

XXXth International Congress of Papyrology



Paris
25-30 July 2022

BSTRACTS



Abstracts

Monday 25 July – Morning

	Amphitheatre Marguerite de Navarre	Amphitheatre Guillaume Budé	Amphitheatre Maurice Halbwachs	Room 2	Room 5
10h00-10h30	Riccardo Vecchiato	Giuseppina Azzarello	Nikolaos Gonis	Enzo Puglia	Elena Ukhanova, Elena Chepel
10h30-11h00	Ruth Duttenhöfer	Martina Savio	Todd M. Hickey	Graziano Ranocchia	Gregory P. Fewster
Coffee Break					
11h30-12h00	Richard L. Phillips	Chiara Meccariello	Linda Putelli	David Blank	Thomas Ford
12h00-12h30	David Martinez	Martina Landolfi	Christel Freu	Gianluca Del Mastro	Guus van Loon, Bernhard Palme
12h30-13h00		Antonio Ricciardetto			Lincoln H. Blumell, Kerry Hull

Amphitheatre M. de Navarre

Parallel Sessions

Documentary Papyrology: Ptolemaic Egypt

Riccardo Vecchiato

Deutsches Archäologisches Institut – München, Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik

Royal Possession in the χώρα. Insights from a Fragmentary Ptolemaic Land Register in the Cologne Papyrus Collection

Despite the sources informing us about the Ptolemaic agrarian institutions, such as *P.Tebt.* I and IV, *BGU XIV 2441-2450*, *P.Agr.*, *P.Haun.* IV 70, attestations of direct crown possession in the χώρα are scarce. Fragments of one (or possibly more) land registers from the Herakleopolites nome dating most probably to the reign of Euergetes II can give new insights on this topic. Despite their suboptimal physical status, they offer several attestations of land described as πρόσσοδος τῶν τέκνων τοῦ βασιλέως, and even more interestingly, of cleruchic land that is categorized as κληρουχική υἰοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως. The aim of this paper will be firstly to present these new attestations; and secondly, to interpret and compare them with the few others with similarities, in order to try to offer a coherent picture on how the Crown directly profited from land plots in the χώρα.

Ruth Duttenhöfer

ERC-Project Elephantine - Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung zu Berlin

Bescheide über das Ergebnis der Landvermessung aus Elephantine

Das ptolemäische Ostrakon *BGU VI 1462*, das in Elephantine ergraben wurde, war als "Bescheinigung über eine Meldung von Ackerland(?)" veröffentlicht worden. Das rätselhafte Dokument steht unter den griechischen Texten der Zeit vollkommen isoliert da. Während das einleitende Datum an die Bank- und Speicherquittungen der Region erinnert, weist das eröffnende Verb ἀναφέρειν sowie der Bezug auf die jährliche Landvermessung und die Angabe von Aruren auf den Kontext der steuerlichen Veranlagung von Land hin. Wer das Dokument ausgestellt hat, war nicht zu erkennen.

Mehrere unpublizierte Paralleltexte aus dem Louvre zeigen nun die Beteiligung des topogrammateus, einmal auch die des komogrammateus. Das Dokument gehört in den Kontext der Erhebung der Erntesteuer (ἐπιγραφὴ) und stellt einen aufgrund der κατὰ φύλλον γεωμετρία erfolgten Bescheid über die Feststellung des produktiven Landes dar. Er diente zur Steuerveranlagung der Epigraphie und wurde an die Steuerpflichtigen ausgerichtet, wie die Analyse

der demotischen *r-rñ=w*-Quittungen von K. Vandorpe, *AFP* 46, 2000, 187-190, gezeigt hat. Die vorliegenden Texte sind die ersten Exemplare des Typs in griechischer Sprache.

Richard L. Phillips

Virginia Tech

P. Mich. inv. 7075: An Unpublished Ptolemaic Account regarding Crown Land

P. Mich. inv. 7075 is an unpublished papyrus from Ptolemaic Egypt. It is one of many documentary texts from the University of Michigan's collection derived from mummy cartonnage and pertaining to matters from the Herakleopolite nome and the eastern region of the Arsinoite nome. The text itself, with two fragmentary columns on each side, is part of an official account regarding Crown land. Col. i (back) includes a list of partially alphabetized names paired with grain amounts, presumably referencing land rental and taxes. Although not all of the numbers are legible, their tally is within the range of the total amount given below the column. The appearance in the list of $\gamma\epsilon\omega\rho\gamma\omicron\iota\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\eta\iota$, a phrase paralleled in late 2nd century BC texts from Kerkeosiris, indicates that the document concerns Crown lands. Col. ii (back), introduced as "Another account of Teōs s, son of Horus," includes 13 lines of calculations and accounting short-hand. Although it is not immediately clear how col. ii relates to col. i, the reference to $\epsilon\acute{\kappa}\phi\omicron\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ in col. ii again suggests that the document is connected to Crown land. The two columns on the front, though more fragmentary, parse out the assessments of individual holdings.

David Martinez

University of Chicago

P. Texas inv. no. 43: Report on Reception of Grain at Phys

This papyrus, dated to 185 or 161 BC, preserves a per diem report issued by the antigraphheus concerning delivery of grain into the granary at Phys for seed and for rent of land. Our text bears many similarities to Ptolemaic granary receipts, such as those edited and reedited by W. Clarysse and H. Hauben in *ZPE* 89 (1991) 47-68, but P. Texas 43 is not a receipt in the ordinary sense. Like its closest parallels (*P. Heid.* VI 370, *P. Tebt.* III 2.837, *SB* XX 15150, and *SB* XXVIII 17116) it makes no mention of individual rent payers nor does it use the standard homologuein formulae, but merely records a collective delivery made by the cultivators of a certain village. Additionally, the large amount of grain intake documented by these five papyri suggests collective delivery from several cultivators rather than individual payments in kind. The 185 BC date would distinguish the Texas papyrus as the earliest of the five. The date of 161 BC situates it more within the range of the other parallels and seems more likely. The Texas papyrus is the only non-Fayumic text of the five.

Amphitheatre G. Budé

Parallel Sessions

Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology: Book Production, Scribal Practices

Giuseppina Azzarello

Università degli Studi di Udine

Le varianti di calcolo nelle tabelline di frazioni fra aritmetica e filologia

L'intervento si propone di evidenziare la presenza, non sempre rilevata dagli editori, di varianti di calcolo all'interno di tabelline di frazioni provenienti dall'Egitto greco-romano e bizantino. La ricostruzione di risultati alternativi a quelli attesi illumina sulla genesi di errori altrimenti incomprensibili, conducendo ad un significativo progresso nella decifrazione dei testi. Tali acquisizioni risultano in una migliore comprensione della natura dei testimoni e dei loro contesti di provenienza nonché delle loro modalità di trasmissione e composizione.

Martina Savio

Università degli studi di Genova

Matematica nel Fayum greco-romano: alcune riflessioni

Fra quelli finora pubblicati, i papiri di contenuto matematico costituiscono una componente non trascurabile del complesso dei testi di provenienza fayumita. Una disamina 'generale' di questi frammenti, per così dire calati nel loro contesto di provenienza, sembra fornire spunti per alcune riflessioni circa i potenziali attori, contesti e motivi di produzione e/o fruizione di questi materiali, fra studio (non necessariamente 'scolastico') della materia e sua applicazione 'pratica'.

Chiara Meccariello

University of Cambridge

Learning Greek, Egyptian Style. Case Studies in Graeco-Egyptian Education

The purpose of this paper is to shed new light on Greek educational practices in Graeco-Roman Egypt by demonstrating that a tension between "global Greekness" and local elements informed some of the extant school products. My focus will be on two case studies: the "Livres d'Ecolier" (P. Cairo JdE 65445, late 3rd century BCE, probably from the Fayum [no. 379 Criore]), and in particular its word lists, and O. Edfou III 326 (1st century BCE [no. 130 Criore]), which is usually interpreted as a writing exercise composed of poetic lines, including Eur. *Phoen.* 3 repeated twice. In both cases, I will argue that the underlying pedagogical methods are based on a combination of traditional Greek elements with elements derived from Egyptian tradition. Moreover, the parallel consideration of these two artefacts will allow us to explore how the dialectic of (pan-)Hellenic and local elements played out in different contexts, and to appreciate how it was not limited to the periphery (Edfu) but extended (if the Livre – as I will argue – reflects Alexandrian practices) to the very heart of Greek Egypt.

Martina Landolfi

Université de Strasbourg – Università di Napoli Federico II

Liste di libri su papiro e bibliografia antica: nuove letture e nuove riflessioni

Lo sviluppo della pratica bibliografica nel mondo greco-romano tra l'età ellenistica e l'età imperiale è un fenomeno complesso e non sempre lineare, giacché non rispondente a dei criteri "editoriali" *standard*. Le liste di libri rinvenute su papiro costituiscono uno degli strumenti a nostra disposizione per inquadrare storicamente la circolazione libraria in Egitto e spiegarne i meccanismi di classificazione e diffusione. Il volume di Rosa Otranto (*Antiche liste di libri su papiro*, Roma, 2000) ha per la prima volta riunito un *corpus* di liste di libri, redatte in greco, e datate tra il III secolo a.C. e il VI d.C., gettando le basi per ulteriori indagini su questo campo ancora aperto.

Alla luce di un nostro recente riesame autoptico del gruppo di papiri oxoniensi contenenti liste di libri (P.Oxy. 2192, 2426, 2659, 2739, 3360), che ha reso possibili nuove letture, ci proponiamo di mettere in relazione i dati acquisiti con quanti già erano a nostra disposizione, e di fornire nuovi elementi a una riflessione sulla pratica della catalogazione e della diffusione dei testi letterari nelle biblioteche e negli ambienti colti ossirinchi del II-III secolo d.C.

Antonio Ricciardetto

Università del Salento, Centro di Studi Papirologici

Enquête sur les modalités d'application de la loi de Maas dans les papyrus littéraires grecs

En papyrologie, le phénomène graphique d'inclinaison des colonnes d'écriture, dû au fait que le scribe déporte le début des lignes toujours plus vers la gauche, est désigné sous le nom de « loi de Maas », par référence au philologue allemand Paul Maas (1880-1964), qui, le premier, l'a mis en évidence. Si, d'après W.A. Johnson, qui en a examiné les manifestations dans les papyrus d'Oxyrhynque, cette tendance correspondrait à un effet esthétique délibéré des produits de librairie, pour d'autres chercheurs, en revanche, ce point de vue devrait être nuancé, voire inversé : elle serait plutôt le signe du peu de soin apporté à la copie. De fait, force est de constater que la loi de Maas s'observe aussi dans des copies informelles et personnelles. À partir d'une enquête systématique dans les papyrus littéraires grecs retrouvés en Égypte, on cherchera à quantifier, à une échelle globale, la fréquence d'observation de cette loi, ce qui n'a encore jamais

été fait à ce jour, et à en préciser les conditions d'application. On comparera ensuite les données obtenues à celles, étudiées de longue date, des rouleaux de la villa d'Herculanum, en vue de mieux comprendre comment les Anciens concevaient la mise par écrit d'œuvres littéraires.

Amphitheatre M. Halbwachs

Parallel Sessions

Documentary Papyrology: Late Antique Egypt

Nikolaos Gonis

University College London

Heptanomia in the Fourth Century

The Heptanomia was an administrative subdivision of the Roman Egypt, made up of the seven old nomes of Middle Egypt and the Fayum. It was headed by an epistrategus until late in the First Tetrarchy, when the office disappears, replaced by a procuratorship. Based on published and unpublished evidence, the paper will present what little is known of the Heptanomia and its administration from around 300 until the end of the fourth century, when it became the province of Arcadia.

Todd M. Hickey

The Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California, Berkeley

De vieilles archives: Anastasia, propriétaire à Oxyrhynchus

Nearly sixty years ago, at the 11. Congresso internazionale di papirologia in Milan (1965), the abbé Joseph Van Haelst offered an overview of the archive of Flavia Anastasia, a middling aristocrat who flourished at Oxyrhynchus during the last quarter of the sixth century AD. Though Otto Eger had in fact announced the existence of the Giessen portion of this archive fifty-two years earlier (1913), Van Haelst could plausibly still speak of it as "nouvelle" since its publication had languished in the interim. The present communication redelineates the Anastasia "archive" – now surely "vieille," though the editorial attention that it has received in the decades since the Milan Congress has been fitful and as yet inconclusive– and illuminates the current disposition of its documents, which were divided between at least six European and American collections. It also summarizes the contents of these texts, with emphasis on contributions to the agrarian and institutional histories of the Byzantine Oxyrhynchite. The paper thus serves as something of a preview to the speaker's forthcoming edition of the archive.

Linda Putelli

Universität Wien

Gestione e rappresentanza delle grandi proprietà nell'Egitto tardoantico

Gli *oikoi* privati dell'Egitto tardoantico possiedono un'amministrazione complessa e gerarchica al cui vertice si trova il rappresentante del proprietario terriero, l'*antigeuchos*. Questa figura è nota soprattutto grazie ai carteggi degli amministratori della famiglia degli Apioni, ma non mancano testimonianze anche per altri importanti proprietari. Scopo del contributo è presentare i primi esiti della mia tesi di dottorato ("Die Verwaltung der spätantiken Großgrundbesitzungen"), illustrando i dossier dei vari *antigeuchoi* finora conosciuti e tentando di individuare di volta in volta, qualora possibile, per quale *oikos* essi lavorassero. Sulla base di alcuni testi di particolare rilievo si cercherà infine di delineare il profilo sociale e professionale di questo funzionario.

Christel Freu

Université de Rouen

Retour sur la catégorie fiscale des κωμοκάτοικοι en Égypte byzantine

Dans son introduction au *P. Sorb. II 69*, Jean Gascoü a discuté de près le sens de κωμοκάτοικος, terme essentiellement tardif qu'on trouve dans des quittances et des comptes fiscaux du IV^e au VII^e s., en Hermopolite et en Arsinoïte. A la suite d'U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge...*, Jean Gascoü a rappelé que ce

terme recouvrait une catégorie de propriétaires fonciers et/ou de terres qui n'étaient enregistrés ni comme citoyens (πολίται), ni comme villageois (κωμηῆται). En examinant le statut des propriétaires, il a ensuite rejeté l'hypothèse de Wilcken selon laquelle il s'agirait d'*incolae*, résidents dans les villages sans avoir leur *origo* sur place. On se propose dans ce papier de prolonger la réflexion en recherchant quelle catégorie de terres et de titres fiscaux pouvait précisément recouvrir le terme. Jean Gascoü avait laissé ouverte l'hypothèse qu'il s'agisse des anciennes terres catéciques. Tout en réfléchissant à cette hypothèse, on en envisagera aussi d'autres.

Room 2

Parallel Sessions Herculaneum

Enzo Puglia

Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. Istituto di Scienze del Patrimonio Culturale, Napoli

Filodemo e la cerchia virgiliana a colloquio sui calunniatori

Sono presi in esame i tre luoghi del trattato *De vitis* di Filodemo in cui compaiono i nomi di Virgilio e dei suoi amici Plozio, Vario e Quintilio. Contestualmente sono proposte nuove congetture e alcune osservazioni esegetiche e cronologiche.

Graziano Ranocchia

Università di Pisa, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche

Intorno all'autore del trattato ercolanese adespoto [*Sulla procreazione*] (*P.Herc.* 1390/908). Non Epicuro, ma Demetrio Lacone?

P.Herc. 1390/908, which hands down a unique Epicurean text on human procreation, has historically been assigned to Epicurus' masterpiece *On Nature*, several books of which are preserved in the Herculanean collection. Now various arguments allow us to challenge this authorship and suggest that the author of this text can rather be identified with Demetrius Laco, an Epicurean philosopher of the 2nd/1st century B.C., several of whose treatises have survived among the Herculaneum papyri.

David Blank

University of California, Los Angeles

New Readings and the Relation of the Papyri of Philodemus, *On Rhetoric II*

New readings at the end of *P.Herc.* 1674 and in the text's continuation in *P.Herc.* 1672 clarify the text of the crucial transition to the final section of *Rhetoric II*, with its detailed rebuttal of the texts adduced by another Epicurean to show that the School did not recognize any part of rhetoric as a *technê*. One gain from the revised text is the elimination of the address 'I ask you, O best of all the Ephesians' (1672.9.3-4), which has puzzled scholars since Sudhaus in 1892, since there is no other reference to Ephesus in the book. With greater continuity of the text, one can also now analyze its architecture. This analysis contests the hypothesis that the 749 stichoi that continue the text in *P.Herc.* 1672 after *P.Herc.* 1674 leaves off, were only composed by Philodemus for a new version of the much older book (Del Mastro 2014, p. 34). The term *hupomnêmatikon* in the subscription of *P.Herc.* 1674 (as in 1427 and 1506) is also clarified by a new reading of the context of *hupomnêmatikê* in 1672.8.38-39.

Gianluca Del Mastro

Università della Campania «Luigi Vanvitelli»

Un nuovo papiro ercolanese Sulla morte?

Il ritrovamento, a Ercolano, del IV libro dell'opera *De morte* di Filodemo ha confermato la centralità di questo tema all'interno del sistema filosofico epicureo. Ma altri papiri sembrano trattare lo stesso tema e focalizzano l'attenzione su aspetti diversi. La presentazione mostra un papiro ercolanese che parla della morte e che non era stato identificato precedentemente dagli studiosi.

Room 5

Parallel Sessions
Unpublished collections

Elena Ukhanova, Elena Chepel

State Historical Museum, Moscow / Universität Wien

Berlin Papyri in Moscow: the Lost and Found Collection at the State Historical Museum

The database of the Berlin Papyrus Collection held at the Egyptian Museum lists ca. 460 fragments as lost, probably, as result of the World War II. About 270 of these papyri have now been identified in the Department of Manuscripts of the State Historical Museum in Moscow. After many cultural objects were moved from Germany to the USSR by the Soviet Army in 1945, the main part of the collections was given back to the GDR in 1958. The papyri under discussion, however, were left behind in the Museum in Moscow and remained unstudied until recent years. Except for two documents, these are unpublished, and the majority lack pre-war description. Most papyri are fragments of Greek documents of Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. There are also *P.Hauswaldt* 23 in Demotic and two Coptic fragments, as well as a bilingual document in Greek with a Latin subscription. The paper presents an overview of the rediscovered collection including some highlights and attributions of joins with Berlin, offers insights into the history of the relocation, reports on the current research and restoration of the fragments, including digital methods and technologies, as well as discusses perspectives of their future study.

Gregory P. Fewster

University of Toronto - The Royal Ontario Museum

More Papyri in Toronto: A Greek Papyrus Collection at the Royal Ontario Museum

This paper provides an overview and introduction to an unpublished collection of Greek documentary papyri held at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in Toronto, Canada. Research for this paper has been conducted since 2020 as part of my postdoctoral project "Material Histories of Egyptian Papyri at the Royal Ontario Museum," funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, a project with three important dimensions: researching the provenance of the papyri; conserving and digitizing the collection; and composing a full catalogue along with editions of select fragments. The paper reports on each of these three dimensions in sequence. First it contextualizes the ROM collection with associated collections at the University of Toronto, drawing special attention to the provenance of most of the papyri -Theadelphia-excavated under the auspices of the EEF in 1899 and distributed to the ROM around 1909. Second, it describes conservation and digitization procedures. Third, it outlines the contours of the collection, including the range of dates (mainly II/III c. CE) and content. Special attention will be given to collection highlights, including a new fragment of *P. Fay. 23a/P. Bodl. I 13*, an *epikrisis* document, a number of receipts and contracts, and a *semasia* document.

Thomas Ford

Universität zu Köln

The Greek Papyri of Trinity College, Cambridge

Among the holdings of the Wren Library at Trinity College, Cambridge are two-and-a-half boxes of Greek papyri, as well as papyri in other languages including Coptic and Arabic, given by A. G. W. Murray in 1916. The Greek papyri are typically late as regards their dating and are documentary in nature. They are framed and mostly numbered, but despite the collection having existed for over a hundred years, they have attracted little attention. Indeed, only one of the Greek papyri has been published so far (by N. Gonis in *Chronique D'Égypte* 88 (2013) 372-5, an *entagion* from the 8th century AD). This talk will present an overview of the papyri and focus on several of its more notable pieces in the hope of drawing further scholarly attention to the collection.

Guus Van Loon / Bernhard Palme

Universität Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

The Mellon-project “Papyri of the Early Arab Period Online”

This project aims at providing free online access to thousands of unpublished texts from the Early Arab Empire housed at the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library. Our focus lies on documents from the crucial period when Egypt had fallen under Arab rule (640–642 CE) and soon became one of the core areas of the Umayyad and the Abbasid Empires. By sifting all unpublished texts of the collection we select the most significant documents for digitization and detailed description. The intention of this project, which is funded by the A. W. Mellon Foundation since 2013, is to open up 15.000 texts in Arabic, Greek and Coptic to scholars and the general public.

The first part of our presentation will give an overview of the achievements of the project, what has been done so far and what will be done in the remainder of the project's runtime (B. Palme). The second part will focus on the usability of the outcomes, i.e. the Papyrus Database of the Austrian National Library, giving insights in how the database functions and how to optimize search results (G. van Loon).

Lincoln H. Blumell / Kerry Hull

Brigham Young University

The Papyrological Collections of Japan: A Survey

In this presentation we will provide an overview of the papyri in the various collections located in Japan. In addition to the known collections that have been partially published, like those of Tokai University and the University of Kyoto, through multiple trips to Japan (pre-Covid) we have discovered papyri in other collections that are hitherto unknown and are not listed in Trismegistos. As part of this presentation, we will also discuss our work editing some of these unpublished texts.

Monday 25 July – Afternoon

	Amphitheatre Marguerite de Navarre	Amphitheatre Guillaume Budé	Amphitheatre Maurice Halbwachs	Room 2	Room 5
14h30-15h00	Lisa Vanoppré		Aikaterini Koroli	Mariacristina Fimiani	Zuzana Vítková
15h00-15h30	Nico Dogaer	Alberto Nodar	Amphilochios Papatomas	Federica Nicolardi	Fabian Reiter
15h30-16h00	Gert Baetens	Bruce W. Griffin	Giulio Iovine	Alessia Lavorante	Markus Resel, Maria Rosaria Falivene
16h00-16h30	Laura Aguer	Marie-Hélène Marganne	Florent Jacques	Giuliana Leone	
Coffee Break					
17h00-17h30	Myrto Malouta	Antonia Sarri	Lucia Waldschuetz	Rossella Villa	Irene Nicolino, Claudia Kreuzsaler, Uri Yiftach, Bernhard Palme
17h30-18h00	Lucia Rossi	Marco Antonio Santamaría Álvarez	Elizabeth Buchanan	Annick Monet	
18h00-18h30	Maryline Parca	Margherita Erbi		Kilian Fleischer	

Amphitheatre M. de Navarre

Parallel Sessions

Documentary Papyrology: Ptolemaic Egypt

Lisa Vanoppré

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Feeding the Animals in Ptolemaic Egypt. Taxes on the Provision of Green Fodder and Pasture

Documentary papyri and ostraka from Ptolemaic Egypt provide ample information on the varied animal population reared and engaged by its inhabitants. As the Ptolemies promoted a thriving animal husbandry, animals were ubiquitous in the land of the Nile, both in the sacred animal cults and in the more profane, daily activities of people. On the other hand, the Ptolemaic period was characterized by the introduction of various monetary taxes on these animals. Since animal husbandry depended largely on the availability of pasture land, a key animal tax involved the pasturage tax (ἐννόμιον, *qtm*), recorded over 70 times in Ptolemaic documents. Previous studies of this levy have ignored the broader social context of the tax and have failed to satisfactorily explain the existence of a second tax on pasturage (νομῶν). Through a combined examination of animal food needs, animal ownership, and the availability of pastures in Ptolemaic Egypt, this paper intends to offer new insights on, above all, the provision of pastures in this period, distinguishing between a yearly tax per animal head (ἐννόμιον, *qtm*) and an occasional tax per aroua (νομῶν).

Nico Dogaer

University of Oxford

Unveiling the Spinners of Ptolemaic Egypt: A New Interpretation of the Wool Tax

Spinners perform a crucial step in textile production, and they account for most of the labour required in the ancient textile industry. Nevertheless, they usually receive far less attention than weavers. In part, this reflects the silence of the sources: spinning terminology is infrequently attested in the papyri, and few spinners are known by name. However, a new interpretation of the fiscal evidence may enhance our understanding of those involved. In this paper, I will argue that the Ptolemaic 'wool tax' (ἐπεῶν; *tny inw*) was levied from women who spun for the market in a domestic context.

Gert Baetens

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Taxes on Funerary Products in Graeco-Roman Egypt

Although funerary taxes range among the most widely documented and studied imposts of Graeco-Roman Egypt, taxes on funerary products have largely escaped attention. Various new texts now shed additional light on this peculiar fiscal branch. This paper will zoom in on taxes levied on textiles (ὀθόνια), ointment (μύρον = Egyptian *sgn?*), cedar/juniper/conifer oil/resin/pitch/tar (κεδρία = Egyptian *sfy*), medicine (φάρμακον = Egyptian *phr.t*) and natron (νίτρον = Egyptian *hsmn*) used in funerary context.

Laura Aguer

Sorbonne Université

New Documents Concerning the Ptolemaic Postal System

The excavations at Bi'r Samût, a fortified site dating from the early Ptolemaic period that was also a postal station on the road between Edfu and Berenike (Eastern Desert), have provided new documents illustrating the Ptolemaic postal system, especially fragments of day-books which are reminiscent of *P.Hib. I 110 v°* (c. 225a), the only known Ptolemaic day-book so far. The mentions of couriers (βυβλιαφόροι) in these day-books and in the other ostraca of Bi'r Samût offer also a glimpse of how this system worked in the desert. The names of elephant hunters appear in the day books as addressees.

Myrto Malouta

Ionian University, Corfu

Woodworking and Woodworkers in Graeco-Roman Egypt

In Graeco-Roman Egypt wood was a commodity of paramount utility. Buildings, boats, agricultural machinery, furniture, everyday items, luxury and devotional objects were made entirely or to a large extent out of wood. Sourcing, preparing, and working with timber called for skilled workers as well as an organized trade network, since Egypt required more wood and more types of wood than it produced. Information regarding wood and woodworkers in Graeco-Roman Egypt should be of great interest from the point of view of economic history, social history, history from below, and the history of technology. As part of a comprehensive study of woodworking and woodworkers in Graeco-Roman Egypt on which I am currently working, in this paper I will focus on the specialized woodworking professionals and their tools and techniques. The aim is to reconstruct the plentiful but very fragmentary and disjointed information found in the papyri, with the help of archaeological evidence regarding woodworking as well as technical knowledge of traditional tools and joinery and cabinet-making that are still in use today.

Lucia Rossi

Université Paris-1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Brigands, voleurs et pirates dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque

Nous proposons de reconstituer les pratiques de pillage mises en œuvre par les brigands et les pirates en Égypte à l'époque hellénistique. En effet, l'Égypte ptolémaïque constitue un objet d'étude particulièrement instructif, nourri par une documentation assez riche, représentative de plusieurs nomes de la Vallée, du désert Oriental et de quelques unes des possessions extérieures des Lagides ; elle se constitue plus précisément de 43 documents, dont 33 papyrus et 10 inscriptions en langue grecque, datant du milieu du III^e s. au dernier quart du I^{er} s. av. n.è. Dans un premier temps, nous procéderons à l'étude du vocabulaire, notamment des champs lexicaux de la *lesteia* et de la *kakourgia*, en tentant d'éclairer ses transformations au cours de la période étudiée. Dans un deuxième temps, nous nous focaliserons sur les acteurs des pillages en tâchant de définir leurs statuts personnels, juridiques et socio-économiques. Dans un troisième temps, nous nous intéresserons à la dimension spatio-temporelle, à la logistique et aux objets des pratiques de brigandage dans les milieux terrestres et fluviaux de l'Égypte.

Maryline Parca

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Puerperal Quarantine in the *lex sacra* from Ptolemais: Forty Days or less?

The *lex sacra* from Ptolemais (SB I 3451 = LSS 119 = CGRN 144 = TM 103548) stands out among the rules governing the purity of individuals entering a sanctuary attested elsewhere in the ancient Greek world. This paper reconsiders the inscription (a *unicum* in Egypt) with renewed attention to the pollution stemming from miscarriage, delivery and nursing, and child exposure (lines 5-12), with particular focus on the forty-day postpartum exclusion posited by some at the end of line 11. Guided by a body of new research on the epigraphical corpus of Ptolemaic Egypt (Pfeiffer 2015, CPI 2021), on the purificatory rites following childbirth in pharaonic (Arnette 2014) and post-pharaonic Egypt (Nifosi 2019), on cultic purity in the Hebrew Bible (Erzberger 2020), and on Ptolemais' inescapable opening to the religious influences of its Egyptian surroundings (Kayser 2017), this reflection proposes an interpretation that disallows the casual and unquestioned ensconcing of the text in a distinctly Greek tradition for which no contemporary textual evidence exists. Instead, I situate it in a cultural context rich in interferences between multiple traditions, beliefs, and practices.

Amphitheatre G. Budé

Parallel Sessions

Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology: Book Production, Scribal Practices

Alberto Nodar

Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona

The Lectional Signs of the “Hawara Homer”

Bodleian Library MS. Gr. class. a. 1 (P), better known as the Hawara Homer, is an outstanding example of *de luxe* book production from the Roman period; this manuscript has exerted its fascination over scholarship right from the circumstances of its finding to the study of its materiality. Among the aspects that have attracted most attention is its beautifully executed script in Roman Uncial.

The script has also been provided with a great amount of lectional signs, both critical and diacritical, most of which are related to the same hand that was responsible for the inclusion of the philological scholia that also accompany the text, and that is agreed to date from III AD. This contribution will present the results of an exhaustive study of all the signs present on the papyrus, trying to identify patterns under their distribution and their rationale

Bruce W. Griffin

Keiser University, San Marcos

The Stability of Literary Texts in Roman Oxyrhynchus: Stichometrics, Stemmatology, and Scribal Practices

The instability of literary texts in the papyri of the Hellenistic period has long been noted, particularly the “wild papyri” of Homer. But Roman period papyri have usually been seen as more stable. This paper analyzes the stability of Roman period literary papyri, particularly at the level of the line. The study looks at authors, genres, formats (codex vs roll), palaeography, scribal practices, and other sources of variation in the literary traditions. The ability of stemmatic/genealogical methods to produce reasonably reliable critical texts will be interrogated against the evidence. And some suggestions on the social settings of the textual traditions will be offered.

Marie-Hélène Marganne

Université de Liège (CEDOPAL)

La terminologie de l'écrit et de l'écriture dans les papyrus alchimiques de Leyde (*P. Leid. X*) et de Stockholm (*P. Holm. s. n.*)

Faisant suite à plusieurs recherches sur la terminologie libraire chez Hippocrate, Érotien, les textes vétérinaires et Hérodote, la présente enquête se propose de compléter les données liées à la matérialité du livre antique (nom et formes du livre, nature du support, mise en page, écriture, instruments pour écrire, nature et couleur de l'encre, titres, citations, illustrations) en examinant systématiquement tous les passages relatifs à l'écrit et à l'écriture dans les papyrus alchimiques de Leyde (*P. Leid. X*, inv. i 397 = MP3 1997, LDAB 2442, TM 61300) et de Stockholm (*P. Holm. s. n.* = MP3 1998, LDAB 5653, TM 64429).

Antonia Sarri

University of Athens

Ancient Letter Collections and *Tomoi Synkollesimoi*

Around 50 ancient letter collections have been preserved in medieval manuscripts. Examination of their manuscripts reveals that more than 60% of them have different patterns of arrangement in the manuscripts compared to the modern editions. This paper will present a comparison of the patterns of arrangement of ancient letter collections preserved in medieval manuscripts with the patterns of arrangement of documents and letters preserved in *tomoi synkollesimoi*. Through discussion of similarities and differences between them, it aims to reveal some of the principles that ancients regarded as important when they arranged their collections.

Marco Antonio Santamaría Álvarez

Universidad de Salamanca

A Cosmogony in Hexameters with Orphic Resonances (*P.Oxy. 2816* = *Orph. fr. 68* Bernabé): Literary Fragment or School Exercise?

The Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2816 (2nd c. AD), published in 1971 by E. Lobel, contains a poem in hexameters usually placed in the 3rd c. BC or later. It begins with an invocation to the Muses (1-8), similar to that which begins Hesiod's *Theogony*, and continues with a cosmogonic narrative (9-19) in which a god called "father" and "daimon" wishes to establish order (κόσμος) and tries to set limits so that discord does not prevail and the components of the world fall back into primordial Chaos. The relationship of this peculiar cosmogony with that narrated in Hesiod's *Theogony*, in the Orphic theogonies and in the song of Orpheus in the *Argonautics* of Apollonius Rhodius (1494-511) has been discussed. This paper will attempt to elucidate whether it can be considered a literary fragment or a school exercise, paying attention to its stylistic and paleographic features, as well as to the documentary text in the verso of the papyrus, which can shed light about the author of the verses or his milieu.

Margherita Erbi

Università di Sassari

L'Epicureismo in Egitto: la testimonianza dei papiri

The data on the spread of the production of Epicurus in Egypt preserved by the tradition correspond with the results obtained by the examination of papyrological sources. In fact, the presence of Epicureanism in Egypt seems to be confirmed by the discovery of a small but not negligible number of papyri – dating from the III B.C. to the III A.D. In these papyri the critics have recognized precious testimonies of the works of Epicurus and his first disciples, collections of epicurean maxims, letters and treatises where it is possible to recognize an interest in philosophical questions of epicurean scope. Such texts would prove the persistence in the Egyptian χώρα of an adherence to epicureanism. The aim of my paper is an analysis of the following testimonies/papyri (here in chronological order): *P. Grenf. 2.7 a*, *P. Oxy 215*, *PSI 3192*, *P. Heid. 1740 r*, *P. Oxy 5077*, *BKT 10.14*, *PSI 15 1508*, *P. Oxy 2606*, *P. Oxy 3318*, *BKT 2*, *P. Oxy 3643*, *P. Berol 16369*, *PSI 851b*, *P. Berol 7426*, *P. Berol 21312+P. Schubart 27*, *P. Oxy 3658*. The re-examination of these

texts, both from a papyrological and thematic point of view, allows us to define the contents, the modality and the forms of the communication of the teacher's doctrine between the epicureans of Egypt.

Amphitheatre M. Halbwachs

Parallel Sessions

Documentary Papyrology: Late Antique Egypt

Aikaterini Koroli

National and Capodistrian University of Athens

References to Previous Communication in Greek Private Correspondence of the Byzantine Period

The presentation deals with references to previous communication in Greek private letters dating from the fourth to the seventh century AD. The main focus will be on the following interrelated topics:

- a. The kind of communication referred to, which is either oral (exchange of information; requests; questions and answers) or written (letters or other types of non-literary texts).
- b. The individual(s) involved in the reported oral or written communication.
- c. The manner, in which a text (either oral or written) is referred to: quotation (direct or reported speech); summary of content (reported speech); reference only to the type of communication.
- d. The (often overlapping) functions of such references within private letters: informing or reminding in detail / with precision; enhancing reliability of a narration or the correction of an argument; complaining and criticizing; justification of an action; justification of a request.
- e. The attitude of the senders toward the communication to which they refer.
- f. References to previous communication vs. complaints for texts (e.g. letters) that were never produced.
- g. References to previous communication vs. texts to be produced in the future.

Amphilochios Papathomas

University of Athens

Non-verbal Acts in Greek Private Letters (1st-8th cent. AD)

The presentation will focus on non-verbal acts attested in private correspondence dated from the first to the eighth century AD.

- The relevant instances will be grouped and discussed on the basis of the following information:
- Forms of non-verbal act (possibly overlapping), e.g.: a. facial expressions; laughing; crying; b. use of voice (other than talking), e.g. screaming; c. physical activity: various aspects of working (manufacturing; agricultural work; commercial work etc.); acts of violence (e.g. beating; stealing; raping; killing); other activities (e.g. writing and/or sending a letter; buying; running or walking).
 - The context of the above instances.
 - Their role in narrative texts.

Further topics to be discussed:

- Distinction between verbal and non-verbal practices: Is it always possible to draw a line between verbal and non-verbal communication? These two forms of communication are often combined implicitly or explicitly.
- The absence of mentions of sexual practices in the papyri.

Giulio Iovine

Università di Bologna

P. Gen. inv. 117 verso: a Greek Letter with a Latin Date

This paper offers the edition of the verso of an unpublished papyrus from the collection of the Bibliothèque de Genève, P.Gen. inv. 117, allegedly found in the Fayyum. The text is a fragmentary letter dated to AD 329 issued by the officium (τάξις) of the princeps of Flavius Magnilianus, who was apparently already serving as prefect of Egypt in this year (a little earlier than the expected

330). One of the recipients is a λογιστής, perhaps of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Reference to slaves (ἀνδράποδα) is made. As it is written on the back of another document, this may be a copy of the official letter. As this paper will show, the text belongs to a small set of Late Antique official letters in Greek sent from the highest levels of the provincial administration to subordinates holding civil and military offices. In accordance with the standard format of this type of letters, the consular clause is in Latin and is placed at the end.

Florent Jacques

Sorbonne Université

Retour sur *P. Bouriant 19*

Le *P. Bouriant 19* a été publié il y a presque un siècle par Collart en 1926, puis révisé plus récemment par Jean Gascoü en 2005. Mais depuis, un rangement systématique de la collection a permis d'identifier de nouveaux fragments oubliés depuis le début qui appartiennent en fin de compte à ce *rotulus*.

Cette découverte suffit pour :

- reconstituer la hauteur totale de ce *rotulus* ;
- reconstituer la logique, l'agencement et les raccords des fragments déjà exploités auparavant ;
- donner un nouveau type de *prōtokollon* ;
- mieux comprendre la façon dont il a été abîmé sinon détruit ;
- expliquer (ou au moins donner des hypothèses sur) la ou les raisons qui ont amené à annuler le document dans son ensemble.

Lucia Waldschuetz

Princeton University

Theory and Practice: The Legislation on Sureties vs. the Papyrological Evidence in Early Byzantine Egypt

The early Byzantine legislation by Theodosius and Justinian attests that suretyship, in the form of *fideiussio* or *satisdatio*, was used as a common and often necessary measure to secure transactions and obligations between two or more parties, which otherwise might have posed a risk to the financial and material assets of either side. Providing a guarantor was crucial in ensuring that no loss would come to the creditor or that an action would be performed at the appropriate time, for example, the debtor's appearance at court. The legislation demonstrates that sureties of such kind were a frequent condition to agreements ranging from economic to familial to judicial matters.

Likewise, the papyrological evidence from Egypt shows that sureties are a well-attested form of guarantee, both as clauses included in documents as well as stand-alone contracts. The preserved Byzantine texts suggest, however, that surety contracts, and *Gestellungsbürgschaften* in particular, have been 'repurposed,' now seemingly pertaining to the milieu of the landowning aristocracy of Egypt.

This paper aims at bringing the legislation on the use of sureties into conversation with the preserved documents. The established legal framework will serve to evaluate in how far the realities of providing sureties, as we know them from Egypt, correspond to the official imperial rulings.

Elizabeth Buchanan

University of Findlay

Social Implications of the Peer-to-Peer Credit in Late Antique Egypt

Credit in Late Antique Egypt presents many questions. First, although there were banks in Late Antique Egypt, almost all extant credit acknowledgments are peer-to-peer credit – that is, one individual extended credit to another individual. Second, the credit acknowledgments fall into two large categories: short-term credit to be paid on a specific date and indefinite credit to be repaid on the creditor's demand. Third, although almost all the credit acknowledgments were denominated in terms of money, it is not clear that they were actually paid in coins as opposed

to creating long-term mutual credit relationships, which would eventually be cleared against each other. This paper argues that coinage in middle and upper Egypt was scarce and often only seasonally available, and this caused multilateral credit relationships that would be cleared against each other when coins became available. This interlinking web of credit caused a preference for arbitration and mediation over litigation, often assisted by local dignitaries, because a default would have a ripple effect in local credit relationships. Finally, I argue that the notaries were the likely intermediaries because they had access to information about their clients' resources and payment history, unlike the banks, which did not for most people.

Room 2

Parallel Sessions Herculanum

Mariacristina Fimiani

Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi 'Marcello Gigante', Napoli

Novità sul IV libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo di Gadara

Nel mio intervento intendo presentare delle novità relative al IV libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo di Gadara. Dopo la magistrale edizione teubneriana di fine '800 ad opera di Siegfried Sudhaus, molto ancora si può dire in merito a questo importante testo, grazie soprattutto alle nuove tecnologie e alle nuove acquisizioni teoriche.

Federica Nicolardi

Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II

Nuove acquisizioni testuali da uno studio complessivo dei *P.Herc.* 1044, 1746 e 1715: elementi di storia della filosofia e storia della corte seleucida nel II secolo a.C.

Il rotolo ercolanese costituito dai *P.Herc.* 1044, 1715 e 1746 restituisce un'opera anepigrafa, generalmente attribuita a Filodemo di Gadara, ormai comunemente nota come *Vita Philonidis*, poiché dedicata alla vita e all'opera del geometra e filosofo epicureo Filonide di Laodicea, attivo presso la corte seleucida nel II secolo a.C. In vista della prossima pubblicazione (nell'ambito del progetto *Brill's New Jacoby*) della prima edizione complessiva del *volumen* ricostruito, saranno presentate nuove acquisizioni testuali derivanti dal riesame del papiro e dall'applicazione delle attuali metodologie ricostruttive, che hanno consentito di progredire rispetto alle edizioni precedenti e di recuperare nuovo testo da porzioni di papiro finora trascurate. Particolare attenzione sarà rivolta ai testi che evidenziano l'importanza dell'opera come fonte di conoscenza sulla storia della filosofia epicurea e sulla corte seleucida nel II secolo a.C.

Alessia Lavorante

Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II

Per una nuova edizione del libro *De tempore* di Epicuro

Il *P.Herc.* 1413 contiene i resti di un liber incertus Περὶ φύσεως di Epicuro, in cui è esposta la concezione epicurea del χρόνος. I quattordici frammenti superstiti del papiro, svolti completamente nel 1808 da F. Casanova, preservano la parte superiore del *volumen*, come si deduce dal margine in parte conservato. Il papiro rimase inedito fino agli inizi del Novecento, quando Crönert ne pubblicò esigui frammenti; dopo un'edizione parziale di Cantarella nel 1957, la prima edizione completa del papiro fu pubblicata nel 1972 da Cantarella e Arrighetti, nel secondo volume di «Cronache Ercolanesi».

Nel 2011 Del Mastro ha proposto di ricongiungere al *P.Herc.* 1413 i tre pezzi contenuti nella cr 5 del *P.Herc.* 1416. Tuttavia, sulla base delle più recenti acquisizioni tecnologiche e del prezioso contributo fornito dagli *Inventari* antichi dei papiri ercolanesi sarà possibile riesaminare alcuni problemi, al fine di verificare questa proposta di ricongiungimento. Inoltre, il rotolo verrà analizzato anche dal punto di vista paleografico, attraverso il confronto con altri esemplari della collezione. Saranno, pertanto, approfonditi gli aspetti materiali e inventariali del *volumen* e sarà vagliata la possibilità di trovare altri pezzi appartenenti allo stesso rotolo.



Giuliana Leone

Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II

Per una nuova edizione dell'XI libro *Sulla natura* di Epicuro (*P.Herc.* 1042 e 154)

I libri II e XI *Sulla natura* di Epicuro condividono una singolare storia parallela: entrambi trasmessi in due diversi esemplari papiracei rinvenuti nella biblioteca ercolanese della Villa dei Papiri, furono i primi dell'opera capitale del filosofo a essere parzialmente pubblicati nel 1809 dall'Accademico Carlo Maria Rosini nel II tomo degli *Herculansium voluminum quae supersunt*; per di più, di entrambi i rotoli, i pezzi in un migliore stato di conservazione furono donati da Ferdinando IV al Principe di Galles nel 1816, e tuttora sono conservati a Londra nella British Library.

In preparazione di una nuova edizione critica dell'XI libro, dopo quelle curate da Achille Vogliano nel 1940 e da Graziano Arrighetti nel 1973, vengono presentati i problemi posti dalla ricostruzione dei due rotoli, che si potrà affrontare per la prima volta grazie alle metodologie e agli strumenti oggi a disposizione. Inoltre, attraverso qualche saggio di lettura del testo, vengono illustrati e proposti alla riflessione comune i criteri ecdotici che ci si propone di adottare, anche alla luce dell'esperienza maturata nell'edizione del II libro, pubblicata da chi scrive nel 2012.

Rossella Villa

Università degli Studi di Cassino e del Lazio Meridionale

P.Herc. 353: nuove prospettive di ricerca

Il *P.Herc.* 353 conserva un'opera filosofica adespota e anepigrafa, sostanzialmente inedita. Il papiro fu srotolato da Gennaro Braibanti tra il 1804 e il 1805: si ottennero così dieci pezzi di varie dimensioni, di cui vennero realizzati in momenti diversi tre disegni oxoniensi e dodici disegni napoletani; questi ultimi furono incisi e stampati nel nono volume della *Collectio Altera*. Il primo accenno al contenuto del *P.Herc.* 353 si deve a Wilhelm Crönert, che, avendo letto alcune sequenze nel disegno «frammento III», propose di assegnare questo papiro all'opera *Περὶ μανίας* di Filodemo, conservata anche nel *P.Herc.* 57. L'ipotesi venne sostanzialmente accolta dal Bassi, che identificò nel *P.Herc.* 353 un altro libro di questo trattato filodemeo.

Il presente contributo si propone di esporre alcune osservazioni in merito alle caratteristiche morfologiche e alla struttura dei singoli pezzi; i dati relativi all'ampiezza delle volute attualmente individuabili costituiscono informazioni essenziali per elaborare una ricostruzione bibliologica del *volumen* e determinare l'ordine originario dei pezzi. I risultati ottenuti consentiranno una corretta lettura delle porzioni di testo superstiti, al fine di vagliare le ipotesi riguardo all'autore e al contenuto dell'opera conservata in questo rotolo.

Annick Monet

Rectorat de l'Académie de Lille

P.Herc.Paris. 2 : nouvelles lectures

La fin du rouleau du *P.Herc.Paris.* 2 se présente sous la forme stabilisée d'une vingtaine de colonnes dont bon nombre ont déjà été publiées. Plus avant dans le rouleau, nous avons déchiffré de nombreux fragments pour lesquels le gros problème est celui de la reconstitution en colonnes : en effet l'étroitesse de ces morceaux s'ajoute au fait qu'ils présentent de nombreuses surépaisseurs. Nous nous proposons d'en présenter quelques exemples.

Kilian Fleischer

Universität Würzburg

Philodemus – *History of the Academy (Index Academicorum)* – Overview of the New Edition

The so-called *Index Academicorum* (*P.Herc.* 1691/1021+164) is a book of the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus about Plato and the history of the Academy. The text is of outstanding value for the history of philosophy, since much information on Academic philosophers is only preserved here. Moreover, the papyrus scroll is a unique case amongst the Herculanean papyri, inasmuch as it is Philodemus' extensive draft version, which also bears some text on its back (opisthograph). Accordingly, the papyrus provides us with a valuable insight into the process of writing an

ancient book. Modern multispectral images (MSI) and especially only for this papyrus made Hyperspectral Images (HSI) enabled me to read about 30% new (improved) text in comparison with previous editors. The several hundred newly read words go along with various new hard facts on prominent figures of the Academy. My new edition of the *Index Academicorum*, which includes a profound introduction and commentary, is about to appear. The most important results shall be presented in this paper. The re-read passages are particularly instructive for the New (Sceptical) Academy and partly rather surprising.

Room 5

Parallel Sessions Unpublished collections

Zuzana Vítková

Charles University, Prague

The Prague Coptic Wessely Collection (*P.Prag. Copt. Wessely*): The Current State of Research

The Coptic part of the papyrus collection of the Viennese papyrologist Carl Wessely (1860-1931) consists of more than 200 various texts and fragments, largely unpublished. My paper describes the story of the collection, its current state of preservation, and focuses on its content along with the identification and presentation of some fragments.

Fabian Reiter

Università di Bologna

Dall'Egitto alla via Aemilia: restauro, studio e prima edizione completa dei papiri bolognesi

Der Beitrag stellt ein von der Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio in Bologna (Carisbo) gefördertes Projekt zur Erschließung und vollständigen Publikation der Bologneser Papyrussammlungen vor. Das im Herbst 2019 bewilligte Projekt sieht die Restaurierung aller Papyri der Sammlungen der Universitätsbibliothek Bologna, des Archiginnasio sowie der Sektion Alte Geschichte durch den Restaurator Jörg Graf (Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig) und deren editorische Bearbeitung bzw. Neubearbeitung unter Beteiligung von Kollegen und Studenten der Universität Bologna sowie von Willy Clarysse (KU Leuven) vor, außerdem in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Direktor der Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna Giacomo Nerozzi eine Ausstellung ausgewählter Stücke in den Räumen der BUB. Der Vortrag präsentiert erste Ergebnisse des Projektes.

PANEL

The Herakleopolite Agoranomeia Revisited

Markus Resel

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien

Die Urkunden des *Agoranomeion* von Herakleopolis: Die ersten 140 Jahre

Forschung Im Jahr 1895 wurden von Carl Wessely nach einer rund zehnjährigen Vorbereitungszeit 247 dokumentarische Papyri im ersten Band des *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri* (CPR) publiziert. Mehr als 210 dieser Texte gehören zu einer in den Jahren 1881/82 angekauften Gruppe von rund 10.000 Papyri, die im Arsinoites und dem benachbarten Herakleopolites verfasst worden sind. Sie waren Teil der Erwerbung des sogenannten *Ersten Fayyumer Fundes*. Von den in CPR I zusammengefassten Rechtsurkunden können einige mit Sicherheit, andere mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit dem *Agoranomeion* von Herakleopolis als Ausstellungsort zugeordnet werden, und es sind diese Texte, auf die sich das Panel und mein Beitrag konzentrieren werden. Die Publikation dieser wichtigen Urkunden stieß auf entsprechend großes Interesse. Zahlreiche Korrekturen und Verbesserungsvorschläge wurden gemacht, einzelne Papyri wurden neu ediert, ihr (rechts)historischer Wert wurde erkannt, und weitere zugehörige Fragmente unter den unpublizierten Fragmenten der Wiener Papyrussammlung wurden gefunden. Dennoch bedarf es noch vieler Arbeiten, um zu einer – für die inhaltliche Auswertung unerlässlichen – sicheren Textgrundlage zu gelangen. Der Beitrag versucht daher, das Fundament für das Panel zu den herakleopolitanischen Urkunden zu legen, indem der Fund und die Erwerbungs geschichte des *Ersten Fayyumer Fundes* beschrieben sowie die ersten 140 Jahre der Forschungsgeschichte zu diesen wichtigen Urkunden untersucht werden.

Maria Rosaria Falivene

Università di Roma Tor Vergata

From Map to Territory. The Case of the *agoranomoi* in the Heracleopolite Nome

The formula δι' ἐπιτηρητῶν ἀγορανομίας μερῶν, followed (in its most complete setting) by reference to a toparchy + name of a village + indication of the nome, recurs in a series of agoranomic documents presently being prepared for reedition. These were first published by Carl Wessely as part of the *CPR* I and/or *SPP* XX volumes: dating from the first half of the third century CE (date range apparently spanning the years 211-238), they originate from the Heracleopolite district. Was Wessely's decipherment of the word μερῶν correct? And if so: what could its meaning be in this context?

The documents we are dealing with make reference to several Heracleopolite toparchies: can an understanding of the functioning of local notary centres in this nome in Roman times contribute to a better knowledge of its geographical reality? And how does this compare with the administrative geography of the district in Ptolemaic times? Finally, what could this experiment in reconstructing a territory from an aspect of its administration teach us with regard to the concepts of 'territory' vs 'map'?

Irene Nicolino

Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

Le caratteristiche scritte dei documenti agoranomici eracleopoliti: un bilancio

Salvo alcune eccezioni, la maggior parte delle συγγραφαί agoranomiche redatte nel nome Heracleopolites nella prima metà del III sec. d.C. e pubblicate nel 1895 da Carl Wessely nel I volume dei *CPR* è rappresentata da frammenti di dimensioni piuttosto ridotte, riconducibili a una pluralità di mani e a formati differenti. Dai prescritti che si sono conservati si evince che queste συγγραφαί furono composte mediante addetti all'agoranomia (δι' ἐπιτηρητῶν ἀγορανομίας) che operavano in almeno sette luoghi diversi, corrispondenti a località o a toparchie del nome Heracleopolites. Può l'analisi delle caratteristiche scritte della documentazione eracleopolita contribuire alla conoscenza del funzionamento dei centri notarili locali? A completamento del contributo di Maria Rosaria Falivene, che rifletterà sull'entità e i limiti dell'area di competenza dell'attività degli agoranomi in questo distretto, il presente intervento partirà da questa domanda per tentare di tracciare un bilancio complessivo della paleografia, del layout e delle ὑπογραφαί di tali contratti e aggiungere così ulteriori tasselli alla comprensione delle consuetudini grafiche e delle pratiche notarili ad essi connesse.

Uri Yiftach

Tel-Aviv University

Τὸ ὠρισμένον κατὰ τῶν παρασυγγραφούντων ἐπίτιμον: An Abnormal Penalty Clause in Heracleopolite Acts of Sale

Private legal documents routinely incorporate clauses stipulating a penalty for the breach of the contractual duties. As a rule, the clause records the categories of the compensation, its amount, and the identity of the payee. Among others, the document records the *epitimon*, a fixed amount stated in document, which functions as a penalty *stricto sensu*: a payment by the violator to the aggrieved party for the transgress, regardless of the extent of the damage. Sale documents from the Heracleopolite nome are different. They do not record the payee, the amount of the penalty, or what damages are to be amended. Instead, the vendor who fails to meet contractual duties is "to be subject to the *epitimon* prescribed against the violators of contracts." On the face of it, the clause stipulates a fixed penalty on the contravention of any contractual duty, regardless of the value of the transaction and the costs of the resulting damages. In my paper I propose to study this Heracleopolite abnormality.

Claudia Kreuzsaler

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς γεγενῆσθαι ἐπερωτηθέντες ὠμολόγησαν: Die Stipulationsklausel in den *Agoranomeion*-Urkunden (canceled)

Die Stipulationsklausel als regelmäßiger Bestandteil der Beurkundung von Rechtsgeschäften in den spätantiken Papyri basiert auf dem römischen Vertragstypus der *stipulatio*, dessen Wesen freilich gerade in der Mündlichkeit des Vertrags bestand. Seit dem 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. fand diese eigentümliche Konstruktion des Vertragsabschlusses durch formalisierte Frage und Antwort auch in der schriftlichen Vertragspraxis Ägyptens ihren Niederschlag. Dabei wurde sie nicht bloß übernommen, sondern verändert und breiter angewandt – bis hin zum geradezu widersinnigen Gebrauch bei einseitigen Rechtsgeschäften. In den frühen Zeugnissen der Stipulationsklausel finden sich bisweilen ausführliche, narrative Formulierungen, wie die anscheinend standardisierte Fassung der *Agoranomeion*-Urkunden, die auf keinerlei Leistungsverpflichtung, sondern auf das korrekte Zustandekommen des zuvor beurkundeten Vertrages abstellt. Der Wortlaut dieser Klauseln wäre ein Hinweis auf ein bereits damals weit vom eigentlichen Zweck der Stipulation entferntes Verständnis dieses Rechtsinstruments. Doch bis zu welchem Grad erlauben solche, von der notariellen Praxis typisierten Formeln überhaupt Rückschlüsse auf das Wesen der *stipulatio* im Ägypten des 3. Jahrhunderts?

Bernhard Palme

Universität Wien

Munizipale Eliten in den *Agoranomeion*-Urkunden aus dem Herakleopolites

Die Parteien, die in den *Agoranomeion*-Urkunden aus dem Herakleopolites ihre Rechtsgeschäfte schriftlich niedergelegt haben, waren oftmals Mitglieder der munizipalen Elite der Stadt. Im Gegensatz zu den lokalen Führungsschichten in anderen Städten des kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten wie Arsinoe, Hermupolis und vor allem Oxyrhynchos, sind für Herakleopolis die sozialgeschichtlichen Aspekte bislang nicht speziell untersucht worden.

In meinem Beitrag möchte ich versuchen, einen Überblick über die Evidenz zu der städtischen Elite im Herakleopolites während des 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. zu geben. Ein esonderer Focus wird auf die Veränderungen gelegt werden, welche die Einrichtung der Bule um 200 n. Chr. gebracht hat. Ein Vergleich mit dem besser dokumentierten und besser erforschten Oxyrhynchites soll die Evidenz aus dem Herakleopolites in einen weiteren Kontext setzen.

Tuesday 26 July – Morning

	Amphitheatre Marguerite de Navarre	Amphitheatre Guillaume Budé	Amphitheatre Maurice Halbwachs	Room 2	Room 5
9h00-9h30	Jitse Dijkstra, Aaltje Hidding	Laura Lulli	Valérie Schram	Jeffrey Fish	Joseph Morgan
9h30-10h00	Joanna Wegner	Roberta Carlesimo	Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert	Anna Bonifazi, Giuseppina di Bartolo, Jürgen Hammerstaedt	Marie-Pierre Chaufray
10h00-10h30	Lydia Schriemer	Nataschia Pellé	Carl-Loris Raschel	Claudio Vergara	Lorenzo Uggetti
10h30-11h00	Anna Monte	Andreas Winkler	Hélène Cuvigny	Michael McOsker	Stéphanie Wackenier, Anne-Emmanuelle Veisse
Coffee Break					
11h30-12h00	Lajos Berkes	Nikoletta Kanavou	Anna Arpaia	Maroula Salemenou	Spyridoula Bounta
12h00-12h30	Thomas Laver	Robert Cioffi	Giuliano Sidro	Marzia D'Angelo, Federica Nicolardi	Marianna Thoma
12h30-13h00	Vincent Walter	Richard Janko	Klaas Bentein, Thomas Koentges		Eleni Tsitsianopoulou

Amphitheatre M. de Navarre

Parallel Sessions

Documentary Papyrology: Late Antique Egypt

Jitse Dijkstra / Aaltje Hidding

University of Ottawa / MF Norwegian School of Theology, Religion and Society

A New Checklist of Temples, Churches and Monasteries in the Late Antique Oxyrhynchus Papyri

The Late Antique papyri from Oxyrhynchus contain dozens of references to churches and monasteries, and, occasionally, also temples. These references offer detailed information about how the sacred landscape of this city changed in a matter of centuries from one dominated by temples to one where churches (and monasteries) became omnipresent, often changing the foci of worship to other places. The changing sacred landscape of Late Antiquity has long been seen in terms of a monolithic development 'from temple to church'. Recent scholarship, however, has discarded this view in favour of a more complex picture, in which freestanding churches (and monasteries) were increasingly built from the fourth century onwards, while at the same time various, mostly practical, ways were found of dealing with the sacred built environment of the past. In previous scholarship, several lists have been compiled to collect the attestations of churches. The last comprehensive collection of the material dates back two decades, however, while the one list of monasteries is heavily outdated. Moreover, a list of temples in the Late Antique papyri has never been put together. In this contribution, we will thus present a fresh new checklist of temples, churches and monasteries, and then analyse what these data tell us about the changing sacred landscape of Oxyrhynchus in Late Antiquity. For comparison with the findings from the papyri, we will also briefly discuss the results of recent excavations at the site.



Joanna Wegner

University of Warsaw

Poverty and Wealth among the Clergy of Late Antique Egypt

In Late Antique Egypt, the budgets of clerical households consisted of the income earned by priests as servants of the Church, and of that gained from other, non-ecclesiastical sources. The *Canons* of Pseudo-Athanasius, or the main normative text whose author had been writing with Egyptian reality in mind, recognize this fact and attempt to ensure the right balance between church service and economic activities. Various professions of the clergy – sometimes from outside the scope of jobs considered proper by the *Canons* – are mentioned in papyrological sources, alongside landowning which also played a part in earning income by the clerics of Egypt. In the paper, I will examine occupations and landownership among the Egyptian clergy to sketch their economic profile. I will focus on such cases as the impoverished presbyter Peter of *P. Köln* 2.112 and the rich Taurinus II of Hermopolis, as well as other individuals who will serve as examples of economic diversity of the clergy as a group. By bringing clerical finances into focus, I will attempt to trace the connections between economic, social, and religious status in rural and urban milieus of Late Antique Egypt.

Lydia Schriemer

University of Ottawa

A Re-examination of *P. Herm.* 17 and its Tribune of the Goths

The text of *P. Herm.* 17 contains a short letter from a widow named Leuchis to a certain Apa John, potentially John of Lykopolis. In it, she requests that Apa John approach a tribune to help her remove some people from her home. The phrase containing that request, ἵνα ἀξιώσῃς τῶν τριβοῦνων τῶν Γούνθων καὶ ἄρῃ αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας μου, has been interpreted in two ways. The original editor, Rees, understands Γούνθων to be the name of the tribune in question and renders αὐτὰ simply as “them.” Later editors and translators have quite a different interpretation. They read tribune “of the Goths” instead of the name Gounthos and write off the feminine as an error which they say was meant to refer to some Gothic soldiers who were billeted with Leuchis. The implications of this interpretation are considerable, since we have no other evidence for a Gothic unit stationed in Egypt. Unfortunately, under closer palaeographic and historical scrutiny, some deficiencies appear. This paper will thus propose an emended reading of *P. Herm.* 17 and demonstrate that the ‘Gothic’ interpretation is an unlikely one.

Anna Monte

Sapienza Università di Roma

Signing with Crosses in Greek and Coptic Documents

This paper analyses the practice of signing documents with a sequence (usually three) of crosses, which is attested in Greek and Coptic papyri dated to the fifth-eight century CE. According to the usual scheme, the crosses are marked by the term σημεῖον “sign” and the name of the signatory written respectively above and below the signs by the scribe of the document. A subscription usually clarifies that the signatory, although not able to write, has signed the document by drawing his/her σημεῖον. The contribution will discuss 1) the origin and development of this kind of signature; 2) its standard structure and its variations; 3) the spatial and chronological distribution; 4) the context in which it was used. The paper presents the results of research carried out in the framework of the ERC-2017-AdG project “NOTAE: Not a Written Word but Graphic Symbols” (PI Antonella Ghignoli).

Parallel Sessions
Documentary Papyrology: Early Islamic Egypt

Lajos Berkes

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Iordanes, Pagarch of Hermonthis: A New Dossier from the Late Seventh Century

This paper presents the first preliminary results of an ongoing study conducted by Esther Garel, Nikolaos Gonis, and the author of this abstract on the unpublished dossier of Iordanes, pagarch of Hermonthis that probably dates to the last decades of the seventh century. It consists of dozens of Coptic letters and Greek accounts, most of them fragmentary. The papyri of this dossier are – as far as we have been able to establish so far – mostly kept at the Papyrus Collection of the University of Michigan and the Beinecke Library at Yale University. The presentation will provide an overview of the contents of the dossier and address its significance for the understanding of the Umayyad administration between the Papanos and the Basileios archives. The discussion will include the presentation of selected documents of special interest.

Thomas Laver

St. John's College, University of Cambridge

Hundreds and Thousands – Re-evaluating the Scale of Bawit's Monastic Population, and its Implications for their Economic Activities

This paper will add to the growing literature on monastic economies by considering the question of the Bawit monastery's population, primarily through examining the monastery's fiscal documents. This analysis shall start with *P.Clackson 45* – an Arabic tax demand for the entire monastery – then combining it with a systematic analysis of the 8th century Coptic poll-tax documents from Bawit, paying particular attention to the amounts paid *per capita* throughout. Therefore, it will first establish that the usual rates of poll-tax levied upon the Bawit monks were probably significantly lower than figures suggested by later Arabic sources or currently estimated by modern scholars, before establishing a rough population estimate for the monastery of only c. 100 monks (in stark contrast to Delattre or Schenke's much more generous estimates, which reach into the thousands).

The economic implications of this shall then be discussed, particularly regarding the significant surplus of foodstuffs this implies the monastery held (following an analysis of *O.Bawit*), which this paper will argue contributes to other documentary evidence from Bawit (and other monasteries) that suggest the monks were engaged in much more commercial activity – involving wine, maritime activity, and more – than is currently assumed, which will be delineated in some detail.

Vincent Walter

Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig - Freie Universität Berlin

The Many Lives of a Document: The Case of P.Vindob. K 8314

The reuse of decommissioned documents as a writing surface for other texts was widespread in Late Antique and early medieval Egypt. Instead of buying a new sheet of papyrus or paper, one would, for example, use the back of a deed that had lost its legal value to write down a list, compose a letter, or simply practice one's writing. Yet all too often, modern editors of these ancient texts tend to focus on a single text at a time, disregarding the rest of the document and any other texts it might have contained – especially if the other texts are of a different type or written in a different language – and losing valuable social data in the process.

In this paper, I will investigate one such document, P.Vindob. K 8314, made up of more than ten texts in Coptic and Arabic, only two of which have been published so far (*CPR II 1, P.Rain. Unterricht 55*). I will look at all the texts contained in the document, try to retrace its path, and situate it in the wider context of document reuse in early medieval Egypt.

Laura Lulli

Università degli Studi dell'Aquila

Beyond Homeric Papyri. Some Remarks on Bookrolls of Historical Epic Poetry

In spite of the deep knowledge and the great awareness about the characteristics of the Homeric papyri, the rest of the epic book production remains quite neglected, or it is considered just for some peculiar elements. This paper aims to reconsider a series of bookrolls transmitting epic poetry with historical subject-matter, dated from early Ptolemaic age to the Imperial period, through an analysis of their physical characteristics (palaeographical aspects, layouts, paratextual elements, eventual signals of peculiar scribal attitudes) combined with a survey of their main textual features. The data thus obtained from both the material and the textual dimensions of the considered bookrolls will allow to try to focus on the possible contexts of circulation and the eventual readership of an almost forgotten and 'submerged' chapter of Greek literature, which, however, maintained a strong appeal for the Greeks in Egypt.

Roberta Carlesimo

Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», Università degli Studi di Firenze

Caratteristiche bibliologiche dei rotoli di Menandro

A Menandro possono fondatamente ricondursi 67 testimoni papiracei. Per 64 di questi è possibile stabilire il formato librario: 41 sono rotoli, 23 codici. In considerazione dell'apprezzabile consistenza di questo *corpus*, un'analisi degli aspetti bibliologici e codicologici può fornire dati d'interesse.

L'intervento si propone di tracciare un quadro delle caratteristiche dei *volumina*: per tali materiali si prenderanno in considerazione l'utilizzo delle facce e altri parametri bibliologici (*layout* e dimensione delle colonne, margini superiore e inferiore, altezza e lunghezza dei rotoli); si discuteranno inoltre alcuni casi significativi.

I dati emersi saranno confrontati con la base documentale già disponibile, nel tentativo di proporre alcune considerazioni sulla qualità libraria dei reperti considerati.

Natascia Pellé

Università del Salento, Centro di Studi Papirologici, Lecce

Ricerche bibliologiche e paleografiche sui papiri delle *Storie* di Erodoto

La comunicazione presenta i primi risultati di uno studio bibliologico e paleografico del corpus papiraceo erodoteo finalizzato all'indagine sulla circolazione del testo dello storico nell'Egitto tolemaico, romano e bizantino, attraverso l'analisi degli aspetti "non testuali". L'esame di supporto, *mise en texte*, rapporto tra spazio scritto e spazio non scritto, scrittura in cui il testo è delineato, contribuisce ad approfondire la conoscenza del singolo testimone e di progredire lungo la via della sua contestualizzazione, valorizzando anche quei frammenti che poco o nulla apportano alla ricostruzione del testo erodoteo, ma che, suggerendo un determinato possibile ambito di provenienza, fanno luce, in qualche modo, sul rapporto tra tale ambito e la sua ricezione dell'opera di Erodoto.

Uno studio di questo tipo comporta la sicura acquisizione di una certa uniformità di trattazione dei materiali –pubblicati in epoche diverse, con intenti diversi, alla luce di standard papirologici diversi– con la connessa possibilità di "completare" sui due piani bibliologico e paleografico, oggi opportunamente tenuti considerazione, anche edizioni importanti per il loro apporto testuale ma prive di ogni cura degli aspetti materiali dei manufatti.

Lo studio è condotto in vista di una nuova edizione dei papiri erodotei nell'ambito del *Corpus dei Papiri Storici Greci e Latini*.



Parallel Sessions
Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology: New texts

Andreas Winkler

Freie Universität Berlin

An Astrological Manual in Triplicate

This presentation concerns a fragmentary demotic astrological manual preserved in at least three papyri from Tebtunis. The manuscripts can be dated to the second century AD. The fragments preserve both parts of the so-called systematic catalogue and the sections which can be labelled instructional. The former presumably went through all possible constellations and what forecasts they produced. The instructional part is focused on the general rules of astrology and also contains instructions for how to calculate the lifetime of a person with the help of the stars. This presentation gives an overview of the content and structure of the text and relates its content both to the roughly contemporary teaching of the canonical astrologers represented by the Greek manuscript tradition and to other demotic documents, showing similarities as well as dissimilarities between the different corpora of texts. A concluding overview is also provided of what information the astrologer needed to record in order to use the manual. This part is illustrated by examples from a few of the so-called elaborate Egyptian horoscopes.

Nikoletta Kanavou

University of Athens

An Unpublished Illuminated Papyrus from the Heidelberg Collection

This paper presents an unpublished papyrus piece from the collection of the University of Heidelberg (P. Heid. inv. G. 1014). The piece is 10 cm long and 8 cm wide and has been dated to the 2nd or 3rd century AD. It contains the remains of 6 lines of text written in a literary script, and a colourful illustration (possibly of an animal) between lines 2 and 3. I will propose a transcription, on the basis of which I will make suggestions concerning the connection between image and text, as well as the genre of the papyrus.

Robert Cioffi

Bard College

Between Egypt and Ethiopia: An Unedited Papyrus from the *P. Oxy.* Collection

P.Oxy. inv 102-76(a), an unedited papyrus from Oxyrhynchus preserves the beginnings of two columns of Greek prose, written in a rounded upright capital consistent with the second century CE. Col. i describes a dedication with an inscription and the movement of a body between Egypt and Ethiopia. Col. ii contains what may be a reference to be an *apotheosis*, a "stone coffin," and an apparent reference to the city of Oxyrhynchus. These tantalizing fragments suggest an Egyptianizing narrative, either about the death, burial, and afterlife (?) of a significant individual, or else the peregrinations of the phoenix bird whose body, in many other sources, is described as being carried from Ethiopia to Egypt (van den Broek 1972). This paper will present a provisional *editio princeps* of the fragments, and will attempt to provide a wider context for the narrative and situate it in relation to other Egyptianizing narrative texts.

Richard Janko

University of Michigan

Deux lettres inédites d'Épicure parmi les papyrus du Michigan

Parmi les papyrus de provenance égyptienne du fonds de l'Université du Michigan, on en a découvert deux qui paraissent contenir des fragments de deux lettres d'Épicure. Le premier, daté d'après la paléographie de la fin du troisième siècle avant J.-C., est une discussion avec quelqu'un sur le caractère de Pythoclès, le jeune disciple du maître, dans le contexte de l'amitié

épicurienne. Une colonne presque entière peut être restituée. Étant donné qu'il nous manque des textes traitants de l'amitié écrits par le maître, il s'agit d'un texte important. Le deuxième papyrus, daté d'après des critères graphologiques de la période impériale, est plus endommagé, car il ne contient que la marge de droite d'une colonne et la marge de gauche de la colonne suivante, ce qui empêche les restitutions. On a quand même constaté que l'auteur adresse son discours à son disciple Polyène, dont on lit le nom au vocatif. Dans ma communication je tâcherai de restituer le texte de ces deux papyrus autant que possible, et d'en offrir une interprétation.

Amphitheatre M. Halbwachs

Parallel Sessions Linguistics, Lexicography, Onomastics

Valérie Schram

CNRS – UMR 7041 ArScAn

« Ergaleion » : Un nouvel outil numérique de lexicographie papyrologique de la vie matérielle

Lancé en 2013, à l'occasion du XVII^e Congrès International de papyrologie par Simona Russo (Florence) et Jean-Luc Fournet (Collège de France), le projet consacré au lexique de la culture matérielle d'après les papyrus se donnait pour objectif de faire progresser notre connaissance des mots relatifs aux objets de toute sorte qui constituent l'environnement matériel des individus de la conquête d'Alexandre au début de l'occupation arabe. Si le projet a trouvé une première concrétisation dans la publication régulière de la "Chronique de lexicographie papyrologique de la vie matérielle" (*Lex.Pap.Mat.*, éd. S. Russo), il restait encore en attente de son second volet : une base de données lexicographique en ligne.

Développé grâce au logiciel open source Heurist (cf. HeuristNetwork.org) dans le cadre du programme Ifao « Realia d'Égypte, de l'époque ptolémaïque aux débuts de l'islam. Mots et mobiliers » (dir. P. Ballet, M. Mossakowska-Gaubert et V. Schram), « Ergaleion » est une base de données relationnelle conçue comme un « outil » de recherche visant à faciliter la création de liens entre mots et objets – et entre disciplines. Ainsi, si la base doit permettre aux papyrologues de retrouver facilement les résultats des dernières recherches en lexicographie, elle s'adresse aussi à un public beaucoup plus large en permettant l'exploration des liens entre mots, documents, contextes textuels et réalités matérielles anciennes grâce à divers outils de recherche et de visualisation des données.

Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert

The SAXO Institute, Copenhagen

La papyrologie en dialogue avec l'archéologie : les tisserands spécialisés et leurs métiers à tisser en Égypte à l'époque romaine.

Malgré de nombreuses études lexicographiques sur les tisserands de l'Égypte romaine, certaines de leurs désignations n'ont pas été expliquées de manière satisfaisante. Ma présentation se concentrera sur deux catégories de tisserands, à savoir les *gerdioi* et les *tarsikarioi*, et sur leurs attestations dans des documents datant particulièrement du II^e et III^e siècle après J.-C. : une période de changements radicaux dans la mode vestimentaire à travers l'Empire romain et d'innovation technologique dans la production textile, notamment des tuniques tissées « en forme » et en une seule pièce. L'objectif de cette étude est de déterminer les différences exactes dans le travail effectué par les *gerdioi* et les *tarsikarioi* au cours de cette période ainsi que plus tard.

Carl-Loris Raschel

Collège de France

Chalkeus – *chalkotupos* : l'artisanat du cuivre dans les papyrus

On différencie généralement, à partir des sources littéraires antiques, le *chalkeus* (forgeron) du *chalkotupos* (chaudronnier ou dinandier) par le métal travaillé : le fer pour le premier, le cuivre

pour le second. Les *chalkotupoi* sont cependant bien moins représentés dans la documentation papyrologique, qui permet mal de confirmer leur spécialisation. La répartition temporelle et géographique des mentions de *chalkotupos* montre que la séparation des activités n'était ni parfaitement nette, ni générale en Égypte. Dans cette communication, je cherche à montrer 3 points :

- L'apparition des *chalkotupoi* en Égypte est liée à un renouvellement terminologique suscité par l'administration romaine. Auparavant, le travail du cuivre revenait également aux *chalkeis*.
- L'accroissement rapide de leur nombre à l'époque byzantine est le résultat de l'institution des *koina* sous la Tétrarchie, qui a poussé à séparer les diverses activités métallurgiques (mais on peut se demander si c'était le cas partout).
- L'absence de cette spécialisation dans certaines provinces égyptiennes (notamment le Fayoum et la Thébàïde) tient peut-être à une organisation différente du secteur, consécutive à la présence de mines de cuivre.

Hélène Cuvigny

CNRS, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes

The Greek Ostraca from the Ptolemaic Miners' Village of Ghozza (Eastern Desert)

Presentation of a few texts chosen among the 220 Greek ostraca which have been retrieved in the village situated in the gold mining zone of wadi Ghozza. Most of them are accounts which concern the work in the mines and the pounding and grinding of the ore. Should they be dated before or after the "Great mutation" of the monetary system, which took place c. 200 BC? This question will be addressed, as well as some lexical matters.

Anna Arpaia

Freie Universität Berlin – Universität Heidelberg

Silk or Purple Borders? Social and Material Issue around the Term *Paragaudion*

Starting from the analysis of the word *paragaudion* – basically an ornamental strip or, more extensively, a generic garment "with borders", I aim at combining literary sources (both Latin and Greek) and documentary papyri (mostly from IV to VI cent. AD), in order to point out the use of this term in the Roman world and the social context in the papyrological sources.

Although the Late Antique juridical texts refer to the prohibition of wearing gold and silk borders on such tunics in private context and allow it only *propter imperial ministerium*, and we might tend to interpret the *paragaudion* as garment with purple borders, the high value of a few items in the papyri (in military and religious context) and the archeological evidences and reports shall be taken into account for raising new questions and for not categorically excluding the involvement – even if on a small scale – of different precious materials.

Giuliano Sidro

University of Oxford

Latin Loanwords in Early-Roman Oxyrhynchus: who, from where, and why?

Even though in the past one hundred years Latin loanwords in Greek have received much scholarly attention, no single study has tried to identify the first users of such new vocabulary and the routes and reasons through which Latin vocabulary made its way in the Greek papyri of Early-Roman Egypt. Who was mainly responsible for the use of such new vocabulary? Where did Latin loanwords come from? Why did people use them and when could loanwords be preferred over corresponding Greek vocabulary? This talk will try to offer possible answers to some of these questions by presenting a few case studies from my PhD thesis. In my work, I concentrated on loanwords that were likely borrowed in Egypt, rather than loanwords that were transmitted to Egypt through Greek speakers who borrowed or learnt them someplace else. Thus, I aim to identify the people and capture the very processes through which Latin vocabulary was first borrowed and used in Egypt. My talk will focus on a few texts written or found in Early-Roman Oxyrhynchus and on loanwords like κάμπος ('military) camp', κάγκελλος literally 'latticed barrier' or 'gate', κέλλα 'room' and φίσκος 'imperial treasury'.

Topic Modeling Greek Documentary Papyri: A Novel Contribution to the Field of Digital Papyrology

Digital developments are proceeding so quickly in the field of papyrology that some have suggested that the twenty-first century will come to be known as ‘the century of digital papyrology’ (Reggiani 2017, 9–10). In this contribution, we discuss the application of a technique that so far has escaped scholarly attention, called ‘topic modeling’. Topic modeling is a text-mining technique that extracts recurrent clusters of words from sets of documents, with the intention of finding hidden thematic structure in large collections of texts (e.g. Blei 2012).

We will start out presentation by briefly discussing the topic modeling program that one of us developed, its application to Greek documentary papyri, and the webapp that we are building to make the results publicly available. As the concept of ‘topic’ is by and large unfamiliar to papyrological scholarship, in the main part of our contribution we will illustrate the topics that our program retrieved, and discuss how these relate to more traditional genres (Palme 2009). We intend to show that while there are affinities between topics and (sub)genres, there is no one-to-one correspondence, topic modeling providing an alternative approach that is dynamic, objective and contextualized. We will conclude our presentation by pointing out some of the potential applications of our topic modeling analysis, such as the exploration of metadata and of intertextual relations

Room 2

Parallel Sessions Herculanum

Jeffrey Fish

Baylor University

Philodemus’ Criticism of Stoic “Accommodation” in *P.Herc.* 403

In *P.Herc.* 403, which comprises part of Philodemus’ *On Poems* V, Philodemus criticizes Stoic theories of poetry, evidently those of the founders of the school, Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus. Part of the surviving fragments of this papyrus relate to Homeric interpretation, in particular the way that Stoics would “accommodate” material in Homeric narrative to their own views. In this presentation, I focus upon the reconstruction of a fragment whose text has undergone major improvements over previous editions and also discuss its possible significance for our understanding of early Stoic interpretations of Homer.

Anna Bonifazi / Giuseppina di Bartolo / Jürgen Hammerstaedt

Universität zu Köln

Segni diacritici, sintassi e ritmo su testi letterari da papiri ercolanesi: nuove prospettive per analisi linguistiche

L’analisi dei segni d’interpunzione appartiene sicuramente a uno degli ambiti più affascinanti e significativi dello studio dei testi greci su papiro; ci permette d’indagare e ricostruire più nel dettaglio le modalità di scrittura nonché composizione e organizzazione del testo nell’antichità. Vari studi affrontano questo tema (*inter alia* gli atti di convegno «Signes dans les textes» rispettivamente del 2017 e 2020), in particolare prendendo in esame opere letterarie tramandate su papiri ercolanesi (*inter alia* Cavallo 1983, Del Mastro 2001, 2014).

Proponiamo un lavoro incentrato proprio su questi ultimi testi, presentando nel seguente intervento la metodologia d’indagine, del tutto nuova, che mira a integrare puntuali analisi papirologiche e filologiche con approcci linguistici alla luce delle più recenti teorie di sintassi e linguistica del discorso. L’idea è di esaminare le funzioni integrate e simultanee di segni e parole nella loro valenza di elementi polisemiotici, ovvero la co-occorrenza di elementi come *paragraphei*,

spatia, particelle o congiunzioni e clausole metriche, che contribuiscono a delineare le gerarchie sintattiche testuali e segmentare larghe unità di discorso. Un esempio di analisi combinata verrà illustrato a partire da passi del *De rhetorica* di Filodemo (edizione di Hammerstaedt 1992).

Claudio Vergara

Università di Pisa, Universität zu Köln

Verso una nuova edizione complessiva dell'opera *De providentia* di Filodemo

L'opera ercolanese nota come *De providentia*, che conserva una polemica filodemea intorno a vari aspetti di cosmologia e teologia, era finora nota soltanto attraverso i pochi frammenti del *P.Herc.* 1670, pubblicati parzialmente da Matilde Ferrario nel 1972. Dalle mie ricerche preliminari sul rotolo è emerso che è possibile associare al *P.Herc.* 1670, che trasmette la parte finale dell'opera, i *P.Herc.* 1100 e 1577/1579, che ne costituiscono le parti iniziali.

Il ricongiungimento delle scorze al midollo permette di aggiungere, alla parte conosciuta dell'opera, trenta nuovi frammenti inediti, portando un notevole progresso nella conoscenza delle sue parti iniziali. Allo stesso tempo, il rinnovato esame che ho condotto sul *P.Herc.* 1670 consente di fare maggiore chiarezza sui temi trattati da Filodemo nella sezione finale.

L'intervento intende presentare le novità della ricerca, tuttora in corso, finalizzata a una nuova edizione complessiva del libro filodemeo. Si mostrerà, in particolare, il contributo che le nuove acquisizioni offrono per una comprensione più completa dei contenuti dell'opera *De providentia*, che costituisce una fonte importante del pensiero cosmologico e teologico non solo degli Epicurei, ma anche degli avversari bersaglio della polemica.

Michael McOsker

Universität zu Köln

The Final Columns of Demetrius Laco, *On Poems II* (*P.Herc.* 1014), and his Working Method

In this paper, I will present my work on the final ten or twelve columns of Demetrius Laco, *On Poems II*. In this section, Demetrius discusses fragments from a mime by Sophron, possibly entitled *Koikoa* (fr. 16 Hordern, cf. fr. 16 Kassel–Austin), levels some kind of criticism about meter or rhythm against another commentator, and discusses a fragmentary poem probably by Alcaeus (fr. 358 Liberman = Voigt). Through inspection of the infrared photographs, I have been able to recover and reconstruct additional text which (i) improves the text of the fragments, (ii) makes Demetrius' commentary on the fragments that he quoted more clear, and lastly (iii) provides important insight into his working method. Specifically, we see that Demetrius writes his glosses differently than the scholia and ancient commentators do and that his discussion of the rhythm of the fragment by Alcaeus may indicate that he had a text with musical notation.

Maroula Salemenou

University of Oxford

Towards a New Edition of *P.Herc.* 118: Creating and Interfacing Digital Surrogates of Textual Data Embedded (Hidden) in Cultural Heritage Artifacts (Living Virtually Project)

Since its identification by Crönert (*RhM* 56, 1901, p. 607-626) as an unrolled scroll of Philodemus' work *On Epicurus*, *P.Herc.* 118 (Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Gr. Class. b. 1 (P)/1-12) has received little scholarly attention. Preserved in twelve *pezzi* and represented by fifty-four *disegni*, the papyrus is believed to complement *P.Herc.* 1289 and 1232, which preserve different parts of the same treatise. The use of 3D polygon models (with and without the overlay of *disegni*), which have been based on the 2005 images produced by Gene Ware, has furthered our understanding of the papyrus. This paper argues that the use of 3D images alters the picture that emerges from the study of the *disegni* and opens up new possibilities regarding the treatise contained in *P.Herc.* 118. In addition to a new edition of the papyrus, this paper focuses on *Pezzo 2*, making specific proposals of restoration and presenting a systematic analysis of the grammatical, syntactical, and lexical features of the surviving text. The discussion concludes with a consideration of how these updates may lead to alternative identification of Philodemus' lost work.

Marzia D'Angelo / Federica Nicolardi

Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II

***Maque-it*: a New Software Tool for the Reconstruction of the Herculaneum Papyri**

Due to their carbonization and tight compression, the mechanical unrolling of the Herculaneum papyri often resulted in the presence of misplaced stratified fragments (*sovrapposti* and *sottoposti*), which hinder immediate reading of the text. Rearranging the layers through virtual reconstruction is the only way to read papyri with complex stratigraphy.

Maque-it is the first image import and editing software built specifically to 'learn the rules' of stratigraphy and to automate actions that until now have been done manually on paper *maquettes* or by photo editing software: configuring circumferences, columns, and intercolumns, and moving the misplaced portions back to their original place according to known parameters, preventing the user from moving a piece to any invalid position.

The paper will present the current version of the software, which is still being updated, showing its application on a sample case study from the Herculaneum collection.

Room 5

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Parallel Sessions

Documentary Papyrology: Ptolemaic Egypt

Joseph Morgan

Yale University

A Tale of Two Toparchies: Toward a Revised Edition of the Hibeh Papyri

In this talk, I hypothesize the relationship between individual cartonnage hoards stemming from Middle Egypt that accounts for prosopographical and contextual links between the early Ptolemaic texts published in P. Hibeh I and II with those published in BGU VI, X, and XIV, P. Bad. IV, P. Fuad Crawford, P. Grad., P. Hamb. I-IV, P. Ross. Georg. II, and P. Strasb. II and VI-VIII, never before studied as a single group. I present a reconstruction of the original composition of the two hoards published in P. Hib. I and II and identify the texts linking each of these two provenanced hoards with unprovenanced texts purchased by European collectors in the 1910s. On a prosopographical basis, I reevaluate the composition of individual administrative dossiers previously identified among the Hibeh papyri. This reevaluation provides new insights into early Ptolemaic archival practices in Middle Egypt, the function of texts in the performance of administrative operations, and the composition of provincial administrative offices. My recontextualization of the so-called "Tholthis contracts" within an administrative archival context suggests a revision of the prevailing narrative of the development of Greek legal institutions in Middle Egypt beyond the Fayyum.

Marie-Pierre Chaufray

CNRS, Ausonius

Registres fiscaux inédits de Magdôla

Des fragments de registres fiscaux démotiques inédits, provenant de cartonnages de momies découverts par Pierre Jouguet dans la nécropole de Magdôla dans la région du Fayoum, aujourd'hui conservés à l'Institut de Papyrologie de Sorbonne-Université, sont en cours de publication dans le cadre du projet européen GSHAEM, *The Graeco-Egyptian State: Hellenistic archives from Egyptian Mummies*. Ma communication présentera le difficile travail de reconstitution de ces textes fragmentaires et les premiers résultats de leur déchiffrement.

Lorenzo Uggetti

CNRS, UMR 5607 – Ausonius, projet GESHAEM

Les archives venant de Ghôran à l'Institut de Papyrologie de Sorbonne Université

Pierre Jouguet mena deux campagnes de fouilles pendant les hivers du 1901 et du 1902 dans la zone sud-ouest de la dépression du Fayoum. Chargé de découvrir des papyrus grecs, ses efforts portèrent sur des nécropoles d'époque ptolémaïque, dont les cartonnages de momie étaient parfois composés de papyrus usagés. Des trois sites fouillés par Jouguet, Médinet Ghôran fut le plus fructueux : il y trouva un grand nombre de pièces littéraires et documentaires, aujourd'hui conservées pour l'essentiel à l'Institut de Papyrologie de Sorbonne Université. Extraits des cartonnages pour les besoins desquels ils avaient été découpés en morceaux, collés entre eux et recouverts de plâtre, ces textes sont aujourd'hui souvent fragmentaires et peu lisibles, ce qui rend difficile la reconstitution de lots d'archives cohérents. Dans le cadre du projet GESHAEM (the Graeco-Egyptian State - Hellenistic Archives from Egyptian Mummies, ERC-StG 758907), cette communication reprendra l'étude archivistique des papyrus de Ghôran, en tentant de rapprocher des archives officielles déjà identifiées (notamment, des nomarques Aristarchos et Diogénès, du toparques Tésénouphis et du bureau de l'épistate d'Arinoë *epi tou chômatos*) divers documents comptables, spécialement en démotique.

Stéphanie Wackenier / Anne-Emmanuelle Veisse

Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne / Université Gustave Eiffel

Pourquoi faut-il republier le corpus des *Enteuxeis* ?

En 1930, O. Guéraud publiait un corpus de plaintes et requêtes adressées au roi par les habitants du Fayoum dans la seconde moitié du III^e siècle avant notre ère. Cette publication demeure une œuvre fondamentale, toujours assidument fréquentée par les spécialistes de l'Égypte lagide. L'avancée des recherches papyrologiques et historiques nous incitent cependant à relever plusieurs lacunes qu'il faudrait combler. Nous nous proposons de démontrer la nécessité d'une nouvelle publication qui analyserait les mains des scribes, reverrait la transcription de certaines souscriptions et s'accompagnerait d'une étude de *museum archaeology* afin de préciser la répartition des documents au sein des cartonnages issus du Fonds Jouguet. Cette nouvelle édition pourrait également permettre d'ajouter des textes publiés indépendamment ou encore inédits.

Spyridoula Bounta

Universität Trier

A Letter of Complaint: An Unpublished Papyrus from the Collection of the University of Trier

This paper presents an unpublished Ptolemaic papyrus from the collection of the University of Trier. The document, which comes from a mummy cartonnage and can be dated to the 3rd cent. BC, contains a letter of complaint addressed to a toparch regarding the arrest and detention of a man. The main focus will be on the analysis of its content and on prosopographical and lexical matters.

Marianna Thoma

University of Athens

Narrations of Acts of Violence in Women Papyrus Letters. Another Rhetorical Strategy?

Women's letters on papyri from Egypt are an active field of research since the beginning of the 20th century. In 2020, fourteen years after the appearance of Bagnall's and Crihiore's collection of women's letters on papyri (2006; online version 2008), I published an updated list of papyrus letters written by women with translation and comments. In my recent monograph (Thoma 2020), various aspects of women's life and mode of expression are thoroughly analyzed. In the present paper, I discuss a particular feature of these letters which has received little attention so far: women's narration of acts of violence (physical, verbal, economic and psychological) in their everyday correspondence as an argumentative basis of their requests. In other words,

Tuesday 26 July

I investigate how women shape individual instances of violence practiced against them into colourful narratives (i.e.: *P.Bad.* IV 48; *P.Col.* III 6) in order to achieve their goals. These narratives are reminiscent of descriptions of violent incidents in legal petitions submitted to the authorities which have been analyzed by scholars (cf. for example, Bryen 2013; Kelly 2011). I aim to show that their experience of violence is used by female authors as a way to reinforce their argumentation, while their storytelling often indicates the authors' social identity and reveals their intention to display erudition.

Eleni Tsitsianopoulou

University of Athens

Expressing Politeness in Ptolemaic Papyrus Letters

Forms of politeness are known to have a strong presence in papyrus letters of the Roman and Byzantine periods. Expressions of politeness are also found in letters of the Ptolemaic period, but they are rather unadorned and of a subtler nature than those used in later times. The proposed paper investigates the corpus of Ptolemaic papyri, locates examples of Hellenistic politeness and comments on their special style.

Tuesday 26 July – Afternoon

	Amphitheatre Marguerite de Navarre	Amphitheatre Guillaume Budé	Amphitheatre Maurice Halbwachs	Room 2	Room 5
14h30-15h00	Eleni Skarsouli			Daniel Delattre, Laurent Capron	Noha Salem
15h00-15h30	Mario C. D. Paganini	Gabriel Nocchi Macedo	Joanne Stolk	Francesca Schironi, Alexander Jones	Alba de Frutos García
15h30-16h00	Rasha El-Mofatch	Serena Causo	Giuseppina di Bartolo	Claudio Meliàdò	Lavinia Ferretti
16h00-16h30		Marco Stroppa	Nada Louai	Nathan Carlig	Lorenzo Fati
Coffee Break					
17h00-17h30	José Luis Alonso, Jakug Urbanik	Daniela Colomo	Déborah Vignot-Kott	Davide Massimo	Javier Funes
17h30-18h00	Marzena Wojtczak, Maria Nowak	Tea Ghigo	Brigitte Bakech	Raffaella Cribiore	Joanna Wilimowska
18h00-18h30				Mark de Kreij, William Furley	Elena Chepel

Amphitheatre M. de Navarre

Parallel Sessions

Documentary Papyrology: Roman Egypt

Eleni Skarsouli

Universität zu Köln

Emotions in Private Letters

Even though analysis concerning the language of documentary papyri is usually limited to occasional mistakes or specific grammatical forms they contain, a more thorough study shows that also in those texts, and mainly in private letters, occur figures of speech. Such a use of the language in private letters is of great importance, since, being characterized by forwardness, these texts reveal the existence of such figures in the spoken everyday language as well. The present paper focuses on figures of speech and especially on cases of metaphor and metonymy that are used in private letters to express emotions. On the basis of specific examples, the metaphorical use of certain phrases and words is analyzed together with corresponding attestations from literary texts.

Mario C. D. Paganini

Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien

A Woman of No Importance. A Family History in the Light of a New Viennese Papyrus

An unpublished papyrus of the collection of the Austrian National Library at Vienna preserves the left-hand side of a second-century AD application for lease of some land owned by Syra alias Isarion. A woman by this (uncommon) double name is only attested in other eight papyri dating to the second and early third centuries AD, all of them belonging to the Viennese collection. This new lease of land provides further evidence for what is likely a family dossier, documenting at least three women with the same name who probably belonged to (different generations of) the same family: they in fact had a good degree of wealth, were involved with members of the metropolitan class of Arsinoiteon Polis (to which their family may have belonged), and exercised property and landownership rights in the (same villages of the) Herakleidou meris of the Arsinoite nome and the neighbouring Heracleopolite nome. The study of this new papyrus allows to explore its relation with the other texts and to present some further considerations on onomastics, prosopography, family strategies, and women landownership, literacy, and agency.

Rasha El-Mofatch

Ain Shams University, Cairo

A New Papyrus from the Archive of Aurelia Charite

The paper presents an unpublished text from the collection of Catalogue General of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (P. Cat. Gen. 10531). It is a petition submitted to the Perfect of Egypt by Aurelia Ammonia alias Demetria, Aurelia Charite's mother. The text might be the mother's earliest attestation among the documents of the archive.

Parallel Sessions Juristic Papyrology

José Luis Alonso / Jakub Urbanik

Universität Zürich / University of Warsaw

Dionysia vs. Chairemon: New Insights into *P. Oxy. II 237*

Since its publication more than 120 years ago, *P. Oxy. 237*, usually dubbed as the 'Petition of Dionysia' has attracted considerable scholarly attention: not just because the court confrontation of an elite daughter with her own father provides prime fodder for social history, but due to the numerous insights it offers into legal life in 2nd century Egypt. Its nine columns preserve for us rich normative and jurisdictional material, and provide crucial information on the functioning of the property record office, on the law of marriage, on the paternal power and its limits, on the Roman jurisdictional practice, the activity of the local legal experts, and, above all, on one of the main questions confronted by juristic papyrology: the coexistence in Roman Egypt of different legal traditions ('legal pluralism'), the interactions between them and the approach thereto of the Roman courts.

Our paper will present some of the results of a research project aiming at a comprehensive new edition and commentary of *P. Oxy. 237*. The reading of the fragmentary four columns left unpublished by Grenfell and Hunt and numerous corrections to the rest of the text have allowed a renewed look into the entirety of the document and new insights into its narrative, content, and nature.

Marzena Wojtczak / Maria Nowak

Freie Universität Berlin / University of Warsaw

How to Make it Legal? Administration of Monastic Property: A Case Study

Growing in both size and wealth, the monastic communities of Late Antique Egypt had to deal with the challenges arising from the management of their material assets, as well as with the restrictions regarding dispositions of ecclesiastical property which were imposed by the imperial legislation. As a consequence, each community developed the mechanisms best suited for the efficient administration of its property, but the nature of the applied solutions may have varied from monastery to monastery. The aim of this paper is to identify and discuss the legal devices the monastic communities used in their daily practice for the purposes of land management, and to see if these mechanisms could have been in any way inspired by the social networks in which the monasteries were entangled. 'How to make it legal?' is a recurring question coming to mind when analysing donation deeds, short and long-termed leases, as well as tax receipts and various other documents belonging to the monastic milieu, all in order to observe regularities or patterns in the legal arrangements made by the monks with the 'outside world'.

Amphitheatre G. Budé

Parallel Sessions

Materiality: Material, Format, Layout

Gabriel Nocchi Macedo

Université de Liège, CEDOPAL

La matérialité du livre antique : un nouveau projet de recherche

Bien que les papyrologues, philologues, historiens et autres antiquisants s'intéressent de plus en plus à la matérialité de l'écrit, les données relatives aux aspects physique et graphique des manuscrits antiques n'ont jusqu'à présent jamais été rassemblées, systématisées et présentées de manière cohérente et facilement consultables par la communauté scientifique. Fort de son expérience plus que centenaire dans le stockage, le catalogage et l'étude de la documentation papyrologique, spécialement littéraire, le CEDOPAL a développé un nouveau module de recherche numérique qui, relié à la base de données MP³, regroupe les informations codicologiques et paléographiques de tous les papyrus littéraires grecs et latins (à l'exclusion, dans premier temps, des textes chrétiens). Cette communication a pour objectif de présenter ce nouvel outil, les réflexions qui y ont donné naissance et perspectives de recherches qu'il ouvre à la communauté papyrologique. Un projet annexe, qui envisage la modélisation virtuelle des papyrus à partir des données matérielles et d'images numériques, sera également évoqué.

Serena Causo

Ghent University

The Width of *kollemata* in Documentary Papyri from Oxyrhynchos: One Size does not Fit all

Finding the *kolleseis* and determining the width of *kollemata* in documentary papyri can be a tedious yet rewarding task. According to a debated passage by Pliny ("*magna in latitudine earum differentia*," NH XIII, 78), the width of sheets in papyrus rolls was an indicator of their quality. However, so far, this particular feature has never received the attention it deserves, especially when it comes to documentary texts. In fact, from the analysis of the widths of legal and administrative texts from Oxyrhynchos between the 1st and the 7th century AD several relevant patterns emerge. For instance, the widths of the observed *kollemata* of documentary papyri ranges widely between 11 and 26 centimeters, reflecting pertinent differences in the manufacture of papyrus and suggesting the writers' conscious choice of a specific quality of papyrus when composing a document. These observations become even more significant when compared to the evidence on width collected by Johnson for literary rolls from Oxyrhynchos (*Bookrolls and scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, Toronto 2004, p. 90). Not only the genre, but also the typology and the production stage (i.e. fair copy, copy, draft) of the documents determined the choice of the most suitable writing material by the writer. The survey will contribute to the understanding of papyri as writing artifacts and will prove how material features are *porteurs de sens* and can be very effective semiotic tools in the interpretation of ancient documents.



Marco Stroppa

Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», Università degli Studi di Firenze

Codici di piccolo formato: nuovi esemplari dai *PSI*

La categoria dei «codici di piccolo formato» è stata individuata da Eric Turner e negli ultimi anni è stata oggetto di molteplici indagini, in particolare, da parte di Thomas Kraus che ha raccolto e analizzato molti esemplari, proponendo una loro classificazione in base al contenuto. Le dimensioni sono il criterio guida per una catalogazione di questo tipo di manufatti, ma non sempre sono stati seguiti i medesimi standard da parte degli studiosi, in particolare per i prodotti in lingua latina. Una definizione condivisa per individuare i «miniature codices» è auspicabile poiché il loro numero è in costante aumento grazie a nuove scoperte ed edizioni; notevole è il contributo di papiri della collezione fiorentina, sia da parte di *PSI* recentemente pubblicati che di altri inediti in corso di studio, fra cui in particolare le pagine di un codice di «piccolissimo formato» (meno di 5 cm di larghezza).

Daniela Colomo

Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II

Words and Images: A Curious Case of Papyrus Recycling

This paper offers some preliminary results of work in progress on P.Fay. inv. 2021.a-b, consisting of two very similar pieces cut in an oval shape, and depicting two crocodile eyes in colour. On the back of the drawing, along the fibres, there are scanty remains of documentary writing. On the basis of iconographic parallels I explore the possible use of these two eyes, taking into consideration the relationship between the drawing and the text.

Tea Ghigo

Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Inks Matter. Exploring the Materials of Writing Inks from the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Collection at Oxford

The investigation presented in this paper builds on recent studies on inks' composition carried out by the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC, University of Hamburg) and the Federal Institute for Material Research (BAM, Berlin). Notably, this research aims to develop and understand further the findings presented in Dr Ghigo's doctoral dissertation. Her work highlighted a correlation between the type of ink used and the textual genre, where carbon-based ink was primarily used for documentary texts and iron-gall ink for literary, mainly religious, codices. To explore this topic further, the inks of 20 documentary papyri proceeding from Oxyrhynchus and now preserved at the Sackler Library of the University of Oxford were analysed. Different typologies of documents were selected, including court proceedings, nominations of functionaries emitted from the administration, petitions and letters addressed from the citizens to the administration and private letters. This paper will present the findings of this comparative study, highlight the observed trends and discuss implications and limitations.

Amphitheatre M. Halbwachs

Parallel Sessions

Linguistics, Lexicography, Onomastics

Joanne Stolk

Ghent University

A Slip of the Pen, the Eye or the Mind? Scribal Errors in Greek Documentary Papyri

Scribal errors have mainly received attention in the realm of textual criticism to literary texts, where they are generally regarded as a failure to produce an accurate copy of the exemplar (Reynolds & Wilson 1991: 222). Similar types of copying errors can be identified in duplicate

documents (Yuen-Collingridge & Choat 2010; Vierros 2018). Just like philologists, linguists have been keen to identify and eliminate any accidental slips, in order to distinguish significant variants, i.e. those reflecting the history of the (spoken) language, from the “sheer mistakes and slips of the pen” (Gignac 1976: 59). Attempts have also been made in printed and digital papyrus editions to distinguish between the editorial correction of a scribal error and editorial regularization of the language, but this distinction turns out to be notoriously difficult to make (Stolk 2018). This paper will address the following questions: How can we identify potential mistakes? What are the cognitive mechanisms involved in the production of scribal errors? And is it possible at all to distinguish accidental errors from other types of linguistic variation?

Giuseppina di Bartolo

Universität zu Köln

Counterfactual Constructions in Greek Documentary Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods

Greek documentary papyri belong to the most relevant and copious sources for detecting the diachrony of Ancient Greek. Moreover, they are significant sources for more general linguistic analysis in a cross-linguistic perspective.

The reorganization of the Greek modal system represents one of the major changes which we can observe from the Post-Classical period onwards. The present paper addresses this research topic dealing with counterfactual conditions in Greek documentary papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods. Considering that since the Hellenistic time the bare imperfect starts to be an all-purpose modal device in low-level bureaucratic and private documents, I will show different constructions which are found in private letters in order to express the counterfactual meaning. In other words, periphrasis involving imperfect forms of the verb μέλλω or specific collocations (e.g. εἰ μὴ ὄτι) replace the Classical construction of the modal particle ἄν with the secondary indicative. With respect to this usage of the imperfect, Greek documentary interestingly parallel corresponding usages found within colloquial varieties in other languages.

Finally, I will address syntactic as well as pragmatic meaning and function of the collocation εἰ μὴ ὄτι in papyrus private letters.

Nada Louai

Alexandria University

Metaphorical Imperative in Documentary Papyri from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt

When we hear the word “Imperative”, the first things that come to our minds are obligations and enforceable orders.

This paper presents the Imperative from a different perspective that aims to study the Imperative metaphorically in documentary papyri from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, and searching beyond the indication of obligation to show other metaphorical indications, such as urging, advising, requesting, begging, alerting, wishing, and praying.

I will discuss in this paper how Metaphorical Imperative is denoting these various indications in social documentary papyri other than the indication of obligation which is clearly visible in official documentary papyri.

Parallel Sessions
Demotic Papyrology

Déborah Vignot-Kott

Ausonius UMR 5607 – Université Bordeaux-Montaigne

Des nouvelles de Satabous fils de Herieus le jeune (P. Wien D 6781)

En 2007, M. Schentuleit présentait dans les Chroniques d'Égypte, un dossier documentaire constitué de 57 textes se rapportant à Satabous fils de Herieus le jeune, prêtre à Dimé au début de l'époque romaine (M. Schentuleit, «Satabus aus Soknopaiu Nesos: Aus dem Leben eines Priesters am Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit», *CdE* 82 (2007), p. 101-125). Le projet franco-allemand DimeData (ANR-17-FRAL-0004-01-02 DFG 389429869) lancé en 2018 a pour but l'édition d'une partie des archives comptables démotiques du temple de Soknopaiou Nesos. Alors que le projet touche à son terme, de nouveaux textes mentionnant Satabous fils de Herieus le jeune ont été étudiés et nous permettent d'approfondir notre connaissance de ce personnage et de sa famille. Le P. Wien D6781 en particulier offre un éclairage intéressant sur la vie quotidienne des prêtres de Soknapaiou Nesos à l'époque augustéenne et notamment sur la pratique des prêts dits «entre amis», dont les attestations en démotique sont rares.

Brigitte Bakech

École pratique des hautes études, AOroC

Lettre ou billet de recommandation en démotique

Deux fragments inédits conservés à l'Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne inv. Sorb. 1207 et inv. Sorb. 1209b provenant de cartonnages de momies issus des fouilles de Pierre Jouguet en 1907 dans la nécropole de Ghôran dans le Fayoum, ont pu être raccordés récemment. Le document ainsi reformé n'est pas daté mais la mention de l'*apomoira* fournit, un *terminus ante quem* de l'an 23 (263 av. J.-C) ou de l'an 27 (259 av. J.-C.) de Ptolémée II. Cette reconstitution révèle la nature du document qui serait un billet glissé probablement dans une lettre plus officielle. Outre l'intérêt philologique et historique du papyrus, l'exposition des circonstances de découverte du nouveau fragment permettront d'apporter un éclairage sur la manière dont les archives étaient conservées dans l'administration lagide et sur la manière dont les embaumeurs confectionnaient les cartonnages de momie.

Room 2

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Parallel Sessions

Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology : New Texts

Daniel Delattre / Laurent Capron

Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes / UMR 8230, Centre Jean Pépin, CNRS

Du nouveau sur la *Victoire de Bérénice de Callimaque (Aitia III,1)* : réorganisation des *P. Lille 78a,b,c* et *84* en une même colonne et nouvelles propositions de lecture liées à la restauration du Papyrus de Lille

À l'occasion de l'exposition « Dans les bois de Molorchos – Autour du Papyrus de Lille » organisée voici quelques années par l'Université de Lille (III), les dix fragments édités pour la première fois par Claude Meillier en 1976 et contenus jusque là dans trois sous-verres, ont été réexaminés de près, photographiés (en couleurs et en haute définition) et remontés – après une étude papyrologique approfondie – sous la forme de deux grands cadres de plexiglas. Ce sont les résultats de cette profitable campagne de restauration qui seront ici présentés, confirmant en grande partie la pertinence de la reconstruction du papyrus proposée par le premier éditeur et apportant quelques nouveautés textuelles.

Francesca Schironi / Alexander Jones

University of Michigan / New York University

Reediting the So-called *Ars Eudoxi* Papyrus (*P.Par. 1* = P.Louvre N 2325 + N 2388)

The *Ars Eudoxi* so-called from the acrostics on its verso, is an elementary, wide-ranging compilation of Greek astronomy accompanied by very peculiar drawings, dating from the mid 2nd century BCE. Since its first publication by Brunet de Presle in 1865 based on posthumous materials by Letronne, the only complete edition is that of Blass (1887), more a reconstruction of a conjectural prototype than a papyrological edition. Moreover, despite its importance as one of the most extensive documents of Hellenistic astronomy, the *Ars Eudoxi* has been neglected by scholarship – the most valuable study being four pages in Neugebauer's *History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* (1975). We have undertaken the long-overdue task of preparing a new edition conforming to papyrological standards and with commentary reflecting the present understanding of Hellenistic astronomy. In our paper we present preliminary findings on this text, its authorship, and its historical and cultural context; we also discuss the challenges of editing it on the basis not only of its present state but also the 1865 facsimile and Neugebauer's mid-20th-century photographs, which witness the papyrus' earlier and less damaged states.

Claudio Meliadò

Università di Messina

Le disavventure di un *pornoboskos*: sul II mimiambo di Eroda

Nonostante le numerose edizioni che si sono succedute dal 1891 in poi, la decifrazione di *P.Egerton 1*, unico testimone del II mimiambo di Eroda, presenta ancora margini di miglioramento. L'esame autoptico del papiro offre una base più solida per valutare le integrazioni proposte nel tempo soprattutto per i primi versi del componimento e fornisce nuovi elementi sulla sua *facies* dialettale.

Nathan Carlig

Université de Liège, CEDOPAL – Fonds national de la recherche scientifique

Les collections de papyrus du CEDOPAL

Prélude à leur édition *princeps*, la communication présente pour la première fois deux papyrus littéraires grecs inédits. Conservé à l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) du Caire, le fragment P.Fouad inv. 218 complète le célèbre « Empédocle de Strasbourg » (P.Strasb. inv. G 1665-1666, fin du I^{er} siècle ; MP³ 356.11), dont il contient les restes de 30 vers du philosophe agrigentain. Propriété d'un collectionneur privé liégeois et conservés au CEDOPAL de l'Université de Liège, les quatre fragments P.Leod. Coll. priv. inv. 139, restaurés par nos soins, représentent les restes d'un des plus anciens livres connus de poésie lyrique grecque et appartiennent au même rouleau que *P.Mil.Vogl. I 7* (III^e siècle av. n. è. ; MP³ 1898).

Davide Massimo

University of Oxford

New Light on *P.Lond.Lit. 60* = *SH 961*: 'Epithalamium for Arsinoe'/Epigrammatic Anthology

P.Lond. Lit. 60 is an outstanding literary papyrus of the Ptolemaic era. On the recto, it contains what seems like a wedding song possibly mentioning one queen Arsinoe; on the verso, *σύμμεκτα ἐπιγράμματα* (followed below by *Ποσειδίππου*), 'mixed epigrams', is written twice in opposite directions. The editor *princeps* read other names of poets along with that of Posidippus, while later editors dismissed the scanty traces as ink stains. A new inspection of the papyrus can confirm that other letters can indeed be read, thus making some of the old supplements valid and allowing for new ones. This seems to confirm that the epigrammatic anthology indeed contained epigrams by different authors in addition to Posidippus, thus making *P. Lond. Lit. 60* a rare, ancient example of multi-authored epigrammatic anthology. Restoration work on the papyrus might lead

to further improvements in the reading, as it will be shown through detailed pictures. Once the mixed nature of the anthology has been established, hypotheses on the relationship of the recto and the verso can also take a different turn.

Raffaella Cribiore

New York University

New Readings on a Wall of the Amheida School (Dakhla Oasis)

Room 15 of the school in Amheida have already shown a text written in red ink that a teacher, presumably a grammarian, addressed to his students. Though some columns of the text had come to light and were partly visible, others had suffered much damage. Using a technique to enhance images called DStretch, some parts of the text that were entirely invisible can now be read. This paper considers column 6 of the dipinto that is mutilated on both sides and refers to the *Odyssey* of Homer. The text in dactylic hexameters appears to refer to Odysseus and his companions traveling back to Ithaca. It is unclear how the text should be identified. It could be a prayer or part of a speech in character.

Mark de Kreij / William Furley

Radboud University, Nijmegen / Universität Heidelberg

New Verses from the Oxyrhynchus Collection

P.Oxy. inv. 42 5B.77/A(1-2)a is a tall fragment of papyrus, either the right-hand side of a sheet or the end of a papyrus roll bearing two slanting columns of informal writing along the fibres. The first column numbers 37 lines, the second has 20, followed by an *agraphon*. The intriguing text contains bits of mostly iambic verse (though not all of it is clearly metrical), separated by % signs. The verses neither make sense on their own as *monostichoi*, nor do they combine to form a coherent whole. The extant, legible lines include references to Heracles, barbarians, and Romans. Understanding is hampered by the lack of coherence between the verses, but also by difficult orthography, with multiple spelling variations and mistakes.

Considering the fact that this might be a sheet or the end of a roll, one option is that these are incipits of individual short compositions, listed on their own (on a sheet) or at the end of a bookroll containing those compositions (like P.Oxy. LIV 3724). Another possibility is that these are line-beginnings serving as an aide-mémoire for performance (of a mime?), along the lines of P.Matr. inv. 44+119.

Room 5

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Parallel Sessions

Documentary Papyrology: Ptolemaic Egypt

Noha A. Salem

Ain Shams University, Cairo

A New Letter from Zenon Archive

This paper aims to present a new text belonging to the Zenon archive which still offers a stream of abundant details of several aspects of life in Ptolemaic Egypt. The new text is a letter containing a request for paying salary in advance with a mention to sailors. Who are the parties to this letter and what is behind that letter, that is what I intend to discuss?

Alba de Frutos García

Università degli Studi di Firenze

On the Authorship of some *PSI* Papyri from the Zenon Archive

My research project on the material analysis of the letters belonging to the Zenon archive kept at the florentine collections aims at understanding the extent to which the formal qualities of

the letters of the Zenon archive can be related to the message that they conveyed, the cultural background of the correspondents and the social relationship between them.

On the basis of an analysis that combines the paleography and the layout of the writing with both the linguistic style and the function and purpose of the letter, it has been possible to identify the writer of some letters from whose authorship remained unknown due to their fragmentary state of preservation.

Lavinia Ferretti

Université de Genève

The *hypomnema* between the 3rd and 1st Centuries BCE

Among the documentary types known from Greco-Roman Egypt, the *hypomnema* is paradoxically one of the most common and at the same time least studied. Researchers tend to focus on specific occurrences (e.g. census declarations in Roman Egypt), without looking at the whole picture. This underestimates the changes and developments that this type of document has undergone over centuries of use. In this presentation, based on a doctoral thesis in progress, I propose to analyse the evolution of the hypomnematic format during the Ptolemaic period. What were the initial uses of the *hypomnema*? When was it adopted for communication between an individual and the administration? What is the impact of this change on the type? To answer these questions, several characteristics of the documents will be considered: sheet format, text layout, content, possible subscriptions. The analysis will make it possible to question the very nature of the *hypomnema*, and above all to nuance the representation it has received in current research.

Lorenzo Fati

Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata

Come lo studio della composizione dei cartonnages può agevolare la ricostruzione di archivi tolemaici: il caso di Tebtynis

Recentemente, ho curato una nuova edizione di *P. Tebt. 961*, documento che menziona il noto ὀπρὸς τῆ συντόξει Pankrates e ha dunque come origine l'area di Oxyrhyncha. Ciò farebbe di *P. Tebt. 961* un candidato ideale da ascrivere all'archivio ricondotto alla "Village administration of Oxyrhyncha" (ArchID 252). Tuttavia, come osserva Clarysse, "more than any other archive the limits of what should be included and excluded are uncertain here". In realtà, per alcuni di questi documenti l'attribuzione a uno stesso archivio risulta più sicura: si tratta dei testi ottenuti dai cartonnages umani nn. 56, 57, 58, 59 che –come dimostrato in altra sede– furono fabbricati dal medesimo atelier. Oltre a questi quattro, altri dodici cartonnages umani furono certamente realizzati dallo stesso fabbricante. Partendo dalla considerazione che i fabbricanti di mummie ricevevano di norma grossi blocchi di carta dagli uffici amministrativi, ho effettuato uno spoglio della composizione di questi sedici cartonnages, riuscendo ad individuare altri documenti riconducibili all'area di Oxyrhyncha, con ogni probabilità scartati dal medesimo archivio detenuto dalla locale amministrazione. Utilizzando come criterio quello della composizione, si potrà procedere all'individuazione di altri cartonnages realizzati dal medesimo atelier, agevolando notevolmente la ricostruzione degli archivi già noti o ancora da individuare.

Javier Funes

Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona

P. Strasb. II 91 and the Role of the *laarch* in Late Ptolemaic Egypt

In the following presentation I will examine *P. Strasb. II 91*, an unusual petition from the beginning of the first century BCE. In it Harmyvis and his companions, mortuary priests of the sacred ibis and falcon, explain that they have been attacked in two occasions, first with the purpose of robbing the divine garments of the statues, and then to pillage the temple. The petitioners ask Isiodotos the *laarch* to bring this issue to the strategos so that they gain his support.

First, I will analyze the papyrus as an object, its presentation and key features, in order to identify the specific choices the mortuary priests made to achieve the support of the authorities. The same process will be applied to its content, specifically to the rhetoric and the narration of the events. Finally, the presentation will conclude by highlighting specific issues this document brings to our understanding of the *laarch* and the evolution of Ptolemaic law enforcement officials.

Joanna Wilimowska

University of Warsaw

***Prophetes* in Ptolemaic Egypt**

This paper seeks to expand our knowledge concerning temple personnel in Ptolemaic Egypt by investigating the office of *prophetes*. The title *prophetes*, the Greek counterpart of the Egyptian title *hm-ntr*, was held by priests who performed the most important religious duties in Egyptian temples. They occupied the highest position in the priestly hierarchy. Their role, however, was not limited exclusively to cultic tasks. For example, sources mention that *prophetai* were significant players in both temple and public administration, and in the local economy. This study will identify, collect, and count all priests who performed the function of *hm-ntr/prophetes* in temples during the Ptolemaic period, attempting to discover the full range of their duties. The discussion will concentrate on the non-religious activities of these priests both inside and outside places of cult. Through a critical analysis of Greek and Demotic documentary evidence, the paper aims to explore the role they played within society and their economic status.

Elena Chepel

Universität Wien

Theatre and Music at Ptolemaic Festivals: The Evidence of the New Papyrus Programme for the Theadelphia

This paper discusses the new papyrus that was found in Deir el-Banat, Fayum, in November 2020: a programme for the festival of the Theadelphia organised by Ptolemy III and Berenike II. The papyrus is almost fully preserved and contains 37 lines of text. The document is unique of its genre, as it presents the calendrical timeline of the events that last in total 55 days. The special focus of this programme are musical and theatrical games, including contests of solo musicians, choral performances, and staging of tragedies, comedies and satyr plays. The new papyrus, therefore, gives a more direct glimpse into the thriving cultural life of Alexandria in the 3rd century BC, which has been previously reconstructed mostly from literary sources. Since this is the first unequivocal attestation of dramatic contests at a Ptolemaic royal festival in Egypt, the new evidence also allows us to re-assess the role of Greek performance culture in Ptolemaic ideology and politics within the larger context of the history of theatre in the Hellenistic times.

Thursday 28 July – Morning

	Amphitheatre Marguerite de Navarre	Amphitheatre Guillaume Budé	Amphitheatre Maurice Halbwachs	Room 2	Room 5
9h00-9h30	Susan Rahyab	Maxime Thérond	Gideon Bohak		Demokritos Kaltsas
9h30-10h00	Eman Aly Selim	Frederic Krueger	Panagiota Sarischouli	Alain Martin	Mohamed Elarga
10h00-10h30	Paul Heilporn	Eline Scheerlinck	Giuditta Mirizio	María Jesús Albarrán	Haytham Qandeil
10h30-11h00	Samuele Coen	Lorelei Vanderheyden	Christopher A. Faraone	Holger Essler	Csaba La'da
Coffee Break					
11h30-12h00	Francesca Maltomini	Yvona Trnka Amrhein	Krisztina Hevesi	Nikola D. Bellucci	Dan Dana, Csaba La'da
12h00-12h30	Flavio Santini	Thomas Schmidt, Solmeng-Jonas Hirschi	Marketa Preininger	Amin Benaissa	Ibrahim Seada
12h30-13h00	Lucia Consuelo Colella	Rosalba Feo	Dosoo Korshi		William A. Ross

Amphitheatre M. de Navarre

Parallel Sessions

Documentary Papyrology: Roman Egypt

Susan Rahyab

Columbia University

Greek Notaries in Roman Egypt: Combining Papyrological and Epigraphic Sources

The *agoranomoi* are familiar figures to papyrologists and epigraphers. In Greco-Roman Egypt, the official's notarial duties are the most visible and have consequently dominated the small bibliography available for Egyptian *agoranomoi*. This paper explores a question not yet asked: Who were the *agoranomoi* in Roman Egypt? What social, economic, cultural, and/or ideological power did they possess? Exploiting both public and private texts that attest to off-duty *agoranomoi*, this paper traces the individuals who assumed this magistracy prior to its conversion into a compulsory public service ca. 200 CE.

Papyri, inscriptions, and ostraca relevant to this project form a corpus of 51 texts. Ranging from funerary inscriptions to contracts of sale, these texts offer glimpses into the lives of those selected to oversee a vital cog of provincial administration. The papyri present images of seasoned officeholders wealthy enough to attain the specialized education needed to serve as notaries, an impression only further strengthened by the epigraphic evidence.

This paper situates the *agoranomoi* within the socio-economic elite of Roman Egypt, illuminating the untold stories of these ubiquitous officials and promising a new chapter in the study of notary-scribes in Roman Egypt.

Eman Aly Selim

Ain Shams University, Cairo

A New Archive from Thebes “Eponychus alias Apathes”

Eponychus is a Theban lived in Charax, he attested in 24 texts from the first half of the 2nd cent. AD. and holding double Egyptian names “Eponychus alias Apathes son of Herakleus grandson of Apathes”.

In the year 2018, new six pieces of ostraca have been discovered on the database of the Department of Papyrus and Ostraca Collection – Bibliotheca Albertina, Leipzig. Despite they weren't the first texts about this person, they were the first light to form an archive about Eponychus's life. The new pieces –that will be the topic of this paper– will be added to the previously published texts to form an archive of 30 tax receipts belonging to the tax payer “Eponychus”.

The receipts are issued directly to Eponychus by different tax collectors, regarding different tax payments. In addition to the known taxes – as the bath tax, the chaff tax, the river guard tax, and the poll tax –, a new type of taxes which was mentioned by Wallace as a “mysterious tax that can't be identified precisely” will be discussed in this paper as well.

Paul Heilporn

Université de Strasbourg

Les hommes de l'archidicaste : remarques de prosopographie et de paléographie

De manière générale, nous connaissons très mal le personnel des services administratifs basés à Alexandrie à l'époque romaine. La principale exception tient sans doute à la gestion des archives publiques sous la responsabilité de l'archidicaste : certains fonctionnaires – notamment οἱ πρὸς τῇ διαλογῇ et leurs subordonnés – sont amenés à y effectuer des vérifications, par exemple lors de procédures de recouvrement de dette entraînant la saisie de biens, et donc à laisser leur nom au bas des documents émis à cette occasion. L'établissement d'une prosopographie se heurte cependant à une difficulté majeure, qu'elle est pourtant la seule à pouvoir aider à résoudre : la difficulté des souscriptions originales qui, surtout au III^e s., présentent des graphies extrêmement rapides. Au-delà de l'aspect historique, la place de cette série dans l'histoire des écritures grecques stylisées sera également à prendre en considération.

Samuele Coen

University of Oxford

A Contract from Yale and the Documents in Bookhand

P.CtYBR inv. 677 is an unpublished fragment from the Yale collection currently underresearch by myself and A. König. The scrap contains a property contract written in a beautiful bookhand, belonging to the so-called 'epsilon-theta' style, which can be assigned to the 1st century BC/AD. After a brief presentation of the papyrus in terms of palaeography and content, I intend to provide some observations on documentary papyri written in literary hands based on a selection of relevant examples. Although some general or more narrowly-focused studies have been made on certain categories of documents in bookhand, a general assessment is yet to come, and this paper would represent a first step in this sense. The items will be analysed with respect to their typology (private letters, petitions, contracts, etc) and their date; their official or private nature will be also taken into account. Attention will be paid also to papyri preserving scribe exercises and, in general, texts written by the same person in different handwritings, due to their relevance in understanding the aim of the manuscript.

Francesca Maltomini

Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», Università degli Studi di Firenze

I documenti greci riutilizzati nella biblioteca del tempio di Sobek a Tebtynis: osservazioni preliminari

Fra il materiale rinvenuto nel deposito della biblioteca del tempio di Sobek a Tebtynis e ora diviso fra le collezioni dell'Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli» (Firenze) e la collezione Carlsberg (Copenhagen), numerosi (e ancora in larga parte inediti) sono i documenti in greco riutilizzati sul verso per la stesura di testi demotici. In questo intervento ci si propone un survey dei rotoli in questione, finalizzato a mettere a fuoco: (1) lo stato attuale dei materiali e la possibilità di progredire nella loro ricostruzione; (2) le pratiche di riuso di rotoli e spezzoni di rotoli adottate nel tempio; (3) il contenuto, gli ambiti di pertinenza (e dunque l'origine) dei testi in greco.

Flavio Santini

University of California, Berkeley

Two Unpublished Papyri from the Dossier of Patron's Descendants

This paper introduces two unpublished papyri from The Center for the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California, Berkeley, that are related to the well-known dossier of the descendants of Patron. P.Tebt.suppl. 1000-8 is a fragmentary loan of a conspicuous sum of money, drafted in Ptolemais Euergetis and dated to 155 CE, that attests for the first time the name of the only daughter of Pauleinos, son of Patron: Ptolema. It also sheds new light on the internal affairs of this influential family, its relationship with Tebtunis, and the role of women in transactions involving considerable sums of money. P.Tebt.suppl. 1681-82 is a contract of deposit in which one of Pauleinos's sons is involved as lender. Along with a third, related receipt from the Berkeley collection (P.Tebt. 2.396), these two documents share very close T-numbers, a possible hint that they were discovered together (cf. e.g., C. Gallazzi, in *Tebtynis VI*, 2018, p. 113-238). This potential archaeological connection, as well as a consideration of the broad nature of the dossier, may provide additional evidence for why and where these documents were stored in Tebtunis.

Lucia Consuelo Colella

Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II

Towards a Re-edition of Roman wills from Egypt before Severus Alexander

Literature on Roman wills is abundant and continuously growing, the bulk of the documentary evidence being Latin and Greek testaments on papyrus and tablet from Egypt. However, studies focused on Roman testamentary law and practice rely mainly on previous editions, in several cases outdated and in need of a thorough reconsideration. Moreover, new documents have been identified in recent years. The presentation aims to bring to scholars' attention an updated overview of the evidence from Egypt before Severus Alexander, with focus on new texts as well as new readings and consequent re-interpretation of long-standing known texts.

Amphitheatre G. Budé

Parallel Sessions
Coptic Papyrology

Maxime Thérond

Université de Strasbourg ; Freie Universität Berlin

L'administration d'après les administrés : recherches sur un dossier copte hermopolite inédit des VI^e et VII^e siècles

Le corpus des lettres administratives coptes hermopolites constitue l'un des témoins majeurs du fonctionnement de l'administration villageoise à la veille de la conquête arabe de l'Égypte. Pourtant, si certains de ces documents sont déjà connus, ils ne sont pour la plupart que partiellement édités, tandis que l'ensemble souffre en parallèle d'une absence d'étude générale qui permettrait son analyse en tant que dossier à part entière. Le corpus est désormais principalement constitué d'un nombre important de lettres inédites conservées la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg, et dans une moindre mesure à l'Université du Michigan.

Je propose ici de présenter mes recherches de doctorat qui envisagent l'édition et la réédition des documents du dossier administratif copte hermopolite. Composé presque exclusivement de lettres écrites par des fonctionnaires villageois s'adressant à des supérieurs hiérarchiques, il livre un point de vue sur les rouages de l'administration à une échelle locale, majoritairement dans le cadre d'affaires agricoles et fiscales.



Frederic Krueger

Freie Universität Berlin

The Monastery of Apa Posidonios at Hermonthis: The Papyrological and Epigraphical Evidence

Before the discovery of the Coptic ostraca archive from the Monastery of Apa Ezekiel, one of the few monasteries in the desert west of Hermonthis, south of the more famous Western Thebes, to receive any scholarly attention at all used to be the Monastery of Apa Posidonios. This place, possibly named after the 4th-century monk Posidonios the Theban famous through the *Lausiac History*, is mentioned in a number of papyrological and epigraphical sources. This paper presents an overview of the evidence, including important inscriptions that became available only recently, and evaluates the attempts that scholars have made to identify the Posidonios monastery with one of the monastic ruins in the area of Hermonthis.

Eline Scheerlinck

Leiden University – University of Edinburgh

The Non-Literary Coptic Documents in Cambridge University Library

This paper is the result of a collaboration with Jennifer Cromwell (Manchester Metropolitan University).

The Coptic papyrus collection of Cambridge University Library is, for the most part, unpublished, except for a small number of items published by the late Sarah Clackson. In this paper, I will present the preliminary report of our work on the unedited Coptic non-literary texts. The study is undertaken as part of a project to conserve, digitise, and edit the Library's manuscript collection. In particular, I will focus on two groups among this material: those acquired from Thompson and Green. The dozen papyri donated to the Library by Herbert Thompson (died 1944) include texts certainly from Antinoe/Antinopolis, although the provenance of most items is unknown. The collection bequeathed by Frederick William Green (died 1949), Honorary Keeper of Antiquities at the Fitzwilliam Museum from 1908–1940, was studied by Clackson, who worked on and published texts from this group that derive from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit. I will present some highlights from this collection, in particular those that come from a monastic context, some of which potentially also from Bawit.

Lorelei Vanderheyden

Universität Heidelberg

"I Haven't Found Papyrus to Write To You..." A Survey of the Writing Material in Coptic Letters (4th-7th Century CE)

Although papyrologists, and even philologists and historians, are increasingly interested in the materiality of written documents, a large survey concerning the physical characteristics of Coptic letters is yet to appear. Data concerning the material, the physical and graphic aspects of early Coptic letters are now easier to collect thanks to the increasing availability of digital images as well as the appearance of more sophisticated and detailed editions. Indeed, the choice of language, the use of writing materials, and the layout of the letter say something about its origin, its purpose, and its implicit discourse, as well as its social context.

This paper aims to present the project carried out in Heidelberg, "Ancient Letters As a Means of Communication," specifically a survey of the writing material in the early Coptic letters. This gives me the opportunity to present also a broader, transdisciplinary project in collaboration with the Heidelberg University Library: the "Ancient Letters Research Environment" will provide a digital platform dedicated to the material aspect of the Greek and Coptic letters over the papyrological millennium, thanks to the work of A. Sarri and F. Hamouda (my predecessors in the project) besides my own contributions.

Parallel Sessions
Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology : New Texts

Yvona Trnka Amrhein

University of Colorado Boulder

Quarrel Between Lovers: A New Novel Fragment from Oxyrhynchus

This paper presents an unpublished papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (Oxford Sackler Collection) that dates to the 3rd century CE and contains a dialogue between a woman and a figure who claims to have been her lover at one point. The conversation concerns vengeance upon a male enemy and includes a variation on a famous quotation from Stryangaeus' letter to Zarinaea in Ctesias' *Persica*. The more fragmentary portion of the papyrus preserves content suggestive of Lollianos' *Phoinikika*. The paper discusses how the text should be constituted and how it relates to the known ancient novels.

Thomas Schmidt / Solmeng-Jonas Hirschi

Université de Fribourg

Un nouveau fragment de l'orateur Dinarque

Dans le cadre de cette communication, nous commencerons par présenter un nouveau fragment de papyrus conservant un extrait du discours *Contre Démosthène* de l'orateur athénien Dinarque et datant vraisemblablement du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C., que nous avons récemment identifié au sein de la collection de papyrus du Musée Bible+Orient de l'Université de Fribourg (en Suisse). Après en avoir exposé les particularités formelles et textuelles et l'avoir mis en relation avec un autre fragment ayant appartenu au même rouleau ou au même feuillet, nous élargirons la discussion à l'ensemble des papyrus actuellement connus de Dinarque, dont trois sont d'authentiques fragments de ses discours (*Contre Démosthène* et *Contre Philoclès*), alors que deux autres sont d'attribution incertaine et méritent un examen plus approfondi. Nous tenterons d'en tirer des renseignements sur la transmission textuelle des discours de l'orateur athénien et sur la circulation de ses écrits.

Rosalba Feo

Università degli Studi di Padova, Università degli Studi di Verona, Università Ca'Foscari Venezia

Una nuova lettura di Philoch. *FGrHist* 328 F 98 alla luce del suo contesto di trasmissione (*P. Oxy. X 1241*, col. II, l. 30-)

Tutti gli studi pregressi condotti su *P. Oxy. X 1241* risultano accomunati da un unico limite: il testo ivi tradito non è mai stato studiato nella sua interezza, bensì asetticamente eviscerato in due macrosezioni, il famoso regesto dei bibliotecari di Alessandria (coll. I, l. 5-II, l. 30), da una parte, e il catalogo militare che segue (col. II, l. 30-), dall'altra. Mentre la prima sezione ha destato la curiosità di generazioni e generazioni di studiosi, la seconda è stata giudicata perlopiù irrilevante sin dalla pubblicazione del manoscritto. L'intervento intende mostrare alcuni risultati preliminari della ricerca in corso, che mira a una riedizione, non solo del frammento di Filocoro 'jacobianamente' inteso, ma del frammento filocoreo ricontestualizzato all'interno del suo cover-text originario, la sezione militare del papiro ossirinchina per l'appunto. Saranno formulate alcune considerazioni sul modus operandi dell'escortore e sulla natura complessiva del documento, nel tentativo di ridefinirne meglio l'ambiente di produzione e il contesto di fruizione.

Amphitheatre M. Halbwachs

Parallel Sessions Magical Papyrology

Gideon Bohak

Tel Aviv University

Greek and Aramaic Manuals of *Sortes* in Late Antiquity

Two published Greek papyri – PSI Congr. XVII 5 (TM 64724) and P.CtYBR inv. 4640 (TM 644801) – preserve sections of a book of *sortes*, or divination by the casting of lots. Previous scholarship has focused on the relations between these fragments and other books of *sortes* in Greek, Coptic, and Latin. However, an unpublished Aramaic manual of lot-casting from the Cairo Genizah presents a much closer parallel to the texts found in the two Greek papyri, and thus allows for a more accurate reconstruction of their structure and contents.

In my talk, I will present the Aramaic text, and show how it can shed some light on the above-mentioned Greek papyri. I will also use these textual parallels to highlight the inter-ethnic and inter-religious manuals of divination, which were used, copied, and adapted by different communities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Panagiota Sarischouli

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

A Glossary of *Voces Magicae*: A Tantalising yet Challenging Project

Magical names and phrases are found in almost every magical text (papyri, lamellae, and gems) unearthed not only from Roman or Late Antique Egypt, but also from other places around the Mediterranean basin, and even further beyond (up to northern Britain or the Black Sea). *Voces magicae* represent a significant source for the multicultural linguistic identity of ritual texts in late antiquity, be it formularies or activated texts. Though experts from related fields, such as Egyptology and Semitic studies, have achieved noteworthy results in interpreting a significant number of the magical words, no complete glossary of *voces magicae* has yet been compiled, and one is clearly needed. In my paper, I will present the challenges of creating such a glossary. While many *voces* represent garbled words and phrases which are identifiable as deriving from an ancient language or script (Demotic, Coptic, Greek, Hebrew, Babylonian etc.), others are completely incomprehensible. Some of them are frequently attested, and even combined into fixed formulae, while others are used impromptu as individual units in ever-changing series. Yet, although the repetition of divine names, secret words, or of sequences of vowels and/or consonants may often seem random or of little consequence, there can be little doubt that the *voces* were, at least originally, intended to provide an encoded communication with gods and spirits. Studying the derivations and interpretations of magical words, the frequency of their occurrences and their intended effect (auditory, visual, or both) may help us crack this code and deepen our understanding of magical texts.

Giuditta Mirizio

Universität Heidelberg

Prayers for Justice: Between Private Messages and Public Documents

The so-called “prayers for justice”, a category which has been recently distinguished from the larger bulk of the *defixiones* or Greek *katadesmoi* on the basis of linguistic and textual features, represent a peculiar genre of paraliterary, religious-magical-legal documents. Being characterized by a general idea of divine justice that was circulating in the ancient Mediterranean, they show peculiar traits according to their provenance, their material and their individual and local expressions. The ongoing debate on the nature of these documents and their distinction from the actual curse tablets has not reached a conclusion yet.

In this paper I will employ the comparison with other groups of documents which were thought to be seen and read to show the semi-public nature of these sources. In particular the genre of petitions directed to the civil authorities constitutes the main parallel to observe similarities in the process, the vocabulary and the attitude of the petitioner who is seeking restoration of a legal state. The contribution of features related to the layout such as the mise en page, the spacing, and other devices used also in petitions to highlight sections of text, will serve the purpose of emphasizing the element of display connected to the prayers for justice.

Christopher A. Faraone

University of Chicago

PGM XXIVa (= GEMF 52): A Hybrid Case of Greco-Egyptian Cleromancy?

PGM XXIVa (= GEMF 52), a 3rd-4th century CE papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, preserves a single column of instructions for some kind of mechanical divination that involves a short prayer and palm leaves inscribed with “the names of the gods”. In 2002, David Jordan solved a number of textual problems and showed that the text describes a process of sortition by using 29 inscribed palm leaves, removing them two at a time until only a single leaf remains. The text does not explain, however, how the practitioner was supposed to get beyond the single remaining leaf and its divine name to any prognostication or advice about the future, nor why Hermes plays such a prominent role. Both problems disappear, however, when we realize that this procedure is best understood against the backdrop of the so-called “knucklebone oracles of Hermes”, which were popular in the Roman Anatolia, that allows us to reconstruct the process in the fragmentary papyrus recipe.

Krisztina Hevesi

Freie Universität Berlin

Scribal Tradition in the Berlin Magical Library

The set of Coptic manuscripts, known as the “Berlin Magical Library”, includes alchemical and magical texts under twenty-one inventory numbers which keep part the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin. Apart from the facts that Carl August Reinhardt acquired the manuscripts coming from the Faiyum Oasis in 1895 and that the objects were found together, we possess insufficient information about their exact origin and the purpose of their collection.

Having the same provenance, the manuscripts show striking similarities in terms of hands (most probably of the 7th–8th century AD), subjects, methods and formulae. Throughout the comparison of the texts and the examination of their common features, it is possible to outline the sort of connections that could exist between the manuscripts and hypothesize some details about the circumstances of their production which, due to the lack of archaeological context, are difficult to understand. What kind of scribal tradition lay behind the composition of these magical texts? Who did gather them together and why was it necessary? In my presentation, I will focus on giving a brief overview on the shared characteristics between the manuscripts and the way these could be used for the study of scribal traditions.

Markéta Preininger

Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg

Coptic Magical Papyri Progress Report

As the Coptic Magical Papyri project based at the Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg (2018-2023) nears its final year, we would like to present key information related to magical manuscripts – especially Coptic – written in Egypt between the 3rd and 12th centuries CE. The project has collected, described – and in many cases translated – over 500 manuscripts written in Coptic. Their analysis in terms of materiality, content and language provides important information not only related directly to this topic, but is of interest to a wider papyrological audience, for instance because it maps certain general variations (e.g., in terms of language development, materiality

etc.). The introduction will focus on laying out the different types of magical texts in terms of their content and formal features, and a large part of the presentation will be focused on a diachronic analysis of the collected data – in particular in terms of materials and formats, while the end of the presentation will be focused on observations regarding mostly the *lexicon* (with a special focus on the most common abbreviations) and paleography. This paper will provide the audience with a brief, updated overview of the most important features of Coptic magical manuscripts.

Dosoo Korshi

Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg

Notes on the *Endoxon of the Archangel Michael*

The *Endoxon of Michael* is the longest surviving Coptic magical text, a long prayer for healing and protection attributed to the eponymous archangel. It is also one of the only manuscripts to survive in more than one copy – P.Heid. inv. Copt. 686, published by Angelicus Kropp in 1966, and the unpublished manuscript provisionally known as Collège de France Ms. Copte 2. This paper will discuss the position of the two versions within the larger corpus of Christian magical texts from the Eastern Mediterranean region, focusing specifically on the way in which the divergences between the two manuscripts add to our knowledge of the process of transmission and development of such prayers.

Room 2

Parallel Sessions History of Papyrology

Alain Martin

Université Libre de Bruxelles

Les archives de l'AIP (Suite de la suite)

Complément aux exposés présentés lors des XXVIII^e et XXIX^e Congrès. Il avait été question à Barcelone et à Lecce des archives appartenant à la période où Marcel Hombert (1930-1961), puis Jean Bingen (1961-1992) avaient assumé le secrétariat du Comité International de Papyrologie et de l'Association Internationale de Papyrologues. Je ferai le point sur les progrès réalisés dans l'inventaire de ces fonds; je présenterai ensuite quelques pièces en rapport avec l'organisation du VI^e Congrès, à Paris, en 1949.

María Jesús Albarrán

ILC, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid

Le fonds documentaire légué par José O'Callaghan

José O'Callaghan (1922-2001) a été le fondateur de la Collection Palau-Ribes déposée à Barcelone, aux Archives Historiques de la Compagnie de Jésus en Catalogne. Papyrologue bien connu à son époque, il a réalisé une carrière académique et scientifique dans le monde de la papyrologie pendant plus de 40 ans. Cette abondante activité papyrologique a donné un intéressant fonds documentaire, en plus de la collection de papyrus. Il est composé par sa bibliothèque, qui contient nombreuses œuvres imprimées et un riche fonds de microfilms; des archives photographiques de papyrus, mais aussi personnels et privés; un large dossier de presse; matériaux de son activité comme éditeur de papyrus ainsi qu'enseignant de papyrologie; enfin, sa correspondance professionnelle et aussi privée. Récemment, on a commencé les travaux pour cataloguer, classer et conserver ce nouveau fonds papyrologique du xx^e siècle, qui sera présenté à l'occasion du centenaire de sa naissance.

Holger Essler

Universität Würzburg / Università Ca' Foscari Venezia

Zur Entstehung der Papyrussammlungen in Bonn und Frankfurt

Die Herkunft der Papyrussammlungen in Bonn und Frankfurt liegt bisher weitgehend im Dunkeln. Beide sind im Zuge der Ereignisse des ersten Weltkrieges entstanden (1915 bzw. 1919), als Ankäufe in Ägypten nicht möglich waren. Durch unveröffentlichtes Archivmaterial kann die Herkunft der Bonner Papyri zweifelsfrei bestimmt werden. Für die Frankfurter Papyri lassen sich die Möglichkeiten weitgehend eingrenzen.

Nikola Bellucci

Università della Repubblica di San Marino / École pratique des hautes études, Paris

Le *Exercitationes in Monumenta Papyrea* di A. Zirardini. Dinamiche dell'opera nel suo contesto storico

L'intervento si focalizzerà sulla tradizione e le innovatività apportate dall'inedito *Exercitationes in Monumenta Papyrea* del ravennate Antonio Zirardini. Si discuteranno quindi la struttura e i contenuti dell'opera per mostrare il senso che essa ebbe all'interno del proprio contesto storico e considerandone le dinamiche di realizzazione.

Amin Benaissa

University of Oxford

Miss M. E. Dicker: A Forgotten Woman amid the Oxyrhynchus Papyri

This paper will sketch the life and work of Mary Elizabeth Dicker, who played a relatively brief but significant role in the organization and decipherment of the EES Oxyrhynchus papyri at Oxford. After completing the Classical Tripos at Cambridge, she studied papyrology with H. I. Bell in London and became A. S. Hunt's assistant from 1929 to 1934 before taking the veil as Sister Cyrilla. During this short period, she sorted through an enormous amount of papyri and transcribed and identified a number of important pieces. Using archival materials in Cambridge, Oxford, and the British Library, I will attempt to retrace her papyrological journey and assess her largely forgotten contribution to scholarship on the Oxyrhynchus papyri.

Room 5**Parallel Sessions****Documentary Papyrology: Ptolemaic Egypt****Demokritos Kaltsas**

University of Cyprus

Gedanken zu *C.Ord.Ptol.* 50

Gedanken zu Textherstellung und Interpretation des königlichen Prostagma *C.Ord.Ptol.* 50 (= *PTebt.* III.1 700, 22–55), mit welchem Ptolemaios VIII. Euergetes II. früher ergriffene repressive Maßnahmen gegen das zeitgenössische Vereinswesen (γυμνάσια, σύνοδοι, πολιτεύματα ...) weiter ausbaute.

Mohamed Elarga

Cairo University

***Dioiketes* in Ptolemaic Egypt – A New Perspective**

This study sheds more light on a function of the *dioiketes* as a kind of minister of economy and finances in Ptolemaic Egypt, its nature, and origin. The study comprehensively examines such a position in a chronological order, showing the changes that this function and the people who assumed it went through, and whether the *dioiketes* was considered a Prime Minister of the

government or not. It further discusses the changes that occurred on the function and its title according to the new published documents, with a special focus on the people who assumed it through the Trismegistos databases.

The study will depend on a large number of papyri, as well as a number of modern references that discuss the *dioiketes* function and its role, in an attempt to come up with a new perspective on the development of this position that played a vital and a significant role in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and the changes in Roman period.

Haytham Qandeil

Ain Shams University, Cairo

The *Hypodioiketes* and his Functions in the Ptolemaic Administration

Although there is now a large number of papyrological evidence of the Ptolemaic administration, a comprehensive study of this administration has not yet been written. Nevertheless, some individual posts in the Ptolemaic system were fully treated as for example, the *basilikos grammateus* and the *epimeletes*. In contrast, the *hypodioiketes*, one of the high-ranking Ptolemaic officials, has not yet received adequate attention from scholars, probably because of the lower number of attestations of this official in papyri as compared to other Ptolemaic posts.

In my paper, I will try to answer the following questions: What were the functions of the *hypodioiketes* in the Ptolemaic administration? What was his relation to the *dioiketes* on one hand, and to the high-ranking officials, mainly, the *epimeletes*, the *oikonomos*, the *basilikos grammateus*, and ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων (from the second half of the second century) on the other hand? What was his rank in the Ptolemaic administration? Were there only one or more *hypodioiketai* active at the same time? And finally I will investigate his function in administering the *syntaxis* of the temples since more than half of the documents of this official deal with the oil and bread ratio of Taus and Taues, the famous twins of the Serapieion.

Csaba La'da

Universität Wien

The Research Project "Ethnic Designations in Hellenistic and Early Roman Egypt (332 BC - AD 14)"

This paper presents an overview and the first results of an interdisciplinary research project on ethnic terminology used in reference to specific individuals in the multilingual documentary evidence from Egypt in the Hellenistic and Augustan periods (332 BC - AD 14). In papyri, ostraca and inscriptions written in a variety of languages and scripts (primarily Greek and Demotic) well over three hundred different ethnic terms are used to designate close to three thousand specific individuals. The precise meaning and usage of some of these ethnic terms are however often unclear and still hotly debated. The project intends to investigate and elucidate the meaning of these ethnic terms and the ways they were used by the state administration and the population of Egypt in official and legal contexts.

Dan Dana / Csaba La'da

CNRS, HISOMA, Lyon / Universität Wien

New Settlers of the Hellenistic World: Thracians in Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt

Presentation of a joint project that aims to study, on the basis of a growing corpus of both published and unpublished documentary evidence, one of the largest, yet most neglected, immigrant groups to Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt, the settlers of Thracian origin. The project's first aim is to gather and text-critically assess all documentary evidence in Greek and Demotic for Thracians from Hellenistic and Augustan Egypt and to offer improvements in reading and interpretation of already published texts. The evidence will be presented in an exhaustive and detailed prosopography that will form the source base for the ultimate aim of the project: writing a social history of Thracians in Hellenistic and early Roman Egypt. This historical synthesis will address questions such as the immigration and settlement of Thracians in Egypt, their integration

into the economy, society and culture of the Lagid state and their interactions with other social and cultural groups. Key aspects such as Thracian onomastics, family connections, intermarriage, acculturation and the evolution of Thracian ethno-cultural identity will be discussed. No study of this type and on this scale has ever been undertaken before.

Ibrahim Seada

Mansoura University

Greek Civilian Immigrants to Egypt during the 3rd Century B.C.

According to the Greeks' mental image, Egypt was the land of wealth and dreams. After Alexander the Great conquered Egypt, crowds of Greeks flocked to it aspirant for wealth and changing their economic status. The Ptolemaic regime helped those immigrants get a better life, especially the military immigrants who provided the Ptolemaic regime with *klerouchos* that linked them more to the Land of Egypt, but what about civilian immigrants?

The Ptolemaic regime provided the capitalist civilian immigrants with many opportunities to invest in Egypt. On the other hand, the status of the poor immigrants can be best described in Lewis's words: "for many the new Eldorado on the Nile turned out to be a land of false promise and deluded hopes".

This paper deals with the status of Greek civilian immigrants during the third century B.C, and attempts to answer the following questions: what were the chances available for the civilian immigrants in Egypt to change their economic status? What opportunities did they have? What difficulties did they face when they came to Egypt? Was their status in Egypt better than it was in their home country? Or was the status of some immigrants the same as it was before? did some of them return home again? Or did they accept their fate which equalized them with the Egyptians at work?

William A. Ross

University of Cambridge

Date Syntax in Papyri and Hellenistic Jewish Translation

Scholarship has given some attention to the ways in which chronology and calendrical systems worked in Hellenistic antiquity. For example, Samuel (1962), Hannah (2005), and Stern (2012) have each contributed to this area, as have others. But still little attention has been given to the syntax of dating expressions in the documentary papyri. Some treatment appears in Pestman (1990), but leaves considerable room for expansion. This paper will therefore consider the linguistic features of date syntax in the papyri, focusing in particular upon the Ptolemaic period. Analysis will subsequently move into examining the many date expressions in the Hellenistic Jewish translation of the Hebrew Bible, commonly known as the Septuagint. The Greek versions of the prophetic books in particular are filled with expressions to mark the date or time period in which a particular oracle was delivered, by whom, and for whom, etc. (e.g., *Haggai* 1:1). Given the frequency of such expressions, Jewish translators were faced with the task of rendering Hebrew dating formulas into Greek. But scholars have yet to investigate whether and how this translation occurred according to Greek conventions in the Hellenistic era, a desideratum that this paper seeks to address.

Thursday 28 July – Afternoon

	Amphitheatre Marguerite de Navarre	Amphitheatre Guillaume Budé	Amphitheatre Maurice Halbwachs	Room 2	Room 5
14h30-15h00	Alejandro Quintana		Anastasia Maravela		
15h00-15h30	Irene Soto Marin	Roberta Berardi	Sofia Torallas Tovar	AnneMarie Luijendijk	Matthias Stern
15h30-16h00	Ann Hanson	Enrico Emanuele Prodi	Miriam Blanco Cesteros	François Gerardin	Yasmine Amory, Esther Garel
16h00-16h30	Mohamed Abd-El Ghani	Julia Lougovaya	Raquel Martín Hernández	Aaltje Hidding	Jean-Luc Fournet, Isabelle Marthot-Santianello
Coffee Break					
17h00-17h30	Shereen Aly	Kathleen McNamee	Anett Rozsa	Juan Chapa	Alain Delattre
17h30-18h00	Antonio Stornaiuolo	Daniela Immacolata Cagnazzo, Felice Stama	Tomasz Barański, Agata Deptuła	Peter Arzt-Grabner	Janneke de Jong
18h00-18h30		Marco Perale	Marius Gerhardt		

Amphitheatre M. de Navarre

Parallel Sessions Documentary Papyrology: Roman Egypt

Alejandro Quintana

Yale University

***P.Tebt.* 2.576: Public Priestly Land, The Toparch, and The Priesthood in Early Roman Tebtunis**

This paper presents the unpublished account on the recto of *P.Tebt.* 2.576, which was only described in the second volume of the Tebtunis Papyri. I argue that this early Roman document (30-31 CE), recording public farmers belonging to the village priesthood, was drawn up by the local administration to oversee the issuing of seed-loans for the cultivation of the distinctive class of land in Roman Egypt known as “public priestly” land. I then contextualize this account, showing that it belongs to a dossier of administrative documents from the first half of the first century CE originating in Tebtunis, now at Berkeley’s Center for the Tebtunis Papyri. Furthermore, I propose that this dossier comes from the archive (in the strict sense) of the office of the toparch, which can be connected with a group of cellars mentioned by the excavators of these papyri. I conclude by examining some of the finer points of the account, exploring how it contributes to our understanding of the priests of Soknebtynis through onomastics, prosopography, and its complicated system of interlinear notes.

Irene Soto Marin

University of Michigan

***P.NYU.* 30: Usurpers, Imperial Patrimony, and the Size of the Oxyrhynchite Nome in 3rd Century Egypt**

In this communication, I will present the edition of *P.NYU.* 30, which is most likely the copy of an imperial edict or official letter dated to 261 CE. Agricultural in nature, this unpublished text is unique within the papyrological record from Roman Egypt: it mentions a pair of usurper emperors

from Roman Egypt, Quietus and Macrianus, the infamous prefect L. Mussius Aemilianus, and lists the entire size of the arable land of the Oxhyrynchite nome, a previously unattested figure in the papyrological record. The figure seems to corroborate previously estimated nome measurements for the third and fourth centuries. The text also lists the nome as producing roughly 95,500 gallons of (presumably) oil. Moreover, the text mentions τῆς πατριωνίου γῆς, “the land of the patrimony”, offering evidence for imperial land in a century whose sources are otherwise silent on the subject. The mention of *epistrategoi*, *strategoï* and city councils hints at the high administrative level at which the letter is being distributed.

Ann Hanson

Yale University

Nemesion, Collector of Money Taxes for Julio-Claudian Emperors

Nemesion, son of Zoilos, was *praktôr argyrikôn* at Philadelphieia during the reigns of Gaius, Claudius, and Nero. He supervised collections of money taxes owed to Rome, most of which serviced the province's Roman administration. In 1938 H.I. Bell labeled the reign of Claudius an economic crisis (*JRS* 28, pp. 1-8), and some thirty years subsequent the late G.M. Browne published Michigan papyri from Nemesion's archive (*P.Mich.* 10, 12), confident that these supported Bell's theory of a province in financial straits. The evidence, sometimes dated to regnal years, but otherwise lacking greater specificity as to month or day when snapshots of financial data were tallied, was ill-suited for pinpointing crises. We can assume that on the first day of each emperor's regnal year (1 Thoth), almost all male villagers between ages 14 and 61 were assessed 40 drachmas (drs.) for *laographia*, as specified in the synopsis of Philadelphieia prepared late in the year preceding. Only for Claudius' 11th regnal year do we have sufficient figures: 31,940 drs. anticipated (*P.Sijp.* 26.136-137) and 3068 drs. collected by the second month of Claudius' 12th regnal year (*P.Mich.* 10.594.5). Nine-tenths of the total! Matters declined for Nemesion and his fellow *praktôres* during the early years of Nero and this paper will investigate what happens (*P.Coll.Youtie* 20, *P.Ryl.* 4.595, *SB* 4.7462).

Mohamed Abd-El Ghani

Alexandria University

The Role of Neapolis (near Alexandria) in the Transshipment of the Egyptian Grain to Rome

Neapolis outside Alexandria in Roman Egypt had had huge storerooms which used to receive the bulk of the tax payments in grain immediately after the harvest every year. This procedure was a sophisticated one which required a lot of steps supervised by many local and central officials in the nomes and the capital alike.

In spite of the crucial importance of Neapolis as the hub to which all the shipments of grain from all the Egyptian nomes were delivered, to be transshipped – in the end – to Rome, it has not – to my knowledge – received a detailed and comprehensive study of its own. That is why I have collected almost all the papyrological documents relevant to the topic and covering a long span of time from the first to the 5th or 6th century A.D. from Egypt.

I will do my best to study the minutest details of the issue to try to reach satisfactory conclusions in a thorough and comprehensive contribution, I hope.

Shereen Aly

Ain Shams University, Cairo

Customs Duties at the Port of Syene

The paper discusses new attestations for goods that were imported to, or exported from Syene, through two new receipts on ostraca from Elephantine/Syene issued by the *τελώναι* of the place. The two ostraca are kept in Egyptian Museum in Cairo and date to the reign of Trajan and Hadrian. They illuminate an important aspect of Roman life in Egypt.

Antonio Stornaiuolo

Università di Messina

P. Hawara inv. 70: An Augustan Sitology Record

The still unpublished P. Haw. inv. 70 is one of the most ancient reports handwritten by *sitologi* during the early period of Roman sovereignty in Egypt. This Augustan register mainly focuses on revenues in kind (*i.e.* in grain) which were stored in public granaries at the end of a fiscal Egyptian year; the total value of single payments – performed by several inhabitants of different villages of Themistou *meris* – is particularly remarkable and worthy of a detailed study. This paper aims not only to present P. Haw. inv. 70 to the papyrological audience, but especially to discuss both the tasks of *sitologi* under the early Roman administration and the yearly level of Arsinoite supplying of cereals to the central power. Moreover, P. Haw. inv. 70 features several additional elements of interest: first of all, the restoration itself of such papyrus promises to be extremely challenging and methodologically noteworthy; besides, the prosopographical data featured by P. Haw. inv. 70 tremendously enrich our knowledge of local names.

Amphitheatre G. Budé

Parallel Sessions

Literary/Paraliterary Papyrology : New Texts

Roberta Berardi

University of Oxford

P.Duke inv. 712r: An Unedited Prose Fragment (on Exile?) from the 2nd Century BC

This paper aims to present the first results of my research on P.Duke inv. 712r, a currently unedited fragment containing fifteen lines of a prose text, which dates back to the 2nd century BC. After providing a first transcription and translation – with a few supplements – of this piece, I will investigate into two main issues. First of all, the problem of its genre: as often happens with small prose fragments, this papyrus could contain either a fragment of historiography or oratory, or even a rhetorical exercise belonging to the school environment. If the latter, this piece would constitute important evidence for Hellenistic educational practices and oratory in general. An attempt will be made to see if this text might date back to the Classical age or is rather a Hellenistic piece. Then, I will deal with the content of this fragment, and in particular with the supplement of the word ἀπὸδημίας, which could mean “going abroad”, “going to a foreign land”, or even “exile”. Finding parallels for this term (and its synonyms) in Attic oratory and historiography, but also in declamations, will help understand more about this fragment’s theme and the tradition in which we might want to place it.

Enrico Emanuele Prodi

University of Oxford

P.Mich. inv. 4130-11281 (Sesonchosis?)

P.Mich. inv. 4130 (processing no. 11281) is a single fragment from a codex, acquired by the University of Michigan in July 1925. APIS lists the author as ‘unknown’ and type of text/title of work as ‘uncertain’. Yet an examination of the verso immediately reveals the words ὁ Σεσόνηωσις. The context does not match any of the references to Sesonchosis in extant Greek literature. What can be read of the text is compatible with a narrative. My working hypothesis is that the fragment may belong to the Sesonchosis Novel, of which several other papyrus fragments are already known (P.Oxy. XV 1826, XXVII 2466+LXXXI 5262, XLVII 3319, LXXXI 5263). In my contribution I will present an edition of the fragment and discuss the textual and interpretive issues it raises.

Julia Lougovaya
Universität Heidelberg

Papyrological Evidence for the Metrology of Volume

Among metrological units, those of volume probably take pride of place as being particularly confusing both in terminology and in the composition and relationship of units. Focusing on the metrological texts and mensurational problems preserved in Greek papyri, in particular Vienna, Nationalbibliothek G 19996 (*MPER* NS 1.1; 1st c. CE) and *P.Math.* (c. 350-375), this paper will consider evidence for measuring the volume of stone and wood. The peculiar approach to measuring these commodities documented in Greek evidence can be traced back to Pharaonic Egypt, while its legacy even seems to be reflected in the criticism wielded by the great Egyptian mathematician Abu Kamil (ca. 850-ca. 930) on the way “the people of Egypt” measure wood.

Kathleen McNamee
Wayne State University, Detroit

Euripidean *Exegesis* beyond the Commentary

For a forthcoming volume of *CLGP*, I recently prepared an edition of the marginalia in ancient texts of Euripides and of the fragmentary commentaries on two plays. I discovered, in the process, an eclectic mass of Euripidean criticism in papyri not directly linked to the tragedies. Philodemus and other authors, for example, draw on the plays to reinforce or illustrate arguments about the nature of poetry, the effect of rhetoric, and other subjects. The writers of exegetic hypomnemata on authors other than Euripides also occasionally draw on the plays to support the points they make, a step that must entail some sort of critical judgment about the passage quoted. Even the biography by Satyrus interweaves gossip with assessments of the tragedies. The analytical observations these writers make about Euripides may be incidental to their larger purposes, but it is fair to regard some at least as exegetic. And whether these interpretations are original or were cribbed from Euripidean commentaries, they are worth examining as samples of Euripidean *exegesis*, albeit separate from dedicated commentaries and marginal annotation. 34 papyri either cite or quote Euripides in contexts such as those just described, and at least a third of them clearly entail critical judgment of his poetry. This paper will review and evaluate the most compelling examples of *exegesis* in these texts.

Daniela Immacolata Cagnazzo / Felice Stama
Università degli studi di Bari / Università degli studi della Basilicata

***P.Tebt.* III 693: un *excerptum* (?) di commedia**

Nel 1933, nel III volume dei *Tebtunis Papyri*, Hunt e Smyly pubblicarono un frammento di papiro estratto da un cartonnage, assegnabile al III a.C. e recante una bozza di una petizione indirizzata a un βασιλεύς: del documento (*P.Tebt.* III 769) sopravvivono tre σελίδες, due sul recto e una sul verso, dove figura inoltre, disposto in una colonna di ventotto tetrametri trocaici catalettici, un brano poetico classificato dagli edd. pr. come «Extract from a Comedy» (*P.Tebt.* III 693). La corsività della mano e la grossolanità del tracciato, unitamente al deterioramento materiale, alle lacune e alla perdita dell'estremità destra dei rigi, non consentono una lettura agevole e una ricostruzione sicura. Ciononostante, agli studiosi è sembrato plausibile riconoscere uno stralcio del discorso del padre di una sposa inerente alla dote della fanciulla e alla descrizione delle portate di un banchetto nuziale avvenuto nel passato. Scopo di questo intervento sarà offrire, attraverso una nuova indagine condotta su diversi livelli (bibliologico, paleografico, filologico e letterario), una più precisa proposta di datazione del pezzo e di passare in rassegna le varie ipotesi circa la provenienza dei versi da Körte dubitativamente assegnati a un “commediografo alessandrino”, per la presenza di alcuni vocaboli estranei al dialetto attico.

Marco Perale

University of Liverpool

The APHex Project and a New Hexameter Fragment from the Leipzig Collection

In this paper I will provide an update on the progress of my APHex project, after the publication of the first instalment of a four-volume set (*Adespota Papyracea Hexametra Graeca. Hexameters of Unknown or Uncertain Attribution*, vol. I, De Gruyter, 2020), focusing in particular on anonymous encomia of Roman emperors and their beloved (APHex II 46-49). I will also introduce the latest addition to APHex, an unpublished papyrus scrap from the Leipzig collection (inv. 1594) reporting eight hexameter-ends, possibly mentioning Peleus and Thetis.

Amphitheatre M. Halbwachs

Parallel Sessions
Magical Papyrology

Anastasia Maravela

University of Oslo

Re-editing *PGM XXXVI/GEMF 68*: Remarks on its Scribe and Sections

The project “Transmission of Magical Knowledge in Antiquity: The Papyrus Magical Handbooks in Context” co-ordinated by Ch. A. Faraone and S. Torallas Tovar (University of Chicago) aims at producing new annotated editions (text and translation) of the known Greco-Egyptian (late Ptolemaic to Late Antique) magical formularies and thus to update earlier, widely used corpora (K. Preisendanz-A. Henrichs, *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri* 2 1974; H.-D. Betz (ed.), *Magical Papyri in Translation* 1986, etc.) The first volume of the new corpus *Graeco-Egyptian Magical Formularies* will appear in 2022, followed by a second volume later. A prime objective for editors is to pay attention to the material dimension of the papyri re-edited, such as the arrangement of the text on the material support and formal features or scribal habits that could furnish new insights into the compositional history of the collections edited. This paper will present the results of the editorial work on *P.Oslo I 1* (= *PGM XXXVI*) focusing on format, scribal features and the relation between the text and the drawings.

Sofia Torallas Tovar

University of Chicago

Scribal Practice and Magical Handbooks on Papyrus

In this contribution I will present the methods devised to differentiate possible sources or apographs for magical formularies on papyrus. The graphic and scribal features, already suggested by Richard Gordon for this purpose, will be compared to the linguistic aspects to discern the possible sources of our handbooks.

Miriam Blanco Cesteros

Universidad Complutense de Madrid

The Carbon Inks of the Greek Magical Papyri: In Search of Technical Patterns

In the procedures described within Greek magical papyri, it is common to find indications about the use and preparation of specific inks to write the spell or a special formula, to draw the magical signs or the figures of the gods that should be depicted as part of the ritual practice. At first glance, the composition of these inks is surprising because of the number of ritual ingredients and the presence of particular components, such as blood. So far, existing studies focus on these particular ingredients and their ritual function, but these recipes have not yet been comparatively examined, from a technical perspective. This paper presents a first study of these recipes with the aim of demonstrate that, beyond their apparent heterogeneity, it is actually possible to identify a small number of “core formulas”.

Raquel Martín Hernández
Universidad Complutense de Madrid

When To Do It Better? A New Edition of *GEMF 55/PGM III* Calendar and its Comparison with *GEMF 74/PGM VII*

In the framework of the project "Transmission of Magical Knowledge" (*GEMF*), led by S. Torallas Tovar and Ch. A. Faraone in the University of Chicago, a new edition and study of *GEMF 55/PGM III*, the so-called Papyrus Mimaut of the Louvre (Paris), will be part of volume 2. Due to a new re-location of some fragments of the roll, the new edition differs from the previous one made by Preisendanz in some parts, among them, the calendar. This calendar stipulates when it is best to perform each type of magical practice depending on the position of the moon in the zodiac. I will present the new edition of the *GEMF 55/PGM III* calendar and compare it to the calendar transmitted in *GEMF 74/PGM VII*.

Anett Rozsa
Universität Heidelberg

'Psoi, God of all Gods' in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri. A Major Question in (almost) Every Culture Is Whether Someone's Fate Is Changeable or Inevitable?

In Ancient Egypt, a person's destiny (heavily) depended on various deities whose favour everyone strived for because they played essential roles not only in fulfilling all individual wishes, but also in granting a prosperous and long life, meaning the favour of the gods outweighed fate.

The aim of this presentation is to analyse the so-called 'favour gaining spells' (*charitesia*, from the Greek word χάρις). They are mainly written in the Greek and/or Old Coptic language but base upon earlier Egyptian traditions. In these magical papyri spells (collected in the *PGM*), the cosmological and solar hymnic elements are emphasised, and their protagonist is the primordial, creator, solar and universal deity, who also makes the decisions about the lives of human beings as the 'god of life' and 'begetter of good things'. Moreover, the body parts of this (anthropomorphic) god are often compared with the whole cosmos. He is often referred to in these magical texts with invocations as '(P)Soi, god of all gods' –or variants thereof–, which corresponds to the idea of the Agathodaimon (gr.: Ἀγαθοδαίμων, "Good Daimon").

Tomasz Barański / Agata Deptuła
University of Warsaw

Magic Texts in the Medieval and Pre-modern Old Dongola (Sudan)

The following paper aims at presenting and discussing some textual finds discovered in Old Dongola which was the capital of the medieval Kingdom of Makuria. After the fall of Christian Nubia, it was still a vibrant place in the Islamic times. Since the 16th until the 19th century, its chiefs balanced between Ottoman Egypt and the Funj Sultanate. The recent excavations were focused on this period of change and, as a result, many Arabic documents came to light, complementing the corpora of magic texts in Greek and Old Nubian that originated in the Christian period. The magic texts in Arabic were written on paper, pottery sherds and wood. In most cases they served as amulets and can be compared with other talismans known from the Islamicate World. They must have been created by the Sufi leaders who were crucial agents in the process of social and religious transformations when Sudan was embracing its new faith. However, ethnographic sources indicate that within some tribes, even at the beginning of the 20th century, there were still vivid reminiscences of the Christian past. Therefore the documents under examination should be studied also with regard to the long-lasting local tradition influenced by the Mediterranean and indigenous African cultures.

Marius Gerhardt

Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin

Magical Maths?

Among the holdings of the Berlin Papyrus Collection there is a little stone tablet which apparently resembles a wax tablet in miniaturised form. It contains two lines of writing, presumably figures of a calculation or an exercise. The paper will discuss material and textual aspects of this object and possible parallels from Ancient Egypt and beyond. It will draw conclusions that put this object in a religious or magical context.

Room 2

Parallel Sessions Papyrology and Christianity

AnneMarie Luijendijk

Princeton University

Writing and Reading Christian Papyri in Oxyrhynchus at Home and in Church

This paper investigates the many and diverse Christian literary papyri found at the garbage heaps of the Egyptian city of Oxyrhynchus within the context of local and everyday religion. Questions addressed are: What do palaeographical and material features reveal about the sociology of reading in Christian Oxyrhynchus? How did Christians in Late Antique Oxyrhynchus use scripture, liturgically and domestically? And how does Oxyrhynchus compare to other cities in Egypt and the Mediterranean in this respect?

François Gerardin

Universität Basel

La communauté chrétienne d'Antinoé, d'env. 200 à 395 apr. J.-C.

Eusèbe de Césarée, dans son *Histoire ecclésiastique* (VI.11.2) rapporte une lettre adressée par Alexandre, successeur de Narcisse au patriarcat de Jérusalem, aux « Antinoïtes », les habitants de la ville fondée par Hadrien en moyenne Égypte. Cette communication passe au crible les témoignages, tant des papyrus que de la culture matérielle, portant sur le devenir de cette communauté attestée dès le début du III^e siècle. On dispose au sujet de Kollouthos, le saint guérisseur martyr de la grande persécution de Dioclétien, d'une hagiographie foisonnante, mais au caractère historique douteux. Qui étaient vraiment les premiers chrétiens d'Antinoé et que peut-on savoir d'eux ? Comment la ville initialement fondée pour honorer la mort d'un homme-dieu, Antinoos, s'est-elle convertie au culte du Dieu-homme, le Christ ? À l'appui de sources nouvelles ou anciennes, dont il corrige l'interprétation, cet exposé cherche à cerner les contours de la communauté chrétienne d'Antinoé dans le contexte de l'essor du christianisme dans l'Égypte romaine.

Aaltje Hidding

Norwegian School of Theology, Religion and Society

Meeting Christians at Dush. A Case Study on the Introduction and Development of early Christianity

The fourth century was a crucial period in the history of Christianity. At the beginning of this century, the Roman government was in the middle of the last persecution of Christians. At the end, traditional religious practices were forbidden and Christianity had become a state religion. When explaining this religious transformation, Christian chronographers often tell dramatic stories of mass conversions following miracles and religious violence against temples and 'pagans'. Recent research has shown that these are ideological stories. In reality, archaeological material from throughout the Mediterranean has revealed a gradual integration of Christianity into society.

Against this background, the project 'Deconstructing Early Christian Metanarratives' intends to revise the history of fourth-century Christianity by studying a newly collected corpus. This corpus is based upon the results of fieldwork in the South Kharga Oasis, and extended by a database of archaeological and artefactual attestations of Christianity in fourth-century Egypt. This paper zooms in on the social and cultural profile of Christians in one specific place: the village Dush, ancient Kysis. Particular attention will be paid to their organization: How Christian was fourth-century Dush? What was the professional status of the clergy? How was Christianity visible in the landscape?

Juan Chapa

University of Navarra, Pamplona

A New Instance of "Mary" from Oxyrhynchus

In an unpublished damaged papyrus from the Oxyrhynchus collection containing a seemingly Valentinian text the name of Mary occurs twice. The fragmentary text suggests some kind of dialogue of Jesus with his disciples belonging to the so-called genre of 'Dialogue Gospels', 'Gnostic Dialogues' or the like. Among the thirteen works that are commonly accepted as part of this genre, seven mention characters called Mary. In these, the name of Mary refers only to Mary Magdalene, except in two of them, in which Mary, the mother of Jesus, is also present. The paper will briefly present the papyrus and try to identify which Mary the text may be referring to.

Peter Arzt-Grabner

Universität Salzburg

Die großen Buchstaben des Paulus von Tarsus: Echte und unechte Analogien in Papyrusbriefen

Ein Passus im Galaterbrief des Paulus von Tarsus (*Gal* 6,11) gibt der neutestamentlichen Exegese nach wie vor Rätsel auf: Der in den Handschriften erhaltene Text lässt Paulus von seiner eigenen Handschrift sprechen und sie als "große Buchstaben" charakterisieren. Vergleiche mit unterschiedlich großen Schriften in Papyrusbriefen und rechtlichen Dokumenten (bes. St. Reece, *Paul's Large Letters*, 2017) verweisen auf Bekanntes, beantworten aber nicht die Frage, wie die Herkunft und Funktion dieses Passus tatsächlich zu beurteilen ist. Für die Beantwortung dieser Frage werden im Vortrag bisher unberücksichtigte oder nicht korrekt interpretierte Analogien aus Papyrusbriefen herangezogen. Ferner bietet auch das Fehlen echter Parallelen eine neue und schlüssige Deutungsmöglichkeit, die auch für weitere Stellen in Paulusbriefen von Bedeutung ist.

Room 5

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PANEL

Aphrodito

Matthias Stern

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München / Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

Public Accounting and Private Recordkeeping in the Dioskoros Archive: History from Tax Receipts

The so-called Dioskoros archive features a host of tax receipts written by various officials in the Antaiopolite nome in the sixth-century Thebaid. Some of these receipts have come down to us individually, others as part of collections in the form of "receipt codices," such as *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325. A comparative stylistic and paleographic analysis of c. 100 receipts stemming from different sub-dossiers of the "Dioskoros archive" yielded unexpectedly diverse results.

As for the documents themselves, establishing each receipt writer's personal style allowed for new readings and adds to our understanding of the chronology, the composition, and, therefore, the purpose of the "receipt codices."



On the historical side, these new insights in context create a more detailed picture of the fiscal network of the Antaiopolite pagarchy (e.g., the doings and dealings of the *hypodektai* and the *boēthoi*), refine the chronology for the Antaiopolite pagarchs, and may finally suggest some modifications to Dioskoros's family history and the story of his "exile" in the provincial capital Antinoopolis. This paper will present some of these results.

Yasmine Amory, Esther Garel

Ghent University / Université de Strasbourg

Les affaires du stylite. Un nouvel arbitrage copte dans les archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité

Bien qu'ils soient conservés en plusieurs fragments et sous trois verres différents au Musée Égyptien du Caire, *P.Cair.S.R. 3733.1*, *P.Cair.S.R. 3733.27* et *P.Cair.S.R. 3733.33* font en réalité partie du même document. La reconstitution virtuelle des dix-huit fragments dévoile, au recto, une lettre grecque et, au verso, un brouillon d'arbitrage copte de la main de Dioscore d'Aphrodité. Le différend oppose des moines qui ont décidé de se séparer et concerne la répartition équitable de leurs biens et des affaires d'un stylite, dont la mention ne constitue que la deuxième attestation dans la documentation papyrologique. Ainsi, ce nouvel exemple à porter au dossier des premiers documents juridiques coptes nous éclaire-t-il davantage sur cette pratique ascétique et sur la procédure d'arbitrage dans un contexte monastique.

Isabelle Marthot Santaniello, Jean-Luc Fournet

Universität Basel / Collège de France

Aphrodito.info: A New Resource for the Papyrological Material from Aphrodito

With the two largest archives of the Byzantine and Early Islamic periods and a total of more than a thousand texts, Aphrodito is the best documented village of Antiquity. This talk will present the project "aphrodito.info" that aims at providing a new online resource to navigate through this material via several sections: Corpus (on individual texts and their writing support), Prosopography, Toponymy and Bibliography.

Alain Delattre

Université Libre de Bruxelles – École pratique des hautes études, Paris

Nouvelles pièces coptes des archives du pagarque Basilios (Aphroditô, VIII^e siècle)

Présentation de deux papyrus coptes inédits de la Sorbonne qui appartiennent aux archives du pagarque Basilios d'Aphroditô. L'un d'entre eux, P. Sorb. inv. 2258, constitue la partie droite de *P. Lond. Copt. IV 1599* une διαλυτική ὁμολογία. Le raccord permet de mieux comprendre les enjeux du document.

Janneke de Jong

Lorentz Lyceum Arnhem (teacher of Classics), Independent scholar

People and Payments in Late Seventh and Early 8th Century Aphrodito

The late seventh and early eighth century archive from Aphrodito, preserving more than 400 documents in three languages (Greek, Coptic, Arabic), offers a unique glimpse in the fiscal administration and the linguistic landscape on the local level in Egypt under Umayyad rule. These texts also contain thousands of names, which have not yet been thoroughly studied. Apart from their onomastic value, these names may also be relevant for establishing links between documents and social relations in Aphrodito. In my paper, I will discuss whether and how the fiscal documentation can be used to study such links, focusing on the identification of individuals and groups and on connections between texts. The ultimate goal of analyzing the relevant data in a prosopographical study is to assess the relative place of individuals and groups that can be distinguished in Aphrodito and in this way get a better understanding of the functioning of Aphrodito as a (tax) community.

Friday 29 July – Morning

	Amphitheatre Marguerite de Navarre	Amphitheatre Guillaume Budé	Amphitheatre Maurice Halbwachs	Room 2	Room 5
9h00-9h30	Simona Russo	Adrienn Almásy-Martin	Marja Vierros Erik Henriksson Sonja Dahlgren Polina Yordanova	Ahmed Kamal	Elisabeth O'Connell
9h30-10h00	Fatma E. Hamouda	Yanne Broux, Herbert Verreth		Johannes Thomann	Richard Hobbs and Caroline Cartwright
10h00-10h30	Diane Coomans	Mark Depauw		Mohamed Abdellatif	Agata Deptuła Andrew Hogan
10h30-11h00	Cecilia Mambrioni	Audric Wannaz		Stefanie Schmidt, Eugenio Garosi	Michael Zellmann-Rohrer
Coffee Break					
11h30-12h00	Sofie Waebens	Asimina Paparrigopoulou, Maria Konstantinidou, John Pavlopoulos	Andrea Bernini	Petra Sijpesteijn	Drew Wilburn and Yang Han
12h00-12h30	Gerardo Casanova	Paul Schubert, Susan Fogarty, Lavinia Ferretti, Elisa Nury	Lorenzo Sardone	Naïm Vanthieghem, Mathieu Tillier	Ágnes Mihálykó Tothne Frank Feder
12h30-13h00	Doaa Elalfy	Daniel Riaño Rufilanchas		Legendre Marie	

Amphitheatre M. de Navarre

Parallel Sessions

Documentary Papyrology : Roman Egypt

Simona Russo

Istituto di papirologico «G. Vitelli», Università degli Studi di Firenze

Quello che i papiri (per ora) non ci dicono

Le frequenti ricerche lessicografiche ci hanno abituato a indagare nei contenuti dei documenti di diversi argomenti papirologici attraverso ciò che è 'nascosto', quel che talvolta è sottinteso ma non esplicitamente espresso nei testi stessi, per trovare risposte a tutte le nostre domande, tanto più quando ci si avventura nell'ambito della vita quotidiana.

Talvolta, però, le risposte che otteniamo dalle indagini sono insufficienti se non addirittura nulle per chiarire i dubbi e le carenze della nostra conoscenza.

Questo contributo presenta qualche riflessione generale su ciò che i papiri non dicono, soffermandosi su alcuni argomenti che più frequentemente sono in essi trascurati e ignorati, tanto che difficilmente possono essere esaurientemente trattati.

Fatma E. Hamouda

Mansoura University

Food and Drinks in the Eastern Desert of Egypt during the Roman Period: Readings in the Greek Ostraca from Krokodilo

The evidence of foodstuff exchange in the Eastern Desert of Egypt and the kinds of food, during the 1st and 2nd centuries CE in particular, are very well presented in letters written on ostraca. Some individuals are often attested sending various foodstuff to the soldiers and the civilians in Krokodilo. This network supported conducting a local trade during this period in the Eastern Desert.

This paper aims to discuss kinds of food, how this food was transferred, the main figures who supplied food to the inhabitants of Krokodilo, and what the most common foodstuffs consumed by the inhabitants of the fort were. These aspects in addition to others will be presented with the evidence that occurs in the correspondence as well as other types of documents

Diane Coomans

The Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California, Berkeley

Comment éviter de mourir de soif dans le désert : l'approvisionnement et la gestion de l'eau à Tiberianè

Le petit satellite de Tiberianè, situé à une dizaine de kilomètres à vol d'oiseau du Mons Claudianus, est dépourvu de puits. Son approvisionnement en eau dépend donc entièrement du transport d'outres depuis le Mons Claudianus. Les archives d'Athénodôros (*tabularius* du Mons Claudianus actif entre 150 et 154 apr. J.-C.) fournissent de précieux renseignements qui permettent de décrire l'organisation de ce transport, ainsi que les quantités d'eau acheminées et consommées quotidiennement à Tiberianè, au milieu du II^e s. apr. J.-C.

Cecilia Mambrioni

Università di Bologna

New Readings and Observations of P.Lips. inv. F28V

The paper will present a re-examination of P.Lips. inv. F28V, a house-inventory list dated to the 3rd century CE. The text was first edited by C. Wessely in 1885 in *Die griechischen Papyri der Leipziger Universitätsbibliothek* (P.Lipz. 28). In the introduction, Wessely informs us about the provenance of these Leipzig fragments, which belonged to the archives of a Roman Memphite official (TM Arch. ID 403). The inventory list is divided into two columns and registers several items with quantities. The paper will offer new readings and remarks on some interesting items, which can provide a better understanding of the nature of the text.

Sofie Waebens

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Soldiers and their Families in Roman Egypt

The unique papyrological evidence from Roman Egypt provides us with a wealth of information on the lives of soldiers and their families. They are shown buying and selling property, paying taxes, inheriting property, writing letters, traveling, engaging in legal disputes, and so on. The documents also illuminate the impact of the Roman army on their daily lives, in particular the limitations imposed by the marriage ban: starting from Augustus' reign, soldiers were not allowed to contract legal Roman marriages while serving in the army, though a large number of soldiers ignored this ban and engaged themselves into long-term relationships with women. Although the Roman government took no punitive actions against such relationships, the effects of legal marriage were denied to them. Through examination of legal documents and private letters, particularly those preserved in family archives, this paper will examine whether soldiers were in fact "bad husband" material, as has been assumed by some scholars, and to what degree the Roman army played a role in their everyday lives.

Gerardo Casanova

Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano

Premure e cure dei cavalli nei documenti dell'Egitto di epoca imperiale

Se in una lettera del secondo secolo (?) una donna si lamenta di costose cure per il calcio di un cavallo, di solito nei papiri questi animali sono, invece, ricordati come destinatari di sollecitudine e affetto da parte di militari e civili, tanto che spesso si può quasi parlare di una loro “personalizzazione”, che porta, per esempio, ai saluti per un cavallo, dal nome umano di Basso, o alla loro menzione in *proskynemata*. Oltre a provvedere, ovviamente, alla loro alimentazione, non c'è dubbio che si ricorresse in caso di cure sanitarie a veterinari specialisti (*hippoiatri*), per quanto non siano testimoniati in gran numero.

Doaa Elalfy

Universität Basel

The two Papyrological Attestations of the Orthopedic Surgeries of the ὀργανικοί, *organikoi*, the Alexandrian Mechanical Physicians

The present paper discusses two surgical papyri, *P. Lit. Lond.* 166 (= *P. Lond.* II 155 rectos = MP3 2374), dates back to 2nd CE, and *P. Ryl.* III 529 (MP³ 2376 = Marganne 153), dates back to the 3rd CE.

Through the two papyri will have the chance to identify the ὀργανικοί (*organikoi*), or the instrumentalists, a group of surgeons, whom we do not know much about, where other historical references do not tell us much and most of their medical works are lost, but they were more like mechanical physicians, as they were inclined to use surgical instruments in the treatment of orthopedics, so they developed some of the previous orthopedic instruments and invented their own tools.

The first papyrus discusses four different methods of maxillofacial surgeries for reduction of dislocated lower mandible and medical criticism made by the physician author for the first three surgical procedures.

The second papyrus discusses various cases of shoulder dislocation with or without open fractures and different methods of treatment whether with reduction or even resection, and also gives recommendations concerning the diet and medication of the patient.

Both papyri contains a very rich text, both from the linguistic view where it contains many hapax and rare medical terms, or the medical view where the physician author surely was a distinguished and skilled orthopedic surgeon (and probably a medical professor) to the extent that he developed his own medical curriculum and criticized some of the medical procedures carried out by other physicians, or historically, where it provided us with a minute details of the tremendous medical level in the orthopedic surgery that Hellenistic medicine achieved at that time.

Amphitheatre G. Budé

Parallel Sessions
Papyrology Tools

Adrienn Almásy-Martin

University of Oxford

Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN) – Volume VIIA: Lower Egypt

LGPN was established in 1972 under the direction of Peter Fraser and is now part of the Oxford Classics Research Projects. The objective of this ongoing project is to collect all Greek and foreign names written in the Greek script from across the Mediterranean, attested up to the 7th century AD. To date, volumes for five regions have been published (some in two parts). Volume VI will appear in 2022, while the online database is constantly updated. The work, which is being carried out in collaboration with Trismegistos, is now focused on the final and largest part of the project – Egypt – to be covered in two volumes (Lower and Upper Egypt, each in two parts).

The Lexicon will record all individuals mentioned in Greek and Egyptian sources. As well as being a powerful research tool in its own right, this will also be a platform for future onomastic and prosopographical research and for studying the system used for the rendering of Greek names in Egyptian texts and Egyptian names in Greek texts.

In my presentation I will talk about the current state of the project and the new challenges and opportunities that the work on the Egyptian material presents.

Yanne Broux / Herbert Verreth

Trismegistos project, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

The Trismegistos Diaries: 2020-2022

It has been three years since Trismegistos announced its subscription model at the previous congress in Lecce. Although we are not quite there yet, it has nevertheless been a success, with 104 institutional subscriptions (October 2021). Thanks to you, Trismegistos is still alive and kicking!

During these past years, we have continued to strive to make your research easier through the upkeep and expansion of our data and interface. Our presentation gives an overview of these updates, centered on the three main axes of Trismegistos:

- The expansion of the Texts database and the spinoffs TM Gallery and TM On This Day.
- The addenda and corrigenda in Places, including linguistic and semantic analysis of Greek geographical references; the collaboration with the Desert Networks and ToposText projects.
- The new online interface of People and a summary of our collaboration with the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names for the Fayum and Lower Egypt.

Lastly, we will briefly outline our plans for the future. In the summer of 2021, Trismegistos+ was acknowledged as a KU Leuven Core Facility. The main goal of TM+ is to provide infrastructural support to projects focusing on the ancient world, and we have some exciting prospects in this respect.

Mark Depauw

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Linking Secondary Literature with Digital Tools through AI

One of the problems facing newcomers to papyrology is tracking down sources that articles and books refer to. Even more experienced papyrologists may find it difficult to retrieve the text in papyri.info, as the abbreviations of the Checklist are widely but not universally adhered to. For epigraphical texts, there is a bewildering multitude of sigels, and identifying and retrieving inscriptions in the online resources can be challenging. Finally, the abbreviations for authors transmitted through the manuscript tradition are often not standardized, which can make the full text hard to find.

A new project of Trismegistos aims to solve all these problems. The aim is to distill references to sources (papyrological, epigraphic, authors) from secondary literature available as pdf's, identify these with the correct entry in Trismegistos, and annotate the pdf with a link to our website. On the basis of personal preferences, it should also be possible to be led automatically to corresponding pages that offer the full text, e.g. papyri.info. In the other direction, finding the references in secondary literature will also allow Trismegistos to compile automatic exhaustive bibliographies for each text.

The paper will present the first results of the project and discuss the features of the interface.

Parallel Sessions New Technologies and Papyri

Audric Wannaz

Universität Basel

(Re)writing a Typology of the Greek Family Letter using AI

This paper discusses the merits in using quantitative and digital techniques to complement traditional qualitative research on papyri, with Greek family letters as a case study. Family letters, sometimes seen as the counterparts of business letters within private letters, have been extensively analyzed and discussed by traditional papyrological scholarship. The merits of this careful qualitative study of individual texts are obvious. However, this approach puts too much emphasis on well-preserved and/or special cases. More specifically, it fails to generate a proper typology, i.e. a system to classify texts in types by using both quantitative and qualitative criteria. Quantitative analysis is needed in order to better understand crucial texts for the social history of Graeco-Roman Egypt. To that end, I discuss the following subfields of AI (Artificial Intelligence): NLP (Natural Language Processing), stylometry (statistical analysis of text), and corpus study (inductive and deductive investigation of patterns within a corpus and its subgroups) can be used jointly to reassess our understanding of Greek family letters.

Asimina Paparrigopoulou / Maria Konstantinidou / John Pavlopoulos

Athens University of Economics and Business / Democritus University of Thrace / Athens University of Economics and Business

Assisting Dating of Greek Papyri Images with Deep Learning

Dating papyri accurately is crucial not only to editing their texts, but also for our understanding of palaeography and the history of writing, ancient scholarship, material culture, networks in antiquity, etc. Most ancient manuscripts offer little evidence regarding the time of their production, forcing papyrologists to date them on palaeographical grounds, a method often criticized for its subjectivity. By experimenting with data obtained from the CDDGB and the PapPal online collections of objectively dated Greek papyri, we show that deep learning dating models, pre-trained on generic images and fine-tuned on a training subset of our data, can achieve accurate chronological estimates for a test subset (67,97% accuracy for bookhands and 55,25% for documents). To compare the estimates of our models with those of humans, we asked experts to complete a questionnaire with samples of literary and documentary hands that had to be sorted chronologically by century. The same samples were dated by our models. This paper presents and analyses the results.

Paul Schubert / Susan Fogarty / Lavinia Ferretti / Elisa Nury

Université de Genève

***Grammateus*, the Architecture of Documentary Papyri: From Project to Reality**

The general aim of the new tool *grammateus* is to provide users with an overview of the typology of Greek documentary papyri. What was presented as a project in Lecce in 2019 has now become reality. Several tools are provided: descriptions of types of papyri, structural display of sample material, links to major databases together with metadata.

Daniel Riaño Rufflanhas

Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Madrid

Three New Tools for Querying the Digital Editions of Greek Papyri

I introduce three new tools for the study of Greek papyri using the digital editions stored in Papy.info.

Callimachus is an online database of the formal contents of c. 81,300 Greek papyri. The engine parses the XML extracting almost all information (stored as tags and attributes) concerning the features of the papyri, and combines this data with the information provided by the HGV. In addition to that, the engine runs some calculations on the content of the papyrus and provides a “Callimachus number” for each document: an objective measure of the state of preservation of the papyri and its contents. Callimachus allows the user to obtain more than 60 formal features of each document

Polyphemus, a lexical database of the Ancient Greek papyri

Polyphemus is a database of about 4,600,000 word forms. Its engine processes the papyri extracting the lexical material and differentiating between full words, parts of identifiable words, and recoverable letters that can't be assigned to a specific word or root. Each full word form is assigned to a lemma and part-of-speech tagging. Each lemma has been assigned an English translation and one or more glosses. We obtain a rate of success of > 95% at lemmatizing word forms and finding at least one possible POS tag (not disambiguated).

Madrid Ancient Greek Word List

MAGWL is a list of about two million POS parsed word forms and about 270,000 lemmas (including personal and geographical names) of ancient Greek words.

Amphitheatre M. Halbwachs

PANEL

Digital Grammar of Greek Documentary Papyri (PapyGreeK)

This panel includes presentations from the members of the project *Digital Grammar of Greek Documentary Papyri* (ERC Starting Grant agreement No 758481). They include information on the linguistically annotated data and digital tools developed for producing and querying the data as well as some preliminary research results.

Marja Vierros

University of Helsinki

PapyGreeK Treebanks and the Digital Grammar of Greek Documentary Papyri

I will present the current state of affairs of the PapyGreeK project, the data so far released (see Vierros and Henriksson, forthc.), and discuss how they contribute to our knowledge of the developments of language used in Greek documentary papyri with some case studies.

Erik Henriksson

University of Helsinki

The PapyGreeK Platform and its Treebank Search Tool

This paper presents some of the technical aspects of the PapyGreeK project, focusing on the development of the online platform (<https://papygreek.hum.helsinki.fi>) and in particular its treebank search tool. In its present form, the PapyGreeK website serves as an online collaborative workplace for annotating, describing and querying treebanked documentary papyri. The search interface (“Paratypa”) provides users with options to query orthographic and morphosyntactic variations in the corpus in tandem, allowing for complex linguistic queries. I discuss (in layperson’s terms) how the search was implemented, demonstrate potential use cases, and outline how we plan to extend the tool in the future.

Sonja Dahlgren

Queen Margaret University, Edinburgh

Phonological Variation in Egyptian Greek as Seen through the Paratypa Search Tool: Case Studies of /r/ and /o, u/

The phonological variation in Egyptian Greek is different from the standard variety. For example, the most typical type of variation, iotacism, follows the effect of the nearby consonant qualities in many cases (Dahlgren 2017). In addition, the reduction of the word-final vowel qualities to schwa, following Coptic prosodic rules, is often noted in L2 Greek writers from different linguistic backgrounds (Dahlgren 2016 ; Dahlgren forthc. 2021). All this variation can be studied with digital tools that allow searching for variation based on orthographic variants, as in Paratypa. I will concentrate on two phenomena that are especially difficult to study without evidence of many similar attestations in the same phonetic-phonological context. One of these is the irregular variation caused by /r/ in Egyptian Greek, caused by the combination of the Coptic tendency to emphasise consonant qualities and the universal phonetic character of liquid consonants (κατακεχωρεκα < κατακεχώρηκα CPR 1 198 but βεριδ < βερεδαριου P.Lond. 4 1383). The other one is the transfer of the Coptic stress system onto L2 Greek in Egypt, causing variation between /o/ and /u/, often considered to merely derive from case variation (λουγου < λόγου PSI 8 884.2 and κομμονται < κομοῦνται BGU 4 1123.6).

Polina Yordanova

University of Helsinki

The Reeds and the Trees: Word Order in the Noun Phrase in Greek Documentary Papyri Examined through Computational Methods

Despite the large strides that have been made in recent decades in the discipline of word order, a lot remains to be uncovered, especially regarding non-standard Greek.

Documentary papyri have generally remained in the unexplored periphery of the discipline, to a large extent due to their vast number and miscellaneous content, making studying them through traditional philological methods a task which is both extremely onerous and necessarily limited in its scope. This is where a data-oriented approach, based on computational methods in combination with a qualitative analysis, proves to be a successful research strategy. I will demonstrate the capacities of this approach by applying it to the study of the noun phrase word order in the existing treebanks of Greek documentary papyri.

Parallel Sessions Palaeography

Andrea Bernini

Universität Heidelberg

Surveying Monograms on Greek Ostraca: Palaeographical and Contextual Insights

The paper starts from a definition of monogram as “two or more letters sharing spatial identity and writing continuity, which bear a given meaning”. It is applied to a representative selection of Greek ostraca, which have been chosen for their materiality (being ostraca often small-sized), their provenance (various Egyptian places) and their dating, so as to cover a timespan from Ptolemaic to Byzantine times. Palaeographical and contextual aspects are investigated. As for the palaeographical, meaningful examples are picked out and embedded in the broader context of abbreviations: the boundary between proper monograms and abbreviations is not always self-evident, and uncertain cases are pointed out. As for the contextual, in the selected items scribes tended to resort to them mainly during the Ptolemaic and Byzantine times, whereas during the Roman period they are not as frequently attested. In this respect, the words expressed through monograms can shed light upon their usages, since in some cases monograms have a mere practical function, whereas in some others they convey further meanings. To the first group belong for instance the ostraca of the Philadelphia archive and those from Abu Mina; to the second, official documents from the Eastern Desert and ostraca from Narmouthis.

Lorenzo Sardone

Università degli Studi della Repubblica di San Marino

Un nouveau scribe d'Oxyrhynchos: quelques observations

Un examen récent des papyrus trouvés à Oxyrhynchus nous a permis l'identification de 6 témoins copiés par le même copiste ; il s'agit de : *PSI XIV 1382*, *PSI XIV 1395*, *PSI Congr. XVII 13*, *P.Oxy. LXVII 4569*, *P.Oxy. ined. inv. 49 5B.99/D (13-14)G* et *P.Oxy. LXXVIII 5131*. Il y a aussi deux autres papyrus de la collection des *PSI*, très similaires dans l'impression d'ensemble aux témoins déjà identifiés, vraisemblablement copiés par la même main. Notre contribution propose une enquête sur les caractéristiques les plus importantes de ce copiste, avec un réexamen des aspects de paléographie, de bibliologie et codicologie et de contenu. Il s'agit d'une main informelle, qui ne prête pas beaucoup d'attention au faciès « esthétique » des livres qu'elle va confectionner. La datation peut être fixée au milieu du III^e siècle apr. J.-C., pendant une phase de transformation du livre ancien, qui voit la progressive substitution du rouleau avec le codex. Notre copiste est en même temps témoin et protagoniste de cette importante mutation, parce que, parmi les livres qu'il a copiés, il y a autant de rouleaux que codex.

Room 2

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Parallel Sessions Arabic Papyrology

Ahmed Kamal

ERC project Elephantine

Elephantine and Aswan Ethnicities in the Age of Islam

Historical sources often focused on a geopolitical capital and rarely delved into great detail about the history of Egypt's provinces. However, due to Aswan's importance in Egypt's Islamic history, historical texts contained substantially more material about it. Also, several Arabic texts written on Ostraca, papyrus, stones, paper, and parchment have survived from Elephantine and Aswan.

Because of Aswan's important location as a major meeting point on trade and pilgrimage roads, communities at Elephantine and Aswan had characterized by a very large diversity of ethnicities during the Islamic period. Some of these ethnicities were mentioned in the remaining texts. Apart from Copt, Aswan region was home to Arab tribes, Nubians, Beja, *mawālī* and slaves, individuals from various Egyptian towns as well as Muslim immigrants from Morocco, Andalusia, Levant, and many other places. Using sources and texts, this paper discusses the beginning and the results of the Islamic conquest of Elephantine and Aswan and its ethnicities.

Johannes Thomann

Universität Zürich

Jewish Mathematical Astronomy in the 10th-12th Centuries: Eleven Ephemerides from the Cairo Geniza

Fifty years ago, Bernard Goldstein and David Pingree published Arabic and Jewish Arabic horoscopes and almanacs from the Cairo Geniza. These are final products for clients, produced using either primary astronomical tables (*zījāt*) or *ephemerides* (i.e., astronomical yearbooks with daily solar, lunar, and planetary positions). The production of such aids is the task of highly qualified mathematical astronomers (*aṣḥāb al-zījāt*). Thanks to an investigation by Gideon Bohak, a number of *ephemerides* from the Geniza have come to light. Their presence indicates that members of the Jewish community of Cairo were not only consumers of astronomy, but that some of them also produced products such as horoscopes and almanacs. To date, fragments of eleven *ephemerides* have been identified. They are all written in Arabic script, indicating that they were produced outside the Jewish community. The oldest document is a fragment of an ephemeris for the Persian year 351 (982/983 CE). Of particular interest is a fragment of an ephemeris for the Persian year 568 (1199/1200 CE). The fact that the Coptic calendar ranks first among calendar columns suggests a Christian context for its production.

Mohamed Ahmed Abdellatif

Mansoura University

Commercial Transactions in Elephantine Island in Aswan in the Islamic Period in Light of some Ostraca newly Discovered in Elephantine Island in Aswan (Century 1-3 A.H. / 7-9 AD.)

Through a kind invitation from German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, I have been involved in the excavations of this site carried on by a joint German-Swiss mission; I surveyed about one thousand ostraca excavated from this site. One hundred Arabic texts, most of which date back to the 2nd and/or the 3rd century AH / 8th and/or 9th century AD, have been chosen for publication. Some of these pieces are written in both sides, but the most of them bear writing on only one side. These pieces have been useful to find out a lot of information about commercial transactions on Elephantine Island in Aswan in the Islamic era including, for example, a will of sale and an agreement between two merchants on how to dispose of their goods, and commercial transactions in date fruits.

Another text talks about a personal discourse on the trade in pure coffee.

There is a personal letter between two brothers or two persons, who have commercial transactions between them, and there are texts that are financial transactions between people, and another piece is a commercial power of attorney from one person to another and a letter talking about usurious transactions, dealing with usury or interest.

Also there are remnants of a letter between two people, one of whom asks the other about the goods or his money, and there is a very important text consisting of six lines, which is a personal message relating to commercial transactions between Muslim and Christian merchants, and there are also remnants of texts on commercial transactions related to the delivery or selection of distinguished or high-quality goods.

Stefanie Schmidt / Eugenio Garosi

Freie Universität Berlin / Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

From Aswan to Damietta: a Missing Link in the Transshipment of Taxes in early Abbasid Egypt?

Qurra b. Sharīk's letters inform us about the procedure of how local taxes in kind were collected and forwarded to the granaries of the capital Fustāṭ. In *P.Heid.Arab* I 3, for instance, Qurra ordered each village of Iṣqawh to choose a *qabbāl* to measure the grain and to be responsible for the delivery of taxes to the officials at the state granaries (*aṣḥāb al-ahrā*). In *P.Becker PAF* 10, Qurra ordered the people of Iṣqawh to send taxes in kind to Babylon and to receive a receipt for the delivery of the grain and a payment of 1 dinar for the *naulon* (transport fee) from the two *ṣāhib al-hury*. The unpublished P.Vind.inv. A.P. 354 from the Papyrussammlung in Vienna dated from the late 8th century provides new insights into this procedure from the perspective of tax officials. It contains statements that goods have been received in an unknown place, perhaps Babylon, and that some of them were transferred to Damietta in accordance with instructions by the *amīr*. The statements are followed by confirmations that the *naulon* had been paid to captains from Ihnās and Aswān. However, the composition and character of this papyrus, especially the fact that several persons seem to have been involved in setting up the text, are still a matter of discussion.

Petra Sijpesteijn

Leiden University

A Soldier's Pay: A New Arabic Papyrus

The Arab soldiers who conquered Egypt in the mid-7th century CE received payments in coin and kind – *ʿaṭā* and *rizq* in Arabic. Narrative sources discuss who was allowed what kind of stipend as other categories, besides the military, were also included. They also describe that the payments were made in lieu of dividing the conquered land amongst the conquerors: in other words, lands remained in the hands of the conquered to cultivate and on which to pay agricultural taxes which were subsequently distributed as stipends.

But how was this organised on a daily basis? Papyri illustrate how the Egyptians provided for the contributions in kind and coin. Much less is known about the distribution. If the supply of soldiers via military hierarchies in garrisons might seem straightforward, we still lack the basic documentation that illustrates these procedures.

In this paper I will present an unpublished eighth-century Arabic papyrus letter which discusses the the payment of *ʿaṭā* and *rizq*. The letter shows that the distribution of stipends intersected with different relationships, especially commercial and familial. I discuss the text together with the other (published) papyrus letter that mentions the organisation of such payments and which dates from the same period.

Naïm Vanthieghem / Mathieu Tillier

CNRS, IRHT / Sorbonne Université

ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb, surintendant des finances de la fin de l'époque omeyyade. Sa carrière et de son action en Égypte vue à travers les sources documentaires et les chroniques

De ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb, emblématique surintendant des finances de la fin de l'époque omeyyade (107/725-116/734), on conserve de nombreux témoignages dans la littérature arabe médiévale. À côté de ces sources, une série de documents, tant des papyrus que des poids de verre estampillés, ont été émis à son nom. En 1965, N. Abbott a réalisé une importante synthèse sur ce personnage en se fondant sur les sources alors disponibles. Dans cette contribution, nous présentons quatre nouveaux documents mentionnant le personnage (P. Munich inv. Gr. 294 ; P. Leipzig inv. 2463 ; P. Louvre inv. E 6842 et 8359) et offrons un nouvel aperçu de sa carrière et de son action en Égypte.

Marie Legendre

University of Edinburgh

Le paiement des impôts à l'époque Abbasside : L'exemple de la capitation

La fiscalité d'époque abbasside a fait l'objet de nombreuses recherches pour lesquelles le corpus privilégié est la littérature théorique composée à la cour califale de Bagdad ou de Samarra. Malgré de nombreux documents papyrologiques publiés datant de cette période, ces derniers sont rarement pris en compte dans les recherches concernant les impôts dans le monde islamique après 750. Cette communication présentera les résultats préliminaires d'une recherche concernant le système fiscal d'époque abbasside entre l'Égypte et l'Iraq, région centrale de l'empire. Cette recherche est menée dans le cadre du projet ERC Caliphal Finances (The Finances of the Caliphate : Abbasid Fiscal Practice in Islamic Late Antiquity). L'étude de cas présentée portera sur la capitation d'après les documents coptes et arabes qui peuvent être datés entre 750 et 969, date l'arrivée de la dynastie fatimide en Égypte. Elle portera sur les problèmes de datation des documents et sur les taux et modalités de paiement de la capitation.

Room 5

PANEL

New work in British Museum collections: Documentation and research*

Across the Roman and post-Roman worlds, written culture shared both form and content in many contexts, with common formulae and formats found across public and private documents and literary and other texts. This panel showcases new research on collections originating from Britain, Cyprus and Egypt, on a range of materials (papyri, ostraca, parchment, paper, wooden and selenite tablets), in different languages and/or scripts (Latin, Greek, Demotic, Coptic, Old Nubian) and attributed to various genres (documents, 'magical' formularies, liturgical prayers and literature). For material from Egypt, several of the speakers' research was facilitated by a 2017 documentation project to image and improve records for Greek and Coptic papyri, which are now available via BM Collections Online (<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>).

The first set of paired papers presents material from the edges of the Roman and former Roman empire. The Vindolanda tablets, discovered at the northern frontier of Roman Britain, contain everyday writing in Latin on wooden writing boards and stylus tablets. In Egypt, Qasr Ibrim (Roman Primus) was once the southern limit of the Roman empire, and, centuries later, a centre of the Christian kingdom of Nobadia, perhaps its capital for a time. Parchment and paper manuscripts found in its cathedral witness Greek literature read there. A systematic survey of c. 30 Greek, Demotic and Coptic wooden writing tablets from Egypt has resulted in new research. Another pair of papers report new work on 'magical' texts. While one concerns individual Coptic manuscripts on a range of materials from Egypt acquired through the antiquities trade, the other focusses on a large group of excavated selenite curse tablets in Greek from Cyprus. A presentation on Coptic liturgical texts on a range of materials shows how objects can now be linked to other, including excavated contexts, and another on Coptic papyrus fragments identifies some early witnesses to the Coptic Bible.

* This panel is dedicated to the memory of Federica Micucci.

Elisabeth O'Connell

The British Museum

Introduction

Richard Hobbs / Caroline Cartwright

The British Museum

Making History: A Deeper Understanding of the Vindolanda Tablets

The Vindolanda tablets are some of the most important ancient documents to survive from Roman Britain. Since they were first discovered in the 1970s, they have been scrutinised by palaeographers for the insights they give into military life on Rome's most northerly frontier. More recently however, focus has shifted to other aspects of the Vindolanda tablet archive, held at the British Museum, which contains around 1,800 documents and fragments. This paper will consider these other aspects, including research on the materials used to make the tablets, the challenges of long-term curation and display, and what the future holds for the study of the tablets with the application of new imaging techniques.

Agata Deptuła

University of Warsaw

Greek Manuscripts from Qasr Ibrim in the British Museum

Qasr Ibrim was a settlement located on the right bank of the Nile, midway between the first and the second cataracts. Most probably, at some point, it was the capital of the Nobadia, one of three Medieval Nubian Kingdoms. Excavations on the site were conducted by the Egypt Exploration Society and yielded important results illustrating various aspects of the town's life

with a particularly noteworthy discovery of textual records. A large portion of written sources was discovered in an assorted bundle overlaying the floor of the cathedral and must have been a part of the cathedral library. Texts were written in Old Nubian, Coptic and Greek, and constitute the richest collection of texts known from Christian Nubia. The collection of Greek texts comprises c. 64 manuscripts and most of them belong to religious literature. Only a part has been published so far and those already edited require revision. The manuscripts are spread over a few museums and part, including some of the Greek texts, are kept in the British Museum. All those sources are of great importance to our knowledge of the Christian Nubian literary culture and religiosity of the local people.

Andrew Hogan

The Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California, Berkeley

A Report on the Greek, Demotic and Coptic Wooden Tablets in the British Museum and Greek and Latin Tablets in the British Library

The Center for the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California, Berkeley, has developed a project to catalogue the Greek and Latin tablets in the Western Heritage Collections of the British Library and improve the documentation for Greek, Demotic, and Coptic wooden tablets in the Egypt and Sudan Department of the British Museum, with the aim of making these important collections more accessible to specialists and the broader public. The present communication commences with an overview of these sibling assemblages and then elaborates upon the current state of their documentation and availability, particularly some of the unpublished pieces in multiple scripts that are now available for consultation via the online catalogue at each institution. It considers in detail several of the tablets and codices now accessible, including a number of Greek school texts contained in both institutions as well as a unique set of six tablets at the British Library now inventoried as British Library Add. MS 12117. Acquired by the British Library in 1841 from a private collector, Add. MS 12117 contains several records in Latin and Italian pertaining to historical events in medieval Emilia-Romagna (originally dating between ~770–860 AD) as well as one Greek outlier, a slightly modified copy of lines 32–36 of *I.Delos* 1498 (ca.160–150 BC).

Michael Zellmann-Rohrer

Freie Universität Berlin

Enoch the Cosmic Scribe and other Problems in British Museum Coptic Magical Texts Old and New

This paper gives a report on editions and re-editions of Coptic magical texts in the British Museum. The background of the narrative incantation copied on the tablet T.Brit.Mus. EA 29528 (*O.Brit. Mus.Copt.* I App. no. 27; *P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt.* 198) in astrological lore about the biblical Enoch is explored, on the basis of a re-edition assisted by new imaging and documentation following a 2017 project to improve the BM's Collections Online database. Briefer perspectives on three other, unpublished texts on papyrus are also given, with attention to reflections of ancient Egyptian traditional elements within Christian magical texts.

Drew Wilburn / Yang Han

Oberlin College

Magical Formulae and Scribal Creativity in the Selenite Tablets from Amathous, Cyprus

The British Museum holdings include one of the largest caches of Greek curse tablets yet discovered. More than 200 curses inscribed on lead and selenite tablets were discovered more than a century ago at Amathous, Cyprus. While scholars have analyzed many of the lead tablets, few have studied the selenite artifacts in a systematic way.

Our analysis of around twenty of the selenite tablets has revealed phraseological parallels between the artifacts as well as multiple hands. This suggests that a shared stock of magical formulae was employed by multiple practitioners who were active at the site. Interestingly, the formulae on the selenite curses are not the same as the longer inscriptions found on many of the

lead curses. Moreover, these shared formulae do not spread evenly across the preserved selenite corpus; often the formulaic text only accounts for a small portion of a given inscription. We suggest that this reveals a level of scribal creativity beyond doctrinaire phrase-for-phrase copying from a single handbook.

In this talk, we will present a preliminary edition and translation of five selenite tablets, intended to demonstrate both the apparent consistent formulary usage and the practitioners' creativity in manufacturing these unique artifacts.

Ágnes Mihálykó Tothne

University of Oslo – Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien

Coptic Liturgical Prayers in the British Museum

Among the thousands of ostraca stored in the British Museum, there is a handful with Christian liturgical prayers in Sahidic, mostly from the Western Theban area and its wider surroundings. These include prayers for the Eucharist, for the evening prayer, and for the rites of monastic initiation. Most of them were published by W. E. Crum and F. E. Brightman in 1901 (*O.Crum*) and H.R. Hall in 1905 (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I). However, these editions are without commentary and some even without translation, and they often fail to recognize the nature of the prayer. In the course of my current project, which aims at preparing a corpus of liturgical prayers on papyrus, including those from the British Museum, I have been able to identify most of them with prayers in medieval and modern printed liturgical books. I have furthermore located parallels in the Syriac and Ethiopic rite, I have found different redactions of the same prayers on papyri from elsewhere, and I have discovered disjoined parts of two of the items in other collections. In the present paper I will present the preliminary results of my study. I will also offer a detailed presentation of one item, BM EA 5892+14241 (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I p. 23, pl. 17,2), a prayer for the vesting of the monk, which I have been able to join with a recently excavated piece, *O.Bachit* 929. Moreover, the detailed study of the text revealed that the prayer is identical with a Bohairic prayer from the medieval service of the vesting of the monk with the schema. With this new reconstruction the ostrakon becomes a witness to the monastic initiation ritual in Western Thebes, and to the Lower Egyptian, likely Alexandrian, influence on this rite.

Frank Feder

Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen

Coptic Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum

Among the fragments of Coptic manuscripts still in the British Museum (O'Connell 2019 = *PapCongr* XXVIII), are several papyrus fragments of Coptic biblical manuscripts, most of which remain unpublished. Following the imaging of Greek and Coptic papyri as part of a 2017 BM documentation project (O'Connell forthcoming = *PapCongr* XXIX), these have been made available for study via the BM's Collections Online (<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>). As a result, the Goettingen project *Digitale Gesamtedition und Übersetzung des koptisch-sahidischen Alten Testaments* has identified so far some fragments from manuscripts with Isaiah, Exodus and Hebrews. The papyrus fragments must still be studied in detail and certainly can be joined to the rest of pages, especially in the case of Exodus. The fragments present a stage of manuscript and text transmission (5th–6th century) that is still very incompletely known and recorded.

Friday 29 July – Afternoon

	Amphitheatre Marguerite de Navarre	Amphitheatre Guillaume Budé	Amphitheatre Maurice Halbwachs	Room 2	Room 5	
14h30-15h00	Anna Dolganov		Julien Auber de Lاپierre James R. Royse Christian Förstel Ève Menei Gabriel Nocchi Macedo	Asmahan Abu-Alasaad	Ira Rabin, Grzegorz Nehring, Myriam Krutzsch, Olivier Bonnerot, Oliver Hahn	
15h00-15h30	Livia Capponi	Tomasz Derda			Brent Nongbri	
15h30-16h00	Dominic Rathbone	Efstathia Dionysopoulou, Mennat-Allah El Dorry, Charlène Bouchaud, Bérangère Redon, Martine Leguilloux				
16h00-16h30	Olivier Calligaro	Charlène Bouchaud, Marie-Pierre Chaufray, Bérangère Redon				
Coffee Break						
17h00-17h30	Brian C. McGing	C. Michael Sampson	Julien Auber de Lاپierre			
17h30-18h00	Bianca Borrelli	Ilaria Cariddi	Vanessa Desclaux			
18h00-18h30		Stefania Alfarano, Lucas Gericke				

Amphitheatre M. de Navarre

Parallel Sessions

Documentary Papyrology : Roman Egypt

Anna Dolganov

Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien

Roman Colonization in Egypt: A Revelation from the Courtroom of the Prefect Volusius Maecianus

A second-century record of judicial proceedings before the prefect (and famed legal expert) Volusius Maecianus was published as a *descriptum* with only a partial transcription by Grenfell and Hunt in 1903 (*P.Oxy.* III 653b). A fresh look at the papyrus has permitted a nearly complete transcription of the first, damaged half of the text. It reveals the existence of a city in Egypt with the status of a Roman *colonia*, operating with Roman political institutions and Roman legal procedure. With the help of literary and documentary sources, it is possible to piece together the context of Roman colonization in Lower Egypt, a region from which limited papyrological evidence survives. This discovery has significant implications for the historical assessment of Egypt as a Roman province, including the much-debated issues of its administrative and juristical integration within the empire.

Livia Capponi

Università di Pavia

The Historical Context of the 'Boule-Papyrus' (PSI X 1160)

The so-called "Boule-papyrus", a fragment of papyrus roll acquired by Medea Norsa in Egypt on the antiquities market, and first published in the *Papiri della Società Italiana* with the title *Resoconto di una πρεσβεία di Alessandrini ad Augusto*, has been studied by generations of scholars, producing an intimidating bibliography. Despite the interest it has attracted, many points remain obscure. First, it is unclear which Alexandrian embassy it refers to: it has been disputed whether the Καῖσαρ mentioned in the document is Augustus, as suggested by Medea Norsa, who assigned the text to the end of the first century BCE on the basis of the palaeography (followed by Orsolina Montevocchi, Alan K. Bowman and Rosario Pintaudi among others), or Claudius, as suggested by Herbert Musurillo on the basis of a thematic comparison with *P.Lond.* VI 1912, the "Letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians", where the emperor mentions the Alexandrian request to restore the city βουλή and refers to the policy of Augustus. The corollary yet crucial question is whether the βουλή was abolished by Augustus after the conquest of Egypt in 30 BCE, or had already been suppressed by the Ptolemies; the latter view, despite being unsupported by any secure evidence, seems to have become an orthodoxy. This paper aims to: 1) present the literary and documentary evidence showing that Augustus abolished the *Boule* of Alexandria in 30 BCE; 2) study the context of the imperial audience preserved in the *Boule-Papyrus* along with the context where the actual papyrus was written and stored.

Dominic Rathbone

King's College London

The Universal Sacrifice of Decius: The Egyptian Context

Building on the paper by Paul Schubert in *JRS* 106 (2016) 172-98, I investigate further the Egyptian context to the 47 certificates now known for the universal sacrifice of Decius in AD 250. After some remarks on the local administrative background and practicalities, I will focus on the sacrifice in its Egyptian religious context. I will suggest that consideration of the experience of the majority who took part (rather than the few Christians who refused) can add to our understanding of the nature and probable purpose of the universal sacrifice.

Olivier Calligaro

Université de Strasbourg

Les P. Stras. inv. 31+32 et 33 : deux rouleaux du Delta ?

Les P. Stras. inv. gr. 31+32 et 33 sont deux rouleaux d'un mètre de long qui auraient été retrouvés à Soknopaiou Nèsos vers 1890-1900. Ils partagent un contenu littéraire, qui fut publié par J. Schwartz : respectivement quelques centaines de vers du chant I de l'*Illiade* (TM 60590) et un glossaire du même chant (TM 60728). Or, l'un et l'autre sont des réemplois, écrits au verso des papyrus. Puisque ces deux rouleaux paraissent liés à ce deuxième stade, les documents du recto pourraient-ils avoir une même origine ? Le n° 31+32 est un *tomos synkollèsimos* constitué de la correspondance entre le stratège et le secrétaire royal du nome Nesyt (nord-est du Delta), partiellement éditée par Wilcken (*SB XVIII* 13175). Le n° 33 est constitué de multiples fragments de registres et sans rapport apparent entre eux ou avec le précédent ; c'est par l'étude de quelques toponymes mentionnés et de l'onomastique qu'il conviendra de déterminer quelles sont les chances que tout ou partie de cet ensemble provienne également du Delta.

Brian C. McGing

Trinity College Dublin

New 1st Century AD Administrative Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

Although the most famous part of the Chester Beatty's papyrus collection is the Biblical material, especially the New Testament papyri, the Library also houses extensive unpublished administrative

texts. Remains of several rolls come from Narmouthis (Medinet Madi) and the surrounding area, and date to the period from the end of Nero's principate into that of Vespasian. There is also a fragmentary tax roll, giving name, father's name and age that, judging from the names, came from Apollonopolis. This paper will set out the main contents of this extensive new material and plans for its publication.

Bianca Borrelli

Istituto di papirologico «G. Vitelli», Università degli Studi di Firenze

Un *eiromenon* dall'Arsinoite tra varie collezioni d'Europa: ricomposizione e osservazioni preliminari

La vendita di papiri sul mercato antiquario ha spesso determinato, come è noto, la frammentazione e la dispersione tra varie collezioni non solo di documenti provenienti da un medesimo archivio, ma anche di pezzi appartenenti a un medesimo documento. È questo il caso di un registro di contratti redatto in un *grapheion* dell'Arsinoite nel II secolo d.C., restituito in parte da *P.Lond.* III 1179 (p. 144). Nel pubblicare alcuni frammenti della collezione Bouriant (*P.Bour.* 15), Paul Collart ipotizzò che essi provenissero dallo stesso registro. Tale ipotesi risulta oggi confermata; inoltre, allo stesso rotolo possono essere per la prima volta ricondotti altri frammenti conservati in altre tre collezioni (Amsterdam, Berlino e Vienna), acquistati anch'essi sul mercato antiquario e mai messi in relazione tra di loro. In vista di una riedizione dell'intero documento, saranno presentate alcune acquisizioni derivanti dalla ricomposizione dei frammenti, sia in termini di ricostruzione materiale che di contenuto.

Amphitheatre G. Budé

Parallel Sessions

Archaeology and Papyri

Tomasz Derda

University of Warsaw

On the Road to Abu Mena: 'Marea'/Philoxenite on the Lake Mareotis

Twenty years of excavations of the archaeological mission of the University of Warsaw (in cooperation with the Archaeological Museum, Cracow) at the site identified as 'Marea' on the southern shore of the Lake Mareotis have brought interesting results. Created in the second quarter of the 6th century AD, 'Marea'/Philoxenite was the latest monumental Byzantine urban project before the Arab conquest of the Eastern Mediterranean. The aim of the paper is to present the history of the city and its role on the pilgrimage route leading to Abu Mena.

Efstathia Dionysopoulou / Mennat-Allah El Dorry / Charlène Bouchaud / Bérangère Redon / Martine Leguilloux

CNRS, UMR 5189 HiSoMA / Egyptian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities / CNRS, UMR 7209, Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle / CNRS, UMR 5189 HiSoMA / Centre archéologique du Var & Centre Camille Jullian, Université Aix-Marseille

Honouring the Gods in the Eastern Desert during Graeco-Roman Era: An Analysis at the Interface of Written Testimonies, Artefacts and Ecofacts

The Eastern Desert is one of the most hostile environments to live in Egypt. During the Graeco-Roman period, the various "settlers" (soldiers, workers in the mines and quarries, travellers) were often obliged to cope with the lack of provisions and the absence of variety in foodstuff supply. Even though food shortage was part of their everyday life, this did not deprive them of the opportunity to worship and celebrate the gods and deified rulers with both edible and nonedible offerings. These were made either spontaneously or regularly, within the context of a religious festival or a rite. This paper brings together the scarce and scattered written testimonies (papyri, ostraca and inscriptions) – some of which are unpublished – indicating offerings to the divine powers worshipped in the region. This work also includes relevant artefacts and ecofacts, mainly

unpublished too, discovered during the excavations conducted by the French mission in the Eastern Desert. Such an approach will offer a comprehensive insight into the religious life and practices of the people in the Eastern Desert. It will highlight specific local features, and explore the role of the food, so precious within such an inhospitable environment, in the building up of the vertical relationship between the homo religiosus of the Desert and the gods, and the horizontal one between members of the communities.

Charlène Bouchaud / Marie-Pierre Chaufray / Bérangère Redon

CNRS, UMR 7209, Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle / CNRS, UMR 5607, Ausonius / CNRS, UMR 5189, HiSoMA / Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée-Jean Pouilloux

Exploitation, usage et économie du bois dans le désert oriental égyptien à l'époque ptolémaïque d'après les ostraca grecs et démotiques et les sources archéobotaniques du district de Samut

Les réseaux et les stratégies déployées par les populations qui ont vécu dans le désert Oriental égyptien, qu'elles soient nomades ou venues de la vallée, pour répondre à leurs besoins en combustible et bois d'œuvre ont été divers au fil du temps. Mais quelles qu'elles aient été, elles se sont heurtées à une ressource locale limitée par l'hyperaridité du climat. C'est encore amplifié à l'époque ptolémaïque, qui connaît un pic d'occupation humaine lié à deux phénomènes contemporains : la fondation de ports sur la mer Rouge, que l'on atteignait en suivant des routes équipées de stations pour approvisionner les convois ; l'exploitation de l'or du désert, qui a entraîné l'installation de mineurs et une activité métallurgique gourmande en combustible.

Cette présentation s'appuiera sur des données archéologiques, archéobotaniques et papyrologiques encore inédites issues de travaux archéologiques récents conduits sur le district de Samut, occupé au IV^e-III^e s. av. J.-C. sur la route de Bérénice, dans une zone dont les mines d'or sont exploitées avec grande intensité.

Il s'agira de reconstituer les différents usages locaux du bois. Nous nous interrogerons aussi sur les investissements humains et matériels et les réseaux d'échange et/ou de commerce mis à contribution pour l'acquisition des ressources ligneuses. Nous verrons également que le charbon du désert était un produit apprécié par les habitants de la vallée, peut-être produit par les populations locales du désert selon des pratiques éclairées par plusieurs témoignages ethnographiques. Nous expliquerons enfin pourquoi il n'est pas possible, à l'heure actuelle, de savoir si ces pics d'activité dans la région ont eu un impact sur la végétation naturelle.

C. Michael Sampson

University of Manitoba

Contextualizing the Homeric Papyri from Karanis

This presentation brings archival and anecdotal material to bear on the Homeric papyri from Karanis. Although the majority were excavated by the University of Michigan (1924–1935), others shed light on the place of Karanis in the antiquities market of the late nineteenth century (e.g., *P.Chic.* 7 = TM 60439; *P.Vindob. inv. G* 19768 = TM 60291). Others still interact in unusual ways with the excavated papyri (e.g., *P.Aberd.* 145 = TM 60527; *P.Mich. inv. 2 + 3160* = TM 60687). The first part of my presentation will integrate these purchased papyri into the larger picture from Karanis.

In the second part, I turn to Homeric papyri from the region dubbed 'Area G' by the Michigan excavations, best known from van Minnen's seminal "House-to-house Enquiries" (*ZPE* 100) as the locus of an archive belonging to Socrates the tax collector (TM Arch 109). The recent publication of *P.Cair.Mich.* 3 has added to the data surrounding Socrates, but despite its editors' optimism regarding the integrity and composition of his "archive", the testimony of its Homeric papyri and related archival data paints a somewhat messier picture.

Ilaria Cariddi

Istituto di papirologico «G. Vitelli», Università degli Studi di Firenze

The Archaeological Contexts of some “Literary Greek” and Egyptian Papyri from the 1930-1936 Italian Excavations in Tebtynis

The contribution is aimed to offer novel insights on the archaeological context of several literary and scientific papyri, both in Greek and in Egyptian writings, from the excavation seasons 1930-1936 in Tebtynis directed by Carlo Anti. The Istituto Papirologico Vitelli, in fact, stores various unpublished notes and materials that shed new light on the specific findspots and retrieval dates of papyri found before and after the discovery of the renowned cellars of the “temple library deposit”. Combined with the excavation diaries and maps by Anti and his entourage, and the documentation from the archives and the Archaeological Museum of Padova, the data provide further locations to be added to the archaeological map of Tebtynis, and the precise findspots of several papyri published in the *PSI corpus* and other collections from Tebtynis. Such information can expand, correct or specify the background of notable papyri found separately (or partially so) from the deposit -such as astronomical and astrological texts, Homeric fragments, medical treatises, and the Tebtynis herbal.

Stefania Alfarano / Lucas Gericke

Universität Basel

Recontextualising Papyri: New Light on Ulrich Wilcken’s 1899 Excavation in Heracleopolis Magna

From January to March 1899, the German papyrologist Ulrich Wilcken organized excavations in the Middle Egyptian city of Heracleopolis Magna with the express goal of obtaining papyri from the rubbish mounds that scattered the site. Wilcken published a report of his work on the site and a map recording all archaeological structures visible on the surface in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* II (1903). Unfortunately, the rich harvest of papyri was destroyed in a fire at the harbour of Hamburg, and Wilcken was only able to publish those texts he had already made copies of during the campaign (*BGU* III 924-958). As recent efforts have demonstrated, archival material relating to historical excavations can be of great use to reconnect and recontextualize findings. Unpublished documents – e.g. recently digitized letters to Adolf Erman, the then director of the Egyptian Museum of Berlin, dispatched during the campaign – contain detailed information on the exact find places of individual papyri that was not integrated into Wilcken’s APF report. This material, originating from a time when archaeological layers had only been partially affected by stone robbing and *sebbakhin* activities, throws new light on one of the earliest professional papyrus excavations carried out in Egypt.

The contextual approach advocated by this paper is the method embraced by the interdisciplinary project ‘Urban Biographies of the Roman and Late Antique Worlds: Antinoopolis and Heracleopolis in Egypt, c. 100 – c. 650 CE’ based at the Institute of Ancient History of the University of Basel.

Amphitheatre M. Halbwachs

PANEL

Le fonds papyrologique de la Bibliothèque nationale de France : recherches et perspectives

Constitué à partir des premières décennies du XIX^e siècle, le fonds de papyrus grecs, coptes et latins de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, témoignages exceptionnels de la culture écrite de l’Égypte post-pharaonique et du monde gréco-romain, est, avec celui du musée du Louvre, la plus ancienne collection française et l’une des plus anciennes collections européennes. Il faut attendre un engouement renouvelé pour la vallée du Nil avec l’expédition du général Bonaparte (1798-1801) pour que les premiers papyrus entrent dans les collections du Cabinet des médailles et antiques. Du fait de l’ancienneté de cette collection qui s’est enrichie jusque dans la seconde moitié du XX^e siècle, son histoire est étroitement liée au développement des études systématiques sur l’Antiquité et à l’essor de l’archéologie qui marque le XIX^e siècle et le début du XX^e siècle.

La récente étude approfondie de l'histoire de la collection de papyrus de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, basée sur l'examen systématique des archives, a permis d'éclairer son rôle dans l'essor des sciences de l'antiquité ainsi que celui joué par le Collège de France. La collection de papyrus du département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale de France en étant replacée dans le contexte historique et intellectuel de sa constitution et des études dont elle fit l'objet afin de compléter l'approche de la formation des collections patrimoniales et le développement des disciplines archéologiques et papyrologiques.

Les contributions des participants de cette table-ronde consacrée à ce fonds papyrologique reviendront sur les récentes recherches et études effectuées sur cette riche collection.

Julien Auber de Lapierre

Collège de France, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Introduction à l'histoire du fonds papyrologique de la Bibliothèque nationale de France

James R. Royse

Claremont, California

The Paris Papyrus of Philo: Its Conservation and its Text

Paris ms. Suppl. gr. 1120/1 contains two books of Philo, and was edited in 1893 by Jean-Vincent Scheil, whose edition was used in the still standard critical edition of Philo's works by Leopold Cohn and Paul Wendland (6 vols., 1896–1915). Unfortunately, Scheil's edition is very inadequate. Here I discuss two sorts of issues that have arisen during my preparation of a new edition. In the first place, the current mounting of the remains (44 folios and a final page 89 that is attached to the cover) has many faults: fragments are reversed with respect to the bulk of the folio (e.g., text from page 1 is seen with page 2), fragments of one folio are mounted with another folio (often obscuring text from that folio), and text is often obscured by stray blank pieces of papyrus. As a result of all this confusion, extant (and identifiable) material frequently went unidentified by Scheil; but yet other texts remain obscured in the current mounting. In the second place, the many errors in Scheil's edition have caused the value of the text of the papyrus to be underestimated. Already Cohn and Wendland, who (inexplicably) did not examine the papyrus, recognized that it presented a text that was far more accurate than that found in the medieval manuscripts, but that also contained quite a few blunders. In fact, many of those alleged blunders are errors by Scheil, and what seem to be superior readings were often missed by Scheil. A more adequate presentation of the text shows that the papyrus contains a text that has occasional errors but that is of far greater purity than has been recognized.

Christian Förstel

Bibliothèque nationale de France

Le papyrus d'Éphrem (BnF, Suppl. gr. 1379) de Saint-Martin de Tours à Paris

Cette communication réexaminera l'histoire des fragments du codex du sermon sur Joseph attribué à Éphrem le Syrien entre sa découverte à Tours au début du XVIII^e siècle et son entrée dans les collections de la Bibliothèque nationale dans la seconde moitié du XX^e siècle. On s'interrogera également sur les hypothèses qui pourraient expliquer la présence du papyrus à Tours au Moyen Âge.

Ève Menei

Conservatrice-restauratrice

La restauration du papyrus grec Suppl. gr. 1379 : un cas exceptionnel mais représentatif de la collection de papyrus grecs de la BnF

L'histoire du papyrus Suppl. gr. 1379 avant d'arriver dans les collections de la BnF est particulièrement originale. Les deux couches de fibres constitutives de la page ont été maladroitement séparées lors du processus d'extraction du document du « cartonage » dont il



faisait partie. Cette opération toujours délicate nécessite une bonne connaissance du matériau et de son mode de fabrication ce qui n'était manifestement pas le cas. Le recto et le verso étaient donc séparés dans deux montages. Les montages eux-mêmes étaient semblables à ceux des autres papyrus grecs de la collection : deux plaques de verre réunies par une bande de papier noir, soit un type de montage sobre fait pour l'étude qui tranche par rapport aux montages réalisés pour les papyrus pharaoniques.

Lors de la restauration du recto, entreprise pour l'exposition au Collège de France en 2021, il est vite apparu que le bon état du document et la qualité de l'encre pouvaient permettre d'envisager de rassembler les deux côtés de la page. Chaque côté a d'abord été traité séparément avant de procéder à l'assemblage. La page a maintenant retrouvé sa structure d'origine et a été montée en suivant un nouveau protocole, de façon à laisser accessible les deux faces tout en sécurisant le document.

Gabriel Nocchi Macedo

Université de Liège

L'édition du *In pulcherrimum Ioseph d'Éphrem le Syrien* dans le Suppl. gr. 1379 de la BnF

Le Suppl. gr. 1379 est le tout premier papyrus littéraire dont un semblant d'édition a été publiée, sous la forme d'un facsimilé de quelques lignes dans la *Palaeographia graeca* de Bernard de Montfaucon (Paris, 1708). Cependant, aucune édition ou transcription complète du texte n'a été effectuée. Au congrès de Lecce (1^{er} août 2019), j'ai eu l'occasion de présenter l'histoire, la matérialité, la paléographie de ce papyrus, ainsi que de proposer quelques réflexions sur son contexte de production et d'utilisation. Dans la présente contribution, je reviendrai au texte du papyrus, dont je prépare une édition commentée. J'évoquerai l'avancement de la lecture rendu possible par la restauration des fragments et par l'emploi d'une lampe UV de haute puissance. Ayant présenté la forme et le contenu du discours *In pulcherrimum Ioseph*, j'examinerai les rapports entre le texte du papyrus de la BnF (le plus ancien témoin) avec celui des manuscrits byzantins.

Julien Auber de Lapierre

Collège de France, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Les papyrus Casati : l'autre pierre de Rosette

Les papyrus égyptiens, hiératiques et grecs acquis en 1821 par le Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale furent les derniers documents consultés par Jean-François Champollion avant de « tenir l'affaire ». Ils ont été achetés à un voyageur du nom de Casati, alors récemment arrivé d'Égypte. Les archives de la Bibliothèque nationale récemment mises au jour permettent d'en retracer l'histoire et l'enjeu.

Vanessa Desclaux

Bibliothèque nationale de France

La collection papyrologique copte et démotique de la Bibliothèque nationale de France

Nous présenterons un état du signalement des collections papyrologiques de la Bibliothèque nationale, les questions d'actualité sur les identifications qui restent à faire et les chantiers à mener.

Room 2

Parallel Sessions Arabic Papyrology

Asmahan Abu-Alasaad

The Egyptian National Library, Cairo

A Petition to Dīwān al- Sulṭān from the Collection of the Egyptian National Library

This paper studies unpublished Arabic papyrus document (P.Cair.EgLib.inv. 1251 r. 18.5 cm height x 11.5 cm width) from the 3rd/ 4th century AH. The document contains a petition sent to office of the Sulṭān (Dīwān al- Sulṭān). The petitioner used the formulaic initial blessing on addressee describing himself “needy poor man”. The document records a fiscal problem concerning weighing the money and the complications of the conversion of payments from one currency to the weight standard of the Treasury.

The text raises a number of interesting questions for discussion:

- The financial administration authority to estimate and impose “conversion charge” on the tax payers.
- The role of Dīwān al- Sulṭān in investigating complaints concerning the tax system.
- What does the term Sulṭān refer to in this text compared with other documents.

This paper presents a preliminary edition of the document and analyzes it in comparison to the relevant information mentioned in literary sources and other petitions from the 3rd/4th century A.H.

Room 5

Parallel Sessions Experimental Sciences and Papyri

Ira Rabin / Grzegorz Nehring / Myriam Krutzsch / Olivier Bonnerot / Oliver Hahn

BAM Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung u. - prüfung, Berlin / Universität Hamburg / Ägyptisches Museum Berlin und Papyrussammlung, Berlin

Berlin P 13275 – Conservation and Material Analysis

The presentation discusses the results of the material study of a group of illuminated pattern cartoons fragments thematically collected under the inventory number Berlin P 13275. The fragments from Otto Rubensohn's excavation in Eshmunên in 1906 are stylistically roughly dated to a large period from about the 3rd to the 7th century CE. They contain designs for Byzantine and Coptic textiles, with geometric, floral and figurative motives which have been described in several publications. To complement the previous work, we subjected the papyri to extensive material analysis. Using microscopy in transmitted light and imaging micro-X-ray fluorescence, we were able to characterize the papyrus substrates and prepare a corresponding conservation plan. Furthermore, we applied three-color reflectography, Raman and VIS-spectroscopy in addition to X-ray fluorescence for identification of the colouring agents. Our study tentatively indicates that the fragments could have come from a single context of a lesser period span. This study is a first one from the series of the planned investigations of the Late Antique pattern cartoons.

Brent Nongbri

MF Norwegian School of Theology, Religion and Society

Radiocarbon Analysis of Papyri: Pitfalls and Potentials

Determining the dates of literary manuscripts of the Roman era preserved on papyrus and parchment is challenging. Dates are generally assigned by means of palaeography, but the analysis of handwriting is subjective, and expert opinions can diverge by a matter of centuries. AMS radiocarbon analysis offers a means for assessing the age of organic materials such as papyrus and parchment. This analysis requires incinerating a small portion of the item to be dated in order to obtain a carbon sample. Because of the destructive nature of the technique, relatively few



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ancient papyrus and parchment pieces have been analyzed using this method. Yet, recent studies have shown that successful analysis can be carried out on extremely small samples, amounting to as little as a few square millimeters of surface area. From a conservation standpoint, radiocarbon analysis of literary manuscripts of the Roman era is thus more feasible now. This paper assesses the potential benefits and drawbacks of radiocarbon analysis of papyri and argues that the selective use of such analysis can provide valuable data about the age of papyrus and parchment writing surfaces. This data can be used alongside palaeography to increase our confidence in the dates assigned to literary papyri.

A stylized, dark blue graphic of the Eiffel Tower, positioned on the left side of the page. The tower is depicted with its characteristic lattice structure, including the base, the three levels, and the spire. The top of the spire is decorated with three small, dark blue, spiky, plant-like or floral motifs.

A Posters

Alessia Bovo
Università di Parma

I medici nei papiri dall'Egitto tolemaico

Matias Buchholz
University of Helsinki

The Carbonized Papyri from Bubastis: An Update

Lauren Dogaer
Universität Basel

Establishing Connections: A Socio-Cultural Approach towards Theban Priestly Archives

Valeria Fontanella
Universität Köln

Homerica. Das Fortleben Homers in den Papyri

Leia Jiménez Torres
Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid

P. PalauRib. inv. 73, Reexamined: a Christian Coursebook?

Élisabeth Lefèvre
Sorbonne Université, Paris

Un hymne dionysiaque trouvé dans un village de mineurs d'or

Marta Legnini / Marta Fogagnolo / Holger Essler
Università di Parma / Università di Bologna / Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg

Digital Papyrology and the ENCODE Project

Daria Lekhnovich
Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow

Verbal Periphrastic Constructions in Post-Classical Greek: Some Examples from the Collection of G. Zereteli

Rosanna Malafronte

Università di Pisa

***P.Herc. 1025* ([Filodemo], Opera incerta): Descrizione Fisica e Storia degli Studi**

Francesca Maltomini

Università degli Studi di Firenze

Digital Technologies for Reconstructing Fragmentary Papyri

Cornelia Mayer

Universität Salzburg

“He Should Be Accursed!” – Did Paul Use Magic in his Letter to the Galatians?

Claudia Nuovo

Università di Bologna

**The Importance of Being Pheidias. New Perspectives on *P.Gen.* 263+264
(MP³ 2532; TM 64051; LDAB 5267)**

Nicola Reggiani

Università di Parma

Mappatura dei papiri medici dal Fayum greco-romano e tardoantico

Tonio Sebastian Richter

Freie Universität Berlin

A 9th-/10th Century Coptic Archive of Medical and Alchemical Papyri, Supposedly from Nag' al-Mašāyḥ (Lepidotonpolis)



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