

Adam Łajtar

I. DEIR EL-BAHARI 196 (PARTLY) SUPPLEMENTED

I *DEIR EL-BAHARI* 196¹ IS A RED OCHRE DIPINTO standing on the cornice
of a cavetto of the north (internal) side of the south wall of the Ptolemaic
Portico of the Hatshepsut temple. The inscription as visible on the stone
in situ is fragmentarily preserved (cf. fig. 3). Only lower parts of letters of
the last line and remnants of the first letter of the penultimate line can be
seen, and the entire upper part is lacking as a result of the breaks, which
affect the cornice towards its crown moulding. The text was edited by me
(and earlier by André Bataille²) in the following way:

α[-----]
(ἐτους) σ' Δομ[ιταίνου] τοῦ κυρίου, Τῆ[β]ι α'.

Fortunately, the text can partly be supplemented thanks to a find made
during archaeological excavations carried out by the Polish-Egyptian
Archaeological and Conservation Mission at the temple of Hatshepsut

¹ *I. Deir el-Bahari* = A. ŁAJTAR, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. A Study of an Egyptian Temple Based on Greek Sources* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 4], Warsaw 2006.

² A. BATAILLE, *Les inscriptions grecques du temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari* [= *Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie*], Cairo 1951, no. 121.



Fig. 1. Fragment of the cornice of the Ptolemaic portico: an unidentifiable inscription on the vertical crown moulding (photo A. Pawlikowska-Gwiazda; © Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw)

in winter/spring 2021.³ The find (Inv. No. 2823-1) occurred in the fill of the Middle Kingdom tomb MMA 28, situated in the west part of the so-called Hathor Path, which runs along the southern retaining wall of the middle terrace of the Hatshepsut temple, giving access to the Hathor Shrine.⁴ It is a fragment of the cornice of the Ptolemaic Portico, preserving a portion of its vertical crown moulding and below it, a section of the cavetto. It carries remnants of two dipinti. One, executed with dark-red ochre, stood on the vertical crown moulding (fig. 1). It had at least two lines; however, it is so badly preserved that even the script cannot securely be identified (Greek as opposed to Demotic). The other, written with light-red ochre,

³ I am obliged to Patryk Chudzik, the director of the mission, for information and discussion. My thanks go also to Aleksandra Pawlikowska-Gwiazda for establishing the original location of the stone fragment.

⁴ One wonders how and when the stone fragment got into the filling of tomb MMA 28, situated much below the level of the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple, which the stone originally belonged to. As the tomb in question was most probably inaccessible before excavations carried out in Deir el-Bahari by the expedition of the Egypt Exploration Fund in the 1890s, this must have happened only in the 20th century. It should be observed here that stones of the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple underwent a considerable fragmentation and dispersion in post-antique times. For example, numerous fragments of the Ptolemaic Portico were found on the site of the Thutmose III's temple during excavations carried out by the Polish-Egyptian Mission in the 1960s.

is placed on the cavetto and preserves middle parts of the three first lines of *I. Deir el-Bahari* 196 (figs. 2–3). With the new fragment, the text can be reconstructed as follows:

[τὸ προσκ]ύνημα . . . [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]τος Μηνოდώ[ρου - - - - -]
 ἀ[- - - παρὰ τ]ῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμ[ηνώθῃ - - -]
 4 (ἔτους) σ' Δομ[ιταίου] τοῦ κυρίου, Τῷ[β]ι ἀ'.

Proskynema of [---] Menodoros [---] before the lord Amenothēs [---]. Year 6 of Domitian, the Lord, ι Tybi.

It is interesting to observe that line 1 of the inscription has different palaeographic characteristics than the remaining ones. Letters in line 1 are considerably bigger than in lines 3–4, and the script resembles round epigraphic majuscules in contrast to the half-cursive in the remaining part of the text.

The text was constructed according to the pattern τὸ προσκύνημα τοῦ δέινος, well attested in written mementos left by visitors in cult places all over Egypt in Late Ptolemaic – Roman Imperial times.⁵ The disposition of the text suggests that it mentioned at least two people, unless we assume that there was one person with multiple names plus a patronymic.

The ochre is smudged after the initial [τὸ προσκ]ύνημα, where we expect the name of the *proskynema* author. Quite tentatively, I suggest Πη[---]. Names in Πη- are too common to allow for a supplement.

[---]τος in line 2 is most probably the ending of a male name in -ās in genitive, as for example [Ἀντᾶ]τος, [Ἀποχρᾶ]τος, [Πικρᾶ]τος, to limit oneself only to names attested in the Deir el-Bahari inscriptions.⁶ [---]as was either the second name of the *proskynema* author, the name of his father, or the name of another man. It is rather unlikely that [---]τος

⁵ For inscriptions of the *proskynema*-type, see G. GERACI, 'Ricerche sul Proskynema', *Aegyptus* 51 (1971), pp. 2–211.

⁶ Ἀντᾶς (*I. Deir el-Bahari* 116, l. 1; 190, l. 2), Ἀποχρᾶς (*I. Deir el-Bahari* 176, l. 2; 183, l. 3), Πικρᾶς (*I. Deir el-Bahari* 23, l. 2).



Fig. 2. Fragment of the cornice of the Ptolemaic portico: the upper part of *I. Deir el-Bahari* 196 (photo A. Pawlikowska-Gwiazda; © Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw)

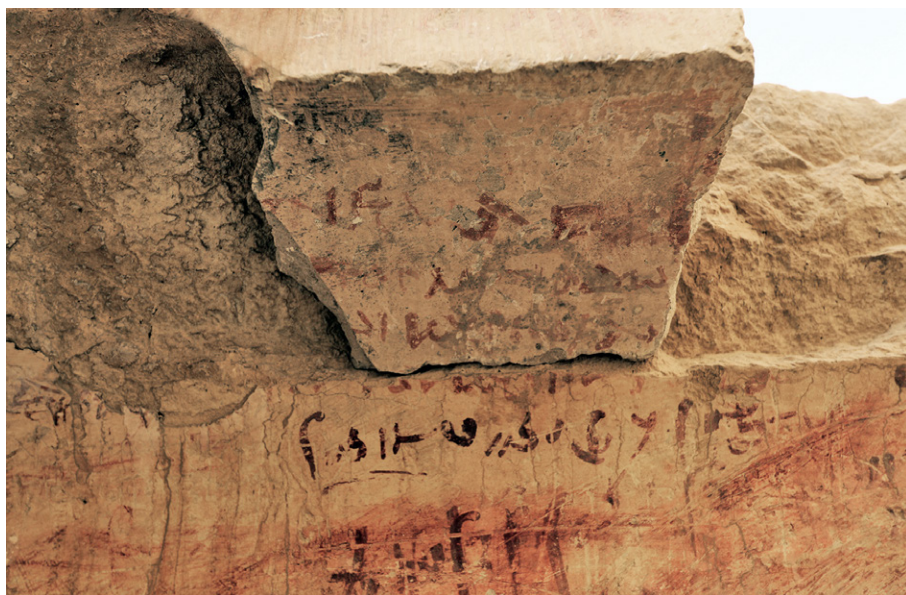


Fig. 3. Fragment of the cornice of the Ptolemaic portico with *I. Deir el-Bahari* 196 in its original position (photo A. Pawlikowska-Gwiazda; © Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw)

is the ending of a male name in nominative, as this would require the assumption of a syntactical mistake (nominative for genitive depending on τὸ προσκύνημα), which would be surprising for a writer who apparently was well versed in Greek (see the spelling τ]ῶι κυρίῳι in the next line).

The new fragment of *I. Deir el-Bahari* 196 yields the first attestation of the name *Μηνόδωρος* in the Deir el-Bahari inscriptions. It is difficult to say whom this name refers to. It may be either the father of [---]as or another person. Menodoros was the father of a certain Asklepias who occurs as a tax payer in the Theban *O. Bodl.* II 1126, dating to 27 September AD 69, i.e. more or less the same period as the inscription here discussed. However, it would probably be too far fetched to identify him with the person mentioned in our inscription and to read Ἀσκληπιᾶ]τος Μηνოდῶ[ρου.

The lacuna on the right-hand side of line 3 can be supplemented as either Ἀμ[ηνώθηι καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶι, '(before the lord) Amenotbes and Asklepios', or Ἀμ[ηνώθηι θεῶι μεγάλῳ/μεγίστῳι, '(before the lord) Amenotbes, the great/greatest god'. Both possibilities have parallels in the extant material from Deir el-Bahari.⁷ It is interesting to observe the spelling τ]ῶι κυρίῳι, with the *iota* adscript, towards the end of the first century AD, when *iota* was no longer pronounced in long diphthongs. Apparently, the writer of the inscription knew the antiquated orthography and was keen on showing this knowledge.

APPENDIX

A fragment of a limestone block with remnants of a Greek dipinto was found together with the previous object in the fill of tomb MMA 28. The inscription was executed with red ochre with an 'epigraphic' hand, written with regular upright majuscules (fig. 4). The text can be transcribed as follows:

⁷ The parallels are too numerous to be listed here. For exact references, one should consult the index in *I. Deir el-Bahari*, s.vv. Ἀμενώθης, Ἀσκληπιός, μέγας.



Fig. 4. Fragment of a block with remnants of a Greek inscription, probably belonging to the south wall of the Bark Room (photo A. Pawlikowska-Gwiazda; © Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw)

].[
]ην.[
].αι

An unscribed space at the bottom of the fragment suggests that the present line 3 was probably the last line of the inscription. Line 3 apparently did not continue to the right. The letter preceding αι in line 3 looks like *kappa* (]και) or *sigma* (]σai). The original location of the stone is uncertain. It may come from the south wall of the Bark Room of the main sanctuary of Amun. The room in question shows numerous dipinti in Greek dating from the Ptolemaic and Roman times.

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CONTENTS

<i>From the Editors</i>	XI
Antonia APOSTOLAKOU <i>The interrelationship between scriptal and linguistic variation in notary signatures of Greek contracts from late antique Egypt</i>	1

Abstract: This study investigates linguistic and scriptal variation in notary signatures found in late antique contracts from Egypt, seeking to identify and interpret the potential relationship between choices in language and script. To answer this, theoretical concepts and methods from sociolinguistics, social semiotics, and multilingual studies are used, with the objective of adding a new, more linguistically-oriented perspective to existing research on notarial signatures. On the one hand, this research demonstrates how the Latin script seems to restrict notaries, resulting in transliterated Greek signatures with very homogeneous content. The familiarity of notaries with the Greek language and writing is, on the other hand, reflected in signatures written in the Greek alphabet, which are much more diverse and at times adjusted to the circumstances under which specific documents were composed. Even if notaries seem to lack confidence in freely producing text in the Latin script, they choose to do so due to its functional values, which are conveyed and perceived visually. Latin letters create an association between signatories and Roman law, adding to the trustworthiness and prestige of the signatures. Differentiating between script and language allows us to understand how the Latin script maintained the connotations that formerly accompanied the Latin language, gradually replacing it in the form of transliterated passages, at a time when the language was disappearing from papyrological

documentation. In this sense, sociolinguistics, and especially social semiotics, prove useful when dealing with visual aspects of language in papyri, as they prevent their functions and meanings from being overlooked.

Keywords: notary, social semiotics, digraphia, diglossia, *di emou* signatures

Amin BENAÏSSA

P. Oxy. LXXVII 5123 and the economic relations

between the Apion estate and its coloni adscripticii 49

Abstract: Starting from a detailed interpretation of *P. Oxy. LXXVII 5123* (AD 555), I argue that the Apion estate favoured a tenancy arrangement with its *enapographoi georgoi*, the farmers registered on its tax-rolls. Such leases left them with a marketable surplus of the produce in remuneration, which they could sell either to their own estate or to outside parties. Contrary to the now current view of Apionic *enapographoi georgoi* as directly managed permanent employees or wage labourers, the evidence reviewed suggests that they were not an economically distinct and homogenous labour group.

Keywords: *coloni adscripticii*, *enapographoi georgoi*, Apion estate (Oxyrhynchus), tenancy, viticulture in late-antique Egypt

Willy CLARYSSE & Christelle FISCHER-BOVET

Greek papyri of the Classics Department at Stanford (P. Stan. Class.) – Part II 67

Abstract: Among the sixteen Ptolemaic texts (33–44) from the collection of the Greek papyri of the Department of Classics at Stanford are petitions, official correspondence, letters, a declaration of surety with royal oath – one the earliest dated texts in the collection (227 BC) – and an account. Most notable is the discovery of the upper part of *P. Köln VI 261*, a petition to the *oikonomos* Apollonios (33 + 18) about oil-contraband and prisoners of war. Another petition is addressed to the *oikonomos* Poseidonios (*Prosopographia Ptolemaica* I/VIII 1079) about the wool tax (34), while 35, a draft written with an Egyptian rush, reports an effraction at night with arson. The official correspondence deals with tax-farming and oil-bearing products.

Keywords: Ptolemaic papyri, petitions, letters, oil contraband, tax farming, Arsinoite nome, prisoners of war

Jean-Luc FOURNET

Trois nouveaux reçus d'annone civile

transportée par le monastère de la Métanoia (Égypte, VI^e siècle) 109

Abstract: Edition of three sixth-century shipping receipts for the *annona civilis* transported by the Monastery of the Metanoia (near Canopus). Two of

them belong to the Dioscorus archive. The appendix proposes a revision of the other shipping receipts involving the Metanoia – one from the Monastery of Sabinos, the other ones from Aphrodite.

Keywords: Monastery of the Metanoia, *anmona civilis*, shipping receipts, Dioscorus archive

Edward M. HARRIS

Legal expertise and legal experts in Athenian democracy 149

Abstract: This essay refutes the view that the Athenians of the Classical period were hostile to legal expertise. The Athenians had much respect for the Areopagus and the Exegetai, who were experts in law and religion. The legal expert Phanodemus was often praised and entrusted with important responsibilities. Litigants in public cases often show their legal knowledge by copious citation of statutes. They sometimes accuse their opponents of deceitful use of rhetoric never attack them for legal expertise. In the speech of Lysias *Against Nicomachus*, the accuser charges the defendant with illegally modifying the rules about sacrifices but never arouses suspicions about his legal expertise.

Keywords: expertise, Areopagus, Exegetai, Phanodemus, Apollodorus, son of Pasion, *anagrapheis* (inscribers), Lysias *Against Nicomachus*

Giulio IOVINE & Ornella SALATI

Die Geschäfte des Herrn Julius Caesar.

A survey of the first century BC – third century AD Latin and Latin-Greek documents referring to Roman citizens and their business in Egypt 169

Abstract: The paper provides an updated and annotated list of Latin and bilingual Latin-Greek papyri from the first century BC to the early third century AD – including very recently published and still unpublished – that refer to the lives and businesses of Roman citizens in Egypt. It also covers documents connected with the Roman army, that is produced in military *officia* to be specifically used by soldiers (acknowledgments of debt, receipts of money etc.). They are connected not with the army life, but with the life outside the barracks, among tradesmen, merchants, and (from the second century AD onwards) in the milieu of veterans.

Keywords: Latin papyri, Roman citizens, Egypt, business, trade, land

Andrea JÖRDENS

Die Priester und der Textillieferant.

SPP XXII 95 und die Ermittlungen zu einem ungeklärten Todesfall im Hinterland .. 199

Abstract: *SPP XXII 95* (early 3rd century AD) is concerned with the leading priests of the sanctuary of Soknopaios, who were arrested on account of the

suspicious death of a clothes vendor. Their interrogations, however, brought no result, and now efforts are being made to have them released. In the present papyrus, the head of the office summarises the state of affairs in order to append it as a 'cover-letter' to the petition submitted to the *strategos*.

Keywords: murder, pre-trial detention, priests, Soknopaiou Nesos

Adam ŁAJTAR

I. Deir el-Bahari 196 (partly) supplemented 217

Abstract: The article presents a fragment of the cornice from the Ptolemaic Portico of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari discovered in 2021 in the fill of the Middle Kingdom tomb MMA 28. The fragment carries remnants of two dipinti in red ochre, of which one is illegible and the other preserves vestiges of the three first lines of the Greek inscription *I. Deir el-Bahari 196*. They show that the inscription was a *proskynema* (act of adoration) addressed to Amenotnes (Greek for Amenhotep son of Hapu). The name of the author cannot be read with certainty (perhaps Pe[---]); the text also mentions a certain Menodoros, who may be the father of the protagonist of the inscription or another man. In an appendix, a fragment of another text in Greek, probably originating from the south wall of the Bark Room of the main sanctuary of Amun is presented.

Keywords: Deir el-Bahari, Amenhotep son of Hapu, Greek inscriptions

Adam ŁUKASZEWICZ

Mark Antony and the date of the Inimitables. A remark on an edited text 223

Abstract: A Greek inscription on stone found in Alexandria in the nineteenth century and exhibited in the Alexandrian Greco-Roman Museum contains an unusual dedicatory text in honour of Mark Antony. The text was edited several times. It contains useful information which agrees with the passage of Plutarch on the lifestyle of Antony and Cleopatra, and their entourage. In this paper the author suggests the date 34–30 BC for the activity of the 'Inimitables' and adds a further commentary on the history of Antony and Cleopatra.

Keywords: Alexandria, Mark Antony, Cleopatra VII, Antyllus, 'Inimitables'

Grzegorz OCHAŁA

Nubica onomastica miscellanea V:

Reedition of two Old Nubian lists of names from Qasr Ibrim 233

Abstract: Unlike previous instalments of the 'Nubica onomastica miscellanea'-series which focused on correcting single names or phrases in Nubian texts, its fifth part brings the complete reedition of two more substantial

texts originally published by Giovanni Ruffini. The former is a list of witnesses to a deed of land sale (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 65) and the latter an account (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 80). While the main subject of the paper are personal names that can be found in the two documents, other elements, such as grammar, lexicon, and – especially for *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 80 – the matter of the document are also duly treated. By identifying ghost-names in Ruffini's edition and proposing the identification of new Old Nubian substantives, the paper enhances our knowledge about the vocabulary of the language. Last but not least, the new interpretation of *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 80, which – for the first time in medieval Nubia – appears to explicitly state the value of certain commodities in dirhams, is an important contribution to the studies on the monetisation of Nubian economy.

Keywords: medieval Nubia, Qasr Ibrim, Old Nubian documents, onomastics, ghost-names, account, Nubian economy

Joanna WILIMOWSKA

Sacred animal cult workers in the Ptolemaic Fayum 263

Abstract: In ancient Egypt sacred animals were served by specific categories of priests who fulfilled various functions and tasks. The aim of this article is to examine the evidence that concerns the activities of these priests within sacred animal cults in the Ptolemaic Fayum. This study identifies, analyses, and classifies the occupational titles of the priests and attempts to discover the full range of their duties, concentrating on their non-religious activities. This in turn will enable the role that they played in both local society and the economy to be explored.

Keywords: animal cult, priests, temple personnel, Egyptian temples, Ptolemaic period, Fayum area

Ewa WIPSZYCKA

Monks at work in Eastern Mediterranean: Ideals and reality 299

Abstract: The main question that the present paper tries to answer is as follows: since two discordant precepts concerning work were to be found in the New Testament, how did monks behave? One precept treated work as a duty, the other recommended not to care about one's maintenance. The monks followed in their behaviour either the first or the second precept. As a result of disputes that took place in the fourth century the opinion prevailed that work was the better choice. It is important for us to find out when and under what circumstances that choice was done by the majority of the monastic movement in the East. It is also important to see what arguments were used by the monks of Late Antiquity in order to settle the conflict between the two discordant precepts. This conflict worried many and caused a renewal of

a dispute that seemed to have been closed. Two ways of reasoning in favour of monastic work were generally used: monks might and should pray and work at the same time, satisfying both precepts; monks ought to work in order to be able to give alms, and this conferred to work a meaning that went beyond immediate usefulness. Praying and working at the same time was not always feasible in actual practice, but this did not bother authors of ascetic treatises.

Keywords: voluntary poverty, St. Anthony, Pachomius, Horsiese, Basil of Caesarea, Evagrius of Pontus, John Cassian, *melete*, Messalians, ‘wandering and begging’ monks, Rabbula, Syriac monastic rules, almsgiving