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- For general matters of style, contributors should consult the 15th edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style* or this issue of *BASP*.

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Naphtali Lewis (1911-2005)

Roger S. Bagnall *Columbia University*

The death of Naphtali Lewis on 11 September 2005, at the age of 93, brought to an end a generation in American papyrology and even on the larger scene leaves hardly anyone who can remember the papyrological world of the 1930s that he so memorably evoked at the *assemblée générale* of the Association internationale de papyrologues at the Florence congress of papyrology in 1998, where he enjoyed playing Nestor to the younger generation.¹

Lewis was born on 14 December 1911 in New York. With undergraduate training at City College (AB *magna cum laude*, 1930) in Classics and French, Lewis entered the Master's program at Columbia University. He remembered the teaching as generally mechanical and uninteresting. Its high point was a papyrology course in the History Department with William Linn Westermann in the spring of 1932, in which the other students were Meyer Reinhold and Moses Finkelstein (later Finley), both to have distinguished careers. The course focused on the Zenon papyri in the Columbia collection, and Lewis took naturally to the text editing, Westermann's weaker side. Prospects for continuing to the doctorate at Columbia after his MA that year were nonexistent, for Lewis had no money (and was offered no fellowship), and in any case the department was so uninspiring that he looked elsewhere. There was nowhere in the US at that point where he could get the papyrological training he needed (the young Herbert Youtie's appointment at Michigan was as a researcher), and a providential fellowship from the American Field Service sent him to France.

In France, where he received a certificate at Strasbourg in 1933 and his doctorate in Paris in 1934, Lewis was taught by Paul Collart, whom he remembered as paternal and solicitous, for papyrology and by Gustave Glotz for history. His dissertation on the papyrus industry was publicly defended (with a grade of "très honorable") before these two luminaries and André Piganiol; in its published versions (first in French, later in English as *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity*, 1974) it has become a classic monograph. His fluent French, on

¹ Some of the information in this memorial derives from conversations with Toli in Croydon, 20-22 August 1999. I am also indebted to Judith Lewis Herman for a brief curriculum vitae from Toli's files. For a portrait, see *BASP* 15 (1978) iii.

display on that occasion, was to serve him well throughout his career, including three terms as president of the Association internationale de papyrologues (1974-1983).

After the defense, Lewis held a fellowship at the American Academy in Rome for two years, and he was also a member of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale in the winter of 1934/1935, with Pierre Jouguet and Octave Guéraud for mentors and Jean Scherer, his contemporary at the Sorbonne, as company. They all worked together on the Fouad papyri. That spring, Lewis traveled in the Levant and Eastern Mediterranean, including Palestine and Lebanon. Memories of a bus trip to Baalbek in a spring snowstorm, in the middle of which a train of camels appeared, were still fresh more than six decades later. He then went on to Istanbul, Athens, and Italy, culminating at the Florence papyrological congress of 1935.

The great depression was not an easy time to enter academic life, and Lewis pieced together part-time and visiting posts for two years until he found an instructorship from 1938 at New York University, where Lionel Casson, who was to be his lifelong friend, had been hired not long before. The department head, Casper Kraemer, persuaded Westermann to let Lewis edit the Karanis fourth-century papyri in the Columbia collection. A few of these appeared in articles over the years, the remainder only years later in *P.Col.* 7, which we published jointly after I came to Columbia.

During the Second World War, Lewis worked in the War Department as a translator for the Corps of Engineers and as director of war research at Columbia. He continued at Columbia after his war service, teaching classics until he found his permanent position at Brooklyn College, where he taught from 1947 until his retirement in 1976 as Distinguished Professor, taking an active role also in the City University's Graduate School in midtown Manhattan. In retirement he and his wife, Helen Block Lewis, a distinguished psychologist and psychoanalyst with a doctorate from Columbia, lived in Connecticut, with Lewis doing some teaching at Yale, summering as they had since 1945 in their house in Croydon, New Hampshire. Later still, Cambridge, Massachusetts, where their two children (Judith Lewis Herman and John B. Lewis) lived, became their winter home. After Helen's death in January 1987, Toli suffered a heart attack and came back to normal activity only slowly, but he was eventually remarried very happily to Ruth Markel and, despite significant arthritic difficulties, traveled quite a bit, with Jerusalem and Santa Barbara favored haunts. Like his contemporary T.C. Skeat, he continued to write to the end and remained unceasingly interested in the work of others. Ruth's death in November 2004 was a great blow, and when I last visited him in Cambridge,

four months before his death, he complained mostly of being unable to manage the trip to the Harvard library to keep up his work.

Lewis's voluminous work ranged widely, as can be seen from the bibliographies in *BASP* 15 (1978) 2-8 (prepared by Ralph Keen) and in Lewis's *On Government and Law in Roman Egypt* (1995) xi-xiii. Its core, apart from the editing of papyrus texts, is well described by the title of the latter book, in which many of his articles are collected, but one could say above all that Lewis was a student of administration, particularly of the ways in which the Romans used compulsory public service instead of professional bureaucracy. This work took final form in *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* (second edition, 1997), an indispensable work for anyone concerned with the liturgical system. His shrewd understanding of human nature, particularly in its administrative manifestations, enabled him to see the real functioning of the people and institutions behind the bland prose of official documents.

Another side of Lewis's work is represented by his two books aimed at a wider audience, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* and *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt*, as well as sourcebooks: the sweeping and voluminous *Roman Civilization* (2 vols., 1951 and 1955, with his old Columbia classmate Meyer Reinhold) plus smaller volumes of translated texts on the fifth century BC, the Roman principate, and the interpretation of dreams. Despite the seemingly parallel character of the two books on Egypt, the Roman book is much more thematic in nature, the Ptolemaic one more episodic and microhistorical, as a series of case studies. With their clear and graceful style, plus the teacher's gift of fastening on interesting details, both have reached the intended broad audiences and brought the papyrologist's work to a general public and to undergraduates (both have been translated into French).

Given his long study of administration, it is not surprising that Lewis was also a capable administrator and leader, serving as associate dean of Brooklyn College for seven years and then as executive officer of the classics program at the City University's Graduate School and University Center. He was the second president (1965-1969) of the American Society of Papyrologists and in that role a strong supporter of the program of summer seminars held between 1966 and 1970. He was, indeed, deeply devoted to nurturing younger generations of scholars, whom he treated as colleagues, and unstintingly generous of his time in reading work and offering advice. He was treasurer of the Society at the time I became Secretary (1974) and expeditiously handed over the treasurer'ship to me as well. My files from that era are full of his sage advice, typically written in the margins or on the back of my bureaucratic memoranda – with depression-era thrift, he never wasted a good sheet of paper. They also show the

other traits that his friends will remember, his charm, sense of humor, interest in colleagues' families, and pride and affection for his own.

Ostraca and Mummy Labels in Los Angeles

Brian P. Muhs, Klaas A. Worp, and Jacques van der Vliet
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Abstract

A selective publication of Demotic, Greek and Coptic ostraca and mummy labels in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

In this tripartite contribution we publish a collection of Demotic (B.P. Muhs), Greek (K.A. Worp), and Coptic (J. van der Vliet) ostraca and mummy labels kept in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA). We have not seen the originals and have worked exclusively from digital images. We are grateful to Dr. R. Demarée (Leiden) who first drew our attention to this collection; to Dr. K. Cooney (Stanford) who liaised with the LACMA Department of Rights and Reproductions; and to Giselle Arteaga-Johnson and Piper Wynn Severance (LACMA) for helping with images and publication rights. We also wish to thank the editors of *BASP* and the anonymous readers for their many helpful comments. Brian Muhs also wishes to thank the Gratama Stichting for its support and Prof. Dr. S.P. Vleeming (Trier) for his many suggestions concerning the reading of the Demotic mummy labels.

The LACMA acquired this collection in 1980. Seventeen limestone Demotic mummy labels (inv. M.80.199.149-165) were gifts of Robert Miller and Marilyn Miller Deluca. Three Demotic ostraca (inv. M.80.202.181, 200, and 213), sixteen wooden Demotic and Greek mummy labels (inv. M.80.202.141-151, 153, 155-157, and 490), sixteen Greek ostraca (inv. M.80.202.177, 184-185, 187-190, 193, 195-196, 198, 201-203, 208, and 210), and five Coptic ostraca (inv. M.80.202.174, 182, 186, 192, and 214) were gifts of Jerome F. Snyder. Three limestone Demotic ostraca (inv. M.80.203.216, 217, and 263), and one limestone Coptic ostrakon (inv. M.80.203.221) were gifts of Carl W. Thomas. Images of these objects are available on the LACMA website: <http://collection-online.lacma.org> > Departments > Egyptian art, then select "Mummy Labels" or "Ostraca." The descriptions of these objects on the website have not yet been revised to reflect our contribution. Measurements give height first.

Some of the objects in the LACMA collection were published when they were previously in the possession of the Greek-Egyptian collector George A. Michailidis, Cairo. One limestone Demotic mummy label (inv. M.80.199.158) was published by E. Lüddeckens, “Die Mumienbilder des Kestner-Museums zu Hannover,” *Jahrbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz* 1955, 256 (n. 1), and Tafel 3, Abbildung 4.

Fifteen additional limestone Demotic and Greek mummy labels (inv. M.80.199.149-157 and 159-164) were published by E. Bresciani, “Etichette di mummia in calcare da Dendera nella collezione Michaelidis,” *SCO* 10 (1961) 209-213, nos. 1-15:

- 1 inv. M.80.199.163
- 2 inv. M.80.199.157
- 3 inv. M.80.199.150
- 4 inv. M.80.199.164
- 5 inv. M.80.199.152
- 6 inv. M.80.199.154
- 7 inv. M.80.199.149
- 8 inv. M.80.199.153
- 9 inv. M.80.199.162
- 10 inv. M.80.199.155
- 11 inv. M.80.199.161
- 12 inv. M.80.199.159
- 13 inv. M.80.199.160
- 14 inv. M.80.199.151
- 15 inv. M.80.199.156

The Greek texts, nos. 13-15, were republished as *SB* 8.9803.

Finally, four Greek ostraca (inv. M.80.202.177, 185, 187, and 210) were published by D.S. Crawford: *P.Michael*. 64 = inv. M.80.202.210; *P.Michael*. 100 = inv. M.80.202.177; *P.Michael*. 126 = inv. M.80.202.185; and *P.Michael*. 127 = inv. M.80.202.187.

Other items in the LACMA collection have not been previously published. Given the similar acquisition history of the items published here to that of those published previously, we suppose that at least some of the items below may also have belonged to the Michailidis collection.

Part 1. Demotic and Bilingual Ostraca and Mummy Labels

The LACMA collection includes three Demotic ostraca on potsherds. One (inv. M.80.202.181) is an oath sworn by Nechthpharous son of Amenosis ($N\dot{h}t=f-r.r=w\ s\dot{I}mn-rw\dot{s}$) and Sannos son of Amenosis ($Snnws\ s\dot{I}mn-rw\dot{s}$) at the door of Djeme in the temple of Month, Lord of Medamud, in an Egyptian regnal year 19, probably sometime in the 2nd or 1st century BC. Another (inv. M.80.202.200) is a letter or prayer, and a third is published below as 1. The collection also includes three Demotic ostraca on limestone fragments, one of which is published below as 2.

In addition, the LACMA collection includes a group of seventeen mummy labels on limestone tags. Sixteen were previously published (see above, p. 10), and the seventeenth is published below as 3. The collection also includes a group of fourteen Demotic and Demotic-Greek mummy labels on wooden tags, thirteen of which are published below as 4-16. For literature on mummy labels, see H.-A. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Darmstadt 1994) 189 (“III. Bestattungswesen”), and M. Depauw, *A Companion to Demotic Studies* (Brussels 1997) 121.

1. Demotic Receipt for the Price of Oil

Thebes mid-3rd century BC (late Ptolemy II– early Ptolemy III)

LACMA inv. M.80.202.213. Pottery sherd, 6 x 6.8 cm. Three lines Demotic on one side. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45846&type=101>

- 1 $Ns-mn\ s\dot{I}\ P\dot{3}-ti-nfr-\dot{h}tp\ \dot{h}n^c\ rmt.t\ \dot{h}d\ 1/4$
- 2 $swn\ n\dot{h}h\ ibt\ 4\ prt$
- 3 $s\dot{h}\ Iy-m-\dot{h}tp?\ ibt\ 1\ \dot{s}mw\ sw\ 14$

“Esminis son of Petenephotes and (his) wife, 1/4 silver (kite) for the price of oil of Pharmouthi. Imouthes? has written (it) on Pachons 14.”

The handwriting requires a date in the third century BC. The taxpayer is known from perhaps twelve published tax receipts (see the note to l. 1) dated between Egyptian regnal years 23 and 35 of an unnamed king, who can be none other than Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The scribe is known from three published tax receipts (see the note to l. 3), one of them dated to an Egyptian regnal year 4, probably of Ptolemy III Euergetes.

1 The taxpayer Esminis son of Petenephotes and his wife Tabis are known from perhaps twelve published tax receipts. See B.P. Muhs, *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers and Taxes in Early Ptolemaic Thebes* (Chicago 2005) 116-117 (Taxpayer 18).

1-2 *P.Rev.Laws* col. 40 sets the price for all kinds of oil at 48 drachmas for a metretes (circa 39 liters) of 12 choes and at 2 obols for a kotyle (circa 0.27 liter), 12 to the chous (circa 3.28 liters). For these volume measures, see N. Kruit and K.A. Worp, "Metrological Notes on Measures and Containers of Liquids in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt," *APF* 45 (1999) 96-127. 1/4 silver kite is equivalent to 3 obols and hence could purchase 1 1/2 kotyle of oil (circa 0.41 liters). See Muhs, *Tax Receipts* 73.

2 *P.Rev.Laws* cols. 47-48 indicates that all accounts relating to the oil monopoly had to be balanced each month. Perhaps for this reason, the oil that is purchased is said to be of a certain month. This is often the month immediately preceding the month in which the receipt is dated. See Muhs, *Tax Receipts* 74-75.

3 The scribe Imouthes is known from three other Demotic receipts for the price of oil, O.BM 5722 (S.V. Wängstedt, "Demotische Quittungen über Ölsteuer," *OrSuec* 29 [1980] 20, no. 16), dated to Egyptian regnal year 4, Pachons 1, probably of Ptolemy III; O.BM 5748 (Wängstedt 24-25, no. 20), dated to Epeiph 30; and O.OIM 19332 (Muhs, *Tax Receipts* no. 39), dated to Tybi 4. In one receipt (O.BM 5722), Imouthes gives his father's name, which also appears to be Imouthes, but otherwise he omits it, as here. The scribe Imouthes wrote the regnal year on one of his three other receipts (O.BM 5722), dated to Egyptian regnal year 4, Pachons 1, probably of Ptolemy III, but otherwise he omits it, as here.

2. Demotic Order for Payment

Nag' el-Mesheikh

3rd century BC

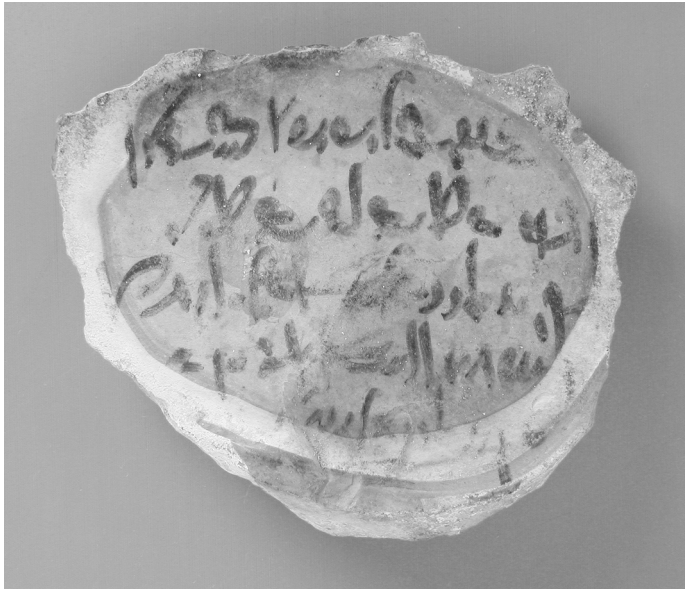
LACMA inv. M.80.203.263. Limestone flake, 6 x 7.3 cm. Five lines Demotic on one side. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=46808&type=101>

- 1 [i].ir-ḥr Dḥwty-iw: my tw=w
- 2 [. . .] . . . hn 3 r hn 1 1/2 r hn 3 ʿn
- 3 n-dr.t P3-šr-mḥyt? s3 Ns-mn n ḥ3.t-sp 14

4 ibt 4? šmw sw 6 pš . . . ? sh? hn? [3?]

5 sh Pš-šr-mhyt sš Hr-hb?

“To Thoteus: Cause that they give . . . 3 hin makes 1 1/2 hin makes 3 hin again through *Pš-šr-mhyt*? son of Esminis in regnal year 14, Mesore 6, the . . . ? has written? [3?] hin?, has written *Pš-šr-mhyt* son of Harchebis?”



Limestone Demotic ostraca are known from many sites in Egypt, but the presence of personal names formed from the name of the goddess *Mhyt* in ll. 3 and 5 points to the site of Nag' el-Mesheikh at the south end of the Nag' ed-Deir necropolis, on the eastern bank of the Nile opposite Abydos; see U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Liefer-Aufträge des III. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. aus Mittelägypten und die Nag' el-Mesheikh Kalkstein-Ostraka,” *APF* 46 (2000) 268. The script on this text as on others from Nag' el-Mesheikh suggests a date in the 3rd century BC; see U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Ein Weizen-Überweisungsauftrag zugunsten des (Tempel)-Wirtschafters Hor (Das demotische Kalkstein-Ostrakon Leipzig ÄM 4789),” *JEA* 86 (2000) 99-109 and pl. XV, especially 102-103.

1 The preposition *i.ir-hr*, “to,” is frequently used to introduce the addressees of letters; see for example *P.Ox.Griffith* 19.1; 21.1; 23.1; 30.1; 31.1; and 32.1; and *P.Teos* 11.1. It can also be used to introduce the addressees of orders for payment: from the Kharga Oasis (see U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Die 28

demotischen Hibis-Ostraka in New York,” *Enchoria* 26 [2000] 71-76, texts 17-25.1); from Thebes (see *O.Leid.Dem.* 429.1); and from Nag‘ el-Mesheikh (see Kaplony-Heckel, *JEA* 86 [2000] 104). The phrase *my tw=w*, “cause (imperative) that they give...,” is the standard initial phrase in orders for payment: from the Kharga Oasis (see U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Enchoria* 26 [2000] 71-76, texts 17-25.1-2); from Thebes (see *O.Leid.Dem.* 429.2; *my ti=w* not read in the edition); and from Nag‘ el-Mesheikh (see Kaplony-Heckel, *JEA* 86 [2000] 104). The group *tw* is usually written homophonically for *ti*, as here.

2 The subject of the order for payment is damaged and difficult to read, but the amount is specified as 3 hin. One hin is approximately 0.5 liters, thus 3 hin is 1.5 liters. Amounts in Demotic contracts and receipts are often given, halved, and given again, presumably to prevent tampering with the sums.

3 For the name *Pš-šr-mhyt*, see *NB Dem.* 1:250. The end of the name in l. 3 is smudged, but compare the writing of the same name in l. 5. A reading *Pš-šr-pš-wr*, “Psenpoeris,” is unlikely because the initial *pš* consists of two joined vertical strokes, whereas the two strokes following the *šr*-sign are not joined.

4 The proposed reading after the date is tentative. The unread word does not appear to be a name. The restoration of [3] at the end of the line depends on reading the last preserved sign as *hn*.

5 For the name *Pš-šr-mhyt*, see the note to l. 3. The reading of the patronym as *Hr-hb* is based on the traces of a descending vertical stroke after *Hr*, compare *NB Dem.* 1:830-831.

3. Demotic Mummy Label

Tentyrite nome

late 1st century BC – early 1st century AD

LACMA inv. M.80.199.165. Carved limestone stela-shaped tag with hole for cord in rounded end, 7.9 x 6.4 cm. Seven lines Demotic on one side, perpendicular to length below hole. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45600&type=101>

- 1 Inp m wyṭ m ḥnṭ?
- 2 . . . ḥ . . . ʾiry.ṭ iḥy.w
- 3 nb ḥnfr iw=w¹ bny iw=w nfr
- 4 iw=w ḥwḥb¹ n Wsir n Pš-ti-imm-ipy
- 5 sš Pš-ti-ḥr-smš-ṭ.wy¹ sš Hr-nfr pšy=f ḥḥ
- 6 n ḥnḥ¹ rnp.t 23? ibd 7
- 7 hrw ḥ10+?

“Anubis in the place of embalming, in front of? , made all good things, they being sweet, they being good, they being pure for the Osiris of Peteamenophis son of Petearsemtheus son of Harnouphis, his span of life was 23? years, 7 months, 10+? days.”

This text is a very close parallel to another Demotic limestone mummy label found at Dendera; see W.M.F. Petrie, *Denderah 1898* (London 1900) pl. 26B, no. 48; and G. Vittmann, “Die Mumienbilder in Petries Denderah,” *ZÄS* 112 (1985) 160, no. 48. This text certainly comes from the same scribal school and perhaps even the same hand. Rare dated labels from Dendera have been attributed to the reigns of Augustus (30 BC-AD 14) or Tiberius (AD 14-37); see Vittmann 154, no. 7; 156, no. 19; and 159, no. 37.

1-2 Compare mummy label Petrie, *Denderah* pl. 26B, no. 48.1-2 (Vittmann 160), which has *Inp m wyṭ, m ḥnṭ | syḥ-ntr*, “Anubis in the place of embalming, in front of the divine hall.”

2-3 Compare mummy label Petrie, *Denderah* pl. 26B, no. 48.2-4 (Vittmann 160), which has a fuller formula, *iry.t n=k pr | tḥ iḥ.w ipdw | iḥy.w nb.t nfr.w*, “made for you a house of drunkenness, beef, fowl, every good thing.”

3-4 Compare mummy label Petrie, *Denderah* pl. 26B, no. 48.4-5 (Vittmann 160), which has a different sequence, *iw=w nfr, | iw=w w^cb, iw=w bnr*, “they being good, they being pure, they being sweet.”

4 The dative *n* written above *Wsir* is unusual, as is the following genitive *n*. For an exhaustive discussion of the phrase *Wsir n*, “the Osiris of,” as well as the more usual epithet *Wsir*, “the Osiris,” see M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* (London 1987) 75-79 (col. 3.8n.).

4-5 Compare mummy label Petrie, *Denderah* pl. 26B, no. 48.6-7 (Vittmann 160), which has *Pa-nṣ sj Pṣ-ti-ḥr-smṣ-tṣ.wy | sṣ Pa-nṣ sṣ Hr-nfr*, “Panas son of Petearsemtheus son of Panas son of Harnouphis.” The similarity of the names and the formulae of these two mummy labels is suggestive, but the genealogies seem to exclude a close familial relationship.

6-7 The reading of the traces of the year and day numbers is tentative. Compare mummy label Petrie, *Denderah* pl. 26B, nos. 48.8-9 (Vittmann 160), which has a slightly different formula, *rnp.t ḥnḥ | 27 ibd 6 hrw 21*, “years of life, 27; months, 6; days, 21.”

4. Demotic Mummy Label

Panopolite nome, west bank?

2nd – 3rd centuries AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.141. Carved wooden stela-shaped tag with hole for cord in triangular end, 5.1 x 12.5 cm. Four lines Demotic on each side, parallel to length. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=84579&type=101>

Side A

- 1 r pȳ=f by r šms
- 2 Wsir pȳ ntr ʕ nb Ibt
- 3 Tȳ-dy <s> Bs . . .
- 4 . . . mw.t<=f> Ta-nȳ-wr.w-ʕw šʕ d.t

“His soul shall follow Osiris the great god, lord of Abydos, Sisois <son of> Bes,, <his> mother is *Ta-nȳ-wr.w-ʕw*, forever.”

Side B

- 1 r pȳ=f by r šms
- 2 Wsir pȳ ntr ʕ nb Ibt
- 3 Tȳ-dy <s> Bs mw.t<=f>
- 4 Ta-nȳ-wr.w-ʕw šʕ d.t

“His soul shall follow Osiris the great god, lord of Abydos, Sisois <son of> Bes, <his> mother is *Ta-nȳ-wr.w-ʕw*, forever.”

Wooden mummy labels are known from many sites in Egypt, but the majority come from the Panopolite or 9th Upper Egyptian nome; see J. Quaegebeur, “Mummy Labels: An Orientation,” in E. Boswinkel and P.W. Pestman (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues* (Leiden 1978) 243-244. Many of these, in turn, come from Triphion, whose cemeteries served the towns and villages of the west bank of the Panopolite nome; see M. Chauveau, “Rive droite, rive gauche. Le nome panopolite au IIe et IIIe siècles de notre ère,” in A. Egberts, B.P. Muhs, and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis* (Leiden 2002) 45-47. This mummy label does not name any of the west Panopolite towns or villages, but the formula (see the note on ll. 1-2) is well attested among mummy labels that do, making Triphion the most likely provenance for this mummy label. Dated mummy labels from the Triphion cemeteries range from AD 93 to 272; see M. Smith, “Aspects of the Preservation and Transmission of Indigenous Religious Traditions in Akhmim and its Environs During the

Graeco-Roman Period,” in Egberts, Muhs, and van der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis 239* (n.38).

1-2 For this formula, see W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig 1901) B. Allgemeiner Teil, p. 4 (Formel B).

3 For the writing of the name Sisois, see *NB Dem.* 1:1354-1355; for a discussion of the name, see H. de Meulenaere, “Le nom propre Σισόις et son prototype égyptien,” *CdÉ* 66 (1991) 129-135. The name is written here with an elaborate “child with hand to mouth” determinative (which also occurs in the name *Ta-nṣ-wr.w-ꜥw*), followed by an abbreviated “seated man” determinative (which occurs in both the names *Bs* and *Ta-nṣ-wr.w-ꜥw*), which is typical; see de Meulenaere 133, nn. 26 and 28. For the writing of the name *Bes*, see *NB Dem.* 1:146.

3-4 The primary difference between Side A and Side B is the additional text on Side A between the patronym and the matronym. The position suggests either the name of a grandfather, perhaps *ss?* | *Pṣ-ti-pṣ-ḥrm?*, “son? of *Pṣ-ti-pṣ-ḥrm?*” or a title, perhaps *pṣ?* | *sh pṣ ḥrm?*, “the? scribe of the *ḥrm?*” Neither is attested, however, and the reading of the final element is uncertain.



Lines 3-4

4 The name *Ta-nṣ-wr.w-ꜥw* is otherwise only attested for the beneficiary of the funerary papyrus known as P.Harkness (P.MMA 31.9.7), probably from the Antaeopolite nome; see H. Smith, *Papyrus Harkness* (Oxford 2005) 12-13. The same elaborate “child with hand to mouth” sign that occurs as a determinative in the name *Tṣy-dy* also occurs here as part of the writing of *ꜥw*.

5. Demotic Mummy Label

Panopolite nome, west bank

2nd – 3rd centuries AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.142. Carved wooden stela-shaped tag with hole for cord in triangular end, 7.9 x 2.9 cm. Two lines Demotic on one side, parallel to length, left of hole. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=84580&type=101>

1 Tṣ-rnn.t ta Ḥr

2 Ḥ rmt.t Pr-Bw-pa-ḥꜥ

“Thermouthis daughter of Horos, the woman of Bompae.”

The mention of the town of Bompae in l. 2 indicates that this mummy label comes from Triphion, and thus probably dates to the 2nd or 3rd century AD (see 4).

1 For the name Thermouthis, see *NB Dem.* 1:1074. Here the snake-goddess determinative is followed by the divine-egg determinative rather than the *ntr* determinative; compare the similar writings in W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig, 1901) A. Materialsammlung, pp. 12-14.

2 Demotic (*Pr*-) *Bw-pa-h^c* is equivalent to Greek Βομπαή; for the latter see Calderini-Daris 2.1:54. Bompae is a town located on the west bank of the Nile opposite Akhmim, ancient Panopolis, well known from Greek and Demotic mummy labels; see M. Chauveau, “Rive droite, rive gauche. Le nome panopolite au IIe et IIIe siècles de notre ère,” in A. Egberts, B.P. Muhs, and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis* (Leiden 2002) 45-54.

6. Demotic Mummy Label

Tentyrite nome?

1st – 3rd centuries AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.143. Carved wooden stela-shaped tag with hole for cord in triangular end, 11.6 x 3.8 cm. Two lines Demotic on one side, perpendicular to length, below hole. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=84581&type=101>

1 Wsir

2 T3-rmt.t-Ḥ3?-ty

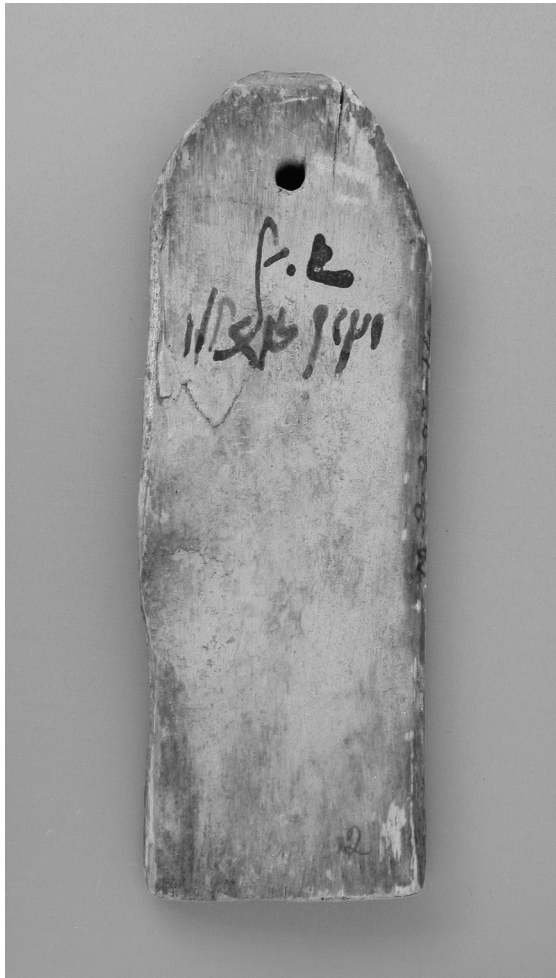
“The Osiris, Tromchatis?”

1 “Osiris” is presumably an epithet rather than the name of the deceased (see 3.4).

2 The last signs in l. 2 seem to read -ty, followed by a place name determinative. It is tempting to read the sign preceding -ty as *Hr*, together making *Hr-ty*, “Cynopolis.” However, *Hr* would lack the usual diagonal stroke, and furthermore the vertical sign following *rmt.t* would be unexplained. Therefore it is preferable to read the sign before -ty as *Ḥ3*, and the vertical sign before *Ḥ3* as *ntr* in apposition, giving *Ḥ3-ty(-ntr)*, “Chatai,” a place near Dendera attested in a number of Demotic texts; see S.P. Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes and Other Short*

Line 2

Texts in the Demotic Script (Leuven 2001) nos. 39.10; 165.1; 170.1; and 172.1. The phrase *p3 rmt/b rmt.t X*, “the man/woman of place-name X,” frequently occurs on mummy labels as an indication of the origin of the deceased man or woman, but this interpretation would leave no name after the presumed epithet *Wsir*, “the Osiris.” Names of the form *p3 rmt/b rmt.t X* are, however, well known; cf. *NB Dem.* 1:195-197 and 1072. In fact, the name *P3-rmt-H3?-ty*, “Promchatis?” appears as a patronym in O.B.M 43506 (unpublished).



7. Demotic Mummy Label

Provenance unknown

1st – 3rd centuries AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.144. Carved wooden square-shaped tag with hole for cord in one side, 4.6 x 4.7 cm. Two lines Demotic on one side, below hole. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=84582&type=101>

1 Hr- . . . s³

2 Snybs?

“Har- son of Zenobios?”



1 The name of the deceased is well preserved, but only the initial element Hr- is readily identifiable.

Line 1

2 The proposed reading *Snybs*, “Zenobios,” is not very satisfactory, because it assumes the use of the historical *s* (in the initial position) in a foreign name. The alternative reading *Pa-nygs* for *Pa-nysgs*, “Paniskos,” proposed by one of the anonymous readers, is not much better because it assumes both the use of historical *pa* for *p* (admittedly attested in *NB Dem.* 1:463, Beleg 6) and the omission of an *s*.

Line 2

8. *Demotic Mummy Label*

Panopolite nome, west bank

2nd – 3rd centuries AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.145. Carved wooden stela-shaped tag with hole for cord in triangular end, 2.9 x 7.9 cm. Two lines Demotic on one side, parallel to length, left of hole. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=84583&type=101>

1 P₃-C₁Q₁C s₃ P₃-ti-ḥnsw2 p₃ rmt Pr-Bw-pa-ḥ^c

“Pelilis son of Petechonsis, the man of Bompae.”

For the provenance and date, see 5.

1 For the name Pelilis, see *NB Dem.* 1:164, and G. Vittmann, “Between Grammar, Lexicography and Religion: Observations on some Demotic Personal Names,” *Enchoria* 24 (1997-1998) 99-100. The divine name in the theophoric patronym could be read Khonsu or perhaps Wennefer. The former reading is preferred, because a theophoric name *Peteonnophris is unattested. Nonetheless, the third element of the divine name Chonsu, before the god’s determinative, is written rather fully compared to the abbreviated forms of the first and second elements; see *NB Dem.* 1:336-337.

2 For Bompae, see 5.2.

9. *Demotic Mummy Label*

Antaeopolite or Diopolite nome?

2nd – 3rd centuries AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.147. Carved wooden stela-shaped tag with holes for cord in triangular end and perhaps along one side, 13.2 x 5.9 cm. Five lines Demotic and a figure on one side, perpendicular to length, below and to left of holes. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45778&type=101>

1 Ta-tw-nb.t-ḥw?

2 . . . Ḥr? . . .

3 ir mwt ḥn

4 rnpt?

5 38.t?

Figure?

“*Ta-tw-nb.t-ḥw?* . . . Har? . . . who died in (her) year? 38?” Figure?



Figure

Five mummy labels (including this one) mention the name *Ta-tw-nb.t-ḥw(ḥ)* (see the note to l. 1), of which one (Michigan 4535.10) also mentions *Pr-nb-wt*, while another (W. Spiegelberg, “Zur Bestattung der Mumien in der römischen Kaiserzeit,” ZÄS 66 [1931] 41) mentions a numbered district, which are often associated with *Pr-nb-wt*, which has been tentatively identified with Qaw el-Kebir, ancient Antaeopolis (see 16). The other three labels give no indication of their provenance, but a linen bandage and a mummy label bearing the possibly related hieroglyphic name *T3-di-nb.t-ḥw* (see the note to l. 1) have been tentatively attributed to Thebes, thereby confusing the picture.

1 This name is attested in Demotic mummy labels Michigan 4535.10 (Spiegelberg 39, text b = K.-Th. Zauzich, “Verteidigung eines Mumienschildes,” ZÄS 114 [1987] 97-98, text a); Spiegelberg 41; IFAO 103 (D. Devauchelle, “Petits documents démotiques conservés à l’IFAO,” BIFAO 85 [1985] 95); and 9 and 10. It was originally read as *Ta-tw-nb.t-ḥwḥ* by Spiegelberg 39-41, who postulated that *nb.t-ḥwḥ* was an ahistoric writing of *Nb.t-ḥw.t*, “Nephthys,” followed by Zauzich 95-100. A reading *Pa-tw-ḥfwḥ* was suggested by Devauchelle 95-98, which was then rejected in favor of *Ta-tw-nb-fwḥ* by K.-Th. Zauzich, “Ein rätselhafter Personennamen,” *Enchoria* 16 (1988) 95-99. A reading *Ta-tw-nb.t-ḥwḥ* was resurrected, however, by analogy to the hieroglyphic name *T3-di-nb.t-ḥw* attested on a linen bandage and a mummy label, by G. Vittmann, “Ein Mumienbrett im Britischen Museum (BM 36502),” in M. Bietak, J. Holaubek, H. Mukarovsky, and H. Satzinger (eds.), *Zwischen den beiden Ewigkeiten. Festschrift Gertrud Thausing* (Wien 1994) 226 (n. 31); cf. *NB Dem.* 1:1222. Vittmann further argued that *nb.t-ḥw(ḥ)* was an epithet, “Lady of Provisions,” rather than a phonetic writing of *Nb.t-ḥw.t*, “Nephthys,” based on the “provisions” determinative that follows the snake-goddess determinative in Michigan 4535.10 (as here and in 10), which is the sole determinative in the

hieroglyphic name. It is unclear to me why the two interpretations of *nb.t-ḥw(ḥ)* must exclude one another.

2 This line presumably contains a filiation marker and the deceased's father's name, which may begin with the element *Hr-*.



Line 2

3-5 For the construction *ir mwt ḥn nmp.t X*, “who died in (their) Xth year,” compare mummy label Michigan 4219 (Spiegelberg 39, text a = Zauzich, ZÄS 114 [1987] 99, text b), which mentions a numbered district.

10. Demotic Mummy Label

Antaeopolite or Diospolite nome?

2nd – 3rd centuries AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.148. Carved wooden stela-shaped tag with hole for cord in triangular end, 4.3 x 12.1 cm. Three lines Demotic on one side, parallel to length, to left of hole. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45779&type=101>

- 1 'Wsir?' Wrši-nfr <sj>
- 2 Ḥr-tȝy=f-nḥt mw.t=f
- 3 Ta-tw-nb.t-ḥwḥ

“The Osiris?, Orsenouphis <son of> Hartephnachthes, his mother is *Ta-tw-nb.t-ḥwḥ*”

For the provenance and date, see 9.

- 1 “Osiris” is an epithet of the deceased (see 3.4).
- 3 For the name *Ta-tw-nb.t-ḥwḥ*, see 9.1.

11. Bilingual Mummy Label

Panopolite nome?

1st – 3rd centuries AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.149. Carved wooden stela-shaped tag with hole for cord in triangular end, 2.9 x 13.7 cm. One line Demotic (right) and Greek (left) on one side, parallel to length, to left of hole. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45780&type=101>

1 Ta-mn Plꜣꜥ? Taꜣꜣ

“(Demotic) Tamin(is daughter of?) Plilis?; (Greek) Tamin(is).”

The names favor a Panopolite provenance, but are by no means restricted to that nome. The second sign of the patronym is perhaps to be read not as an *r* but as an *l* with the extra stroke overlapping the following ꜥ, in which case this may be a phonetic writing of *P(β-)lꜣꜥ*, “Plilis,” as suggested by one of the anonymous readers. For this name, see 8.1n. Phonetic rather than historical writings of Egyptian names in Demotic are occasionally attested; see, e.g., *NB Dem.* 1:160, Beleg 9 (*Pikš* for *Pṣ-igš*); 1:401, Beleg 16 (*P-ḥr* for *Pa-ḥr*); 1:450 (*Petṣtrꜣḥw* for *Pṣ-ti-ṣ-ṣꜣ.t*); 1:1074 and 1287 (*Trmwthṣ* for *Tṣ-rnn.t*); and *Na-men-Indices* 151 (zu S. 200: *Pḥlwe* for *Pṣ-lwlw*). The final letter of the Greek is probably to be read as a nu, giving an undeclined form of the name Tamin(is), which occurs often enough. A reading nu iota is also possible, but gives a dative form, which seems less likely here.

12. Bilingual Mummy Label

Panopolite nome?

2nd – 3rd centuries AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.150. Carved wooden stela-shaped tag with hole for cord in triangular end, 5.6 x 12.2 cm. Four lines Demotic on one side (A) to left of hole, three lines Greek on other side (B) to right of hole, both sides parallel to length. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45781&type=101>

Side A

- 1 ꜥnḥ by=f m-bṣḥ Wsir Ḥnt-imnt ntr ꜥ
- 2 nb Ibt Pṣ-ti-mn ꜥ <ṣṣ?> Pṣ-ti-mn-(pṣ-)ṣ?,
- 3 nt iw=w ḏd n=f Pṣ-mrš rn=f mn
- 4 šꜥ nḥḥ ḏt mwt=f n rnp.t 48

“May his soul live before Osiris, Foremost-of-the-westerners, (the) great god, lord of Abydos, Peteminos (the) elder <son of?> Petemptos?, to whom they say to him Pmersis, his name is established forever and ever, he died in (his) year 48.”

Side B

- 1 Πετεμίνος ὁ (καί)

2 Π' μ' ἔρσις ἐβί<ω>σ(εν) <ἔτη>
 3 μῆ

“Peteminos also (known as) Pmersis, he lived 48 (years).”

This mummy label contains no explicit reference to its provenance, but the formula is very occasionally attested on mummy labels that mention place names in the Panopolite or 9th Upper Egyptian nome (see the note to ll. 1-2). Side A is written in a mixture of Demotic and Hieratic, or Demotic influenced by Hieratic. *ḥnḥ* and *Wsir Ḥnt-imntt ntr ʿ3* in line 1, *nb Ibt* in l. 2, and *ḏt* in l. 4 seem particularly “hieratic.” Similar mixtures are found in other mummy labels, see W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumi-enetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig 1901) pl. 15 (no. 42), almost certainly by the same scribe; and G. Möller, *Mumienbilder* (Leipzig 1913) pl. 28 (nos. 73 and 74).

A1-2 For the formula, see Spiegelberg B. Allgemeiner Teil, pp. 3-4 (Formel A). For the epithets of Osiris, see Spiegelberg B. Allgemeiner Teil, pp. 7-8 (Formel N).

A2 For the patronym Petemptos, see *NB Dem.* 1:312, and M. Pezin, “Les étiquettes de momies du Musée de Picardie à Amiens,” *Enchoria* 8.2 (1978) 10-12. The writing of the element *mn* in the patronym is markedly different from the writing in the first name, but it is very similar to the writing of *mn* in the other examples of the name *P3-ti-mn-p3-b3*. The author thanks the anonymous readers for the suggestion.

A3 For the nickname Pmersis, which means “the red (one),” see *NB Dem.*, *Namen-Indices* 148 (zu S. 190).

B1 The Demotic name *P3-ti-mn* is represented here in Greek as Πε-τεμῖνος rather than the more usual Πετεμῖνις, but variation in application of Greek declensional endings to undeclined Egyptian names was not unusual see M. Leiwo, “Scribes and Language Variation,” in L. Pietilä-Castrén and M. Vesterinen (eds.), *Grapta Poikila*, vol. 1 (Helsinki 2003) 3. After the final sigma of Peteminos (with the sigma much prolonged to the right) features what appears to be a small omicron with a supralineal double diagonal stroke. I am not aware of such an abbreviation used for ὁ (καί), but the reading is necessitated by the Demotic text on Side A.

B2 The Greek scribe appears to have omitted two important elements: (1) the medial omega in ἐβί<ω>σ(εν) and (2) the word <ἔτη>. One might be inclined to combine these omissions with the observation that the scribe was a clumsy writer, as he initially omitted the mu in Π' μ' ἔρσις.

13. Demotic Mummy Label

Panopolite nome?

1st – 3rd centuries AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.151. Carved wooden stela-shaped tag with hole for cord in triangular end, 3.3 x 17.8 cm. Two lines Demotic on one side, parallel to length, left of hole. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45782&type=101>

1 T3-šr.t-(n)- . . .

2 ta P3-ti-mn . . .

“Sen- . . . daughter of Peteminis, . . .”

1 The beginning of the name of the deceased is preserved, but the end fades out to the left.



Line 1

2 This line apparently starts with the deceased's father's name, Peteminis, but it is unclear what follows because the text fades out to the left.



Line 2

14. Bilingual Mummy Label

Panopolite nome, west bank

3rd century AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.153. Carved wooden stela-shaped tag with hole for cord in triangular end, 5.4 x 13.2 cm. Four lines Greek on one side (A) to right of hole, five lines Demotic on other side (B) to left of hole, both sides parallel to length. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45784&type=101>

Side A

1 Περίλις Περίλι-

2 ος Δεταρίου μη-

3 τρὸς Σενψεν-

4 μεχῆτος

“Pelilis (son) of Pelilis (son) of Detarios?, (his) mother is Senpsenme(n)-ches?”

Side B

- 1 ʕnh by=f nhḥ dt m-bšḥ
- 2 Wsir-Skr ntr ʕ nb Ibt
- 3 P3-ʕlly s3 P3-ʕlyly s3 T3-
- 4 t3rs mw.t=f 'T3-šr.t-p3-šr-t3-šr.t-mnh?'1
- 5 p3 rmt P3-swn 'iw=f tni r rnp.t 40'1

“May his soul live forever and ever in the presence of Osiris-Sokar, (the) great god, lord of Abydos, Pelilis son of Pelilis son of Detarios?, his mother is Senpsensenmenches?, the man of Psonis, he is 40 years old.”

The mention of the town Psonis on Side B l. 5 indicates that this mummy label comes from Triphion (see 4). The handwriting and formula of this mummy label are very similar to those of other mummy labels from Psonis attributed to a single scribe by M. Chauveau, “Autour des étiquettes de momies de la Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne,” *BIFAO* 92 (1992) 103, no. 3 with n. 8; and M. Chauveau and H. Cuvigny, “Étiquettes de momies grecques et démotiques de la Bibliothèque nationale,” *ZPE* 130 (2000) 187, no. 12. One of these other mummy labels (*CEMG* 539) is dated to May 3, AD 256, placing this label securely in the 3rd century AD.

A1-2 The Greek name and patronym are read with the help of the Demotic. For the Demotic name(s), see 8.1n. The third letter of the Greek grandfather's name resembles a gamma, but the Demotic suggests that it should be read as a tau.

A3-4 The Demotic matronym seems somewhat longer than the Greek requires. The Greek name does not seem to be attested elsewhere, but this may be a variant of a composite name Σενψεν- + με(γ)χης. For the omission of a medial nasal before a velar stop, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* 1:116 (C.1.a).

B1-2 For this formula, see W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig 1901) B. Allgemeiner Teil, pp. 3-4 (Formel A).

B5 The place-name Psonis is written in Demotic both as P3-swn (G. Möller, *Mumienschilder* [Leipzig 1913] nos. 11, 49, and 50), as here, and as Pr-swn (Möller, *Mumienschilder* nos. 4, 9, 13, and 20). Both are equivalent to Greek Ψώνις; for the latter see Calderini-Daris 5:177. Psonis is a town located on the west bank of the Nile opposite Akhmim, ancient Panopolis, well known

from bilingual, Greek and Demotic mummy labels; see M. Chauveau, “Rive droite, rive gauche. Le nome panopolite au IIe et IIIe siècles de notre ère,” in A. Egberts, B.P. Muhs, and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis* (Leiden 2002) 45-54. The age formula at the end of l. 5 is read with the help of other mummy labels with the same handwriting and formula (see the introductory note), particularly Möller, *Mumienschilder* nos. 49 and 50 (CEMG 2137 and 2135), and W. Spiegelberg, “Demotische Kleinigkeiten,” *ZÄS* 54 (1918) 126 (CEMG 539).

15. Demotic Mummy Label

Uncertain provenance

1st – 3rd centuries AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.155. Carved wooden stela-shaped tag with hole for cord in triangular end, 4.3 x 13.2 cm. Two lines Demotic on one side, parallel to length, left of hole. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45786&type=101>

- 1 Ta-imn ta P3- . . . ? Pr-grg?- . . . ?
- 2 Ta-tw?- . . . 3 rmt.t P3-w3h?- . . .

“Tamounis daughter of Pa- . . . ? . . . ? Tate?- . . . the woman of . . . ?”

1 The name of the deceased, Tamounis, is well preserved, but the name of her father fades out to the left.



Line 1

2 This line probably begins with the deceased's mother's name. It clearly begins with *Ta-tw-*, but what follows seems too long for *bh*, and too short for *p3-mnh*. The following epithet, “the woman of,”



Line 2

probably introduced the hometown of the deceased, or less likely her husband, but the text fades out to the left here too.

16. Demotic Mummy Label

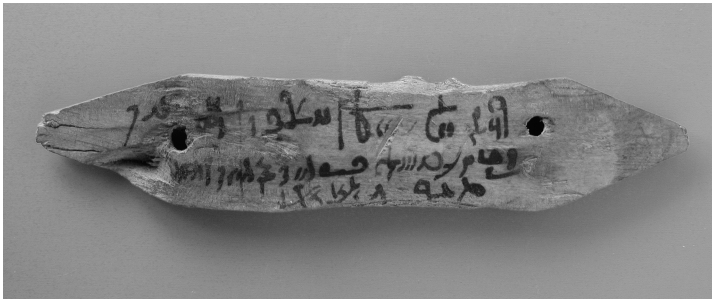
Antaeopolite nome

2nd – 3rd centuries AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.490. Carved wooden lozenge-shaped tag with holes in both triangular ends, 3.0 x 17.5 cm. Three lines Demotic on one side, parallel to length, between the holes and overlapping the left one. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=46124&type=101>

- 1 Sn-snw ʕ sʕ Twtw pʕ hm mw.t=f?
- 2 Tʕ-ʕpwny? nt hn tʕ mr-iwy.t
- 3 mh-15 Pr-nb-wt

“Sansnos (the) elder, son of Totoes the craftsman, his mother? is Tapolonia?, who is in the fifteenth district of *Pr-nb-wt*.”



Scale 1:2

The place name *Pr-nb-wt* is attested in three other mummy labels, Michigan 4535.10 (W. Spiegelberg, “Zur Bestattung der Mumien in der römischen Kaiserzeit,” ZÄS 66 [1931] 39, text b = K.-Th. Zauzich, “Verteidigung eines Mumienbildes,” ZÄS 114 [1987] 97-98, text a); Heidelberg inv. 1892 (Zauzich 95-96); and Vienna Nationalbibliothek MS 47 (W. Brunsch, “27 Mumienbilder aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek mit einem Exkurs zu den Mumienbildern des British Museum, London,” WZKM 81 [1991] 122-123). The place name *Pr-nb-wt* is also attested in two Demotic funerary papyri, PBM 10507 (M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* [London 1987]), col. 4.6; and PMMA 31.9.7 (M. Smith, *Papyrus Harkness* [Oxford 2005] 15-16) cols. 1.1, 2.13 and 14, and 5.12. In his line note, Smith, *Papyrus BM 10507*, tentatively identified the place name *Pr-nb-wt* with Qaw el-Kebir, ancient Antaeopolis (Eg. *Pr-nb-wʕd.t*), the metropolis of the Antaeopolite or 10th Upper Egyptian nome. M. Chauveau suggested an alternative identification with the town of Φενεβϑις in the Panopolite nome,

in “Autour des étiquettes de momies de la Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne,” *BIFAO* 92 (1992) 108, and again in “Rive droite, rive gauche. Le nome panopolite au IIe et IIIe siècles de notre ère,” in A. Egberts, B.P. Muhs, and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis* (Leiden 2002) 47 (n. 8). M. Smith then persuasively argued against $\Phi\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\beta\tilde{\upsilon}\theta\iota\varsigma$ in favor of *Antaeopolis* in “The Provenience of Papyrus Harkness,” in A. Leahy and J. Tait (eds.), *Studies in Honour of H.S. Smith* (London 1999) 283-293, and in *Papyrus Harkness* 15-16.

1 For the name Sansnos, see *NB Dem.* 1:928.

2 For *mr-iwy.t*, “district,” see mummy labels Michigan 4219 (Spiegelberg 39, text a = Zauzich 99, text b); Michigan 4535.10; and Vienna Nationalbibliothek MS 47. For a variant written *iwy.t*, “district,” see mummy label Heidelberg inv. 1892. In all four labels, (*mr-*)*iwy.t*, “district,” is qualified by an ordinal number, *mḥ-X*: “fourth” (*mḥ-4*, Heidelberg 1892), “tenth” (*mḥ-10*, Michigan 4219), “eleventh” (*mḥ-11*, Michigan 4535.10), and “fifteenth” (*mḥ-15*, Vienna NB MS 47, see Chauveau, *BIFAO* 92 [1992] 108). In three of the four labels, (*mr-*)*iwy.t*, “district,” is further qualified as being “of *Pr-nb-wt*” (Heidelberg 1892, Michigan 4535.10, and Vienna NB MS 47).

Part 2. Greek Ostraca and Mummy Labels

Some of the twelve Greek ostraca published below are interrelated (nos. 17-21 and 22-24). It is of particular interest that some of them apparently come from places for which no substantial evidence for the period covered by the ostraca exists, in particular the Fayyum villages of (Ibion) Eikosipentarouron and Narmouthis in texts 17-21. There are also a few individual ostraca (25-28). In addition, the LACMA holds two mummy labels with a Greek text (29-30).¹

17. *Thesauros Receipt for Chaff*

Ibion Eikosipentarouron

October 4, AD 302

LACMA inv. M.80.202.189. Sherd, 8.7 x 9 cm. Convex side inscribed with seven lines of Greek. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45822&type=101>

- 1 Αὐρ(ήλιοι) Πτολεμίω καὶ Σαραπί-
- 2 ωνι ἀμφ(ότεροι) ἐπιμ(εληταὶ) ἀχὺρ(ου) παρέ-
- 3 λαβον ὑπ(ὲρ) κώμ(ης) Ἰβίων
- 4 (Εἰκοσιπενταροῦρων) ὀνόματος Ἀπόλλων
- 5 καμιλωνος ὑπ(ὲρ) ιβ καὶ ια καὶ δ
- 6 ἀχὺρ(ου) λί(τρας) ρν.
- 7 ιη καὶ ιζ καὶ ι (ἔτους) Φαῶφι ζ.

1 Πτολέμιος (-μ- ex corr. or redrawn?) 1-2 Σαραπίων 3 Ἰβίωνος
4 Ἀπόλλωνος 5 καμηλίωνος? (see the note ad loc.)

“The Aurelii Ptolemios and Sarapion, both curators of chaff, have received for the village of Ibion Eikosipentarouron in the name of Apollon the camel driver (?) for (year) 12 and 11 and 4 150 lbs. of chaff. Year 18 and 17 and 10, Phaophi 7.”

For general literature on such receipts, see the introduction to *P.Köln* 9.380. It is remarkable that the delivery for year 12/11/4 = AD 295/296 actually took place six (!) years later.

¹ For the three mummy labels from Dendera from the Michailidis collection made of limestone, published by E. Bresciani, see above, p. 10.

1-3 Though the actual names of the curators (tax collectors) of chaff issuing this receipt are given in the dative, we expect nominatives here. In the context it is conceivable that the scribe wrote in ll. 2-3 παρέλαβον (3rd person plural or 1st person singular?) instead of παρελάβομεν (1st person plural). An alternative would be to keep the datives (supplying Αὐρ(ηλίοις), resp. ἀμφ(οτέροις) ἐπιμ(εληταῖς)) while taking παρέλαβον as a 1st person singular, i.e. an anonymous collector reporting to the curators the amount of chaff levied by him. In that case, however, the name of the actual collector would not be given. Most probably the scribe confused two formulas.

2 The chaff was probably meant for heating the bathhouses in Memphis (cf. *O.Mich.* 3.1012.3) and Babylon (cf. *O.Mich.* 1.187.3, 2.779.3, and 3.1012.13).

3-4 For documentation concerning the village Ibion Eikosipentarouron, see Calderini-Daris, *Suppl.* 3:53; add text **18**, *P.Köln* 2.117, and *SB* 24.15954 (with the remarks by F. Reiter in *APF* 48 [2002] 132-133).

5 The form καμῖλωνος (gen.) creates a problem. One expects after the name of Apollon either the name of his father or an indication of his own profession. A Greek personal name Καμῖλων is not attested (while one might wish to compare the Greek form with the Latin name Camillus, a Latin name Camilo is unknown, and there is no good reason to change a Latin word ending in -illus into a Greek word ending in -ῖλων). It is possible that Apollon was a “camel driver,” but even if we invoke Latin *mulio* = “donkey driver” (found in Greek documents under the form μουλίων) as a parallel (καμῖλ- suggests camels, if we take it as an iotacistic variant of καμηλ-), it would be strange if the Greek word καμηλίων (“camel shed”) had another, hitherto unattested meaning (“camel driver”) as well; for the latter I would rather expect καμηλίων,² even if this word is also unattested. I doubt whether we can interpret the wording here and in **18.2-3** as “Apollon of the camel shed,” whereas in **19.3** we would be dealing with a certain “Teos (?) of the camel shed.”

6 A delivery of the same amount of 150 lbs. of chaff is mentioned in **20** and in four texts from Karanis: *P.Mert.* 1.30.5 (302), *O.Mich.* 1.185.5 (302), 210.4 (IV), 3.1009.4 (301/302).

² Cf. *LSJ* s.v. καμινίων = “furnace attendant.” For Greek nouns in -ων in documentary papyri in general, cf. L.R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* (London 1946) 119-120; for the loss of an accentuated iota in such texts see Gignac, *Grammar* 1:302f.

18. *Thesauros Receipt*

Ibion Eikosipentarouron

July 5, AD 302

LACMA inv. M.80.202.193. Sherd, 8 x 8.5 cm. Convex side inscribed with six lines of Greek. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45826&type=101>

- 1 Θη(σαυροῦ) κώμ(ης) (Εικοσιπενταρούρων) γενήμ(ατος)
- 2 ης και ιςS και ιS ὄνομ(ατος) Ἀπόλ-
- 3 λων καμילωνος ὄνοι
- 4 τρίς, γί(νονται) γ.
- 5 (Ἔτους) ης και ιςS και ιS/
- 6 Ἐπειφ ια.

2-3 Ἀπόλλωνος 3 καμηλίωνος (see 17.5n.)? 3 ὄνους 4 τρεῖς

“For the granary of the village of Eikosipentarouron, for the harvest of (year) 18 and 17 and 10, in the name of Apollon the camel driver (?), three donkey loads, total 3. Year 18 and 17 and 10, Epeiph 11.”

For a parallel delivery of 3 donkey loads (probably of wheat) to the granary at Eikosipentarouron, see the ostrakon published in *PKöln* 2.117 (AD 297).

2-3 For this person see 17.5n.

3 For the equation 1 ὄνος = 1 σάκκος = 3 ἀρτάβαι, see H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* (Amsterdam 1973) 1:215 and 2:779, 834, 842, and 920 (n. 42).

19. *Thesauros Receipt*

Narmouthis

March 30, AD 287

LACMA inv. M.80.202.208. Sherd, 8.8 x 5 cm. Concave (?) side inscribed with five lines of Greek. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45841&type=101>

- 1 Θη(σαυροῦ) Ναρ(μούθεως) γενή(ματος) βS/ και αS/ δεκάπ(ρωτοι)
- 2 Δίδυμος και Λογγεῖνος Μαγδώλων
- 3 Θερμουθ() Πατρ() δι(ὰ) τῶν Ταῖῶ(τος?) καμιλω(νος)
- 4 ὄνοι τρεῖς, γίνο(νται) γ. (Ἔτους) γS/ και βS/
- 5 Φαρμ(οῦθι) δ-.

1-2 Or read δεκαπ(ρώτων) Διδύμου καὶ Λογγεῖνου? 3 Τεῶ(τος?), but see also note ad loc.; καμηλίωνος (cf. 17.5n.)? 4 ὄνους

“For the granary of Narmouthis, for the harvest of the 2nd and the 1st (year); the *decemprimi* Didymus and Longinus, for Magdola, to Thermouth() daughter of Patr() represented by the (people) of Teos the camel driver (?), three donkey loads, total 3. Year 3 and 2, Pharmouthi 4.”

A remarkably similar receipt from the granary of Narmouthis involving the same *decemprimi* is *P.Köln* 9.380 (see especially the introduction where a detailed study of the documentation concerning such deliveries is given). In ll. 3-4 of that text a reading δι(ὰ) τῶν καμηλῶ(νων) (cf. above, 17.5n.) | Ὀρίω(νος) δι(ὰ) Ἡρᾶ καὶ Ἀῖω(νος) seems preferable (ed.: δι(ὰ) Πρω(τ-) καμηλ[ά]τ(ου) Ὀρίω(ν) δι(ὰ) Ἡρᾶ καὶ Ἀῖω(νος)), i.e. the delivery was made through the camel drivers (?) Horion, represented by Heras, and Aion.

1, 2 For Magdola and Narmouthis, both situated in the Polemon district of the Arsinoite nome, see Calderini-Daris, *Suppl.* 3:71 and 79.

3 Or should we read τοῦ instead of Ταῖω(τος?) and translate: “through the representatives (δι(ὰ) τῶν) of the camel driver (τοῦ καμηλω(νος))”? Cf. 17.5n.

4-5 If we compare the date here with the harvest referred to in l. 1, that of years 2 = 1 (= 285/286), it appears that transportation of the harvest of summer 286 was still going on March 30, 287 (cf. the chart in *P.Col.* 7, p. 97).

20. Receipt for Chaff

Ibion Eikosipentarouron

April-May, AD 298

LACMA inv. M.80.202.190. Sherd, 7.5 x 7 cm. Convex side inscribed with seven lines of Greek. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45823&type=101>

- 1 Ἡρᾶς καμηλο(τρόφος?)
- 2 υ . . . ς (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) ἀχοί(ρου)
- 3 λί(τρας) ἑκατὸν πεντ(ήκοντα).
- 4 Παν() μεμ() εκίς
- 5 (m2?) . . . και/ δ(ιὰ?) η . . ()
- 6 ιδ καὶ ιγ καὶ ς [(ἔτους)]
- 7 Παχ[ών n]

2 ἀχύ(ρου)

“Heras, camel breeder, --- (for) Eikosipentarouron hundred fifty lbs. of chaff. --- (Year) 14 and 13 and 6, Pachon *n*.”

This is a receipt for the delivery of 150 lbs. of chaff, just as 17 (also related to the village of [Ibion] Eikosipentarouron), but the formula is completely different.

1 There is no need to connect καμηλο() with the enigmatic term καμιλων found in 17-19 and 21; the most attractive resolution of the abbreviation is καμηλο(τρόφος), as that word is frequently (26x) attested. Through the *TLG* we find in literary sources alternative terms like καμηλοβοσκός, καμηλοβάτης and καμηλοκόμος, but to date these have not yet appeared in documents.

2 The precise reading of the word at the beginning of the line escapes us. A noun like κώμης or ἐποικίου may have stood between καμηλο(τρόφος) and (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων), **because such a combination occurs in other documents**, but neither can be read. At best I read υκεις, out of which we can take the letters εις as the preposition εις = “to,” but it is, then, unclear what the meaning of υκ, without a sign of abbreviation, is; can we take these 2 letters as the beginning of a verb meaning “has brought”?

4-5 We expect here the name and function of the receiver of the chaff; the writing (partly faded and “sawtooth”) is difficult to decipher, and there are no obvious parallels from Eikosipentarouron I can adduce.

21. *Receipt for Chaff*

Ibion Eikosipentarouron

August 22?, AD 302

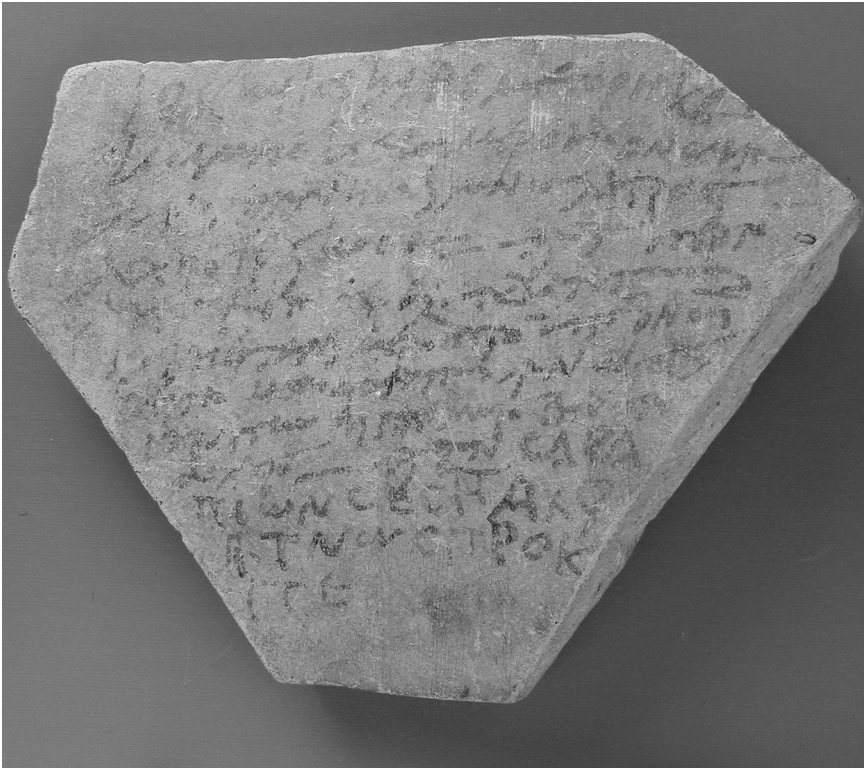
LACMA inv. M.80.202.203. Sherd, 9.2 x 11.4 cm. Convex side inscribed with fourteen lines of Greek. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45836&type=101>

- 1 ιςS καὶ ιςS καὶ θ (ἔτους), Μεσορὴ κβ-·
- 2 κώμης (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) μέρους ὀνόματος
- 3 Αὐρ(ηλίου) ---τα καμειλωνος λίτρας
- 4 ἀχύρου τρει[α]κοσ[ι]ας, (γίνονται) λί(τραι) τ· ὑπὲρ το[ῦ]
- 5 αὐτοῦ ἔτους [ύ]πὲρ Μαγδό(λων) τόπων
- 6 t r a c e s μέρους τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόμ(ατος)
- 7 t r a c e s λί(τρας) ν δι(ὰ)
- 8 Σαραπίω(νος) καὶ . . . ὥρου t r a c e s

- 9 ἀχύρου, (γίνονται) λί(τραι) τν. (m. 2) Σαρα-
 10 πίων σεσημ(είωμαι) ἀχύ(ρου)
 11 λί(τραι) τν ὡς πρόκ-
 12 ιτε.

3 καμηλίωνος (see 17.5n.)? 4 τριακοσίας 11-12 πρόκειται

“Year 17 and 16 and 9, Mesore 22, for the village of Eikosipentarouron, for part of the name of Aurelius ...tas the cameldriver (?), three hundred lbs. of chaff, total 300 lbs. And for the same year for Magdola --- for part of the same name --- 50 lbs., through Sarapion and -oros, --- of chaff, total 350 lbs. I, Sarapion, have signed for 350 lbs. of chaff as stated above.”



This light brown ostrakon is very vague. The decipherment of the text is based on texts with the same provenance (cf. 17, 18, and 20). While much in the present ostrakon must remain unclear, we are dealing with two deliv-

eries of 300 (l. 4) and (l. 7) 50 lbs. of chaff, yielding a total of 350 lbs. (l. 9).

The collector of the chaff is a certain Sarapion who does not seem to occur elsewhere and whose handwriting shows all the characteristics of a so-called βραδέως γράφων.

1 Compared with κβ, a reading κε looks less likely.

2 μέρους; the precise function of this element is not quite certain. A combination μέρους ὀνόματος does not seem to occur in the *DDBDP*.

5 The reading of Μαγδό(λων) τόπων may find support in text **19** and in the observation that also in *SPP* 10.111 fr. 1.4 (Fayyum, V/VI) the villages Ibion and Magdola are found together.

7 One expects the words λίτρας πεντήκοντα written out in full coming before λί(τρας) ν.

8-9 We may be dealing here with ἐπιμεληται or ἀπαιτηται ἀχύρου, i.e. collectors of chaff (to our knowledge, the combination ὑποδέκτης ἀχύρου is unattested).

22. Receipt for Embalmers' Tax

Edfu?

April 13, AD 12

LACMA inv. M.80.202.188. Sherd, 7.1 x 10.5 cm. Convex side inscribed with four lines of Greek. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45821&type=101>

- 1 Ἔτους μα Φαρ(μουῖθι) ιη· τέλ(ος)
- 2 ταριχ() μα (ἔτους) Τκαλῆς
- 3 Ψενπουή(ρεως) (δραχμάς) δέκα μίαν,
- 4 (γίνονται) ια. Ἐση(μειωσάμην).

“Year 41, Pharmouthi 18. (Has paid for) tax on *tarich*() of the 41th year, Tkales daughter of Psenpoueris, eleven dr., makes 11. I have signed.”

22-24 are tax receipts from a 41st regnal year, probably written in three consecutive months and issued to the same tax payer, Tkales daughter of Psenpoueris. There is some doubt about the provenance of these texts, their date, and the precise nature of the payment recorded in them, but it seems reasonable to suppose that we are dealing with receipts for embalmers' and burial tax (see **22.2n.** and **24.2n.**). Further literature on the burial tax (τέλος ταφῆς) in Greek documents from (Roman) Egypt is given in the introductions to

O.Cair. 89 and 91 (where *WO* 2.1065 and 1585 refer to the same text) and especially by B. Verbeeck and G. Wagner in their edition of *O.Assiut Coll.* 127 (Thebes, AD 138; = *SB* 22.15083) in *ZPE* 81 (1990) 290-295; their list of published tax receipts contains 17 ostraca exclusively from Thebes and covering the period 108 (?)–192. See now also the ostraca *SB* 20.15120 (Thebes, 177) and *O.Heid.* 99 (?), 113, 114, 118, 216, 235, and 254; for general remarks on burials in Roman Egypt, see F. Dunand, “Du séjour osirien des morts à l’au-delà chrétien. Pratiques funéraires en Égypte tardive,” *Ktèma* 11 (1986 [1990]) 29-37, and H.-J. Drexhage, “Einige Bemerkungen zum Mumientransport und den Bestattungskosten im römischen Ägypten,” *Laverna* 5 (1994) 167-175. For the burial tax as illustrated by Demotic texts from Edfu, cf. B.P. Muhs, “Demotic Ostraca from Ptolemaic Edfu and the Ptolemaic Tax System,” in K. Vandorpe and W. Clarysse (eds.), *Edfu, an Egyptian Provincial Capital in the Ptolemaic Period* (Brussels 2003) 75-105, especially 82-91 (early Ptolemaic funerary tax receipts) and 102-105 (late Ptolemaic funerary tax receipts).

Our texts stand apart in that they are much earlier than the earliest text in the list given by Verbeeck and Wagner 292. Moreover, these LACMA texts seem to come from a place other than Thebes and its surroundings, because their formula for recording the payments does not seem normal:

- (1) the date (in all three texts **22**, **23**, and **24**: year 41, month and day);
- (2) the name of the tax: **22.1-2**: τέλ(ος) ταριχ(); **23.2**: (); and **24.2**: τέλ() ταφικ();
- (3) the indication of the fiscal year paid for (year 41 in all three texts);
- (4) the name of the taxpayer (a certain Τκαλῆς Ψενπουήρεως in all three texts);
- (5) the amount (**22.3**: 11 dr.; **23.4**: 1 dr., 3 ob.; and **24.4**: 3 dr., 4 ob.), and
- (6) the signature: just Ἐση(μειωσάμην) in all three texts.

Given the extreme brevity of the information recorded and the reddish color of the pottery, it seems quite possible that they come from Edfu (cf. *O.Elkab*, p. 31). There are, however, no obvious similarities between the contents of these Greek burial/embalmers’ tax receipts and their Demotic counterparts (cf. Muhs, tables 3 and 10), except that the payment of an amount of 6.5 kite = 13 dr. (cf. Muhs, table 3, no. 21) comes fairly close to the total amount paid in these Greek receipts, 15 dr., 7 ob. (= 16 dr., 1 ob.).

1 A 41st regnal year of an anonymous ruler can be assigned to the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (= 130/129). Using the tables of T.C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies*, 2nd ed. (Munich 1969), we find that Pharmouthi 18 in that case equals May 9, 129 BC. However, as D. Hagedorn kindly reminds me,

there is the distinct possibility that we are dealing with the 41st regnal year of Augustus (= 11/12) *without* a mention of the crucial word Καίσαρος vel sim. The date can then be converted to April 13, AD 12. It is not easy to choose between these two dates only on the basis of palaeographical criteria, but an early date is unlikely because of the amount of money involved, and especially because of the signature in l. 4, Ἐση(μειωσάμην). A check in the *DDBDP* reveals that to date this occurs only in texts from Roman Egypt (the same observation can be made for the signature σεσημέιωμαι). In order to allow a further study of the phenomenon of the omission of the word Καίσαρος in ostraca attributed to the reign Augustus, I append a list of texts featuring a regnal year *not* provided with an element Καίσαρος vel sim.³

2 Should we resolve ταριχ() as ταριχ(ευτών), ταρίχ(ου/ων), or ταριχ(ηράς)? Given that we are dealing with payments for a tax on burials vel sim., and that the normal task of ταριχευταί = “embalmers” is burial, I prefer the first option. We would be dealing, then, with a payment of a tax supporting their activities.

For the name Ψενπουήρις, cf. *NB Dem.* s.v. The name Τκαλῆς does not appear there, but it looks as that of a female, i.e. T- + καλῆς; cf. the masculine counterpart Πκαλῆς (five attestations in the *DDBDP*). There is no reason to think that in Egypt a female person could not be paying for embalmers’/burial taxes; see the table of documents given by Verbeek and Wagner 292.

3-4 It remains an unsolved question whether the eleven drachmas are paid in copper or in silver. If the former, the sum is insubstantial, but eleven silver drachmas represented a sizeable amount of money.

³ NB: The *HGV* was searched only for ostraca written between the years -31 and 14. This produced a total of 278 ostraca.

Excursus: Ostraca featuring a regnal year without Καίσαρος

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>HGV year date</i>
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.727	2	alternative years: 79 ^a , 50 ^a , or 28 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.728	5	alternative years: 76 ^a , 47 ^a , or 25 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.729	6	---
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.730	6	---
<i>O.Bodl.</i> 2.1977	6	alternative years: 75 ^a , 47 ^a , or 24 ^a
<i>O.Fay.</i> 11	6	25 ^a
<i>O.Fay.</i> 2	7	23 ^a
<i>O.Bodl.</i> 2.407	7	23 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.757	8	alternative years: 73 ^a , 44 ^a , or 22 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.710	11	alternative years: 71 ^a , 42 ^a , or 20 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.740	11	alternative years: 70 ^a , 41 ^a , or 19 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.731	11	alternative years: 42 ^a , 20 ^a , or 24 ^p
<i>O.Amst.</i> 37	12	19/18 ^a (by Theban banker)
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.732	12	alternative years: 70 ^a , 41 ^a , or 19 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.733	12	alternative years: 69 ^a , 40 ^a , or 18 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.747	12	alternative years: 40 ^a , 18 ^a , or 26 ^p
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.711 and 734	13	alternative years: 68 ^a , 39 ^a , or 17 ^a
WO 2.716	13	18 ^a
<i>O.Bodl.</i> 2.1972	13	17 ^a
<i>O.Elkab</i> 204 = <i>O.Bodl.</i> 2.408	13	alternative years: 17 ^a , 27 ^p , or 53 ^p
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.735	14	alternative years: 67 ^a , 38 ^a , or 16 ^a
<i>O.Bodl.</i> 2.2207	14?	16 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.736	15	---
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.759	16	alternative years: 98 ^a , 65 ^a , or 15 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.760	16	alternative years: 98 ^a , 65 ^a , or 14 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.716, 717, and 741	17	alternative years: 98 ^a , 65 ^a , or 14 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.715	18	alternative years: 96 ^a , 63 ^a , or 12 ^a
<i>O.Leid.</i> 171	19	12 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.776	20	alternative years: 95 ^a , 62 ^a , or 11 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 1.5	20	alternative years: 10 ^a or 34 ^p
<i>O.Bodl.</i> 2.1974	20	ca. 10 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 1.299	21	---
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.742	21	---
WO 2.666	22	alternative years: 9 ^a or 35 ^p
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.713	22	alternative years: 9 ^a or 35 ^p
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.712	22	alternative years: 8 ^a or 36 ^p
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.743	22	alternative years: 60/59 ^a , 9/8 ^a or 35/36 ^p

<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.761	22	alternative years: 92 ^a , 59 ^a or 8 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.762	22	alternative years: 92 ^a , 59 ^a or 8 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 4.1119	22	9/8 ^a
<i>O.Edfou</i> 3.389	23	8/7 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.744	23	---
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.745	23	---
<i>O.Fay.</i> 12	24	6 ^a
<i>O.Tebt.</i> 6	25	6/5 ^a
<i>O.Tebt.</i> 14 descr.	26	5 ^a
<i>SB</i> 16.12410	26	4 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 1.17	26	4 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.714	28	3 ^a
<i>O.Edfou</i> 3.390 and 392	29	2/1 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 3.994	29	1 ^a
<i>O.Bodl.</i> 2.2536	34	alternative years: 83 ^a or 5 ^p
<i>O.Stras.</i> 605	38	8/9 ^p

Datings by “anonymous” regnal years on ostraca purportedly or possibly stemming from reigns later than Augustus are found in:

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>HGV year date</i>
<i>O.Edfou</i> 1.57 = <i>CPJ</i> 2.230	2	56 ^p or later (so <i>CPJ</i> 2.230 commentary)
<i>O.Elkab</i> 205	5	19 ^p or 44 ^p
<i>O.Mich.</i> 1.296	15	29 ^p or 96 ^p
<i>O.Mich.</i> 1.298	17	31 ^p

And in the list above:

<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.731	11	alternative years: 24 ^p , 20 ^a or 42 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.747	12	alternative years: 26 ^p , 18 ^a or 40 ^a
<i>O.Elkab</i> 204 = <i>O.Bodl.</i> 2.408	13	alternative years: 27 ^p , 53 ^p , or 17 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 1.5	20	alternative years: 34 ^p or 10 ^a
<i>WO</i> 2.666	22	alternative years: 35 ^p or 9 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.713	22	alternative years: 35 ^p or 9 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.712	22	alternative years: 36 ^p or 8 ^a
<i>O.Mich.</i> 2.743	22	alternative years: 35/36 ^p or 9/8 ^a , or 60/59 ^a

23. Receipt for Burial/Embalmer's Tax

Edfu?

May 16, AD 12

LACMA inv. M.80.202.202. Sherd, 6.5 x 8 cm. Convex side inscribed with five lines of Greek. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45835&type=101>

- 1 Ἔτους μα Παχῶ(ν)
- 2 κᾱ () μᾱ (ἔτους)
- 3 Τκαλῆς Ψε<ν>πουή(ρεως)
- 4 (δραχμῆν) μίαν τρι(ώβολον), (γίνονται) δρ(αχμῆ) α (τριώβολον).
- 5 Ἐση(μειωσάμην).

“Year 41, Pachon 21, (has paid for) --- of the 41st year, Tkales daughter of Psenpoueris one dr. three ob., makes 1 dr. 3 ob. I have signed.”

- 1 For the date, cf. 22.1n.

2 The reading of the word in the middle of this line is uncertain. It is conceivable that the same word occurs at the beginning of 24.2 (see the note ad loc.) and that one can/should read here συμ^{λλ}, but the final reading remains to be found.

24. Receipt for Burial Tax

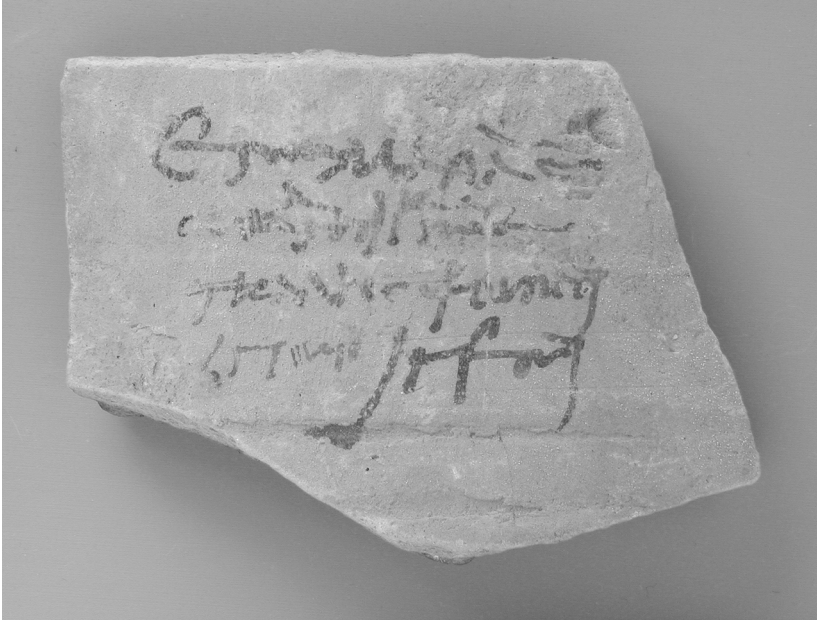
Edfu?

May 26, AD 12

LACMA inv. M.80.202.196. Sherd, 6.4 x 9.5 cm. Convex side inscribed with four lines of Greek. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45829&type=101>

- 1 Ἔτους μα Πα() ζ̄
- 2 τελ() ταφικ() μᾱ (ἔτους)
- 3 Τκαλῆς Ψεγπουή(ρεως)
- 4 (δραχμάς) τρεῖς, (γίνονται) γ (τετρώβολον). Ἐση(μειωσάμην).

“Year 41, Pa(uni?) 6; (has paid for) tax [?] of burials of the 41st year Tkales, daughter of Psenpoueris, three dr., makes 3, 4 ob. I have signed.”



1 Should we resolve Πα(χών) or Πα(ῥνι)? Perhaps rather the latter, as the scribe seems to have used another abbreviation for Pachon; cf. the preceding item. A date to Payni 6 would equal May 26, AD 12; cf. 22.1n.

2 The present reading of the first word on this line is inspired by 22.1. Or should we read συμ^λ, which is in fact slightly easier? If this were correct, what could this be the abbreviation of? Related to this is the question whether we should resolve the next word as ταφικ(ῶν) (cf. *O.Bodl.* 1.34.3 [Thebes, 147-136 BC]) or ταφικ(οῦ) and reckon with a burial tax; comparing the σύμβολον ταφικοῦ in *PRyl.* 4.580.int.1 (I BC), should we read the first word as σύμ(βο)λ(ον)? (Such internal abbreviations are not common in Ptolemaic and early Roman documents.) By all means, the word beginning in ταφικ- suggests that we are dealing with the world of the dead, in particular with a receipt for the payment of burial tax(es). See the introduction to texts 22-24.

The (unexpected) conversion of the basic amount of 3 drachmas (= 18 ob.) into 3 dr., 4 ob. (= 22 ob.), produces an agio of ca. 22%; cf. 25.5n.

25. *Payment to the Bank in Thebes*

Thebes

late 2nd c. BC

LACMA inv. M.80.202.198. Sherd, 9.5 x 9.2 cm. Convex side inscribed with six lines of Greek. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45831&type=101>

- 1 Ἔτους ζ Μεσορῆ κς' τέ(τακται) ἐπὶ τὴν
- 2 ἐν Διοσ(πόλει) τρ(άπεζαν) ἐφ' ἧς Name [...]ταρ() τοῦ
- 3 ζ (ἔτους) Ὀννώφρις Κ ρος
- 4 χα(λκοῦ) <οὔ> ἀλλ(αγῇ) δισχιλίας ὀκτακοσίας μ
- 5 (γίνονται) Ἰβωμ, δρα(χμαὶ) Ἰχι.
- 6 ἸϞϞϞ.

“Year 7, Mesore 26, has paid to the bank in Diospolis under --- for the 7th year Onnophris son of K--, of bronze of which the conversion is two thousand eight hundred 40, total 2840, dr. 3610 (?) ---”

The ostrakon presents a record of a payment to the bank in Thebes, probably for some tax, by a certain Onnophris son of K--. The date of the ostrakon may look fairly unambiguous, but it produces a problem as regards the name of the banker in l. 2; moreover, there is uncertainty about the name of the tax recorded in the same line. Finally, there is uncertainty about the interpretation of l. 6.

1-2 Given (a) the palaeographical date of the ostrakon, the 2nd/1st century BC, (b) the fact that after 84 BC the bank in Thebes ceased to exist (yielding a *terminus ante quem*), and (c) the agio found in this text, suggesting a *terminus post quem* of ca. 130 BC (cf. 17.4n.), it may be argued that the 7th regnal year mentioned in this text can only be the year 111/110 = year 7 of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX Soter II, when the bank at Thebes was operated by the bankers Eirenaios (122-110), Kephalon (116-84), and Hermias II (110-109); see R. Bogaert, “Liste chronologique des banquiers royaux thébains,” *ZPE* 75 (1988) 130-132 = *Trapezitica Aegyptiaca* (Florence 1994) 270ff. This conclusion immediately raises a problem because reading the name in l. 2 as Εἰρηναῖος, Κεφάλων, or Ἑρμίας – even if abbreviated to Εἰρη(ναῖος), Κεφ(άλων), or Ἑρμ(ίας) – is most difficult. At best one can try reading Ἑρμ(ίας). In itself, however, a reading Ἀσκ() seems far more attractive; but a banker’s name Asklepiades is attested in Thebes only much earlier, around 150-148, 144 and 126 BC. Moreover, there is Bogaert’s observation that the last case of the use of the τέτακται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Διὸς πόλει) τρ(άπεζαν) ἐφ' ἧς (banker’s name) formula

dates from 115 BC (*P.Stras.* 2.82). In the ostraca originating from them, the bankers Eirenaïos, Kephalon, and Hermias normally omit the ἐφ' ἧς element but they sign the text at the end. In sum, the date of the text is uncertain.

For the abbreviation of τέ(τακται), see A. Blanchard, *Sigles et abbreviations dans les papyrus documentaires grecs* (London 1974) 5.

2 For some reason or other, the scribe has not written the usual epithet for Thebes (= Διὸς πόλις ἡ μεγάλη), i.e. τῇ μεγάλῃ. It is also lacking in *O.Bodl.* 1.49 (165 BC) and 86 (115 BC), but I find no reason to think that in such cases we are dealing with ostraca coming in fact from Διὸς πόλις ἡ μικρά (= Nag Hammadi). It remains to be seen whether one should prefer Διὸς <πόλει> to Διὸς(πόλει) here.

[. .] ταρ(): this recalls the τετάρτη tax, for which see *WO* 1:306; it seems just possible that the τετάρτη ἀλιέων is meant, for which cf. *WO* 1:137. On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that one should separate ταρ() from the preceding and that this could be the beginning of the same word as in 22.2, ταρ(ιχ).

3 The name of the father of Onnophris is very faint and I have not been able to decipher it.

4-5 For a similar combination of numeral words and numeral characters see, e.g., *O.Bodl.* 1.46.6-7.

The difference between 3610 (?) and 2840 is 770 (or 760, if the first amount is only 3600), making the larger amount ca. 27% higher than the lower amount. For such agios, see K. Maresch, *Bronze und Silber* (Opladen 1996) 89ff., 210-213. An agio of 20% is known from the late second century BC onwards; cf. Maresch 94 and *O.Cair.* 23.5n. ("from 129 B.C."). In order to obtain the same percentage in the present text we would have to read the higher amount as ὕψι instead of ὕχτι (2840 + [1/5 x 2840 =] 568 = 3408, rounded up to 3410), but the reading ὕψι does not seem possible.

6 Does this line indicate another conversion, an agio of ca. 10% (3610 + 360 = 3970, rather than the amount of 3990 actually recorded)? Unfortunately, I have not been able to decipher the beginning of the line, and I cannot tell what the meaning of the amount in the second half of the line is.

26. *Payment of Monodesmia Tax*

Apollinopolis (Fayum?)

2nd-3rd c. AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.201. Sherd, 6 x 6.8 cm. Convex side inscribed with six lines of Greek. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45834&type=101>

- 1 (Έτους) ας' μηνι Φαῶφι []
- 2 διέγρα(ψε) Σενθ. . . . της
- 3 μονοδεσ(μίας) πατρός
- 4 Ἀπόλλωνος πό-
- 5 λεως (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας
- 6 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ.

"Year 1, in the month Phaophi [] has paid Senth-- for *monodesmia* of her (?) father for Apollonos polis four dr(achmas), in sum 4 dr."

We are dealing with a receipt for a payment of four drachmas for μονοδεσμία (for this tax see S.L.Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to the Reign of Diocletian* [Princeton 1938] 72-74; P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Receipts for χόρτου μονοδεσμία and Other Taxes," *ZPE* 87 [1991] 263-267), made in the month of Phaophi of a first regnal year. The handwriting of the ostrakon may be attributed to the later 2nd or 3rd century AD, but within this period there are far too many first regnal years for a more precise date. The toponym Apollinopolis (ll. 4-5) occurs only rarely among ostraca from the period 150-300. and it is not certain which Apollinopolis, Apollinopolis Heptakomias, Apollinopolis Parva = Qus, Apollinopolis Magna = Edfu, or the Fayyumic village of that name,⁴ is meant, as none of these places have yielded a significant number of ostraca from this period. To my knowledge, moreover, there are no *monodesmia* payments recorded on ostraca from any of these places. There is, however, a certain presumption that the Fayyumic village is concerned, because all receipts for *monodesmia* hitherto published come from the Fayyum (cf. Sijpesteijn 263, n. 6). Though the name of the payer is not completely legible, she is probably a woman. Many (though not all) names in Σεν- are born by females.

3 There is substantial uncertainty as to whether the reading of the second half of this line, πατρός, is indeed correct; only so much seems certain that

⁴ For this, see S. Daris in *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 112-113, and most recently Calderini-Daris, *Suppl.* 3:19.

one is *not* dealing with a word combination μονοδεσμία χόρτου. Perhaps the problem may be solved by reading μονοδεσμείας for μονοδεσμίας?

4-5 Is this only the origin of the person mentioned in l. 2 or the name of a fiscal district for which a tax payment was made?

27. List of Names

Provenance unknown

2nd-3rd c. AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.195. Sherd, 10.4 x 10.4 cm. Convex side inscribed with thirteen lines of Greek. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45828&type=101>

- 1 Ἐπι() t r a c e s
- 2 Νεῖλος - - - - - τᾱ
- 3 t r a c e s
- 4 - - - - - τος υῖός
- 5 - - - - - τος
- 6 Π - - -αν Ἑρμῆ
- 7 Πτολεμαῖος Νικολάου
- 8 Νε . . Διοσκόρου
- 9 Ἀφροδίσιος Σωτᾶ
- 10 Παναμῖς Ἀτισίου
- 11 Παπῖρις ἀδελφός
- 12 Πτολεμαῖος Παασκλᾶτος
- 13 [] οὐλ μη(τρὸς) Θαῖδος

The text presents in thirteen sometimes much faded lines a list of names + patronymics, dating probably from the 2nd or 3rd century. I have not found any link between these name combinations and other published texts.

6 For the form of the genitive Ἑρμῆ, see Gignac, *Grammar* 2:21-22.

10 One expects the name Παναμεῦς. It remains to be seen whether any of the attestations of the name Παναμῖς in the *NB* really exists; there is no such nominative attested in any of the texts in the *DDBDP*, and the forms Παναμεως and Παναμει as well come from Παναμεῦς.

11 Παπῖρις is in my view here an Egyptian name rather than a name connected with Latin Papirius.

12 The father's name Παασκλᾱς (apparently not in the *DDBDP*) consists of an Egyptian prefix Πα- + Ἀσκλᾱς; for the latter name cf. O.Masson, "Pape-Benseleriana V: Asklas l'obscur," *ZPE* 27 (1977) 251-54 = *Onomastica Graeca Selecta* (Genève and Paris 2000) 1:299-302. Masson points out that the name is found very frequently in Egypt and in Asia Minor, and he argues convincingly for the link between the name Asklas and the name Asklepiades.

13 At the beginning of the line one or two letters are missing; it is unclear whether the name is undeclined or abbreviated. Various restorations of the name are possible (cf. the *NB* and the *Onomasticon* for names in, e.g., Πκουλ-/Κουλ-, Θουλ- and Σουλ-). In my view, a restoration ['I]ουλ seems less likely, as that would produce a Roman name Iulius/Iulianus; it does not seem likely that a Roman appears here as the son of an Egyptian woman Thais.

28. List of Names

Provenance unknown

7th-8th c. AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.184. Sherd, 17.4 x 11.3 cm. Convex side inscribed with ten lines of Greek. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45817&type=101>

- 1 + Πραοῦ(ς) δεκ . ρχ()
- 2 Ἀνοῦπ Ερβεκκα (καὶ) υἱ() αὐτ(οῦ)
- 3 Πραοῦ(ς) πρε(σβύτερος)
- 4 Πλη Πραοῦ(τος) (καὶ) υἱ() αὐτ(οῦ)
- 5 π[. .] . βη Πασικευ
- 6 Ἰαννει
- 7 τῶ(ν) υἱ(ῶν) Μηνᾶ Ελλε
- 8 πα(ρὰ) υἱ() Ἀλιτίου Παπιωμ
- 9 Πραοῦ(ς) Φοιβά(μμωνος) πρε(σβυτερ)
- 10 Ἐνῶχ Παταβεειτ

8 πα(ρὰ): π- corr. ex τ

The LACMA website's description of the text calls it an "Ostrakon with Coptic Inscription." On the basis of palaeographical criteria the date of the text is certainly late, but it remains to be seen whether the text is definitely Coptic. The handwriting looks Greek rather than Coptic, and there are no unambiguous Coptic letters in it; on the other hand, it may be that some of the names in this list of names with patronymics are also attested in Coptic; see the notes.

1 Is the Greek word δέκαρχος vel sim. meant here? Cf. H. Melaerts, “Le rôle du δεκάδαρχος/δεκαδάρχης dans l’Égypte romaine,” *Studia Varia Bruxel-lensia* 3 (1994) 99-122. I cannot find an attestation of another suitable word in any late Greek papyrus or ostrakon.

2 Cf. names like Ῥεβέκκα and Ῥεβέκκα.

2, 4, 8 It is impossible to determine whether we should resolve the singular υῖ(ός) or the plural υῖ(οί).

4 There is no trace of abbreviation in the name Πλη; is a name like Πληνις vel sim. (used predominantly in the Thebaid) intended?

6 Most probably this is a variant of the Biblical name Ἰωάννης and the nominative should be Ἰάννης. The latter form is found in a few Greek texts: *P.Lond.* 4.1432 fol. 1b., col. 2.43 (Aphrodite, VIII); *WO* 2.1225.6 (Koptos, Byz.); for occurrences in Coptic documents, see M. Hasitzka, *Namen in koptischen dokumentarischen Texten* (2004) 40 (available online at http://www.onb.ac.at/sammlungen/papyrus/publ/kopt_namen.pdf). The ending in -ει may be taken as an iotacistic error for -η.

7 Is Ελλε a variant of the name Ἐλλῶς?

8 The name Ἀλίτιος, Ἀλίτι(ς) occurs in both Greek and Coptic documents. For the following name of the father, cf. the Coptic name ΠΔΠΙΟΜ at http://www.onb.ac.at/sammlungen/papyrus/publ/kopt_namen.pdf.

9 It is not certain whether the ecclesiastical title πρεσβύτερος “priest” goes with the father or with the son.

10 For the name Παταβεειτ, cf. *P.Lond.* 6.1914.1n.

29. Greek Mummy Label

Provenance unknown

Roman

LACMA inv. M.80.202.146. Carved wooden stela-shaped tag, 3.49 x 9.84 cm, with hole for cord in triangular end. One side inscribed with three lines of Greek parallel to the length of the tag, right of hole. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=84584&type=101>

- 1 Σενψαῖς Πετεμίνι-
- 2 ος μηδρὸς
- 3 Σενπαχούμιος.

1 Maybe there is part of a diaeresis visible between the second iota and the final sigma of Σενψαῖς. 2 μητρὸς

30. Bilingual (?) Mummy Label

Provenance unknown

LACMA inv. M.80.202.157. Carved wooden stela-shaped tag with hole for cord in triangular end, 7.4 x 4 cm. Two lines of Greek on one side (A) to the right of the hole, one line of indeterminable text⁵ on the other side (B) to the left of the hole. Both sides inscribed parallel to the length of the tag. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45788&type=101>

Side A

- 1 Σενεν-
- 2 σαον.

The name does not seem to occur elsewhere. Maybe it is connected with the personal name Σαῶς, preceded by a prefix Σεν-. The problem is, then, the element -εν- which cannot be fitted in: is this a dittography of the preceding letters? So much is certain that from a general perspective doubt surrounds this mummy label; see footnote 5.

There are two more objects in the LACMA deserving comment:

(a) inv. M.80.202.488 (<http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=46122&type=101>), said to be a mummy label (dimensions: 14.5 x 4.3 cm) with a Greek inscription, but no Greek characters can be recognized. Upside down it looks rather like a Latin text of which three lines are preserved.

(b) inv. M.80.202.491 (<http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=46125&type=101>), said to be a mummy label (dimensions: 4.76 x 14.29 cm) with a Greek inscription on wood, but in fact a Latin text (upside down one sees three lines of Latin to the right of the hole and seven lines of Latin with a few Greek phrases written perpendicularly to the left of the hole).

I intend to publish these curious texts in a future volume of *BASP*.

⁵ It is all but certain that we are dealing with a bilingual text; the other side is covered with characters that are certainly not Hieratic or Demotic (information kindly provided by B.P. Muhs); they also do not look like Coptic, Aramaic, or Syriac.

Part 3. Coptic-Greek Ostraca

The Los Angeles County Museum of Art houses a modest number of Coptic texts, in addition to those in Demotic and Greek. Among them are the four ostraca first published below as 31-34.¹ These constitute a small group in that they share a distinctive textual format. All four belong to the same class of documents that are characterized by the Coptic imperative $\varpi\iota\iota\gamma\ \text{NC}\alpha$ -, “seek, search for, inquire after,” here translated as “collect.” Ostraca of this type are fairly common. They have received considerable attention in recent literature, therefore little needs to be said about them here.² The documents generally concern the supply and transportation of certain classes of basic commodities within a monastic context. The writing material invariably consists of pottery sherds, most often squarish or oblong pieces from broken amphorae. The term “waybills” is used here as an approximate modern equivalent,³ without implying a judgment about their precise function, which is difficult to reconstruct in all detail.⁴

Most authors now tend to attribute these documents to Middle Egypt, particularly to the well-known monastic centre of Bawit, where many of them were found during excavations in the early years of the last century.⁵ According to the museum inventory, the four ostraca published here are a gift made by Jerome F. Snyder. This suggests a common, though unknown provenance. Most likely, all four come from Bawit. With minor variations, they follow the

¹ Not included in the present publication are: a sherd of Aswan ware with a fragmentary magical text, to be edited by Jacco Dieleman in the journal *Coptica* (inv. M.80.202.214), and a letter on limestone from the Theban region (addressed by a certain Victor to a monk Philotheos), which needs to be cleaned prior to further study (inv. M.80.203.221). Inv. M.80.202.178 is not an ostrakon, but an inscribed brick of an entirely different nature, which I intend to publish elsewhere.

² See, in particular, A. Boud'hors in *O.Bawit* and *O.Bawit IFAO*, as well as the references given below.

³ Following O.M. Pearl, “Varia Papyrologica,” *TAPA* 71 (1940) 372-378, on *P.Aberd.* 75 (a)-(d), a set of similar, but far older Greek ostraca; S. Clackson, “Reconstructing the Archives of the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit,” in: *Atti del XXII congresso internazionale di papirologia*, vol. 1 (Florence 2001) 228, calls them “delivery chits.”

⁴ For a discussion, see W.J. Tait, “A Coptic ‘Enquiry’ about a Delivery of Wheat”, in C.J. Eyre, A. Leahy, and L.M. Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A.F. Shore* (London 1994) 337-342.

⁵ See Clackson (n. 3) 228-229. For the ways in which unprovenanced ostraca of this class reached public collections, see her “Museum Archaeology and Coptic Papyrology,” in *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium*, vol. 1 (Leuven 2004) 477-490, in particular 481-482.

typical Bawit format: an order for a certain amount of a particular product to be collected through the services of an explicitly named carrier, in Coptic, is followed by a brief résumé in Greek that sums up the units and quantities concerned, and adds a date and a delivery number.⁶ Moreover, as can be seen from the commentary below, other internal evidence also connects the texts with known groups of Bawit waybills, most specifically with the Michigan ostraca acquired through Carl Schmidt in 1937.⁷

Two of the Los Angeles ostraca are concerned with wine, one with wheat, and another one with pickled food, which are the standard commodities represented in this class of documents. The texts, which were evidently mass-produced in a specialized bureau, are written by swift and practised hands in black ink. The script tends to show some cursive forms in addition to a number of conventional abbreviations and ligatures. All four are essentially complete, in spite of occasional surface damage. Like most similar pieces they can be dated approximately to the late-seventh or eighth century on palaeographical grounds.⁸

In the edition of the texts below, the policy of Anne Boud'hors in *O.Bawit IFAO* is followed to distinguish meticulously between Greek and Coptic passages and to adopt for each language a distinctive printing font. This has the disadvantage of obscuring the basic unity, visual and cultural, of the document. It has the advantage of clearly bringing out the astonishing degree of code switching that persisted well after the Arab conquest in the monasteries of Middle Egypt. Their bilingualism adds to the already considerable interest these seemingly insignificant documents have for our knowledge of the economy, prosopography, and landscape of the Bawit region.

31. *Order for Wine*

Probably Bawit

ca. 8th c. AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.174. Written on the smooth, white-slipped outer surface of a pottery sherd, roughly pentagonal, measuring 10 x 11 cm. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45807&type=101>

⁶ For a more detailed discussion of the format, see A. Boud'hors in *O.Bawit*, pp. 247-248, and, on the delivery number and its interpretation, p. 250.

⁷ See 31-32; cf. Clackson (n. 5) 480-481.

⁸ Cf. F. Mitthof, "Urkundenreferat 2004," *APF* 51 (2005) 309.

- 1 + ϘΙΝΕ Ν̄CΔ
 2 οἴ(νου) μεγ(άλα) λγ ΔΥΩ
 3 οἴ(νου) κνίδ(ια) λγ 2ΙΤ̄N
 4 ΠΔΜΟΥΝ ΠΔΠΚΔΜ(ΗΛΩΝ)
 5 ΝΤΕ ἸΩ2ΔΝΝΗC
 6 ΔΔΜ' ἐγρ(άφη) Θῶθ θ ινδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ
 7 ς φορ(ά)

1 οι/ μεγ/ 2 οι/ κνιδ/ 4 -ΚΔΜ/ 6 εγρ/; ινδ/ Ἰδ 7 φορ/

“+ Collect 33 *megala* of wine and 33 *knidia* of wine through Pamoun of the camel stable (καμηλῶν) of John Qam.

Written: Thoth 9, (year) of the indiction 14.
 6th delivery.”

In this fairly standard order for wine,⁹ the amounts ordered were written immediately in Greek in ll. 2-3 and therefore were not repeated at the end of the document (likewise in 32).

In view of the clear μεγ/ in l. 2, there appears to be no reason to read μαγ(αρικὰ), instead of μεγ(άλα), even though this reading has been suggested for the closely related *O.Mich.Copt.* 20 and 21,¹⁰ two documents that may well have been written by the same hand as the present one.¹¹ In fact, the eight Michigan waybills of this type (*O.Mich.Copt.* 17-24, now at the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology) show several striking similarities with the present piece. In particular, two of them (nos. 20 and 22) also mention “the camel stable of John Qam” (here ll. 4-6),¹² and two exhibit exactly the same month and year dates (nos. 20 and 23). There can be little doubt that the present piece, like the following one, originally belonged to the same lot as the Michigan ostraca, which were bought by Carl Schmidt in Cairo in 1937.

⁹ Compare *O.Mich.Copt.* 17-24; *O.Bawit* 1-54; *O.Bawit IFAO* 27-45. For a general discussion, see S. Bacot, “La circulation du vin dans les monastères d’Égypte à l’époque copte,” in N. Grimal and B. Menu (eds.), *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne* (Cairo 1998) 269-288.

¹⁰ By N. Kruit and K.A. Worp, “Geographical Jar Names: Towards a Multi-disciplinary Approach,” *APF* 46 (2000) 65-146 at 133. Pace Förster, *Wörterbuch* 489, s.v. μαγαρικόν, no abbreviation μεγ/ for μαγ(αρικὰ) seems to be attested; cf. A. Boud’hors ad *O.Bawit IFAO* 36. For the μέγα measure, see Förster, *Wörterbuch* 508, s.v.; for the κνίδιον, Kruit and Worp 104-110.

¹¹ To judge from the facsimile drawing in plate XI of W.H. Worrell’s edition.

¹² Not known from elsewhere, as far as I am aware; cf. Clackson (n. 3) 231-232.

A camel-driver Pamoun is also engaged in other Bawit wine transports (*O.Bawit* 5, 8, and 13), but there no mention is made of his association with a particular stable, as is the case here (ll. 4-6) and in the following ostrakon (32).

32. Order for Wine

Probably Bawit

ca. 8th c. AD

LACMAinv. M.80.202.186. Written on the outer surface of an oblong sherd of light-brown pottery with heavy ribs, probably from an amphora. The sherd measures 14.5 x 8.5 cm. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45819&type=101>

- 1 + ΠΙΝΕ ΝCΔ οἷ(νου) κνίδ(ια) π
- 2 ἐβδομήκοντα ἡ-
- 3 ΤΕ ΤΕΥCΙΑ ΖΙΤῆ ΠΔ-
- 4 ΜΟΥΝ ΠΔΠΚΔΜ(ΗΛΩΝ)
- 5 ἐγρ(άφη) Θῶθ ιγ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ
- 6 ια φορ(ά) ΚΔΥ ΖΙΒΟΛ

1 οι/ κνιδ/; π: certainly not ο 2 ἐβδομήκοντα: cursive μ resembling ρ;
for ὀγδοήκοντα? 4 -ΚΔΜ/ 5 εγρ/; ἰγ ἰνδ/ ἰδ 6 ἰα φορ/

“+ Collect 80, seventy, *knidia* of wine from Teusia through Pamoun of the camel stable (καμηλῶν).

Written: Thoth 13, (year) of the indiction 14.

11th delivery. Distribute them.”

As with **31**, several distinctive features connect this document with the eight Michigan waybills, *O.Mich.Copt.* 17-24. There also the specifications “from Teusia” (in nos. 17 and 21) and “of the camel stable (καμηλῶν)”¹³ occur (in all except no. 19). Even more strikingly, like the present ostrakon (ll. 1-2), *O.Mich.Copt.* 17 and 22 both erroneously render the number π, 80, by ἐβδομήκοντα, “seventy.”¹⁴ A further similarity is the cursive μ in ἐβδομήκοντα,

¹³ For which see also Clackson (n. 3) 230-231, nos. 2 and 3.

¹⁴ Terry Wilfong kindly checked this detail on the originals, confirming W.H. Worrell’s readings. For other examples of the confusion of these numerals, see Gignac, *Grammar* 2:197-198, and D. Hagedorn, “Drei Miszellen zu Papyrusurkunden,” *ZPE* 67 (1987) 99-101 (“Ἐβδομήκοντα und ὀγδοήκοντα”).

which deceptively resembles a ρ.¹⁵ These peculiarities suggest that all three ostraca were written by the same scribe.

The Teusia (ΤΕΥΣΙΑ) of l. 3 can be translated as “the Estate” (from οὐσία), which is its literal meaning. As it appears to be rather the name of a domain or a village, it has here been left untranslated.¹⁶

It is highly probable that the present “Pamoun of the camel stable” (ll. 3-4) is the same person as the “Pamoun of the camel stable of John Qam” in the preceding document, though not fully certain. In any case, the assignment of individual drivers to stables run or owned by a third party, John Qam or others, shows the development of this branch of transport.¹⁷

Occasionally, the person who issued the bill added further instructions to the standard administrative formulae. An amusing example is found in *O.Bawit* 59.5-6: “do not fight with him (scil. the carrier) over the broken *la-kon*!” Here, in l. 6, the instruction concerns the destination of the transport, as in *O.Bawit* 42.4 (“the *diakonia*”), and 34.9-10.

33. Order for Wheat

Probably Bawit

ca. 8th c. AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.182. Written on the inner surface of an almost square sherd from the rim of a plate of red Aswan-ware. The sherd measures 7.1 x 8.5 cm. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45815&type=101>

- 1 + ϘΙΝΕ ΝCΔ : ἸΔ :
- 2 ΝΔΟΟΥΝΕ ΝCΟΥΟ ΝΤΕ
- 3 ΠΙΟΜ ΖΙΤῆ ΜΔΚΔΡΕ
- 4 ΠΜΔΝΔΔΜΟΥλ γί(νεται)
- 5 θαλλ(ία) δεκατέσσαρ(α)
- 6 Ἀθὺρ γ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ζ
- 7 κζ φορ(ά)

4 γι/ 5 θαλλ δεκατεσσαρ/ 6 ινδ/ 7 φορ/

¹⁵ Thus, W.H. Worrell twice transcribed ἐβδορήκωντα, which is an impossible spelling phonologically speaking.

¹⁶ Cf. Timm 6:2839, s.v. ΤΟΥΣΙΑ.

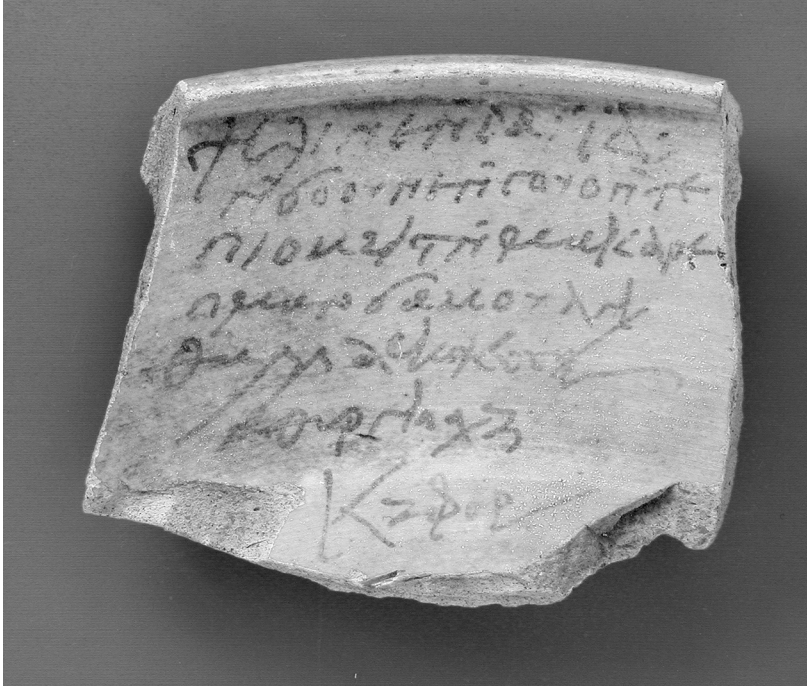
¹⁷ Cf. Bacot (n. 9) 274-276. In the light of the involvement of these stables, Bacot's statement that at Bawit the monastery was its own transport firm (278) may need qualification.

“+ Collect 14 sacks of wheat from Piom through Makare, the camel-driver.

Totals: sacks, fourteen.

Hathyr 3, (year) of the indiction 7.

27th delivery.”



Orders for the transport of sacks of wheat, like the present one, are quite numerous and many of them have a certain Bawit provenance.¹⁸ The text offers another instance of the well-established equivalency of Coptic $\delta\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta\epsilon$ (l. 2) and Greek $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (l. 5).¹⁹ “Wheat from Piom” (l. 2-3) is also found in a very

¹⁸ See *O.Bawit* 63-65, *O.Bawit IFAO* 1-15 (with *O.Nancy* in an “Annexe” of the same volume); *CPR* 20.22, 23 and 29; *SB Kopt* 1.224-234; an ostrakon in Durham, ed. Tait (n. 4); five ostraca in Clackson (n. 3) 230-232. For the “sacks” involved ($\delta\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta\epsilon$ in l. 2; $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$ in l. 5), see Förster, *Wörterbuch* 327-328, s.v. $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$; A. Boud’hors in *O.Bawit IFAO*, pp. 6-9.

¹⁹ See Förster, *Wörterbuch* 327-328, s.v. $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$; A. Boud’hors in *O.Bawit IFAO*, pp. 6-9.

similar, unprovenanced waybill in a private collection.²⁰ In all likelihood, the toponym *Piom* does not refer to the Fayyum province, but to some estate in Middle Egypt, which may derive its name from a local wine-press (ΕΙΟΜ or ΙΟΜ).²¹ A camel-driver *Makare* is active in transporting wheat in several other Bawit ostraca,²² but since the name (from *Makarios*) is very common it remains uncertain whether in every case the same person is meant.

34. Order for Pickled Food

Probably Bawit

ca. 8th c. AD

LACMA inv. M.80.202.192. Written on the almost smooth outer surface of a sherd of light-brown pottery. The sherd seems to have been deliberately cut down to its regular trapezoid size, and also the hole near the right-hand rim may be artificial. The sherd measures 10.5 x 8.2 cm. The text, in particular in l. 9, has suffered considerably from surface wear and scratches. <http://collectionsonline.lacma.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record&id=45825&type=101>

- 1 + Μ(ε)χ(εῖρ) ιζ δ φο(ρά)
- 2 ΠΙΝΕ ΝCΔ
- 3 ΧΟΥΤΕ ΜΗ CΝΤΕ
- 4 ΝΠΟΚΕ ΝΤΑΡΙ(ΧΕ)
- 5 (ΜΗ) ΜΗΤΕ ΜΕΝ ΤΗ
- 6 ΝΚΟΛΛ(Δ)Θ(ΟΗ) ΖΙΤΤΙ ΖΔ-
- 7 ΧΡΙΔC ΠΜΔΝΔΔΜΟΥΛ
- 8 γί(νεται) ἀγγί(α) κβ (καί) κόλλ(α)θ(α) ιε
- 9 ΤΔ[. .] . Π . ΝΤΑΡΙ(ΧΕ)
- 10 ΕΠΜΟΝΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ

- 1 μ^x; φο/ 4 ΤΔΡ^l 5 / 6 ΚΟΛΛ^Θ/ 6-7 hardly ΖΔ/Χ^ΔΡΙΔC
8 γι/ αγγι/, for ἀγγεῖα; / κολλ^Θ/ 9 ΤΔΡ^l, but reading doubtful

²⁰ *SB Kopt* 1.224; ed.pr. R. Stewart, "Two Coptic-Greek Bills of Lading," *APF* 30 (1984) 105, with pl. 16.

²¹ Cf. W.E. Crum in *P.Sarga*, p. 75 (n. 6); Bacot (n. 9) 273; S. Clackson ad *P.Mon. Apollo* 4.5.

²² Compare *O.Bawit* 65; *O.Bawit IFAO* 25; Clackson (n. 3) 231-232, no. 4 (with commentary); cf. *O.Bawit* 73.7.

“+ Mecheir 17, 4th delivery.

Collect twenty-two *poke* of pickled food (τάριχος) and fifteen *kollathon* through Zach(a)rias, the camel-driver.

Totals: *angeia*, 22 and *kollatha*, 15.

... of pickled food (?) to the monastery.”

This document belongs to the large group of waybills for pickled food, which generally seems to consist of preserved fish.²³ The format of this piece is somewhat different than in most ostraca of this class. The month-date (without a year) and the delivery number are given right at the beginning, in l. 1, as they are for example in *O.Bawit* 64 and *O.Bawit* IFAO 13-15. Quite exceptional is the use of the preposition ΜΗ or ΜΕΝ (‘and’) in the numerals of ll. 3 and 5 to connect tens and units.²⁴

Whereas the *kollathon* (ll. 6 and 8) was commonly used as a container for transporting pickled food,²⁵ the *poke* of l. 4 is quite rare.²⁶ Besides adding one more to the very few certain attestations of the Coptic word ΠΟΚΘ denoting a measure, the present text is also the first to establish its equivalency with the Greek ἄγγειον (l. 8).²⁷ To judge from the form of the Coptic numerals, the scribe perceived not only *poke*, but also *kollathon* as feminine.²⁸

In ll. 9-10, as in 32, supplementary instructions are appended to the habitual formulae. As far as they are still legible, they may be taken to mean that (part of?) the cargo should be passed directly “to the monastery.”

²³ See *O.Crum* VC 110-111; *O.Bawit* 55-62; *CPR* 20 passim; cf. S. Clackson, “Something Fishy in *CPR* XX,” *APF* 45 (1999) 94-95; “Fish and Chits: The *Synodontis Schall*,” *ZÄS* 129 (2002) 6-11; Förster, *Wörterbuch* 795, s.v. τάρικος/ταρίχια.

²⁴ L. Stern, *Koptische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1880) 132, par. 278; usually, this is found with higher numbers only: cf. B. Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden 2004) 60, par. 67.

²⁵ For this unit, see Kruit and Worp (n. 10) 136-140; Förster, *Wörterbuch* 428-429, s.v. κόλλαθον.

²⁶ See *Crum*, *Dictionary* 286a, s.v. ΠΟΘΘ; *O.Bawit* 35 (with commentary).

²⁷ For which see N. Kruit and K.A. Worp, “Metrological Notes on Measures and Containers of Liquids in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt,” *APF* 45 (1999) 116.

²⁸ For some other examples, see Förster, *Wörterbuch* 428-429, s.v. κόλλαθον.

Un extrait du Psaume 90 en copte Édition de P.Duk. inv. 448

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Abstract

Publication d'un papyrus inédit de la collection de Duke University contenant un extrait du Psaume 90 en copte; le papyrus a probablement servi d'amulette.

Dans un précédent volume du *BASP*, C.A. Láda et A. Papathomas ont publié un papyrus de la collection de Duke University contenant le Psaume 90, le début du Psaume 91 ainsi que, au verso, le Notre-Père suivi d'une doxologie (P.Duk. inv. 778).¹ Il m'a semblé opportun de proposer ici l'édition d'un autre papyrus de cette collection, présentant également un extrait du Psaume 90, mais en copte cette fois (P.Duk. inv. 448 = P.Miss. 14).²

Les versets 6-14 sont conservés, mais le texte devait être complet dans l'Antiquité. Le contenu et le format du document suggèrent qu'il s'agit d'une amulette. En effet, le thème du Psaume 90 est la protection divine et, pour cette raison, il est souvent utilisé à des fins magiques, comme en témoignent notamment les dizaines d'exemples grecs.³ De plus, les trois plis horizontaux visibles sur le papyrus indiquent que le papyrus était plié, comme le sont souvent les amulettes.⁴ P.Duk. inv. 448 serait donc, avec P.Heid.Copt. inv. 184,⁵ l'un des

¹ C.A. Láda et A. Papathomas, "A Greek Papyrus Amulet from the Duke Collection with Biblical Excerpts," *BASP* 41 (2004) 93-113.

² Je remercie feu le prof. J.F. Oates de m'avoir autorisé à publier ce papyrus. Le texte a été étudié sur base d'une photographie digitale (<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/448.html>).

³ Cf. Láda et Papathomas (n. 1) 107-110; cf. aussi D. Jordan, "Άλλο ένα παράδειγμα του Ψαλμού 90.1," *Eulimene* 3 (2002) 201 (à propos de J.-L. Fournet, "Nouveaux textes scolaires grecs et coptes," *BIFAO* 101 [2001] 160-162, ll. 4-11).

⁴ Cf. p. ex. P.Duk. inv. 778 (cf. Láda et Papathomas [n. 1]).

⁵ H. Quecke, "Ein faijumisches Fragment aus Ps 90 (91) (pHeid. Kopt. 184)," in *Festschrift Elmar Edel*, 12. März 1979 (Bamberg 1979) 332-337.

rares exemples de l'utilisation du Psaume 90 en copte comme talisman.⁶

Provenance inconnue⁷

VI^e – VIII^e siècles

Dimensions: l.15,1 x h. 5,9 cm. Écrit perpendiculairement aux fibres. Onze lignes. Si le papyrus ne contenait que le Psaume 90, il manque approximativement neuf lignes au début et trois lignes à la fin du texte. Verso vierge. Seule la marge de gauche est conservée. Écriture peu soignée.

 [... ΜΠΝΔΥ] ΜΜΕ[ΕΡΕ. (7) Ο]ΥΝ ΨΟ ΝΔΖ[Ε ΖΙ ΖΒΟΥΡ ΜΜΟΚ]
 ΔΥΨ ΟΥΤΒΔ ΖΙ ΟΥΝΔΜ ΜΜΟΚ' ΝCΕΝΔΨΩ[N ΔΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΔΝ.]
 (8) ΠΛΗΝ ΚΝΔΜΕΖ ΕΙΔΤΚ ΜΜΟΟΥ' ΕΚΝΔΝΔΥ ΕΠΤ[Ω]ΩΒΕ [ΝΗΡΕCΠΡ-]
 ΝΟΒΕ. (9) ΧΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΕ ΤΑΖΕΛΠΙC ΔΚΚΩ ΝΔΚ [ΜΠΕΤΧΟ-]
 5 CΕ ΜΜΔ ΜΠΩΤ (10) ΜΜΗ ΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΝΔΖΩΝ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΜΗ ΜΔ[CΤΙΞ]
 ΝΔΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΚΜΔ ΝΩΠΕ' (11) ΧΕ CΗΔΖΩΝ Ε[ΤΟΟΤΟΥ]
 ΝΗΕCΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ' ΕΤΡΕΥΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΚ ΖΗ [ΝΕ]Κ[ΖΙΟΟΥΕ]
 ΤΗΡΟΥ. (12) ΝCΕCΙΤΚ ΕΧΝ ΝΕΥΔΙΧ ΜΗΠΟΤ[Ε Ν]ΓΧΩΡΠ Ν[ΤΕΚ-]
 ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΕΥΩΗΕ' (13) ΚΝΔΤΔΛΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΟΥΖΟC ΜΗ [ΟΥCΙΤ.]
 10 ΝΓΖΩΜ ΕΧΝ ΟΥΜΟΥΙ ΜΗ Ο[ΥΔ]ΡΑΚΩΝ' (14) ΧΕ ΔΚΝΔΖ[ΤΕ ...]
 [Ν]ΔΡ ΖΔ[ΙΒΕC] []

2 ΝCΕΝΔΨΩ[N: La version standard est ΝCΕΝΔΖΩΝ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΔΝ, “ils ne l’atteindront pas.” La variante ΝCΕΝΔΨΩΝ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΔΝ, “ils ne pourront pas t’atteindre,” se trouve dans la version bohaïrique: ΝΘΟΚ ΔΕ ΝΗΟΥΨΩΝΤ ΕΡΟΚ.

3 ΕΚΝΔΝΔΥ: La lecture est problématique. Il semble que nous ayons ici un futur II au lieu du conjonctif attendu (ΝΓΝΔΥ); on trouve le futur III ΕΚΕΝΔΥ dans la version bohaïrique.

10 ΔΚΝΔΖ[ΤΕ: Les versions coptes ont ΔCΗΔΖΤΕ (ἡλπισεν en grec). Sur les confusions dans l’emploi des personnes dans le texte des Psaumes, cf. Láda et Papatthomas (n. 1) 100-101 (n. à la l. 4 et à la l. 11; on trouve la variante ἡλπισα dans ce texte). La suite du texte devait être en accord avec la

⁶ On trouve aussi le début du Psaume 90 à la fin du livre magique P.Anastasi 9 (cf. W. Pleyte et P.A.A. Boeser, *Manuscripts coptes du Musée d’antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide* [Leiden 1897] 479).

⁷ Il faut cependant noter que beaucoup de textes coptes de l’ancienne collection de Mississippi proviennent du monastère de Baouït (cf. A. Delattre, “Une liste de propriétés foncières du monastère d’apa Apollô de Baouït,” *ZPE* 151 [2005] 163-165).

variante (“puisque tu crois en moi (en lui), je (il) te délivrerai (délivrera),” etc.).

11] [: Le passage est illisible; comme il y a une variante dans l’emploi des personnes à la ligne précédente, on ne peut restituer avec certitude cette ligne.

O.Col. inv. 1366
A Coptic Prayer from Deir el-Bahri
with a Quotation from Tobit 12:10¹

Rachel Mairs *University of Cambridge*

Abstract

The ostrakon published here derives from the Monastery of Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahri, and is part of the collection of Columbia University. It includes a quotation from the apocryphal book of Tobit – otherwise known in Coptic from only three manuscripts – and several additional lines which may be a prayer. The verso text is rather cryptic and appears to contain an instruction for the text's use.

The text presented here is preserved on a limestone ostrakon, one of a large number excavated at Deir el-Bahri, on the West Bank of Thebes, by the Metropolitan Museum of Art between 1926 and 1929, and sold to Columbia University in 1958.² The upper terraces of the Pharaonic temple at Deir el-Bahri were, from around the middle of sixth century AD, the site of the Monastery of Phoibammon.³ More recent excavations have given us a better understanding

¹ Preliminary work on this text was undertaken during the 2006 Summer Seminar in Papyrology, held at Columbia University. I am grateful to Professors Roger Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore of Columbia University and Dr. Heike Behlmer of Macquarie University for their guidance and encouragement during the seminar and their comments on the present edition. The ostrakon belongs to the Papyrus Collection, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, and is published with permission. I am grateful to two anonymous readers for a number of helpful comments, references and amendments.

² On this purchase, see the article by E.R. O'Connell in this volume, pp. 113-137.

³ Discussion and bibliography in T.G. Wilfong, "Western Thebes in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries: A Bibliographical Survey of Jême and its Surroundings," *BASP* 26 (1989) 89-145 at 119-120.

of the history of the monastery and its wider western Theban context.⁴ Coptic ostraca from the site have been published previously.⁵

Currently the ostrakon is 14.4 cm wide by 8.9 cm high. It appears to have suffered only minor damage to the upper portion, so that the text may be reconstructed with some confidence. There are eight lines of text on the recto, with a further three on the verso. The language is standard Sahidic. Although both are written in the same clear, confident hand, the letters of the recto text are rather larger (ca. 0.4-0.8 cm in height) than those of the verso (ca. 0.3-0.5 cm). In a few places, the scribe has over-loaded his pen with ink or encountered ridges on the surface of the ostrakon, making the letters somewhat indistinct (see, e.g., notes to l. 1 of the recto and ll. 9-10 of the verso). The verso and the final three lines of the recto have suffered from some fading and abrasion. In addition to the text, a design in red ink appears on the verso. It takes the form of a sloping line, ca. 5 cm in length, with a diamond shape at each end. No significance can at present be attached to this design; it appears to be purely decorative.⁶

No firm date can be given, either on palaeographical grounds or from recorded archaeological context. I follow the record in the APIS database⁷ in using a broad date of the sixth or seventh century AD, a period which falls within the active life of the Monastery of Phoibammon.

The interest of the text lies in its quotation from the book of Tobit and the brief tag on the verso, which appears to give instructions for the text's use. A considerable proportion of the book of Tobit has been preserved in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, in three separate manuscripts from monastic libraries: two from the White Monastery and one from Dishna, now scattered among a number of collections.⁸ These have been assembled into a reading text of the surviving Coptic portions of the book of Tobit by Hany N. Takla,⁹ who also

⁴ W. Godlewski, *Le monastère de St Phoibammon* (Warsaw 1986).

⁵ Important publications are *O.Crum* (material from the clearing of the Pharaonic temple by the Egypt Exploration Society), B. Krause-Becker, "Figürliche und ornamentale Zeichnungen auf koptischen Ostraka um 600," in *Festschrift Johannes Jahn zum XXII. November MCMLVII* (Leipzig 1957) 33-39, and especially *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.

⁶ For further examples of geometric designs on ostraca, and illustrations of more elaborate ones, see Godlewski (n. 4) 108-114.

⁷ <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/index.html>, then search for inventory number Columbia 1366 (accessed July 2006).

⁸ The most convenient summary of the contents of these and other manuscripts of the Coptic book of Tobit may be found in R. Hanhart, *Tobit* (Göttingen 1983) 18-19, which also supplies a full list of text editions.

⁹ H.N. Takla, "The Sahidic Book of Tobit," *Bulletin of the St. Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society* 3 (1996-1997) 1-25.

provides useful indices of proper names and Greek loanwords in the text. I have reproduced (and occasionally corrected) quotations from Takla's text without further reference. A number of fragments of the Greek book of Tobit are also known from Egypt.¹⁰

Deir el-Bahri

6th or 7th c. AD

Recto

- 1 [ΠΕΧΕ 2]ΡΑΦΑΗΛ ΠΑΓΓΕΛ[ΟC]
- 2 [Ν]ΤΩ[ΒΙ]Δ ΜΝ ΤΩΒΙΑC ΠΕCΩ[ΗΡΕ]
- 3 ΧΕ ΠΕΤΡΗΟΒΕ ΕCΜΙΩΕ ΜΝΠΕ[CΩ-]
- 4 ΝΖ. ΤC ΠΕΧCΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΜΝΡΤΡΑΟΥ-
- 5 ΔΖΤ ΝCΑ ΠΑΟΥΩΩ ΜΠΡΤΡΕ-
- 6 ΠΑΟΥΩΩ ΡΧΟΕΙC ΕΧΩΙ
- 7 ΜΠΡΤΡΑΜΟΥ ΖΝΗ ΝΑ-
- 8 ΝΟΒΕ ΜΠΕΡ

“The angel Raphael said to Tobit and his son Tobias: ‘the sinner (only) fights against his (own) life.’ Jesus Christ my Lord, do not let me follow my will, do not let my will be lord over me, do not let me die in my sins, do not...”

Verso

- 9 ΝΩΔΧΕ Ν-
- 10 ΤΑΙΧΟΟΥ ΝΑΚ Ν
- 11 CΟΟΥΗ ΧΟΟC . (further traces?)

“The words which I said to you ... know ... said it (to?) ...”

1 [ΠΕΧΕ 2]ΡΑΦΑΗΛ ΠΑΓΓΕΛ[ΟC] (“The angel Raphael said ...”): ΠΕΧΕ may be supplied from the context. In the book of Tobit, Raphael speaks the words quoted in l. 2. The initial hori of Raphael is supplied on the basis of the spelling used in the extant Coptic manuscripts of the book of Tobit, although the spelling without hori is also encountered

¹⁰ See, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 8.1076 and 13.1594, and M. Manfredi, “Un frammento del libro di Tobit: LXX, Tobias 12, 6-7, 8-11,” in *Paideia cristiana. Studi in onore di Mario Naldini* (Rome 1994) 175-181, discussed in C.J. Wagner, *Polyglotte Tobit-Synopse* (Göttingen 2003) 174-181, and S. Weeks, S. Gathercole, and L. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Tobit* (Berlin and New York 2004) 15-20.

in Coptic.¹¹ The general pattern of damage in the upper left-hand corner of the ostracon suggests that sufficient space was available for five letters.

The alpha and first gamma of ΔΓΓΕΛΟC are particularly indistinct because of excess ink, but the reading is secure. We might expect Raphael to be ΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC, but he is consistently referred to merely as ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC in the surviving Coptic portions of the book of Tobit. The revelation of his true identity in Tobit 12:15 (see also the note to ll. 3-4 below) does, however, hint at a more elevated status: ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΖΡΑΦΔΗΛ' ΟΥΔ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠCΑΩCΙ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΤCΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΒΗΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΗΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ("I am Raphael, one of the seven angels who bear up and enter the presence of the glory of the Holy One").¹²

2 [N]TΩ[B]ΔMΠ TΩBIAC ΠECΩ[HPE] ("to Tobit and his son Tobias"): Although the name Tobit must be reconstructed here, the final character cannot be read as a tau. The spelling with final delta, however, occurs frequently in the Coptic text of the book of Tobit. The variant ΔΩBIT also appears, as does ΔΩBIAC for TΩBIAC (see index to Takla's reading text). Such variations may occur within a single manuscript. The name TΩBIAC is clear, and ΠECΩ[HPE] may thus be safely reconstructed.

3-4 ΠΕΤΡ̄ΝΟΒΕ ΕCΜΙΩΕ ΜΠ ΠΕ[CΩ]/N̄ ("the sinner [only] fights against his [own] life"): This indirect quotation from Tobit 12:10 provides the necessary context for the restorations in ll. 1-2. The angel Raphael, disguised as a mortal, Azariah (ΔΖΑΡΙΑ), has accompanied Tobias on a series of adventures. With Raphael/Azariah's assistance, Tobias has cured his father Tobit's blindness and saved and married his kinswoman Sarah, whose seven previous bridegrooms were each killed by a jealous demon on their wedding night. After their safe return to Tobit's home in Nineveh, Tobit urges Tobias to reward "Azariah" handsomely for his services. Raphael then delivers the moral of the story and a brief sermon on the virtue of charity and praises the works of God before revealing his true identity to father and son.

The original text (Tobit 12:8-10) reads:

(8) ... ΝΑΝΟΥC ΕΡ̄ ΜΠΤΝΔ ΝΖΟΥC ΕCΕΥΖ ΝΟΥΒ ΕΖΟΥΝ. (9)
ΤΜΠΤΝΔ ΓΑΡ ΩΔCΝΕΖΜ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΜΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΝΤΟC

¹¹ M. Hasitzka, *Namen in koptischen dokumentarischen Texten* (2004) s.v. ΡΑΦΔΗΛ (available online at http://www.onb.ac.at/sammlungen/papyrus/publ/kopt_namen.pdf, accessed July 2006).

¹² On Raphael in the Coptic tradition, see the *Coptic Encyclopedia* 7, s.v. Raphael. It is noteworthy that a Sahidic encomium of Raphael has been preserved from the library of the White Monastery (T. Orlandi, "Un encomio copto di Raffaele Arcangelo," *RSO* 47, 1972, 211-233), the source of two of our Coptic manuscripts of the book of Tobit.

ϞΔϞΤΒΒΕ ΝΟΒΕ ΝΙΜ' ΝΤΕΙΡΕ ΝΤΜΝΤΝΔ ΜΝ ΤΔΙΚΔΙΟϞΥΝΗ
 ΝΔϞΕΙ ΜΠΩΝΩ (10) ΝΕΤΡΝΟΒΕ ΔΕ ΕΥΜΙΩΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΥΩΝΩ

(8) ... It is better to do charity than to gather up gold. (9) For charity saves man from death and it cleanses every sin. Those who do charity and justice will be fulfilled in life, (10) but those who commit sin are (only) fighting against their (own) life.

A similar expression, albeit more hellenized in vocabulary, occurs in Proverbs 8:36: ΝΕΤΡΝΟΒΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΙ' ΓΕΝΔΒΛΑΠΤΕΙ ΝΙΝΕΥΥ'ΥΧΗ ("those who sin against me will harm their souls").¹³ No significance should be attached to any distinction between soul and life here. The two are used interchangeably, as in the two Greek versions of the book of Tobit, which give τῆς αὐτῶν ζωῆς and τῆς αὐτῶν ψυχῆς in the relevant passage.¹⁴

The quotation gives structure to the text of the ostrakon, and provides a scriptural "hook" for the prayers or entreaties of the following lines, in which no direct biblical quotation is evident. The change from the plural of the original text to the singular of the ostrakon may serve to make the message more specific and immediate.

4-6 ΤϞ ΠΕΧϞ ΠΔΧΟΕΙϞ ...: The remainder of the text, a series of appeals addressed to "Jesus Christ, my lord," contains no further direct quotation from the surviving Coptic portions of the book of Tobit. Examination of the Greek text, to which the Coptic adheres closely, also fails to yield any precise parallels. There is nevertheless a strong thematic continuity, and the general tenor has much in common with several other passages in the book of Tobit. The most striking similarity, as might be expected, is to the same speech of Raphael from which the quotation in ll. 3-4 is taken (Tobit 12:6-20). Raphael emphasises that he has not been acting according to his own will during his time with Tobit and Tobias, but has been following the will of God (ΠΟΥΩΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ: Tobit 12:18).

There is a pleasing symmetry to ll. 4-6, with the tidy inversion of "will" from object to subject. The plea in ll. 5-6, "do not let my will be lord over me," echoes – consciously or unconsciously – the appeal to "Jesus Christ my Lord" in l. 4.

¹³ Text in W.H. Worrell, *The Proverbs of Solomon in Sahidic Coptic According to the Chicago Manuscript* (Chicago 1931).

¹⁴ Greek text in Hanhart (n. 8).

7-8 $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}/\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{E}}$ (“Do not let me die in my sins”): The concept of “dying in one’s sins” occurs at numerous points in the Bible. In John 8:24, e.g., Christ warns unbelievers: $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{E}}$ (“I tell you that you will die in your sins”).¹⁵

8 The break after $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{P}}$ is puzzling: the scribe appears simply to have stopped writing. Usable space remains on the recto of the ostrakon, but there are no further traces of ink, unless these have been very thoroughly erased. Given this available space, it also seems unlikely that the scribe would have continued on the now chipped portion of the verso. Simple error is a possibility, but the use of $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{P}}$ rather than the $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}$ of ll. 4, 5, and 7 suggests something other than absent-minded repetition. Perhaps the scribe began to add another sentence, but then changed his mind: a careless touch in an otherwise well-presented text. A further possibility is that $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{P}}$ serves some reinforcing function to the previous clauses, but this seems abrupt and ungrammatical. If it were standing by itself, we would in fact expect $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{P}}$ in standard Sahidic.

9-10 $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{U}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{N}}/\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{K}}$ (“The words which I said to you”): Line 9 appears to be the first line of the verso text, although there is a possible trace of ink at the edge of a large chip in the stone a little distance above. The first part of the line, as far as the djandja of $\overline{\text{U}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{E}}$, is badly faded, but may still be read with some confidence. The first character, read here as nu, could alternatively be a pi, but the plural object of $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}$ would seem to preclude a singular article.

Although I have been unable to find any exact parallels in a liturgical or devotional text, it seems plausible that this phrase refers to the text on the recto. The tag on the verso would therefore contain some instruction for the text’s use, in the same way as addresses or delivery instructions may be found on a letter. Unfortunately, as will be discussed below, it is difficult to make much sense of the crucial third line of the verso, beyond positing some forms of the verbs know and say.

10-11 $\overline{\text{N}}/\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Q}}$. : The reading is reasonably secure, but the sense is unclear. I suggest that we read the verbs $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{N}}$, “to know,” and $\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}$, “to say,” but in this case both would lack a clear verbal form or subject. (A form of $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}$, “six,” might also be read, but is even more difficult to reconcile with the sense and grammatical structure of the text.) No traces are visible at the end of l. 10 or beginning of l. 11 to enable us to supply an appropriate verbal prefix for $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{N}}$, nor can the $\overline{\text{N}}$ of line 10 be taken as the plural article: $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{N}}$ (“those who know”) would be needed. The two most likely solutions require us

¹⁵ Text in H. Quecke, *Das Johannesevangelium säidisch* (Rome and Barcelona 1984).

to assume some deviation from standard orthography on the part of the scribe: either a variant writing of the circumstantial $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$, “we knowing,” or a misspelling, perhaps influenced by Akhmimic, of $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$, “forthwith.”¹⁶ After the final fai of l. 11, there are traces of at least one further letter, with a vertical stroke and a diagonal: most likely a nu, but perhaps an alpha or delta. This would suggest that $\chi\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ was followed by a dative. We must accept that our understanding of the verso, in general, may be severely compromised by damage to the text.

The Function of the Text

The quotation from the book of Tobit in our text is not verbatim. It is therefore fortunate that we have the brief framing narrative (“The angel Raphael said to Tobit and his son Tobias”), which enables us to identify this as conscious scriptural quotation, rather than simple repetition of a proverbial phrase, echoing what must have been a popular story.¹⁷ The content of the quotation, then, and the message it may be used to support would appear to have dictated its choice.

I have thus far avoided any discussion of the text’s genre or practical purpose. The APIS record (accessed July 2006) describes it as a “liturgical text (?)” which, as may be seen from any publication of Coptic ostraca, is rather a broad category. We may, I would suggest, be a little more specific, even if it may ultimately prove impossible to establish the exact conditions of the ostrakon’s production and use. The first person of ll. 4-8 of the recto and the direct appeal to “Jesus Christ, my Lord,” are highly suggestive of a prayer. If, as I suggested, the verso contains some instruction to use the text on the recto, then we might further speculate that this prayer was designed to be kept and used, perhaps in a private devotional context.

If the text itself can take us no further, then there may be a little more to be gained by considering the ostrakon as an object, something tangible, which was picked up, written on, and read from. The size and shape of the ostrakon are such that it rests comfortably in a human hand, and it is tempting to imagine the ease with which it could have been written on and read from. This, along with the possible instruction on the verso, allows us to see it in a more practi-

¹⁶ I am grateful to Dr. Heike Behlmer for these suggestions.

¹⁷ References to, and quotations from, the book of Tobit occur in homiletic literature, particularly, as might be expected, in the literature on Raphael (see, e.g., C.D.G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche* [Wiesbaden 1959] 48-53), and even in a magical text (M. Meyer and R. Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic* [San Francisco 1994] no. 130).

cal light, as a functional object, suitable for the devotional purpose for which it was likely intended.

Genealogy and the Gymnasium¹

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Abstract

This paper proposes a series of new quantitative and theoretical approaches to the “gymnasial” *epikrisis* (screening) declarations. It argues that the available evidence suggests a gymnasial class of several thousand adult males in Oxyrhynchus. Models of genealogical demography suggest that this class may not have suffered from the endogamous restrictions imposed upon it. The size of the gymnasial class suggests that its members had considerable ancestor duplication, but not enough to permit shared and verifiable descent from an original group of gymnasials. The paper concludes with a brief word about the high degree of significance gymnasials may have placed on family history and genealogical memory.

Introduction

My aim in this paper is to bring new theoretical tools and quantitative rigor to the discussion of the “gymnasial” *epikrisis*, the screening process by which the adolescent sons of gymnasials became members of the gymnasial class in Roman Egypt. Doing so will clarify the demographic characteristics of that class and help explain its longevity in the face of certain endogamous restrictions. I will focus on the following questions. How large was the gymnasial class? Was it a stable population, perhaps a stationary one? What role did sibling marriage and endogamous restrictions play in shaping its demographic characteristics? Did its stability as a class change when its admissions criteria

¹ My thanks to Roger Bagnall for extensive feedback on an earlier version of this paper and for the opportunity to deliver that version orally at the University of California, Berkeley, in the fall of 2005. My thanks also to the anonymous readers of *BASP* for their comments and suggestions.

were altered? And how did the unusually robust genealogical memory of the gymnasial class impact its group identity?

The applications for gymnasial *epikrisis* are a subset of a wider group of status declarations recovered from a number of sites in Roman Egypt, all of which assert the declarant's membership in some exclusive group or social class. The gymnasial *epikrisis* was a scrutiny of those trying to enter the gymnasial class and was aimed at determining whether the declarant was "of this stock" (τοῦ γένους τούτου). The gymnasial applications include genealogical material permitting the declarant to assert membership in the gymnasial class by virtue of the membership of his ancestors. These gymnasial *epikriseis* are therefore a veritable treasure trove of genealogical evidence with implications for the social history, anthropology, and demography of Roman Egypt. But so far, scholars have used this material to ask only basic questions about the nature of the gymnasial class: was it a Hellenic elite class? did it benefit from certain tax privileges? to what degree was it endogamous? did its membership manifest a trend towards Egyptianization?

In 1993, Orsolina Montevecchi, who has written more on the subject than anyone else, counted 20 gymnasial declarations from Oxyrhynchus alone.² (See Appendix 1.) Oxyrhynchite material provides a wide number of additional references to the gymnasial class, often with usable biographical information attached. (See Appendix 2.) Because this sample represents the largest collection of gymnasial material from Roman Egypt, and because the Oxyrhynchus papyri as a whole give a robust survey of both the city and the nome, my quantitative analysis of the gymnasial class will focus primarily on Oxyrhynchite attestations. The data from the Arsinoite, Hermopolite, and Lycopolite nomes, which do not support the same level of detailed analysis, are nonetheless useful for comparative purposes and will be surveyed at the end of my discussion.³

² O. Montevecchi, "Tre richieste di epikrisis," *Aegyptus* 73 (1993) 40, counting 15 metropolite declarations as well. The gymnasial count represented a doubling of examples in less than twenty years: in Montevecchi, "L'epikrisis dei greco-egizi," in *Proceedings of the XIVth International Congress of Papyrology* (London 1975) 228, she counted 15 metropolite and 10 gymnasial documents from Oxyrhynchus. See also P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Remarks on the Epicrisis of οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου," *BASP* 13 (1976) 182 and n. 5; Montevecchi's list in her commentary to *P.Turner* 38 at p. 162; S.A. Stephens, "An Epicrisis Return and Other Documentary Fragments from the Yale Collection," *ZPE* 96 (1993) 221-226; T.S. Schmidt, "Trois rescapés de la Grande Guerre," *ZPE* 127 (1999) 149-156; and *P.Oxy.* 67 for additions to the corpus through the years.

³ See below, pp. 89-91.

To analyze the Oxyrhynchite data, a general understanding of the demography of Roman Egypt can help us part of the way. The abstract models of genealogical demography more generally can get us further still. Finally, anthropological insights into the practice of genealogy itself can help to round out the picture. What emerges is an impression of a social class larger than many might have expected, one that remained demographically stable despite the tightening endogamous restrictions it faced and whose members were bound by a collective genealogical memory that trumped the general absence of a shared descent.

A brief survey of the historiography of the *epikrisis* and the gymnasial class will help clarify some of the issues.⁴ First, the purpose of the *epikrisis* ap-

⁴ The standard discussion of status declarations in Roman Egypt remains C.A. Nelson, *Status Declarations in Roman Egypt* (ASP 19; Amsterdam 1979), with the useful historiographical introduction at pp. 1-9. Earlier, Chapter 4 in P. Mertens, *Les services de l'état civil et la contrôle de la population à Oxyrhynchus au III^e siècle de notre ère* (Brussels 1958) had been the usual starting point. To follow the evolution of opinions on the subject, read, e.g., the earlier treatment in the introduction to *P.Oxy.* 2.257, where οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου was still taken to refer only to descendants of gymnasiarchs; members were believed to be completely exempt from the poll tax. Compare the later introductions to *P.Oxy.* 12.1451 and 1452, where these theories no longer hold. Montevecchi's long-promised study of the genre and re-edition of its examples has not come, but her many articles over the decades are indispensable to the study of the subject; see, e.g., O. Montevecchi, "Denunce di nascita di greco-egizi," *Aegyptus* 27 (1947) 3-24; "Dichiarazione per l'epikrisis," *Aegyptus* 54 (1974) 29-30; "PSI V 457," *ZPE* 24 (1977) 143-146; "Endogamia e cittadinanza romana in Egitto," *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 137-144; "Epikrisis e dichiarazioni di censimento di cateci arsinoiti," *Aegyptus* 70 (1990) 27-31; and "Gli ἀπὸ γυμνασίου di Λύκων πόλις," in S. Russo (ed.), *Atti del V convegno nazionale di egittologia e papirologia* (Florence 2000), 175-184. See further Sijpesteijn (n. 2), with further bibliography at 181, n. 1; Montevecchi, "L'epikrisis" (n. 2), for the various types of status declarations; B.W. Jones and J.E.G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites*, 30 B.C.-A.D. 96 (Chico 1983) passim for entries listing each member of the gymnasial class; Montevecchi, "Tre richieste di epikrisis" (n. 2), for the the distinct metropolit and gymnasial forms; O. Montevecchi, "PSI V 457. Endogamia o semplificazione del formulario?" *Aegyptus* 73 (1993) 49-55, for the evolution in structure of the declarations themselves as the requisite genealogies got longer. See also J. Bingen, "Les papyrus de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, XIV. Déclarations pour l'épicrisis," *CdÉ* 31 (1956) 109-117; J. Rowlandson, "Cultural Affinities and the Gymnasial Class (forthcoming); P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Some Remarks on P.Oxy. XVIII 2186," *CdÉ* 51 (1976), 141-145; and J.E.G. Whitehorne, "The Ephebate and the Gymnasial Class in Roman Egypt," *BASP* 19 (1982) 171-184. The most recent treatment of the subject, focusing on female gymnasials, is that of 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*

plications. On this topic, there seems to be a consensus.⁵ Montevecchi argues that status declarations were part of the Roman system of social control and attributes their decline to the “*decadenze*” of the third century urban bourgeoisie.⁶ Carroll Nelson describes status declarations as a system through which “the Roman government was able to administer and control more efficiently her citizens and subjects in Egypt.”⁷ Peter van Minnen also describes the gymnasial system as part of a process of Roman control, of “compartmentalizing society administratively in privileged Greeks and unprivileged Egyptians.”⁸

Second, the function of the gymnasial class.⁹ Alan Bowman and Dominic Rathbone thought that membership in the gymnasial class was a “basic qualification for holding office.”¹⁰ As Nelson put it, gymnasials would have enjoyed “intellectual and cultural opportunities, recreational and social facilities, and political as well as financial advantages.”¹¹ Nelson saw the gymnasial class as “an elite class within the metropolis.”¹² Since the metropolite class paid the poll-tax at a lower, twelve-drachma level, he presumed that “all those who belonged to the gymnasium received at least that reduced [metropolite] tax rate as a privilege.”¹³ For most scholars, the prestige of the gymnasial class appears

de la femme en Égypte hellénistique, romaine et Byzantine (Leuven 2002) 337-353. For the actual process of the declaration itself, see *P.Mich.* 14.676.19n.

⁵ To the examples cited here, add Mertens (n. 4) 128, who closes his discussion of the *epikrisis* by remarking, “La pureté de la classe dirigeante était sauvegardée.”

⁶ Montevecchi, “L’*epikrisis*” (n. 2) 232.

⁷ Nelson (n. 4) 67, perhaps influenced by Bickerman, whose view on the *epikrisis* he characterizes as emphasizing its element of “proper administration or control of the population” (Nelson [n. 4] 7).

⁸ Van Minnen (n. 4) 347.

⁹ Judging from the *Bibliographie papyrologique*, little seems to have been written on the Egyptian gymnasium per se. The following remarks were made in the context of a discussion of status declarations or civic governance in Egypt more generally.

¹⁰ A.K. Bowman and D. Rathbone, “Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt.” *JRS* 82 (1992) 122. They were not the first to voice this opinion; see the introduction to *P.Oxy.* 12.1452 at p. 161.

¹¹ Nelson (n. 4) 35.

¹² Nelson (n. 4) 35.

¹³ Nelson (n. 4) 35. For the metropolite class and its reduced poll-tax rates, see Nelson (n. 4) 22-25. He was right about the gymnasial class sharing this reduced rate and could easily have made a stronger case. A close cousin of the *epikrisis*, the application to register a child, appears in a number of Oxyrhynchite texts explicitly describing the children as δωδεκάδραχμοι ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, members of the gymnasial class liable to the discount twelve-drachma tax rate. For use of the phrase, see *P.Oxy.* 48.3096 (discussed at p. 82 below) and 3137 (which dates to 295, making it one of the latest references to the gymnasial class). Child registrations as a genre are discussed in passing at Nelson (n.

more important than these financial privileges. As we will see, the Roman state may not have shared this attitude. I argue below that the Oxyrhynchite gymnasial class was likely as large as several thousand people. Keeping in mind the gymnasia in other Egyptian *metropoleis*, losing tens of thousands of drachma from the poll-tax revenue may well have led Roman officials to take a closer look at membership requirements for the gymnasial class.

Third, membership in the gymnasial class.¹⁴ Ancestry was everything: a gymnasial declarant was required to prove descent from ancestors who were themselves members of the gymnasial class during crucial periods of review, such as 72/73 CE, or during the drafting of the original membership list during

4) vii–viii, and in more detail at Montevicchi, “Denunce di nascita” (n. 4), and Chapter 2 in Mertens (n. 4). The introduction to *P.Col.* 8.231, a registration of an Oxyrhynchite child from the mid-third century, cites for the genre *P.Oxy.* 46.3295 and “a complete list of Oxyrhynchite examples” at *P.Ups.Frid* 6. For further discussion of the genre of child registration, see *P.Oxy.* 38.2855, 43.3136, 3137, and 44.3183, with additions to the list cited at S. Gällnö, “Déclaration de naissance d’un métropolitte,” *ZPE* 141 (2002) 155, n. 2. To my knowledge, the latest example is *P.Oxy.* 54.3754, dating to 320.

Van Minnen is less clear on the gymnasial tax reduction, noting that while metropolitte got a tax break, there is “nothing to suggest that the gymnasial order was more privileged” (Van Minnen [n. 4] 339). He refers to the two groups as “overlapping orders,” but does not elaborate on the nature of the overlap. Nelson did not have a more precise sense either. He writes that “the term δωδεκάδραχμος would by itself identify one as a μητροπολίτης” (Nelson [n. 4] 18) and later adds that “it is conceivable that most if not all of [the gymnasial class’s] members were metropolitte” (Nelson [n. 4] 35), but does not venture a guess as to why a gymnasial would not be a metropolitte, or under what circumstances a gymnasial would not receive the metropolitte tax rate. The most explicit text connecting the two groups is *P.Oxy.* 12.1452, in which the uncle of Sarapion son of Sarapion produces two *epikriseis* for his nephew, one metropolitte, the other gymnasial. Nelson cites this text as proof (Nelson [n. 4] 35) that the two groups “were not the same group with different names.”

¹⁴ Modern scholars who assume that the gymnasial class was some sort of cultural elite also assume the Greek, or at least Hellenized, nature of the class. But no social class can remain completely isolated for centuries on end. Nelson (n. 4) 34, n. 24, takes Egyptian names as proof that Egyptians had married into the class. Strictly speaking, this is not true; an Egyptian onomastic influence could have been felt even without any intermarriage. Nonetheless, gymnasial naming practices do suggest that some degree of Egyptianization was changing the shape of this “Greek” elite. At a glance, we find members of the Oxyrhynchite gymnasial class named Amois, Panechotes, and Thaeis; see *P.Oxy.* 46.3276, 46.3279 and 46.3278 respectively. In her commentary to *P.Turner* 38, Montevicchi pointed out that five generations of alternating Greek names in that text gave way abruptly to “un nome indigeno” and took this as a sign “dell’inizio di un più rapido decadere dell’ellenismo anche ad Ossirinco, e fra ‘quelli del ginnasio’” (p. 163).

the time of Augustus, in 4/5 CE.¹⁵ Opinions about the strictness of gymnasial endogamy have changed over time.¹⁶ Nelson held that “the necessity of tracing membership of paternal and maternal ancestors back to an original list drawn up in 4/5 during the reign of Augustus allows no possibility of admission to the class for exceptional reasons.”¹⁷ He then hedged, admitting the possibility that descendants of non-gymnasials might have entered the lists during the Vespasianic revisions of 72/73, but remained agnostic on the nature of the revision itself.¹⁸ The late P.J. Sijpesteijn thought that a father’s or grandfather’s appearance in the gymnasial lists of Augustus was enough to qualify an Oxyrhynchite male for membership in the lists of Vespasian.¹⁹ Subsequent to Sijpesteijn’s discussion, publication of *P.Oxy.* 46 with its large handful of gymnasial *epikrisis* applications clarified the issue. In the words of the editor, those new texts showed “that most members of the gymnasial class after A.D. 72/3 derived their right from an ancestor approved in A.D. 4/5, some derived it from one approved in A.D. 56/7 or 57/8, and all had their right finally established by a review held in A.D. 72/3.”²⁰

The crucial text was *P.Oxy.* 46.3279, in which the declarant made reference to his grandfather, “scrutinized among those over age ... in the category of those scrutinized in the third and fourth year of Nero.” This text is the most complete of three declarations in which the declarants do not make reference

¹⁵ Nelson (n. 4) 28, with n. 11 citing Mertens (n. 4) 117-121, “for a discussion of the significance of 72/73 A.D.” But Mertens himself did not yet have enough evidence to recognize the date as a true turning point in the process.

¹⁶ Jane Rowlandson’s summary of the subject is as close as we are likely to get; discussing her forthcoming work (n. 4), she communicates in regard to the gymnasial class that “it was certainly meant to be strictly hereditary, in both maternal and paternal lines after the mid first century AD; but I doubt it can actually have operated that strictly in practice” (Jane Rowlandson, personal communication, August 16, 2004).

¹⁷ Nelson (n. 4) 34, with rather more certainty than he displayed on p. 28, where he acknowledges *P.Oxy.* 10.1266 as a counter-example in which proof of maternal gymnasial ancestry only goes back to 72/73. Van Minnen (n. 4) finds this declaration “suspect” on the grounds that the declarant does not state that his father had been a member of the gymnasial order, and suggests that the “father may have been the bastard son of the grandfather.” This is unnecessary; declarations not infrequently omit the admission date of one paternal ancestor if the admission date of a more distant paternal ancestor is given. See, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 46.3276, which omits the scrutiny of the declarant’s grandfather, and *P.Oxy.* 46.3283, which omits the scrutiny of the declarant’s great-great-grandfather. Whitehorne (n. 4) 179, n. 26, asserts that “the claimant’s statement that his father had been a palaestra guard is equivalent to a declaration of gymnasial status.”

¹⁸ Nelson (n. 4) 34.

¹⁹ Sijpesteijn (n. 2) 183-184.

²⁰ *P.Oxy.* 46.3279.20n.

to ancestors in the *graphe* of 4/5.²¹ Every *epikrisis* after 72/73 uses 72/73 as a reference point. The implication is that between 4/5 and 72/73, some candidates entered the gymnasial rolls without apparent reference to prior ancestors, perhaps by special grant. After 72/73, this never again took place.²² From then on, qualification for membership lay in a patrilineal ancestor on both sides of the family having registered at one of these earlier dates. Documentation of membership of the gymnasial class for each generation of the father's patrilineal side was more complete than for the mother's patrilineal side, but the mother's side could not be ignored completely.²³

Before beginning a more detailed exploration of the *epikrisis* declarations themselves, a summary of Van Minnen's 2002 revisionist chapter on the gymnasial class is in order. This chapter is one of the most recent contributions to the subject; its revisionist centerpiece is van Minnen's assertion that the gymnasial class, while privileged, was not an elite.²⁴ More important for our purposes, van Minnen argues that the membership changes recognized in *P.Oxy.* 46 were part of a formal Roman policy shift, adding that in "the first century of Roman rule the metropolites and the gymnasial order were less strictly defined."²⁵ For membership in the gymnasial class, gymnasial status was necessary on the father's side, but not always present on the mother's

²¹ Compare the ancestries given in *P.Mich.* 14.676, complete on both sides but none predating Nero.

²² This interpretation is the new orthodoxy, consolidated after Nelson's analysis, which did not have *P.Oxy.* 46 at hand; see, e.g., N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* (1983) 41-43, and Van Minnen (n. 4).

²³ See the remarks at Nelson (n. 4) 28 with n. 10. In *P.Oxy.* 46.3283, before the text breaks off, the declarant is poised to produce evidence that the mother of his son is descended from a member of the gymnasial class from the reign of Augustus. But evidence of intermediate scrutinies on the maternal side does not appear to have been necessary; indeed, this text appears to have been exceptional. See also *P.Oxy.* 18.2186, where the mother's paternal ancestry is produced in at least four generations back to 79/80 before the text breaks off; see Nelson (n. 4) 29, for a summary.

²⁴ Van Minnen (n. 4) 338-339 and passim. He also claims (339) that "there is nothing to suggest that the gymnasial order was more privileged or less numerous than the metropolites," but the second point is challenged by his own recognition (342) that slaves and freedmen were admitted to the metropolite order, but not the gymnasial order. One interesting comparative point in his favor can be found in *P.Oxy.Census*, providing Lycopolite examples of gymnasials described as *georgoi* or fathers of *georgoi* (see ll. 138-148 and 434-441 respectively) and as living ἐν μάνδρα, for which see C.L. Gagliano, "A proposito di ἐν μάνδρα in *P.Oxy.* 984," *Aegyptus* 80 (2000) 99-115.

²⁵ Van Minnen (n. 4) 340.

side.²⁶ Van Minnen claims that “after a century of Roman rule the gymnasial order was ‘closed’ by order of the government,” and that the “contraction” of the gymnasial class was the inevitable result of the change in 72/73.²⁷ This is an important claim that both empirical data and demographic modeling will allow us to challenge in more detail.

The size and growth of the gymnasial class

At the start of this paper, I proposed an exploration of the size of the gymnasial class, its demographic stability, and the impact those characteristics had on gymnasial group identity. First, the size of the class: one approach, involving the *epikrisis* declarations themselves, produces a surprisingly high estimate. The largest collection of *epikrisis* declarations is the sequence published as *P.Oxy.* 46.3276-3284, from a *synkollesimon* or series of entries glued together into a single roll-file.²⁸ This *synkollesimon* held at least 121 entries. It seems reasonable to assume that they were all recorded in the same year, 148/149.²⁹ As Naphthali Lewis observed, this “would imply that the gymnasial elite of Oxyrhynchus was a considerably larger class than has hitherto been supposed.”³⁰ Model life tables permit somewhat more precision. Under the demographic regime prevailing in Roman Egypt, males aged 15 had an average expectancy of another 34 years of life ahead of them.³¹ If the 121 entries in the *synkollesimon*

²⁶ For a discussion of the evidence on this point, see the previous paragraph.

²⁷ Van Minnen (n. 4) 341-342, but providing no citations for either the Roman restructuring of the gymnasial class or the demographic contraction he claims followed. The former is to be inferred from the difference between declarations dating from before and after 72/73; see pp. 76-77 above.

²⁸ A collection of texts which, judging from the relative lack of subsequent *BL* entries, has received little attention. Nor is this the only attestation of a gymnasial *synkollesimon*; *P.Turner* 38 appears to have been part of a similar roll assembled late in the third century. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 58.3920, which quotes excerpts from such a roll.

²⁹ For this assumption, implicitly shared by the texts' editors, see Lewis (n. 22) 42. The first four surviving entries (*P.Oxy.* 46.3276-3279) make explicit reference to a declaration τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἰβ (ἔτει) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος or τῷ διελθ(όντι) ια (ἔτει) of the same emperor (*P.Oxy.* 46.3283); of the remaining five, three are fragmentary where the clause is expected (*P.Oxy.* 46.3280-3281 and 3284), another (*P.Oxy.* 46.3283) refers to a registration in the previous year, and the last (*P.Oxy.* 46.3282) is an exceptionally late *epikrisis* declaration in which the declarant is announcing his own registration twenty-one years before, in the twelfth year of Hadrian. For these exceptions, see n. 32 below.

³⁰ Lewis (n. 22) 42-43.

³¹ R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1994) 100, using Model West, Level 4, with their caveats at pp. 99-102.

represent the minimum enrolled in a typical year, and the roll probably held more, there might have been over 4,000 adult male members of the gymnasial class alive at the same time in this period ($121 * 34 = 4,114$).³² Given recent estimates of the population of the city of Oxyrhynchus itself, this seems like a high number, but receives support from what follows.³³

A second approach to determining the size of the gymnasial class is to ask what percentage of the male population consisted of 14-year-olds. According to the age distribution tables provided by Roger Bagnall and Bruce Frier, 14-year-olds made up roughly 2% of the male population in Roman Egypt.³⁴ Returning to the 121 gymnasial entries in the *synkollesimon*, this proportion might suggest a total population of gymnasial males of just over 6,000 ($121 * 50 = 6,050$). This figure includes boys of the gymnasial class under the age of 14, too young to have yet been declared. Eliminating that percentage of the population – roughly one-third – again suggests an adult male gymnasial class of roughly 4,000. Without further evidence, these figures taken together suggest an adult male gymnasial class of several thousands. These approximations are slippery, but what matters in subsequent discussion is the general order of magnitude, not precise figures. Certainly, if this scale is correct, Roman authorities would have had rather more reason to interfere in membership requirements of the gymnasial class in 72/73; if gymnasial class size had been an order of magnitude smaller, it becomes more difficult to imagine Roman authorities worried about a comparably trivial loss of revenue.

Second: was the gymnasial class growing, shrinking, or static? And how did that relate to the size of the population of Oxyrhynchus as a whole? Bagnall and Frier proposed an annual population growth rate for Roman Egypt

³² But was it a typical year? On the one hand, the surviving portion of the *synkollesimon* includes one declaration (*POxy.* 46.3283) of a registration which took place in the previous year, and another declaration (*POxy.* 46.3282) of a registration which took place over two decades ago. Both texts would suggest a lower annual count. On the other hand, we have no way of knowing how many more texts were in the roll and are now lost.

³³ J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford 1996) 17, takes the population of the city to be some 20,000 to 25,000, a range supported in D. Rathbone, "Villages, Land and Population in Graeco-Roman Egypt," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s. 36 (1990) 120-121, where the Oxyrhynchite theater size (11,200) and its third-century grain dole (4,000 adult males) appear as corroborative evidence. Compare also the estimates in R. Alston and R.D. Alston, "Urbanism and the Urban Community in Roman Egypt," *JEA* 83 (1997) 200-202.

³⁴ Bagnall and Frier (n. 31) 105, Figure 5.5.

of some 0.1 to 0.2 percent.³⁵ If the gymnasial class was growing, did it meet this rate or exceed it? What factors might have impacted the growth rate of the gymnasial class positively or negatively? The most obvious factor is the general (in)ability of any elite group to reproduce itself. In his recent treatment of the subject, Laurens Tacoma³⁶ insists that urban elites in Roman Egypt had no demographic characteristics to distinguish them from the general population. Only endogamy, more specifically sibling marriage, may have been more prevalent in the gymnasial class. One of its potential consequences on a biological level, a considerable level of ancestor duplication, will impact our calculations of the initial and final size of that class.

As Keith Hopkins pointed out over twenty-five years ago, sibling marriages made up some 15-21% of all marriages in the usable census returns from Roman Egypt.³⁷ Bagnall and Frier's analysis of the same census returns showed a high statistical likelihood that the rate of close-kin marriage, including half-sibling and first-cousin marriage, was higher in the *metropoleis* than in villages.³⁸ They also note an onomastic mix of Egyptians and Greeks, with

³⁵ The latter figure proposed at Bagnall and Frier (n. 31) 87 and 100, the former figure considered "likelier" than Rathbone's 0.3 percent at Bagnall and Frier (n. 31) 56, n. 16.

³⁶ L.R. Tacoma, *Fragile Hierarchies: The Urban Elites of Third Century Roman Egypt* (Leiden and Boston 2006), particularly Part Two, Chapters Two and Three, with my review, *Sehepunkte* 7 (2007), Nr. 1 [15.01.2007], <http://www.sehepunkte.de/2007/01/10005.html>.

³⁷ K. Hopkins, "Brother-Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980) 304, with the further argument that this figure is probably somewhat depressed by the fact that most families did not have both a son and daughter survive to marriageable age. Cf. Bagnall and Frier (n. 31) 127-128. The picture is complicated by the fact that a significant portion of sibling marriages were between half-siblings (Hopkins 320). Ancient demographers seem to be in consensus on the statistical validity and accuracy of figures from Roman Egypt's census returns; see Hopkins 314; Bagnall and Frier (n. 31) 40-52, concluding (50) that the level of "risk is acceptable"; and W. Scheidel, *Measuring Sex, Age and Death in the Roman Empire: Explorations in Ancient Demography* (Ann Arbor 1996) 87, who calls the census returns "consistently highly accurate by any reasonable standards." But see also B. Shaw, "Explaining Incest: Brother-Sister Marriage in Graeco-Roman Egypt," *Man* 27 (1992) 279, for his assertion that the census data does not reflect the typical Egyptian, but those of Greek descent, or "those Egyptians who were desperately trying to 'pass' as such."

³⁸ In their data-set, 20 of 121 marriages in which kinship status could be determined were full brother-sister marriages, while 13 of 43 metropolitan marriages were brother/sister marriages: Bagnall and Frier (n. 31) 129, with n. 70, citing favorably Pomeroy's conclusion that this tendency was unlikely to be due to a desire to ease the burden of proof for admission to the metropolite class, and noting (128, n. 68) Hopkins' argu-

an apparent preference for Greek names, a point worth remembering in case anyone doubts that the practice flourished among the urban, Hellenized population.³⁹ The result of this sort of sibling marriage repeated from one generation to the next would be the creation of what Hopkins called “a special, Egyptian variety of family tree.”⁴⁰

Now, what impact would this level of sibling marriage have had on the demographic regime of the gymnasial class? Walter Scheidel has argued that the population of Egypt in this period must have suffered noticeably harmful effects from the impact of sibling incest.⁴¹ Although this view has not found universal acceptance, it is a useful starting point. If Scheidel is right about the deleterious effects of sibling incest, a growing gymnasial class would require lower levels of sibling incest or higher birthrates relative to the rest of the population. It is hard to see why either option would be true. Indeed, if Bagnall and Frier are right that close-kin marriage was more common in the *metropoleis* than in villages, it might have been more prevalent in the gymnasial class than the rest of the population. If Scheidel is right about the dangers of incest and if the gymnasia engaged in more of it, the gymnasial class should have been shrinking. This would make any attempts by Roman authorities to limit the size of the class seem unnecessary. But that is exactly what they did: they tightened entrance restrictions in 72/73, which rather suggests that they thought the gymnasial class was growing. It seems safer to assume that the rate of sibling incest in the gymnasial class was no different from that of the population at large, an assumption which would remove Scheidel's deleterious effects from bearing more on the gymnasial class than on the population as a whole.

ments against the genetic effects of inbreeding. Considering a Hermopolite example, *P.Amh.* 2.75, J. Bingen, “Notables hermopolitains et onomastique féminine,” *CdÉ* 66 (1991) 325, described sibling marriage as a solution “d’une manière drastique [for] le problème des mariages endogames dans la classe des ἀπὸ γυμνασίου.” Shaw (n. 37) 277 takes this too far with his argument that incest was “all a matter of race, or better, ‘racism,’” in arguing for the phenomenon as a manifestation of Greek elitism.

³⁹ Bagnall and Frier (n. 31) 129 with n. 69, explaining the significance for the latter fact of “the heavy weight of Arsinoe in surviving evidence.” Sibling marriage itself, in their view, was probably more common in the Arsinoite (Bagnall and Frier [n. 31] 130). For a challenge to this view, see W. Scheidel, “Incest Revisited: Three Notes on the Demography of Sibling Marriage in Roman Egypt,” *BASP* 32 (1995) 153-155.

⁴⁰ Hopkins (n. 37) 321, citing *P.Tebt.* 2.320 and *P.Amh.* 2.75.

⁴¹ Scheidel (n. 37), accepted without comment in the review of I. Morris, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31 (2000) 83-84, but criticized in detail in that of R.S. Bagnall, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 8.17 (1997).

At any rate, sibling marriage in the gymnasial class is certainly attested.⁴² One definite case can be found in *P.Oxy.* 12.1452, an *epikrisis* from 127/128 in which the candidate, Sarapion, is the son of two full siblings, Tnephersois and Sarapion, both in turn children of the gymnasial father Plution.⁴³ Consider also the example of *P.Oxy.* 48.3096, from 223/224, in which a gymnasial father complains about a misspelling in the name of his full sister and wife during the gymnasial registration of their son. Comparative evidence from other cities is easy to find. Lewis cited one Hermopolite text showing sibling marriages in three consecutive generations of a gymnasial family, and an Arsinoite metropolite family “that had seven such marriages in four generations.”⁴⁴

Even without information about exact rates of sibling marriage, genealogical demography can help us determine whether it would have had a demographic impact at any level. Eugene Hammel and others modeled the amount of fertility necessary to maintain a constant population if incest taboos are assumed. Looking at incest prohibitions on first cousins and nearer kin, they discovered “that the demographic costs of incest prohibitions are nearly negligible” for populations in the hundreds or more.⁴⁵ In that case the gymnasial class would not have suffered any demographic penalty had it faced a cultural

⁴² Sijpesteijn (n. 2) 187, thought he saw a disguised sibling marriage in *PSI* 5.457, a text I will discuss in more detail in a moment. And yet, he also argued (183-184) that only the appearance of a father or grandfather in a previous list was necessary to enroll in the gymnasial class. He thus argued, perhaps without realizing it, for endogamy in *PSI* 5.457 specifically when the demands of the class gave no incentive towards endogamy more generally. According to Sijpesteijn’s argument, Roman citizens for whom sibling marriage was strictly prohibited would sometimes submit *epikriseis* whose evasive wording served to cover their crime. Montevocchi was less certain, thinking that by the late date of that text, 269, the very structure of the declarations themselves had changed, requiring less detail to satisfy so many generations of proof: Montevocchi, “*PSI* V 457” (n. 4).

⁴³ See Jones and Whitehorne (n. 4) s.n. 1545, 3750, 4316, 5138, 5189.

⁴⁴ Lewis (n. 22) 43, citing *P.Amh.* 2.75 and *BGU* 1.115 = *W.Chr.* 203 respectively.

⁴⁵ E.A. Hammel, C.K. McDaniel, and K.W. Wachter, “Vice in the Villefranchian: A Microsimulation Analysis of the Demographic Effects of Incest Prohibitions,” in B. Dyke and W.T. Morrill (eds.), *Genealogical Demography* (New York 1980) 228. Bagnall and Frier (n. 31) 133, cite an earlier and shorter version of this paper (n. 84) but read its conclusions another way: the “theoretical effect [of the removal of incest taboos] on the growth rate is not large ... but this difference could be crucial to the survival of small communities.” With the gymnasial class, we are dealing with a group much larger than Hammel et al.’s small communities and a population larger than that of Thelbonthon Siphtha, which Bagnall and Frier cite as an example of a community which could be so affected.

taboo against incest.⁴⁶ Such a taboo would have removed only a few potential spouses from the pool. It follows that incest provided the gymnasial class with no noticeable demographic benefits. As this model shows, populations in the hundreds or higher have adequate demographic options. Closing the gymnasial gates would not force an increase in the frequency of sibling endogamy and thus would not hurt the class size in the Scheidelian way more than it would the general population. Thus, biological sibling marriage would have little bearing on the demography of the gymnasial class as such.

A fortiori, merely limiting the gymnasial class to pure gymnasial endogamy would have done nothing to inhibit the growth rate of the class, assuming its size to have been in the hundreds or higher. The restructuring of the class under Vespasian in 72/73 will have had no effect on the size or growth rate of the gymnasial class.

Next, we turn to the papyri themselves for more empirical approaches. Appendix 2 includes a detailed summary of how I compiled a list of attested Oxyrhynchite gymnasials. There are two options available for analyzing these attestations: (1) to take the birth data for every attested member of the gymnasial class and extrapolate further birth-data for that person's attested ancestors; (2) to take the birth data solely for those people explicitly attested as having declared themselves eligible for gymnasial scrutiny. Pursuing either approach is a multi-step process. For the simple attestations of members of the gymnasial class, in which an Oxyrhynchite appears in a text other than an *epikrisis* declaration, a guesstimate of that person's birth year is needed. Here, I simply suppose that any gymnasial attested outside of an *epikrisis* declaration is halfway through his typical life expectancy, and was therefore born just over 30 years before the text in question.⁴⁷ Errors on either side of this average

⁴⁶ I have not been able to find any attempts to invalidate these models. Neither the introduction nor the index to A.P. Wolf and W.H. Durham (eds.), *Inbreeding, Incest, and the Incest Taboo* (Stanford 2004), the most recent book-length collection of studies on incest, mention genealogical demography or Dyke and Morrill (n. 45). Perhaps the volume's heavy emphasis on the epidemiology of the Westermarck thesis has led to a disinterest in modeling demography.

⁴⁷ According to the Model West, Level 4 table for males (Bagnall and Frier [n. 31] 100), the average Egyptian 10-year-old male could expect another 37.645 years of life, the average 15-year-old male another 33.990 years. The average gymnasial declarant presumably had something on the order of 35 or 36 more years of life ahead of him. But where in this age range is a member of the gymnasial class most likely to appear in the written record outside of *epikriseis*? Perhaps the best we can do is to assume that these members of the gymnasial class were in the middle of their remaining window of life expectancy, roughly 18 years past their enrollment, and assign each figure a birth-date some 31 (= 18 + 13) years prior to the date of the texts in question. Take as an example

presumably cancel each other out over the size of the sample ($n = 107$). For the *epikrisis* texts, we must take each declaration and back-date it; declarants in any given year were born 13 years earlier, unless otherwise explicitly stated.⁴⁸ Their gymnasial ancestors were in turn born 13 years before the years in which they are claimed to have been submitted for scrutiny. Finally, we should note that these numbers need to be weighted against the number of texts found from the Oxyrhynchite in each decade to serve as a control for swings in the number of surviving papyri.⁴⁹ To do so, I divide the number of attested births per decade by the number of papyri found per decade.

The complete data-set of all attested gymnasials and their known ancestors gives Van Minnen's idea of gymnasial demographic decline guarded support. The papyri provide indirect attestation for slightly more births in this group in the seven decades immediately after the tightening of the entrance

the gymnasiarch Ti. Iulius Theon (Jones and Whitehorne [n. 4] s.n. 4972), who appears first in *P.Oxy.* 44.3197, a division of his grandfather's slaves, and again in subsequent decades, e.g. in *P.Oxy.* 38.2867. The first text dates to 111; assuming Theon to be in the middle of his post-enrollment life expectancy, I assign him a birth year of 80. In this case, the date may be a little early.

⁴⁸ In determining the birth-years of the members of my gymnasial data-set, I make a series of assumptions: (1) that the age at enrollment or scrutiny was 13 unless otherwise specified (see *P.Mich.* 14.676.3n.); (2) that enrollment and scrutiny are the same thing: typically a declarant's father describes his son as *προσβεβηκώς εἰς (τρεῖς)καίδεκαετείς* ("having entered the class of thirteen-year-olds") but his own father as *ἐπιτεκρίσθαι* ("scrutinized," with no age specified) – I assume that previous *epikriseis* took place at the age of 13 as well; and (3) that a number of fragmentary texts (e.g. *P.Oxy.* 46.3280) are declarations for the author's son, in keeping with the standard format, not the more unusual self-declarations seen in, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 46.3282.

Some of the standard risks encountered in dealing with demographic data – e.g. age rounding and age heaping (cf. R.P. Duncan-Jones, "Age-Rounding in Greco-Roman Egypt," *ZPE* 33 [1979] 169-177) – do not apply here. (For a discussion of these phenomena in Roman Egypt, see Bagnall and Frier [n. 31] 44-47 and Table A.) All of our gymnasial births are extrapolated from declarations of a member of the gymnasial class reaching a specific age, usually thirteen, so age rounding is not an issue here. Nor do the data from the census returns show any marked tendency for males to age heap on or around the age of 13. Members of the gymnasial class would certainly have no reason to postpone declaration of their sons. Nor does it seem likely that many could get away with premature declarations.

The final step in assembling this data-set was to confirm the dates of the texts cited in Jones and Whitehorne (n. 4). According to the *HGV*, none of the relevant texts has subsequently been redated.

⁴⁹ A point I owe to Roger Bagnall. I have performed the weighting based on an *HGV* search in the "Ort" field for "oxy" in each decade, August 22, 2006.

requirements than in the seven decades immediately before: 42 births before and 44 after. However, when this data is weighted by the number of papyrus finds per decade, this data-set indicates an average birth-rate per decade lower after the tightening of the requirements than before.⁵⁰ But limiting our analysis strictly to gymnasial *epikrisis* texts produces the opposite picture. Here, the papyri provide indirect attestation for more gymnasial births in the seven decades immediately after the tightening of the entrance requirements than in the seven decades immediately before, 12 before and 19 after.⁵¹ The weighted evidence of the papyri also indicates an average gymnasial birth-rate per decade higher after the tightening of requirements than before.⁵² Thus, the cumulative evidence of the *epikriseis* and other evidence for the gymnasial class does not provide clear support for the notion that the restriction in 72/73 had any demographic impact on the class at all. In fact, when only explicit attestations of gymnasial declarations are included, the data moves slightly in the opposite direction. Given the fact that prior to 72/73, declarants' ancestors may well include outsiders sneaking in under the radar, particularly on the maternal side, provisionally accepting the results from this second, more limited data-set seems more prudent.

When Van Minnen described this restructuring of the Oxyrhynchite gymnasial class in 72/73, he provided no explanation for it beyond a cultural abstraction: the "Romans were conservative" and "did not like the fact" that constant population flux blurred the lines between Egyptian and Greek.⁵³ This is to my taste an unsatisfying explanation. I think it quite likely that the Roman authorities did not care at all whether Demetrios called himself Egyptian and Harpaesis called himself Greek. Something else must have been at stake. Discussing comparable changes in the Hermopolite nome, Whitehorne argued that the restructurings "made it more difficult to gatecrash this élite group by corrupting a single official."⁵⁴ He then provided what is in my opinion a

⁵⁰ Weighted: this data-set produces a ratio of gymnasial births to papyri of 0.17 in the period before the restrictions, from 2 CE to 71, and a ratio of gymnasial births to papyri of 0.11 in the period after the restrictions, from 72 to 141. (Unweighted: an average 6 births per decade before the restrictions, an average 6.3 births per decade after the restrictions.)

⁵¹ That is, 12 gymnasial births from 2 CE to 71, 19 gymnasial births from 72 to 141.

⁵² Weighted: this data-set produces a ratio of gymnasial births to papyri of 0.036 in the period before the restrictions, from 2 CE to 71, and a ratio of gymnasial births to papyri of 0.047 in the period after the restrictions, from 72 to 141. (Unweighted: an average 1.7 births per decade from 2 CE to 71, an average 2.7 births per decade from 72 to 141.)

⁵³ Van Minnen (n. 4) 348.

⁵⁴ Whitehorne (n. 4) 182.

more plausible motivation for the restructurings than mere Roman conservatism, specifically the need to “generat[e] more revenue by exercising a stricter control over those enjoying certain financial privileges.”⁵⁵ Ironically, if our demographic models and empirical birth-counts are correct, the gymnasial restructuring in Oxyrhynchus did nothing to overcome Rome’s financial loss from the reduced gymnasial rate of poll-tax. Rome’s apparent attempt to use endogamy in support of fiscal policy would have had no impact.

Gymnasial ancestor duplication

I suggested at the start of this paper that attention to the size and growth rate of the gymnasial class could give insight into its sense of group identity. There are a number of possible approaches to this problem. I propose to borrow again from genealogical demography and investigate the gymnasial class’s rate of ancestor duplication. Ancestor duplication through bifurcation and reunification of family lines is a given for all people in all periods. How prevalent it is depends on the population size and the degree of non-endogamy. Measuring its frequency is something we can achieve only (1) through the accumulation of more evidence, by establishing a sufficient number of family lines and noting the degree of overlap in the earliest generations; or (2) through the use of genealogical demography and the models it provides. For instance, in a study of the 900 years since the Norman conquest of England, Kenneth Wachter developed a statistical model calculating the number of unique ancestors an English person of today would have had alive in England 250, 500, 900 years ago.⁵⁶

The interest in this approach stems from an obvious paradox: assuming a generation length of 30 years, an English person born in 1947 – the base year for Wachter’s calculations – could have as many as 1,073,741,824 ancestors 30 generations ago ($2^{30} = 1,073,741,824$), a figure far in excess of any possible population figure for England at the time. The obvious way around this paradox is ancestor duplication: the further up our family trees we go, the more ancestors we have duplicating, thus cutting down on the absolute number of ancestors we have. Wachter developed a model for analyzing the rate of this ancestor duplication by using the estimated population of England at each generation as a pool from which to extract the necessary number of randomly selected ancestors. An English person born in the 1940s post-war baby boom, under Wachter’s calculation, would be descended from some 87% of the people alive in England in the eleventh century: out of an estimated population of

⁵⁵ Whitehorne (n. 4) 183.

⁵⁶ K. Wachter, “Ancestors at the Norman Conquest,” in Dyke and Morrill (n. 45) 85-93.

England in 1077 of 1,100,000, Wachter's model produces 952,279 ancestors for our baby-boomer, a mere fraction of the one billion ancestors he would need without ancestor duplication. This means that well over 99% of his potential ancestors in, say, the 30th generation would have been duplicates.⁵⁷ In the case of the Oxyrhynchite gymnasial class, we are not talking about quite as impressive a time-span, but we are talking about a much smaller population pool. The evidence of the *epikrisis* declarations can help us model gymnasial ancestor duplication in the broadest outlines.

The longest stemma we can extract from the *synkollesimon* of 148/149 is an entry for Pausiris which lists five generations of paternal ancestors going back to 4/5 and the patronymic of that first ancestor.⁵⁸ Five generations ago, Pausiris had 32 ancestors, assuming no ancestor duplication. If all of the 121 entries from the *synkollesimon* alone had a unique pedigree going back that far, we would be dealing with 3872 people in that fifth generation back, again assuming no ancestor duplication ($32 * 121 = 3,872$). Given my earlier estimates of gymnasial class size, this would make Pausiris descend from almost everyone we could reasonably expect to have featured in the gymnasial *graphe* of 4/5, an unlikely scenario. The longest stemmata we can extract from other Oxyrhynchite *epikrisis* declarations are from *P.Oxy.* 18.2186 (260) and *PSI* 5.457 (269),⁵⁹ which list nine generations of paternal ancestors going back to the *graphe* of 4/5 and the patronymic of that final ancestor. Nine generations into the past, assuming no ancestor duplication, these men had 512 ancestors each. Assuming the same number of declarants in 269 as in 149 requires a starting size for the gymnasial class of over 60,000, again assuming no ancestor duplication ($512 * 121 = 61,952$). Obviously, these numbers are not realistic; they suggest a high degree of ancestor duplication within the gymnasial class, at least as we get deeper into the imperial period.

Changing levels of endogamy alter these numbers. The restructuring of the class admissions requirements under Vespasian alters our calculations of the size of the gymnasial class in the reign of Augustus, and the number of gymnasial ancestors a second or third century gymnasial would have had two centuries before. One consequence of the pre-Vespasianic openness is that the

⁵⁷ Wachter (n. 56) 91.

⁵⁸ *P.Oxy.* 46.3283.

⁵⁹ Dated to 276 (?) in the ed.princ., a dating defended as late as Montevecchi, "L'epikrisis" (n. 2) 144, and followed by Nelson (n. 4), despite earlier objections by Rea and Hagedorn. The possibility of 269 was aired as early as the ed.princ. and advanced vigorously since; see R. Pintaudi, "Note di lettura," *ZPE* 27 (1977) 117-118. G. Kreucher, "Die Regierungszeit Aurelians und die griechischen Papyri aus Ägypten," *APF* 44 (1998) 271, has had the last word, again promoting 276.

average member of the gymnasial class in ca. 200 would have had more living ancestors two centuries before than he would have had under a purely endogamous model. Consider two extreme models. A counterfactual gymnasial without any ancestor duplication, whose ancestors never faced endogamous restrictions, would have over 1,000 ancestors alive roughly 300 years before his birth. An equally counterfactual gymnasial suffering under the strictest endogamous restrictions, for which universal sibling marriage can serve as a mathematical proxy, would some 300 years before his birth have had only 2 living ancestors.

To merge the two models, I will estimate the number of gymnasial ancestors any given gymnasial had at any given point of time by combining the growth rate given no ancestor duplication with that given complete ancestor duplication. An average of the two numbers is mathematically crude and demographically naive, but it gets us thinking in the right direction. In the year 212, when the Edict of Caracalla effectively erased the legal distinction between Roman and non-Roman, a member of the gymnasial class with no ancestor duplication would have had 128 ancestors alive toward the end of the reign of Augustus, and thus some 60 male ancestors potentially enrolled in the *graphe* of 4/5. A member of the gymnasial class with complete ancestor duplication would only have 2 ancestors alive at that time. A simple average of these two figures gives a member of the gymnasial class alive in 212 some 65 ancestors $((128 + 2)/2)$ alive toward the end of the reign of Augustus, and thus half that number of male ancestors – 32 or 33 – potentially enrolled in the *graphe* of 4/5. When we remember the outsiders who crept in prior to 72/73, the number is likely to have been smaller still.

We are painting here with very broad strokes, but the picture that emerges is intriguing nonetheless. If third-century gymnasials were descended from only 32 – let us say 30 to 40 – of the original male members of a class several thousand people in size, this suggests a relatively low probability that any given member of the Oxyrhynchite gymnasial class shared ancestors with any other member of the class. It suggests an even lower probability that any two male members of the gymnasial class shared the same ancestor at the original codification of the membership rolls.

It is often assumed that the gymnasial class was much smaller than the ca. 4,000 I argued for earlier. Bowman and Rathbone speak of the gymnasial class as “a sort of proto-‘council.’”⁶⁰ If the evidence had pointed to a smaller size, say 200 or 300, the implications for the group identity of that proto-council would be dramatically different. A gymnasial class of ca. 200 people at the time of the

⁶⁰ Bowman and Rathbone (n. 10) 124.

Edict of Caracalla and subject to the same assumptions as in my previous calculation would imply members of the gymnasial class descended from roughly one third of the original members of the group during the reign of Augustus. Any two members of the gymnasial class might then have stood a reasonable chance of being able to produce written proof of shared ancestry going back two hundred years, an altogether striking scenario had it been true.

The non-Oxyrhynchite comparanda

Ultimately, this data only helps to model the demographic conditions of Oxyrhynchite gymnasials, not those from other nomes. In a recent discussion of gymnasial onomastics, Montevecchi counted 46 Hermopolite gymnasials, attested largely through *epikriseis*, and 12 Lycopolite gymnasials, attested with more of their extended family in *P.Oxy.Census*.⁶¹ The body of evidence for the 6,475 Arsinoite *katoikoi* also provides a relevant comparandum. The texts from these three cities do not generally provide enough genealogical material to support analysis as robust as that performed on the Oxyrhynchite data. They do, however, give brief glimpses that appear to support the conclusions reached so far. These comparanda provide: (1) an example of an ancestor duplication rate comparable to the guesstimated rates used above; (2) a reminder of the urban character of the gymnasial class; and (3) further evidence suggesting that this class did not face a severe demographic crisis.

To date, some half a dozen Hermopolite documents concerning the gymnasial *epikrisis* have been published, including four definite declarations.⁶² These texts all date to the second century. Unlike the Oxyrhynchite declarations, those from the Hermopolite do not include the declarants' ancestral claims in the body of the text, but rather provide the evidence for those claims

⁶¹ See Appendix 2.

⁶² Nelson (n. 4) 26, lists the four. Montevecchi, "Gli ἀπὸ γυμνασίου" (n. 4), adds several declarations or related texts: *SB* 4.7440b (132-133), which Nelson (n. 4) 30, n. 17, called "without a doubt a metropolite declaration," *P.Strasb.* 5.363 (146-147), which Nelson (n. 4) vi, described as "probably a census return," and *P.Strasb.* 4.219 (215), which the *HGV* says is Arsinoite, without providing a reference, and the *DDBDP* assigns an unknown provenance. Van Minnen (n. 4) 345, n. 19, mentions a "late second/early third-century archive from Hermopolis" with unpublished gymnasial applications, meaning the archive of Theognostos alias Moros (on which see P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Theognostos alias Moros and His Family," *ZPE* 76 [1989] 213-218). Van Minnen is preparing the full archive for publication, but informs me that the *epikrisis* declarations and stemma from this material are in too early a state of preparation to permit the use of their data.

as an appendix in further columns.⁶³ By far the most detailed extant example of such an appendix for a Hermopolite declarant is in *P.Amh.* 2.75 (161-168). In this text, Demetria alias Tereus produces genealogical information concerning her son's ancestry for five generations on her side and four generations on her husband's side.⁶⁴ (The disparity is interesting and due to the fact that Demetria is 27 years younger than her husband Artemon.) Demetria's ancestors include three successive cases of sibling marriage, while her husband's ancestors appear to include none. This Hermopolite stemma suggests that our guesstimates for the rate of Oxyrhynchite gymnasial ancestor duplication may not have been too far off. In the fourth generation back, where Demetria's son should have had 16 ancestors, he has only 10: the normal 8 on his father's side and an abnormal 2 on his mother's side.⁶⁵

Unlike the Hermopolite gymnasials, those from the Lycopolite have not left us any *epikrisis* declarations, and without such documentation we lack adequate gymnasial family trees. The households Bagnall reconstructed from *P.Oxy.Census* produce only two examples of gymnasial families of more than two generations (Households 89-Pt-23 and Pt-61). Of these two, only the former has extant age data. Psennesis, a Lycopolite gymnasial declaring his family in the census of 89/90, was 60 years old with children aged 33, 31 and 29, and a grandchild whose age is lost.⁶⁶ This example is irrelevant for my purpose. For what it is worth: out of the 63 households reconstructed from Lycopolis, 12 of them (19%) were gymnasial.⁶⁷ This percentage for Lycopolis proper is much higher than that derived for the Oxyrhynchite nome more generally.⁶⁸ This is a useful reminder of how much more common gymnasials would have been in cities than in the countryside.

A final body of potential comparanda is the evidence for Arsinoite *katoikoi*, those described as "of the 6,475 Greek men in the Arsinoite." Modern opinion has tended to see the *katoikoi* as the local equivalent of the gymnasial class. Nelson found the distinction between gymnasials and *katoikoi* "not

⁶³ Nelson (n. 4) 32.

⁶⁴ See the stemma provided by the editors ad loc.

⁶⁵ The technique of averaging complete ancestor duplication and no ancestor duplication in this example have predicted that the boy had 9 ancestors in the fourth generation.

⁶⁶ *P.Oxy.Census* ll. 160-167 with pp. 35 and 68-69. Psennesis is described as οἰκῶν ἐν μάνδρα of Hierax son of Hierax. Of the four people described as οἰκῶν ἐν μάνδρα, three are gymnasial. These three account for one quarter of the gymnasial declarants of Lycopolis. For the term, see Gagliano (n. 24).

⁶⁷ They are 89-Pt-1, 89-Pt-7, 89-Pt-10, 89-Pt-17, 89-Pt-18, 89-Pt-20, 89-Pt-22, 89-Pt-23, 89-Pt-47, 89-Pt-48, 89-Pt-49, 89-Pt-61.

⁶⁸ See Appendix 2.

always clear.” In his chapter on the latter, he argued for a rough equivalency between the two groups, based largely on the fact that *katoikic* declarations appear only in the Arsinoite and gymnasial declarations appear only elsewhere. Daniela Canducci’s discussion of the *katoikoi* calls the gymnasials of Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis “altre classi di cultura greca” and says that the *katoikoi* “si possono accostare agli ἀπὸ γυμνασίου di Ossirinco e di Hermopolis Magna.”⁶⁹ While considerable documentation exists for the *katoikoi*, they have produced comparably few *epikrisis* declarations; Nelson listed only four *katoikic* declarations, and only one more has been published since.⁷⁰ These *epikrisis* declarations are all from the second century, and are all short on genealogical detail, producing only a few generations of ancestors in the most generous cases. This material is not susceptible to the analysis we have performed on the Oxyrhynchite material.

Canducci’s prosopography of the 6,475 Arsinoite *katoikoi* can, however, provide useful material for the *katoikic* birthrate.⁷¹ Of the 647 entries in Canducci’s prosopography, by my count 152 are for *katoikoi* whose birth years or birth ranges are known with reasonable accuracy. At first glance, the birth years of these 152 Arsinoite *katoikoi* would seem to support a thesis of demographic decline: this group saw an average of nearly 12 births per decade through the 60s, but just under 4 per decade after the 60s. This disparity is even more pronounced when the results are weighted to account for the number of texts found in the Arsinoite per decade.⁷² However, this evidence is deceptive, distorted as it is by *SPP* 4, an administrative list over 700 lines long and dating to ca. 73. That text accounts for 81 of the 93 attestations of *katoikic* birth years prior to 70, without which the picture looks quite the opposite. It remains possible that the size of the Arsinoite 6,475 increased as the first century gave way to the second.

⁶⁹ Nelson (n. 4) 7, n. 22, and 37; D. Canducci, “I 6475 cateci greci dell’Arsinoite,” *Aegyptus* 70 (1990) 213 and 230; and Van Minnen (n. 4) 346, who mentions an Arsinoite gymnasial order, citing articles on the 6,475 Arsinoite *katoikoi*. See also Montevocchi, “Epikrisis e dichiarazioni di censimento” (n. 4).

⁷⁰ Nelson (n. 4) 36, and Canducci (n. 69) 216.

⁷¹ D. Canducci, “I 6475 cateci greci dell’Arsinoite. Prosopografia,” *Aegyptus* 71 (1991) 121-216.

⁷² Based on an *HGV* search in the “Ort” field for “ars” in each decade, August 22, 2006, which produced an average of 0.15 *katoikic* births per text in the seven decades through the 60s and an average of 0.03 *katoikic* births per text in the seven decades from the 70s on.

Anthropology and family history

An anthropological perspective can help us test the accuracy of our *epikrisis* declarations and our results thus far. Anthropologists have long been aware of the difference between informant genealogies and documentary genealogies.⁷³ In other words, what any given villager claims as his ancestry may be something altogether different from what birth, marriage, and death records show his ancestry to be. As one pair of anthropologists expressed the problem in 1980, "Informants engage in the activities known to anthropologists as telescoping, clipping, and patching in order to distort the biological facts so that they can be used to rationalize the social, political or economic needs and desires of the informant or the group."⁷⁴ This problem takes an intriguing turn in genealogies from Roman Egypt, in which our informants produced their own documentary records. Is there any evidence of telescoping or other forms of genealogical fabrication in these texts that might alter our conclusions?

One approach would look for implausibly long generation lengths. The average age of paternity in Roman Egypt based on the census returns was 35.4, although cases are attested of paternity by men in their 60s.⁷⁵ Nearly 25 years ago, Montevecchi noted that relatively late paternity was "non infrequente" in gymnasial *epikrisis* declarations.⁷⁶ To be sure, this was not the case in every gymnasial family. Consider one of the longest intact genealogies: an *epikrisis* declaration from the reign of Claudius, deep into the third century, and one of the gems of the genre.⁷⁷ With its data for almost every patrilineal ancestor of one Marcus Aurelius Flavius over ten generations, we are in a remarkable position to verify the credibility of our results. In fact, his pedigree seems quite reasonable, extending back in time 25 to 35 years with each generation for over 250 years.

But counter-examples supporting Montevecchi's point are easy to find.⁷⁸ One text, an *epikrisis* declaration from the reign of Antoninus, introduces us to a son of Apollonios whose name is lost.⁷⁹ In 148/149 he registers his own son Ammonios in the gymnasial class of thirteen-year-olds and declares that he

⁷³ W.T. Morrill and B. Dyke, "Ethnographic and Documentary Demography," in Dyke and Morrill (n. 45) 1 and 7-9.

⁷⁴ Morrill and Dyke (n. 73) 1.

⁷⁵ Bagnall and Frier (n. 31) 145-146.

⁷⁶ See her remarks in the commentary to *P.Turner* 38, pp. 162-163.

⁷⁷ *PSI* 5.457; see Sijpesteijn (n. 2) and Montevecchi, "PSI V 457" (n. 4), with further bibliography at 49-50. For the date of the text, see n. 59 above.

⁷⁸ I only discuss Oxyrhynchite examples. For a Hermopolite example, see *P.Amh.* 2.75, discussed at Bingen (n. 38) 324-325, with a father 64 years old.

⁷⁹ *P.Oxy.* 46.3276.

himself was registered in the same class in the first year of the deified Trajan, 98. This is somewhat surprising, but not completely unbelievable: male fertility at the age of 50 and survival into the mid-60s simply means that our man beat the odds. A second text, *P.Oxy.* 18.2186, shows a gap between the gymnasial examination of the father and that of the son of at least 49 years. Finally, Montevicchi's text, *P.Turner* 38, indicates a comparable gap between the examination of Pausanias in 100/101 and that of his son, Isidoros, in 150/151.

There are a number of ways to explain this phenomenon. On the one hand, a suspicious anthropologist might start looking for more evidence of telescoping. Two generations of fathers in their fifties might in fact have masked three generations of younger fathers, perhaps allowing the children of someone who failed to register to sneak in under the radar. On the other hand, assuming that on balance *epikriseis* reveal an average age at paternity, a demographer might suspect that what we really have here is evidence that gymnasial fathers were in no hurry to produce gymnasial children.⁸⁰ That suspicion is heightened if we conclude, with Nelson, that some ephebes had gymnasial fathers but not gymnasial mothers, a scenario possible, at least after 72/73, only if the father was not worried about the preservation of his own social class.⁸¹

On balance, I think it is better to err in favor of the accuracy of these declarations.⁸² Metropolitites often included census registration information going back two generations, which meant that their claims could be checked against records.⁸³ Hermopolite gymnasial declarations also included census extracts⁸⁴ and "as a rule probably appended the complete list of credentials to the declaration."⁸⁵ Indeed, census records place the power of verification in the government's hands; anthropological research on the reconstruction of modern families has determined that family trees reconstructed from vital registration records – births, deaths, or, in our case, status declarations – are less complete than families reconstructed from "more aggressive" census data.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Note also the metropolite example in Stephens (n. 2; = *SB* 22.15626), in which the father appears to be some 41/42 to 51/52 years older than the son he is declaring.

⁸¹ See Appendix 2.

⁸² Montevicchi, "PSI V 457" (n. 4) 54, argues that some third-century *epikrisis* declarations were presented in a "formato ridotto" (e.g., *PSI* 5.457) but that longer versions (e.g., *P.Oxy.* 18.2186) existed for consultation purposes. The shorter formats do not suggest that anyone was trying to omit any relevant information.

⁸³ Nelson (n. 4) 15.

⁸⁴ *P.Amh.* 2.75, a Hermopolite gymnasial declaration, includes census extracts as documentation; Nelson (n. 4) 31.

⁸⁵ Nelson (n. 4) 32.

⁸⁶ S.L. Norton, "The Vital Question: Are Reconstructed Families Representative of the General Population?" in Dyke and Morrill (n. 45) 11-22.

Finally, what does all of this mean for family history in Roman Egypt? In 1917, Teresa Lodi argued in her introduction to *PSI* 5.457 that gymnasial *epikrisis* declarations implied the existence of “un ben ordinato archivio di tali documenti.”⁸⁷ Montevecchi seems to have agreed, claiming that longer forms of the *epikrisis* texts were “destinato a rimanere nell’archivio familiare.”⁸⁸ Preservation of such written documentation suggests that family history mattered, and not simply for the financial implications. Van Minnen pointed out that for metropolite status, declarants should have needed to do nothing more than prove the status of the father and maternal grandfather. “Why,” he asked, “did they keep on reproducing complete data sets?”⁸⁹ The answer he gives is simple and credible: when an Oxyrhynchite produced a genealogy tracing his ancestry back to the time of Augustus, he was showing off.⁹⁰ The declarations themselves were the occasion of feasts for family and friends.⁹¹ In 1975, with the publication of several third-century applications to join the Oxyrhynchite *gerousia*, John Rea argued that the addressee of these applications, the *πομπαγωγός* and *ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων*, was an official in charge of Oxyrhynchite genealogical family trees.⁹² That such an official should have been necessary at all highlights how important genealogy and family history must have been in the society of Roman Oxyrhynchus.⁹³

⁸⁷ An opinion followed in Mertens (n. 4) 117, n. 107.

⁸⁸ Montevecchi, “*PSI* V 457” (n. 4) 54.

⁸⁹ Van Minnen (n. 4) 345.

⁹⁰ Could this be a specific manifestation of a general trend in the early Roman period? Bagnall and Frier (n. 31) 22, citing an observation by Ann Hanson, write that, “Although our sample of first-century declarations is small, it is noteworthy that more names are given as time goes on, a process paralleled in the official registers.” Gymnasial declarations could be the forum for other types of bragging; note the description of one declarant’s son as *μανθά[νων] γράμματα* in *P.Oxy.* 22.2345.

⁹¹ See *P.Oxy.* 66.4541 (third century) with further citations.

⁹² In his commentary to *P.Oxy.* 43.3102.2-4; see Bingen (n. 4) for the first publication of the term *pompagogos*. See also Sijpesteijn (n. 4) for corrections introducing the term into *PSI* 5.457 and *P.Oxy.* 18.2186.

⁹³ Disclaimers such as those in *P.Mich.* 14.676 that the declarant “has not availed himself of credentials belonging to others or identity of names” suggest that identity theft was a potential problem, and that the genealogical officials had serious duties. All of this says a great deal about family continuity in Roman Oxyrhynchus. Consider at the same time the analysis of neighborhood mobility in the gymnasial class at Alston and Alston (n. 33) 214. Non-residence could cause omission from the lists: see *P.Oxy.* 2.257.

Conclusion

On surviving evidence, the gymnasial class of Oxyrhynchus appears to have consisted of ca. 4,000 adult males. The mathematics of ancestor duplication suggests that they did not emerge from some genealogically unified Augustan core, but instead retained largely distinct family lines for several centuries. Demographic modeling and the internal evidence of the *epikrisis* declarations suggest that they faced no extra demographic difficulties because of endogamous restrictions. Indeed, some evidence suggests that their demographic burden was relatively light. There seems to be no way to prove whether some degree of non-endogamy continued in the gymnasial class even after the restructuring of the admissions requirements in 72/73. But if it did, it would have made no demographic difference. Finally, if the Roman restructuring of the admissions requirements in 72/73 was intended to fix a perceived leak in the collection of the poll-tax, it probably failed to limit the number of those paying it at a lower rate.

Appendix 1: Oxyrhynchite gymnasial epikriseis

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>P.Erlangen</i> 23	98-117 ⁹⁴
<i>P.Mich.</i> 14.676	272
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2.257 = <i>W.Chrest.</i> 147	94-95
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 10.1266	98
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 12.1452 col. 2	127-128
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 18.2186	260
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 22.2345	224
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 46.3276	148-149
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 46.3277	148-149
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 46.3278	148-149
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 46.3279	148-149
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 46.3280	148-149
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 46.3281	148-149
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 46.3282	148-149
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 46.3283	148-149
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 46.3284	148-149 ⁹⁵
<i>PSI</i> 5.457	269
<i>PSI</i> 7.731	after 88-89 ⁹⁶
<i>P.Turner</i> 38	274/275 or 280/281
<i>SB</i> 14.11271 ⁹⁷	117

⁹⁴ The *HGV* gives the date as the second century, with unknown provenance, but provides no citations.

⁹⁵ The *HGV* gives the date as (before?) 148-149, citing T. Kruse, *Der Königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung* (München and Leipzig 2004) 1:269ff and 2:1018.

⁹⁶ The *HGV* lists no *BL* entries for this text. Nelson (n. 4) dates it to the “end of 1st. cent.,” and Montevecchi to “I ex. – IIp” in her commentary to *P.Turner* 38, at p. 162. 88/89 is the date of gymnasial declaration of someone mentioned in the text. This is the only basis for dating.

⁹⁷ = Montevecchi, “Dichiarazione per l’epikrisis” (n. 4). Assigned to the gymnasial class by virtue of reference to the *graphe* of 4/5.

Appendix 2: *Oxyrhynchite gymnasiais*

My initial data set consisted of 107⁹⁸ members of the gymnasial class found in the Jones and Whitehorne *Register of Oxyrhynchites*,⁹⁹ where they are 1.87% of the 5,706 Oxyrhynchites recorded. In this initial data set, I included: (1) everyone male and female whom Jones and Whitehorne described as a member of the gymnasial class; (2) children whose names are lost in a lacuna and were therefore omitted from the *Register*; (3) current and former gymnasiarchs; and (4) those whose blood or marriage ties to members of the gymnasial class make them plausible members themselves (see the examples given below). I omit members of the gymnasial class appearing in texts not permitting a sufficiently precise dating, or whose careers span too long a period to guesstimate their date of birth (see n. 47): s.n. 1040 (a gymnasiarch in the second century), 1136 (a declarant scrutinized in a lost year in the reign of Hadrian), 4909 (a gymnasiarch attested in texts ranging from 62 to 101), 4972 (a gymnasiarch attested in texts ranging from 111 to 127), and 5039 (a gymnasiarch in the second century). To my initial data-set of 107, I added relevant gymnasiais from *P.Mich.* 14.676, not included in Jones and Whitehorne, and subtracted

⁹⁸ Montecocchi, “Gli ἀπὸ γυμνασίου” (see n. 4), 179-181, includes a list of 83 Oxyrhynchite gymnasiais; my data-set is larger, as she limits herself to *epikrisis* declarations alone, while I count gymnasiais attested in other types of text as well.

⁹⁹ For reviews of Jones and Whitehorne (n. 4), see C. Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 279-281; A. Martin, *Latomus* 43 (1984) 698-699 (citing “quelques distractions ... ou quelques omissions”); G. Poethke, *APF* 31 (1985) 54; and S. Daris, *StudPap* 22 (1984) 164-165, with passing criticism of “i piccolo errori” and “la brutale separazione tra la data ... e la citazione” (164) and its impact on the readability of the individual entries; minor errors are corrected and various entries improved by Daris (165) and Balconi (280-281). To these, add errors in: Harpocraton 1922 (conflating his son Sarapion, scrutinized in 72/73, with his great-grandson Sarapion, resident in the tenth quarter), Petosiris 3574 (attributing the Upper Camp address to his daughter rather than his grandson, and conflating his daughter with his grandson’s spouse), [Pyrrh]us 4085 (confusing his grandson for his son, and his son-in-law for his spouse). At entry 2162 read 3282 for 3284. For all entries citing *P.Oxy.Census* (previously = *P.Oxy.* 6.984), see O. Montecocchi, “La provenienza di *P.Oxy.* 984,” *Aegyptus* 78 (1998) 49-76, and “Gli ἀπὸ γυμνασίου” (see n. 4), with a list of gymnasiais to consider for omission at Montecocchi, “Gli ἀπὸ γυμνασίου” (see n. 4), 176; the text is now believed to be Lycopolite. Among these, note that Heracleius 2185 is erroneously listed as a “Claudius.” Note the apparent omission of relevant Oxyrhynchites in *P.Oxy.* 18.2186, a long gymnasial *epikrisis* declaration discussed above at p. 87. Note also the ambiguity created by the authors’ distinction (p. 5) between “document date” and “date of relevant section”. See for instance the entries for three consecutive generations of Asclepiadeses from *PSI* 5.457, which dates to 269: s.n. 646, 647, and 650, entries dated to 4/5, 4/5, and 72/73 respectively.

gymnasials from *P.Oxy.Census* (= previously *P.Oxy.* 6.984), included in Jones and Whitehorne, but now believed to be Lycopolite; see Montevicchi (n. 99); “Gli ἀπὸ γυμνασίου δι Λύκων πόλις” (n. 4); and “Ancora su Lycopolis,” *Aegyptus* 80 (2000) 145-146, the first item listed at *BL* 11.174. (The editors of *P.Oxy.Census* understood that the “text was not written at and about Oxyrhynchos” [p. 24; see pp. 22-26] and argued for a “proximity to Lykopolis” [p. 24], opting for Ptolemais by virtue of references to a city council.)

I omit from my count men who declare themselves for the *gerousia*, which Nelson describes as “the privileged senior citizen association” of Oxyrhynchus (Nelson [n. 4] 63). From the two examples known to him (*PSI* 12.1240 = *SB* 5.7989 and *P.Ryl.* 4.599 = *SB* 5.8032) it was not clear whether the declarants were gymnasial or merely metropolite; see his discussion generally at 63-65. Judging from the *Bibliographie papyrologique*, the topic of the *gerousia* has not generated much discussion either before or since; see only E.G. Turner, “The Gerousia of Oxyrhynchus,” *APF* 12 (1937) 179-186; M.H. el-Abbadi, “The Gerousia in Roman Egypt,” *JEA* 50 (1964) 164-169; and J.E.G. Whitehorne, “The Functions of the Alexandrian Ephebeia Certificate and the Sequence of *PSI* XII 1223-1225,” *BASP* 14 (1977) 29-38. To the texts known to Nelson, add *P.Lond. inv.* 2193 (Mertens [n. 4] 88-92) and *P.Oxy.* 43.3099-3102, with detailed discussion in the notes to the latter texts.

I also omit Oxyrhynchite ephebes from my count. Scholarly consensus is unsettled as to the exact relationship between the ephebate and the gymnasial class. Nelson (n. 4) 48, n. 5, thinks that the father’s membership in the gymnasial class may have been a prerequisite for the son’s admission to the ephebate, at least in his Hermopolite example. By this reasoning, only fathers of ephebes should be counted with certainty, because “some of the boys qualified for the ephebeia could never (on their mother’s side) meet the qualifications for membership in the gymnasium class” (Nelson [n. 4] 58). If Nelson is right, this would suggest that some members of the gymnasial class felt no particular need for class endogamy, a point which I discuss at p. 93 above. Nelson’s arguments were rejected by Whitehorne, who considers the ephebate to be “a much higher and more restricted grade of citizenship” than the gymnasial class (Whitehorne [n. 4] 171). Bowman and Rathbone in turn reject Whitehorne’s claims without elaboration (Bowman and Rathbone [n. 10] 121, n. 72), arguing that membership in the gymnasial class could only be had through the ephebate. The texts themselves are of little help. Potential or certain Oxyrhynchite examples known to Nelson were *P.Oxy.* 3.477 = *W.Chr.* 144, *P.Oxy.* 9.1202; *PSI* 12.1225, and *SB* 4.7333 = *Select Papyri* 2.299 (a potentially Alexandrine text). *P.Flor.* 1.79 = *W.Chr.* 145, a Hermopolite parallel, provides a relevant comparandum, in which the mother was only a free woman born

of free parents, a problem Whitehorne struggles to explain away; see Nelson (n. 4) 48-49 and Whitehorne (n. 4) 180-181. *P.Oxy.* 9.1202 (after 218; see its *HGV* entry for bibliography), a petition from a father who complains (ll. 17-18) that his son, ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ | τάγματος τοῦ παρ' ἡμῶν γυμνασίου, has been left out of the list of upcoming ephebe-initiates, is the key text. This would seem to favor Whitehorne's position (he lists the text at Whitehorne [n. 4] 179, without discussing it), but the obviously exceptional nature of the situation raises doubts. For the ephebate, see also O. Montevecchi, "Efebia e ginnasio," *Aegyptus* 80 (2000) 133-138.

Jones and Whitehorne seem to apply inconsistent standards in awarding the "gymnasial class" label. They award the label, e.g., to Posidonius, s.n. 3791 (*P.Oxy.* 46.3278), who is the father of a gymnasial declarant's paternal grandmother, and to [Pyrrh]us, s.n. 4085 (*P.Oxy.* 46.3276), whom they mischaracterize as a declarant's paternal grandparent (n. 17). But they deny the label, e.g., to Claudius Heracleius, s.n. 2185 (*P.Oxy.Census* ll. 157-159 with p. 68), paternal grandfather of a member of the gymnasial class, and Lycophron, s.n. 2677 (*P.Oxy.Census* ll. 138-148 with pp. 66-67), also a paternal grandfather of a member of the gymnasial class. (These entries should now be omitted; for the Lycopolite provenance of the text, see above.) Also denied the label is Dogymis (?), s.n. 1545 (*P.Oxy.* 12.1452), wife and mother of members of the gymnasial class.

The *Modius* as a Grain Measure in Papyri from Egypt

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Abstract

Some musings on the introduction of the *modius* as a grain measure in Egypt in the early fourth century AD, its relationship with the *artaba* (1 *artaba* = 3 1/3 *modii*), and the development from the fourth to the sixth century (when 1 *artaba* = 3 *modii*).

It is well known that when Persia took possession of Egypt (ca. 525 BC), it imposed its imperial grain measure, the *ardeb* (Hellenized ἀρτάβη) upon the Egyptians. Two hundred years later, the Macedonian Greeks drove out the Persians, and with the death of Alexander the Great, Ptolemy I Soter and his descendants ruled Egypt for another three centuries. Despite the Greek background of the Ptolemies, they appear to have made no attempt to substitute their own grain measure, the μέδιμνος, for the ἀρτάβη.¹ Similarly, when Egypt came under Roman rule, the Romans did not insist that the Egyptian farmer use the *modius* as a grain measure, and the ἀρτάβη continued unchallenged as the predominant measure for wheat and barley. Judging from the DDBDP that was the situation until the beginning of the fourth century AD when the Latin *modius* (μόδιος) made its first appearance in the documents from Egypt and intruded itself upon the established ἀρτάβη.

This situation was not unique to Egypt. We can observe a similar phenomenon in the Roman Near East, although not as graphically as in Egypt since we are dependent on less than a handful of citations in literary sources. But at a number of sites in the Near East, we can observe that prices for grain prior to the fourth century were given in terms of local measures, but from the beginning of that century they were given in *modii*. To illustrate: for the first three centuries, Talmudic sources provide seven citations of wheat that

¹ A search of the DDBDP for μέδιμν- produced only one document, *P.Marm.*, which does not relate to Egypt proper.

were sold by the *se'ah*, a Semitic measure (F.M. Heichelheim in *ESAR* 4:183). However, in a later tractate of the *Jerusalem Talmud* (*B.Qam.* 9.5), R. Jonah (fl. AD 350) reports the case of a man who was given 8 dinars (= *solidi*) to buy wheat at Tiberias but chose instead to buy it at Sepphoris. We are told that the man would have received 25 *modii* (מודי) to the *solidus* at Tiberias, but since he bought it in Sepphoris he only received 20 *modii* (מודיי).² In Syria, the Emperor Julian (331-363), attempting to allay the shortage of grain at Antioch because of a series of droughts, brought in thousands of measures (μέτρων) of grain, "measures," which he says (*Misopogon* 369b), "are now commonly called *modii*" (οὗς ἐπιχώριόν ἐστι λοιπὸν ὀνομάζειν μοδίους). The emperor magnanimously offered to sell the wheat to the general public at the rate of 15 *modii* per ἀργύριον rather than at the customary rate of 10, but speculators bought the stock at the favorable rate and then resold the wheat to the public at exorbitant prices. To these citations we can add those in the chronicle attributed to St. Joshua the Stylite for the year 494/495 in the city of Edessa, the capital of the province of Osroene, in which the number of *modii* of wheat and barley per *solidus* ranged widely because of weather conditions (desiccating wind) and depredation by locusts.³

In contrast to these scattered Near Eastern notices on the *modius*, a search of the DDBDP papyri produced well over 500 citations of the word *modius* in Egypt, dated from the early years of the fourth century AD and continuing into the sixth century and beyond. But to judge from the published material, the use of the term in Egypt was not universal. For example, the published documents from Oxyrhynchus show virtually no interest at all in adopting the *modius* per se.⁴

Why did the *modius* make its appearance in Egypt as a local measure at the beginning of the fourth century AD and not before? There can be little doubt that Diocletian's failed Edict of Prices, published in 301 and attested

² Note that the Aramaic transliterates Latin *modii* letter for letter. Eusebius (*Hist.Ecl.* 9.8.4), reporting on the famine of 312/313, states that a single measure of wheat (ἐνὸς μέτρου πυρῶν) cost 2,500 Attic drachmas. The Syriac text has מודיי קד, one *modius*. See D. Sperber, *Roman Palestine, 200-400: Money and Prices* (Bar-Ilan 1991) 31 and 150.

³ W. Wright (ed.), *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* (Cambridge 1882) 17, 28-29, 34-35, and 69.

⁴ Two Oxyrhynchite instances in which the *modius* is cited have to do with the *man-siones* of the *cursus publicus* at Takona and Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* 60.4087 [310-344?] and 4088 [ca. 347-350]) where *annonae* were provided to travelers presumably on official business.

epigraphically throughout the Eastern Aegean, the Middle East and Egypt in Latin and/or Greek, accounts for this.⁵

The core of the Edict, reconstituted from fragments uncovered at various sites, is the price list in Latin and/or Greek, full of abbreviations, which begins with a maximum price for a single *modius castrensis* of wheat at the rate of 100 *denarii*; for a *modius castrensis* of barley, 60 *denarii*. The *modius castrensis* is the measure used throughout the Edict for a great variety of products.⁶ In contrast, the DDBDP yielded only a small number of citations of this measure: one in a rather fragmentary fourth-century ostrakon *O.Douch* 1.13, the other in *P.Cair.Isid.* 11.3.50, dated to December 4, 312. I assume that the Edict means *modii* of pure wheat and pure barley. It should be noted that in the papyri the term *modius* is never qualified by καθαρός or ῥυπαρός, which suggests that the contents of the *modius* was assumed to be free of contaminants. That was not always the case with the Egyptian artaba of wheat or barley.⁷ With the advent of the Edict of Prices in Egypt, the use of the Latin term *modius* as a measure of wheat or barley implied that the grain was pure. Hence at the beginning of the fourth century and later it was the measure of choice for tax contributions in grain.

In *P.Cair.Isid.* 11.3.47-50, the *sitologoi* of Karanis (p.107) were instructed, by an official order, to deliver to the public bank 65 talents' worth of wheat, with each *modius castrensis* reckoned at 100 *denarii*. This order was filled with 297 11/12 artabas. It should be noted that the only time the term *modius* appears in this document is in response to an official order. What was the nature of the wheat that the authorities wished to be deposited in the public bank? Was it the equivalent of pure wheat (καθαρός) or wheat mixed with other contaminants (ῥυπαρός)? I assume it was the former. The use of *modius* in Egypt to qualify artabas, expressed in such terms as μέτρῳ μοδιῷ, μέτρῳ μοδιῷ ξυστῶ, μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ μοδιῷ, implied that the artabas were pure even in the absence of the word καθαρός. Another use of term *modius* as a measure of pure wheat or barley can be observed in *P.Cair.Isid.* 14 (Karanis, ca. 311-314), a list of 185

⁵ See M. Giacchero, *Edictum Diocletiani et collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium*, vol. 2 (Genova 1974) Plates I and II for a graphic view of the many sites in which fragments of the edict were uncovered. The fragment from Egypt (*CIL* 3.2, pp. 802-803; Giacchero 1:37, Plate IV.2 in vol. 2) contains seventeen lines of the Edict's preamble in Latin.

⁶ There are three citations for the Italic *modius* but these are for products other than wheat or barley.

⁷ See my articles on "Κριθολογία and κριθολογηθῆναι," *BASP* 41 (2004) 127-137, and "Σίτος/πυρός in Egypt as Deliberate Mixtures of Wheat and Barley," *BASP* 42 (2005) 51-62.

contributions of (pure) μόδ(ιοι) of wheat or barley.⁸ Whether the taxpayers submitted their contributions in artabas, as is probable, and whether the *sitologoi* converted the artabas into *modii* cannot be determined with certainty.

In the period ca. 325-335, according to the editors of *P. Col.* 7, p.100, “a new system was introduced, whereby the taxpayer delivered his grain directly to the harbor ... or to the storehouses there – rather than paying his taxes at the granary ...” In *P.Col.* 7.143-165 we can observe that, unlike in *P.Cair.Isid.* 14, the measure used is the ἀρτάβη and that the grain offered as taxes was certified καθαρός, “pure and free of contaminants.” What is also notable is the virtual absence of the word *modius* save in two instances: one (*P.Col.* 7.141.88) in which a “level *modius* measure” (μέτρῳ μοδιῷ ξυστῶ) was used to measure out over 70 artabas of wheat; the other (*P.Col.* 7.154.24, 37) is of greater interest. Dated to 343/344, it records the collection of tax wheat (l. 1: ἐμβολὴ σίτου) received and acknowledged by “receivers” (ἀποδέκται), presumably for transshipment at the harbor of Leukogion. It is a partial list of contributions, undoubtedly of pure wheat. The wheat was delivered in sacks, as was common, the contents of which were stated in artabas and fractions thereof. In ll. 8, 12, 13, 24, and 37, each sack is said to contain exactly 3 artabas, and the number of sacks delivered are totaled in artabas (6 sacks = 18 artabas; 3=9; 7=21; 1=3; 1=3). The two single sacks of wheat, in ll. 24 and 37, totaling 3 artabas each, are followed by the phrase παρὰ μ(οδίου) ι, “divided into 10 *modii*,” one sack being the equivalent of ten *modii*.

This piece of information (3 artabas = 10 *modii*) is confirmed in metrological literature and has led me to write that in the papyri, “The combination of a sack containing 3 artabs as the equivalent of 10 *modii*, appears to have been a bit of Rome’s ingenuity in providing its officials with the efficiency of the decimal system to get the full measure of the tribute levied upon Egypt in terms of the Roman *modius*.”⁹ This is challenged, however, by *P.Lips.* 97, dated to 338, a few years earlier than *P. Col.* 7.154, and by *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67138 (541-546).

P.Lips. 97 is a long account in the form of a summarized quarterly statement recording the receipt of artabas of agricultural products (mostly wheat and barley, but also flax, vegetables, vetch, beans, clover, and chick peas) for

⁸ To these we can add 31 citations from the early years of the fourth century in *P.Cair.Isid.* 15 (309 or 310) and 41 in *P.Lips.* 97 (338).

⁹ “The Sack (σακκός) is the Artaba Writ Large,” *ZPE* 122 (1998) 193-194. Note also Jerome, *Comm. in Dan.* 3.11.5b (*frumenti artaba, quae mensura tres modios et tertiam modii partem habet*), and the *Carmen de ponderibus* 89-90 (*Anth.Lat.* 1.2.486 Riese) in which the artaba is equated with 3 1/3 *modii* and “a threefold artaba is filled with 10 *modii*” (*artaba, cui superest modii pars tertia post tres, namque decem modiiis explebitur triplex*).

various services and for individuals. These products were submitted in a variety of measures (μέτρῳ μῳδίῳ, θησαυρικῶ, δημοσίῳ, φορικῶ), all of which, as expected, were totaled as artabas. On a number of occasions, the arithmetic shows how the *modius* amounts were converted into artabas: μῳδοιοι x οἱ ἀρτάβαι γ. I have taken four of the citations, which the editor of *P.Lips.* 97 has listed on p. 250, to serve as a contrast with the equation in *P. Col.* 7.154: (col. 22.14) μῳ(διοι) ι οἱ (ἀρτάβαι) γ κδ'; (col. 12.26) μῳ(διοι) η οἱ (ἀρτάβαι) β γή; (col. 22.12) μῳ(διοι) γ οἱ (ἀρτάβαι) Σγιβ; (col. 31.22) μῳ(διοι) β οἱ (ἀρτάβαι) Σημη. Compared with the normal conversion rate of 10 *modii* to 3 artabas, these four *modii* figures show small overages ranging from ca. 0.2 to 0.6%, which may be taken as the contributors' precaution against being challenged by the *sitologoi* for a shortage in calculating tax payments in *modii*.

For the early years of the fourth century, the papyri afford us an insight into the use of the *modius* in Egypt shortly after the publication of Diocletian's Edict of Prices. For the late fourth and fifth centuries, we have few documents dealing with *modii* and their relationship with the artaba. When the curtain lifts once more, our primary source material comes largely from Aphrodito, a village in the pagarchy of Antaeopolis; Oxyrhynchus, surprisingly, offers none.

P.Cair.Masp. 2.67138 (541-546) is a record of the administrator of Count Ammonius' estate at Aphrodito concerning the allocation of grain and money for the 8th and 9th indictions to a number of purposes, among which is that of the *embole*. It is in connection with the *embole* that we can observe how the relationship of the *modius* to the artaba worked out in Aphrodito. The *modius* again represents *pure* wheat, but unlike what we have seen for the fourth century – namely, that 10 *modii* equaled 3 artabas – at Aphrodito a single artaba had the value of 3 *modii*, making 9 *modii* the equivalent of 3 artabas. For example: from the account of a certain Talous, for the *embole* of the 8th and 9th indictions, a total of 116 *modii* = 38 2/3 artabas is recorded (Fol. 1.r.7); for Tsenbiktoras, for the 8th indiction, 50 *modii* = 16 2/3 artabas are recorded (Fol. 1.r.10); again for the 9th indiction (?), 50 *modii* = 16 2/3 artabas (Fol. 1.r.12); and for the 9th indiction, [60] *modii* = 20 artabas (Fol. 1.r.15).

Fol. 3.r.1-10 provides a summary of payments in *modii* and artabas for the 9th indiction εἰς τὴν ἔμβολ(ῆν) οὓ(τως):

Φοιβάμμ(ων) Καπρο(υ)	μῳ(διοι) ξ	(ἀρτάβαι) κ
Τσενβικτόρας	μῳ(διοι) ξβ	(ἀρτάβαι) κ β'
Ταλλους	μῳ(διοι) ξ	(ἀρτάβαι) κ
Παμπνο(ύ)θης	μῳ(διοι) οε	(ἀρτάβαι) κε
Αγνατων	μῳ(διοι) ρν	(ἀρτάβαι) ν
Ἐνώχ Χολο(ύ)	μῳ(διοι) νβ	(ἀρτάβαι) ιζ γ'
οἱ ἀπὸ Πετο	μῳ(διοι) ρς	(ἀρτάβαι) λβ

It is evident that in the papyri – *pace* the metrological authorities – we find two different ratios of *modii* to the artaba: $3 \frac{1}{3}$ *modii* to the artaba in fourth-century documents and 3 in the sixth. In either case, the *modii* were not qualified or distinguished in any way as “flat” or “heaped” or *castrenses*, as R.P. Duncan-Jones (*ZPE* 21[1976] 44-46) would have it. We have to take these *modii* at face value and assume that different measures were at play or that, over the two hundred years that separated the two ratios, the initial ratio of $3 \frac{1}{3}$ *modii* to the artaba was simplified (by decree?) to 3 *modii* to the artaba.

The exit of the *modius* from Egyptian documents came with the Arab occupation of Egypt in the seventh century. The absence of the Roman measure is especially striking in *P.Lond.* 4, which is devoted to the publication of papyri from the early years of the eighth century. The Arab rulers apparently did not feel the need to certify that the wheat they were shipping to Clysmā, Arabia, and other sites of interest to them, was καθαρός or measured in the (pure) *modii*. What remained constant in Egypt up to the time that it adopted the metric system was the ancient Persian measure, the *ardeb*.

Mega Kankellon and Metron in Late Receipt and Expenditure Accounts

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Abstract

The ratio between the *mega kankellon* measure in *P.Oxy.* 16.1906 and the regular, smaller *kankellon* measure was 1.14:1 or, in terms of *choinikes*, 45.6:40. The ratio between the *metron* measure and the standard *kankellon* measure was 1.15:1 or, in terms of *choinikes*, 46:40. The *metron* measure was 15% larger than the standard *kankellon*; the *mega kankellon* of *P.Oxy.* 16.1906 was 14% larger.

This article focuses on three interrelated measures: two, the *mega kankellon* of *P.Oxy.* 16.1906, and the *metron* that were not common in Egypt but were created by the οἶκος Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν essentially for use in Oxyrhynchus: and the standard *kankellon* measure that dominates the late documentation from Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere.

P.Oxy. 16.1906 (VI/VII), entitled by its editors “Account of *Embole*, etc.,” is an unusual and in many respects unique document covering four indiction years. It is unusual in that it gives four extraordinarily large figures for the *embole* expressed in *kankellon* artabas of σῖτος ῥυπαρός.¹ It is unique in that the οἶκος Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν records the total amount of wheat in its granaries, covering four indiction years, in a novel measure, the *mega kankellon* artaba. This measure, judging from the DDBDP, has not surfaced in any other document. *P.Oxy.* 16.1906 is unfortunately incomplete, save in ll. 8-13, and its arithmetic is at times faulty, and its *mega kankellon* artaba has resisted being fully explained in terms of the smaller, regular *kankellon* artaba.² Another unusual aspect is

¹ Egyptian wheat, especially when designated ῥυπαρός, was not regarded as pure wheat by Roman tax officials unless it had been processed to remove barley and other contaminants and declared καθαρός. See my articles “Σῖτος/πυρός in Egypt as Deliberate Mixtures of Wheat with Barley,” *BASP* 42 (2005) 51-62, and “Κριθολογία and κριθολογηθῆναι,” *BASP* 41 (2004) 127-137.

² On the *kankellon* artaba, see now C. Kreuzsaler, *Griechische Papyrusurkunden kleineren Formats* (Vienna 2007) xxxi-xxxiii.

the occurrence of the percentage phrase ἐπὶ (ἐκατοσταῖς) ἰδ in ll. 4, 11, 20, and 29.³ The phrase, judging once more from the DDBDP, appears only in *P.Oxy.* 16.1906. A check of the *Berichtigungsliste* for comment on *P.Oxy.* 16.1906 has produced no results.

I believe it is possible to make some sense out of indiction years [13], [14], and 15, which share some common expenditures as laid out in ll. 8-13: [from an initial 98,321 *mega kankellon* artabas] there were disbursed 6,592 *mega kankellon* artabas for the stables of Takona, 79,069 *kankellon* artabas for the *embole*, and 1,780 *kankellon* artabas for the *prosphora* of Alexandria. There follows a subtotal for the two *kankellon* disbursements of 80,849 artabas, which is converted into 70,877 1/4 *mega kankellon* artabas ἐπὶ (ἐκατοσταῖς) ἰδ and subtracted from the initial 98,321 *mega kankellon* artabas along with the one *mega kankellon* disbursement of 6,592 artabas. The unexpended balance of the initial 98,321 *mega kankellon* artabas is given as 20,858 3/4, presumably of *mega kankellon* artabas.

At this juncture the difficulty in explaining these numbers is in the relationship between 80,849 *kankellon* artabas and 70,877 1/4 *mega kankellon* artabas. The editors of *P.Oxy.* 16.1906 state (p. 135), "Apparently the amount at the end of l. 4 [70,877 1/4] represents the number of artabae to which the amount in l. 3 [80,849] was converted + 14 per cent.; hence 80,849 art. καγκέλλω, are equated to 62,173 1/38 art. μέγᾱλω καγκ." The text however makes clear that the 80,849 *kankellon* artabas are equated to 70,877.25 *mega kankellon* artabas, not 62,173 1/38 artabas. There is no reason to assume that 70,877.25 *includes* an addition of 14%, which we would then have to subtract ourselves.

In fact, by dividing 80,849 by 70,877.25 we get a figure of 1.14069045 or, on a simpler scale, 1.14. In other words, 80,849 itself is 14% bigger than 70,877.25. The *mega kankellon* artaba is 14% bigger than the standard *kankellon* artaba. This sufficiently explains the phrase ἐπὶ (ἐκατοσταῖς) ἰδ, "at the 14% rate" (rather than "with an addition of 14%," as the editors translate), which accompanies some of the amounts given in *mega kankellon* artabas.

Confirmation of the above is provided by the figures for expenditures in the 1st indiction (ll. 23-30). The condition of the text is such that the *mega kankellon* artabas for the year cannot be recovered nor the amount of *mega kankellon* artabas provided for the stables of Takona, making it impossible to reconstruct how the unexpended balance of 2,353 *mega kankellon* artabas was arrived at. But the number of artabas expended for the *embole* is given as 110,444 *kankellon* artabas, which the editors want to correct to 110,845. There

³ I was led to restudy *P.Oxy.* 16.1906 after realizing that my earlier view that the function of these percentages related to purifying wheat of its contaminants was incorrect. (See *BASP* 42 [2005] 56.)

is also a charge of 7,759 *kankellon* artabas for an unspecified purpose and of 1,780 *kankellon* artabas for the *prosphora* of Alexandria, the three figures adding up to a total of 120,384 *kankellon* artabas. This amount is then converted, at the 14% rate (ἐπὶ (ἐκατοσταῖς) ἰδ), into 105,614 *mega kankellon* artabas.

120,384 *kankellon* artabas divided by 105,614 *mega kankellon* artabas yields 1.1398488 or, on a simpler scale, 1.14. This corresponds, with a slight fractional difference, to the figure we arrived at for the 15th indication: the relationship between the *mega kankellon* artaba and the standard *kankellon* artaba is close to 1.14:1 or, in other words, the *mega kankellon* artaba is again 14% bigger than the standard *kankellon* artaba.

With respect to the editors' estimate (p. 135) that, based on a *kankellon* artaba of 40 *choinikes*, a *mega kankellon* artaba would contain 52 *choinikes*, my analysis suggests 45.6.⁴

In the process of working through *P.Oxy.* 16.1906, I noted in other late accounts of receipts and expenditures an unspecified measure (μέτρῳ) used for artabas of wheat, converted into a larger number of *kankellon* artabas, accompanied in most instances by a figure of 15%. It is expressed in these terms: σίτου μέτρῳ (ἀρτάβαι) X αἱ καγκέλλῳ (ἀρτάβαι) ἐξ (ἐκατοστῶν) (ἀρτ.) ιε κ(αγκέλλῳ) (ἀρτάβαι) Y ("X *metron* artabas of wheat equal Y *kankellon* artabas at the 15% artaba rate").⁵

The relationship expressed in μέτρῳ artabas X αἱ καγκέλλῳ artabas Y is very close to the ratio between the *mega kankellon* artaba and the *kankellon* artaba in *P.Oxy.* 16.1906. The *metron* measure is 15%, the *mega kankellon* 14% bigger than the standard *kankellon* artaba. The following examples will show a ratio of 1.15 :1 between the *metron* artaba and the *kankellon* artaba.

(1) *P.Oxy.* 16.2024.20 reads: μέτρῳ ἀρτάβαι φπβζ χοίνικες ε, αἱ καγκέλλῳ ἀρτάβαι ἐξ ἐκατοστῶν ἀρτ. ιε ἀρτάβαι πζδ χοίνικες ζ γίνονται σίτου καγκέλλῳ ἀρτάβαι χο χοῖνιζ α. Using only whole numbers:⁶ 670 divided by 582 = 1.15.

⁴ The reference cited for the 40-52 *choinikes* should be *P.Oxy.* 16.1910 rather than 1909.

⁵ It must be kept in mind that the σίτου in these *metron* measures is, like that of *P.Oxy.* 16.1906, ῥυπαροῦ (see n. 1). A search in the DDBDP for αἱ καγκέλλῳ produced eighteen citations, all from Oxyrhynchus: *P.Oxy.* 16.1910 13, 14; 1911.68, 101, 194; 1912.111, 178; 2024.5, 20; 2025.14; 18.2195.74, 80, 117, 126, 127; 19.2243a.59, 65; and 55.3804.141. Similarly, ἐξ ἐκατοστῶν (ἀρτ.) ιε produced six citations from Oxyrhynchus: *P.Oxy.* 16.1911.68, 101, 143, 208; 18.2195.74; and 55.3804.141. I have excluded three citations from *P.land.* 4.63.v since they are concerned with διάπισμα, the meaning of which is not very clear. On διάπισμα, see n. 13 in *BASP* 42 (2005) 58.

⁶ Note that in *P.Oxy.* 16.1906 the amounts are given in whole numbers. No mention is made of fractions or *choinikes*.

(2) *P.Oxy.* 18.2195.7.126, with no mention of μέτρῳ or a percentage, reads: σίτου ἀρτάβαι πα δ χοίνικες β αἱ καγκέλλῳ ογζ. 93 divided by 81 = 1.148 or, on a simpler scale, 1.15.

(3) *P.Oxy.* 16.1912 also shows how the οἶκος Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν converted *metron* measures of wheat into standard *kankellon* measures. The first 110 lines are a list of receipts mostly of *metron* measures, fewer of *kankellon* measures, and payments of money. It is summarized in this way in l. 111, without mentioning the percentage between the two measures: γίνονται λημμάτων β ἰνδικτίονος σίτου μέτρῳ ἀρτάβαι [Γ]τθ χοίνικες β, αἱ καγκέλλῳ ἀρτάβαι Ὑως. Using whole numbers: 3,806 divided by 3309 = 1.15.

Applied to the 40-*choinix* artaba, the *metron* artaba would amount to 46 *choinikes* (the *mega kankellon* artaba, as stated above, held 45.6 *choinikes*).

Why this 14-15% difference between the artabas used in the internal operation of the οἶκος Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν and the standard *kankellon* artaba used in the accounting? *P.Oxy.* 55.3804.141-142n. explains the 15% difference (without mentioning the 14% difference attested in *P.Oxy.* 16.1906) as an extra charge in terms of the “rente-impôt” of J. Gascou, who views the οἶκος Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν as a semi-public institution rather than a private estate, a view now largely discredited.⁷ In any case, in its relation with the world outside, the οἶκος Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν needed standard *kankellon* artabas, which explains why they converted into standard *kankellon* artabas.

An even more difficult problem is presented by the use of *two* bigger measures. Why is there a one-percent difference between the two bigger measures? I can only offer a suggestion: the difference may have been in the time between supply and storage. Egyptian wheat delivered shortly after harvesting and processing had a higher percentage of moisture than when stored and handled in a granary. It is possible that the record keepers of *P.Oxy.* 16.1906 took this into account when converting at the 14% rate rather than at the 15% rate. What can be said with more confidence is that there were two measures for wheat used by the οἶκος Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν, of which one, the *metron*, was 1% bigger than the *mega kankellon* measure of *P.Oxy.* 16.1906. Measures were duly recorded as they were received, necessitating the conversion of either of the

⁷ See, most recently, P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge 2006) Chapter 9. *P.Oxy.* 55.3804.141-142n. says that *kankellon* and *metron* artabas were the same size but that *kankellon* artabas included extra charges. This would seem to fly in the face of *mega* in amounts given in *mega kankellon* artabas in *P.Oxy.* 16.1906. If *mega kankellon* artabas were, as one would expect, bigger in size, amounts in *mega kankellon* artabas should be smaller, and this is indeed the case in *P.Oxy.* 16.1906. Kreuzsaler (n. 2) also points out that, at least in the early Arab period, the *kankellon* artaba was an artaba of a certain size.

the two bigger measures into the smaller *kankellon*, the measure in common use for trade and tax purposes.

Ostraca from Western Thebes Provenance and History of the Collections at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and at Columbia University¹

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to localize published and unpublished Coptic ostraca within their archaeological contexts, in part taking up a challenge in recent work on texts and material culture (e.g., T. Gagos, J.E. Gates, and A.T. Wilburn, "Material Culture and Texts of Graeco-Roman Egypt: Creating Context, Debating Meaning," *BASP* 42 [2005] 171-188). In its focus on material excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, it is intended to complement the work of T.G. Wilfong on material excavated at Medinet Habu by the Oriental Institute ("Western Thebes in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries: A Bibliographic Survey of Jême and its Surroundings," *BASP* 26 [1989] 89-145).

The following report has two central goals: first, to localize groups of ostraca, formerly at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (henceforth, "MMA" or "the Museum") and now at Columbia University, within the Theban landscape; and second, to demonstrate the breadth of archaeological sites represented by these collections. This paper results in part from work undertaken in spring, 2005, and aims to serve as a reference guide for the MMA and the Columbia University library staff and for future scholars working in these two collections. The Egyptian Antiquities Service also assigned a good number of ostraca excavated by the MMA's Egyptian Expedition to the Egyptian Museum (Cairo);

¹ For access to the collections, and for their guidance and hospitality, I thank Helen Evans and Christine Brennan in the Medieval Department, MMA; Dorothea Arnold and Marsha Hill in the Egyptian Department, MMA; Roger Bagnall, Raffaella Cribiore and the Rare Books and Manuscripts Library staff at Columbia University; and Jaromír Málek, Alison Hobby, and Elizabeth Fleming, Griffith Institute Archive, Oxford.

I have noted the current whereabouts of such material whenever I am aware of it.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the MMA acquired almost four thousand texts from late antique Western Thebes through excavation, gift, or purchase. Largely in Coptic (and some Greek), most of these usually fragmentary texts were written on pottery sherds, limestone flakes and, more rarely, papyrus.² The MMA's Egyptian Expedition excavations, directed by Herbert E. Winlock, uncovered the great majority of texts between 1911 and 1930. In 1958 and 1961, the MMA sold most of its given, purchased, and unaccessioned excavated ostraca to Columbia University.³

The MMA and Columbia collections are remarkable among international holdings of comparable Western Theban material for the degree to which one may associate texts with their find spots.⁴ Scholars have long known that a significant proportion of papyri come from the so-called "Monastery of Epiphanius" on Sheikh abd el-Gurna. The provenances of the remainder of the texts include other important sites such as Medinet Habu, which was the location of the late antique town of Memnoneia/Jeme, and the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, which was the location of the Monastery of St. Phoibammon ca. 600-800 CE.

The MMA accessioned all texts obtained by gift or purchase; however, the Museum accessioned only a very small proportion of the ostraca acquired as the result of its own excavations (in general, accessioned texts correspond to those published in *P.Mon.Epiph.*). MMA accession numbers consist of three parts. The first number represents the year in which the MMA registered a given piece (not always equivalent to the year in which the piece was excavated,

² Throughout this essay, I will refer to texts written on ostraca and limestone as "ostraca" while I will use "papyri" to describe all texts regardless of material. For the inclusive use of the term "papyri" to describe such disparate ancient writing surfaces as pottery, limestone, leather, wood, and bone, see R.S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London and New York 1995) 9-10.

³ This sale seems to have been part of the MMA Egyptian Department's larger project to clean house at the time; for example, the MMA sold some late antique pottery from its Theban excavations to the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, and other material entered the collection of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. For the Oriental Institute purchase, see T.G. Wilfong, "Western Thebes in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries: A Bibliographic Survey of Jême and its Surroundings," *BASP* 26 (1989) 122.

⁴ Several other museums hold significant collections of late antique material from Western Thebes: the Egyptian Museum, Coptic Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Musée du Louvre, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, British Museum, Ashmolean Museum, Royal Ontario Museum, and Oriental Institute, Chicago.

given, or purchased). The second number represents the group within which objects (including papyri) entered the Museum by means of, for example, a purchase or a given season's excavation. The third number reflects the sequence in which the piece was accessioned within the group. For example, the accession number 14.1.42 indicates that the piece was the forty-second object recorded in the first group from the 1913/1914 Theban Expedition accessioned in 1914.

The MMA's 1958 and 1961 sales to Columbia are noted above. Late antique material from Western Thebes that the MMA did not sell in the late 1950s and early 1960s, consisting of about 550 texts and other archaeological objects, was recently transferred within the MMA from the Egyptian Department to the Medieval Department. The MMA kept most of the published texts from its own excavations. The first lot of texts the MMA sold to Columbia in 1958 consisted of approximately 245 (given and purchased) accessioned and approximately 1375 unaccessioned pieces.⁵ The unaccessioned texts were largely recovered in the course of the Egyptian Expedition's 1926/1927 and 1927/1928 excavations at Deir el-Bahri.⁶ The second lot, sold in 1961, consisted of approximately 1859 texts, most of which were excavated from the Monastery of Epiphanius during the Expedition's 1911/1912 season.⁷

A. Arthur Schiller, Professor of Law at Columbia and a specialist in Roman and "Coptic" law, facilitated Columbia's purchase of the MMA texts. Schiller had a particular interest in texts of Theban origin and recognized the importance of keeping texts from the same archaeological context together.⁸ Despite a wide number of commitments, Schiller accessioned the ostraca himself over the course of the 1960s and 1970s. The numbers he assigned mirror those of the MMA, with one exception: the second number reflects the month in which he accessioned pieces. For example, "65.3.42" indicates that the piece was the forty-second he accessioned in March 1965. After his retirement in May 1971, Schiller seems to have dedicated a considerable amount of time to the ostraca,

⁵ Numbers are those given in A.A. Schiller, Notebook 33, 93, Schiller Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Columbia University; however, because of the fragility of the media (pottery and limestone), it is difficult to confirm absolute numbers of texts; several pieces have been broken or chipped since they were excavated and accessioned (e.g., 64.11.82 = O.Col. inv. 742 + 64.11.21 = O.Col. inv. 682).

⁶ See 1.6. "Temple of Hatshepsut/Monastery of Phoibammon," below.

⁷ See 1.1. "Monastery of Epiphanius," below.

⁸ See, for example, his review of *O. Medin. Habu Copt.*, *JAOS* 72 (1952) 55-56; his *Coptic Wills* (J.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1926); and his edition of *P.CLT*, which included papyri in several collections all concerning the so-called Monastery of Paul (*P.CLT*, p. v).

frequently taking batches to his home in Oneonta, New York.⁹ He made a number of preliminary readings, often grouping texts together by provenance (rather than, for example, by genre). The last numbers he assigned were 76.8.1-76.8.2; he died the following year (1977). His papers consist of approximately 30,000 items (sixty-four boxes, twenty-one card file boxes) and are held by the Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Butler Library, Columbia University. They contain a great number of preliminary readings of Columbia texts from Western Thebes as well as his correspondence about these texts with other scholars (e.g., Walter Crum, Walter Till and Martin Krause).

Rafaella Cribiore, assisted by Todd Hickey, completed the accessioning of the ostraca at Columbia in the course of cataloguing them for APIS in the mid- and late-1990s.¹⁰ At that time, all of these texts received unique O.Col. inv. numbers, by which one should properly identify them today. Nevertheless, in this paper, I shall use the more convenient MMA and "Schiller" accession numbers because these two systems generally bear a more direct relationship to the original find-spot of texts. One can easily reconcile these numbers to Columbia inventory numbers (O.Col. inv.) by searching APIS.

This paper organizes MMA and Columbia texts, which certainly or probably come from Western Thebes, into three groups according to their sources:

1. MMA Egyptian Expedition excavations
2. Gifts from other Theban excavations
3. Gifts or purchases from, said to be from, or possibly from Western Thebes

Within each section, the sources of texts are organized chronologically according to the year of their excavation or, in the case of gifts and purchases, the year of their accession by the MMA.

⁹ For example, in Schiller's readings of texts in the series 23.3.701-750, "The above 4 pages constitute the first batch brought to Oneonta and read 9/12-9/14, 1975." Schiller (n. 5) box 34.

¹⁰ <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/> (accessed August 2005).

1. MMA Egyptian Expedition excavations

1.1. TT 103, MMA 808-810, 803-804, 806/"Monastery of Epiphanius," Sheikh abd el-Gurna¹¹

The largest body of Theban material in the MMA and Columbia collections comes from the so-called "Monastery of Epiphanius." As an editor of the papyri from the site conceded, it is never identified as a *monasterion* in the ancient sources; rather, the texts refer to it either by the Greek word *topos* or by the Coptic phrase *mma nšope* ("dwelling places").¹² Nevertheless, the excavators named the site the "Monastery of Epiphanius" after the most prominent figure known from the texts. In 1911/1912 the MMA Egyptian Expedition cleared late antique remains from a large rock-cut tomb originally belonging to the XIth Dynasty vizier Daga (TT 103). In the 1913/1914 season, the Egyptian Expedition cleared several more reused tombs and associated structures located to the east of the TT 103, as well as three other tombs/cells ("Cells A-C") on Sheikh abd el-Gurna.¹³

In 1926, the MMA published a monumental account of the archaeological remains of the site (vol.1) and its texts (vol. 2), entitled *The Monastery of Epiphanius* (henceforth, vol. 2 = *P.Mon.Epiph.*).¹⁴ Although the authors intended to publish 830 texts from the MMA's 1911/1912 and 1913/1914 seasons at the Monastery of Epiphanius and outlying areas, as well as texts of unknown provenance from the area, they managed to publish only 702 texts, sixty-seven of which were wall inscriptions. The published papyri were mostly uncovered in the tomb of Daga (TT 103) and "its more immediate neighborhood."¹⁵ The "neighborhood" in question included some texts from other sites investigated by the Egyptian Expedition over the course of the period 1911-1924: the so-

¹¹ "TT" is the standard abbreviation for "Theban Tomb." The Egyptian Antiquities Service instituted this numbering system in tandem with other individual and institutional systems (including MMA numbers). See B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, 2nd ed., vol. 1.1 (Oxford 1960) 477-478.

¹² The terms *monasterion* and *topos* are commonly equated in ancient and modern literature; however, it is important to assess the vocabulary used in each individual case because a *topos* can also be a church or saint's shrine (not necessarily part of a monastery).

¹³ The archaeologists associated Cells A-C with the core of the Monastery of Epiphanius; their speculation was based on boundaries described in a Coptic testament (*diatheke*) surviving on papyrus (PKRU 75; translated *P.Mon.Epiph.* Appendix 3).

¹⁴ H.E. Winlock and W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius*, 2 vols. (New York 1926).

¹⁵ *P.Mon.Epiph.*, p. v.

called Monastery of Cyriacus (see 1.2, below) and Cell of Elias (1.3); Medinet Habu (1.4); and TT 240, 310 and 312 above Deir el-Bahri (1.5).

Of the texts recovered in the 1911/1912 and 1913/1914 seasons, about thirty-five percent have been published so far. Although many of the unpublished texts are fragments, a significant number are complete. In 1976 Bruce Williams (MMA Egyptian Department), expressed the opinion that the unpublished papyri and ostraca justified "perhaps a small *Epiphanius* III."¹⁶ Using MMA and Columbia records together with Crum Notebook 18, which is currently held by the Griffith Institute, and with Schiller Notebook 33, we can assign, to a greater or lesser extent, almost 2000 published and unpublished papyri to the Monastery of Epiphanius. Several hundred of the approximately 1300 unpublished texts may justify editing.

1911/1912

Those texts excavated in the 1911/1912 season bear field numbers, or "D-numbers" ("D" for "Daga"); these run from D1 to D1502 and perhaps as high as D1539.¹⁷ Publication documentation for *P.Mon.Epiph.* associates groups of D-numbered texts up to D1440 with their find-spots (e.g., room numbers and, sometimes, floor-layers).¹⁸ Out of a total of over 1500 texts, the MMA accessioned about 254, from the range 12.180.42-335; to my knowledge, all of these accessioned texts remain at the Museum. In 1961 the MMA sold approximately 1044 unaccessioned pieces to Columbia.¹⁹ In addition to the texts excavated in 1911/1912 and now at MMA and Columbia, Crum Notebook 18 provides Egyptian Museum accession numbers (*Journal d'entrée* or *JdE* numbers) for about 180 texts apportioned to the Egyptian Museum (in the range *JdE* 44674.1-190).

1913/1914

The total number of texts retrieved two years later during the MMA Egyptian Expedition's 1913/1914 season is more difficult to gauge; although we do not know the exact number, it was at least 358. The MMA accessioned texts in the range 14.1.42-569, retrieved from the buildings east of Daga or Cells A-C;

¹⁶ B. Williams, "The Epiphanius Documents," dated 7 June 1976, MMA Egyptian Department Archive.

¹⁷ The former number is the highest given in Crum Notebook 18; the latter number is the highest in the APIS database (*op. cit.*, n. 10).

¹⁸ Document titled "Ostraca of Epiphanius – 1st season," MMA Medieval Department Archive.

¹⁹ Schiller counted 1044 D-number pieces, Schiller (n. 5) Notebook 33, 95-96.

196 of these texts have remained at the MMA. Of these objects, the MMA sold at least eight accessioned texts to Columbia in 1958.²⁰ The Museum also sold a number of *unaccessioned* texts from these same locations to Columbia in 1961.²¹ Crum Notebook 18 confirms that the Egyptian Museum accessioned at least 136 texts from this season (in the range *JdE* 46304.1-136).

If the Egyptian Museum assigned *JdE* numbers to all the texts it received in the 1911/1912 and 1913/1914 divisions with the MMA, then we can expect that they held about 300 Monastery of Epiphanius texts. If the Egyptian Museum did not accession all of the texts it received, the number may be much higher. In his 1976 assessment of the Epiphanius material, Bruce Williams of the MMA Egyptian Department observed that the Egyptian Museum had chosen a representative sample (i.e., not only the best pieces) from the MMA Egyptian Expedition's finds and that the MMA had received all of the texts written on papyrus (in contrast to ostraca and limestone).²² The Egyptian Museum apparently transferred Monastery of Epiphanius texts to the Coptic Museum (Cairo) prior to the late 1970s. Indeed, while working at the Coptic Museum in 1978 and 1979, S. Kent Brown identified five cases, numbered 18, 29, 30, 37, and 38, which contained texts published in *P.Mon.Epiph.*²³ The number that the Coptic Museum assigned to the Epiphanius material is 4531; within that group, each piece retains the *JdE* number assigned by the Egyptian Museum.²⁴

No fewer than 2000 texts or fragments of texts held by the Coptic Museum, the MMA and Columbia derive from both seasons at the Monastery of Epiphanius. This material provides a number of exciting opportunities for study (and re-study). For example, many letters addressed to Pisentius (569-632 CE), the Bishop of Koptos/Keft, seem to indicate that he lived at the Monastery of Epiphanius. Like the contemporary anti-Chalcedonian archbishop of Alexandria, Damian (578-607 CE), who lived at the Enaton monastery nine miles west of Alexandria, Pisentius (also anti-Chalcedonian) did not live permanently in the capital of his district, but resided, at least intermittently, at a *topos* also about nine miles away from his see. Pisentius was the subject of the *Life of Pisentius* and was the author of at least one extant homily. This convergence of sources makes him a very interesting subject and a stimulating case

²⁰ MMA 14.1.104, 112, 115, 116, 121, 128, 152, and 154.

²¹ Examples include 68.3.1-7 and 68.3.8-16, the packing for which was labeled "Cell B" and "East of Daga" respectively; and 66.10.1-71, the packing for which was labeled "a few noted Cell A and Cell B." Schiller (n. 5) Notebook 33, 72, and 94.

²² B. Williams (n. 18).

²³ S.K. Brown, "The Ostraka of the Coptic Museum: A Preliminary Report," *American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter* 3 (1980) 1-5.

²⁴ R.S. Bagnall, personal communication, 22 September 2005.

study for the concordance (and discordance?) of literary and papyrological attestation.²⁵ A joint Leiden-Louvre project to reedit *P.Pisentius* promises to raise the profile of this historical figure.²⁶

1.2. TT 65-67/"Monastery of Cyriacus," Sheikh abd el-Gurna

While seeking the boundaries of the Monastery of Epiphanius in the 1913/1914 season, Winlock and his team investigated the so-called "Monastery of Cyriacus" located on the northeast face of Sheikh abd el-Gurna.²⁷ As with the Monastery of Epiphanius, the papyri never refer to this site as a *monasterion*, but MMA archaeologists chose the name out of convenience based on several letters addressed to a Cyriacus. The core of the so-called monastery comprised three pharaonic period rock-cut tombs numbered TT 65-67.

The MMA accessioned a number of texts recorded from TT 65-67 or found nearby²⁸; Crum published eighteen texts from this location, all of which the MMA accessioned in 1914 and keeps today.²⁹ The MMA sold at least a couple of the unpublished accessioned ostraca to Columbia in 1958 (14.1.19, 21). Nevertheless, Schiller notes that the packing and contents of three cartons containing seventy-four unaccessioned ostraca were labeled in the following way:³⁰

From small carton [labeled] "65-66" [accessioned] 68.3.31-68.3.65 [total] 35

From another carton [labeled] "65-66" [accessioned] 68.3.66-68.3.90 [total] 25

From another carton [labeled] "65-66" [accessioned] 68.3.91-68.3.104 [total] 14

The labeling of the cartons "65-66" probably refers to the TT numbers, and it is therefore likely that these seventy-four texts should also be attributed to the "Monastery of Cyriacus," bringing the total number of texts that we may attribute to the site close to 100.

²⁵ T.G. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme* (Ann Arbor 2002) 23. Whereas his *Life* and some letters suggest that Pisentius fled to Western Thebes to avoid the Persian invasion (Winlock and Crum [n. 14], 227), his anti-Chalcedonian position was probably a more important factor. For Abraham of Hermonthis/Ermont and Pisentius of Koptos/Keft as anti-Chalcedonian bishops in exile, see E. Wipszycka, "Bishops of Byzantine Egypt," in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700* (Cambridge forthcoming).

²⁶ J. van der Vliet, "Pisentius de Coptos (569-632) moine, évêque et saint: autour d'une nouvelle édition de ses archives," *Autour de Coptos*, Topoi Supplément 3 (Lyon 2002) 61-72.

²⁷ Winlock and Crum (n. 14) 1:16-18.

²⁸ E.g., 14.1.1-24; 14.1.216, 486, 488, 527, 539, and 553.

²⁹ Winlock and Crum (n. 14) 1:16.

³⁰ Schiller (n. 5) Notebook 33, 72.

Támas Bács of Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest is currently re-excavating one of the tombs (TT 65) belonging to the Monastery of Cyriacus cluster. His team is in the process of publishing more of the site's late antique material, including burials and, as of 2000, over fifty ostraca.³¹

1.3. "Cell of Elias," south of Deir el-Mohareb

Winlock reported that the MMA "acquired" six ostraca and four wooden tablets from a site "frequently plundered in recent years."³² Object cards at the MMA cite the source of the texts as "Museum exc. 1913-1914," locate the site south of Deir el-Mohareb, and describe it as having been "plundered by Arabs in 1914." I do not know whether the MMA may have acquired the texts as surface finds or as purchases. Non-textual material in the sequence 14.1.217-220 and 14.1.460-479 is recorded as having come from the same location.³³ The Egyptian Expedition called the site the "Cell of Elias" based on the contents of two texts referring to an *apa* by that name. Crum edited all six ostraca in *P.Mon.Epiph.*; the wooden tablets appear in three different publications.³⁴ To my knowledge, none of these were sold to Columbia. I do not know if any other texts from the site went to the Egyptian Museum.

1.4. *Memnoneia/Jeme, Medinet Habu*

Just as it is unclear how the MMA procured the "Cell of Elias" materials, I do not know whether the MMA excavated or purchased four ostraca said to be

³¹ T. Bács, "The So-called 'Monastery of Cyriacus' at Thebes," *Egyptian Archaeology* 17 (2000) 36.

³² Winlock and Crum (n. 14) 1:24. Deir el-Mohareb contains a Mamluk period church, which serves the local Coptic community today (P. Grossmann, *Mittelalterliche Langhauskuppelkirchen und verwandte Typen in Oberägypten* [Glückstadt 1982] 203-205). If the "cell of Elias" is to be understood as located local north (not magnetic north) of Deir el-Mohareb, the site might be a part of the so-called Monastery of Phoebammon excavated by C. Bachatly et al., *Le monastère de Phoebammon dans la Thébaidé* (Cairo 1961-1981) and site 29 recorded and mapped in H.A. Winkler, *Rock-drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, vol. 1 (London 1938) 8.

³³ The Rogers Fund (1914) is cited in the MMA database as the source financing the acquisition of 14.1.460-479.

³⁴ Ostraca: *P.Mon.Epiph.* 182=14.1.25; 203=14.1.26; 294=14.1.29; 332=14.1.31, 381=14.1.28, 577=14.1.32. Tablets: *P.Mon.Epiph.* 616=MMA 14.1.219; *O.Crum ST* 438=MMA 14.1.220; for the publication of 14.1.217 and 14.1.218, see Winlock and Crum (n. 14) 1:24.

from Memnoneia/Jeme, Medinet Habu (14.1.140-143).³⁵ The texts now belong to the MMA, and I have found very little documentation concerning them.

1.5. *TT 310, 312 and 240 above Deir el-Bahri*

Three tombs among those cleared by the MMA Egyptian Expedition in the cliffs above the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri during the 1923 season yielded late antique material. The excavators recovered up to fifty texts, some of which were published in *P.Mon.Epiph.*³⁶ TT 310 (= MMA Tomb 505) yielded thirty-eight texts accessioned by the MMA (23.3.701-718 and 23.3.731-750), and one late antique text (23.3.720) is recorded as found in TT 312 (= MMA Tomb 509).³⁷ The MMA accessioned eight surface finds (23.3.721-725 and 23.3.728-30) near TT 240 (= MMA Tomb 517). In 1958, Columbia purchased all fifty pieces. This group of texts contains several of great interest, including two letters to Epiphanius from his disciple (and successor), Psan (23.2.706, 23.3.708). Another letter from TT 310 addresses a smith (23.3.731), an interesting fact in light of the large number of metal objects from the same area that were photographed, accessioned, or both by MMA.³⁸ A number of the texts from TT 310 are school exercises on which R. Cribiore is working.

1.6. *Temple of Hatshepsut/Monastery of Phoibammon, Deir el-Bahri.*

The MMA Egyptian Expedition recovered up to 1330 texts over the course of their 1926/1927 and 1927/1928 excavations near the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri. Among formerly MMA ostraca, this group of texts is at once the most understudied and arguably the most important. The site is well-known from papyri in several international collections; it is called both a *topos* and a *monasterion* in the papyri, and the complex included an oratory (*eukterion*) and (or equivalent to) an important martyr shrine (*martyrion*).³⁹ In M. Krause's historical reconstruction, Abraham, Bishop of Hermonthis/Ermont, established the monastery in the reign of Damian the archbishop of

³⁵ For the site of Memnoneia/Jeme, Medinet Habu, see 2.2, below.

³⁶ According to MMA accession cards, the provenance of MMA 23.3.719 is uncertain: "DeB?"

³⁷ Nine ostraca from TT 310 and the one from TT 312 are all written in the hand of Pleine.

³⁸ TT 312: iron rods (M7C 273, 23.3.203-205), spearhead (26.3.206); TT 310: ring handles (26.3.83-84), razor(?) (26.3.85).

³⁹ A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Egypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides: l'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes* (Paris 2001) 206-214 and 273-281.

Alexandria (578-607 CE).⁴⁰ Abraham, like Pisentius, was bishop of a see; however, he regularly, if not in fact permanently, lived in Western Thebes and not in his capital. By the eighth century, the monastery controlled considerable land and resources in the area;⁴¹ it seems to have functioned as the repository for Jeme's legal documents;⁴² and received a large number of "child donations."⁴³

MMA excavators retrieved the texts originally associated with the Monastery of Phoibammon from the dump of an earlier excavation: E. Naville, working at Deir el-Bahri on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund (1893-1907), had located his excavation's dump north of the ramps of the Temple of Hatshepsut. Naville's priority was to strip the platforms of the temple of "late" phases of use in order to reveal the pharaonic temple below. In the process he removed *inter alia* the remains of the Monastery of Phoibammon. Like other ancient funerary monuments of Western Thebes, the temple had been adopted and adapted for habitation; as early photographs of the site clearly show, the monastery had been installed in and around the upper terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut.⁴⁴ Most of the texts recovered from Naville's excavation went to the Egyptian Museum, British Museum and Ashmolean Museum and many have been published in the following editions: *O.Crum*, *O.Crum VC*, *O.Crum ST*, *P.KRU*, *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 1 and 2, *O.Ashm.Copt.* Other ostraca were dumped.

The MMA Egyptian Expedition took over the Deir el-Bahri concession, under the direction of Winlock, shortly after Naville's team left the site in 1906. Twenty years later, in the 1926/1927 excavation season, the Egyptian Expedition very quickly cleared the dump, moving, by Winlock's estimation, 1.8 million cubic feet of dirt.⁴⁵ The team's efforts were rewarded by the discovery of an important cache of colossal Hatshepsut statues, broken up in antiquity,

⁴⁰ M. Krause, "Die Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Phoibammon-Klöstern auf dem thebanischen Westufer," *BSAC* 27 (1985) 31-44.

⁴¹ E.g., *P.KRU* passim.

⁴² Wilfong (n. 25) 20.

⁴³ For bibliography, see A. Papaconstantinou, "Notes sur les actes donation d'enfant au monastère thébain de Saint-Phoibammon," *JJP* 32 (2002) 84, n. 3.

⁴⁴ The remains of the monastery are visible in early photographs of the site; see e.g., E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari: Its Plan, Its Founders, and Its First Explorers* (London 1894) frontispiece and pls. 4-6. Images collected in W. Godlewski, *Le monastère de St Phoibammon* (Warsaw 1986). See also T.G.H. James (ed.), *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982* (London 1982) pls. 19, 20 and 23.

⁴⁵ H.E. Winlock, "Egyptian Expedition 1927-28: Museum's Excavations at Thebes," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 23 (1928) 3.

which lay under Naville's dump. Amid the dirt and debris the team also collected "lots" of Coptic ostraca.⁴⁶

The post-excavation history of these texts merits a detailed exposition for two reasons: there has been some confusion as to their provenance, and they have received little scholarly attention of any kind to date.⁴⁷

In 1929, Winlock arranged with the Egyptian Antiquities Service to ship all of the ostraca retrieved from Naville's dump to Crum in England so that he might record vocabulary for his dictionary project.⁴⁸ Before the ostraca were permitted to leave Egypt, H. Burton, the Egyptian Expedition's photographer, documented all of the ostraca at 1/3 scale for identification purposes (MMA negative nos. M10C 14-M10C 38), and Winlock sent a set of photographs ahead to Crum.⁴⁹ As I discuss in greater detail below, Burton's photographs would prove invaluable to later scholars' attempts to identify these ostraca and definitively to establish provenance. Crum afforded the texts only a cursory reading in order to collect data for his *Coptic Dictionary* before quickly returning the ostraca to Cairo where they were divided between the Egyptian Museum and the MMA.⁵⁰ Concerning the division of finds, Winlock requested that the MMA receive some of the better pieces so that the Museum might have a useful study collection (and he mentions, "one young fellow" [i.e., Schiller])

⁴⁶ From Helen Winlock's 1927 Christmas card to Mr. and Mrs. Crum, which is referenced in a letter from W.E. Crum to H.E. Winlock dated 22 December 1927, MMA Egyptian Department Archive.

⁴⁷ The main exceptions are M. Krause, "Das christliche Theben. Neuere Arbeiten und Funde," *BSAC* 24 (1982) 22 and B. Krause-Becker, "Figürliche und ornamentale Zeichnungen auf koptischen Ostraka um 600," in *Festschrift Johannes Jahn zum XXII. November MCMLVII* (Leipzig 1957) 33 and especially notes 3-5. Marsha Hill's summary of relevant documents and correspondence in the MMA Egyptian Department archive is invaluable for tracking the history of the texts, and I am grateful to her for making it available to me along with the primary records.

⁴⁸ Letter from Crum to Winlock dated 13 March 1928, MMA Egyptian Department Archive.

⁴⁹ Letter from P. Lacau to Winlock dated 24 December 1928; letter from Winlock to Crum dated 21 January 1929, MMA Egyptian Department Archive. Crum's set of photographs is now collected in Group I.100, Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

⁵⁰ Letter from Crum to Winlock dated 7 August 1929, MMA Egyptian Department Archive. The abbreviation "Win" is used in the dictionary to identify "ostraca from Winlock's excavation 1927-8, in Cairo Museum" (W.E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* [Oxford 1939] xiv).

had already arrived in New York with the interest and training to work on them).⁵¹

In April 1930, five boxes of unknown size containing Coptic ostraca, valued for insurance purposes at \$250, arrived in New York.⁵² The MMA has no documentation confirming that the texts contained in those five boxes are the same as those excavated at Deir el-Bahri, but the following circumstantial evidence suggests that at least three boxes contained texts from the dump. First, Schiller wrote to Crum in a letter dated 7 October 1930 to ask whether he should bother to read the contents of the three crates of ostraca that Winlock had brought back from the “rubbish mound.”⁵³ Second, in 1957 B. Krause-Becker published fourteen figured ostraca in the MMA collection. Her article gives a brief account of their excavation from Naville’s dump at Deir el-Bahri and of their appearance in the Burton photographs.⁵⁴

Schiller does not seem to have made the association between the texts from Naville’s dump and those that arrived at Columbia in 1958. He notes only that the lot included 1375 ostraca in three cartons labeled “375 pcs, 379 pcs, 591 pcs” with no other identification.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, Schiller recorded that Crum had provisionally read some of them and had wrapped them in yellow legal paper.⁵⁶ Schiller accessioned these as 64.2.1-65.3.112.⁵⁷ A few other texts

⁵¹ Letter from Winlock to B. Gunn dated 14 November 1929, MMA Egyptian Department Archive.

⁵² “Values for insurance on shipment from Cairo April 1930” and letter from Winlock to A. Lansing dated 18 April 1930, MMA Egyptian Department Archive.

⁵³ Letter dated from Schiller to Crum 7 October 1930, Schiller (n. 5) Box 1: “There is one matter, however, on which I should like your advice: Mr. Winlock informs me that he has brought back with him three crates of Coptic ostraca, some of which you have already seen, and which are the finds from the rubbish mound of last year’s excavation. Do you think that these ostraca merit any study? It is possible that some of the fragments may be part of already published ostraca such as CO [i.e., *O. Crum*] or BKU? If you think they are worth looking into I should like to do so, otherwise, I feel the time might be better spent.”

⁵⁴ Krause-Becker (n. 47) 33 and especially notes 3-5.

⁵⁵ Schiller (n. 5) Notebook 33, 93. Although the labels indicate that there should be 1345 ostraca (375 + 379 + 591 pieces), Schiller counts 1375. They may have been miscounted at MMA, but it is also likely that several broke into smaller pieces at some point along the way.

⁵⁶ The Columbia documentation includes readings of twenty-seven ostraca on yellow legal paper.

⁵⁷ Schiller also labeled a small number with two letters (e.g., AA, AB, AC), which I had originally thought he might have purchased in the Theban area, because he refers to them as “my” ostraca in the same notebook in which he recorded his trip to Western

had paper labels directly applied to them, reading “DeIB 1930.”⁵⁸ Although an MMA checklist of texts (dated May 1958) records in addition to accessioned pieces “about 1200 unaccessioned frags from Deir Bahari” (and marginal notes read “area 20? Naville’s dump?”), MMA Egyptian Department Associate Curator Nora Scott seems mistakenly to have indicated to Schiller that these were probably all from the Monastery of Epiphanius.⁵⁹ Schiller evidently never corrected this attribution (nor obtained a set of Burton’s photographs).⁶⁰ It is also possible that he was so well aware of the provenance of this set of ostraca that it did not occur to him to mention it in his notes.⁶¹

Today Burton’s images are the most reliable means by which to identify Deir el-Bahri ostraca at Columbia; the photographs provide irrefutable proof that the majority of the 1375 texts in three boxes accessioned by Schiller in the 64.2.1-65.3.112 range are the same as the ca. 1330 collected from Naville’s dump at Deir el-Bahri.⁶² The intermediate step wherein the ostraca traveled from the Egyptian Museum to the MMA is under-documented; it is probable

Thebes (Schiller [n. 5] Notebook 26). Instead these were perhaps just texts that caught his interest before he set about accessioning them systematically.

⁵⁸ Schiller accessioned them as 64.2.413-415, 65.2.114, and 65.3.112A. Schiller (n. 5) Notebook 33, 99.

⁵⁹ For the notes ascribing 1200 fragments to Deir el-Bahri, see “Deaccession” folder, MMA Egyptian Department Archive. N. Scott’s letter is ambivalent as to whether she attributes the contents of the 1958 or the 1961 deaccession to the Monastery of Epiphanius. After discussing the preparation for the transfer of the 1961 lot, she turns to the price of the 1958 lot. In a new paragraph she states, “As far as I can make out from the very sketchy notations on a few of the boxes, *these ostraca* were examined by Crum, who apparently copied ‘a few.’ There seems to have been some sort of a list or recording at one time which got lost while Crum was making his examination. I should say that this is almost pure guesswork – that most come from Epiphanius itself and ‘east of Daga.’” That she mentions Crum’s copies should strengthen the argument that she is referring to the 1958 lot.

⁶⁰ This passage from Schiller’s 6 December 1975 letter to C. Lilyquist, Curator of Egyptian Art, supports this argument: “Again, in the early 60s, when I persuaded the Rare Book Library at Columbia to purchase the approximately 3500 *Coptic ostraca* which the Egyptian Department had disposed of [*sic*]. Incidentally, I am still busy with the inventory [of] the hundreds of ostraca which were never inventoried by the Museum (*from the Epiphanius expedition*). Some time I hope to have access to the records of that time to gain further information as to the exact provenance of some of these texts” (my italics), Schiller (n. 5) box 4.

⁶¹ Nevertheless, if Schiller did recognize the provenance of these ostraca, I would expect him to have noted it in his list (Schiller [n. 5] Notebook 33, 93).

⁶² See below for the discrepancy between the 1330 ostraca depicted in the photographs and the 1375 in the boxes Schiller received.

(see Schiller's letter to Crum and the insurance documentation) that they arrived in 1930.⁶³ Although M. Krause and B. Krause-Becker clearly state that ostraca excavated by MMA from Naville's dump are associated with the Monastery of Phoibammon, this information does not seem to have made it into the MMA and Columbia records.⁶⁴ In the early 1980s, S. Kent Brown recognized "some" ostraca belonging to the Coptic Museum in Crum's copies of the Burton photos at the Griffith Institute, Oxford.⁶⁵ In a series of short visits to Columbia, he identified 114 ostraca in boxes at Columbia;⁶⁶ the list he produced of the Columbia ostraca that he was able to recognize in the Burton photographs seems to account for the pieces attributed to Deir el-Bahri in the APIS database.

Before I arrived at Columbia in the spring of 2005, I had become skeptical that so many texts in the APIS database should be attributed to "Monastery of Epiphanius?" and that so few apparently came from Deir el-Bahri. Accordingly, and independently of Brown, I postulated the association between the ostraca from the Deir el-Bahri and those in the Schiller sequence 64.2.1-65.3.112 in spring 2005. Indeed, most of the ca. 1330 ostraca that appear in the Burton photographs are found in the ostraca drawers at the Rare Books and Manuscripts Library at Columbia. Nevertheless, we cannot simply assign all of the ostraca in the 64.2.1-65.3.112 sequence to Deir el-Bahri. First, there were 1375 ostraca in the three boxes that Schiller opened when he assigned numbers in the range 64.2.1-65.3.112, but there are only ca. 1330 in the Burton photographs. Second, it is clear that some non-Deir el-Bahri material was introduced to the group at some point along the way (e.g., 64.3.9, clearly marked "Daga"). Therefore we must verify that each text in the 64.2.1-65.3.112 range appears in the photographs before we may positively attribute it to Deir el-Bahri. Furthermore, a number of ostraca have been broken or chipped (e.g., 64.11.82 + 64.11.21 and 65.3.44, respectively) over the years, and their condition complicates the identifying process.

⁶³ I do not know what might have been in the other two boxes of Coptic ostraca that arrived at the MMA at the same time (see n. 53).

⁶⁴ E.g., Krause (n. 47) 22, and Krause-Becker (n. 47) 33 and nn. 3-5.

⁶⁵ In a letter from Brown to T. Logan, Associate Curator, Egyptian Department, MMA dated 10 October 1980, the writer states, "While in Europe I learned that some of the ostraca in the Coptic Museum had been found in Naville's dumps at Deir el-Bahri by Winlock for the Metropolitan Museum." In this same letter, Brown identifies Coptic Museum inv. 4588.54987 in MMA negative M10 C22; I do not know how many other Deir el-Bahri ostraca from Naville's dump may now be in the Coptic Museum.

⁶⁶ See correspondence in "Ostraca collection folder," Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Columbia University, and especially Brown's letter addressed to R. Ellenbogen dated 5 January 1983 (Rare Books and Manuscripts Reading Room), with which Brown included a concordance of Schiller numbers and photograph numbers.

Many texts are complete and of enormous interest (e.g., many to, from or mentioning the Bishop Abraham). One might profitably read the Columbia texts from Deir el-Bahri with papyri excavated both before and after the MMA's work in the area. Texts excavated by the EES continue to be published: A. Biedenkopf-Ziehner, for example, published two new volumes including many such texts in 2000 (*O.Ashm.Copt.*, *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II). In 1986 W. Godlewski published a very useful monograph, which details the history and excavation of the Monastery of Phoibammon; contains edited ostraca (*O.Deir el-Bahari*) and other material recovered by the Polish team; and lists all editions of texts known to be provenanced to or concerning the Monastery of Phoibammon.⁶⁷ A continuing stream of editions of newly uncovered texts appears in journals annually.⁶⁸

2. Ostraca given to the MMA by other missions in Western Thebes

2.1. TT 95, Sheikh abd el-Gurna

E.J.H. MacKay cleared TT 95 on Sheikh abd el-Gurna on behalf on R.L. Mond in 1913. Based on several references in the texts to a Cyriacus, Crum inferred that TT 95 was part of the same community discussed above in section 1.2 (TT 65-67/"Monastery of Cyriacus," Sheikh abd el-Gurna).⁶⁹ MacKay gave thirteen ostraca from the site to the MMA in 1914 (14.1.68-80).⁷⁰ Crum

⁶⁷ Godlewski (n. 44). Citing texts in Crum (n. 50) xix and Crum's copies of the Burton photographs in the Griffith Institute, Godlewski notes that an important group of ostraca found in 1927/1928 MMA excavations at Deir el-Bahri now resides in Cairo. In a separate section, he also indicates that the MMA has ostraca from Winlock's work at Deir el-Bahri, and that these documents were sold to Columbia in 1959-1960. Godlewski does not explicitly acknowledge the relationship between these Cairo and MMA/Columbia collections, in particular, that texts in the Burton photos (= Griffith Institute Group I.100) are at Columbia University and not in Cairo (cf. p. 160 and also p. 19). His entry for Dayr Apa Phoibammon in the *Coptic Encyclopedia* is more concise: "Similar documents were found by H.E. Winlock (1926, Vol. 1, p. 20) during the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Expedition, and can now be found in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and in the collection of Columbia University, New York" (3:779-800). Nevertheless, he cites work north of Deir el-Bahri in TT 310, 312 and 240 as the source of these texts.

⁶⁸ E.g., T. Markiewicz, "Five Coptic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri," *JJP* 29 (1999) 81-82, and "New Fragmentary Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bahri," *JJP* 30 (2000) 67-70.

⁶⁹ Winlock and Crum (n. 14) 1:15-16.

⁷⁰ Winlock and Crum (n. 14) 1:15.

published 14.1.70 as *O.Crum ST 419*; the MMA sold 14.1.70-71 to Columbia in 1958.

A.M. Gnirs and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI), Kairo, are in the process of publishing TT 95 and have already indicated the presence of late antique remains.⁷¹

2.2. *Memnoneia/Jeme, Medinet Habu*

American businessman and patron T.M. Davis held a concession at Medinet Habu in 1912/1913 and gave fifty-five Greek and Coptic texts from the site to the MMA (14.6.93-126 and 14.6.149-169);⁷² several were published in *O.Crum ST* and all subsequently sold to Columbia.⁷³ Medinet Habu is the modern designation for the mortuary temple of Ramses III; from the end of the New Kingdom, the site had been the location of a well-documented town in Western Thebes, known in Greek as the Memnoneia, and in Egyptian as Jeme.

One might profitably read these texts together with the archaeological reports and finds from the University of Chicago's 1926-1931 excavations at the site.⁷⁴ The University of Chicago retrieved approximately 2000 Coptic texts from the site, only 400 of which have been published (*O.Medin.Habu Copt.*).⁷⁵ The total number of Greek texts is unknown; and some of these are likely contemporary with the Coptic texts.⁷⁶ In the early 1990s U. Kaplony-Heckel advanced a project to publish Hieratic, Demotic, Greek and Coptic texts.⁷⁷ In

⁷¹ A.M. Gnirs, "Das Pfeilerdekorsprogramm im Grab des Meri, Theben Nr. 95: Ein Beitrag zu den Totenkultpraktiken der 18. Dynastie," in J. Assmann (ed.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen* (Heidelberg 1995) 233-253; C. Heurtel, "Nouveaux aperçus de la vie anchorétique dans la montagne thébaine: les ostraca coptes de la tombe d'Aménénopé (TT29)," *BSFÉ* 154 (2002) 29-30.

⁷² For a summary of his work at Medinet Habu, see H. Burton, "The Late Theodore M. Davis's Excavations at Thebes in 1912-1913," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 11 (1916) 102-108.

⁷³ 14.1.35 = *O.Crum ST 437*, 14.1.36 = *O.Crum ST 429*, 14.1.38 = *O.Crum ST 418*, and 14.1.41 = *O.Crum ST 447*.

⁷⁴ U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu V: Post-Rammeside Remains*, University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 66 (Chicago 1954).

⁷⁵ T.G. Wilfong, "Coptic Texts in the Oriental Institute Museum: A Preliminary Survey," in D.W. Johnson (ed.), *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Washington DC, 12-15 August 1992*, vol. 2.2 (Rome 1993) 525-530.

⁷⁶ Wilfong (n. 3) note 3.

⁷⁷ U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Die Medinet Habu Ostraka: Excavation of The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 1928/1929," in J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyse to Constantine and Beyond* (Chicago 1992) 165-168; Wilfong (n. 75).

1952, the University of Chicago returned some 1200 (largely unpublished) Medinet Habu texts to the Egyptian Museum; although one might expect that they would have entered the Coptic Museum, R.S. Bagnall recently discovered two crates containing the ca. 1200 Coptic ostraca in the Egyptian Museum.⁷⁸ Publications of material in other collections of late antique papyri and ostraca associated with Medinet Habu appear regularly.⁷⁹

2.3. *Valley of the Kings*

In 1913 T. M. Davis also gave one ostrakon to the MMA (together with a few very nice late antique ceramics) from his team's work in the Valley of the Kings in 1905/1906.⁸⁰ W.E. Crum published the ostrakon in 1921 (14.6.223 = *O.Crum ST 388*), and Columbia purchased it in 1958.

2.4. *Deir el-Bakhit, Dra abu el-Naga*

The 1913/1914 excavation of G.E.S.M. Herbert (alias the Earl of Carnarvon) yielded two pieces from Deir el-Bakhit at Dra abu el-Naga (14.1.33 = *O.Crum ST 389* and 14.1.34).⁸¹ Near this same location, he also found a very long magical papyrus assigned to the Egyptian Museum (Cairo *JdE 45060*).⁸²

The Deutsches Archäologisches Institut has recently published a preliminary report of late antique remains (architecture, pottery, ostraca) from Deir el-Bakhit, a monastery built in and around several XVII Dynasty tombs (e.g., K 130 and 131) located at Dra abu el-Naga North.⁸³ The authors of the report

⁷⁸ For the unlocated ostraca prior to Bagnall's identification, see Wilfong (n. 3) 110, note 28, and Wilfong (n. 75). The crates are recorded in the Egyptian Museum Special Registry as arriving (or being registered?) in March 1952.

⁷⁹ E.g., J. Gasco, "Ostraca de Djémé," *BIFAO* 79 (1979) 77-86; A. Boud'hors, "Reçus d'impôts coptes de Djémé," *CRIPÉL* 18 (1996) 161-175, pls. 4-7; F. Calament, "Règlements de comptes à Djémé ... d'après les ostraca coptes du Louvre," *Études coptes* 8 (2003) 37-57.

⁸⁰ For the 1905/1906 excavation season, see T. Davis, *The Tomb of Siptah, the Monkey Tomb and the Gold Tomb* (London 1908). For MMA ceramics, see e.g., Winlock and Crum (n. 14) pl. 33B. The MMA sold some other material from Davis' Valley of the Kings excavations to the Oriental Institute, e.g., an inscribed vessel (Winlock and Crum [n. 14] fig. 34.6) and an amphora (unpublished) from the Oriental Institute (Wilfong [n. 3] 128).

⁸¹ Winlock and Crum (n. 14) 21.

⁸² A. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*, vol. 1 (Brussels 1931) 50-54; English translation in M. Meyer and J. Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (San Francisco 1994) 270-273 (no. 128).

⁸³ G. Burkard, M. Mackensen, and D. Polz, "Die spätantike Klosteranlage Deir el-Bachit in Dra' Abu el-Naga (Oberägypten)," *MDAIK* 59 (2003) 41-65, and description at

suggest that the monastery was connected with the late Roman/early Byzantine settlement at the Temple of Seti I and that it may have been larger and more important than other Christian installations associated with the town of Jeme, further south. So far, neither the ancient name of the settlement nor that of the monastery has been identified. In 2004, Byzantine archaeologist I. Eichner began systematic excavation and publication of Deir el-Bakhit.⁸⁴ Other tombs at Dra abu el-Naga South have extensive late antique remains. The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania's excavations in 1921/1922 and 1922/1923 have not been fully published.⁸⁵ L. Bell's work for the University of Pennsylvania at Dra abu el-Naga in the late 1960s and 1970s (especially at TT 35 and TT 157) yielded very interesting late antique remains, but his work is also largely unpublished.⁸⁶ At present a joint mission of the Universities of Heidelberg and Leipzig in collaboration with the University of Pennsylvania has renewed work at TT 157.⁸⁷

3. *Ostraca possibly from Western Thebes, purchased by or given to the MMA*

I have included the following sections for the sake of completeness, but with the often-repeated caveat that the provenance of purchased material is rarely assured. Frequently, only the internal content of the texts (i.e., onomastica) confirm a general Western Theban context.

Spätantikes Kloster Deir el-Bachit/Theben-West (Oberägypten), http://www.fak12.uni-muenchen.de/vfpa/0_www_new/2_pr/prov6.html (accessed August 2005). F. Kampp assigned tomb numbers (K numbers) to undecorated private Theban tombs, which did not qualify for TT numbers (*Die Thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, Theben 13 [Mainz 1996]). K 130 and 131 are equivalent to DAI numbers DAN K 93.11 and 12.

⁸⁴ I. Eichner and U. Fauerbach, "Die spätantike/koptische Klosteranlage Deir el-Bachit in Dra' abu el-Naga (Oberägypten): Zweiter Vorbericht," *MDAIK* 61 (2005) 139-152.

⁸⁵ C.S. Fischer, "A Group of Theban Tombs: Work of the Eckley B. Coxe Jr. Expedition in Egypt," *University of Pennsylvania Museum Journal* 15 (1924) 28-49.

⁸⁶ L. Bell, "Return to Dra Abu el-Naga," *Expedition: Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* 11 (1969) 26-37, and "In the Tombs of the High Priests of Amun," *Expedition: Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* 15 (1973) 12-27.

⁸⁷ The project is titled Grabungsprojekt der Universitäten Heidelberg und Leipzig in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia; Das Grab des Hohenpriesters Neb-wenenef in Dra' Abu el-Naga (Grab Nr. TT 157), http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~egypt/Institutshomepage/DFG-Projekt/DFG_Projekt.htm (accessed 21 April 2006).

3.1. *Egypt Exploration Fund*

In 1897, the Egypt Exploration Fund (since 1920/1921, Egypt Exploration Society) gave 114 objects to the MMA, including twenty-nine texts marked “F” (97.4.7-35). The designation “F” remains enigmatic.⁸⁸ According to MMA accession documentation, this group of 114 objects derived from sites as diverse as Bahnesa (i.e., Oxyrhynchus), Deshasheh (i.e., Dishasha), Deir el-Bahri and Tawneh, but the list coordinating what came from where is recorded as lost.⁸⁹ Despite the association of texts 97.4.7-35 with Bahnesa in a list compiled around the time of their sale to Columbia, Schiller connects these texts to Deir el-Bahri.⁹⁰ We must investigate this possibility before discounting it.

3.2. *Murch collection*

In 1910 Miss Helen Miller Gould gave the MMA several thousand items (10.130.1-3370), known as the Murch Collection.⁹¹ The collection was formed by Dr. Chauncey Murch, who directed the work of the American Presbyterian Mission at Luxor, the modern city directly across the river from Western Thebes.⁹² The Murch Collection contained five texts (10.130.1124-1128), now at Columbia, that may derive from Western Thebes. An analysis of content (especially onomastica) may allow scholars to determine with confidence whether or not to include them in the corpus of Western Theban texts. Columbia purchased the Murch texts in 1958.

3.3. *Amherst collection*

Among twenty Greek and Coptic ostraca that the MMA purchased from the estate of Lord Amherst of Hackney (1835-1909), we can attribute at least three to Western Thebes on prosopographical grounds. In 1902, while they were still in the possession of Lord Amherst, W.E. Crum published the three ostraca (Amherst 1 = *O.Crum* 395 = 21.2.127; Amherst 2 = *O.Crum* 394 =

⁸⁸ It is well-known that EEF excavators Grenfell and Hunt marked their papyri finds with the first letter of the (ancient or modern) name of the site from which texts came (T or *tau* for Tebtunis, *theta* for Theadelphia, *epsilon* for Euhemeria; B for Bahnesa). I do not know what site “F” might stand for at such an early date (1897); “Fayum” is a possibility, but note Grenfell and Hunt’s comments on Fayum ostraca in *PFay.* p. 46 and 317 (I thank Ann Hanson for this last reference).

⁸⁹ Accession folder 97.4., MMA Egyptian Department Archive.

⁹⁰ Schiller (n. 5) Notebook 33, 82.

⁹¹ A. Mace, “Murch Collection,” *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 6 (1911) 3-28.

⁹² W.R. Dawson and E.P. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 3rd ed. (London 1995) 302.

21.2.149; Amherst 3 = O.Crum 104 = 21.2.148). Information recorded in Crum Notebook 95, in the Griffith Institute Archive, Oxford, both reveals the collection history of two of these texts as understood by Crum when he transcribed them and supports their attribution to Western Thebes. Of Amherst 1 Crum writes, “belonged to [Joseph] Bonomi” and of Amherst 3, “this is I think the ostrakon given to Lord A. by H. Carter at Deir El Bahri.” A paper label visible in a photograph of Amherst 2 among MMA accession records reads: “Antient [*sic*] Coptic Christian insc[ri]ption Rames[...±5...]”; the label probably informed Crum’s attribution of the ostrakon to the Ramesseum, i.e., the mortuary temple of Ramesses II (1279-1213 BCE) located in Western Thebes (O.Crum. 394).⁹³ Content analysis and further investigation of the collection history of the Amherst ostraca might confirm provenances for other texts in the group.⁹⁴ The MMA purchased the group (and quite a lot of other Egyptian material) in 1921 when Sotheby’s administered the sale of the remaining Amherst Collection.⁹⁵ In 1958, the MMA deaccessioned to Columbia about twenty Greek and Coptic texts purchased from the Amherst collection, including the three published by Crum.⁹⁶

The three published Amherst texts are of particular interest because of their association with the monk Frange. Scholars have long recognized that his

⁹³ The label is torn in the MMA photograph, and I do not know if it was complete when Crum saw the piece. For a late antique presence at the Ramesseum, see G. Lecuyot, “Le Ramesseum à l’époque copte: à propos des traces chrétiennes au Ramesseum,” *Études coptes* 6 (2000) 121-134; A. Boud’hors, “Les ostraca coptes provenant du sanctuaire di Ramesseum,” *Memnonia* 14 (2003) 119; and Wilfong (n. 25) 106-107 and 153.

⁹⁴ In 1913, the Pierpont Morgan Library purchased at least one Amherst text of Western Theban provenance; it is a Coptic will, the content of which concerns the Western Theban town Jeme (*PAmh.Eg.* 72 = *PKRU* 69 = *P.Morgan Lib.* 342). Amherst had acquired this text in 1861 when he purchased the collection of German missionary R.T. Lieder (1798-1865). An inventory of the Lieder collection is now in the Egyptian Department of the British Museum and may elucidate whether or not any of the ostraca now at Columbia belonged to Lieder at one time (although, it may not ultimately solve the question of their Theban provenance). On Lieder, see Dawson and Uphill (n. 92) 255.

⁹⁵ The lot (no. 903) consisted of Hieratic, Demotic, Greek, and Coptic ostraca; cf. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, *Catalogue of the Amherst Collection of Egyptian and Oriental Antiquities* (London 1921) 81. The Hieratic and Demotic material has remained part of the MMA Egyptian Department collection.

⁹⁶ The MMA documentation lists the following in texts deaccessioned to Columbia: 21.2.120, 21.2.124, 21.2.126-128, 21.2.132-133, 21.2.135, 21.2.138, 21.2.141-143, 21.2.146-152, and 21.2.154; however, 21.2.124 is not recorded in the APIS database.

extant letters form an important corpus.⁹⁷ In recent years, the Belgian Mission archéologique dans la nécropole Thébaine (MANT) located Frange's cell in TT 29, the tomb located just below TT 95 (2.1 above).⁹⁸ Chantal Heurtel and Anne Boud'hors are in the process of publishing the most promising of the ca. 1000 texts discovered there.⁹⁹

3.4. *Winlock collection*

In 1924, H.E. Winlock gave a number of Greek and Coptic texts to the MMA (24.6.1-20; 24.6.32-45), and MMA accession records indicate that most of these derived from Western Thebes. Crum transcribed Coptic texts 24.6.1-20 and published 24.6.1 and 24.6.2 as *O.Crum ST* 435 and 448 respectively.¹⁰⁰ The provenances of the five Greek texts (one in three pieces, 24.6.32-39) are described in the MMA card catalogue as "bought of a Gurneh native about 1912." J.G. Tait transcribed these five texts (24.6.32-39), dating them from the Roman through Islamic periods.¹⁰¹ Other Greek texts that Winlock gave to the MMA that same year, and that were read by H.G. Evelyn-White, may also come from the Theban region (24.6.40-45).¹⁰² The MMA sold all of the Greek and Coptic Winlock texts to Columbia in 1958.

3.5. *Nahman collection*

Dealer M. Nahman (d. 1948), a popular source of antiquities for many international museums and libraries, sold five very nice Coptic papyri of Theban provenance to the MMA in 1924 (24.2.3a-c, 24.2.4-24.2.7).¹⁰³ Four (24.2.4-7) concern the "Monastery of Paul." All are referenced in *P.Mon.Epiph*; A.A. Schiller published the texts mentioning the "*topos* of Paulos" (24.2.3a-c

⁹⁷ Wilfong (n. 25) 71.

⁹⁸ For brief reports on TT 29, R. Tefnin, "A Coptic Workshop in a Pharaonic Tomb," *Egyptian Archaeology* 20 (2002) 6, and L. Bavay, "Cheikh Abd al-Gourna, TT 29: une installation copte du VIII^e siècle apr. J.-C.," *Bulletin de liaison du Groupe international d'étude de la céramique égyptienne* 22 (2005) 65-67.

⁹⁹ E.g., Heurtel (n. 71), 32-45, and "Les prédécesseurs de Frangé: l'occupation de TT29 au VII^e s." (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁰ For transcriptions of 24.6.1-20, see Crum papers, Group V.8, Griffith Institute Archive, Oxford.

¹⁰¹ 24.6 accession folder, MMA Egyptian Department Archive.

¹⁰² 24.6 accession folder, MMA Egyptian Department Archive.

¹⁰³ For Nahman's activities, see Dawson and Uphill (n. 92) 305; R. Pintaudi, "Documenti per una storia della papirologia in Italia," *Analecta Papyrologica* 5 (1993) 155-181.

and 24.2.5-7) as *P.CLT* 1-4 in 1932, and H. I. Bell published 24.2.4 in 1926.¹⁰⁴ All have remained at MMA.

Conclusion

Late antique Western Thebes has attracted the interest of scholars as early as the first Christian texts found their way onto the antiquities market. In fact, most of W.E. Crum's editions contain Coptic texts from Western Thebes. He and others, especially W.C. Till in the 1950s and 1960s, produced several corpora and translations arranged according to useful themes, mainly legal.¹⁰⁵ They also developed important tools, including Crum's topography and Till's indispensable prosopography.¹⁰⁶ Situating the texts in their archaeological context also had a good start, evidenced nowhere as well as in the *Monastery of Epiphanius* volumes. Several other monastic sites in Western Thebes have also had the benefit of being published as integral units – I have had occasion to mention a few above.¹⁰⁷ More often, archaeologists have held tombs as individual concessions. Usually trained Egyptologists, they have tended to be interested especially in the original function of the monuments. As a result, even when there are excellent publications of the tombs and other monuments reused for burial or for habitation, "intrusive" later material is often mentioned only in passing, or relegated to footnotes.

All of this is changing fast. As signaled in the concluding paragraph of each section above, interest in late antique Western Thebes has exploded in recent years. Many excavations are treating the documentation of late antique material as a significant aspect of their operation, and several have enlisted the help of specialists to record and to synthesize late antique remains.¹⁰⁸ Other

¹⁰⁴ H.I. Bell, "Two Official Letters of the Arab Period," *JEA* 12 (1926) 265-281.

¹⁰⁵ E.g., PKRU and W.C. Till, *Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Theben* (Vienna 1964); see also Wilfong (n. 3) 116-118.

¹⁰⁶ E.g., Winlock and Crum (n. 14); W.C. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden aus Theben* (Vienna 1962).

¹⁰⁷ E.g., Godlewski (n. 44); Burkard et al. (n. 83).

¹⁰⁸ E.g., the publication of ostraca. For TT 29, see C. Heurtel (n. 71); for TT 85 and 87, see H. Behlmer, "Christian Use of Pharaonic Sacred Space in Western Thebes: The Case of TT 85 and 87," in P. Dorman and B. Bryan (eds.), *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes* (Chicago 2007) 163-176; for TT 99, see H. Behlmer, "Streiflichter auf die christliche Besiedlung Thebens-Koptische Ostraka aus dem Grab des Senneferi (TT 99)," *Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft* 36 (2003) 11-27; for the Valley of the Queens and lateral wadis, see G. Wagner et al., "Documents grecs découverts dans la Vallée des Reines," *BIFAO* 90 (1990) 365-380.

missions even have late antique archaeology as their primary objective.¹⁰⁹ Efforts to localize remains in particular regions are becoming common,¹¹⁰ and there is now a joint Paris-Lyon initiative to map all "Christian remains" in Western Thebes.¹¹¹

Nevertheless, museum archaeology and acquisition history have also proven to be enormously useful in establishing the provenance of archaeological (including papyrological) material.¹¹² Such texts and objects, taken together with their physical contexts, yield the foundations for synthetic historical study, evidenced perhaps nowhere as well as in T.G. Wilfong's 2002 *Women of Jeme*. The abundant material from Western Thebes has also provided the means to treat topics such as literacy, institutional church and clergy, the cult of the saints, adaptive reuse of monumental architecture, and education.¹¹³ This contribution is another step toward situating the MMA and Columbia

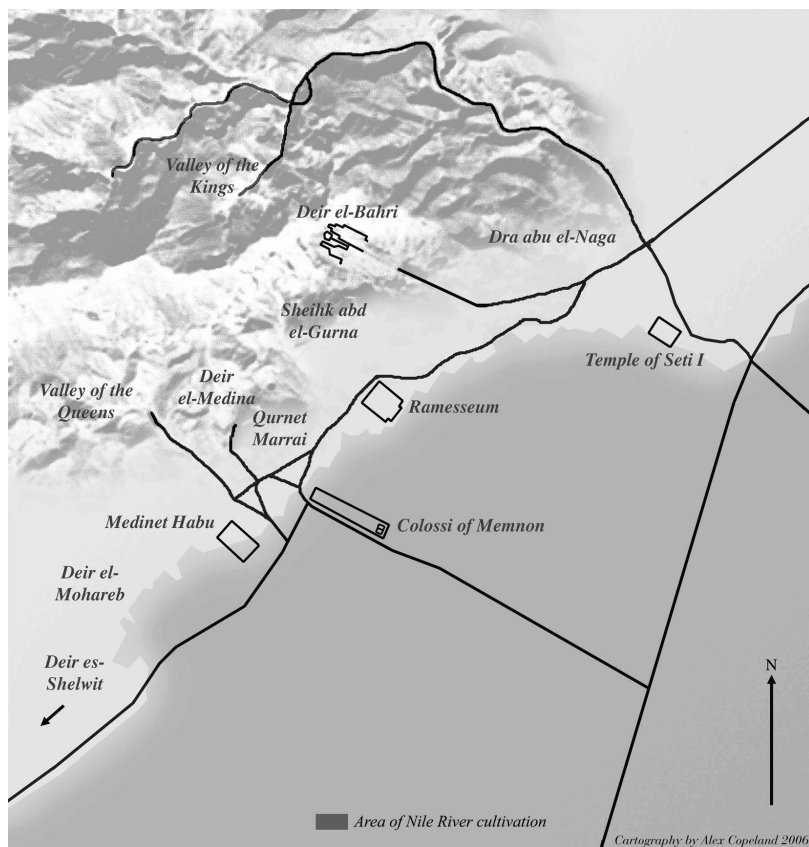
¹⁰⁹ Other sites not mentioned above: for TT 1152, see T. Górecki, "Coptic Hermitage: First Interim Report," *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 15 (2004) 173-179; and for Deir el-Rumi, see, among the author's many publications, G. Lecuyot, "The Valley of the Queens in the Coptic Period," in D.W. Johnson (ed.), *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Washington, 12-15 August 1992*, vol. 1 (Rome 1993) 263-276; for a more current bibliography, see G. Lecuyot and C. Augé, "Le matériel numismatique provenant des fouilles du Deir er-Roumi," *Memnonia* 9 (1998) 107-119.

¹¹⁰ Lecuyot (n. 93) and (n. 109); Heurtel (n. 71).

¹¹¹ Under the direction of G. Lecuyot and C. Thirard; see L. Pantalacci, "Travaux de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale en 2004-2005," *BIFAO* 105 (2005) 450-451.

¹¹² E.g., T.G. Wilfong has produced many useful treatments, especially of material excavated by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Although not exhaustive, see the bibliography of his work in Wilfong (n. 25) 181-182. For Deir el-Medina graffiti, see C. Heurtel and F. Daumas, *Les inscriptions coptes et grecques du temple d'Hathor à Deir al-Médina* (Cairo 2004); for Deir el-Medina ostraca, see F. Calament, "Varia Coptica Thebaica," *BIFAO* 104 (2004) 39-102. For Qurnet Marrai ostraca, see J. Gasco, "Documents grecs de Qurnat Mar'y," *BIFAO* 99 (1999) 201-215; "Le serment d'un chamelier: O. Gournet Mourrai 242," *BIFAO* 103 (2003) 297-306; C. Heurtel, "Marc le prêtre de Saint-Marc," in *Actes du congrès de Paris, 28 juin-3 juillet 2004* (forthcoming); A. Boud'hors, "Copie et circulation des livres dans la région thébaine (7^e - 8^e siècles)" (forthcoming). P. Ballet and G. Marouard are continuing work on Qurnet Marrai pottery; see Pantalacci (n. 111) 449.

¹¹³ F. Steinmann, "Die Schreibkenntnisse der Kopten nach den Aussagen der Djeme-Urkunden," in P. Nagel (ed.), *Studia Coptica* (Berlin 1974) 101-110; E. Wipszycka, *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive* (Rome 1996); G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten nach den Aussagen der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka* (München 2002); Papaconstantinou (n. 39); E.R. O'Connell, "Transforming Monumental Landscapes in Late Antique Egypt," *JECS* 15 (2007) 239-274; and R. Criboire's forthcoming study of Coptic school exercises and education.



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texts within their archaeological contexts, with the hope of informing further historical inquiry.

What's in a Name? Greek, Egyptian and Biblical Traditions in the *Cambyzes Romance*¹

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Abstract

This paper investigates the literary and historiographical implications for the conflation of Cambyzes, the Persian king who conquered Egypt in 525 BC, and Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian king who ordered the destruction of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem in 586 BC in the late antique Coptic text known as the *Cambyzes Romance*. In this fictionalized account of the Persian invasion of Egypt, the anonymous author of the Coptic *Cambyzes Romance* blends Greek, Egyptian and Biblical traditions of destruction and impiety committed at the hands of these two rulers and employs these tales for his own rhetorical ends. In conflating the characters of these two notorious rulers, the author of the Coptic story draws an implicit comparison between their destructive and impious actions in Egypt and Jerusalem, and thereby forges a link not only between Greek and Egyptian traditions that deal with Cambyzes and Biblical representations of Nebuchadnezzar, but also with Jerusalem and Egypt itself, which becomes the new Jerusalem.

¹ I owe thanks to Janet Johnson and Matthew Stolper who first encouraged me to work on the *Cambyzes Romance* and who each read this paper at various stages of preparation and offered suggestions. This article has evolved out of a paper written for a seminar at the University of Chicago, and versions of it were given both at the 2006 meeting of the American Philological Association in Montréal and at a joint meeting of the Ancient Societies and Late Antique and Byzantium Workshops at the University of Chicago. Special thanks also go to my colleagues Jennifer Westerfeld and Ari Bryen for not only reading drafts but also participating in many a conversation about this text.

Herodotus' portrayal of Cambyses and his sacrilegious deeds in Book 3 provides the prototype for subsequent treatments of Cambyses and his activities in Egypt in the Greek tradition from Plato to Diodorus, Strabo, Josephus, and beyond. Cambyses' conquest of Egypt also serves as the historical setting for a very interesting, yet highly fragmentary Coptic text of indeterminate date and unknown author, known as the *Cambyses Romance*.² In a style similar to an epistolary novel, the story of the invasion of Egypt takes the form of correspondence among Cambyses, the Egyptians, and a nation subject to Egypt. The fictional elements of the *Cambyses Romance* are readily apparent thanks to a number of peculiarities in the text that have complicated its overall interpretation: the pharaoh against whom Cambyses leads the attack is not Psammetichus III as one might expect, but Apries; the force which Cambyses leads against the Egyptians is at times referred to as the Assyrians rather than the Persians; and at three points in the text, the author refers to Cambyses as Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian ruler who in 586 BC ordered the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem and the subsequent exile as described in the Old Testament.³ It is this last peculiarity that H.L. Jansen has called "the greatest difficulty in the whole work," and which will provide the focus for this paper.⁴

Much of the scholarly debate about the *Cambyses Romance* has focused on the date and composition of the text, for which there are no explicit clues in the text or the manuscript as we have it.⁵ Since the *Cambyses Romance* shares many similarities with the *Chronicle* written by John the Bishop of Nikiu, many scholars, if not all, have taken its approximate date of composition, ca. AD 700, as a *terminus ante quem* for the text of the *Cambyses Romance*.⁶

² For the history of the text and discussion of the various editions, see H.L. Jansen, *The Coptic Story of Cambyses' Invasion of Egypt: A Critical Analysis of its Literary Form and its Historical Purpose*, AvhOslo 1950.2 (Oslo 1950). Jansen was the first to offer an English translation of the text, as well as a substantial commentary, based on the text provided by G. Möller published in 1904 as *BKU* 1.31. I use his translation here.

³ For Nebuchadnezzar in the Old Testament, see the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters of 2 Kings on the conquest of Judah, specifically 2 Kings 25:8-10, which, along with 2 Chronicles 36:17-20, describes the actual destruction of the Temple of Solomon.

⁴ Jansen (n. 2) 10.

⁵ For a brief summary of research dealing with the date of the text, see E. Cruz-Uribe, "Notes on the Coptic *Cambyses Romance*," *Enchoria* 14 (1986) 51-56.

⁶ The *Chronicle* survives in two manuscripts (A and B) of a 1602 Ethiopic translation of an Arabic text, itself presumed to be a translation of a Coptic original. The final sections of the manuscript tell us that the text as we have it now was prepared by a certain deacon Gabriel the Egyptian, who rendered the Arabic into Ge'ez at the request of Athanasius, the general of the army of Ethiopia in 1602. John, the author of the *Chronicle*,

The *terminus post quem*, on the other hand, is difficult to pin down. Taking a cue from the content of the story, some scholars have viewed this text as an obvious response to a similar invasion or disaster in Egypt's history. At the turn of the last century, Wilhelm Spiegelberg initially made the argument for a close relationship between this text and the seventh century Arab conquest, and this view continues to have its supporters.⁷ Leslie MacCoull has proposed that a Syriac-speaking monk living in Egypt wrote the text some time between 630 and 640, possibly as a response to the Persian invasion of 619.⁸ Eugene Cruz-Urbe has argued that the text was written very close to the date of John's *Chronicle*, and claims that both these texts were written in response to new taxes and restrictions imposed upon the Christian community by the governor following the Arab conquest.⁹ Others have attempted more grandiose schemes in an attempt to solve questions of date, authorship, and the difficulties of interpretation all at once. Jansen, following Oskar von Lemm and others, acknowledged the debt to the Biblical tradition and proposed that the *Cambyzes Romance* had two authors. According to Jansen, the first author composed the original document in Demotic during the second century BC following the struggles between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, for which the story of Cambyzes' invasion of Egypt served as an appropriate parallel in the mind of the unidentified author. The second author in Jansen's scheme, most likely an Aramaic speaking Hellenistic Jew living in Egypt, reworked this text in Coptic at a later time to stress a connection between the Jewish population and Egypt. However, such a direct and literal correlation between the composition of the *Cambyzes Romance* and actual historical events, such as tensions between Ptolemies and Seleucids or fallout from the recent Islamic conquest, does not seem to be entirely necessary.

Recently, the debate has turned toward the text itself and its position in late antique literary and historiographical traditions. The degree to which the *Cambyzes Romance*, and to some extent the *Chronicle*, is dependent upon the

served as the Bishop of Nikiu and as the rector of the bishops of Upper Egypt prior to AD 696, when he was appointed as the administrator of the monasteries. I use the translation of R.H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu* (Oxford 1916). For a recent discussion of this text see J. M. Carrié, "Jean de Nikiou et sa *Chronique*: une écriture "égyptienne" de l'histoire?" in N. Grimal and M. Baud (eds.), *Événement, récit, histoire officielle. L'écriture de l'histoire dans les monarchies antiques* (Paris 2003) 155-172.

⁷ W. Spiegelberg, "Arabische Einflüsse in dem koptischen Kambysesroman," *ZÄS* 45 (1908-1909) 83-84.

⁸ L.S.B. MacCoull, "The Coptic Cambyzes Narrative Reconsidered," *GRBS* 23 (1982) 185-188 at 186.

⁹ Cruz-Urbe (n. 5) 51.

Greek tradition has recently been questioned, and its debt to Old Testament traditions has been emphasized. Besides the common ground of the conquest itself, references to the Apis Bull (although under very different circumstances), and a generally negative portrayal of Cambyses, there are few similarities between Herodotus and the *Cambyses Romance*. The identification of Cambyses as Nebuchadnezzar has no parallel in the Greek tradition, nor does Herodotus make mention of Nebuchadnezzar in his discussion of Babylon.¹⁰ In order to explain how and why Cambyses came to be identified with and assimilated to Nebuchadnezzar, and likewise the Persians with the Assyrians, one must turn to the Old Testament, to Greek literature influenced by the Old Testament, and to other Coptic traditions. I intend to show that treating the Coptic material alongside a variety of texts from different genres can help unravel the difficulties in this text and offer alternate avenues of interpretation. In this way it will become clear that our anonymous author conflates these two archetypal destroyers, one Biblical, the other Classical, and, more importantly, forges a rhetorical link between Egypt and Jerusalem, his spiritual homeland.

The Cambyses Romance and the state of the text

Only a small portion of a presumably larger work has survived the pitfalls of textual transmission. First published by Heinrich Schäfer in 1899, the manuscript as we now have it consists of six sheets of parchment marked P9009 in the Berlin Collection and is of unknown provenience.¹¹ It is impossible to ascertain how much of the work has been lost since the manuscript lacks the beginning and the end of the text. Only a fragmentary tale that describes an invasion of Egypt by Cambyses, also called Nebuchadnezzar, remains. The manuscript picks up the story in the middle of a letter sent by Cambyses to an unidentified nation that appears to be subject to Egypt. Cambyses exhorts the inhabitants of this land to abandon Egyptian protection and join him and his forces in conquest.¹² His offer is rejected and a reply is sent according to the suggestions made at the ensuing council scene by a certain Bothor, "who was counted among the wise men since he was clever to give advice and intelligent

¹⁰ For a discussion of the historiographical traditions of Nebuchadnezzar, see R.H. Sack, who treats the Near Eastern, Old Testament and Greek traditions in his *Images of Nebuchadnezzar: The Emergence of a Legend*. (Selinsgrove 1991). Of particular interest is Sack's inclusion of substantial discussion of the relevant portions of the histories composed by Megasthenes and Berosus.

¹¹ H. Schäfer, "Bruchstück eines koptischen Romans über die Eroberung Aegyptens durch Kambyses," *SBBerlin* 1899, 727-744.

¹² CR 1-2.20.

in speech and strong in his might and a hero in war.”¹³ Bothor and his councilors write to Cambyses in response asserting their loyalty to the pharaoh.

Hence we write to you, faint hearted and frightened one, Cambyses whose name is Sanuth in our language, and the meaning of which is in fact cowardly or timorous. Behold, we have sent away your messengers because we are not afraid of you, but we honor ourselves and esteem our Lord, Pharaoh, who rules over us glorious. We have not wanted to slay your messengers, but in the time of wrath you will be told what we shall do...If these things are so, slave, then know that indeed these will strike you, and what it is you shall do in the presence of [...] if we meet you. First, we shall surely [...] your entrails, your children we shall slay in your presence, your tyrants we shall cast to the ground, and your gods who go with you we shall burn up with fire, and as for yourself, we shall have no hesitation about cooking your flesh, but we shall [...] our mouth just like bears or like raging lions.¹⁴

Although there are few strict parallels between the text of the *Cambyses Romance* and Herodotus' account of events in Egypt, this passage does recall a number of features of Herodotus' narration of the decisive battle between the Egyptians and the Persians, and the events leading up to that battle including the betrayal of Pharaoh by Phanes, a Greek mercenary who deserted to the Persians and Cambyses. In particular, the threats of slaughter directed at the children of Cambyses in this passage find a parallel in the ceremonial killing of the children of Phanes before his eyes (ἐς ὄψιν τοῦ πατρός) by the Greek mercenaries with whom he had previously served in Egypt.

And then the mercenaries of the king of Egypt, those Greek and Carians, who bore ill will against Phanes for having brought a foreign army against Egypt, contrived his deeds against him. Phanes' children had been left behind in Egypt. The Greek mercenaries brought them out to the camp and, in sight of their father, set up a mixing bowl in between the two armies, and, bringing Phanes' children, one by one, cut their throats into the mixing bowl. When they had gone through all the children, they brought wine and water to the mixing bowl and poured it

¹³ CR 3.12-14.

¹⁴ CR 5.8-18; 5.26-6.8.

in, and all the mercenaries drank the blood before they fought. The battle was very fierce; many fell on both sides, and at last the Egyptians were defeated.¹⁵

The theme of betrayal in both texts, that of Phanes and of Bothor, whose betrayal Cambyses had attempted to elicit in his initial letter, also suggests a possible link between Herodotus and the author of the *Cambyses Romance*. At the very least, although not direct quotation, these parallels imply a familiarity with the Greek historical tradition of Cambyses in Egypt as preserved by Herodotus on the part of the author of the *Cambyses Romance*.

In response to these threats, the Cambyses of the *Cambyses Romance* becomes agitated and summons his own counselors to devise a plan of action, and it is during this exchange that Cambyses is first identified with Nebuchadnezzar almost in passing at CR 7.8. One of the seven advisors, after discoursing at length on the virtue of the Egyptians and their prowess in battle, urges Cambyses not to attack the Egyptians and run the risk of being defeated. He claims that the only way to conquer the Egyptians is through pretext (ΟΥΛΟΙΣΕ) and cunning (ΟΥΜΗΤΕΧΝΕ).¹⁶ Therefore he recommends that a letter be sent throughout Egypt in the name of the pharaoh instructing the people to come to Memphis unarmed in order to celebrate the festival of the Apis Bull, in the hope that the nation could be easily delivered into Cambyses' hands. The Egyptians, however, detect the attempted ruse and assemble to devise their own course of action. In the council scene Cambyses is once again referred to as Nebuchadnezzar and the Persians as the Assyrians.

This word has not come from the king, nor have the other lords given counsel about these things, but this admonition originates from our enemies, that is to say the Assyrians, for they know that they are in shame and mockery since the time when the king of Egypt rose up against them and smote them... This thing has the rebel, that is, Nebuchadnezzar, done, for he knows that he cannot do battle against our lords, the kings of Egypt. He has written this letter in the name of our lord. If we now assemble without sword and spear, he will rise up against us and smite us and take us prisoner.¹⁷

¹⁵ Herodotus 3.11, trans. D. Grene.

¹⁶ CR 9.4-10.

¹⁷ CR 11.12-19; 11.21-12.1.

The story breaks off soon after while the Egyptians are in the midst of their preparations to repel Cambyses' attack and just as he is said to have begun his invasion.

The Greek Tradition

Classicists are perhaps most familiar with the story of Cambyses and his invasion of Egypt through the account Herodotus provides in Book 3 of his *History*. In Herodotus' account, Cambyses is referred to as a despot (δεσπότης) who was harsh (χαλεπός) and contemptuous (ὀλίγωρος), and not in possession of his wits, in comparison with his father Cyrus, who is called a father (πατήρ) by the Persians because he was a kind and gentle (ἥπιος) ruler and acted for the good of all (καὶ ἀγαθὰ σφι πάντα ἐμηχανήσατο).¹⁸ While in Egypt, Herodotus tells us that Cambyses violated any number of customs and religious practices of both the Egyptians and the Persians. Most notably, Cambyses abused the corpse of Amasis (3.16), killed the Apis Bull in Memphis (3.29), ordered the deaths of the local leaders in charge of Memphis (3.27), and finally had the priests of Apis whipped and ordered the execution of anyone involved in the festival of Apis (3.29).¹⁹ According to Herodotus, Cambyses then turned his violence on his family and perpetrated other outrages against the Persians in his madness. He ordered the death of his brother without a trial following a portent-filled dream (3.30). Cambyses, supposedly the first Persian to ever do

¹⁸ Herodotus 3.89. Herodotus also calls Cambyses ὑπομαργότερος at 3.29 when he attacks the Apis bull. Similar language is used in book 6 to describe the madness of Cleomenes. For a detailed analysis of the 'madness' of Cambyses see R.V. Munson, "The Madness of Cambyses: Herodotus 3.16-38," *Arethusa* 24 (1991) 43-65.

¹⁹ For a discussion of Cambyses and his sacrilegious activities in light of Egyptian evidence, see L. Depuydt, "Murder in Memphis: The Story of Cambyses's Mortal Wounding of the Apis Bull (ca. 523 B.C.E.)," *JNES* 54 (1995) 119-126; see also A. B. Lloyd, "The Inscription of Udjahorresnet: A Collaborator's Testament," *JEA* 68 (1982): 166-180, and "Herodotus on Cambyses: Some thoughts on Recent Work," in A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds.), *Achaemenid History III: Method and Theory* (Leiden 1988), 55-66. Lloyd's article, "Cambyses in Late Tradition" in C.J. Eyre, A. Leahy, and L.M. Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A.F. Shore* (London 1994), 195-204, esp. 202, where he offers a stemma for the transmission of the images and ideas in the later tradition. He does not treat authors writing in the Greek tradition at a later date, such as Diodorus, or Josephus, who stands at the cross-roads of several traditions. In this article, Lloyd focuses on the relationship between Herodotus, the *Romance* and the *Chronicle* of John and on the elements of propaganda in the texts aimed at alleviating the "humiliation" of the defeat of the Egyptians by the Persians.

this, married and impregnated his sister, who later suffered a miscarriage and died after being attacked by him (3.31-32). In short, while Herodotus shows Cambyses' father Cyrus, who spared Croesus, to be the model of kingship in a military and political sense, he sets Cambyses up as the example of the hubristic despot and a symbol of Persian excess and eventual failure.²⁰

Diodorus seems to have inherited much of his account of Cambyses' conquest from that of Herodotus. Like Herodotus before him, Diodorus portrays Cambyses as a sacrilegious despot who was by nature mad (φύσει μανικός), cruel (ὠμός) and arrogant (ὑπερήφανος), in opposition to both his enlightened father Cyrus and Darius, his eventual successor. His account is brief. However, in just these few lines, Diodorus is able to tell the story of Cambyses' conquest of Egypt, his madness and his downfall despite the prosperity that he had inherited from his father.

Cambyses was by nature half-mad and his powers of reasoning perverted, and the greatness of his kingdom rendered him much the more cruel and arrogant. Cambyses the Persian, after he had taken Memphis and Pelusium, since he could not bear his good fortune as men should, dug up the tomb of Amasis, the former king of Egypt.²¹

After describing the defilement of Amasis' corpse, the account proceeds to offer an abridged version of Herodotus' discussion of Cambyses' subsequent expeditions and the surrender of Cyrene and Libya. Diodorus does not offer a description as detailed as Herodotus' character sketch of Cambyses, nor does he probe in depth the origins of Cambyses' madness and the ramifications for Egypt. He also does not include other versions of the story nor does he suggest that the corpse might not have been that of Amasis, as Herodotus does at 3.16.5, who suggests that it might have been the corpse of someone of the same age. Instead, several centuries after Herodotus, Diodorus elides some of this information in his account and supply his audience with the main points framed around a skeleton structure of the rise and fall of the Persian kingdom and its rulers that was familiar to them.²²

In Book 17 of his *Geography*, Strabo claims that by the time he visited He-liopolis in the early first century AD, the city was deserted and contained only an ancient temple "constructed in the Egyptian manner which affords many

²⁰ See T.S. Brown, "Herodotus' Portrait of Cambyses," *Historia* 31 (1982) 387-403.

²¹ Diodorus 10.14-15, trans. Oldfather.

²² For further discussion of Cambyses in comparison with other Persian rulers, see Plato, *Laws* 3.694-696b.

evidences of the madness (μανία) and sacrilege (ιεροσυλία) of Cambyses" who, according to Strabo's claims, mutilated many temples and obelisks on his rampage.²³ In this passage, Strabo leads us to believe that evidence of the legendary madness of Cambyses had become a part of the Egyptian tour, alongside the colossi of Memnon, feeding the crocodiles, and the pyramids.

The city is now entirely deserted; it contains the ancient temple constructed in the Egyptian manner, which affords many evidences of the madness and sacrilege of Cambyses, who partly by fire and partly by iron sought to outrage the temples, mutilating them and burning them on every side, just as he did with the obelisks.²⁴

In Strabo and Diodorus, these stories about Cambyses are just brief episodes mentioned almost in passing in the middle of a larger literary and historical enterprise. The important point here lies in what these authors have chosen to detail and describe, and the prominence given to Cambyses' sacrilegious deeds, which stand as the defining features of his reign in the Greek tradition. As A.B. Lloyd has observed, however, there are few resonances between these stories and the tale of the *Cambyses Romance*, save for references to Memphis and the Apis Bull, the image of Cambyses as sacrilegious conqueror, and the similarity between the proposed slaughter of Cambyses' children and the demise of the children of Phanes after his betrayal.²⁵ We must turn elsewhere for solutions to the confusion between Cambyses and Nebuchadnezzar as well as the confusion between the Assyrians and the Persians in the *Cambyses Romance*.

Crossroads of Tradition

Consistent with the aims of his enterprise, Josephus, an author who straddles Greek and Biblical traditions, provides an account of Cambyses and his reign that focuses on his actions towards Jerusalem and the Temple of Solomon, and not on his sacrilegious exploits in Egypt or his general hubris as other authors writing in the Greek tradition have done. The conquest of Egypt by Cambyses is only a footnote to the story of his reign that centers on his actions

²³ Strabo 17.1.27, trans H.L. Jones.

²⁴ Strabo 17.1.27.

²⁵ For Lloyd's discussion of these similarities, see "Cambyses in Late Tradition" (n. 19) 195-204.

outside of Egypt, specifically Jerusalem.²⁶ For Josephus, the defining moment of Cambyses' life and career was his supposed decision to prevent the reconstruction of the Temple of Solomon, and Josephus has chosen to structure his account around this framework. In keeping with the tradition of Greek historical writing exhibited by Herodotus and Diodorus, Josephus praises Cambyses' father Cyrus and castigates the actions of Cambyses. In this text, however, the praise for Cyrus stems from his decision to end the Jewish exile and allow the restoration of the temple in Jerusalem as reported in the Old Testament, and not, as seen in other Greek texts, for his role as a model ruler.²⁷ On the other hand, Josephus depicts Cambyses as the antithesis of his father Cyrus. With a phrase that echoes the statement of Diodorus, Josephus describes Cambyses simply as "naturally bad" (φύσει πονηρός), due less to military failures and general hubris, than to his decision to halt the reconstruction on the Temple after giving into slanderous reports made against the Jews.²⁸

After reading the letter sent by you, I ordered the records of my forefathers to be examined, and it was found that that city has always been hostile to the kings and that the inhabitants have been engaged in rebellions and wars; and we have learned that their kings, being powerful and violent men, have levied tribute on Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. I have therefore given orders that the Jews shall not be permitted to rebuild the city lest the amount of mischief which they have continually contrived against the kings be further increased.²⁹

The Book of Ezra attributes this episode and the cessation of construction not to Cambyses, whose name never appears in the Old Testament, but to Artaxerxes.³⁰ The link Josephus provides between Cambyses, Nebuchadnezzar, and the Temple of Solomon is not found in Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, or the Old Testament and allows him to draw a meaningful comparison for his audience between Cambyses' activities in Egypt and Nebuchadnezzar's activities in Jerusalem. Although Josephus may only be trying to establish a proper chronology of the Persian rulers, he may also be attempting to write the Old

²⁶ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 11.30.

²⁷ See Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 11.1ff for his discussion of Cyrus. For accounts of the "Cyrus Decree" and the decision of Cyrus to restore the temple, see 2 Chronicles 36:22-23 as well as Ezra 1:1-4.

²⁸ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 11.26, trans. R. Marcus.

²⁹ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 11.27-28.

³⁰ Ezra 4:6-24.

Testament and Jewish traditions of the destruction of the Temple into the Greek historical tradition.

Further clues to unraveling the textual difficulties in the *Cambyases Romance* come from other Biblical, late antique and Coptic texts, three of which I will consider in this paper: the Book of Judith, the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, and the aforementioned *Chronicle* of John. The apocryphal Book of Judith relates the story of one woman's efforts to deliver God's chosen people from imminent defeat at the hands of Holofernes, Nebuchadnezzar's general, who had been sent against the people of Judah for failing to support Nebuchadnezzar in a previous campaign, for which no historical parallel exists.³¹ This apocryphal text is thought to have been written originally in Hebrew but survives only in Greek and has a number of similarities with the *Cambyases Romance*, as T. S. Richter and others have observed.³² Like the *Cambyases Romance*, the Book of Judith is epistolary in nature and lacks a true historical setting. Several of these similarities between the two texts, including the identification of Nebuchadnezzar as the king of the Assyrians (*sic*), stand out and call for further comment.

But the inhabitants of all that land disregarded the summons of Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians, and would not go with him to the war. They were not afraid of him but regarded him as a lone individual opposed to them, and turned away his envoys empty handed, in disgrace. Then Nebuchadnezzar fell into a violent rage against all that land, and swore by his throne and his kingdom that he would avenge himself on all the territories of Cilicia and Damascus and Syria, and also destroy with his sword all the inhabitants of Moab, Ammon, the whole of Judea, and those living anywhere in Egypt as far as the borders of the two seas.³³

This feature of the text is not paralleled in other Old Testament texts, and has been referred to by one scholar as one of the "most egregious 'blunders' in the entire book," a statement which bears a striking resemblance to Jansen's statement regarding the perplexity which the *Cambyases-Nebuchadnezzar*

³¹ See C. Moore's discussion in the *Anchor Bible* commentary on the Book of Judith, 46ff., which details some of the questions regarding the historical and geographical information contained in the text.

³² T.S. Richter, "Weitere Beobachtungen am koptischen Kambyases-Roman," *Enchoria* 24 (1997/1998) 54-66; see also H.-J. Thissen, "Bemerkungen zum koptischen Kambyases-Roman," *Enchoria* 23 (1996) 145-149

³³ Judith 1:11-12, trans. *New American Bible*.

confusion causes in the *Cambyzes Romance*.³⁴ However, as in the *Cambyzes Romance*, this apparent slip in the eyes of a modern scholar may have more to do with the various traditions dealing with these Biblical enemies and classical foes. The fact that similar confusion arises in the *Cambyzes Romance* may further suggest a possible relationship between the Book of Judith and the *Cambyzes Romance*, and an Old Testament origin for the identity switches and confusions in the *Cambyzes Romance*.

This passage also calls attention to some additional parallels to the *Cambyzes Romance*, namely the response of Bothor to Cambyzes and the series of letters exchanged between Cambyzes and the unnamed people subject to Egypt. In the culmination of Bothor's retort, he enumerates a list of allies or vassal states that will do Cambyzes no good in his attack on Egypt; among these one finds the Moabites, the Ammonites, and the Idumeans.

Or do you put your trust in the Ammonites, Moab, and the Idumeans, they who used to tremble before they had seen that war, which you waged against the children of Israel, they who are slaves to us [...] all these whom you relied on. None among them will ever rule, but slaves they will always be.³⁵

While the author of the Book of Judith appears to have lumped these groups of people together with the Egyptians in Nebuchadnezzar's quest for revenge, the author of the *Cambyzes Romance* has made a distinction between Egypt and these nations. It is also clear from this passage of the *Cambyzes Romance* that Old Testament history, fictionalized or otherwise, and Old Testament themes are present in the text. The references to the revenge vowed by Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of Judith also find a parallel of sorts in the curse and vengeance Cambyzes promises for Egypt in the *Cambyzes Romance*.

Behold, I Cambyzes have written to you a speech of this sort. But be you now prepared for this wrath which shall come upon you because you have been disobedient toward me, I, the lord of the whole world. And now I will transform this speech into a curse until I shall have taken revenge on Egypt.³⁶

The author of the Coptic story has manipulated this trope of revenge for his own purposes, and instead of enumerating a list of territories as in the Book

³⁴ Moore (n. 31) 46.

³⁵ CR 7.1-7, trans. Jansen (n. 2).

³⁶ CR 2.14-20, trans. Jansen (n. 2).

of Judith, he focuses the revenge solely on Egypt. These textual manipulations allow the author of the *Cambyeses Romance* to cast Egypt in a more prominent role, and exhibit Coptic use and re-use of established Biblical and Old Testament tropes, whether that be invoking the name of Nebuchadnezzar, the Assyrians, or other textual parallels.³⁷

Some have argued that the Book of Judith is a “typical Hellenistic novel” with a distinctly Jewish flavor, while others have looked to folklore traditions as a model for this story.³⁸ As may be the case in the *Cambyeses Romance*, the author’s main concern is not to recount historical events, but to offer entertainment and edification using familiar characters from the Old Testament. In the Book of Judith, Nebuchadnezzar and the Assyrians stand once again as enemies of God’s chosen people, but here in a non-historical setting. There seem to be some important links between the Book of Judith and the *Cambyeses Romance*, particularly the references to Nebuchadnezzar’s association with the Assyrians rather than Babylon. Both authors appear to be drawing on the Old Testament tradition which had long cast Nebuchadnezzar in the role of quintessential Biblical nemesis and enemy of Jewish religion and culture, and in so doing, they are taking advantage of a powerful rhetorical and symbolic device.

Turning now to the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, a Coptic text originally thought to have been written in Greek, we find that although there is no mention of Nebuchadnezzar, the author of this text does make a contrast between the Assyrians, who represent disorder, invasion and chaos, and a King of Peace, who would bring order and prosperity to Egypt.

And when they see a king who has arisen in the north, they will name him the King of the Assyrians and the Unrighteous King. He will increase his wars and disturbances against Egypt. The land will groan with one accord. Your children will be seized. Many will long for death at that time.³⁹

Frankfurter suggests that the “Assyrians” in this text could represent the Sassanid Persians under Shapur I, a threat to the Empire during the third

³⁷ For the close correspondence between the passages in the Book of Judith and the *Romance*, see in general Richter (n. 32) 59-60.

³⁸ Moore (n. 31) 72.

³⁹ *Apocalypse of Elijah* 5.8-16, text and translation by A. Pietersma and S.T. Comstock with H.W. Attridge, *The Apocalypse of Elijah, Based on P. Chester Beatty 2018* (Missoula 1979). See also D. Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt. The Apocalypse of Elijah and Early Egyptian Christianity* (Minneapolis 1993).

century, while subsequent references to the “Persians” could represent the Palmyrene army with Odenath and Zenobia at the helm, a threat to Egypt itself.⁴⁰ As noted earlier, those who argue that the Persians and Assyrians represent the recent conquerors have made similar claims about the *Cambyses Romance* and its possible relationship to the seventh century conquest of Egypt. This does not, however, take into account the reasons for the mix up of the characters of Cambyses and Nebuchadnezzar in the *Cambyses Romance* and the possible symbolic meaning behind such a conflation.

The use of “Assyrians” to denote invaders or forces of disorder is not limited to this text. Assyrians and Persians appear in a number of Egyptian apocalyptic texts, specifically the “Prophecy of the Lamb” and the “Oracle of the Potter”, the latter of which is known from several Greek texts, including a copy that was written on the verso of a record of legal proceedings dating to the late third century AD, while the former survives in a Demotic text, Papyrus Vienna D 10000, which dates to 8/7 BC.⁴¹ Both tales involve typical Egyptian tropes: they are stories of disorder and chaos brought to the land by Assyrians and Persians, and in some cases Greeks, who have defiled temples and harmed justice. Jan Assmann has referred to this Egyptian style of narrative as *Chaosbeschreibung*, a term also used and elaborated upon by David Frankfurter in his discussion of the *Apocalypse of Elijah*.⁴² This genre of Egyptian tale ultimately derives its origin from the stories of the “contending of Horus and Seth,” New Kingdom stories which relate the succession myth of Horus to his father Osiris and focus on the ideology of kingship, the restoration of order and the expulsion of foreign threats. Although they are texts of different genres, both the *Apocalypse of Elijah* and the *Cambyses Romance* seem to contain elements of these themes and can be seen as later Coptic examples of this native narrative tradition.

⁴⁰ Frankfurter (n. 39) 219.

⁴¹ For a text of the “Oracle of the Potter” see *P. Oxy.* 22.2332 (ca. AD 284). Among the many discussions of this text, see L. Koenen, “The Prophecies of a Potter: A Prophecy of World Renewal Becomes an Apocalypse,” in D.H. Samuel (ed.), *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, ASP 7 (Toronto 1970) 249-254, and (with A. Blasius) “Die Apologie des Töpfers an König Amenophis oder das Töpferorakel,” in A. Blasius and B.U. Schipper (eds.), *Apokalyptik und Ägypten* (Leuven 2002) 139-187. For a translation of the “Prophecy of the Lamb” see R. Ritner’s translation in W.K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven 2003) 445-449.

⁴² For a discussion of the tradition, see J. Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt. History and Meaning in the Time of Pharaohs* (Cambridge, MA, 2002) 106-114, esp. 389ff. for later examples of this style of narrative. For further discussion of the *Chaosbeschreibung* in later Coptic literary texts, see Frankfurter (n. 40) 159-194.

An alternative suggestion, therefore, is to view this portion of the *Apocalypse of Elijah* as an example of a traditional Egyptian tale focused on the ideology of kingship, here infused with the language and imagery of the Old Testament traditions, as Frankfurter has maintained.⁴³ The author of the *Apocalypse of Elijah* has cast the Assyrians as the archetypal force of confusion and disorder originally identified with Seth-Typhon, but later with the Persians, Assyrians, Greeks, and any foreign invader, that must be purged from the land by the true pharaoh, or in this case, the King of Peace. In the same way, Cambyses, in his incarnation as the Cambyses/Nebuchadnezzar character of the *Cambyses Romance*, embodies the turmoil normally associated with Seth-Typhon and invading armies, an enemy of Egypt's culture, and need not be identified with actual historical circumstances. Instead of describing actual historical events, the authors of the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, and most likely the *Cambyses Romance*, have tapped into something more timeless, namely, the opposition between Egypt and a foreign presence, something that had always been a central part of Egypt's ideology.

In his discussion of Cambyses, John of Nikiu focuses on his conquest of Egypt as well as his actions against the Temple in Jerusalem, thus allowing himself to combine Classical, Egyptian and Biblical tales of Cambyses in one account. Although John follows the blueprint established by his predecessors in the Greek tradition when he describes the failure of Cambyses to live up to the example of his father, who had been "great and honored before the living God," he seems to owe a larger debt to the version of this tradition offered by Josephus, whose sentiment he echoes. Like Josephus, John claims that Cyrus earned this honor because he had allowed the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem.

And his father Cyrus had been great and honoured before the living God, and had commanded that they should build the temple of God in Jerusalem with (all) vigilance and zeal, what time he had sent Joshua the high priest, the son of Jozadak and Zerubbabel, that is Ezra, and all the captivity of Judah that they might return to the land of the Hebrews and Palestine. But Cambyses, that is, Nebuchadnezzar the second, and Belshazzar burnt the holy city Jerusalem and the sanctuary according to the prophecies of the holy prophets Jeremiah and Daniel.⁴⁴

⁴³ For the *Apocalypse of Elijah* and the *Chaosbeschreibung* tradition, see Frankfurter (n. 40) 195-217.

⁴⁴ *Chronicle* 51.23.

John's introduction of Cambyses and his actions in Jerusalem in connection with Nebuchadnezzar and his decision to halt the reconstruction of the Temple, also seems to parallel the account of Josephus.

And he [Cambyses] was a bad man, and he rejected the wisdom of his father and the worship of the Lord God. And Apries moreover was king of Egypt and dwelt in the city of Thebes and in Memphis and in two (other) cities, Muhil and Sufiru. And in those days, in consequence of the intrigues of the neighboring peoples Cambyses sent to Jerusalem and gave orders (to his officers) to restrain them (the Jews) from rebuilding the sanctuary of God. And afterwards he made an expedition to Egypt with a great (and) innumerable army of horse and foot from Media. And the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine got ready to oppose him (but in vain), and he destroyed not a few but many cities of the Jews, for he was supreme over all the world....And in the pride of his heart he changed his name and named himself Nebuchadnezzar. And his disposition resembled that of a barbarian, and in the evil counsel of his desire he hated mankind.⁴⁵

Not unlike Josephus, who describes Cambyses as "wretched by nature" (φύσει πονηρός), or Diodorus, who refers to him as "half-mad by nature" (φύσει μανικός), John first and foremost characterizes Cambyses as a "bad man," signaling his debt to earlier Greek and Old Testament traditions. Another feature of John's account that betrays a close relationship to the *Cambyses Romance* is the presence of Apries once again as the Pharaoh who reigns during Cambyses' invasion. Like other aspects of these texts, such inconsistencies can be explained with reference to the Old Testament tradition, which may have been the main source for our late antique Coptic authors. Neither Amasis nor Psammetichus III are mentioned in the Bible. Apries, however, is mentioned in Jeremiah 44:30, which relates how the pharaoh will be delivered by God into the hands of his enemies the Assyrians. According to Josephus, Apries also played a role in Jewish efforts against Nebuchadnezzar prior to the fall of Jerusalem.⁴⁶

John's identification of Cambyses as the second Nebuchadnezzar in this passage, an identity he assumes in the middle of his conquests, is most interesting for our purposes. While his identity switch and the reasons for it go unexplained in the *Cambyses Romance*, John claims that Cambyses himself took

⁴⁵ *Chronicle* 51.18, 22.

⁴⁶ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 10.110ff.

the name as a symbolic gesture, a nod, as it were, to his barbarian disposition, hubris, and evil tendencies. Beyond the matter of the name, John makes the association between Cambyses and Nebuchadnezzar more explicit by adding additional details to the tale not supplied by previous authors, including his assertion that Cambyses had burnt the city of Jerusalem as well, a deed normally attributed to Nebuchadnezzar and not associated with Cambyses.

In the final sections of the fifty-first chapter, after detailing the total destruction of temples and cities throughout Egypt perpetrated by Cambyses, John adds yet another detail that draws an implicit comparison between Cambyses and Nebuchadnezzar.

And the number of the Egyptians whom Cambyses led away with him were 50,000, besides women and children. And they lived in captivity in Persia for forty years and Egypt became a desert.⁴⁷

Although John may only be altering a story initially told by Ctesias, who speaks of a deportation of 6,000 Egyptian craftsmen sent to complete work on Cambyses' palace, John's version of the story appears once again to be heavily influenced by the writings of the Old Testament and the description of the Jewish exile in Babylon imposed by Nebuchadnezzar.⁴⁸ As a result of the conflation of these two characters in his text, when John describes Cambyses' activities in Egypt, where he "cut down their trees and destroyed their plantations and made the land of Egypt a desert," he is drawing a comparison between the destruction of Jerusalem at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar and the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.⁴⁹ The collapsing of these identities, and the use of two names to refer to the same person, is an important rhetorical device for John, who plays upon his audience's presumed knowledge of the Old Testament tradition concerning Nebuchadnezzar. The author of the *Cambyses Romance* may be doing something similar.

Conclusions

In the end, what we have in the *Cambyses Romance* is a fantastic account of pagan Egypt and the invasion of Cambyses told presumably through Coptic Christian eyes. We are left to wonder how in fact this story ends: would history

⁴⁷ *Chronicle* 51.49.

⁴⁸ Ctesias claims that 50,000 actually fell in battle, for these figures see Ctesias, *FGH* 688 F 13.

⁴⁹ *Chronicle* 51.32.

play itself out and the Egyptians ultimately be defeated or would the Egyptians emerge victorious from their battle with Cambyses, just as the Jews emerged from their encounter with Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of Judith? Regardless of the outcome, the author of the *Cambyses Romance* has made the influence of the Old Testament traditions concerning the destruction of the Temple of Solomon clear by choosing to identify Cambyses with Nebuchadnezzar. In this way, the conflict between the Egyptians and Cambyses takes on Biblical proportions through the implicit comparison of his conquest with the struggle between the Jews and Nebuchadnezzar made in the *Cambyses Romance*, and texts such as the *Chronicle* of John. More importantly, this comparison puts the Egyptians on the same level as the Jews of the Old Testament, God's chosen people, which is a powerful rhetorical statement in and of itself about the relationship of Coptic Christians to the rest of the Christian world during the late antique period.

Based on this discussion of the various strands of tradition surrounding Cambyses and Nebuchadnezzar, it seems that what early editors have viewed as blunders, mistakes, and scribal errors, may more easily be explained by reference to the literary and cultural context of the *Cambyses Romance*. Viewed in this context, these misidentifications may not be mistakes at all, but powerful rhetorical devices. The author of the *Cambyses Romance* has tapped into Greek, Biblical and Egyptian traditions to create an image of Cambyses that is all three: at once a classical conqueror, Biblical archenemy of God's chosen people, and a symbolic force of disruption in the land, a typhonic figure associated with other famous forces of disruption, namely Nebuchadnezzar and the Assyrians. To refer to Cambyses as "Nebuchadnezzar" in the *Cambyses Romance*, as John does in the *Chronicle*, is to conjure up images from the Old Testament and the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem with which a Christian audience in Coptic Egypt certainly would have been familiar, perhaps even more so than with the Greek historical texts. Furthermore, setting his description of Cambyses' conquest within the *Chaosbeschreibung* tradition allows the author to cast this tale of Biblical proportions in a typical Egyptian style, one that remained meaningful for Egyptian audiences into the late antique period as evidenced by the similarities between the *Cambyses Romance* and texts such as the *Apocalypse of Elijah* or the "Oracle of the Potter."

By the time these works had been composed, Nebuchadnezzar and Cambyses had ceased being only historical figures connected to a certain period of history, and instead had become figures of mythical proportions whose names had taken on greater symbolic and rhetorical import. In these texts the past provides a storehouse of information to be used, adapted, and reconstructed to suit the author's rhetorical needs. The author of the *Cambyses Romance*

does not necessarily need to reflect a sentiment produced by a specific contemporaneous attack or conquest of Egypt, as many have suggested. Rather, in a symbolic way, he has depicted the timeless struggle between Egypt and the outside world, embodied in the super villain of Cambyzes/Nebuchadnezzar, and not just presented the audience with a specific historical episode. The historical invasion of Cambyzes only served as a backdrop for a tale of greater import, one that now resonated in a different way with a Christian audience. In this way too, the *Cambyzes Romance* finds a ready parallel with the *Apocalypse of Elijah* and the Book of Judith, which also disregarded a strict retelling of history in preference for creating stories with specific rhetorical and symbolic messages.

Many scholars have looked at the *Cambyzes Romance* through the lens of an incipient Coptic nationalism, as a statement of opposition to oppression under Roman, Byzantine or new Arab rulers. In addition to being overly positivistic, some of these judgments have been critically dismissive of the text, such as that of W.H. Worrell, who claimed that the text reflects a “sentiment of nationalism now at last free to indulge itself in a harmless literary way, under masters, who ... generally let them alone.”⁵⁰ In his work on the later textual traditions of Cambyzes in Egypt, A.B. Lloyd acknowledged the complex interplay between this text and the Old and New Testament traditions, but claims that the author “took what he wanted for his specific purpose and then deployed it with all the freedom, exuberance, and naivety characteristic of the romantic genre with in which he was working.”⁵¹ Lloyd, however, has also insisted that the *Cambyzes Romance*’s positive portrayal of the Egyptians, who easily uncover Cambyzes’ plot and are depicted as masters in war and battle, underscores what must have been late antique attempts “to mitigate the humiliation of defeat” at the hands of Cambyzes centuries earlier.⁵² This need not be the case, however, nor should it be necessary to view the text in a manner that matches up with a specific historical circumstance in an overly positivistic way, even several centuries removed, as the reading proposed here has sought to suggest. Rather than softening the blow of defeat by Cambyzes over a thousand years before, the composition of the text, in the light of Egyptian, Greek, and Old Testament parallels, may have more to do with religious or political disputes, and a corresponding need or desire to incorporate Egyptian history into Old Testament models.

Ultimately, the *Cambyzes Romance*, and even the *Chronicle* to a large degree, is an example of a text that stands at the intersection of the various tra-

⁵⁰ W.H. Worrell, *A Short Account of the Copts*, (Ann Arbor 1945) 32-34.

⁵¹ Lloyd, “Cambyzes in Late Tradition” (n. 19) 201-202

⁵² Lloyd, “Cambyzes in Late Tradition” (n. 19) 198.

ditions that constituted the literary culture of Coptic Egypt – namely Greek, Hebrew, and Egyptian traditions. The synthetic nature of the emerging Coptic culture, a culture seeking to embrace its past and make it a part of its present, comes to the fore in these texts. The result of this synthesis of traditions is something new and perhaps distinctly Coptic, a product of the post-classical, late antique period in Egypt. In the process, the author establishes Egypt's relationship to the world of the Old Testament by elevating the Egyptian struggle with Cambyzes to the level of the struggle between the Jews and Nebuchadnezzar. As a result, not only can Cambyzes be seen as the second Nebuchadnezzar, but more importantly, Egypt becomes the New Jerusalem, and a link is forged between the two cities. Although the *Cambyzes Romance* remains difficult to date, this text most likely is a product of a post-Chalcedonian literary and religious milieu. Attempting to establish such a connection between Egypt and Jerusalem as the author of the *Cambyzes Romance* has done, as opposed to Egypt and Byzantium for instance, may have taken on greater import for Coptic Christians in the wake of the monophysite controversy and the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Unlike previous disputes, this schism had a more profound and lasting effect on the religious and political landscape of Egypt, and signaled the beginnings of an eventual break with the larger Christian world and with the seat of Imperial power. It is in this religious and political environment that the seeds for equating Egypt and Jerusalem, and for the composition of the *Cambyzes Romance* itself, may have taken root.

Reviews

Michael Gronewald et al., *Kölner Papyri (PKöln)*, Band 10. Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia, Vol. 10. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003. x + 302 pages including 39 plates. ISBN 3-506-71752-9.

This publication brings to light thirty-one hitherto unpublished texts housed in Cologne. It is the tenth volume of *PKöln*, a papyrological series established three decades ago and notable for the high quality of its text editions. The present volume contains contributions by ten papyrologists in three modern languages (German, Italian and French) and includes one Hieratic, twenty-five Greek, and five Coptic texts, which come from the Ptolemaic, Roman, Byzantine, and Arab periods. It is, thus, representative of both the variety of the collection's unpublished holdings and the long tradition of the *amicitia papyrologorum* as reflected in the international collaborative efforts in the field of papyrology.

The majority of the texts edited here, namely twenty-three Greek and three Coptic ones, are written on papyrus, while three texts are on parchment (408-409 [Greek] and 424 [Coptic]), one on paper (428 [Coptic]), and one on linen cloth (423 [Hieratic]).

The Greek texts, which make up the bulk of the volume, consist of three different groups. There are twelve new literary texts (398-409), five of which are Christian (405-409), a semi-literary papyrus with a medical prescription (410) and twelve documents (411-422). The single Hieratic (423) and the five Coptic texts – a Christian literary text (424), a semi-literary one (425), and three letters (426-428) – conclude the volume. It should be noted that most of the material is fragmentary and more difficult to read than the average papyrological text.

The first literary papyrus (398), competently edited and commented upon by Michael Gronewald, is the fourth known papyrus of the lost Euripidean tragedy *Cresphontes*. It dates from as early as the second century BC and makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the play. The identification is certain, since part of the text transmitted by the new papyrus is the well known Ode to Peace (fr. 453 NK = 71 A), the beginning of which (a strophe and the first three verses of the antistrophe) is handed down to us by Stobaeus 4.14.1,

who attributes the Ode to the chorus of the *Cresphontes*. The new papyrus consists of two fragments. While the second has no more than a few letters on it, the first is rather extended (twenty-seven lines) and preserves both the Ode to Peace and hitherto unknown parts of the play. **398** is important for offering new fragments, contributing to the textual criticism of the known text, and leading to valuable conclusions about the position of the Ode in the play.

Gronewald has also provided us with the exemplary edition of another nine, mostly new, literary texts: **399** (prose text with words from Iliad K 4-7), **400** (commentary on Aratus' *Phaenomena* 880-891), **401** (commentary on an astronomical poem), **402** (hexameter verses on the death of Achilles), **403** (a scrap with ends of hexameter verses, which reveals little of its original content; the editor plausibly assumes a fragment of early Hellenistic poetry), **404** (a tiny poetical fragment), **405** (Psalm 7.4-10 with a single minor variant reading in comparison with the main manuscripts), **407** (prose text on the Annunciation of the Virgin and the Nativity of Jesus drawing on Luke 1.26-2.1) and **408** (a Christian text containing an adaptation of James 1.10-11).

Gesa Schenke publishes **406**, four fragments from the Epistle of Paul to the Romans (15.26-27, 15.32-33, 16.1, 16.4-7, and 16.11-12), which offer no important variants from the established text. **409**, edited by Hendrik Obsieger, contains a well preserved ten-line dogmatic fragment on the Holy Trinity by an unknown author. **410** transmits a short medical recipe (possibly for an eye-salve), commented upon exhaustively by Giuseppina Azzarello.

411-422 are Greek documentary texts. The first three (**411-413**) date from the Ptolemaic period. **411** and **412**, edited by Klaus Maresch, are remains of a papyrus roll; they contain different documents on tax payments in kind (almost exclusively wheat). **413**, published by Patrick Brosch, is a well preserved petition to the *strategos* Polemaios dating from 142 BC. **414-422** are documents from the Roman and Byzantine periods. They include an excerpt from the proceedings against certain *nekrotaphoi* of Oxyrhynchus (**414**), an account about travel provisions (**415**), and a skipper's receipt for barley delivered by the *sitologoi* of an Arsinoite village¹ (**416**), all three edited by Fabian Reiter; a pen trial containing the address of a petition (**417**, published by Christian Schwemer); three letters, the first of which is addressed to a *paradoxos xystarches* (**418**, edited by Brosch), the second to an unknown person (**419**, edited by Azzarello), and the third to the *oikonomos* of a church (**420**, edited by Schenke); a testament, previously known in the form of a *descriptum* as *P.Michael*. 53 (**421**,

¹ A very useful list with addenda to the catalogues of similar skippers' receipts provided by A.J.M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht* (Zutphen 1978) 90-103, and Ph.A. Verdult in *P.Erasm.* 2, pp. 121-122, is given on pp. 159-160 of the present book.

edited by Jean-Luc Fournet); and a receipt issued by a certain Kollouthos to a *votάπιος* concerning the delivery of wine (**422**, edited by Azzarello). The edition of **421** includes an up-to-date list of all documents written by the notary Abraam, who was active for at least two decades (AD 524-545), as well as a list of all testaments dating from the sixth century AD. It is noteworthy that **421** is one of the very few surviving testaments from Aphrodites Kome. The editor makes the significant remark that the reduction in the number of testaments from Byzantine Egypt is not due to the replacement of testaments by related kinds of documents such as the *donatio inter vivos* or the *donatio mortis causa*, as previously believed, but reflects the general reduction in the number of surviving papyri in relation to earlier periods. Finally, the edition of **421** is accompanied by two appendices containing the re-edition of *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67333 and the first edition of *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 16 *descr.* (frs. B-H) and 20 *descr.* (frs. C, E-G). The two papyri are edited in an exemplary way by Fournet; it is, however, a pity that no plates are provided and the texts are not indexed.

The last six texts of the volume are written in Egyptian. They include a late Hieratic funerary text on linen mummy wrappings (**423**), which contains a passage from the Book of the Dead (the beginning of chapter 101, which frequently occurs on amulets); a Greek-Coptic amulet for curing fever (**425**); a Sahidic Coptic translation of Psalms 127.3-6; 128.1-7; 130 and 131.1-5 (**424**); and three Coptic letters (**426-428**), of which the third (**428**), written on paper, dates from the tenth/eleventh century AD. The Hieratic text is published by Holger Kockelmann; the Greek-Coptic and the four Coptic texts are edited by Schenke.

The edition meets the very high standards of the series of the Cologne papyri. However, a few remarks on specific points may be offered here. I do not include corrections to the texts already proposed by C. Römer and F. Mitthof in their surveys in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.²

405: on the photograph the tiny fragment on the upper left-hand side bearing the letters *το[ι]ς* and *εχθ* is misplaced. It should have been placed a little further down, since it belongs to lines 3 and 4 (see the transcription) and not to lines 2 and 3 as the plate suggests.

405.13: on the photograph I believe I can see some extra ink traces after *συντ[]*. If they represent the remains of script, we should read *συντελ[εσθητω]* or *συντελε[σθητω]* instead of *συντ[ελεσθητω]*.

² See C. Römer, "Christliche Texte VII. 2002-2004," *APF* 50 (2004) 275-283, and F. Mitthof, "Urkundenreferat 2004 (1. Teil)," *APF* 51 (2005) 285-333 (esp. 296-302).

409.6-7: the editor transcribes ὡς | κ[.]ιγραφος and proposes in his commentary ὡς | κ[α]<λλ>ιγράφος or ὡς | κ[α]ῖ <καλλι>γράφος. I think that both linguistically and palaeographically the best reading would be ὡς | καλ<λ>ιγράφος.

409.9: instead of παντοκρ[άτορος] I read παντοκρ[άτορο]ς.

412 fr. 19.1: apparently there is a misprint either in the transcription or in the commentary. The transcription reads] . . α . αρχ . . [, yet in the commentary the editor proposes δεκ]ατ[αρχ- or ν]αυαρχ-.

413.2: I would prefer στρατηγῶ instead of στρατηγῶ[ι] (the iota adscript is not obligatory in this period any more).

415.10: instead of the edition's Καλλίγνικος the papyrus has Καλλίγνικος (read -νικος).

418.7: the papyrus has π]ερί.

418.12: The λ of λιπάνη has been corrected from π.

419.12: I would rather transcribe θ(ε)ῶ (read θεοῦ) instead of θ<ε>ῶ; cf. the remarks both of the editor in the note to this line and of F. Mitthof, *op.cit.* (see above, n. 2).

420.7: The abbreviation of the preposition π(αρά), which occurs in the address of the letter: αββα Ἰωάννου πρ(εσβυτέρου) κὲ εἰκονόμου π(αρά) Μηκαήλ, is the same as the enigmatic symbol often found at the head of Byzantine letters. On the long discussion about the meaning of the latter, see *CPR* 25.8.1n. with bibliography. Our text together with *BGU* 17.2701.1: Π(αρά) τοῦ εἰρηνάρχου seems to confirm the hypothesis that the symbol in question was derived from an abbreviated π(αρά).

421.3: read τοὺς instead of του. (for the writting of ς cf. ἐμούς at l. 9).

421.43-48: there is a problem of correspondence between the photograph and the transcription. If I understand it correctly, on the photograph the tiny fragment which contains the letters ⁴³]ομ[| ⁴⁴]κληρ[| ⁴⁵]ρειμ . [, has been inverted and misplaced next to lines 46-48 instead of next to lines 43-45.

421.45: instead of νεοκτίστου, I would prefer νεοκτί<σ>του.

421.73-76: this is another passage for which the photograph does not correspond to the transcription offered by the editor. Between l. 73 and l. 75 there is just one line according to the transcription, yet two lines are visible on the plate. In addition, I see no traces after l. 75, which would correspond to l. 76 of the transcription. A logical explanation could be that the photograph reflects an older state of restoration of the papyrus, in which l. 76 of the transcription was wrongly placed between lines 73 and 75.

421 App. 1.28: the word [ιδρύτ]ων does not exist. The editor must have meant [ιδρώτ]ων (gen. of ιδρώς); cf. *P.Lond.* 5.1708 fr. F 94-95 (AD 567-568).

422.7: the symbol over $\chi\mu\gamma$ appears to me to be a cross (cf. also the note in the edition).

425.7-19: the papyrus contains the magical words $\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\alpha\nu\alpha\lambda\beta\alpha$, which is also a palindrome, and $\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\iota$ in the form of $\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\alpha$. It is rather surprising that the editor's learned commentary does not mention the fact that an essential aspect of the magical character of these patterns is that the words in question are also formed by reading together the last letter of each line from bottom up. To illustrate this, I reproduce here the editor's transcription and print the last letter of each line in bold:

	$\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\alpha\nu\{\beta\}\lambda\beta\alpha$	$\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\iota$
8	$\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\alpha\nu\lambda<\beta>$	$\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\iota$
	$\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\alpha\nu\lambda$	$\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho$
	$\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\alpha\nu$	$\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu$
	$\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\alpha\nu$	$\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\alpha$
12	$\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha<\nu>\alpha\theta\alpha\{\nu\}$	$\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\chi$
	$\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\theta$	$\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\alpha$
	$\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha$	$\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu$
	$\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu$	$\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha$
16	$\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha$	$\alpha\kappa\rho$
	$\alpha\beta\lambda$	$\alpha\kappa$
	$\alpha\beta$	α
	α	

The correct understanding of this word play proves that no letter is to be added at the end of l. 14. A related problem arises in ll. 8-9 with regard to the word $\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\iota$, which is also hinted at by the editor. These lines should have read $\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho$ and $\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu\alpha$ respectively. However, the scribe failed to understand the nature of the word play with the result that he either made errors while copying his exemplar or did not correct the erroneous exemplar at his disposal. Similar mistakes exist with regard to the word $\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\alpha\nu\alpha\lambda\beta\alpha$ at lines 8 and 12. I would suggest to write $\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\{\iota\}$ and $\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\{\rho\}$ at lines 8 and 9 respectively, thus restoring the correct acrostichis.

The edition is followed by accurate indices that make the volume accessible and easy to use. I would only like to note a few minor mistakes, for example the inconsistent use of German and Latin for the same terms (e.g., "cum gen." on p. 244, but "mit Gen." on p. 257) or the sometimes incorrect order of the

lemmata (e.g. εἰκασμός before εἰ on p. 254, and προφέρομαι before πρότερον on p. 258). In addition, it is surprising that the editors have chosen to index the Greek words of the literary papyri in the grammatical form in which they occur in the texts. Plates of all published texts, except for some fragments of **411** and **412**, conclude the book.³ They are clear and legible. However, it is the present reviewer's experience that the reduced scale of some photographs (e.g., Tafel XV: 52%) is rather taxing on the reader.

There are a few misprints (such as "duch" on p. 3 and [τί]μης for [τι]μῆς on p. 184), but these can easily be corrected. It is only worth mentioning that in **412** D 13 and **413**.15 the apostrophes marking the thousands before B have been omitted.

In conclusion, despite the minor remarks made above, this is a rich and impressive volume, which is prepared and published with the usual care and attention given to this series. The papyri are well edited, very carefully commented upon, and make a significant contribution to our understanding of literature and society of the Ptolemaic, Roman, Byzantine and Arabic Egypt. The editors of the texts and the series are to be warmly congratulated for the splendid result.

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³ Digital photographs of all texts can be downloaded from the web site of the Cologne Institute of Papyrology: <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/Karte/band10.html>. For *PKöln* 10.411 see http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/Karte/X_411.html, and for *PKöln* 10.412 see http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/Karte/X_412.html.

Klaas A. Worp, *Greek Ostraka from Kellis: O.Kellis, Nos. 1-293*. With a chapter on the ostraka and the archaeology of Ismant el-Kharab by Colin A. Hope. Dakhleh Oasis Project, Monograph 13. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004. viii + 280 pages + 45 unnumbered plates and a CD-ROM. ISBN 1-84217-128-3.

In 1819, Sir Archibald Edmonstone was the first European traveler to the Dakhleh Oasis, which lies about 800 km south-southeast of Cairo and some 320 km west of Luxor. Only in 1908 did Herbert Winlock record the ancient monuments of the oasis, and only several decades later, in the 1950s and above all the 1970s, was serious attention paid to the oasis and its archaeology, especially by the Institut français d'archéologie orientale and the Dakhleh Oasis Project. Since 1978, cooperation between various organizations and universities has led to "a long-term regional study of the interaction between environmental changes and human activity in the closed area of the Dakhleh Oasis, Western Desert of Egypt, but including the larger area of the Palaeoasis. The study includes all the time since the first incursion of man in the Middle Pleistocene, perhaps 400,000 years ago, down to the 21st century oasis farmers, and all the human activity and all the changing environmental conditions for which there is evidence within the time period" (Anthony J. Mills).¹ The Dakhleh Oasis Project (DOP) has conducted several archaeological campaigns in the large area of the oasis and is responsible for a remarkable number of publications, among them the series of the DOP Monographs, of which the present volume is number 13.

Excavations in and around ancient Kellis (= Ismant el-Kharab) proved particularly successful: among other artifacts, a great number of papyri and ostraca were unearthed. Quite a few text editions of papyri have already come out (cf. DOP Monographs 3-5, 7, and 9), but ostraca had been treated only occasionally² and until now not in a single volume. Thanks to the *Greek Ostraka from Kellis* this lacuna has now been filled.

Without doubt, these ostraca are not only "a body of texts generally from the site but ... a category of finds that possess contexts, geographic, temporal and spatial, that can inform us about a wide range of activities throughout its period of occupation" (p. 5). Colin A. Hope's chapter on "The Ostraka and the Archaeology of Ismant el-Kharab" (pp. 5-28) is more than just an introduction

¹ Director, Dakhleh Oasis Project, on the website of Monash University: <http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/archaeology/excavations/dakhleh>, accessed 11/30/2005

² See, e.g., extracts from ostraca in *P.Kellis* 4 (= DOP Monograph 7).

to the volume and to the ostraca found at Kellis. It is a fine example of what a specialist in the area of archaeology – the preface to the present volume as well as the prefaces to previous ones (such as DOP Monographs 3 and 4 = *P.Kellis* 1 and *P.Kellis* 2) clearly demonstrate Hope's active and leading role in the ongoing excavations at Kellis – can tell us about the material and dating of the ostraca. The concise descriptions of the Kellis ostraca and the minute observations on their fabric and wares (pp. 8-9) are rewarding on their own, and the systematic remarks on the dating and settlement patterns of the areas where the ostraca were found help visualize everyday life in Kellis (pp. 9-15). A brief bibliography (pp. 16-19) follows. A table of "Ostraka data arranged according to provenance, date and O.Kell. number" (pp. 20-25) together with maps of the site illustrating the "Location of the principal buildings" and "The Main Temple Complex at Ismant el-Kharab" (pp. 26-28)³ is a perfect means to visualize what has been described earlier in the chapter and at the same time to confirm that the data is presented in a methodologically sound and comprehensible way. With this in mind the reader is well prepared for the edition of the individual ostraca.

The core of the volume is the presentation of the ostraca themselves. Organized according to their purpose, contents, and function, the ostraca are presented under a few main headings: 1-51 are tax receipts (with some subdivisions: 1-22 are receipts for ἐπιβολή ["impost, public burden"]; 28-51 are poll-tax receipts; the others are receipts for various taxes clearly identified or unknown); 52-94, various receipts (for money paid: 52-79; possibly 80-81) and orders (possibly 80-81; 82-94); 95-123, accounts of commodities, money, etc.; 124-137, δεκάτια lists (of military "units of ten" or "squads")⁴ and other lists of names; 138-161, letters, contracts, memoranda, school texts, astrologica, etc.; 162-216, dockets for sealing jars and related texts; 217-268, descriptions of fragments (e.g., of lists of names, accounts, and of uncertain purpose); and 269-293, additional texts (especially lists of names, memoranda, receipts, a private letter, etc.). Then follow the usual indices (pp. 179-214) subdivided into "calendar," "personal names," "geographical names, ethnica," "civil, military and police officials," "private professions, religion," "taxation," "measures & weights," and a "general word list." At least as useful as these indices are the three concordances of "object numbers ~ publication numbers" (pp. 215-219),

³ Drawn by J.E. Knudstad, with additions by J. Dobrowolski and B. Rowney, and compiled by B. Parr.

⁴ Cf. other δεκάτια lists, such as O.Col. inv. 117 (II), probably from Medinet Habu (see APIS [Advanced Papyrological Information System]), or, according to the DDBDP (Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri), *O.Bodl.* 2.1923 (III), *O.Claud.* 1.134 (II), *O.Deiss.* 66 (III), *O.Lund.* 23 and 24 (30 BC-AD 323), and *O.Mich.* 4.1136 (IV).

of the “dates” of the ostraca (pp. 220-226), and of the “distribution of dates per area” (pp. 227-234).

The last section consists of forty-five high-quality plates with photographs of the majority of ostraca edited in the present volume. An outstanding feature of the *Greek Ostraka from Kellis* is the accompanying CD-ROM containing the same photographs as the volume itself. The pdf files enable users to enlarge specific portions of an ostrakon and to print it to check the readings of the editor or to share their findings with others. The CD-ROM is easy to handle: all I had to do (on my Macintosh) was to insert the disk and then click on the pdf file, which the appropriate software then opened.⁵ Hopefully, other editions will imitate this procedure and supply readers with a similar tool. But it is a pity that, e.g., all the jar docketts (162-216) and the descriptions (of fragments preserving illegible lines, 217-268) are presented neither in the plate section of the book itself nor on the CD-ROM. Additionally, the reader may wonder why 269-293 are not included in the previous sections into which they would fit easily: Klaas Worp explains that their “photos became available only after work on sections 1-7 and the compilation of word indices had been completed” (p. 4).

The presentation of each ostrakon is similar to the procedure in previous volumes of the series: object registration, a brief description, transcription with notes, English translation, and additional annotations on specific features of interest. It might be argued that printing the dates of the ostraca in a separate concordance near the end of the volume was not such a good idea, as readers have to flip there each time to check dates. There is an advantage in having all the dates available in list form: one can check the range of dates at a glance in a very convenient way.

Cross-references to other items in the volume, brief yet precise discussions of the most significant features of each ostrakon, and incisive indications of how individual groups of ostraca help us understand the world from which they derive and the lives of the people who wrote them⁶ show how useful the volume is for readers with different backgrounds and interests.

Worp is to be thanked for the meticulous work he has done, and his lavish edition of the *Greek Ostraka from Kellis* will serve as one of the standard tools for the study of ostraca in general and of the socio-historical background

⁵ The readme.txt file on the CD-ROM recommends Adobe Acrobat Reader, but other software products can handle pdf files as well and in an equally efficient way.

⁶ Cf., e.g., the discussion of the jar docketts (p. 138): “Personal names occur predominantly; these are useful for our knowledge of the local onomasticon.” Of course, the material of these docketts themselves, the information they contain, and the way they were found provide further insights into their use and the people behind them (cf. p. 138 and individual entries).

of Kellis in particular. It is to be hoped that ostraca will be taken more seriously and assessed more willingly as textual and archaeological witnesses by all scholars involved in research on the relevant time periods, not just by papyrologists and archaeologists.

Hilpoltstein

Thomas J. Kraus

William A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004. xiv + 371 pages + 18 plates. ISBN 0-8020-3734-8.

This is not the first time William A. Johnson has dealt with the physical features of papyrus rolls. In his dissertation and elsewhere he first concentrated on format, fiber patterns, column layout, ruling, and alignment dots, etc.¹ Later on he shifted his focus to the conditions and circumstances of reading in antiquity.² These two major research areas form the basis of *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, an impressive, large-format volume.

Of course, we are all familiar with the essential works, in the field of ancient codicology, about the origins and formats of the codex and about the relationship between codex and roll. We are also familiar with the differentiation between recto and verso and with scattered information on ancient bookrolls in various publications. The bookroll itself, however, “has received surprisingly little attention” and “voluminology, so to speak, remains almost wholly neglected among classicists” (p. 3). “Voluminology” is Johnson’s major concern: the production of bookrolls, changes in their format, design or manufacturing process, and the relationship between scribe and bookroll, between scribe and reader, and between format and contents, to mention only the most prominent features. In other words, his main aim is a systematic assessment of (mostly) physical features of the bookroll, on which he himself or other scholars may draw in future studies. Without doubt, he is right in claiming: “A detailed history of the bookroll is, then, an urgent desideratum.” Nonetheless, he regards himself as being incapable of performing such a task right away and off the cuff.

First – and this is the purpose of the present volume – Johnson intends to accumulate and investigate the relevant raw data as a basis for further analyses. This raw data comprises more than four hundred bookrolls of “known literary texts, that is, texts that also survive in full form in medieval manuscripts.” The purpose and benefit of his book are that readers will get “detailed facts about the design, construction, and use of ancient bookrolls” (p. 4). Johnson focuses on 317 bookrolls, all from *P.Oxy.* 1-61 (see Appendix 1, Table 1A, pp.

¹ “The Literary Papyrus Roll: Formats and Conventions. An Analysis of the Evidence from Oxyrhynchus” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1992); “Multiple Copies of Literary Papyri, Fiber Patterns, and *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3376 fr. 44,” *ZPE* 93 (1992) 153-154; and “Column Layout in Oxyrhynchus Literary Papyri: Maas’s Law, Ruling and Alignment Dots,” *ZPE* 96 (1993) 211-215.

² “Toward a Sociology of Reading in Classical Antiquity,” *AJP* 121 (2000) 593-627.

231-243), and adds 96 papyri of non-Oxyrhynchite provenance for reasons of comparison (Appendix 1, Table 1B [ordered by Mertens-Pack number], pp. 243-248). This sample is subdivided into two sets: papyri of the Roman era with a provenance other than Oxyrhynchite and papyri dating from the pre-Roman era (see p. 9). Such a control group is very important: Johnson and his readers are in a position to cross-check whether (a) the statistical data extracted from the Oxyrhynchite sample is different from or similar to that observed in non-Oxyrhynchite papyri and (b) conventions and features prevalent in the bookrolls from Oxyrhynchus are the same as those found in pre-Roman papyri and are thus dependent on earlier traditions.

Johnson presents an impressive number of bookrolls to conclude from (definitely more than in his dissertation; see p. 10), if we take into account that, according to the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB), there were “almost seven thousand bookrolls either published or referenced in the literature” (p. 3, n. 1) and more than 1,300 bookrolls with an Oxyrhynchite provenance. He is fully aware of the problems caused by a limited sample (pp. 9-10; e.g., how do we know that the papyri excavated at Oxyrhynchus were actually produced there?). However, completeness is by no means achievable, and the sample has to be manageable. Of course, some bookrolls in the sample need reconstruction first, and this is performed by programming “a computer to reconstruct a column in accordance with the particularities of a given hand” (p. 11), viz. to calculate column width and height in accordance with measured letters and lines. Johnson’s methodology is described clearly (pp. 10-13).

With this in mind and with the section “Terminology, Conventions, and Sigla” (pp. xi-xii) in hand, readers are well prepared to delve into the following chapters crammed with statistical data and descriptive information. An attentive reader may wonder why the illustration on page x (Figure 1: Anatomy of the bookroll) lacks the label for no. 9, the κόλλημα, and an additional indication of the κολλήσεις for readers unfamiliar with the physical features of a bookroll. Nevertheless, the illustration is a visual aid to picture the layout of a bookroll.

After the introductory chapter (pp. 3-13), the second chapter focuses on “Scribes in Oxyrhynchus: Scribal Habits, Paradosis, and the Uniformity of the Literary Roll” (pp. 15-84). For an initial survey of multiple bookrolls written by the same scribe (all in all, almost fifty cases, listed in table 2.1, pp. 61-65), Johnson distinguishes twenty-one scribes, who may have written some sixty bookrolls, and examines whether there are scribal “tendencies to uniformity or variation from roll to roll” (p. 17). He employs hands, column measurements, margins, leading, and diacritical signs, to mention only the most prominent features, to justify why he regards specific bookrolls as having been written by

the same scribe. Even if he partly draws on the paleographical assessments of others, his reasoning is adequate and shows his appreciation of the difficulties, as he does not only present the pros but also the cons of his assumptions (pp. 16-32). Then follow a summary and an evaluation of the previous observations (pp. 32-37), an excursus on format changes in mid-roll (pp. 37-39), Johnson's idea of how a scribe might have copied a text (pp. 39-49), and some more or less generalizing remarks on "Uniformity and Variation in Bookrolls" (pp. 49-57). Even if readers are skeptical about Johnson's optimism about standardizing on the basis of individual observations and measurements, they can form their own opinion on the basis of the examples he offers. Occasionally, his careful conclusions from his examples make previous conclusions redundant or even superfluous (see p. 49: "As so often seen, and as expected, there is no absolute uniformity"), but the examples are rewarding in themselves.

Johnson correctly asserts that there are examples opposing the notion that "column widths were standardly measured" (p. 57), that neither line-by-line nor column by column copying (p. 58) is backed by the evidence presented, and that a specific scribe often employs a layout according to his own standard and preference. Individual observations on the specific bookrolls discussed by Johnson will have to be evaluated by specialists. The second chapter is supplemented by a conspectus (pp. 60-84) of several tables with lists of identified scribes (2.1), width variation (2.2), width variation by letter count (2.3; Oxyrhynchus sample only), height variation (2.4), and – my favorite for future projects – variation in leading, lines, and letters per column (2.5; Oxyrhynchus sample only).

The third chapter is about the "Formal Characteristics of the Bookroll" (pp. 85-230), the heart of the whole volume. Here Johnson focuses on the construction of the bookroll. First, he concentrates on *κολλήσεις* and *κολλήματα*, applying Pliny's account of width between joins (*NH* 13.79-81) to selected examples from Oxyrhynchus (pp. 88-91). Second, he checks column tilts (according to Maas's Law) and ruling and alignment dots (pp. 91-99). Third, after an intriguing excursus on the Arden Hyperides papyrus (MP 1233), he presents charts and measurements for column width in prose (and verse) texts, supplemented by a brief assessment of column height. Fourth, Johnson moves "to consider the written area as a block, and to ascertain whether the conjunction of width and height is meaningful" (p. 125), and checks whether there are significant differences between prose and verse texts (pp. 125-130). Then he goes on to examine further aspects, such as upper and lower margins, roll height, length, format and literary genre, and deluxe editions. Again he uses charts, graphs, statistical data, and even a drawing of a carpet roll (to illustrate how he calculates measures; see p. 150) to back his observations and conclu-

sions. Relying on his previous findings, he finally addresses the tricky issue of “Private versus Professional Book Production” (pp. 157-160). Of course, the example singled out from the sample – MP 163 with Aristotle’s *Athenaion Politeia* (interestingly not listed among the non-Oxyrhynchite papyri that form the control group [cf. Appendix 1, Table 1B], but illustrated on plate 14 [cols. 12-16 only, reduced by 30%]) – is ideal to show the salient features of a “privately” produced book. Nonetheless, conclusions drawn from one example do not necessarily exemplify and, thus, prove a general pattern that would distinguish neatly between “private” and “professional” production.

The rest of the chapter consists of the relevant conspectus (pp. 161-230) with several tables according to widths for prose texts (3.1), widths for verse texts (3.2), column heights, margins, roll height (3.3), column width by height, prose texts (3.4), width by height, verse texts (3.5), estimated roll height (3.6), and reconstructed rolls (3.7; roll length). Johnson concludes that rolls with prose and poetry differ from each other as far as format and columns are concerned, rolls with poetry often exhibiting shorter columns than rolls with prose. Furthermore, bookrolls from the Roman era seem to be longer than those from the Ptolemaic period. Be that as it may, it is quite astonishing that literary bookrolls are relatively uniform in length and height.

Specialists in paleography may question Johnson’s distinction of scripts – “(1) formal, semi-formal, or pretentious; (2) informal and unexceptional (but for the most part probably professional); and (3) substandard or cursive” (p. 161) – in light of the more subtle distinction between different scripts found in, e.g., E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, revised and enlarged by P.J. Parsons (London 1987) 1-23. Moreover, surprisingly, examples of these three styles of script are not given, and paleographical characteristics, such as letterforms, are not listed.

Essential for the appropriate use of the volume is Appendix 1 (pp. 230-249) with the Oxyrhynchus sample, the non-Oxyrhynchite control group, and tabulation of authors and genres. Appendix 2 offers many useful “Addenda and Corrigenda to Editions in the Sample Set” (pp. 251-336) reaching from plain punctuation issues to alternative readings and reconstructions. Of course, as demonstrated by the *Berichtungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*, the edition of a papyrus is neither definitive nor infallible, and Johnson’s list is an invaluable stocktaking, which will itself be challenged, modified, improved, or disproved by future investigations. Appendix 3 deals with seven specific bookrolls and suggests the “Resolution of Ambiguous Reconstructions” for them (pp. 337-339). Here Johnson relies on his previous measurements and conclusions to suggest alternative resolutions of roll length and

height for *P.Oxy.* 875 + 3686 (Sophocles), 2638 (Hesiod), 2695 (Apollonius), 3226 (Hesiod), 3550 (Theocritus), 3233 (Isocrates), and 3671 (Plato).

More helpful for the common reader, and less so for the specialist, is the glossary (pp. 341-343). A cumulative bibliography (pp. 345-355), indices of subjects (pp. 357-359) and papyri cited (pp. 361-371), and eighteen mostly color plates (plate 3 with *P.Oxy.* 1092 is black-and-white) complete the volume. The plates are a kind of enigma: why were these papyri among all the others chosen for illustration? What do they help to demonstrate? What is their purpose? Why were *P.Oxy.* 231 and 1619 frs. 9-11, written by the same scribe, printed in such a way that a reader must turn the pages to compare them (plates 4 and 5 with *P.Oxy.* 3676 and 3710 by scribe #A5 do appear next to each other)? Some plates present interesting features such as arrows marking ruling dots, συγκολλήσεις, κολλήσεις, and modern cuts. The last three are foldouts reduced by 10 to 25%.

By and large, Johnson's volume marks a great leap forward in research on papyrus rolls, especially when it comes to measurements and, thus, to features of variation and uniformity. Figures, measurements, charts, graphs, and statistics predominate, and it will be the task of future studies to verify or falsify the massive amount of data they contain. This book will be used as a quarry of information in the next couple of decades. Its accuracy and reliability cannot be evaluated here. Specialists examining the individual bookrolls included in Johnson's sample will have to do so in the future. The careful conclusions drawn from the data can provisionally be trusted until sound evidence against them appears. The book is not an easy read because it is in large part technical and primarily directed at classicists, papyrologists, and those specializing in bookmaking.

Hilpoltstein

Thomas J. Kraus

Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas (eds.), *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their Worlds*. Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 2. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006. xii + 346 pages + 8 illustrations in the text. ISBN 90-04-14945-7.

We have here a collection of twelve papers, with an introduction by the editors (pp. 1-11) which explains the book's purpose: "to retell or even recount for the first time the fascinating tales of the manuscripts of the New Testament and their surroundings, to search for the clues they offer to get to know the people and the world behind them better, and then to assess anew what we have so far considered as common knowledge about those days" (p. 4). The introduction also provides a paragraph summarising the contents of each contribution.

The twelve articles are as follows:

1. E.J. Epp extends his series of studies of the Oxyrhynchus papyri with a study of "The Jews and the Jewish Community in Oxyrhynchus: Socio-Religious Context for the New Testament Papyri" (pp. 13-52). This provides a general chronological survey of the materials.

2. M. Frenschkowski, "Studien zur Geschichte der Bibliothek von Cäsarea" (pp. 53-104), suggests that the library fell into disuse and was gradually dispersed, rather than the victim of a single catastrophe.

3. In "A Newly Discovered manuscript of Luke's Gospel (De Hamel MS 386; Gregory-Aland 0312)" (pp. 105-120), P.M. Head provides a detailed study and transcription of these fragments (Lk 5.23-24, 30-31; 7.9, 17-18), which he dates to the second half of the fifth century.

4. D. Jongkind, "One Codex, Three Scribes, and Many Books: Struggles with Space in Codex Sinaiticus" (pp. 121-135), describes some problems which may be reconstructed from a study of the patterns of activity by the three copyists of this manuscript, discussing in detail the transitions between Judith and 1 Maccabees, 1 Maccabees and 4 Maccabees, and Revelation and Barnabas.

5. This is a study of Gregory-Aland P78 (P. Oxy. 34.2684) by T. Wasserman (pp. 137-160), and in particular of the question of its function as an amulet. He concludes that it was produced for that purpose, and concludes with some reflections on the value of such a manuscript (with some unusual readings) for editing the text.

6. Wasserman also contributes to the next article, jointly authored with T. Nicklas, enquiring into "Theologische Linien" in the Bodmer codex which contains various texts, including the letters of Peter and the text traditionally

known as the *Protevangelium Iacobi* (pp. 161-188). Their interest is in the causes of this compilation.

7. Michael Holmes investigates the text of P46 in Romans, in particular a set of "significant errors," building on the work of Zuntz's *The Text of the Epistles* (pp. 189-206). He considers these readings to be evidence of careful reading activity amounting almost to commentary, made either before or after the formation of the Pauline corpus in the late first or early second century. Since Zuntz's research focussed on 1 Corinthians and Galatians, Holmes' work is an important and stimulating contribution.

8. An investigation of the staurogram in early Christian manuscripts by Hurtado, considers its origin, function and significance (pp. 207-226). He argues that its use reflects "an importance given to Jesus' crucifixion in Christian faith/piety, from at least as early as the late second century" (p. 226).

9. T.J. Kraus presents a study of manuscripts containing the Lord's Prayer with the sub-title "They are more than simply witnesses to that text itself" (pp. 207-266). He lists and describes nineteen Greek manuscripts (five of them illustrated) containing the prayer which do not have a Gregory-Aland number.

10. Malcolm Choat studies "Echo and Quotation of the New Testament in Papyrus Letters to the End of the Fourth Century" (pp. 267-292), covering both Greek and Coptic documents. Such references consist of identifiable echoes from the late third century, and of explicit citation from the post-Constantinian age (p. 280).

11. Kim Haines-Eitzen discusses the readership of apocryphal acts on papyrus (pp. 293-304). Her conclusion is to advise caution in accepting the claim that these texts are "women's books."

12. S.E. Porter, "Textual Criticism in the Light of Diverse Textual Evidence for the Greek New Testament: An Expanded Proposal" (pp. 305-337) outlines what he perceives as some drawbacks in the Gregory-Aland classification system of manuscripts, and goes on to propose the creation of a new system, in which there would be "two major lists of New Testament manuscripts, differentiated by whether they are continuous text or not" (p. 314). A number of types of material currently without a Gregory-Aland number would be included in the second list.

In one respect the title of this book claims a great deal more for it than is justified. There are actually many worlds of New Testament manuscripts, such as the world of Byzantium and the world of Ireland. The only one represented here is limited in three respects: it is (almost totally) of Greek manuscripts, almost exclusively written on papyrus, all dating from the early centuries. As such it will certainly be of interest to the readers of this journal. But even in

this single world, the words of the introduction quoted at the beginning of this review are only partially realized. The book does not provide a coherent, let alone a complete approach. There is no obvious rationale behind the selection of contributions for the collection. Porter's does not fit into the editors' description of the book at all, while an *editio princeps* can hardly be said to do so either, and many of the manuscripts discussed are not of the New Testament, including as they do Jewish documents, the Septuagint, apocryphal acts and early Christian letters.

This is not to say that there are not valuable articles here. Some develop new research questions in the light of the growth of book history in New Testament studies. Others serve as valuable updates on particular kinds of manuscript witness to the text of the New Testament.

The volume has several typos, and the reader must beware. There are, for example, spurious opening square brackets throughout the citation of witnesses in Holmes' article (I suspect someone misunderstood the role of a closing square bracket in separating base text reading from variant).

I end with a note on the relationship between the use of manuscripts in editing the text and the criteria for the inclusion of manuscripts in the Münster *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, an issue which comes up implicitly or explicitly more than once (and is the focus of Porter's article). The two matters should not be confounded. The *Liste* is essentially a tool for bibliographical reference containing lists of manuscripts which are in certain respects somewhat inconsistent, but which overall should be considered as witnesses whose relationships may at least in theory be demonstrated by genealogical analysis. It is not a list of witnesses to be included in an edition. Many of the other types of witness mentioned in the articles in which New Testament text is contained (for example prayers, private letters, and excerpts) cannot be treated stemmatologically, and fall into the same category as patristic citations. They deserve serious consideration for inclusion in a critical edition, depending on an editor's criteria. That does not mean that they should be added to the *Liste*.

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David C. Parker

Claudio Gallazzi and Luigi Lehnus (eds.), *Achille Vogliano cinquant'anni dopo*, Vol. 1. Quaderni di Acme 59. Milan: Cisalpino, 2003. xli + 334 pages. ISBN 88-32330-07-5.

Achille Vogliano (1881-1953) died over 50 years ago. To honor the man and to put his life's work in its scholarly context, a number of contributions have been collected in the present volume, the first of a diptych (the second volume has not yet appeared). Instead of the usual "hagiography," the volume offers *Wissenschaftsgeschichte*. We are not given a portrait *aus einem Guss*, but in-depth studies of various aspects of Vogliano's scholarly work.

Vogliano was first and foremost a philologist, whose acumen and discipline allowed him to advance the reading of literary texts preserved on inscriptions and papyri. Almost from the first, his attention was drawn to the carbonized papyri from Herculaneum, which always remained high on his list (including in his final, posthumous publications; see the chapter by Francesca Longo Auricchio, pp. 73-129). When he finally moved to the Statale in Milan at age 51, he reinvented himself as a "militant" papyrologist and almost immediately started organizing an archaeological "mission" to Egypt, to recover more papyri. In 1934, he first targeted Tebtynis, where Italian archaeologists had been active since the early 1930s, then in 1935 he moved to Narmuthis, which had been his first choice. Both sites continue to be explored by Italian "missions," always with a strong interest in papyri.

Vogliano's work in Tebtynis and Narmuthis is appropriately covered in two chapters by the current directors of the Italian excavations at these sites: Claudio Gallazzi (pp. 131-195), one of the editors of the volume and the ultimate successor to Vogliano at the Statale, and Edda Bresciani (pp. 197-230). Their chapters not only give an excellent idea of what Vogliano was doing at (and away from) these two sites in the 1930s, but also provide details, which are not easily available elsewhere, on the sites and the papyri retrieved (and purchased) by Vogliano. These chapters are therefore required reading for anyone interested in the archaeology of Tebtynis and Narmuthis and in the confusing origins of the Milan papyri.

Vogliano produced two lavish reports on the first two of the ultimately six "missions" he directed at Narmuthis. In the first report he published the inscription with the famous hymns of Isidorus. More important than even these hymns was an earlier find of Vogliano's at Tebtynis, which he did not publish himself, but which he offered to his *maestro* Vitelli for publication: the *diegeseis* of some of Callimachus' poems. During the fourth "mission" at Narmuthis, the famous cache of 1,555 Greek and Egyptian demotic ostraca

was found (*Kladden* from a scribal bureau, including some teaching materials). The publication of papyri from Tebtynis and the ostraca from Narmuthis is ongoing. The bulk of the papyri, mixed in with others purchased by Vogliano from dealers (for details see Gallazzi's chapter on Tebtynis), appear in seven volumes, published between 1937 and 1981, in a series eventually called *P.Mil. Vogl.* after the man who inaugurated it. Four volumes of *O.Narm.* have appeared between 1983 and 2005.

Vogliano's interest and interventions in Greek inscriptions and papyri are discussed by Jean Bingen (pp. 53-72; correct Peter to Adolf Grohmann on p. 65). He explains the sharpness of some of Vogliano's comments on other scholars' work as follows: "c'était ajouter la respiration de sa propre vie à l'ascèse de la méthode et de la rigueur" (p. 68). Vogliano does not seem to have suffered from suppressing his emotions at any time of his career. He moved in the volatile world of Italian academics (see now L. Canfora, *Il papiro di Dongo*, Milano 2005) with the same ease as in the equally volatile world of German scholarship of the 1920s and 1930s. Vogliano spent a large part of his working life in Berlin, and after his retirement from the Statale at age 70 he even became honorary professor at the Freie Universität. Luigi Lehnus, the other editor, devotes a long chapter (pp. 9-52) to Vogliano's love affair with German *Altertumswissenschaft*.

The volume provides a chronology of Vogliano's life (pp. xv-xx) and a bibliography (pp. xxi-xxxiii). Full indices of personal names and places conclude the volume.

One can only wish that similar productions for the even greater papyrologists of the past would be undertaken.

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Ugo Zanetti and Enzo Lucchesi (eds.), *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos, Bollandiste. Cahiers d'orientalisme* 25. Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 2004. xxiv + 343 pages.

Paul Devos, “pur fruit du Bollandisme” (so the publisher, p. 343), edited the *Analecta Bollandiana* from 1947 until his death in 1995. His first article had appeared in that journal in 1946, and his last appeared there in 1995. Earlier, Devos had collaborated with Hippolyte Delehaye on the last volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* published to date, the *Propylaeum Decembris* (Brussels 1940). An updated bibliography of the learned Bollandist is included (pp. xvii-xxiv).

Bollandists study hagiographical texts in any language, and it does not come as a surprise that the contributors to this volume of *mélanges* use eight different alphabets. The volume is enriched with black-and-white plates of the manuscripts published as well as some color illustrations. Because the pictures appear on the same creamy paper as the printed text, the black-and-white plates are not as clear as one could wish, but the color illustrations come out exceptionally well.

Most of the contributions deal with some aspect of Egyptian hagiography, and I can only highlight the ones of particular interest to papyrologists here. The martyrdom of Philemon, the famous *choraules* from Antinoopolis, features twice in the volume. Sebastian Brock (pp. 29-42) edits the earliest Syriac version of the martyr acts from a fifth-century manuscript, and Theofried Baumeister (pp. 171-174) discusses the *Lokalkolorit* of the martyrdom as narrated in *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 19. He suggests that the longer version of this preserved in Syriac helps us to interpret the Greek text better, so that it refers to the Egyptian practice of keeping martyrs' mummies above ground. The travelers narrating the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* state that they personally touched the mummies (*skenomata* in Greek). The Syriac then explains that the mummies had not yet been buried (it also states that this was because of the inundation of the Nile – but the travelers visited Egypt about 90 years after Philemon was martyred and mummified!). Baumeister (pp. 165-171) also discusses some other instances of possible *Lokalkolorit* in *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 14 (Paphnuthius) and 10 (Patermuthius).

Ugo Zanetti (pp. 43-109) publishes a complete set of the miracles of Coluthus, the medical martyr from Antinoopolis, in Arabic. These miracles are sometimes very late, but demonstrate the vitality and appeal of the cult already well known from papyri.

Ewa Wipszycka (pp. 135-148, with color illustrations) traces the geographical realities behind the *Life of Antony*. The *Life* is sparing with details (we learn from Sozomenus that Antony originated in Coma, a village in the Heracleopolite nome; we learn from yet other sources that Antony moved from a deserted Roman army camp, *parembole*, to a place in the mountains nearby called Pispir), but Wipszycka suggestively reconstructs what happened. Following Maurice Martin, she locates Pispir in the mountains near Burumbul, a place name derived from *parembole*. In Burumbul, a sheik's tomb has even protected the last remnant of the Roman army camp, a tower, from destruction. Both Burumbul and the mountains to the east of it are still quite close to the cultivated area. Only afterwards did Antony make a decisive move to the "outer desert" near the Red Sea. Earlier his abodes were not significantly more deserted or breath-taking than those chosen by other ascetic leaders of communities of the *laura* type.

Marguerite Rassart-Debergh (pp. 287-312) gives a somewhat antiquated account of the use of pagan monuments by Egyptian Christians (tombs and temples – but it is perhaps refreshing not to come across temple "conversion" and "contested" space for a change) and the reception of Egyptian mythology in Christian iconography, but there are some nice color pictures.

There are reminiscences of Devos throughout the volume. My article on the Coptic martyrdom of Stephanus of Linaeus appeared in the last issue of the *Analecta Bollandiana* he edited, so that I too can appreciate his conscientious labor on behalf of other scholars. Editing a journal seems a thankless job but is of course its own reward.

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Peter van Minnen

Hans Julius Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemaer und des Prinzipats*, Erster Band: Bedingungen und Triebkräfte der Rechtsentwicklung. Herausgegeben von Hans-Albert Rupprecht. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Zehnte Abteilung, fünfter Teil: Rechtsgeschichte des Altertums. Erster Band. München: Beck, 2002. ISBN 3-406-48164-7.

In 1978, H.J. Wolff published the second volume of his handbook on the law of the Greek papyri from Egypt. Conflicting legal arrangements made by Wolff before his death in 1983 held up the publication of the manuscript of the first volume for twenty-four years. Thanks to the diligence of H.-A. Rupprecht, this volume has now finally appeared. The editor has contributed a section (§2) on juristic papyrology and its resources, largely based on his *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Darmstadt 1994), as well as addenda to the other sections and an up-to-date list of text editions.

The second volume of Wolff's handbook is a detailed survey of the various types of public and private Greek legal documents from Graeco-Roman Egypt, their production, registration and legal function. It stays very close to the actual material. Legal documents illustrate the legal praxis in Graeco-Roman Egypt with an immediacy that makes it so attractive to be a documentary papyrologist.

Unlike the earlier handbooks by R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, 332 B.C. – 640 A.D.* (second edition, Warsaw 1955), and E. Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte* (second edition, Glückstadt 1962) and *Rechtsgeschichte Ägyptens als römischer Provinz* (Sankt Augustin 1973), Wolff's handbook does not include the Byzantine (later Roman) period for the simple reason that the law of Egypt in that period conforms more or less to that of the rest of the empire.

Wolff concentrated on the Greek legal documents from the Ptolemaic and early Roman period, because they illustrate the vicissitudes of Greek law in Egypt for a period of over six centuries. He did not provide much information on the contemporary evidence in Demotic, which sometimes derives from the same archives as the Greek legal documents (as in *P.Dion.* and *P.Dryton*, to mention only a couple). This is a pity, because ultimately papyrologists are less interested in Greek law, for which the evidence from Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt happens to be our main source of information, than in the legal praxis of Graeco-Roman Egypt. If the "practitioners" (Egyptians who needed legal documents) used both Greek and Demotic texts, we stand to lose if we give the latter short shrift. In this respect, Seidl is more helpful than Wolff. His

books mentioned above are part of a triptych dealing with the law in (very) Late-Period Egypt (the period immediately before the arrival of the Greeks is covered by his *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit*, second edition, Glückstadt 1968).

On the other hand, we can hardly begrudge Wolff his interest in Hellenistic and early Roman Greek law, and his methodological (and methodical) contributions have entirely shaped this particular field of study. I may recall here his seminal *Written and Unwritten Marriages in Hellenistic and Post-classical Roman Law* (Haverford 1939), and his *Das Justizwesen der Ptolemäer* (München 1970), as well as the *Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte* (starting with *Symposion* 1971).

The viability of Wolff's approach to the subject is shown by the only monograph in juristic papyrology to have been produced in the last couple of decades: U. Yiftach-Firanko, *Marriage and Marital Arrangements: A History of the Greek Marriage Document in Egypt* (München 2003), which builds on Wolff's work and likewise excludes the Byzantine evidence. According to Yiftach-Firanko in his chapter 3, *ekdosis* documents (starting with *P.Eleph.* 1 from 310 BC, and ending with *P.Vind.Bosw.* 5 of AD 304) and dowry receipts (starting with *SB* 12.11053 of 267 BC and ending with *P.Stras.* 3.131 from AD 363) "did" the same thing, so there is no need to postulate a material difference, as Wolff did. In fact, the dowry receipts presuppose *ekdosis*, and *ekdosis* was documented only if the dowry did not come from the bride or her parents.

It is a sad comment on the state of juristic papyrology that we have to go back to 1985 for another monograph (H. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur μίσθωσις von Gebäuden im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri*, Köln 1985), and in fact to the early 1970s and late 1960s for the last flurry of legal-papyrological monographs. With few exceptions, the subject seems to have been abandoned by legal scholars and left to ancient historians, whose grasp of legal matters is somewhat limited.

In the first volume of his handbook, Wolff is far more concerned with the conceptualization of the legal system behind Hellenistic and early Roman Greek law in Egypt. He carefully avoids Romanizing and modernizing tendencies, employs a distinct conceptual terminology (often difficult to translate into English without risking Romanizing or modernizing tendencies!) and especially acknowledges the limitations of what we can reasonably know or even say about legal institutions and their development over time.

In the first section, Wolff justifies his choice of subject and the limitations he has imposed on his work. He claims that Greek law was the dominant tradition in Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt, and that traditional Egyptian law and, later on, Roman law merely coexisted with it. Once the Ptolemies had

set up a Greek administration, Demotic was of increasingly limited use, and Latin never really caught on. Neither Egyptian nor Roman law significantly changed Greek law in Egypt, even if they had some influence on it. On the other hand, Wolff has cooked the books somewhat by excluding administrative law, where such influence is perhaps more likely than in private law. When he gives examples of the creative adaptation of Egyptian and Roman legal traditions in Greek legal documents, it almost always concerns private law. Wolff also discusses criminal law and the legal institutions provided by the state. Unfortunately, he never produced the sections on the sources of law, the officials involved in the law and its enforcement, and “material” law, which the editor seems to have reserved for himself and a third volume (p. ix). “Material” law takes up the bulk of Wolff’s *Vorlesungen über juristische Papyruskunde* (Berlin 1998), but this does not provide the scholarly apparatus we need.

In the third section, Wolff explains the legal pluralism that characterized Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt. Traditional Egyptian law was not abolished nor was its relation to Greek law officially spelled out by the government, or any other authority for that matter. In the fourth section, Wolff characterizes the Greek legal *koine* in Egypt (excluding Alexandria and the Greek cities). He and other continental scholars approach ancient Greek law, notwithstanding the local varieties in the various *poleis*, as an essential unity, which could not but be further accentuated in the Hellenistic period. The majority of the contributors to a recent volume, M. Gagarin and D. Cohen (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Greek Law* (Cambridge 2005), would disagree, but I think it is fair to say that by the fourth century BC, the “interactive” Greek world had produced a set of common practices that was transplanted *wholesale* to Egypt and elsewhere in the Hellenistic world (Wolff’s term for this process, *Einsickern* – p. 36 – is perhaps too cautious, but he uses it to make clear that it was not introduced by an act of government). Local particularities are just that: local – they do not travel well. Wolff (p. 26) rightly stresses the uniform outlook of the earliest Greek evidence from Ptolemaic Egypt, which predates the presumed legislation of Ptolemy II, which one might otherwise have been inclined to credit with causing the uniformity. That legislation provided, e.g., the framework for how existing Greek law could be enforced (it also put the maximum interest rate at 24%).

In this context it is perhaps worth asking whether local diversity was the *outcome*, rather than the source, of Greek legal praxis in the Ptolemaic and early Roman period. Yiftach-Firanko, in his 2003 monograph referred to above, lays great stress on the differences between the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite evidence when it comes to what the notaries put in the legal documents. Wolff

and others perhaps have not paid enough attention to this in their quest for a distinctive Greek law in Graeco-Roman Egypt.

In the fifth section, Wolff probes the relationship between Greek and Egyptian law in the Ptolemaic period. He keeps the two distinct, while acknowledging that the one influenced the other here and there. It is basically the same in the Roman period (introduced in §6), when Greek law did undergo some influence from Roman law, but not through some act of government (it merely put the maximum interest rate at 18% at first, then fairly soon after at 12%). In the seventh section, Wolff is mainly concerned with keeping Greek law intact, and he argues that the relatively few Egyptian and Roman legal concepts that did get recorded in Greek legal documents in the Roman period were not merely adopted but adapted to Greek law on its “dogmatic” terms. This perhaps does not always convince. At any rate, for ancient historians, it may be useful to know that Wolff uses *vorantoninisch* and *nachantoninisch* to distinguish the period before and after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. Although one would have expected that the extension of Roman citizenship in AD 212 would have made a great difference in the “reception” of Roman law in Egypt, Wolff does not see the trickle of Roman legal concepts in Greek papyri become a flow until the fourth century, where his study breaks off. In the eighth section, Wolff provides the evidence for the influence of Roman law on Greek law in Egypt before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, both where it relates to Roman citizens, where we perhaps rather expect it, and to the rest of the population.

One area where Wolff allows influence of Egyptian law on the Greek law in Egypt is the *parapherna*, which he, with other scholars, regards as modeled on the Egyptian “wife’s stuff,” while stressing the different contexts in which the Egyptian “wife’s stuff” and the *parapherna* appear (pp. 88-91). Originally, the “wife’s stuff” was her contribution to the marriage, while the *parapherna* were goods listed separately from (i.e. in addition to) the *pherne* or dowry. Yiftach-Firanko, in chapter 6 of his 2003 monograph mentioned earlier, gives a different, “immanent” explanation for the inclusion of the *parapherna*, attested only from the early Roman period onwards: according to him, in Greek marriage documents, the *parapherna*, which were kept by the wife, were not modeled on the Egyptian “wife’s stuff,” but were added to the *pherne*, which the husband disposed of, in an attempt to give more security to the wife. Parallel to this, the *prosphora* was introduced at about the same time (income-bearing goods such as land, which the husband held in usufruct only). Eventually even the *pherne* was removed from the husband’s right to dispose. This could also explain why the *parapherna* occurs in marriage documents for the Greeks in the *metropoleis* as well (cf. Wolff, p. 89), where it would perhaps have been less obvious to introduce the Egyptian “wife’s stuff.” Over time, Greek marriage

law as practiced in Egypt was changed more and more in favor of securing the wife's position.

All this accords rather well with Wolff's insistence on marriage documents as instruments to document property rights, not the marriage relationship per se. Property rights in a marriage relationship according to Greek law were "uni-directional," from the wife to the husband. Marriage documents were drawn up to protect the wife's property rights while her property was in her husband's hands, and Yiftach-Firanko argues convincingly that traditional imbalances between the husband and the wife in Greek law were "corrected" over time, by gradually taking the wife's property out of her husband's hands.

In the final chapter of his 2003 monograph referred to above, Yiftach-Firanko posits that the agents of change here were Egyptian notaries rather than the Roman government or "legal experts" (the latter are not to be expected in the case of Greek law in any case). Wolff (p. 95) had drawn attention to the fact established by Pestman that "Greek" *agoranomoi* in the Ptolemaic period were often Egyptians, to explain the wholesale adoption, in Greek legal documents from the second century BC onwards, of certain formulae previously known from Demotic legal documents. In the case of the *parapherna* and the *prosphora*, however, formal and material differences between traditional Egyptian marriage documents and the Greek marriage documents persisted from the early Roman period onwards. The notaries were responsible for the changes in the early Roman period, but in implementing these changes they were not thinking in Egyptian terms – things were "immanently" moving in that direction. Yiftach-Firanko also deftly points out that this implies that the Greek law of Graeco-Roman Egypt was a real *Volksrecht*, not in the sense Mitteis used the term, but in the sense that the needs of the people primarily shaped the law: the notaries catered to these needs and introduced changes as they saw fit by trial and error.

In chapter 5 of his 2003 monograph, Yiftach-Firanko also establishes the rarity of documents for "endogamous" (full brother-and-sister) marriages compared to the frequency with which such unions are attested in statistically more reliable information provided by census returns and census lists. He claims that such unions would have been established without written documentation more frequently than other unions, because the family (singular!) could more easily have put pressure on the husband in case he failed to perform. This shows that it is not enough to rely on legal documents and to restrict oneself to the "immanent" law in trying to understand how the law worked in Graeco-Roman Egypt. We have to apply legal-anthropological categories *as well*, and also reckon with extra-legal pressure that weighed in on legal

relationships. The social context cannot be ignored, especially not in a legal study of marriage.

We can only hope that the areas not covered in the two volumes of Wolff's handbook or in Yiftach-Firanko's 2003 monograph frequently referred to above will find modern treatment by competent scholars in the not too distant future.

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Ranon Katzoff and David Schaps (eds.), *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 96. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005. vii + 244 pages. ISBN 90-04-11357-6.

This book contains twelve papers that were read during a 1998 workshop at Bar Ilan University with the same title as the book. All papers deal with “law” and the various legal traditions that are found in the documents from the Judaean desert. The book contains, rather meagerly, only indices of passages and names. The book begins with an introduction by the editors of the volume. In it, there is a very useful overview of exactly what the documents of the Judaean Desert are, together with an overview of the publication history of these documents.

The first contribution, by Joseph Méléze-Modrzejewski (“What is Hellenistic Law? The Documents of the Judaean Desert in the Light of the Papyri from Egypt”), is as outdated as it could have been useful. It is meant to provide an overview of what happened in the study of law in the documents from Greek and Roman Egypt. This could provide a “possible model” (p. 4) for those working with the documents from the Judaean desert so as to avoid the same pitfalls, etc. Although the paper indeed provides an overview of some legal issues that were (and are) important in the study of the documents from Egypt, it is very unfortunate that the literature it refers to is completely outdated. Especially in a volume like this, which caters to scholars not regularly working with documents from Egypt, the bibliography for such a general paper should be up-to-date. The only references to publications after 1990 (other than by the author himself) are to those of the editorial assistant (nn. 12 and 14). To give only two examples of what is missing: there are no references to important editions by P.W. Pestman (e.g., *P.Tor.Amenothos*) and K. Vandorpe (e.g., *P.Dryton*), which illustrate the interplay between Hellenistic and Egyptian law in the papers of two families; and in discussing family structures, we expect references to R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier’s *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, and to several studies by W. Scheidel, to name only a few.

The paper “Roman Officials in Judaea and Arabia and Civil Jurisdiction” by Hannah M. Cotton and Werner Eck, gives a useful overview of all Roman officials who are expected to be present in the provinces Judaea and Arabia, even if their actual presence has not been proven to date.

Hanan Eshel, Magen Broshi and Timothy A.J. Hull reassess four Murrabaʿat papyri (written in Aramaic and Hebrew), which have been adduced in historical studies of the Bar Kokhba revolt in the 130s CE (“Four Murrabaʿat Papyri

and the Alleged Capture of Jerusalem by Bar Kokhba"). The authors show, with the help of carbon dating, that the papyri should be dated to the first century CE, and thus give information on the First Revolt in the 70s CE. Whether or not Bar Kokhba actually seized Jerusalem can, according to the authors, therefore not be proven with the help of these four papyri.

The contribution by Michael L. Satlow ("Marriage Payments and Succession Strategies in the Documents from the Judaean Desert") discusses the various strategies to transfer property to women found in the documents from the Judaean Desert. The most popular appears to be a deed of gift of landed property to the daughter at the time of her marriage, thus preventing her husband from alienating or mortgaging it (as he could do more easily with a dowry).

Uri Yiftach-Firanko ("Judaean Desert Marriage Documents and *Ekdosis* in the Greek Law of the Roman Period") discusses the *ekdosis* clause that is found in a couple of Judaean Desert documents, as compared to his findings concerning this clause in the documents from Egypt. In his view, the presence of the *ekdosis* clause points to the conservatism of the scribes and does not reflect the actual, "essentially non-Greek," financial arrangements.

The paper by Ann Ellis Hanson ("The Widow Babatha and the Poor Orphan Boy") is the most rewarding of the lot, and shows what use can be made of the legal documents (of both the Judaean Desert and Egypt) in painting a lively historical narrative of a young widow who defends her own rights and those of her orphan child to her deceased husband's property.

Tiziana J. Chiussi ("Babatha vs. the Guardians of Her Son: A Struggle for Guardianship – Legal and Practical Aspects of P.Yadin 12-15, 27") also discusses the papers of Babatha, albeit from a more legal perspective. In the final analysis she sees the clear influence of Roman law in Babatha's attempts to gain guardianship.

Ranon Katzoff's paper ("On P.Yadin 37 = P.Hever 65") does not show signs of editorial activity, but, of course, who edits the editor? It is a very funny paper, but perhaps a more serious treatment of Cotton's proposed restoration (which pops up as a *deus ex machina* on the penultimate page) would have been warranted. And why not refer to Yiftach-Firanko's paper in the same volume (p. 77) that actually supports Katzoff's original interpretation?

Amihai Radzyner discusses the legal nature of two related documents ("P.Yadin 21-22: Sale or Lease?"). In the author's view, we may be dealing here with a translation of an Aramaic formula, "which was part of the leasing bill in Eretz-Israel at that time" (p. 155). As such, these documents reflect local leasing formulae, so that it is not surprising that they do not fit in exactly with the formulae found in other documents that deal with similar agreements.

The paper by Yosef Rivlin, "Gift and Inheritance Law in the Judaeen Desert Documents," deals with one Aramaic and two Greek documents that reflect mechanisms of gifts and disposition found in the halakha of the Tannaitic period.

Lawrence H. Schiffman ("Reflections on the Deeds of Sale from the Judaeen Desert in Light of Rabbinic Literature") provides us with an overview of thirteen elements that are often found in deeds of sale. The relationship between these elements and rabbinic literature is highly complex, making it "futile to use rabbinic parallels to conclude that specific practices represent a document's adherence to Jewish law" (p. 186).

The final paper by Ze'ev Safrai, "Halakhic Observance in the Judaeen Desert Documents," discusses how the documents from the Judaeen Desert correspond to the halakha known to us. This, as would be expected, depended on the persons who wrote the documents, the locale where they lived, and the language in which they chose to draw up their documents. In general, the author concludes, the "testimonies from Judaeen Desert Documents correspond well with the socio-religious world as it is reflected in the Tannaitic literature" (p. 236).

It is unfortunate that the editors have not provided a glossary of technical terms, especially for Jewish law. While indeed the legal situation in Greek and Roman Egypt provides a possible model for understanding what is happening in the documents from the Judaeen Desert, the documents from the Judaeen Desert themselves provide a possible model for understanding what is happening in the documents from Greek and Roman Egypt (as shown by Hanson's contribution). The book should also have catered to this audience. Helpful in this respect would have been an index of subjects, especially since numerous lines can be drawn between various papers that deal with similar subjects (such as the transfer of property).

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Arthur Verhoogt

Joseph G. Manning, *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Structure of Land Tenure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. xxii + 335 pages. ISBN 0-521-81924-5.

Since the beginning of papyrology, the study of land tenure has been at the forefront of papyrological studies, especially on the micro level in the publication of individual documents. There have been few more or less successful attempts to study the structure of land tenure as a whole. The most important studies for Ptolemaic Egypt were those of Claire Préaux (*L'économie royale des Lagides*, Brussels 1939), and Michael Rostovtzeff (*A Large Estate in the Third Century BC: A Study in Economic History*, Madison 1922). These studies, we have gradually come to realize, were regionally and linguistically biased because they mainly used Greek sources from the Fayyum. A more balanced picture of the land structure of Ptolemaic Egypt is needed, and Manning succeeds in providing it.

Manning's book is divided into three sections, "Issues and Historical Background," "Regional Case Studies of Land Tenure," and "Interpretation." The first section introduces the reader to what the book is about and the methods Manning will be using to attack the "issues" (chapter 1), and also provides an ecological and historical introduction to his subject, Ptolemaic Egypt (chapter 2). The second section describes the land tenure regime first in the Thebaid (chapter 3) and then in the Fayyum (chapter 4). In both chapters, Manning clearly introduces the sources that form the basis for discussing land tenure in Ptolemaic Egypt with all their advantages and problems. The third section looks at the role of the Ptolemaic state in the land tenure regime (chapter 5) and of the private transmission of land (chapter 6). A chapter with conclusions (chapter 7) and three useful appendices follow.

Manning aims at giving a coherent theoretical framework for understanding the Ptolemaic state and the structure of land tenure within this framework. In doing so, he focuses on the economic organization of land tenure and the social relationships (between central and local economic institutions) that formed around this organization. Manning is interested in the economic power of the Ptolemaic state, more than in its political power. In discussing these issues, Manning finds that the most useful model is a (regional) neo-classical model of the state in which there is negotiation between state and local elites, thus allowing for the regional variation found in the land tenure regimes in the Thebaid and the Fayyum. This neo-classical model accounts for the continued importance of temple estates and private holding of land in the Thebaid (dominated by new political power). The royal economy, Manning

clearly shows, responded regionally, and the Ptolemaic state should thus be analyzed as a central coordination of locally organized economies.

Manning's attempt to put the debate about Ptolemaic (economic) power in a modern theoretical framework is more than welcome, especially in a field like papyrology that is not particularly theoretical (see R.S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* [London and New York 1995] 2). It will allow the material from Ptolemaic Egypt to be used in wider, more theoretical economic discussions. In this respect, it is very helpful that the book is as readable as it is, even for people not trained in papyrology. The chapters describing the land tenure system in the Thebaid and the Fayyum should be obligatory reading for any class in papyrology or the history of Ptolemaic Egypt.

As Manning himself asserts, however, we are not done yet. His work provides guidance, but more work is needed to study details of the Ptolemaic royal economy, such as the issue of taxation, to name only one of the more thorny items. Nonetheless, Manning has put the Ptolemaic economy back on the scholarly map, as recent scholarship shows (see, e.g., the various contributions in J.G. Manning and I. Morris [eds], *The Ancient Economy: Evidence and Models*, Stanford 2005). And this is very welcome.

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Arthur Verhoogt

Arthur Verhoogt, *Regaling Officials in Ptolemaic Egypt: A Dramatic Reading of Official Accounts from the Menches Papers*. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 32. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005. xiii + 237 pages + 5 plates. ISBN 90-04-14226-6.

Following his study of the papers of Menches, the second century BCE *komogrammateus* of Kerkeosiris, in an earlier volume in this series (*Pap.Lugd. Bat.* 29), Verhoogt (hereafter V.) here (re)publishes and interprets five accounts from the same archival context. The first and longest, **1** (now *P.Tebt.* 5.1151), was originally partially published as *P.Tebt.* 1.112, while **4** (now *P.Tebt.* 5.1154), complete but much shorter, was originally partially published as *P.Tebt.* 1.113. The other texts, **2**, **3**, and **5**, which were only ever published as *descripta* as *P.Tebt.* 1.185, 213 and 212, are now published here in full for the first time as *P.Tebt.* 5.1152, 1153 and 1155. Together these texts now make up *P.Tebt.* 5.

Black and white plates of **2**, **4**, and **5**, and parts of **1** and **3** are given at the end of the volume. These are not very clear so that anyone wishing to check the details of readings is much better advised to refer to the digital images in APIS.

On a couple of matters of detail, I wondered about the translation of εἰσεκδέδεκται (3.59: a *hapax*) as “has found.” Perhaps simply “has received in (sc. into the account).” The infinitive in line 60 will then translate “(he says) that he has from Marres himself,” etc. Also, at 5.20, perhaps a dative of a proper name followed by the dative of οἰκονόμος, “steward,” rather than “? I manage”?

V.’s general discussion of these papyri precedes the editions of the texts themselves. This is a system which, to my mind, works very well because the major interest of this volume for most readers will lie in the circumstances under which the accounts were produced rather than in the bare numerical details of the account entries themselves. What V. modestly calls his Introduction in fact extends for 68 pages and constitutes a mini monograph in its own right, with eight sections (1. The texts; 2. Purpose of the accounts; 3. Method of accounting; 4. Silver versus bronze; 5. Inpayments; 6. Outpayments of individuals; 7. The reception of officials; 8. Other outpayments).

Unlike the majority of the accounts in the Menches archive which are concerned with land and payments in kind, it soon becomes clear that these texts deal almost entirely with money, which is received and expended for the reception and maintenance of the various public officials who temporarily visited the village to oversee the annual survey of agricultural production. Although these texts are “official” documents in the sense that they were drawn up locally

for the village scribe, they are also unofficial in that they were apparently not intended for outside officials, at least in their present form.

Payments inward, calculated in bronze drachmas, were quite substantial. They came from eleven identifiable contributors, and were kept either in a working account or transferred to a pouch (*marsippion*) or storage vessel (*aggeion*) within the village. There were presumably separate accounts kept also for these (p. 25). Money could be transferred back into the working account as and when needed. Payments outward were made to a number of officials, primarily the staff of the *basilikos grammateus*. Perhaps significantly, the *basilikos grammateus* himself received no money directly, except for a small interest free loan (1.184; it is difficult to believe that bronze drachmas are meant here, as V. suggests), although he may have been the recipient of the expensive embroidered *chiton* worth 720 drachmas at 1.156 or the twenty one grams of purple dye worth 270 drachmas recorded at 1.197.

Aside from these "business gifts," most of the money expended was devoted primarily to two purposes, both of which seem to be entirely legitimate. Foremost was the provisioning of the officials visiting the village for the purpose of carrying out the survey. Expenses covered various foodstuffs, oil, miscellaneous items such as cooking utensils, firewood and fodder, and various services. The food items include a large number of immigrant Greek foodstuffs such as garlic, chickpeas, and wine. They would appear to be matched to a certain extent to the status of the officials concerned, and V. presents a series of interesting tables (pp. 64-65) comparing the items and services provided for the staff of the *basilikos grammateus*, the staff of the *topogrammateus*, and the scribe and his staff. The services provided include those of a barber, a bath house manager, a donkey driver, a laundryman (p. 60; rather than "fuller"), and a physician. Payment was also made for lodgings for the officials.

The other major purpose for which money was paid into the account for disbursement to officials was for the administrative handling fee (*pragmateia*) which it seems had to be paid for writing up into the land registers any changes which needed to be made in the details of a person's landholding, or any administrative action which needed to be taken (pp. 124-125 on 1.110). These payments (1.110, 3.57, 4. 6) are quite substantial; 4 shows us that they might be the same as the cost of conveyancing a landholding of equivalent size. The villagers were also expected to provide the papyrus rolls for the officials to write on, and their ink and tablet wax (pp. 66-67). Anyone who has had a legal bill with itemized amounts of several dollars for each individual fax and photocopy will sympathize.

V. concludes his study with an Appendix on the technical accounting terms employed in these texts, which will be of use to anyone faced with ac-

counts in the papyri. A second Appendix discusses contributions of grain made by officials. These seem to show a pattern whereby higher officials supported those lower in the bureaucracy, thus ensuring the smooth running of the administration which, of course, was also to their own advantage. Appendix III provides an Index of Prices and Payments. The volume ends with a Select Bibliography, Indices to the texts, an Index of Selected Subjects, and an Index of Sources.

In conclusion, V. is to be congratulated on his success in producing such an interesting and readable interpretation of what is at first sight such difficult and intractable material. With his dynamic and contextualized reading of these accounts, V. has regaled us just as effectively as the villagers of Kerkeosiris regaled the officials who came to survey their landholdings.

University of Queensland

John Whitehorne

John Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes: Travel, Business, and Daily Life in the Roman East*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006. xvii + 244 pages. ISBN 0-300-10898-2.

In 1906 H. Bresslau published in *APF* 3 (pp. 168-172) a Strasbourg papyrus containing a letter of recommendation in Latin (now *CPL* 262) in favor of one Theophanes, a *scholastikos* from the city of Hermopolis in the Thebaid. Years later this letter found a much damaged twin in a papyrus housed in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, providing the essential link in what is now referred to as “the Theophanes archive.” The Rylands papyrus, *P.Ryl.* 4.623 (now *CPL* 263), was published in 1952 along with 34 other documents that make up the archive’s major portion (*P.Ryl.* 4.616-651; perhaps add 607). A second, smaller portion, five letters belonging to the Egypt Exploration Society, was published in 1964 (*P.Herm.Rees* 2-6). A succinct register of the archive’s documents, including one more letter found among the EES papyri, is set out in the present book, pp. xv-xvi. A detailed publication history of the archive, or archives, including references to stray pieces from what may be called Theophanes’ dossier, is given by H. Cadell, “Les archives de Théophanès d’Hermoupolis: documents pour l’histoire,” in L. Criscuolo and G. Geraci (eds.), *Egitto e storia antica dall’ellenismo all’età araba* (Bologna 1989) 315-323.

The book under review simply begged to be written; for despite its inherent interest, notice of Theophanes’ early fourth-century archive, “one of the richest ... of the period” (R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* [Princeton 1993] 271), has been sporadic and limited to article-length treatments, some of which are difficult to obtain. As the author (M.) points out, the archive is ignored in the standard works on Antioch. Nor, I might add, was its Rylands portion, though available and relevant, used in A.H.M. Jones’s *Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1964), a work that strikes its readers as having exploited just about every likely primary source.

For those unfamiliar with Theophanes, the basics are that in his capacity as a *scholastikos* he served in the early 320s on the staff of Egypt’s chief financial officer (καθολικός in Greek, *rationalis* in Latin). A magnate of regional note (see the fragmentary domestic accounts, *P.Ryl.* 4.640-651), in the ’teens he had served as a *strategos*-exactor. The chief interest of his papers lies in their record of his journey, on an unspecified mission, from Hermopolis (or Antinoopolis) to Antioch. This he, with traveling attendants, free and servile, undertook in 322 or 323 (Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* 271, n. 76), presumably “enjoying the privileges of the public post” (L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* [new edition, Baltimore and London 1994] 190). Significantly, the documents

related to the journey include no entries for lodgings, whether on the road or in Antioch, or for the hire of animals, whether as mounts or for carrying supplies on the land leg of the journey out and back. More important, much of the journey lay along an imperially defined route (see M., pp. 62-77, esp. 68-70 on the Bordeaux pilgrim's itinerary; pp. 128-129 on the Antonine itinerary; cf. Roberts' chart, *P.Ryl.* 4, p. 107, with explanation, pp. 105-106). Treating Allage on Theophanes' route (*P.Ryl.* 4.627.242, 243; 628.17, 18; and 630*.385) not as a Syrian place-name, but as ἀλλαγή, a translation of the Latin *mutatio* (p. 199, a neat insight, cf. *P.Ryl.* 4.638.17n.), is a detail that helps clinch this point.

Though his book also has much to interest the papyrologist, M.'s primary aim is to provide the Theophanes material, and particularly the evidence for the journey to Antioch, with a comprehensive, accessible treatment for the general reader. Part of this involves placing the archive within the late imperial environment through a liberal use of black-and-white illustrations. Some of these will be familiar to specialists, but not to the general public. For example, figs. 2.5-7 reproduce images of three letters from the plates of *P.Herm.Rees*; M.'s are necessarily smaller, but they are also somewhat darker. Other figures, from the Napoleonic *Description de l'Égypte* (figs. 2.2-4 and 3.1-2), include well-known plates for Hermopolis and Antinoopolis. Most successful in terms of the joining of illustration and text is the use of drawings from the topographical border of the Megalopsychia Mosaic (figs. 4.6-17, pp. 82-88; cf. text, pp. 77-82; and see p. 79, approving the use of imagination in historical reconstruction). In this undertaking, M. presents, in sequential panels with concise descriptions, the buildings and street scenes Theophanes likely witnessed as he approached, entered, and moved about in Antioch.

Following an introductory first chapter, Chapter 2 ("Hermopolis: Theophanes and His Friends") presents translations of Theophanes' letters. It sets the Egyptian background, physically and socially. Later chapters (3, "The Road to Antioch," 5, "At Antioch," 6, "Homeward Bound" – Chapter 4 is an interlude on travel with sections on the *cursus publicus*, the Peutinger map, and the city of Antioch) include exact translations of the Rylands memoranda, or accounts, and itineraries. These, the book's core, are presented by design at intervals rather than continuously in one place. As befits the goal of accessibility (see p. viii for M.'s explanation), the translations come without Greek texts. Consequently, the papyrus illustrations, those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, but even more so the two figures selected for the Rylands accounts (5.1, 6.1), have "magical" rather than "meaningful value," and this at some remove.¹

¹ Philip Larkin, *Required Writing: Miscellaneous Pieces 1955-1982* (London and Boston 1983) 99-100. "Magical" refers to the *frisson*, or thrill, one gets simply from seeing at first hand autograph writing on a manuscript.

Nevertheless, Appendix 2, though it does not offer a full commentary, does provide significant “Notes on the Text” (*sic*), with some Greek lemmata and corrected readings based on autopsy of the originals. Most significant is the restoration of five missed lines to *P.Ryl.* 4.629 (lines 49a-e); see pp. 192-193. Also important are the changes to *P.Ryl.* 4.630* on p. 201, where problematic entries at lines 531 and 536 are emended to read εἰς τὸ πλοῖ(ον): they allude to the journey’s return leg by water from Babylon to Hermopolis. Outside of Appendix 2, note the clever if queried substitution (in English), pp. 128-129 and 132, of “Skenae” for “Kenae” as a toponym in *P.Ryl.* 4.630*.516.

For a historian of such distinction to have fixed upon a papyrological source is surely a welcome event. In the endeavor M. makes a good case for using Theophanes’ papers to study history below the level of high politics and a refreshing argument for the value of papyrological documentation in general; but this leads to the disconcerting claim (p. 8) that “[t]o know the conditions of travel from Hermopolis to Antioch and the time it took to get there is to know something just as important to the Roman empire as the change of religion that was lurking around the corner at just the time Theophanes made his journey between those two places.” Well, *maybe* – but aren’t the two *comparata* really *non comparanda*? At the same time, the Theophanes evidence, especially its travel-related documents, is notable, as M. remarks early on (p. 7), for its bearing on matters outside Egypt. “In fact, this part of the archive turns the question of typicality on its head, for it provides information for places beyond Egypt, on a scale and level of detail that are normally only to be found within it.” It is not after all the usual Egyptocentric papyrological material dubious amongst historians because of Egypt’s presumed *Sonderstellung*.

In any case, Theophanes’ journey, as traced in the documents, lasted six months, including two and a half spent in Antioch. In setting the columns of the accounts in proper sequence, M. concludes (pp. 41-47) that some columns of *P.Ryl.* 4.627, columns usually treated as a packing list or preparatory inventory, had nothing to do with the trip itself; rather, they were “household inventories.” In treating the outward and return journeys, M. presents an essentially flat topography with only occasional nods to particular challenges like the Nile flood’s altering the return route (p. 123) and the demands of barren and desert stretches of road (pp. 127, 128). Expenditures both en route and in Antioch were mostly and not surprisingly for food. Bath-related expenses and those for general entertainment were a distant second, payments for papyrus (see pp. 89, 94, 116, 161, and 193) a still more distant third. (I leave aside the extraordinary payment to a “speedwriter” [*oxygraphos*] on the last full day in Antioch, p. 162.) In this respect, that is, in their proportions, Theophanes’ expenditures invite comparison with those recorded in the recently published *P.Tebt.* 5.1151-1155

(reviewed above, pp. 195-197), detailing expenses in Ptolemaic Kerkeosiris for outside officials present in the village for the annual "survey according to crops." M.'s conclusion (pp. 92 and 171-174) that Theophanes' party used the previous leavings from dinner as a quick breakfast, with *ariston*, usually translated as "breakfast," indicating lunch, suggests the same may be true of *ariston* in the Kerkeosiris accounts.

In the last two chapters, I note that Chapter 7 ("Costs and Prices") begins (pp. 138-143) with calculations on price increases between Diocletian's famous edict of 301 and the time of Theophanes' travels, concluding that prices were five times higher in 321 than in 301; the annual inflation rate was about 8%. The point here is to argue that Diocletian's edict was not the failure that his ancient critics and most modern scholars have maintained. The rest of this chapter routinely summarizes Theophanes' expenses. (See also Appendix 3.) The discussion of "Food and Diet" in Chapter 8 ends with consideration of some of Theophanes' lunch and dinner menus and a narrative reading of the "Mosaic of the Buffet Supper," a remarkable ancient still life.

The book offers no general conclusions, but ends with a set of appendices. The first summarizes the contents of *P.Ryl.* 4.627. The second contains the above-mentioned notes on the documents. Appendix 3 valuably arranges Theophanes' expenditures item by item. Appendix 4 tries to resolve the meanings of *kemia* and *kemoraphanos*. Both, which appear frequently in the accounts, are to be associated with vegetables.

In all, M. well achieves his aim – though the inclusion of "Business" in the book's sub-title is puzzling. I also cannot help believing that *The Journey of Theophanes* includes much that the general reader will skim. The papyrologist, on the contrary, will want to read closely with *P.Herm.Rees* and *P.Ryl.* 4 conveniently at hand. The book's typography is virtually flawless but there are some minor errors as well as inconsistencies in detail that seem attributable to a want of editorial integration of the book's different components. On p. 10 the point that papyrologists have greater reason to publish unpublished material than to revise existing editions in full scale is right, but the figures taken to show how much virgin material remains (footnote 22, in a confusing use of N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* [Oxford 1983] 6) are way short. A reliable source for the holdings of the Egypt Exploration Society alone puts the total at half a million. Throw in what is unpublished in Berlin and Vienna and we start credibly moving toward the million mark. This simply makes M.'s point all the stronger. On pp. 29 and 30 for *agapitos*, *agapetos* should be read (see fig. 2.7, line 1). The place-name labels on the maps, pp. 57-58, are too often, and without explanation, at odds with the names as they are given in the texts of the itineraries presented at the end of Chapter 3, most strik-

ingly in the case of Gabala (Map 2, p. 58; text p. 61) vs. Ibella (text, p. 59 *bis*). See p. 127, n. 11, for clarification, but also for further confusion in that note's reference to "Iamneia," which appears as "Iamnia" on the p. 58 map and as both "Iamnia" and "Jamnia" (*bis*) on p. 59. On p. 70 Antinoopolis seems to be treated as a mere re-naming of the city by Hadrian, not as a new foundation. The description of fig. 4.14, p. 86, refers to "Leontios," but the description of fig. 4.15, p. 87, refers to "Leontius's establishment." The description of fig. 4.17, p. 88, should probably note that "Ardabourios" is a Germanic name. The approaching man in the middle of that figure holds the basket in his right – left facing the reader – not his left hand. On p. 134, the translation for the item entered in *P.Ryl.* 4.630*.374 is "[??ba]th," but the note ad loc. in Appendix 2, p. 199, does not supply the necessary restoration, ?βα]λάνιου. On p. 181, the presence of *officiales* need not point to agents of the central government – they could have been provincial. Likewise, the name Hermes appears a dozen times in the Rylands accounts, but only once (*P.Ryl.* 4.627.99) is its owner earmarked as a messenger, *dromeus*. If he was a slave (p. 95; cf. p. 164), the name does seem a tasteless joke; but if *dromeus* is simply a translation of the Latin *cursor* (p. 95, n. 15), it is possible that this Hermes, who need not be identical with Theophanes' domestic *phrontistes*, was a sub-clerical provincial staff officer assigned to assist Theophanes.

Finally, it bears mention that another Egyptian, Flavius Isidorus, *officialis* on the gubernatorial staff of the Thebaid, made a journey from Hermopolis to Syrian Hierapolis a half century after Theophanes' journey to Antioch (*P.Lips.* 1.34-35). Since he doubtless traveled some of the same route, it is a pity that his records have not survived for purposes of comparison.

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James G. Keenan

Malcolm Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri*. *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006. xiv + 217 pages. ISBN 2-503-51327-1.

This is the inaugural volume of a new series edited at the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre of Macquarie University. It began life as a chapter, plus its related tables, in Malcolm Choat's Macquarie dissertation (2000) but has now grown to take on a life of its own. In it, Choat aims to assess the various words, phrases, and manners of writing that have been used to establish religious identity in documentary papyri. As he puts it modestly, "This is a study of patterns of word usage within the documents of public and private life" (p. 1). ("Belief and cult" in the title is a periphrasis for "religion.") He is less concerned to assert novel interpretations or provide a broad synthesis of religious trends in the fourth century than to offer a balanced view of the state of scholarship, along with his own point-by-point judgments. In this way, he seeks to build up a comprehensive view of the ways in which scholars can and should – and even more, cannot and should not – use the various markers in question in looking at the state of belief and cult in the long fourth (i.e., late third to early fifth) century. The raw material at stake is to a large degree papyrus letters, but other document types figure as appropriate in the various chapters.

There are fourteen of these chapters in all, of which the first four are introductory and the last a conclusion. The introductory chapters set out the task and its boundaries, establishing the context of the investigation and its methodological principles. Choat also discusses the relationship between Greek and Coptic in documentary use, taking this question well beyond his fourth century center to contextualize it properly. The chapters on particular criteria cover (I reproduce Choat's own phrasing) direct identification (chapter 5), onomastics (6), the casual appearance of cult officials (7), citation, allusion, echo, and coincidence (8), words and concepts (9), greeting, prayer, devotion, and farewell (10), crosses in the margins (11), *nomina sacra* (12), and "those who think differently" (i.e., identifying schism and heresy) (13).

These subjects all have ample bibliographies, and Choat's own list of references runs to 25 pages. The reader may wonder whether there is enough still to be said about some of these subjects to warrant a treatment like this. The answer, in my view, is unequivocally positive. At the most basic level, there is nowhere else one can turn to find all of the references and bibliography for these subjects so conveniently brought together and summarized. It is very valuable to have them all treated together and in relationship to one another,

rather than piecemeal as is usual in articles. Every major controversy that I can think of is covered here, the main lines are laid out, and the evidence is reviewed. Choat is very aware that most of these topics started their scholarly lives by being framed in terms of the identification of Christians, and indeed this study was written in the larger context of the Macquarie project on "Papyri from the Rise of Christianity in Egypt." He is neither a minimizer nor a maximizer in such identifications of Christians; rather, he is intent on recentering the discussion on a more comprehensive view of individuals' religious commitments in this era of change, a view less focused on Christianity alone. The recent emergence of Manichaeism as a possible alternative to Christianity in identifying the allegiance of some letter-writers, for example, gets full treatment. But Choat never loses his balance in these matters or exaggerates the numerical importance of such groups.

There are certainly some places throughout the book where I would come down differently on the subject of a particular document, usually where I think Choat has been too cautious in making an identification (one such instance will be treated below), but never an instance where I thought the problem was not fairly set forth and judiciously analyzed. That is no small thing in a subject as difficult as this, and it enables one to recommend the book to graduate students as an intelligent and balanced introduction to a world of documentary criticism otherwise not easy to enter.

There are also three useful tables. The first (at the start of chapter 8) lists quotations or echoes of scripture. The second lists all known papyrus letters, in both Greek and Coptic, from the late third to early fifth century. These 721 letters are classified by religious character; about half (355) have "no explicit evidence" to decide the character. Of the remainder, 219 are Christian and 40 Manichaean. Another 73 are monotheistic but not securely attributable, just 3 are Jewish (and only one of these certain; the other two could be Christian), and only 31 are pagan or polytheistic. Notes explain some of the categorizations. A random example of Choat's cautious approach may be useful: *O. Douch* 1.34 is categorized as "C(hristian)?" The note (p. 172) explains, "Johannes writes to his ἀγαπητός Palamon; the instructions concern, *inter alia*, a man called Joseph." Now there can hardly be any doubt that Johannes was named by Christian parents, and at the date of the Douch ostraka (end of the fourth or start of the fifth century) there is hardly any reason to doubt that he was a Christian. So, no doubt, was Joseph. But Palamon cannot be categorized onomastically; it is clear too that the adjective ἀγαπητός is not exclusively Christian, and ἀδελφός, to which in combination with the adjective ἀγαπητός Choat gives more credence as a Christian marker (pp. 90-92), is lacking. This is in fact a business order, not a personal letter. It seems fair enough to conclude that those of the parties

involved whose religion can be determined were Christian, but there is nothing Christian about the text itself or the transaction recorded in it.

Even from this trivial example the underlying problem of the investigation emerges. What is it that we are trying to identify? People or texts? Choat's concluding chapter is a strong argument that we cannot easily elide the distinction, because these people lived in "a society where such interaction can take place; where people of diverse beliefs but most other things in common live and work side by side in villages, and meet in metropolitan circles" (p. 147). That is certainly correct. Fourth-century Egypt was not a set of religious communities isolated from one another. Choat goes on to remark that part of the difficulty of identifying religious affiliation is precisely that there was a "core of formulaic and customary phraseology drawn on by all composers and scribes" in writing letters, or an "indefinite language of the documentary texts" that helps keep religious identity in the background. That statement, of course, does not apply equally to all of the various linguistic criteria canvassed here; it does not apply at all to some of them. Undoubtedly some of the cases where we cannot be sure about the implications of particular terms reveal nothing more than our ignorance, not ambiguity in an ancient context.

This may be the case, for example, with κοιμητήριον, about which Choat has the following remark (pp. 136-137): "Commentators cannot have it both ways: if mid-fourth century πρεσβύτεροι or ἀναγνώσται [*sic*] are to be accepted as Christian without any justification being necessary, then the Christian discourse must be taking over to the point where it is crowding out the alternative secular usage. But such a situation makes it difficult to argue that words like κοιμητήριον in the same period belong to a specific Christian discourse, and that their use indicates a Christian context." The logic escapes me. It is precisely the terms for Christian clergy that are routinely used to identify Christian milieus, and I can see no reason why an analogous analysis is not valid for κοιμητήριον. In both cases, of course, Choat's larger point can be maintained: the presence of distinctively Christian vocabulary is not necessarily a sign that all of the people involved in a document were Christian. We do not really know how someone of the generation of Aurelia Charite perceived a word like κοιμητήριον.

There is a larger and more unsettling implication of all this, however, which Choat does not fully pursue. There are no "Christian letters" (a term Choat retains, e.g. on p. 143), only letters written by Christians, to Christians, or both. It is not helpful to analytic clarity for scholars to "baptize" letters. Some of the question marks afflicting the categorization in this table of letters are surely the product of exactly this difficulty. *O.Douch* 1.34 cannot be described as a "Christian letter:" even if the *marion* of wine that is to be delivered was

for eucharistic purposes (which is most unlikely),¹ this still would not be a Christian letter. It is an everyday business document in which at least some of the individuals involved were Christians. The numbers given above have some interest in giving us a sense of how often we can identify something about the beliefs or practices of individuals involved in these letters, but they run up against the limits they face precisely because the entire concept is unusable.

None of that detracts in the slightest from the usefulness of having such an integrated list as a basis for future research.² Table 3, listing Coptic documentary papyri down to the middle of the fifth century, will also be highly useful. Choat is fully cognizant of the uncertainty of many of the dates for these texts given in the literature, and he rejects some claimed early documents. This table serves as a support for the discussion of language in chapter 4. There he remarks, "In the case of the fourth-century documents, most bear positive evidence of Christian or Manichaean authorship. In the case of those which do not, assignation [*sic*] to the Christian tradition on purely linguistic grounds may be precipitous. No securely 'pagan' fourth-century Coptic letter has been published, but it seems unwise to stress the argument from silence when so much Coptic material remains unpublished. Possibilities should to some degree remain open" (pp. 41-42). I would again say that the letters themselves are not Christian, Manichaean, or pagan. But all of the evidence suggests that the users of Coptic in fourth-century letters were Christians and Manichaeans.³ Nor do I know of any evidence that substantial numbers of unpublished fourth-century Coptic letters are awaiting publication.⁴ One might wonder why the argument from the silence of the unpublished should be treated as stronger than that from the silence of the more than a hundred published texts.⁵

¹ The order also concerns *tiphagia*, a still mysterious product: see R. S. Bagnall, U. Thanheiser, and K. A. Worp, "Tiphagion," *ZPE* 122 (1998) 173-188.

² The references to "Bahira, Lesser Oasis" in the table are a misprint; these are the *O. Bahria* from the Small (i.e., Bahariya) Oasis published by G. Wagner in his book on the oases and reprinted in *SB* 20.

³ On the third-century Coptic letter on an ostrakon from Kellis, evoked on p. 41, see my remarks in "Linguistic Change and Religious Change: Thinking about the Temples of the Fayyum in the Roman Period," in G. Gabra (ed.), *Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis* (Cairo 2005) 11-19.

⁴ I also cannot agree with the assertion (p. 32) that "the apparent lack of use of Coptic in late-antique and Byzantine Oxyrhynchus is a function of the lack of attention paid to the not insubstantial Coptic remains from the site." It is true that there is more than has been published, but the numbers are small against the total corpus of unpublished Oxyrhynchite papyri.

⁵ I plan to return to the nature of the fourth-century Coptic documentation in the published version of the Sather Classical Lectures that I gave at the University of

It is striking that the bulk of the published letters in Coptic so far do seem to come from within Christian and Manichaean groups; they do not obviously cross religious lines in the way that the Greek letters do. That could to a large degree be the result of the archival nature of our finds of early Coptic letters; but the archival character itself may not be fortuitous.

This study of word usage thus in the end brings us face to face with much more profound questions about the religious world of fourth-century Egypt. Choat treats his conclusion more as an agenda for further investigation than as a synthesis, and that is appropriate. The book will serve both as an exceptionally useful handbook on the subjects it treats and a stimulus to further thought about the implications of those subjects. It is very welcome on both counts.

Columbia University

Roger S. Bagnall

Books Received

Armoni, Charikleia, *Papyri aus dem Archiv des königlichen Schreibers Dionysios (P.Heid. IX)*. Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung, N.F., Nr. 12. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2006. xvi + 137 pages + 19 plates. ISBN 3-8253-5165-3.

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Bagnall, Roger S., and Raffaella Cribiore, with contributions by Evie Ah-taridis, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC-AD 800*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006. xiii + 421 pages. ISBN 0-472-11506-5.

Blouin, Katherine, *Le conflit judéo-alexandrin de 38-41. L'identité juive à l'épreuve*. Foreword by Joseph Mélèze-Modrzejewski. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2005. 199 pages. ISBN 2-7475-8348-1.

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Clarysse, Willy, and Dorothy J. Thompson, in collaboration with Ulrich Luft, Basil Mandilaras, Günter Poethke, Reinhold Scholl, and John Tait, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, Vol. 1: Population Registers (P.Count), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. xxvi + 694 pages. ISBN 0-5218-3838-X.

Clarysse, Willy, and Dorothy J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, Vol. 2: Historical Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. xxi + 395 pages. ISBN 0-5218-3839-8.

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Hurtado, Larry W., *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins*. Grand Rapids and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2006. xiv + 248 pages + 9 plates. ISBN 0-8028-2895-7.

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Lippert, Sandra L., and Maren Schentuleit, *Quittungen*. Demotische Dokumente aus Dime, Band 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006. viii + 283 pages + 46 plates. ISBN 3-447-05351-8.

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Papyrological Summer Institutes Reports, 2003-2006

Yale University, 2003

Robert G. Babcock and Ann Ellis Hanson, Organizers

The inaugural summer institute was hosted in the summer of 2003 by Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, with thirteen participants from the United States and abroad. The seminar focused on Greek and Latin papyri, with emphasis on those from the Roman garrison housed at Dura-Europos, in keeping with Yale's commemoration in 2003/2004 of the work of Michael Rostovtzeff. Principal instructors were Hélène Cuvigny (CNRS, Paris) and Ann Ellis Hanson (Yale University); lecturers included Roger Bagnall, Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, Raffaella Cribiore, Ruth Duttonhöfer, Ranon Katzoff, Susan Matheson, John Matthews, William Metcalf, Timothy Renner, and Peter van Minnen.

University of California Berkeley, 2004

Todd Hickey, Organizer

In June and July of 2004, the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri hosted a seminar in papyrology for advanced graduate students and junior faculty. The seminar was presented under the auspices of the American Society of Papyrologists and was generously supported by Deans Ralph Hexter and Mary Ann Mason; by The Bancroft Library and the Department of Classics; and by Professors Donald Mastronarde, Ronald Stroud, Anthony Long, and Erich Gruen. Professors Arthur Verhoogt (Michigan) and Karl-Theodor Zauzich (Würzburg) were the principal instructors. Additional lectures and workshops were provided by Professors Susan Stephens (Stanford), Richard Jasnow (Johns Hopkins), Joseph Manning (Stanford), and Jacco Dieleman (UCLA); and by Tina DiCerbo (University of Chicago Epigraphic Survey). CTP received twenty-three applications from around the world for the ten places; the application pool was so strong that the admissions committee decided to accept twelve individuals. In the end, the following young scholars took part in the seminar: Carolin Arlt (Würzburg), D.ssa Silvia Barbantani (Venice), James Brusuelas (Irvine), Christelle Fischer (Stanford), Brigit Flannery (Berkeley), Marius Gerhardt (Halle-Wittenberg), Jacqueline Jay (Chicago), Jean Li (Berke-

ley), Andrew Monson (Stanford), Giovanni Ruffini (Columbia), Will Shearin (Berkeley), and Monica Signoretti (Johns Hopkins).

The seminar concerned the most neglected lot of papyri in the Berkeley collection: the 3rd and 2nd century BCE papyri from the human mummy cartonnage that the Phoebe Hearst-sponsored expedition had recovered (in 1900) from the cemetery outside the remains of the village of Tebtunis. None of the thousands of Egyptian papyri from this lot had been studied, and several of the fragments looked promising: they were literary or had content of obvious interest (e.g., a fragment mentioning Jerusalem). The Greek part of the lot was much better known but had yielded some very important texts (both literary and documentary, but most notably the fragments of Sophocles' lost satyr play *Inachos*) and contained several archives (bodies of texts deliberately assembled in antiquity). The participants were given the option of editing a papyrus (or papyri) or preparing a synthetic study of a group of texts (e.g., those deriving from a single mummy). Throughout, the importance of working with all of the evidence from a certain context, regardless of language, format, etc. – an obvious principle so often ignored – was emphasized.

The participants' projects will appear in the sixth volume of the revitalized Tebtunis Papyri series (to be published by the Oriental Institute Press of the University of Chicago). The "Jerusalem fragment," incidentally, turned out to be an important text concerning the revolt of the governor of Coele Syria, Ptolemy, the son of Thraseas, during the Fifth Syrian War; while the literature included a substantial narrative concerning the battle between Re and Apophis and a ghost story.

University of Cincinnati, 2005
Peter van Minnen, Organizer

The Papyrological Summer Institute at the University of Cincinnati ran from July 5 to August 5, 2005, and was made possible by a generous grant from the Louise Taft Semple Fund of the Department of Classics. Twelve advanced graduate students from North America and beyond, selected by William Johnson and Peter van Minnen (both University of Cincinnati) from a pool of applicants about twice as large, attended workshops and worked on scans of papyri from the Vienna collection and on original papyri on loan from the University of Michigan through the kind offices of Traianos Gagos and Shannon Zachary. The Michigan papyri were kept in the Archives and Rare Books Department, where Kevin Grace was our host.

The students were: Susan Beresford from University College London, Lincoln Blumell and Donald Sells from the University of Toronto, David

Branscome from Indiana University, Sandra Burgess from the University of Missouri, Chris Eckerman from the University of California Los Angeles, Daria Miheeva from Moscow University, Jason Reddoch and Stephen Self from the University of Cincinnati, Dan Ullucci from Brown University, Phil Venticinque from the University of Chicago, and Athanassios Vergados from the University of Virginia. Most of them were classicists, but others had a religious studies background.

The workshops were conducted by Jean-Luc Fournet (École pratique des hautes études, Paris) and Peter van Minnen, who acted as the principal instructors, and by Willy Clarysse (University of Leuven, Belgium) and William Johnson. Additional lectures were given by Caroline Magdelaine (Marc Bloch University, Strasbourg, now the Sorbonne, Paris), Dave Martinez (University of Chicago), Katy McNamee (Wayne State University), Gregg Schwendner (Wichita State University, then Tytus Summer Fellow at Cincinnati) and Susan Stephens (Stanford University).

The stated theme of the summer institute was “Books and Religions,” and we devoted relatively many workshops to it, although we also covered the basics of documentary papyrology. Most papyri the students worked on were Greek documents, but there were a few literary and religious texts as well (Ecclesiastes in Greek and the apocryphal Letter to Abgar in Coptic). Among the documents, a detailed temple inventory listing rare cult items and a checklist of fancy clothes packed for a high official on a business trip stand out.

Columbia University, 2006

Roger Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore, Organizers

The 2006 Summer Seminar was held at Columbia University from June 19 through July 28. It focused on Late Antiquity, with work on both Greek and Coptic papyri, both documentary and literary. The faculty consisted of Roger Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore (both Columbia University) and Heike Behlmer (Macquarie University). David Ratzan (Columbia University) was the seminar assistant. Additional lectures were given by Rodney Ast (Columbia University), AnneMarie Luijendijk (Princeton University), and Giovanni Ruffini (Columbia University). The group also visited the collections of Princeton University and the Pierpont Morgan Library, hearing presentations by Don C. Skemer and William Voelkle, respectively, and seeing representative papyri from these collections.

The participants in the seminar were Marja Bakker (Leiden University), Alette Bakkens (Leiden University), Stephen Bay (University of Illinois; now Brigham Young University), Katherine Blouin (Université Laval), Ari Bryen

(University of Chicago), Usama Gad (Ain Shams University), Brendan Haug (University of California, Berkeley), Kevin Kalish (Princeton University), Florence Lemaire (Sorbonne), Rachel Mairs (University of Cambridge), Valentina Millozzi (Università degli Studi, Urbino), and Jennifer Westerfeld (University of Chicago).

The core program of the Seminar consisted of morning lecture/seminar meetings on topics ranging over the period from the late third century to the eighth century in both languages. In addition, two Coptic classes were offered, one for beginners and one for more advanced students. Each participant used the afternoon hours to edit one papyrus and one ostrakon, all from the Columbia collection, which were then presented in a series of seminar meetings during the second half of the six-week period. These texts will be published in a series of articles (e.g., above, pp. 63-70).

Funding for the Seminar was provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation through the Distinguished Achievement Awards to Roger Bagnall and Peter Brown.

No summer institute has been scheduled for 2007. The next summer institute (2008) will be held at Stanford University. Check out <http://www.papyrology.org/> for updates. You can also find the full schedule of the Columbia summer institute there.

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R. Katzoff and D. Schaps (eds.), <i>Law in the Documents of the Judaeen Desert</i> (A. Verhoogt).....	189
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