronze, but also in silver and gold coins) had to balance, the totals of sale/purchase of gold and silver coins were added on the recto; these daily totals were set off against the closing balance of the day before, resulting in a new closing balance (called λοιπόν, see p. 49).

Hence, the verso contains detailed information on the sale and purchase of gold and silver money (displayed in columns), rarely of uncoined silver (see pp. 69-70), whereas the recto registers the transactions of money (usually in bronze), followed by the daily totals of bronze, silver and gold. The bank profits moderately from the system of sale and purchase of precious metals (see p. 50). There are a few special cases. Some sales/purchases of silver and gold are not converted into bronze. The reason for this exceptional procedure is problematic (see the discussion on pp. 56-57). Some entries on the recto do not start with the name of the account holder, but with τράπεζα; these are always payments of very low sums by the bank to an individual and are probably corrections of former transactions (pp. 54-56).

The bank accounts give detailed information on the price of silver staters and the gold *mnaiaion*, as discussed in section IX (pp. 71-79). The prices for gold and silver may differ from transaction to transaction even in the course of the same day, but all in all only small fluctuations occur. Apparently, the bank could negotiate prices within certain limits, and good clients could profit from it. As a rule the bank sold precious metals at a somewhat higher price than its purchase price.

Some passages in the Herakleopolite accounts seem to refer to the use of silver didrachmas alongside staters. The accounts also show that gold money was commonly used in the second century BC, whereas in other Ptolemaic papyri gold money is hardly present. The gold *mnaiaion* was the equivalent of 100 silver *mnai*; according to the Herakleopolite accounts, the ratio gold: silver was in the 140s-130s BC about 1:12.5. According to the older bank accounts *P.Tebt*. 3.2.890 the ratio was 1:10 (uncoined gold was 1:8), probably because in the first half of the second century BC silver was scarcer and therefore more expensive. In 155/154 BC the silver minting in Alexandria was resumed.

The introduction is followed by the edition of the rectos (nos. **1**-**3**) and the respective versos (nos. **4**-**7**) of the three bank rolls, each of them split up in several fragments (nos. **1a**, **1b**, etc.). Maresch' careful edition includes transliterations, translations, and detailed commentaries in an accessible lay-out. Some of the commentaries contain refreshing details, such as a woman who is called a silversmith (ἀργυροκόπος: as suggested by Maresch, rather the wife or daughter of a silversmith, who led or inherited the business without carrying out the profession (**1a**.4.14)). Ample enlarged details of photographs support the readings. Full indices are provided and a DVD at the end of the volume offers high-quality colour plates of all texts.

The publication of *P.Herakl.Bank* would be a nice occasion to bring together the information on the Ptolemaic bank archives. Conspicuously, of the nine Ptolemaic bank archives, six originate from the Herakleopolite nome[2]: the archives of the government bankers Kleitarchos and Hermias date to the third century BC, the *P.Herakl.Bank*-archive and that of the banker Dionysios to the second century BC, and finally the archives of the government bankers Protarchos and Apollonios and Hephaistion, two first century BC-archives, are in some way connected. Most bank archives contain incoming correspondence, orders for payment, receipts of payment, rarely internal documents such as the bookkeeping of *P.Herakl.Bank.* One wonders whether there is a link between the *P.Herakl.Bank*-archive of the 140s-130s and the papers of the banker Dionysios, dating to 131 BC, also belonging to the Cologne collection.

P.Herakl.Bank is one of the few Ptolemaic bank archives, the first one displaying the bookkeeping of a royal bank. The texts are therefore of great importance. Notwithstanding the fragmentary character of the papyrus rolls, Maresch is able to uncover the complicated procedures of the bank's bookkeeping. His profound insight in these matters has resulted in a most instructive introduction, which will undoubtedly become a work of reference.

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[2] The archives that do not originate from the Herakleopolite are that of Nikanor (third century BC, Oxyrhynchite nome), the archive of the royal bank of Thebes (Ptolemaic, Thebes) and the archive of the banker Python (third century BC, Arsinoite nome). See for the bank archives, http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/index.php.

Wolfgang Habermann (ed.), *Die badischen Grabungen in Qarâra und el-Hibeh 1913 und 1914. Wissenschaftsgeschichtliche und papyrologische Beiträge (P. Heid. X)*, unter Mitwirkung von Elke Fuchs, mit Beiträgen von James M.S. Cowey, Demokritos Kaltsas, Thomas Kruse, Clemens Kuhs, Fritz Mitthof, Fabian Reiter, Georg Schmelz und Renate Ziegler. Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung, Neue Folge Nr. 14. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2014. xiv + 449 pages + 9 plates. ISBN 978-3-8253-6288-1.

This big volume has a checkered history. Originally composed to celebrate the sixtieth birthday of Dieter Hagedorn in 1996, the manuscript lay dormant for more than fifteen years until Hagedorn's successor in Heidelberg pushed it through to publication. It has been revised throughout, but it is still a product of the Heidelberg institute as it was in 1996: a promising équipe of budding scholars, who by now have all reached middle age.

The volume is not a unity, and the title is misleading. The first part (by the editor of the volume, Wolfgang Habermann) concerns the excavations organized in the years immediately preceding World War I, now exactly a hundred years ago, by two learned institutions in Baden: the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, which secured the bulk of the papyri, and the Freiburger Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, which was satisfied with various other antiquities recovered by the excavations. It mainly consists of an annotated edition of the diaries of the two excavation seasons, of selections from the *Fundjournal* (record of objects), and of various letters and other documents relating to the excavations or excavators. The annotation is very carefully done and is a *Fundgrube* for German intellectual history in the early twentieth century (appropriately indexed at pp. 336-338). The selection from the *Fundjournal* is for materials recovered during the excavations that have to do with writing: papyri but also writing implements and other materials with writing on them. This first part, then, provides some background for papyri published in *P.Bad.* 4 and elsewhere, but it is of limited value. In one case various papyri were found in the same spot, but there is no firm evidence that they were found *together* (which would have been interesting to know), and in the case of one of the papyri there is even some doubt or confusion as to where exactly it was found (see pp. 89-90, n. 12). But in another case the evidence for the findspot is more intriguing: the papyrus with a school text published by Friedrich Bilabel in *BL* 2.2:177ff. was found (but not by him, as he claimed) in a tomb at Qarara (see pp. 65-71). Helpful is the review of written materials recovered (or said to have been recovered) at el-Hibeh before and after 1913-1914. [To p. 7, n. 5, may now be added L. Del Corso, *Anal. Pap.* 25 (2013) 65-78, on P.Heid. inv. G434, possibly from the same roll as *P.Grenf.* 2.6B and *P.Hib.* 2.224.]

The notebook of the first season (a mere *Versuchsgrabung*) was written by Hermann Ranke, who also published some of the results of his excavations in 1926,[1] covering the "Coptic" cemetery at Qarara (Hippon/Hipponon, just north of Oxyrhynchus) and the temple of Amun at el-Hibeh (Ankyron/Ankyronon, just south of Heracleopolis), both on the east bank of the Nile, about 15 kilometers apart, and both originally in the Koite toparchy of the Heracleopolite nome. It is useful to have access to Ranke's original diary, even if in 2014 one might have been satisfied with digital access rather than the lavish publication offered here, which was admittedly conceived of at the very beginning of the digital age (the Duke Papyrus Archive went digital at the end of 1995). The diary of the second season (what was to be merely the first installment of a *Hauptgrabung* or "big dig" – nipped in the bud by World War I) was authored by other scholars including Bilabel. The entries are much shorter and less helpful than Ranke's, but it is so far all we have for the second season.

The second part of the volume is the edition of twelve papyri from the Heidelberg collection, only some of which derive from the excavations. In fact, there is no way to coordinate the texts from Qarara and el-Hibeh published here with the notebooks in the earlier part of the volume, because that earlier part only records published papyri up to but not including *P.Heid*. 10 itself (see the index, pp. 203-208). We are of course glad to have the texts which will be known as *P.Heid*. 10.446-453, but if they had been published separately, it would have made for a much more manageable volume (about 100 pages) than the current one, which weighs 2.4 kilograms.

446 is a small fragment of a lease of a vineyard from the second century BC, found at el-Hibeh.

447, also from el-Hibeh, re-edits *P.Bad*. 4.77 with a new fragment. It records the sale of part of a house and dates from 98-117. The new edition is a significant improvement of the *ed. princ*.

448 is a cancelled loan from 125/126. Note that the plate does not align the two fragments properly.

449, a declaration of uninundated land from Karanis from 165-171, is not correctly transcribed. In line 4 ο]υ is visible before Μαρίνου, and in line 5 there is no τιζει, which was therefore written at the beginning of line 7, making the editor's reconstruction of the length of the lines obsolete. Thus, in line 7 περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην (however written) may have preceded Καρανίδ<α> (note

[1] H. Ranke, *Koptische Friedhöfe bei Karâra und der Amontempel Scheschonks I bei el Hibe. Bericht über die badischen Grabungen in Ägypten in den Wintern 1913 und 1914* (Berlin 1926), available as ebook/print on demand from de Gruyter.

that the *alpha* was not written), not just περὶ κώ(μην). At the end of line 8 add (ἄρουραν) α, as implied by the translation.

450, found at el-Hibeh, is a petition to the *archontes* of Heracleopolis from 177-180. It mentions a προκεκοσμητευκώς, a kind of *Ersatz-kosmetes* of lower rank. The edition occupies thirty quarto pages, most of them filled with an appendix on the office of *exegetes* (pp. 382-400).

451, a memorandum about tax payments, is from el-Hibeh and dates to (after) 185-186. The representation of the symbols for small monetary units is inconsistent: χ(αλκοῦς) α is used side-by-side with χ(αλκοῖ δύο). Both symbols are written *chi* with the numeral above it. Also note that in line 6 ὀβολ( ) is not followed by a number and may have been ὀβολ(ός) in the singular ("one obol").

452 is a lease of property from Oxyrhynchus from 331.

453 is a papyrus with a Greek text (according to p. 417 on the "Verso," but plate 5 says on the "Rekto") and a Coptic text (according to p. 419 on the "Recto," but plate 5 says on the "Verso"). The Greek text, a *Schuldschein*, is written against the fibers on the front, and the Coptic text, another *Schuldschein*, was written along the fibers on the back. The Greek hand uses some peculiar *tau*s, with a deep loop, clearly distinguishable from the *gamma*s, which have smaller loops. A date after 641 seems likely.

454 is a late seventh/early eighth century tax account from, perhaps, Aphrodito. The *recto* records *inter alia* payments for the wages of sailors in the service of the state mail system. Another entry is for the wages of sailors from Africa. The *verso* records payments for the poll tax (ἀνδρισμός).

455-**458** are receipts for ἀνδρισμός, perhaps from Hermopolis, and also date from after the Arab conquest. **455** "Verso" (according to plate 8) is the reused front of the papyrus, with a *protokollon* and the beginning of a contract written against the fibers. The reused back ("Rekto" according to plate 8) contains the receipt, written along the fibers.

Given the length of some of the commentaries, it would have been helpful if the text numbers had been printed at the top of the pages.

The book under review is really two books. The first part is less helpful than its bulk suggests, because we do not learn as much about the site of el-Hibeh as we would like (not as much as we learn from Ranke's publication of the temple of Amun and of the "Coptic" cemeteries at Qarara in his 1926 monograph [n. 1]), but it offers a variety of intriguing details to those interested in the history of the (wider) discipline. The text editions in the second part are very good, as is to be expected from students of the originally intended honorand of the volume as a whole.

University of Cincinnati Peter van Minnen

S.R. Llewelyn and J.R. Harrison (eds.), *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of the Greek and Other Inscriptions and Papyri Published Between 1988 and 1992*. Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2012. ix + 269 pages. ISBN 978-0-8028-4520-7.

After more than a decade since the previous volume in the *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (*New Docs.*) series the tenth volume has finally appeared. This series, well known among those interested in the social context of the New Testament and early Christianity, seeks to elucidate the wider Mediterranean context of early Christianity through analyses of various inscriptions and papyri. The first volume in the series appeared in 1981 and, as stated in the preface (*New Docs.* 1:iv-v), sought to fill a void since the publication of A. Deissmann's *Light from the Ancient Near East* (1908, rev. 1927) and J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan's *Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament Illustrated by the Papyri* (1930). More *New Docs.* volumes followed suit, and the present volume focuses principally on inscriptions and papyri published between 1988 and 1992.

This volume contains twenty-nine articles that are topically arranged under eight headings: Philosophy (nos. 1-2); Magic (3-5); Cult and Oracle (6-9); Public Life: Caesarian Accession (10-13); Public Life: Benefaction and Business (14-17); Household (18-21); Judaica (22-26); and Christianity (27-29). Each entry is typically prefaced by a concise bibliography that includes a reference to the *editio princeps* and other editions of the text, a transcription with accompanying English translation, an analysis and commentary that highlights the significance of the text for New Testament or Early Christian studies, and concludes with a bibliography of pertinent secondary literature. While the editions are primarily intended for students and scholars of the New Testament and early Christianity, they should also prove to be of some use to papyrologists, epigraphers, and ancient historians, since they contain many valuable contributions to the study of, *inter alia*, onomastics, Greek and Latin philology, philosophy, Roman administration and law, and the titulature and language of honorific inscriptions.

In the first section, on "Philosophy," E.A. Judge treats two Greek inscriptions. The second inscription (no. 2), which is particularly interesting, is dated to the early first century CE and comes from Philadelphia (Lydia). It is a funerary tribute to a man, who is given the by-name Pythagoras, and celebrates his attainment of wisdom. The most notable aspect of the inscription is the arrangement of the drawings it accompanies. A straight and narrow path runs between two drawings, to the left of ἀσωτία, distractions to wisdom (cf. Luke 15:13, Ephesians 5:18, Titus 1:6, 1 Peter 4:4), and to the right of ἀρετή, virtue or excellence of character (Philippians 4:8). For Judge this illustrates the "two ways" found in both philosophical and certain New Testament texts, and he goes on to suggest that the arrangement provides a greater context to consider Jesus' metaphor of ethical life as the "narrow way" in Matthew 7:13-14.

The section titled "Magic" contains three articles. No. 3 deals with a cameo dated to ca. 25-50 where the names Iao and Adonai are invoked to protect the wearer, a certain Vibia Paulina. The point is made that certain names were used for magical protection, and an analogy is then established with an exorcism in Acts 19 and Mark 1:24 where the name of "Jesus" is endowed with similar apotropaic powers. No. 5 contains an interesting discussion of a lead tablet that contains an invocation for a spirit to possess a boy. Not only is the text used to illustrate the prominence of magic and incantation, but it also provides an interesting context in which to consider Jesus' ministry of exorcism.

The section on "Cult and Oracle" provides a useful discussion and analysis of four different Greek inscriptions, one from Tralleis and three from Ephesus. The most detailed article (no. 8) concerns an inscription on a marble slab from Ephesus dated to 165 CE that states that the temple of Artemis was a place of much gladness and that the goddess saved the city from a malevolent magician who sent a plague on the city. The article interacts with C.E. Arnold's *Ephesians: Power and Magic* (1989), which presents Artemis as a sort of demonic goddess, and R. Strelan's *Paul, Artemis, and the Jews in Ephesus* (1996), which argues that Artemis was associated with salvation from malevolent spirits. The article concisely summarizes both sides of this debate and ultimately favors Strelan's argument.

The section on "Public Life" is subdivided into two additional subsections, "Caesarian Accession" and "Benefaction and Business," that total eleven articles. No. 11 examines a bilingual (Greek/Latin) inscription from Ephesus dated to 22/21 BC honoring Augustus and that describes his "gift" to the city with the use of the term χάρις. The article then considers the benefactions of Augustus in Ephesus and makes an interesting argument that Paul's use of "grace" as well as wealth metaphors in the letter to the Ephesians could perhaps be seen against this backdrop. There is also an insightful discussion (no. 17) of a cylindrical *bomos* with a Greek inscription that pays tribute to the repairer of the baths in Colossae. As the inscription can be confidently dated to the late first or early second century, it undercuts the conventional wisdom on the letter to the Colossians that sees the city in steep decline, even virtually disappearing, not long after an earthquake in 61/62.

In the subsection "Household" there are four articles. The first (no. 18) deals with a papyrus (*SB* 8.9740) that documents a divorce agreement and is dated to 177 CE. The text reveals that the estranged wife was 21 years younger than her former husband, and the article goes on to note that census records indicate that in antiquity men were generally older (and in some cases much older) than their wives. The other noteworthy article in this subsection, cleverly titled "Every Dog has its Day" (no. 21), concerns a eulogy on a sarcophagus for a dead dog that was given the name Stephanos by its owner Aurelia Rhodope. In the course of treating this eulogy the article points out that there is inscriptional evidence that beloved dogs were often fed directly from the master's table. This leads into a lucid discussion of Mark 7:27-28 (cf. Matthew 15:26-27) where dogs and table etiquette is brought up with reference to gentiles and Jews.

The five texts in the "Judaica" section range from a Greek temple inscription from the late first century BCE that once stood on the balustrade of Herod's Temple and warned foreigners (that is, non-Israelites) about entering the temple precinct (no. 22) to a Latin pay slip for a Roman soldier at Masada dated ca. 72-75 (no. 23). The most detailed article (no. 24) concerns some documents in the Babatha archive (*P.Babatha* 28-30) and attempts to elucidate what can be gleaned about the relationship of the Roman governor to the legal institutions operating within his *imperium*. This article also raises the possibility that Jewish polygamy was not merely practiced in the upper echelons of society but may have also been practiced among those "somewhat down the social hierarchy" (p. 151).

The final section, "Christianity," contains three articles, two of which deal with fourth-century letters from Oxyrhynchus: *P.Oxy*. 56.3858 and 3859. The letters are principally used to shed light on some of Paul's letters and the vocabulary used in them. In no. 28 (= *P.Oxy*. 56.3858) it is noted that the sender of this letter employed the term λιτουργία (*l.* λειτουργία). An extended discussion then considers the range of meanings associated with this term. It includes an analysis of 2 Corinthians 9:12, where it is used for Christian service, as well as Philippians 2:17, 25, 30, where it is employed for service within the church.

From pp. 175-269 the volume contains a series of useful indices for volumes six through the present volume. These range from topographical matters to all pertinent Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Aramaic words and all inscriptions and papyri referred to in these volumes.

On the whole this is a useful volume that marshals a diverse array of evidence from all over the Mediterranean world. The strength of the present volume resides in both the breadth and depth of the various articles and the subjects they treat. Scholars of both the New Testament and early Christianity should definitely avail themselves of this volume because of the wealth of contextual material that is generally treated with much skill and erudition.

There is some room for improvement. The volume suffers from some trifling editorial errors that range from an occasional large gap before certain Greek words to extra brackets with no text. These errors are largely cosmetic, but they should have been avoided. A more substantive criticism of the volume has to do with the word "New" in the title, as most of the texts discussed have been available for at least a quarter century and some even longer. Therefore, while the articles generally offer lucid and erudite analyses of the texts some of them have been well known for decades, and one wonders how "new" the documents really are. To help remedy this problem, it is certainly to be hoped that it will not take another ten years until the next volume comes out. Finally, as we move yet further into the digital age it would be extremely useful if the indices for all the volumes would be available online. This would not only make searching them much easier, but it would have the added advantage of freeing up considerable space for more articles in future volumes, considering that over a third of the present volume is occupied by indices.

Brigham Young University Lincoln H. Blumell

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 261-263

Andrew Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans: Political and Economic Change in Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. xx + 343 pages. ISBN 978-1-107-01441-1.

Egypt's transition from Ptolemaic to Roman rule has been the subject of scholarly debates for about a century now. Where earlier scholars stressed the continuity of institutions from one political regime to the next (leading to the much used term "Greco-Roman Egypt"), Naphtali Lewis in a seminal 1984 paper argued for less continuity and more initiative for change on the Roman side.[1] This paper made Egypt available for historians of the Roman Empire as a possible model for what happened when regions in the Hellenistic East became part of the Roman Empire. Lewis' paper was followed by many other studies that tried to gauge the extent of continuity and change between Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, with varying results, depending on what the study focused on exactly.

Monson's (henceforth M.) book jumps right into this debate, but its main aim, as stated on page 27 is to "understand" rather than "defend a particular theoretical position." A particularly welcome aspect of M.'s book is that it does not focus on one aspect of this change, but rather attempts to take into account many different aspects, such as geography, population density, the land tenure regime, and fiscal institutions, and stresses the interplay between all these different possible determinants of change and/or continuity. M. also uses a variety of sources and comparative research to try and tease out as much as he can from the available evidence.

M.'s book is divided into four parts: "Introduction" (Chapters 1-2), "The land-tenure regime" (Chapters 3-4), "Fiscal and administrative reform" (Chapters 5-6), and "The politics of economic change" (Chapters 7-8).

The first part of the book sets the stage and discusses why Egypt with its wealth of textual evidence is the perfect test-case to discuss the transition to Roman rule in the Hellenistic East. In Chapter 1 ("The political economy of Egypt") Monson presents the theoretical framework for his study and discusses Egypt's agrarian economy, previous scholarship and its conclusions. This discussion includes both the work of papyrologists and that of economic historians. Chapter 2 ("Geography and population") presents Egypt's peculiar geography and ecology, and combines this with resulting patterns in population density. One of the main conclusions is that these regional differences (a much more densely populated Nile Valley compared with the Fayum and

[1] "The Romanity of Roman Egypt: A Growing Consensus," in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* 3 (Napoli 1984) 1077-1084.

Delta) were constant from Ptolemaic to Roman Egypt and even into modern times (M. compares the ancient data with those from Egypt between 1895-1910). M. then correlates this relative population density to the agricultural geography, the amount of marginal land (defined as "uncultivated arable land," p. 37), and most importantly for the purposes of the present study, resulting differences in property rights and agrarian institutions.

The second part of the book deals specifically with land rights in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Chapter 3 ("The regionalism of land tenure") discusses the development of property rights in different regions of Egypt as a result of the differing population densities and land scarcities in both Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. One of the main aspects of this chapter (already previewed in earlier papers by M.) is that the Ptolemaic regime recognized private ownership of land (defined as a "bundle of property rights"), although this does not easily show in the known categories of land classification that served an administrative and fiscal purpose. M. demonstrates a clear correlation between private ownership of land and land scarcity. The Romans extended the amount of land that was privately owned and gave more privileges to landholders.

Chapter 4 ("The continuity of agrarian institutions") discusses the land tenure regime of ancient Egypt. It focuses on the institutions that governed the land tenure regime, especially the private ownership of land, and shows that there was a relative conservativeness in dealing with land tenure from one political regime to the other. It also discusses the different institutions that deal with land, such as land markets and legal enforcement and protection of property rights. The main change brought by the Romans is that institutional changes in the registration and enforcement of contracts (one "writing office," or *grapheion*, per village, rather than one *agoranomos* per nome as in the Ptolemaic period) resulted in stronger property rights for landholders than in earlier periods of Egyptian history. The same Roman strengthening of property rights can also be seen in Roman dealings with the administrative land categories of temple and state land. For temple land in particular, M., following his earlier studies, argues for greater continuity in the land tenure regime in that the Roman state recognized and favored private ownership of temple land.

The third part of the book deals with what exactly the Romans did differently from the Ptolemies. Chapter 5 ("Land taxation and investment") focuses on the changes in taxation in the early Roman period – from a variable harvest-tax regime in the Ptolemaic period to a fixed-tax regime in the Roman period. This change to a fixed-rate taxation regime, according to M., spurred economic activity in that it made it possible and desirable for landholders to accumulate more land and invest in its productivity. This, in turn, led to an elite whose wealth and resulting local power and prestige were based on land ownership rather than on privileges granted to the individual by the state (king) or temples in the Ptolemaic period. M.'s interpretation differs from earlier studies that saw the main drivers of change and economic growth in the Roman period more in privatization of land itself or better ownership registration than in previous periods. Chapter 6 ("Administration and redistribution") discusses the effects of Roman rule on Egypt's administration. In particular, the chapter deals with the change from voluntary and paid state offices to compulsory public services in Roman Egypt, a change that, M. argues, could only happen because of the emergence of an elite of private land owners. The Romans gradually transferred power from civil and temple officials to this landholding elite and made them responsible for self-government.

The fourth and final part brings the book together and discusses the possible relation between political conditions, fiscal institutions and economic performance. Chapter 7 ("The impact of empire") tries to establish correlations between the different political regimes and fiscal institutions. M. stresses that more (comparative) research is needed here, but he offers some interesting indications that Hellenistic kings such as the Ptolemies indeed made "different political calculations" (p. 262) from Roman emperors in dealing with state agents and status groups. It is evident, then, that the transition from Ptolemaic to Roman Egypt can contribute to wider theories about state formation and economic history. The final Chapter 8 ("Conclusion") attempts an analysis of the differences in economic performance, not only on the basis of the agrarian economy, between Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt and sums up the main arguments of the book.

M. has given us a well-balanced analysis of this important political period in Egyptian history. By taking into account the interplay of the various determinants for change rather than establishing the one determinant, he provides a more convincing picture of Egypt's transition to a Roman province that will be the model for years to come.

University of Michigan Arthur Verhoogt

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 51 (2014) 265-268

Ari Z. Bryen, *Violence in Roman Egypt: A Study in Legal Interpretation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. ix + 363 pages. ISBN: 978-0-8122-4508-0.

This monograph complements B. Kelly, *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 2011), but there are differences in method and coverage. Bryen (B.) was not able to take the older monograph into account, and he extends the Roman period (which for Kelly ends in AD 284) to include Late Antiquity (but B. excludes the petitions from the Dioscorus archive). Kelly gives petitions about violence short shrift, because they tend to exaggerate, but for B. that is not a problem. Kelly's focus is on structure (how the legal system intended to resolve disputes) and generally favors a top-down approach (how the legal system informed private or informal methods of dispute resolution), whereas B. focuses on what he calls hermeneutics (how the victims narrated the violence done to them) and favors a bottom-up approach (how the victims got the government to respond). B. even claims that petitions concerning violence contributed to the way law operated in the Roman Empire.

B. argues that petitions, even if they exaggerate, tell us what people in Roman Egypt from Augustus to Justinian thought about law, and this is important if we see the Roman Empire as a "world full of law" held together, not by law enforcement, but by "buy-in" – on the part of the Empire's subjects no less than of its government. But B. seems to overstate his case for significant input from below from the kind of petitions he discusses. They tend to confirm (à la Kelly) the norm, whereas more challenging instances are rare. It does not seem likely that petitions about violence were treated as circumspectly (involving multiple levels of government) as petitions concerning, say, property. Significantly, B. does not include records of proceedings of court cases involving violence, and Kelly's data for 30 BC – AD 284 suggest that less than 1 in 4 petitions concerning violence received a follow-up in court.[1] I suspect that violence was mostly dealt with by lower levels of government and that local officials were mostly successful in letting petitioners blow off steam and satisfying them with their intervention, whatever form that took. If cases involving violence rarely made it to court, it is even more unlikely that petitions concerning violence would have provided precedents that would have influenced subsequent cases.

Petitions were the traditional trigger for action on the part of the government, and the legal system therefore expected narratives, which is also clear from records of court proceedings. Petitions took the Roman government at its

[1] 21% of all petitions involving a dispute of some sort are concerned with violence, only 5% of all records of proceedings.

word and spelled out the expected, normative reaction. Petitioners themselves were involved in formulating their petitions, but B. probably exaggerates their role. Professional petition writers produced mostly boiler plate, and there is no reason to assume that all boiler plate literally meant something for the petitioners, the petition writers, or even the government officials addressed.

B.'s monograph is generously interspersed with quotations of petitions and other relevant documents in Greek and in translation. Most translations also appear in Appendix B. The book could have been much shorter without the Greek texts, which are accessible online, and even without most translations, which could have been made available in some other form. B. by no means discusses all petitions included in Appendix B. The 135 petitions there come with just one note (on p. 325; it concerns text 54). B. translates the Greek rather well, and in some cases his translations are superior to others. Take text 1 (*BGU* 4.1105), which is mistranslated in J. Rowlandson (ed.), *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1998), no. 257. B.'s translation correctly renders the verbs describing the violence in the present tense. The woman's father is filing the petition for her, because she cannot leave the house (the true meaning of her "leaving") without official permission to do so, because she would jeopardize her claim on the matrimonial property if she did. In other words, the abuse by her husband is ongoing, and she cannot even leave his house.

B. provides interesting readings of some texts, but one cannot find all of these with the help of his index or with the help of Appendix B, which does not refer to the rest of the book.[2] I therefore provide an additional papyrological index here:

BGU 3.909	pp. 108-109
P.Abinn. 51	pp. 92-93
P.Amh. 2.141	pp. 121-122
P.Cair.Goodsp. 15	pp. 159-161 (indexed as P.Cair. inv. 10269 and 10270)
P.Cair.Isid. 63	pp. 102-103
P.Freib. 2.11	p. 174
P.Grenf. 2.78	pp. 118-119
P.Kell. 1.23	pp. 97-98
P.Lips. 1.37	pp. 123-124
P.Mich. 18.793	p. 107

[2] The texts in Appendix B are referred to in the notes by bold *text* numbers (ranging from 1 to 135) and in the index by bold *page* numbers (214 and up). There is an index for Appendix B (pp. 281-285), which refers to the texts by bold *text* numbers.

P.Oxy. 2.237.6.12-20	pp. 195-196
P.Oxy. 6.903	p. 181
P.Oxy. 33.2672	p. 106
P.Oxy. 36.2758	p. 113
P.Oxy. 50.3581	p. 181
P.Oxy. 54.3771	pp. 167-168
P.Ryl. 2.144	p. 75
SB 6.9421	p. 96
SB 10.10239	pp. 101-102

Chapter 1 introduces the subject with the help of a case study (*P.Mich.* 3.174).

Chapter 2 deals with the literary portrayal of Egypt as a violent place. Few will follow B. when he suggests that the stereotype developed in tandem with the increasing use of petitions by Egyptians – that increase is itself a mirage derived from incomplete data by B.[3] On p. 293, n. 14, B. discusses the crux in Strabo 17.1.12, where Polybius makes the Egyptian people out to be πολιτικόν ("civilized") where one expects a negative characterization. Radt now prints the emendation πολύδικον, but this is impossible in view of what is said about Alexandrians later on (their kind is *also* not εὐκρινῶς πολιτικόν). Instead of restoring οὐ before the first πολιτικόν, I propose restoring μόλις, which looks sufficiently like πολι- to explain why it dropped out. μόλις is also a typical word for Polybius and balances εὐκρινῶς rather well (Egyptians are *hardly* civilized, and Alexandrians are also not *clearly* civilized).

Chapter 3 discusses the terminology for violence. B. sensibly regards violence as an open concept, which can be used in communication without a clear definition. He also argues that going public with an accusation of violence makes the violated and violator equals, but this does not work for slaves (whose bodies are admittedly not the same as free bodies) or other constituencies (when a powerful or rich man beats you, you say so, because power and wealth are inherently bad, and not just because they are often abused). Petitions about violence did operate on the notion of equality before the law. On p. 59, the translation provides the correct punctuation for lines 3-7, not reflected in the Greek text on p. 58, and εὗρον ἐπ' αὐτοφώρωι there should be "I caught red-handed." The same goes for the similar expression on p. 60, where it is used inappropriately (as so much boiler plate in petitions is) for finding the stolen objects rather than the thieves themselves in the act of stealing. Chapter 4 argues, among other things, against Bagnall's notion of a status-driven legal

[3] B. otherwise ignores the chronological spread of the petitions he includes, which range from 11/10 BC to AD 548.

system. Even if some constituencies did not have recourse to petitions (e.g., rape victims), it is not because of their status. At the bottom of p. 91, "account" should be "claim," and the phrase in which it occurs should be translated "so that I retain my claim." On p. 102, "prosecution" should be "attack." On p. 121, κατέκτει[να]ν (literally "they killed me") is not translated. On p. 124, "interrogate" should be "expose" (note the aorist ἀπελένξαι).

Chapter 5 argues that the Roman Empire was distant and characterized by weak legal pluralism. I rather think that the levels of government reached all the way to the bottom, and that they were not as confusing to people there and then as we often tend to think. The weak legal pluralism also seems irrelevant, because any legal system is weak on violence (as an open concept). On p. 138, "if that man starts a quarrel, I will refrain from violence" should be "if I suffer violence and that man started it first" and connected with what follows. On p. 160, νομή should have been translated as *possessio*, not "right of pasturage."

The confusing title of Chapter 6, "Fusion and Fission" appears as "Fission and Fusion" in the table of contents. In this, the best, chapter B. discusses two dossiers in more depth. He places a couple of petitions in *P.Cair.Isid.* in the context of the archive, and this allows him to provide more convincing interpretations than elsewhere in the book. Instead of translating all relevant documents, B. helpfully summarizes them. Significantly, the dossier includes a reference to mediators, and the violence mentioned casually at the end of the first petition is not mentioned in the second. This exercise in contextual reading shows that the petitions that come without a context are much less meaningful (to us) than they were in the past. The other dossier discussed in Chapter 6 is the well-known petition of Dionysia, which quotes precedent and earlier decisions. Again, most other petitions are not as helpful, and Dionysia's is also not really about violence but property, a much more complicated case that required multiple hearings. On p. 180, the supralinear insert should come two words earlier (correct in B.'s translation). On p. 194, κατοχή is a lien, not a mortgage (that would have been ὑποθήκη).

B. writes well but drops the names of just too many critical theorists (I count over forty from Adorno to Žižek in the index). Some of his points were anticipated by Kelly (e.g., petitions are not a last resort but often hot off the press – not surprising in cases of violence), but others correct Kelly (e.g., petitions were intended to get the legal system going or to get the government to respond, not to force an informal resolution of a dispute). Kelly's more exhaustive presentation and focus on more complex issues will attract more papyrological readers.

University of Cincinnati Peter van Minnen

Giuseppina Azzarello. *Il dossier della* "domus divina" *in Egitto.* Archiv für Papyrusforschung, Beiheft 32. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012. viii + 161 pages. ISBN 978-3-11-024718-3.

The book builds upon seventy references, certain (58) or conjectural (12), to the *domus divina* in Egypt. There are three major parts, labeled A, B, and C. Part A (pp. 4-52) discusses the testimonia according to defined topics. Part B (pp. 53-121) catalogues them in chronological order into what the author calls a "dossier." (Numbers and references to assured testimonia are in roman, those to conjectural ones are in italic type.) Part C (pp. 122-133) provides concordances and indices to the dossier. There are four brief appendices (pp. 134-144). One (I), by T.M. Hickey, provides an edition of P.Giss. inv. 48 (= Part B **12**); the other three (II-IV), by the author, propose revised readings for three other papyri relevant to the main topic. Bibliography (pp. 145-153) and general indices (pp. 154-161) complete this compact volume.

The *domus divina* is one of those rare topics only lightly treated in A.H.M. Jones's encyclopedic *Later Roman Empire* (1964). In Giuseppina Azzarello's definition (p. 1), it consists of the ensemble of properties, scattered in certain provinces and assigned to individuals of the imperial family for their support. Egypt of course was one of those provinces (another was Cappadocia), and that for which the evidence is most abundant. It thus receives due attention in E.R. Hardy's classic *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (1931), but rather less or not at all in some recent studies. T.M. Hickey's *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt* (2012) is an exception.

Even for Egypt – not surprisingly – the geographical coverage is limited. As usual, Oxyrhynchite evidence from the province of Arcadia predominates; that from the village of Aphrodite of the Antaeopolite nome in the Thebaid comes in second. The dossier contains a wealth of prosopographical data (which perhaps could have been deployed in a hypothetical Part D) by means of which the author is able (pp. 9-28) to posit a scheme of administration from the bottom up. At the local level was the *prostasia* under contractual supervision of a *pronoetes.* At the *dioikesis* or nome level we find the *dioiketes*; at the provincial level, the *phrontistes*, and beyond that, though more hypothetically, the *kourator*, perhaps based in Constantinople (see esp. *SB* 6.9102 = **36**). It was of course possible, though attestations are few, for individuals like Flavius Strategios I, *dioiketes* and then *phrontistes*, to move up the ladder from one position to the next. Numerous names and jobs of other personnel ("altre persone") are known, some permanently, others temporarily in service to the *domus divina* as, for example, irrigators, potters, wine dealers, porters (*kobaleuontes*, **22**.2-4), and shippers. These are presented in a running sequence (pp. 32-39). It would be a challenge to organize them according to type in such a way as to assess the degree to which the means of exploiting imperial properties mirrored those for private properties. At the very least the listing gives an impression of the variety of requisite human capital for the successful operation of estates of either kind.

The dossier provides some precise evidence for the localities in which *domus divina* land was to be found and a certain amount of information on the *post mortem* transfer of properties from one imperial family member to another, e.g., from Arcadia to Eudocia, from Theodora to Justinian. Most intriguing is the movement of former *domus divina* land into the control of the Apions of Oxyrhynchus, whether into their ownership or, if one prefers the thesis of J. Gascou (now reprinted in his *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* [2008] 125-213), into their tax-collecting "share." Unfortunately, the papyri give no direct figures on the extent of imperial landed interests in Egypt even for the two main regions for which they provide evidence. Jairus Banaji nonetheless notes (*Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity* [2001] 149-150) that in *P.Oxy.* 16.2020 (= **50**, AD 567-588), an account of "fiscal charges owed to the praetorian prefecture" (Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State*, 110, n. 89), paid in kind by various Oxyrhynchite *oikoi*, the *domus divina* at 22.2% of the whole was "the single biggest payer." This at least suggests the magnitude of imperial landed interests in one particular nome.

No single type of document prevails in the author's dossier. Instead the documents are various in genre: letters, lists, petitions, epistolary instructions, receipts, contracts (sale, loan, lease), oaths, receipts for irrigation machinery parts, work contracts. Some famous pieces are treated at length. The longest discussion (pp. 82-88) is justifiably reserved for **36** (*SB* 6.9102), a letter written in Constantinople to the duke of the Thebaid concerning the villagers of Aphrodite. Some discussions (e.g., for **1**, **3**, **42**, **60**) are single paragraphs. The mean may be represented by **49** (= *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67002), the famous petition of the villagers of Aphrodite to the duke of the Thebaid (pp. 101-103).

As mentioned, Part B's catalogue, which presents extracts, not full texts, that refer or allude to the *domus divina* or its personnel, adopts a chronological order. This effectively, and perhaps unfortunately, separates papyri of the same provenance. The Greek is printed continuously, not line-by-line. There is careful introductory discussion of each extract's personae, its clear or possible link to the *domus divina*. Full context is given in these introductions, but there are no translations, though I think these should have been presented for some of the thornier passages, hard to construe without their surrounding texts. The discussion for each testimonium is composed in such a way that each can stand on its own. This does result in much formulaic repetition and hundreds of internal cross-references. The system for the latter is not especially user-friendly since it is not based on pages but on references to parts and sub-parts, for instance on p. 53, "cf. sopra, al punto **A, 3, a** con n. 58 e **4** con n. 116." It is after all, since the footnotes are numbered consecutively throughout the volume, easier to track the cross-references by their corollary footnote numbers (here 58 and 116) than by their principal indicators (**A. 3, a** and **4**). But trying to provide paginated cross-references would have been a nightmarish endeavor and possibly, in the end, would have been a less helpful tool.

Finally, the author is meticulous in verifying readings of the extracts she presents, if not against the originals then by frequent consultation of online images. She has produced a valuable and reliable compendium of evidence, a timely reminder of a topic that because of the diffuse nature of relevant references can easily escape notice. It is good to see them brought together here for the first time.

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Grzegorz Ochała, *Chronological Systems of Christian Nubia.* Journal of Juristic Papyrology, Supplement 16. Warsaw: Faculty of Law and Administration and Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, and Raphael Taubenschlag Foundation, 2011. xix + 364 pages. ISBN 978-83-925919-5-5.

Christian Nubia is a particularly lively topic of study at the moment. Spearheaded by ground-breaking work of Adam Łajtar and Jacques van der Vliet, in recent years an enormous progress has been made in the availability of written sources from sites such as Qasr Ibrim and Old Dongola,[1] leading to a first ever collection of essays entirely devoted to the topic and a study of the economy and society of medieval Nubia on the basis of the Old Nubian texts from Qasr Ibrim.[2] The study of these texts has also been facilitated by the creation of a website with abbreviations of major works on the model of the papyrological Checklist and further bibliography, and a Database of Medieval Nubian Texts (DBMNT).[3] Based on the texts collected in this database, Grzegorz Ochała (henceforth O.) is now able to present us with the first systematic study of the chronological systems of medieval Nubia.

The book is a slightly retouched version of the author's doctoral dissertation defended under supervision of Łatjar at the University of Warsaw in 2010. In fact, the first stage of this doctoral project consisted of collecting all Christian Nubian texts with chronological content, which eventually resulted in the DBMNT. The database did not only form the starting point of the present study, it is also directly linked to it in that all texts discussed in the book are referred to by their DBMNT number, so that the author does not have to refer each time to the main editions and readers have access to detailed additional information on each text. Another advantage of linking the online database to the book is that instead of publishing the catalogue at the back in an appendix, which – certainly in a field as fluid as Nubian studies – would have rendered it

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[1] E.g. J. van der Vliet, *Catalogue of the Coptic Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum* (Leuven 2003); A. Łatjar, *Catalogue of the Greek Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum* (Leuven 2003); A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet, *Qasr Ibrim: The Greek and Coptic Inscriptions* (Warsaw 2010). Their forthcoming publication *Empowering the Dead in Christian Nubia: The Texts from a Medieval Funerary Complex in Dongola* (Warsaw 2014) is eagerly awaited.

[2] A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet (eds), *Nubian Voices: Studies in Christian Nubian Culture* (Warsaw 2011); G.R. Ruffini, *Medieval Nubia: A Social and Economic History* (Oxford 2012).

[3] Available at http://www.medievalnubia.info/ and http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl/, respectively.

out of date almost immediately upon publication, the database can be updated and added to, since – as O. points out in the introduction (pp. 26-27) – for many texts even the most basic information is still lacking.

The introduction starts with a discussion of the chronological and topographical scope of the material (pp. 4-7). The time range chosen is from around the mid-sixth century, when the three medieval kingdoms of Nubia (Noubadia, Makouria, and Alwa) emerged, until the waning of Christian dominance in the fifteenth century – a period that is commonly referred to as "Christian Nubia."[4] The texts mostly come from the Middle Nile region (ancient Nubia), but some texts from Egypt with a clear Nubian background have also been included.[5] O. then continues (pp. 7-24) with an excellent general characterization

[4] While O. is no doubt right to start his corpus with the two sixth-century dedications of churches at Dendur and Ikhmindi (DBMNT, nos. 517 and 458), which both contain dating formulae, the remark that "those [Greek and Coptic sources] predating the Christianization do not include any dating lemmata" (pp. 4-5, repeated on pp. 120 and 345) is not entirely correct, as a fifth-century Greek inscription from Kalabsha is dated to ἐπὶ Φονοιν φύλαρχο (read φυλάρχου) "when Phonoin was phylarch" (*SB* 5.8697.1 = T. Eide et al., *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* 3 [Bergen 1998] 1134-1138 [no. 313]), which is no doubt a marker of the local or regional power of this tribal chief; see J.H.F. Dijkstra, "'I, Silko, Came to Talmis and Taphis.' Interactions between the Peoples beyond the Southern Egyptian Frontier and Rome in Late Antiquity," in J.H.F. Dijkstra and G. Fisher (eds.), *Inside and Out: Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Leuven 2014) 317. Nonetheless, the local character of this text only underlines O.'s statement that "only with the coming of a new religion did the inhabitants of the Middle Nile Valley start to employ more advanced dating methods in their writings" (p. 4).

[5] O. takes "an unquestionable Nubian authorship of a text" (p. 23) as the main criterion for inclusion in his database. Thus the Coptic tombstones of Nubians from the monastery of Apa Hatre at Aswan (commonly known as the monastery of St Simeon), *SB Kopt.* 1.504, 523, 525, 537, 547, 548, 625 (on p. 24 [n. 33], repeated on p. 216 [n. 24] "532" is a typo for "523") are excluded because the formulae of these stelae conform entirely to the other ones from the same site. On the other hand, a Coptic *dipinto* commemorating the death of the monk Petro which has a similar structure in common with many of the funerary stelae from the same monastic grounds, is included (DBMNT, no. 565) on account of its mention of the Nubian king Zacharias III (see J.H.F. Dijkstra and J. van der Vliet, "'In Year One of King Zachari.' Evidence of a New Nubian King from the Monastery of St. Simeon at Aswan," *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 8 [2003] 31-38; cf. O.'s remarks on p. 216). While marginal cases such as these can probably not be avoided, certainly where the Nubian-Egyptian frontier was an open one, and O. clearly justifies his choices, there is no reason to include the Greek funerary stela for the anchorite Abba Isak (DBMNT, no. 530) found on Biga, the island opposite Philae in the First Cataract and so on Egyptian territory, as O. himself admits on p. 111 (n. 20).

of his data, which consist of 733 texts written in the four languages of medieval Nubia (Greek, Coptic, Old Nubian, and Arabic), illustrated with several tables and a map. He approaches these texts prudently, however, and is well aware of their limitations. For example, the majority of the texts comes from Lower Nubia, and some sites, such as Sakinya, are overrepresented, amounting to as much as two thirds of the total number of Coptic texts.[6] Moreover, the corpus is characterized by a predominance of funerary stelae (619 or 84%), which is in large part due to the fact that these are the most common textual finds in Nubia and that they usually contain dating formulae.

The book is deliberately modelled, as one may expect, on Bagnall and Worp's *Chronological Systems*,[7] especially its first part, where each chapter discusses an annual dating method, while the second part treats the use of calendric systems. As is lucidly described in the introduction (pp. 24-26), each chapter follows the same structure where possible, which greatly enhances the systematic treatment of the material and coherence of the book. Readers of this journal will be especially interested in the section "Discussion" at the end of most chapters, in which O. places the analyzed chronological systems from Nubia in a larger context and also succinctly discusses their interrelations with the same systems employed in Egypt. Another main asset of this book, already mentioned, are the many tables (48 of them) strewn throughout the book and nine distribution maps, which make O.'s analysis of the patterns in the data easy to follow. Though the English is not always perfect, the book is also written in a clear and straightforward manner. In the remainder of this review I will summarize some of the main conclusions that that can be drawn from this study.

The first chapter concerns the most commonly attested chronological system in medieval Nubia, the Era of Diocletian/Era of the Martyrs (132 texts). The Diocletianic Era was introduced in Nubia from Egypt in 668 or 670 (DBMNT, no. 612) and then rapidly spread over the country, only to disappear in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Interestingly, the new name of the era, that of the Martyrs, is first attested in Nubia in 785 (no. 14) and is only found in Egypt in the mid-ninth century, thus possibly indicating influence in the other direction.[8] From the mid-ninth century the new era becomes a popular dating system in the entire Nile valley and after a period of co-existence with the Era of

[6] This factor no doubt at least in part explains why Coptic is the most commonly attested language in this corpus (358), followed by Greek (272; see p. 23).

[7] R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Leiden 2004).

[8] O. discusses the origin of the Era of the Martyrs at length on pp. 79-81 and there leaves the question of whether the era originated in Egypt or Nubia or even both at the same time as unsettled, but at p. 347 he prefers to see it as a Nubian influence on Egypt.

Diocletian it eventually replaces the old era designation by the twelfth century. The developments in the use of the system in Nubia are generally in tandem with those in Egypt, as can be seen from the fact that the Era of Diocletian declined simultaneously in both countries, but as O. painstakingly demonstrates they also each developed in separate ways, as appears for instance from the use of ἀπό in Nubian Martyr dates, which is rare in Egypt, whereas (κατὰ) χρόνου is found for the same era only in Egypt (p. 76).

With the second chapter, we move on to indictions, which are almost as numerous in Nubia as the Era of Diocletian/Era of the Martyrs (130 texts), though this total is no doubt somewhat skewed by the 54 texts with this dating formula – as much as 42% – coming from Ginari only (see esp. pp. 104, 108). The indictional system is the first chronological system to be adopted in medieval Nubia, as it is already used in the foundation inscription of Ikhmindi (no. 458) of around the mid-sixth century, so more than a century before the arrival of the Era of Diocletian. Like with that system, it must have arrived from Egypt and also here parallel developments can be noted in both countries, such as the decline in the usage of indictions in the ninth and tenth centuries, which coincides with the increasing popularity of the Era of the Martyrs (p. 124, repeated on p. 348). Once again, however, O. points to some significant differences in usage between Egypt and Nubia, such as the fact that indictions are mainly found in Greek texts from Nubia (pp. 108-110)[9] and the order indiction-numeral that is almost exclusively found in Nubia, as opposed to Egypt where the order is not fixed (pp. 111, 114-115).[10]

In chapters three, four, and five the less common chronological systems of medieval Nubia, the Saracen era, Christian eras, and regnal years, are discussed. The first of these, the Era of the Saracens, is found in just 13 non-Arabic texts, which are mostly written in Coptic and with a few exceptions date to the tenth century, and which O. places in the context of the frequent exchanges between Egypt and Nubia in that century. He also includes an appendix on the

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[9] The use of indictions in Coptic texts seems to be more widespread in Egypt. As O. rightly points out on p. 123 (n. 70), however, even in these texts indiction dates are often noted in Greek, as appears, e.g., from several Coptic funerary stelae from Middle Egypt. For a recent example of a Middle Egyptian stela with this feature (lines 12-14: ϩⲉⲃⲧ̣ⲟⲙⲏⲥ {ⲓⲛ}ⲓⲛⲇ̣(ⲓⲕⲧⲓⲱⲛⲟⲥ) and top side, ll. 1-2: ϩⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲏⲥ, sc. ⲓⲛⲇⲓⲕⲧⲓⲱⲛⲟⲥ), perhaps dating to the seventh century, see now J.H.F. Dijkstra and J. van der Vliet, "Une stèle funéraire copte au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal," *Cd'É* 87 (2012) 189-196, esp. 193, with further examples in n. 5.

[10] O.'s data confirm here an observation made in the important article by H. Junker, "Die christlichen Grabsteine Nubiens," *ZÄS* 60 (1925) 127-128, on the basis of much less evidence.

Era of the Saracens in Arabic documents (23 in total), which seem to span the tenth to twelfth centuries, but remain poorly studied. Under "Christian eras," O. discusses the Era of the Creation of the World, the Era of the Incarnation of Christ and the Alexandrian paschal cycle of 532 years, which are found in 10 texts from Nubia, all in Greek and predominantly on tombstones, dating to the eighth to tenth centuries with one more appearance in the twelfth century. O. argues that these dating methods are based on the Alexandrian system and suggests that they may have found their way into epitaphs – a phenomenon not elsewhere attested – through higher Nubian clergymen who were able to make such calculations. The last chronological system is that according to regnal years. Of the three systems current in Egypt after Justinian's *Novella* 47 of 537 – indictions, consulates, and regnal years – it is the second system that found its way into Nubia (evidently, after replacing the names of the emperors by those of the Nubian kings), even if it never found as wide an application as in Egypt, witness the only 11 attestations. These are encountered mostly in official contexts, such as foundation inscriptions, are often written in Coptic and date from the eighth to tenth centuries, though this method of dating was probably introduced earlier.

In part two we go from chronological to calendrical systems. Most of this part is devoted to the Egyptian calendar (chapter six), which of all the systems discussed here is best represented in O.'s material, with 643 attestations out of a total of 710 (excluding the Arabic texts). The Egyptian calendar was already employed in Nubia in previous periods, but it is only from the mid-sixth century onwards (the foundation inscriptions of Dendur and Ikhmindi, nos 517 and 458) that the use of Egyptian month names became widespread throughout the Middle Nile region. They are included on almost all tombstones in the database, "an obligatory practice in Nubian funerary rites" (p. 224), which is connected to the annual commemoration of the dead. The chapter contains a useful overview of the various spellings of the Egyptian months (listed in Table 35), the dating formulae used (Table 36) and their occurrences per month (Table 37). After chapters on the lunar calendar (chapter seven), essentially a late phenomenon (twelfth century and later) and attested in 35 texts, and a very brief one – because of the limited knowledge that can be gleaned from no more than 9 texts – on the liturgical calendar (chapter eight), the last chapter (nine) deals with days of the week (35 texts), which are fairly evenly distributed over Nubia from the eighth century onwards. A concise conclusion sums up the book's main arguments once more.

O. should be congratulated for providing the scholarly world with a meticulous study of the chronological systems of medieval Nubia. Thus he is able to show not only the profound influence of and interrelations with Egypt from which most, if not all, systems used in Nubia originated or were introduced, but also the creative ways in which these systems were adapted to the Nubian context (summarized on pp. 249-250). By necessity this review has had to concentrate on the main lines, but the book offers much more: each chapter both discusses at length all the patterns in the data and includes numerous important observations on groups of texts or even individual texts that arise from those data.[11] Although an index is surprisingly absent in an otherwise so systematic study, this book will become a standard work of reference for anyone working in the field and marks another significant step forwards in the study of medieval Nubia.

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[11] E.g. previous scholars thought that the Dendur foundation inscription (no. 517) contained an indiction year in line 9, but O. has now convincingly demonstrated ("The Date of the Dendur Foundation Inscription Reconsidered," *BASP* 48 [2011] 217-224, repeated here on p. 100 [n. 6]) that the line only contains an indication of the month and day, first written out in full and then repeated in numerals, and he can list no less than 11 parallels for such repetitions of numerals in Nubian texts from his database.

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Papyrological Summer Institutes Reports, 2008-2012[1]

Stanford University, 2008
Joe Manning, organizer

The 2008 Summer Institute, directed by J.G. Manning, was held at Stanford University from 1-31 July. It was focused on the Ptolemaic Greek and Demotic documentary papyri in the Stanford University collection. The faculty consisted of Professors Arthur Verhoogt (University of Michigan) and Mark Depauw (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven). Additional lectures were given by Professors Janet Johnson (University of Chicago), Joe Manning (now Yale University), Andrew Monson (now New York University), and Christelle Fischer (now University of Southern California). The group also spent several days learning the craft of papyrus conservation at Stanford's conservation lab under the expert guidance of Ms. Leyla Lau-Lamb (University of Michigan), who was kind enough to come out for a week.

The participants, an unusually fine and dedicated group of young scholars, were: Graham Claytor (Columbia University), Alicia Cunningham-Bryant (Yale University), Elizabeth Davidson (University of Chicago), Tasha Dobbin (Yale University), Rob Groves (University of California, Los Angeles), Brittany Hayden (University of Chicago), Béatrice Le Teuff (Université de Bordeaux), Mario Paganini (University of Oxford), Fred Porta (Stanford University), Barbara Richter (University of California, Berkeley), Kathryn Stevens (University of Oxford), Jelle Stoop (Yale University), John Sutherland (Stanford University), Andrew Sweet (Cornell University), Carolin Arlt (Universität Würzburg), Eman Ahmad (Ain Shams University), Marja Vierros (University of Helsinki), Nicola Reggiani (Università degli Studi di Parma).

University of Michigan, 2009
Traianos Gagos, organizer
Arthur Verhoogt, reporting

The 2009 Summer Institute, directed by the late Traianos Gagos, was held at the University of Michigan from 1-31 July. It was focused on Byzantine documents from the University of Michigan and Cornell University collections and included – in alternating afternoon sessions – an opportunity to learn the

[1] A sequel to *BASP* 43 (2006) 215-218.

basics of the Coptic language and papyrus conservation. The instructors consisted of James G. Keenan (Loyola University, Chicago), Traianos Gagos, Leyla Lau-Lamb, Arthur Verhoogt and Terry Wilfong (all University of Michigan). Additional lectures were given by Professors Stephen Bay (Brigham Young University), Jitse Dijkstra (University of Ottawa), Bruce Frier and Ludwig Koenen (both University of Michigan), Nikos Litinas (University of Crete), Karl Longstreth (University of Michigan), Roger Macfarlane (Brigham Young University), David Potter (University of Michigan), and Giovanni Ruffini (Fairfield University).

The participants in the institute were: Richard Burchfield (Macquarie University), S. Kevin Funderburk (University of Pennsylvania), Nicole M. High-Steskal (University of Michigan), Thomas P. Landvatter (University of Michigan), Isabelle Marthot (Université de Paris I, Sorbonne), Ryan McConnell (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), Monika Minehart (University of Chicago), Jaclyn Neel (University of Toronto), Luigi Prada (University of Oxford), and Panagiota Vlachaki (University of Crete).

The participation of Professor James G. Keenan was made possible by the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation.

Brigham Young University, 2011
Roger Macfarlane, Stephen Bay, Lincoln Blumell,
and Thom Wayment, organizers

The 2011 Summer Institute was held at Brigham Young University from 20 June until 29 July. It was focused on Roman Egypt, with work on Tebtynis papyri in Greek. The faculty consisted of a broad team of experienced papyrologists: Peter van Minnen (University of Cincinnati), Todd Hickey (University of California, Berkeley), Roger Bagnall (New York University, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World), Joshua Sosin (Duke University), Nikos Litinas (University of Crete), Maryline Parca (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), Klaas Worp (emeritus, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden), Rodney Ast (Universität Heidelberg), and Arthur Verhoogt (University of Michigan), teamed with the institute's organizers, Roger Macfarlane, Stephen Bay, Lincoln Blumell, and Thom Wayment (Brigham Young University). Additional lectures were given by Brigham Young University professors John Gee, John Thompson, Brian Hauglid, Daniel Graham, Giovanni Tata, and Cecilia Peek.

Papyri were loaned by the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri under the direction of Todd Hickey and managed by specialists in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections in Brigham Young University's Harold B. Lee Library. Librarians Ryan Coombs and Robert Maxwell provided particularly welcome support.

Extraordinary contributions were made by the Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship (at Brigham Young University) and by Brigham Young University's College of Humanities. Generous allocation of Harold B. Lee Library resources allowed for substantial permanent enhancement of holdings in papyrological reference works and editions.

The participants in the institute included Grant W. Adamson (Rice University), Kris McLain (Utah Valley University), Charles F. Bartlett (New York University), Emily Cole (University of California, Los Angeles), Taylor S. Coughlan (University of Cincinnati), Mohamed G. Elmaghrabi (Alexandria University), Nathan B. Gilbert (University of Toronto), Ulrike Hoier (Universität Leipzig), Gabriel Nocchi Macedo (Université de Liège), and Markus Resel (Universität Wien).

The core program of the institute consisted of morning lecture/seminar meetings on topics ranging over the breadth and depth of papyrological research. The Provo institute implemented a novel approach by bringing in a broader number than before of prominent papyrologists and asking each to deliver a smaller number of individual lectures and workshops. Instruction in SOSOL mark-up was offered in a two-day workshop by Professor Sosin. Professor Bagnall delivered a special evening lecture to which the entire university community was invited. Daily reading sessions in the Harold B. Lee Library reading rooms allowed time for each participant to edit at least one papyrus. Professors mentored participants regarding their papyrological readings and background. Each participant also was assigned at least one ostrakon to edit. Intermediate and final presentations were delivered in a series of seminars during the institute. Professor Verhoogt acted as outside reviewer in the institute's final round of presentations. Published editions of the participants' texts have begun to appear in *ZPE*, *Tyche*, and *BASP*.

University of Chicago and University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2012
David G. Martinez and Maryline Parca, organizers

The 2012 summer institute was hosted at the University of Chicago and co-sponsored by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The participation of Professor James G. Keenan was made possible by the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation.

Papyri from the University of Michigan Papyrus Collection were made available through the good offices of Professor Arthur Verhoogt.

We thank the following for their support: The University of Chicago Department of Classics, Department of History, Divinity School, Division of the Humanities, Franke Institute for the Humanities, Oriental Institute, Office of the Provost, and Regenstein Library, where the institute met, and The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Department of the Classics, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Office of the Vice Chancellor, and Graduate College.

The participants were: Sebastian Anderson (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), Bryan Brinkman (Brown University), Marina Escolano-Poveda (Johns Hopkins University), François Gerardin (Université de Paris I, Sorbonne), Kyle Helms (University of Cincinnati); Andrew Langford (University of Chicago), Maria Nowak (University of Warsaw), Mike Sampson (University of Manitoba), Denis Searby (Stockholm University), Michael Zellmann-Rohrer (University of California, Berkeley), and Zsuzsanna Zsántó (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest).

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Word Index to *BASP* 43-50

An "Index of the *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 1963-198[8]" appeared in *BASP* 26 (1989) 1-87. It listed authors and texts only. The online version of *BASP* (http://quod.lib.umich.edu/b/basp/) makes an update of this index unnecessary. The Greek documentary texts that have appeared in *BASP* through 2004 are included in *SB*, and these are (or soon will be) searchable at http://papyri.info, but those that have appeared since are not yet included there. The sheer increase in the number of such texts, literary and documentary, that have been published in *BASP* since 2006, and the (re)appearance of papyrological texts in Arabic, Coptic, and Demotic in the pages of *BASP*, make it desirable to provide access to these texts in the form of an index.[1]

Included in what follows are new papyrological texts in Demotic, Greek, Latin, and Coptic.[2] Excluded are the articles and relatives, the Coptic and Demotic demonstratives and possessives, the negative particles, καί, and most prepositions as well as cardinal numbers when not written out in full. **Bold** numbers refer to the volume, the first not bold number to the page. Lines of the ancient texts on the same page are separated by a comma. The categories are those of the WörterListen (http://www.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/hps/pap/WL/WL.pdf).

Literary texts in Greek and Coptic come first, followed by documentary texts in Demotic, Greek, Latin, and Coptic. I have added a chronology for documentary texts in Demotic, Greek, and Coptic at the end.

University of Cincinnati Peter van Minnen

[1] The Demotic mummy labels from Los Angeles (*BASP* 43 [2006] 14-30) are included in S.P. Vleeming, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications* (Leuven 2011); see the concordance at 2:749. Corrections made there are noted below. The Coptic ostraca from Los Angeles (*BASP* 44 [2006] 52-58) are included in M. Hasitzka, *Koptisches Sammelbuch* 4 (Berlin-Boston 2012) nos. 1815-1818.

[2] Excluded are the Minnesota papyri (*BASP* 44 [2007] 48-73) for which there is a more elaborate index at http://media.leidenuniv.nl/legacy/minnesotaindices-pdf.pdf. Excluded are also two Arabic papyri: the Vienna papyrus also known as *P.ReinfandtLeinenhändler* (*BASP* 44 [2007] 97-123), searchable at http://orientw.uzh.ch:8080/apd/asearch.jsp, and the Utah papyrus (*BASP* 49 [2012] 41-54).

New literary texts: Greek

New literary texts: Coptic

Personal names

Geographical names

Gods, sanctuaries, festivals

General index of words

Greek words

New documentary texts: Demotic

Months and days

Personal names

Geographical names

Gods, sanctuaries, festivals

General index of words

New documentary texts: Greek

Months and days

Personal names

Geographical names

Gods, sanctuaries, festivals

General index of words

New documentary texts: Latin

Personal names

Geographical names

General index of words

New documentary texts: Coptic

Months and days

Personal names

Geographical names

Gods, sanctuaries, festivals

General index of words

New documentary texts: chronology

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Year 41 (AD 11/12) **43**.37.1, 2; 42..23.1, 2; 42.24.1, 2; **50**.40.5

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Year 5 (AD 72/73) **47**.48.27

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Δομιτιανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός
Year 7 (AD 87/88) **50**.54.1-2, 3
Year 10 (AD 90/91) **50**.56.1-2, 3
Year ? (AD 81-96) **50**.89.1

Δομιτιανός
Year 15 (AD 95/96) **47**.46.15

Αὐτοκράτωρ Νέρουα Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός
Year 1 (AD 96/97) **50**.59.1

Τραϊανὸς Καῖσαρ ὁ Κύριος
Year 12 (AD 108/109) **44**.37.13-14

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Νέρουα Τραϊανὸς Ἄριστος Σεβαστὸς Δακικός
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θεὸς Ἁδριανός
Year 1 (AD 116/117) **49**.101.8

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραϊανὸς Ἁδριανὸς Σεβαστός
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Year 13 (AD 128/129) **50**.66.1-2, 4

Ἁδριανὸς Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος
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Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραϊανὸς Ἁδριανὸς Σεβαστός
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Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραϊανὸς Ἁδριανὸς Σεβαστός
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ὁ τὰ πάντα νικῶν δεσπότης τῆς οἰκουμένης Φλάουιος Ἰουστῖνος ὁ αἰώνιος Αὐγοῦστος Αὐτοκράτωρ
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Year 8 (AD 590) **48**.108.3

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βασιλεία τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλαουίου Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου
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Indiction 14 **43**.53.6 (VIII AD); 54.5 (VIII AD)
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American Studies in Papyrology

The following books can be ordered from Oxbow Books and the David Brown Book Co. (http://www.oxbowbooks.com).

ASP 52, *New Epigrams of Palladas: A Fragmentary Papyrus Codex (P.CtYBR inv. 4000)*, ed. Kevin Wilkinson.

This volume edits a fourth-century papyrus codex with approximately 60 Greek epigrams of which two were previously known from the *Greek Anthology*. The author of all the epigrams can safely be identified as Palladas of Alexandria, active in the early fourth century. He has a distinctive poetic voice – highly personal and topical, with a tendency towards bitterly pessimistic observation on the world around him. Thus there is a satire of the victory titles claimed by the emperors Diocletian and Galerius, a lament on the destruction of Alexandria, a curious mention of the sufferings of the Egyptian goddess Triphis, and lampoons of men from Hermopolis. This *editio princeps* contains a substantial introduction, diplomatic transcription and edited Greek text on facing pages, commentary, indexes, and plates. It will be of particular interest to papyrologists, students of Greek epigram, and scholars of late antique history and literature.

ISBN 978-0-9799758-5-1

February 2013, $50

ASP 53, *Papyrological Texts in Honor of Roger S. Bagnall*, ed. R. Ast, H. Cuvigny, T. Hickey, and J. Lougovaya.

This volume contains 70 new or substantially revised editions of documentary and non-documentary papyri and ostraca from Egypt edited by an international team of specialists. Texts span the 7th century BCE to the 9th century CE. They are written mainly in Greek but also in Latin, Egyptian, and Arabic. Each text is accompanied by a translation, line-by-line commentary, and photo. The volume includes the standard indices found in papyrological text editions

ISBN: 978-0-9799758-6-8

February 2013, $69.95