

STUDIA PAPYROLOGICA
ET AEGYPTIACA PARISINA

7

Actes du XXX^e Congrès
international de papyrologie
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édités par Jean-Luc FOURNET
avec le concours de Yasmine AMORY



*Ouvrage publié avec le concours
du Collège de France*

AVANT-PROPOS

*À la mémoire de Raffaella Cribiore et de Simona Russo
pour qui le Congrès de Paris fut leur dernier*

L'ouverture du XXX^e Congrès international de papyrologie le matin du lundi 25 juillet 2022 ne fut pas simplement l'heureux aboutissement d'un long travail de préparation, mais surtout le dénouement de trois années de pesante incertitude. J'avais presque fini par croire que l'organisation d'un congrès de papyrologie à Paris était sujet à une véritable malédiction ! Qu'on se souvienne : le précédent congrès qui s'était tenu sur le bord de la Seine, en 1949, n'avait pas eu de chance puisque son président, Pierre Jouguet, le maître de la papyrologie française, était mort quelques semaines avant (et il avait dû être remplacé par le romaniste André Piganiol). Par ailleurs, des problèmes financiers – nous étions seulement quatre années après la fin de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale – avaient ensuite empêché la publication des actes, ce qui explique que ce sixième congrès soit tombé dans les oubliettes de l'histoire...

C'était un peu avec l'idée d'effacer ce mauvais souvenir que j'ai proposé au comité de l'Association internationale de papyrologues, réuni au Congrès de Lecce en 2019, d'organiser le congrès suivant et de donner ainsi à la capitale française l'occasion de se rattraper. Mais c'était sans compter sur la pandémie qui se déclara quelques mois après que la candidature de Paris eut été acceptée. La crise sanitaire de la Covid 19 accompagna les trois ans de préparation du congrès et fit passer toute l'équipe d'organisation par les diverses phases de l'anxiété à la perspective de devoir annuler ou reporter cette manifestation. Les yeux rivés sur la courbe des contaminations, nous étions ballottés entre espoirs et inquiétudes au gré des « vagues » qui ne cessaient de se succéder.

Finalement le congrès eut bien lieu à la date prévue, et, sous le regard du Champollion de Bartholdi qui se dresse dans la cour d'honneur du Collège de France, les participants, en partie masqués, étaient au rendez-vous en ce 25 juillet 2022 [Fig.1]. Soulagement, joie ou fierté ? je ne sais quel fut ce matin-là le sentiment qui prévalut dans l'équipe d'organisation. La malédiction, en tout cas, était conjurée.

Durant une semaine, les 328 congressistes sur les 406 inscrits initialement – la Covid en avait empêché ou découragé certains – ont pu assister à 230 communications (203 dans des séances thématiques et 27 dans des panels) et lire 14 posters. S'y ajoutaient les 6 communications données dans le cadre de la séance plénière organisée le mercredi matin et consacrée aux nouveaux défis de la papyrologie (je dois à Peter van Minnen l'amusant sous-titre de cette séance : « The Post-Papy Boom Era » !) : le chiffre rond de ce congrès (XXX^e du nom) et la période de pandémie dont nous sortions à peine et qui a accéléré notre réflexion à tous sur les impasses d'une certaine forme de modernité me semblaient propices à une séance plénière, non pas thématique, mais réflexive, s'interrogeant sur les évolutions de notre discipline et sur les directions qu'il serait souhaitable qu'elle prenne ou qu'elle évite. Jeune discipline (par rapport aux vénérables



Fig. 1. Les participants au congrès.
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études classiques), la papyrologie a toujours su s'adapter aux nouveautés, s'organiser collectivement de façon harmonieuse et se doter d'instruments de travail que d'autres (notamment les épigraphistes) nous envient. Mais l'accélération des innovations numériques, notamment avec l'avènement de l'intelligence artificielle, tout autant que la crise des financements que connaissent nos vieilles institutions ne nous garantissent pas nécessairement de continuer sur cette lancée et nous contraignent à relever des défis (intellectuels, techniques et organisationnels) et à faire des choix. Aussi est-il important que nos congrès fassent place à une réflexion générale sur les options qui engagent l'avenir de la papyrologie.

Le hasard a voulu que notre congrès tombe durant l'année même du bicentenaire du déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes qui fut l'occasion de célébrer Champollion et les recherches sur l'Égypte. Ce hasard, qui plaçait cette année doublement sous le signe de l'Égypte, nous rappelle aussi à sa façon que la papyrologie est une discipline qui, ces dernières décennies, s'est de plus en plus ouverte à la culture égyptienne en s'intéressant aux problèmes de multilinguisme et de multiculturalisme et en abordant les sources de façon globale ; bref une discipline qui se doit d'être transversale – autant que le fut en son temps Champollion, déchiffreur des écritures égyptiennes mais aussi impeccable coptisant et excellent arabisant. Les séances de ce congrès témoignent de cette évolution, initiée déjà avec de précédents congrès, et de cette ouverture de notre discipline avec des séances consacrées à la papyrologie démotique, copte et arabe.

D'autres évolutions se sont dessinées durant ce congrès et transparaissent dans ces actes, quoique ceux-ci ne soient que le reflet déformé et diminué du congrès – seul un quart des communicants ont souhaité voir leur contribution publiée dans ce volume. Il ne m'appartient pas d'en être le chroniqueur ni l'interprète, et je laisse le lecteur s'en faire sa propre idée ; c'est une des clés de lecture possible (et certainement pas la

moins intéressante) de ces 800 pages, qui offrent un instantané, quoiqu'abrégé, de notre discipline à un moment donné.

Un congrès est une œuvre collective. Aussi voudrais-je conclure cet avant-propos par des remerciements à tous ceux sans qui ce congrès n'aurait pas eu lieu : tout d'abord le Collège de France qui a mis à notre disposition ses locaux et son personnel et dont les différents services, sous l'autorité bienveillante de l'administrateur Thomas Römer et de la directrice générale des services Marylène Meston de Ren, ont travaillé sans relâche pendant trois ans pour que cette manifestation ait lieu dans les meilleures conditions. Je souhaiterais remercier aussi tous les sponsors qui ont rendu le congrès et cette publication possibles : la Fondation du Collège de France et la Fondation Hugot du Collège de France qui ont été très généreuses ; l'Association internationale de papyrologues ; Paris Sciences et Lettres à travers le programme Scripta ; l'École pratique des hautes études ; l'équipe « Monde byzantin » de l'équipe Orient et Méditerranée (UMR 8167) ; Sorbonne Université ; l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes ; l'université Bordeaux-Montaigne ; le laboratoire Ausonius ; l'équipe ANHIMA (« Anthropologie et histoire des mondes antiques ») et enfin l'équipe Archimède de Strasbourg. Je sais gré à la Bibliothèque nationale de France et aux Archives nationales d'avoir accepté de faire visiter leur collection papyrologique le mercredi ainsi qu'au Sénat de nous avoir ouvert ses portes le mardi soir et le samedi après-midi ; ces visites, qui connurent un grand succès, n'auraient pu se faire sans l'obligeance et la disponibilité de Christian Förstel, conservateur en chef chargé des manuscrits grecs à la Bibliothèque nationale, Marie-Adélaïde Nielen, conservatrice en chef au Département du Moyen Âge et de l'Ancien régime aux Archives nationales, et Jean-Marc Ticchi, directeur de la Bibliothèque et des Archives au Sénat. En outre, durant toute la durée du congrès, l'Institut de papyrologie de Sorbonne Université a exposé au Collège de France ses plus belles et intéressantes pièces : que son directeur Benoît Laudenbach et son « papyrothécaire » Florent Jacques en soient remerciés.

Enfin et surtout, je voudrais témoigner ma reconnaissance à toutes les personnes qui se sont impliquées dans l'organisation de ce congrès : outre le comité scientifique¹ et le comité d'organisation² (ce dernier ayant assuré en sus la procédure d'évaluation des articles de ce volume), ma gratitude va tout particulièrement aux étudiantes et étudiants qui m'ont prêté main forte durant le congrès³, à Carl-Loris Raschel, papyrologue alors rattaché à ma chaire, et surtout à Patricia Llegou, ingénieur d'études au Collège de France, qui a su déployer une énergie sans borne et des trésors d'organisation [Fig. 2]. Je dois aussi à cette dernière d'avoir assuré avec autant de soins que de compétence la composition de ces actes tandis que Yasmine Amory et Despina Chatzivasiliou m'ont aidé à relire le manuscrit ; je les en remercie de tout cœur.

1. R. Ast, R.S. Bagnall, G. Bastianini, A. Benaïssa, M. Capasso†, W. Clarysse, P. Davoli, C. Fischer-Bovet, N. Gonis, T. Hickey, S. Huebner, A. Jördens, AM. Luijendijk, A. Maravela, M.-H. Marganne, A. Martin, F. Morelli, B. Palme, A. Papaconstantinou, T.S. Richter, C. Römer, N. Salem, P. Schubert, P.M. Sijpesteijn, D.J. Thompson, S. Torallas Tovar, J. Urbanik, P. van Minnen, D.J. Vanderpeere, E. Wiprzycka.

2. Y. Amory, J. Auber de Lapierre, A. Boud'hors, A. Bülow-Jacobsen, D. Chatzivasiliou, M.-P. Chaufray, H. Cuvigny, A. Delattre, E. Gareil, J. Gascoü, F. Jacques, B. Laudenbach, A. Le Corronc, P. Llegou, I. Marthot-Santaniello, C.-L. Raschel, A. Ricciardetto, V. Schram, L. Vanderheyden, N. Vanthieghem, A.-M. Veïsse, S. Wackenier.

3. G. Bérenguer, G. Grelier, K. Konstantinova, C. Pena, A. Perrin, T. Ronflé, É. Soubeyran, A. Verbrugge, L. Villemin, L. Wenkin.

Quoique moins funeste que les années de pandémie, la période qui a séparé le congrès de la publication des actes a vu la disparition de plusieurs collègues. Au nom de l'*amicitia papyrologorum* – ou tout simplement de l'amitié –, je voudrais dédier ce volume à la mémoire de deux figures de nos études, qui m'étaient particulièrement chères et pour lesquelles ce congrès fut hélas le dernier : Raffaella et Simona nous manqueront, et pas seulement parce que nous ne les verrons plus aux prochains congrès...

Jean-Luc Fournet



Fig. 2. L'équipe des étudiants appariteurs du congrès entourant Carl-Loris Raschel, Jean-Luc Fournet (au centre) et Patricia Llegou (deuxième en partant de la droite).

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ABRÉVIATIONS

Les abréviations des éditions, revues et actes des congrès papyrologiques suivent la *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* : <https://papyri.info/docs/checklist#Papyri>.

Les abréviations des revues non strictement papyrologiques sont celles de l'*Année philologique* : <https://about.brepolis.net/aph-abreviations/>

Pour le reste :

ÄMP = Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

AOP = Archivio dell'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi 'Marcello Gigante'.

APIS = Advanced Papyrological Information System.

BerlPap = The Berlin Papyrus Database [<https://berlpap.smb.museum/?lang=en>].

BL = *Berichtungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*.

BP = Bibliographie papyrologique en ligne [https://web.archive.org/web/20220308011812/http://www.aere-egke.be/BP_enligne.htm].

C.Ord.Ptol. = LINGER M.-T., *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées*, Académie royale de Belgique, 1964 (deuxième édition corrigée et mise à jour en 1980).

C.Pap.Gr. = *Corpus Papyrorum Graecarum*.

C.Ptol.Sklav. = SCHOLL R., *Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte* (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 1), Stuttgart 1990.

Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* = CAVALLO G. & MAEHLER H., *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period, A.D. 300-800* (Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement 47), London 1987.

CDDGB = Collaborative Database of Dateable Greek Bookhands.

CGFP = AUSTIN C., *Comitorum Graecorum fragmenta in papyris reperta*, Berlin – Boston 1973.

CGRN = CARBON J.-M., PEELS S. & PIRENNE-DELFORGE V., *A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms*, Liège 2016 [cgrn.ulg.ac.be].

CIG = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berolini 1825-1877.

CJ = *Corpus iuris civilis. 2. Codex Iustinianus*, rec. P. Krüger, 11^a ed., Berolini 1954.

CLA = LOWE E. A., *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, Oxford 1934-1966 [<https://elms.nuigalway.ie/>].

CPI = BOWMAN A. K., *et al.*, *Corpus of Ptolemaic Inscriptions. Volume 1: Alexandria and the Delta (Nos. 1-206). Part I: Greek, Bilingual, and Trilingual Inscriptions from Egypt* (Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents), Oxford – New York 2021.

CPF = *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini*, Firenze 1989-.

CPJ = *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, Cambridge (MA) 1957-2020.

CPP = Corpus of Paraliterary Papyri [<https://relicta.org/cpp/>].

- CTh* = *Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus sirmondianis et leges novellae ad theodosianum pertinentes*, ed. Th. Mommsen & P. M. Meyer, Berolini 1905.
- DCLP = Digital Corpus of Literary Papyri [<https://papyri.info/browse/dclp/>].
- DDbDP = The Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri [<https://papyri.info/browse/ddbdp/>].
- DN* = *Demotisches Namenbuch*, ed. E. Lüddeckens & H.J. Thissen, Wiesbaden 1980-2000.
- DTA* = AUDOLLENT A., *Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt, tam in Graecis Orientis quam in totius Occidentis partibus praeter Atticas in corpore inscriptionum atticarum editas*, Luteciae Parisiorum 1904.
- GEMF* = FARAONE C. & TORALLAR TOVAR S., *Greek and Egyptian Magical Formularies : Text and Translation*, I, Berkeley 2022.
- GMP* = *Greek Medical Papyri*, ed. I. Andorlini, Firenze 2001-2009.
- GMPT* = BETZ H. D., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 2nd ed., Chicago 1992.
- HGV = Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten, directed by D. Hagedorn [<http://aquila.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/>].
- HV* = *Herculanensium voluminum quae supersunt*, I-XI, Neapoli 1793-1855.
- HV²* = *Herculanensium voluminum quae supersunt, collectio altera*, I-XI, Neapoli 1862-1876.
- I.Delta* = BERNAND A., *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs*, Le Caire 1970.
- I.KoKo* = BERNAND A., *De Koptos à Kosseir*, Leiden 1972.
- I.Louvre* = BERNAND É., *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie au musée du Louvre*, Paris 1992.
- I.Memnonion* = PERDRIZET P. & LEFEBVRE G., *Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos*, Nancy – Paris – Strasbourg 1919.
- I.Mother of Apis* = SMITH H., ANDREWS C. & DAVIES S., *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara. The Mother of Apis Inscriptions*, I-II, London 2011.
- I.Prose* = BERNAND A., *La prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine*, I-II, Paris 1992.
- I.Thèbes à Syène* = BERNAND A., *De Thèbes à Syène*, Paris 1989.
- Kyprianos / KYP = Coptic Magical Papyri : Corpus of Coptic Magical Formularies [<https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/manuscripts-search/>].
- LDAB = Leuven Database of Ancient Books [<https://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>].
- LGPN = *The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford 1987– et en ligne [<https://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/>].
- LIMC* = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich/München/Düsseldorf 1891-1999.
- LSA* = SOKOŁOWSKI F., *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1955.
- LSCG* = SOKOŁOWSKI F., *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969.
- LSJ* (& *Rev. Suppl.*) = LIDDELL H. G. & SCOTT R., *A Greek-English Lexicon with a Revised Supplement*, rev. and augm. throughout by H. S. JONES, Oxford 1996.
- LSS* = SOKOŁOWSKI F., *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément*, Paris 1962.
- MP³ = Mertens-Pack³ [<https://cipl-cloud09.segi.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/MP3/dbsearch.aspx>].
- NGSL* = LUPU E., *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents*, Leiden 2005.
- OGIS* = DITTENBERGER W., *Oriens Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, Lipsiae 1903-1905.
- PapPal = Papyrology | Paleography [<https://www.pappal.info/>].

- PCG* = *Poetae Comici Graeci*, Berlin – Boston 1984-2022.
- PDM XII* = JOHNSON J. H., « A Demotic Magical Text in Leiden », *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden* 56, 1975, p. 29-64.
- PDM XIV* = GRIFFITH F. LI. & THOMPSON H., *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, I-III, London 1904.
- PDM LXI* = BELL H. I., NOCK A. D. & THOMPSON H., « Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum », *PBA* 17, 1931, p. 235-287 (édité séparément avec le même titre à Londres en 1932).
- PDM Suppl.* = JOHNSON J. H., « Louvre E. 3229 : A Demotic Magical Text », *Enchoria* 7, 1977, p. 55-102.
- PGM* = PREISENDANZ K., *Papyri Graecae Magicae : Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, Leipzig 1928-1931, rev. A. Heinrichs, Stuttgart 1973-1974.
- PN* = Papyrological Navigator [<https://papyri.info/search>].
- Pros.Ptol.* = *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, Leuven 1950-2002.
- Roberts, *GLH* = ROBERTS C. H., *Greek Literary Hands, 350 B.C.-A.D. 400*, Oxford 1956.
- SEG* = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923-.
- SH* = LLOYD-JONES H., PARSONS P. J. & NESSELRATH H.-G. (éd.), *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin – New York 1983-2005.
- Short Texts II* = VLEEMING S. P. (éd.), *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications*, Leuven – Paris – Walpole (MA) 2011.
- Suppl.Mag.* = DANIEL R. & MALTOMINI F. (éd.), *Supplementum magicum*, I-II, Opladen 1990-1992.
- ThesCRA* = *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, Los Angeles, 2004-2006.
- TLG* = *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. A Digital Library of Greek Literature [<https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>].
- TM* = Trismegistos. An Interdisciplinary Portal of the Ancient World [<https://www.trismegistos.org/>].
- Turner, *GMAW* = TURNER E. G., *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2^e éd. revue par P. J. Parsons (Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement 46), London 1987.
- Wb* = ERMAN A. & GRAPOW H., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, Leipzig 1926-1963.

COPY OF AN OFFICIAL LETTER FROM THE PREFECT¹

Giulio Iovine
Università di Bologna

In loving memory
Federica Micucci (1989–2021)

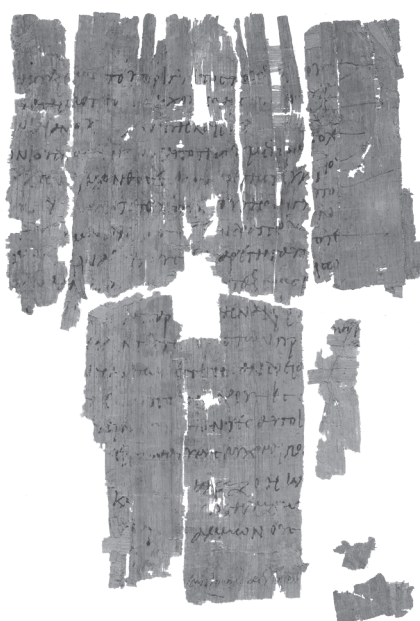


Fig. 1. P.Gen. inv. 117 v
© Bibliothèque de Genève.

1. This paper has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement no. 895634 (Project LAREGRE). My gratitude to P. Schubert (Geneva) and the Keeper of Manuscripts at the Geneva Library, Ms. Paule Hochuli, for granting me the permission to publish this papyrus and providing me with photographs and useful data. Several details of the text and commentary have been discussed at the Centre for the Tebtynis Papyri (UC Berkeley) with my colleagues D. Coomans (Basel), T. M. Hickey (Berkeley), A. Hogan (CSU Long Beach), F. Micucci, F. Santini (Berkeley); and with A. Stornaiuolo (Messina). The papyrus, which I personally inspected in May 2017, came to my attention as one of the many bilingual Latin-Greek papyri gathered in 2015–2016 for the census undertaken by myself and my colleagues D. Internullo (Roma III), O. Salati and M. C. Scappaticcio (Napoli 'Federico II') as part of the project PLATINUM (ERC-StG no. 636983), p.i. Prof. M.C. Scappaticcio.

P.Gen. inv. 117 v
Herakleopolites
TM 942965

w 17.5 cm × h 24.5 cm

AD 329 (after 6 April)

Fig. 1

Descr.: papyrus consisting in two large portions connected vertically with a small thread of fibre. The upper portion, covering the first 8 lines of the text, is noticeably wider than the lower one. Three floating scraps are also visible in the frame, the largest of which is in an inverted position (in the frame where the verso lies, one sees the recto of the scrap) and contains a few barely legible traces [Fig. 2]. No rejoining seems possible so far. In the upper left portion there is a fibre running obliquely to the text, which might belong to another papyrus fragment or be a twisted fibre from the original text [Fig. 3, the fibre is in a brighter tone²]. The upper and lower margins are visible; so is the right one before l. 8 of the text, after which the lower portion of the fragment begins. The left margin is instead lost; before l. 8, only three to six letters are lost from the left edge of the text, whereas after l. 8 this number increases to ten and more. Before being thus damaged, the original item was probably a rectangular or square papyrus sheet used to accommodate first the text on the recto, then that on the verso. The texts on the two sides are mirror-like in orientation: they have the same upper and lower portions, but their right and left edges are inverted. The Greek script is a semi-cursive which can be compared to that in *P.Oxy.* LIV 3756 (AD 325); I 52 (AD 325); LI 3620 (AD 326); and *P.Sakaon* 25 (AD 327); 62 (AD 328). Only one hand can be detected; the salutations in l. 15 appear to be more cursive-like, but not necessarily from a further scribe. The script on the recto is also very close to the mentioned items. The ligature *lambda-epsilon* in ll. 3–4 with a horizontal stroke protruding from *epsilon* are similar to those in *P.Panop.* 31 (AD 329); *SB* IV 7445 (AD 382); *SB* XVIII 13916 (AD 386). The Latin script (l. 20) is a new Roman cursive and

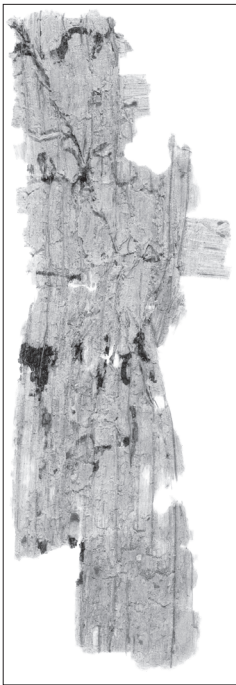


Fig. 2. The detached scrap.
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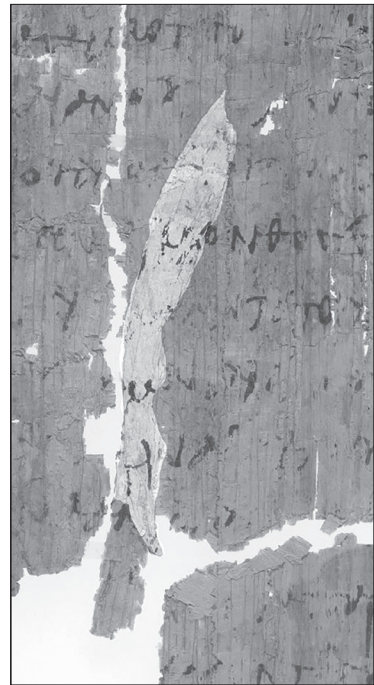


Fig. 3. The stripe on the text
(in a lighter shade).
© Bibliothèque de Genève.

2. Since all attempts at realigning the fibre with Photoshop failed to produce any understandable reading, I preferred to put lacunae in the text where the fibre is located, assuming it does not belong to the original verso.

(vac. 2 lin.)

20 (m2?) [Constantino Aug(usto) VIII et Con]stantino nob(ilissimo) Caes(are) IIII co(n)s(ulibus)

1 πριγ'γιπος: 1. πρίγκιπος || 3 between [Μαγ]νίλιανου and λογιστη vac. 3 litt. | ηρακ]λε- || 4 πολε- || 7 in ανδραποδων, ε changed into ο || 9 in ειω, ρ changed into ε and perhaps washed off || 16 και struck through || 20 nob | Caes | coss

“From the principal bureau of my lord the most perfect prefect of Egypt Flavius Magnilianus to the *curator* and the *defensor* of the Herakleopolites.

[...] from your town [...] still of the virtue of my lord the most perfect prefect of Egypt [...] slaves [...] so that your virtue may order the slaves below mentioned [...] the office, within [...] take care to abide? [...] four [...] leggings, to the bravery [...] from the power [...] not all [...].

I wish for you to be healthy for a long [time].

[...] and

[...] Zoe and?

[...] and

the suckling baby [and]

[...] and

Ammonous

(2nd hand?) Given during the 8th consulship of Constantinus Augustus and the 4th of the noblest Caesar Constantinus.”

1 The sender is the *princeps officii*, the highest-ranking functionary in the Late Antique bureaus; the letter is declared as coming from his personal office, the τάξις τοῦ πρίγκιπος or *officium principis*. See PALME 1999, pp. 108–10. This office is recorded in several documents, such as *P.Oxy.* XVI 1880 (AD 427); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1881 (AD 427); *PSI* X 1114 (AD 454); *CPR* XXIV 17 (AD VI). The formula παρὰ τῆς τάξεως κτλ. employed here is also frequently documented.⁶ Regarding the so-called ‘diastolic apostrophe’ between the two *gammās* in πρίγγιπος, see FOURNET 2020, p. 157⁷ and GONIS 2019, p. 296.

2–3 To date, the prefect Flavius Magnilianus (*PLRE* I, p. 532) has been attested no earlier than 330,⁸ since this papyrus is dated 329 and Magnilianus’ predecessor Septimius Zenius (*PLRE* I p. 990) is last found on 6 April of the same year, this letter was probably drafted between April and December. Magnilianus’ tenure must have started in that very period. The office of ἑπαρχος τῆς Αἰγύπτου – *praefectus Aegypti* is consistent with the chronological fork 324–41 when Egypt was split into only two provinces, *Aegyptus* and *Thebais*⁹. Concerning ἑπαρχος, διασημότατος and their chronological distribution in the 4th cent., see AGOSTINI 2022, pp. 61–3.

3 The bureau addresses two¹⁰ important officials in the Herakleopolites, the *curator* – λογιστής and the *defensor* – ἑκδικός. Documented *curatores* of that nome in this period are Valerius Plution in 307 or 311¹¹ and an unnamed official addressed by Septimius Zenius on 4 April 328.¹² The text proves that the ἑκδικός was an important and official rank in provincial bureaucracy as early as 329, but we already had information about its existence from 330 onwards, so this only widens

6. See e.g. *BGU* XIX 2773 (late AD V); P.Sorb. inv. 2743 r (TM 322177, early AD 5th cent.) for the πολιτικὴ τάξις, and *CPR* VII 24 v (AD 5th–6th cent.); *P.Bagnall* 27 (AD 397–398); *P.Mich.* XX 803 (AD 366); *SB* XXVI 16727 (early AD 4th cent.) for other unspecified τάξεις.

7. “La fonction diastolique de l’apostrophe a contribué à étendre son emploi à d’autres cas où la fin du mot n’était pas nécessairement en jeu. On voit en effet se multiplier à partir de la fin du I^{er} s. l’apostrophe diastolique à l’intérieur d’un mot, entre deux consonnes géminées, principalement γ’γ et τ’τ.”

8. In *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3350 (12 January 330) and *P.Oxy.* LIV 3767 (30 December, either 329 or 330).

9. Cf. the table in PALME 2007, p. 246; and AGOSTINI 2022, p. 56.

10. *PSI* IV 285 (AD 317) is addressed by the prefect to the λογιστής and the ἑξάκτωρ (see also l. 6 φροντίσατε); the second report in *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3195 (AD 331), accommodated in col. II, is addressed to a λογιστής and an ἑκδικός.

11. *BGU* III 298.

12. *SB* XVIII 13260.

our chronological range by one year.¹³ No clue is provided as to the problem of how the private functionary ἔκδικος or κύνδικος of the 3rd cent. evolved into the *defensor ciuitatis* of the 4th and 5th.¹⁴ See REES 1952; FRAKES 1994, 2001, 2018; KRAMER 1999; DEL CHICCA 2020.

4 Either the actual message began with a personal name in the genitive case (part of a genitive absolute?), marked as coming from ‘your town’, namely Herakleopolis, or this line is still somehow part of the prescript, beginning with [δ(ι)ά], followed by the name . . .]ονίου, his patronym (Διοφ- [κ]ουρη[ί]ου?) and then the provenance.¹⁵

5–6 The prefect is referenced once more, this time with a courtesy title, ἀρετή. See ZILLIACUS 1949, particularly pp. 39–50; and AGOSTINI 2022, p. 60. The sequence ζηνι might be part of a personal name such as Ζήνις or Ζήνιος (TM Nam 6450). For the ending in]ονθος one can imagine it might represent a mistake— θ for τ, e.g.]όντος,¹⁶ or ο for ω, as in πεπ]ονθός for πεπ]ονθός:¹⁷ e.g. [. . .]. Ζήνις [πεπ]ονθός or [ἐκ το]ῦ Ζηνί[ρ]ου πεπ]ονθός, both of which seem a bit too long. Alternatively, one can make out the personal name Γρόνθος, a person who is only referenced once in a much earlier text (*P.Petaus* 59, AD 185).

7–9 Despite the bad state of preservation of the text, one can be sure that slaves are mentioned twice. The noun used is ἀνδράποδον. In Greek papyri, words such as ἀνδράποδον and ἀνδραποδικμός are rarer than δοῦλος and its cognates; they are found especially in the dossier of the *P.Ammon*, and generally in petitions and court proceedings from the 4th cent. onwards¹⁸. Originally distinct,¹⁹ the two words appear to be synonymic in these documents. In *P.Herm.* 18 (AD 323) both words can be seen employed in the same document, at ll. 11–3: [ὑπομνηματογ]ράφοι αὐτῷ εἶπ(ον)· ἀδελφόνος ἔχεις; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· ναί, ἔνα, Εὐτύχιον. | [ὑπομνηματογρ]άφοι αὐτῷ εἶπ(ον)· [δοῦ]λός ἐστιν καὶ [α]ῦτός; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· ναί. Κλημάτιος ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶπ(εν)· προδήλου | γεγ[ο]μέν[η]ς καλῆς αἰρέσεως τοῦ ἀνδραπόδου τὰ ἀρχαῖα συνχρηματίζειν προτάξατε. These specific slaves are—or

13. DEL CHICCA 2020, p. 146. See also *P.Oxy.* LX 4082, so far the earliest attestation of the ἔκδικος as a public official (AD 330).

14. “There was an official in Egypt in the first half of the fourth century whose duties included the protection of individuals against fiscal extortion and to hear minor complaints and appeals, especially those which involved property. This official, about whose correct designation there was some uncertainty, was a member of the municipal cadre with administrative responsibilities, an integral part of the machine which replaced the older nome-organisation. Surely it is not far-fetched to see in him a connecting-link between the older κύνδικος or ἔκδικος and the *defensor civitatis* of Valentinian I, and in the documents of 3rd and 4th cent. Egypt, which we have re-examined, substantial proof of a steady development from the former to the latter, at least in this region of the Empire. The mistake that is too often made by those who discuss parallel institutions under the Empire is to imagine that all such must have sprung from a single instruction issued by the central government and thereupon simultaneously enforced over the whole area of its administration, a kind of secular *imprimatur*” (REES 1952, p. 85).

15. I am indebted to an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

16. In fact, the likelier mistake would be the opposite one, i.e. θ > τ: see GIGNAC 1976, p. 90. According to the available evidence, before or after a liquid or a nasal, the aspirate can become voiceless (e.g.]ονθος >]οντος); the voiceless apparently never turns into the aspirate (e.g.]οντος >]ονθος).

17. Unless this is a regular neuter participle from πάσχω. I owe this last suggestion to the anonymous reviewer.

18. “D’un emploi constant et, sauf quelques exceptions, sans doute prédominant dans le monde antique d’expression grecque, le terme δοῦλος / δούλη est aussi le plus utilisé pour désigner l’esclave dans les papyrus de l’Egypte romaine [. . .]. Ἀνδράποδον, autre mot clair pour désigner l’esclave, est beaucoup moins fréquent que δοῦλος / δούλη dans les papyrus et les *ostraka*. Sauf l’exception que constitue un contrat de vente, il se trouve presque exclusivement dans les textes officiels, juridiques ou émanant de l’autorité” (STRAUS 1976, pp. 335–6), like the text investigated here.

19. “Vedremo, infatti, che mentre δοῦλος indica lo schiavo in quanto appartenente ad uno stato che lo oppone all’uomo libero, ἀνδραποδ- lo caratterizza come un oggetto di proprietà, ricchezza che, come il bestia, fa parte di un patrimonio” (LAZZERONI 1970, p. 168, referring to Archaic and Classical Greece).

rather should be, in the sender's view—the object of an order issued by an individual very high in the social ladder (hence, the courtesy title ἀρετή): this individual is begged to order the “below-mentioned” (ὕποτε[ταγ]μένα, referring to the list at the bottom of the letter) slaves to do something. At first sight, one concludes that the sender is asking the addressee to direct the slaves somewhere. I have restored, thanks to a reviewer's comment, ἡ ζῆ ἀρετή (“your virtue” = you) because the traces on the papyrus and the linguistic usage offer no alternative; yet, it is unclear why the sender, after more than once referring to his addressee as a plural entity (l. 4 ἀπό τῆς ὑμετέρα[ς] πόλε[ω]ς), l. 15 ὑμᾶς), should qualify them now as a singular (σὴ). This might be a passage taken from yet another letter, maybe sent directly by the prefect; nothing in the surviving text, however, supports this hypothesis. There might be a clue as to whom or what these slaves belonged to in l. 9, which can be supplemented ἀνδράπ[οδ]α ἐπ[αρχικῆ]ς τάξεωσ or τῆ[ς αὐτῆ]ς τάξεωσ: these slaves could belong to the prefect's office (whatever their duties). In l. 7, before ἀνδραπόδων, perhaps ἐξ.

10 Either φορο[ντίκατε]—which produces a slightly longer line than the preceding ones, but the addressees are a plural entity—or the infinitive φορο[ντίσαι]. The former is perhaps to be preferred, as it provides a governing verb for the preceding παρ[α]στα[θῆ]ναι “stand close, abide”, which in turn seems likelier and more consistent with the lacuna than e.g. παρ[α]κατα[θῆ]ναι “be deposited.”

11–2 Perhaps παρ[ε]χόντες τέ[σ]σ[α]ρα τῶν πρό[τερον] | κ]νημίδων (or πρό[των κτλ.) “supplying four of the above . . . leggings,” with an adjective or a participle governed by κ]νημίδων to better qualify the noun. This may be intended as part of the original order by the office to the *curator* and *defensor*. The word κ]νημίδων, from κνημιά “legging,” belongs to poetic and archaic Greek language; in Greek documentary papyri, it appears only once: namely, in *P.Panop.Beatty* 1²⁰, a *tomos synkollesimos* containing dispositions from the prefect's bureau. A message in which Iulius Athenodorus—governor of Thebaid in 298—orders the νυκτοτράτηγοι (night watches) to send him craftsmen and technicians and anyone capable of constructing helmets, corselets and leggings can be found at ll. 342–6²¹. Notably, the texts are from the same milieu—the Roman administration—and perhaps for this very reason they happen to employ a similar verbiage. There is a further instance of περικνημίδες “covering for legs, gaiters” in the earlier *P.Lond.* II 191,²² an inventory of household furniture, from which it can be gathered that the word κνημιά did appear in documents now and then.

12–3 Two courtesy titles, ἀνδρεία (l. 12) and ἐξουσία (l. 13), for which once again see ZILLIACUS 1949 and, for an earlier account, HORNICKELE 1930. Whereas ἐξουσία appears to be typical of the prefect and upwards, the former can be employed for lower ranks: see e.g. *P.Gascou* 36²³, ll. 9–11 καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰδέναι σε τίνα ἐξ[τῆ] | τὰ γραφέντα πρὸς με ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνδρείας ὑποταγ[ῆ]ναι ἐποίσεια

20. AD 298.

21. Cf. *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, col. XIII, ll. 342–6 νυκτοστρατήγοις. Ὁ κύριός μου [δια]κ]ημότατος ἡγούμενος τῆς Θηβαίδος Ἰούλιος Ἀθηνόδορος δι' ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐμοί τε καὶ ἀρχουσι καὶ προέδρῳ τῶν | αὐτόθι ἐκέλευσεν [πάντας] τοὺς τε ἐνταῦθα καὶ {τῶ} ἐν τῷ νομῷ τεχνείτας καὶ εἰδήμονας πρὸς ἐργασίαν περικεφαλῶν καὶ λωρίκων καὶ κνημίδων π]ανταχόθεν ἀναζητηθῆναι καὶ ἀποσταλῆναι πρὸς τὸ μεγαλεῖον αὐτοῦ. Κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἠπεύχθη | ἐπιτεῖλαι ὑμῖν ὅ[πως] μ]εμνημένοι τοῦ ἑαυτῶν κινδύνου πανταχόθεν ἀναζητῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ εὐρόντες παρενεγκεῖν ἐν τῷ | δημοσίῳ λογιστηρίῳ [πεμφ]θησομένους πρὸς τὸ μεγαλεῖον αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐκέλευσεν, “To the night police. My lord the most eminent Governor of the Thebaid, Iulius Athenodorus, in his letter to myself and to the magistrates and the president here has ordered that all craftsmen and skilled workmen in the nome shall be sought out everywhere, for the manufacture of helmets and breastplates and greaves, and sent to his Highness. Wherefore I am necessarily obliged to command you, bearing in mind your own peril in the matter, to search out everywhere the workmen in the city, and when found, to confine them in the public office, to be conducted to his Highness in accordance with his orders.” This translation is from the main edition.

22. AD ca. 103–117, TM 19963. The word appears in l. 13 περικνημίδων δερματίνων “of leathery gaiters.”

23. AD ca. 350.

τούτοις μου τοῖς γράμμασι. The sender, a *procurator* (ἐπίτροπος) of imperial properties, speaks to the *exactor* of a nome and refers to his superior in rank, the *rationalis* (καθολικός), as ἡ ἀνδρεία αὐτοῦ. The two lines might be supplemented e.g. ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνδρεία[ς τοῦ | κυρίου μου κ²]αλεῖν²⁴ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας α[ὐτοῦ] or ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνδρεία[ς ὑμῶν/αὐτῶν |]αλεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας τ[οῦ κυρίου | μου κτλ. The overall meaning of this passage remains uncertain.

14 Perhaps]αλεῖν.

15–6 The final salutation (ἐρρῶσθαι ... χρόνοις), where χρόνοις has been conjecturally placed at the beginning of l. 16, appears to be more cursive-like than the remaining text.

16–9 The same hand that drafted the copy also added a portion of text under the final salutation formula. At first sight, this portion of text appears to be divided into two sections, one left and one right, for which I find no record in the extant evidence. Little to nothing remains of the note in the left portion of the writing frame. The note in the right portion contains at least two feminine names: Ζώη (TM Nam 7874)—here spelled Ζόη—and Ἀμμωνοῦς (TM Nam 1982), as well as the medio-passive participle form of the verb θηλάζειν “to suckle, nurse.” Whereas this participle is seen only once, and quite late, in Greek papyri from Egypt—see *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67005²⁵, l. 11 ... τέκ]νον [ἀρ]ρενικὸν πε[ν]τα[έτ]τηρον τοῦ βίου ὑπαγαχωρήσαντος τούτου κατέλειπεν αὐτό μοι θηλαζομέν[η]—the verb is documented to have appeared more frequently²⁶. One is inclined to think this portion of text was a list of the ἀνδράποδα, laid out in two brief columns and placed one after the other through the particle καί; the participle of θηλάζειν might point out that the she-slave Zoe was nursing a baby (τὸ θηλαζόμε[νον])—either her own or someone else’s. Whatever the services required of those slaves, at least Zoe might have been employed as a wet nurse when she was inserted in the list: see STRAUS 2021, pp. 695–7.

20 Regarding this peculiar epistolary format, envisaging a split Latin dating formula in the margins of Greek and Latin official letters especially from Diocletian’s reforms onwards, see IOVINE 2019, pp. 163–206; further details appear in CONTI 2022. In the missing left margin of this copy, there might have been the participle *dat(a)* with the day and the month when the original letter was composed, although we cannot know whether the scribe, finding this partial formula in the original letter, decided to disregard it and retain only the bottom part, i.e. the consular year.

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24. The verb, reconstructed here entirely for the sake of the argument, might govern ἐπί and the genitive: “summon to the bravery of my lord” (i.e. to his presence).

25. AD 568.

26. See e.g. *P.Lond.* III 951 v, ll. 2–3 ἥκουσ[α] ὄ[τ]ι θηλάζειν αὐτήν | ἀναγκάζεισ (late 3rd cent.).

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