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## A New Coptic Epitaph from the Petrie Museum

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### Abstract

Edition of a Coptic epitaph from the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology that invokes a litany of saints. The inscription likely dates to the seventh to ninth century and originates from Saqqara or Bawit.

Among the Coptic inscriptions in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology is a fragmentary limestone epitaph that bears the inventory number UC 16852.<sup>1</sup> While the inscription is fragmentary, it is nonetheless notable for a number of reasons: it is one of the longer Coptic inscriptions in the Petrie collection; it contains a litany of important and rarely mentioned saints; and it follows a pattern that is paralleled in only a handful of published Coptic inscriptions. Therefore, in this article we offer an edition of this previously unpublished piece along with a translation and commentary.<sup>2</sup>

UC 16852 is a limestone epitaph that measures approximately 39 x 30 x 4 cm (H x W x D) and contains a sixteen-line inscription written in the Sahidic dialect. The lines are scored throughout the inscription at an average height of 1.6 cm, and both the right and left margins are also scored so that the inscription is written in a rectangular grid; below the last line of text (l. 16) are five additional horizontal scored lines that contain no writing. In ll. 10-11 there are still traces of red paint in the inscribed letters. The stone has a diagonal break

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<sup>1</sup> We would like to thank Alice Stevenson, collection curator at the Petrie Museum, for permission to publish this inscription and image, as well as Pia Edqvist, a museum assistant who has been extremely helpful fielding our requests. We also want to thank Jacques van der Vliet for providing some initial direction on this inscription and the anonymous reviewers for giving insightful feedback.

<sup>2</sup> The brief catalogue record reads as follows: “? provenance, UC 16852. Part of a limestone tombstone? 16+ lines of Greek Coptic inscription incised. (unpublished) Coptic.” The acquisition date of the piece is unknown. This inscription is briefly discussed in B. Tudor, *Christian Funerary Stelae of the Byzantine and Arab Periods from Egypt* (Marburg 2011) 69, n. 507.

so that nearly half of the inscription is missing; the break runs from the bottom left corner of the inscription to the top right corner, with the result that only the last line of text is completely intact, while the first line contains little more than a single word. From the only complete line (l. 16) and the reconstruction of certain other lines it appears that the inscription contained between twenty-two and twenty-five letters per line. Notwithstanding the significant amount of text that is missing, most of it can be reconstructed with some confidence thanks to parallels from other inscriptions.

While the provenance of the inscription is unknown, upon closer examination it seems probable that it comes from one of two locations: the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit or the monastery of Apa Jeremias in Saqqara. The inscription contains a lengthy litany of saints for which distinct parallels from both Bawit and Saqqara can be adduced.<sup>3</sup> For example, correspondences in inscriptions from Saqqara provide exact parallels and span multiple lines; however, many similarities in formulation can also be found in inscriptions at Bawit, and the overall layout of the inscription, with a grid of scored lines and traces of red paint in the inscribed letters, is attested in certain inscriptions from the vicinity of Bawit.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, while the inscription probably comes from one of these two places, it is not possible to determine its place of origin with more precision.<sup>5</sup> Clues stemming from both provenances are not surprising given the close relationship between these monasteries.<sup>6</sup> The only geographic reference in the epitaph is the toponym ΠΕΥΝΗΥΡΟΣ (ll. 11 and 13-

<sup>3</sup> *SB Kopt.* 1.792 (Bawit); *SB Kopt.* 1.793 (Bawit); *SB Kopt.* 2.1142 (Saqqara); *SB Kopt.* 4.2002 (Bawit); J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9, 1909-10): The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* (Cairo 1912) 59-60 (no. 203) (Saqqara). On Coptic litanies see A. Papanastasiou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides. Rapport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes* (Paris 2001) 387-402.

<sup>4</sup> R. Engelbach, "Coptic Stela of Serne of Damshîr," *BSAC* 3 (1937) 6-8 (= *SB Kopt.* 1.793); W. Brunsch, "Bemerkungen zu koptischen und griechischen Inschriften aus Kairo," *Orientalia* 60 (1991) Pl. 3, no. 8; and stelae BM EA 673 and BM EA 1494 of the British Museum; Tudor (n. 2) 203.

<sup>5</sup> Tudor (n. 2) 69, n. 507, suggests that the present inscription might come from Bawit.

<sup>6</sup> The epigraphic similarities shared between the monastery of Apa Jeremias and the monastery of Apa Apollo may be attributed to the fact that a satellite monastery of Apa Jeremias was established in the immediate vicinity of the monastery of Apa Apollo and served as a vehicle for the exchange of artistic, epigraphic, and hagiographic developments between Saqqara and Bawit. Quibell (n. 3) 48 notes: "The connection with the Bawit monastery [and Saqqara] seems to have been a close one; not only were the saints of one monastery honored at the other and vice versa, but the style of art in the two buildings is so similar that it must be derived from a common source. A connecting link might be found in the small monastery of Apa Jeremias nearly opposite Bawit, which

14), a village located in the Fayum, but this need not have any direct bearing on the provenance of the inscription.<sup>7</sup>

Except where damaged, the extant text of the inscription is clear and is inscribed with a uniform hand. Letters are generally inscribed with rounded forms and lack ornamentation, although τ occasionally contains subtle roundels on each end of the crossbar, and there is a noticeable hook that protrudes from the top of the Δ. The horizontal border at the bottom of the inscription is decorated by a band of continuous guilloche (twisted ropes around central points).<sup>8</sup> Apart from these decorations the surface of the inscription contains no ornamentation apart from three crosses in l. 15 that take the form of a cross “fourchée.”<sup>9</sup> Orthographically the inscription is rather unremarkable: ψ is substituted with nc, and there are a couple of phonetic shifts.<sup>10</sup>

While the inscription contains a dating formula with a month and an indiction year, establishing a precise date for the epitaph is challenging. Paleographically the epitaph shares similarities with a few inscriptions at Bawit and Saqqara, but these are undated.<sup>11</sup> The dated inscriptions from the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit range from the eighth to the early tenth century,<sup>12</sup> and those from the monastery of Apa Jeremias in Saqqara range from the late sev-

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seems to have been an offshoot of the parent house at Saqqara.” On the monasteries of Apa Jeremias see *P.Bal.* 1, pp. 22-24.

<sup>7</sup> This toponym is not mentioned in any text from Saqqara or Bawit. On this village and its Christian remains, see P. Grossmann, T. Derda, and J. van der Vliet, “Monuments of Christian Sinnuris (Fayyum, Egypt),” *ECA* 8 (2011) 29-48.

<sup>8</sup> A similar type of guilloche may be found on another Egyptian stela that is located at the Musée de Beaufort en Vallée, *BF* 913.00.74, and is published by F. Calament, “Rive gauche, rive droite: des éclaircissements sur un toponyme de l’Hermopolite. Autour de la stèle Louvre E 27221,” in A. Boud’hors and C. Louis (eds.), *Études coptes XII. Quatorzième journée d’études (Rome, 11-13 juin 2009)* (Paris 2013) 37-46.

<sup>9</sup> For a description of this cross see J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Syene I: The Figural and Textual Graffiti from the Temple of Isis at Aswan* (Darmstadt 2012) 81. On the use of this cross in Coptic epitaphs, see I. Kamel, *Coptic Funerary Stelae of the Coptic Museum* (Cairo 1987) 36.

<sup>10</sup> B. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar with Chrestomathy and Glossary: Sahidic Dialect. Second Edition, Revised and Expanded with an Index of Citations* (Wiesbaden 2004) 16 does not consider ψ > nc a phonetic shift.

<sup>11</sup> Bawit: Brunsch (n. 3) Pl. 3, no. 8; Engelbach (n. 3) 6-8. These texts share a similar rounded script. Saqqara: J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907-1908)* (Cairo 1909) Pl. 44, no. 3.

<sup>12</sup> A. Delattre, “Remarques sur quelques inscriptions du monastère de Baouît,” *BIFAO* 108 (2008) 74-75.

enth to the early ninth century.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, the date of this inscription is probably not earlier than the seventh century and not later than the ninth century.<sup>14</sup>

It is possible that the first extant line is also the first line of text since there are no remnants of letters above. In l. 1 the only complete word is ἀπα, which completes the line and is preceded by what appears to be a Ɱ. Given that the closest parallel inscriptions from Bawit and Saqqara typically begin with an invocation to the Trinity, it is tempting to reconstruct l. 1 as [πρωτ πωηρε πεπνα ετουαα]Ɱ ἀπα. In ll. 2-11 a litany of saints appears that includes at least eighteen different fathers, many of whom are attested in inscriptions from Saqqara and Bawit. After this litany, the epitaph commemorates an individual identified as παπα ιωζαννης πρμψγνηγρος. The inscription concludes by citing the date of his death followed by the formula “in the peace of God, amen,” and then terminates with the isopsephy ϥθ.

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- [ ca. 20 ]Ɱ ἀπα  
 [ ἀπα ἀ]πα οϥενοϥ-  
 [ρε ἀπα ἀπ]α μακαρε  
 [μν νεϥωηρε ἀπα μωγση]ς μν νεϥ-  
 5 [ςνηϥ τηροϥ νεη]ιοτε μμαρτυρ-  
 [ος ἀπα βικτωρ α]πα φοιδαμων  
 [ἀπα μνηα ἀπα γεω]ργε ἀπα κυρια-  
 [κος ἀπα φιλοθε]ος ἀπα ζωρ ἀπα  
 [πωοι ἀπα ιωζ]αννης ἀπα επιμα-  
 10 [χε ἀπα δαν]ιηλ ἀπα αρςϥνιος μ-  
 [νεϥςνηϥ ρμ]ψϥνηγρος νετουααβ  
 [τηροϥ] νταγρ ποϥωϥ μπνοϥτε αρι  
 [πμε]εϥε μππαπα ιωζαννης πρμψ-  
 [ςϥη]ηγρος νταϥμτον μμοϥ νσοϥ  
 15 [μ]ητ νεμωιρ + + + <ι>να<ι>κ<τι>ωνος Γ ϥη οϥ-  
 ειρηνη ντε πνοϥτε ζαμην ϥθ

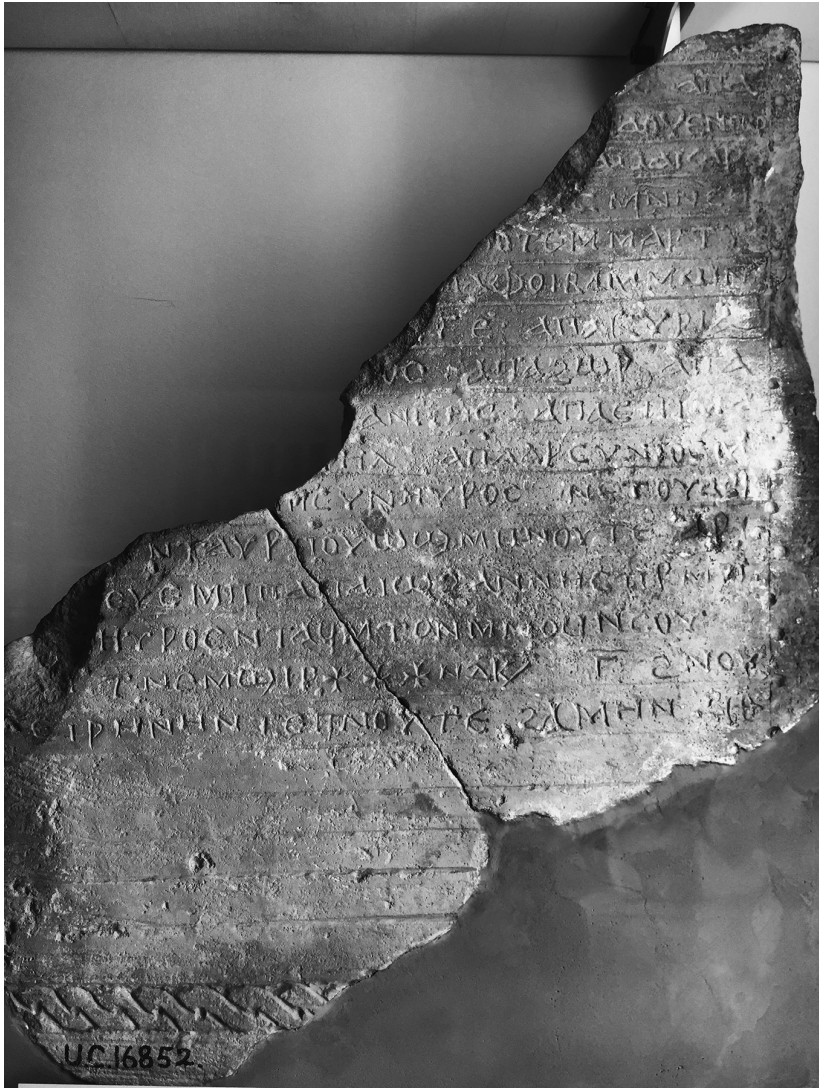
5-6 μάρτυρος 15 <ι>νδ<ι>κ<τι>ωνος) 16 εἰρήνη, ἀμὴν

“[ . . . ] Apa [name (?), Apa name (?)], Apa Onnophrius, [Apa name (?)],  
 Apa Macarius with his sons, Apa Moses with all his brethren, our fathers the

<sup>13</sup> C. Wietheger, *Das Jeremias-Kloster zu Saqqara unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Inschriften* (Altenberge 1992) 196-98.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Tudor (n. 2) 344.

martyrs Apa Victor, Apa Phoibamon, Apa Menas, Apa George, Apa Cyriacus, Apa Philotheus, Apa Hor, Apa Pshoi, Apa John, Apa Epimachus, Apa Daniel, Apa Arsenius with his brethren the men of Psuneuros, and all the saints who did the will of God. Remember Papa John the man of Psuneuros who rested on day ten of Mecheir in the third indiction. In the peace of God amen, (amen).”





1 [ ca. 20 ]ϑ. While the traces of the ϑ are faint, they resemble the form of the ϑ in l. 6. Epitaphs from Saqqara and Bawit that are similar to the present inscription tend to begin with an invocation to the Trinity, e.g. *SB Kopt.* 1.792.1 (Bawit); *SB Kopt.* 1.793.1 (Bawit); *SB Kopt.* 2.1142.1-2 (Saqqara); Quibell (n. 11) 59 (no. 203.1-2) (Saqqara). Therefore, a possible reconstruction for this line could be: [ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΔ]ϑ. On the use of Trinitarian formulae at Saqqara see Wietheger (n. 13) 132; Tudor (n. 2) 193-196.

1-3 ΔΠΑ | [ name (?) ΔΠΑ name (?) Δ]ΠΑ ΟΥΕΝΟΥ|[ΡΕ ΔΠΑ name (?)]. If this epitaph comes from Saqqara then ll. 1 and 2 could potentially be reconstructed as follows: ΔΠΑ | [ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΔΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ Δ]ΠΑ. In the litanies of saints listed on epitaphs from the monastery of Apa Jeremias they often begin with ΔΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ and then ΔΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ after the invocation to the Trinity; e.g. *SB Kopt.* 1.403.3-4; *SB Kopt.* 2.1154.3-4; *SB Kopt.* 3.1605.2-3; *SB Kopt.* 3.1606.2-3; *SB Kopt.* 4.1973.3-4; *SB Kopt.* 4.1977.3-4. At Bawit, litanies appear to be introduced in a less formulaic manner, and therefore if this inscription comes from this location, it would be difficult to determine with confidence what saints commence the litany.

From the end of l. 2 it is evident that the name of the saint that follows is some variation of “Onnophrius,” for which there are many attested forms; see *NB Kopt.* s.v. ΟΥΕΝΟΥΕΡ. For notable saints bearing this name see Papaconstantinou (n. 3) 161-62. On the use of the name Onnophrius at Saqqara see Wietheger (n. 13) 233. Saints bearing this name are also attested in an inscription from Bawit: *SB Kopt.* 1.792.16; see also *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 52.2.

As references to ΔΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ are attested in comparable inscriptions from Saqqara and Bawit it is possible that this saint is referenced in the lacunae; *SB Kopt.* 2.1142.15 (Saqqara); *SB Kopt.* 1.792.7 (Bawit); *SB Kopt.* 1.793.10 (Bawit).

3-5 ΔΠ]Δ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ | [ΜΝ ΝΕΦΩΗΡΕ ΔΠΑ ΜΩΥΣΗ]Σ ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΦ|[CΝΗΥ]. This exact phrase is found in *SB Kopt.* 2.1176.10-11 (Saqqara) and in *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.10-12 (Bawit); the latter part of this phrase ΔΠΑ ΜΩΙΣΗΣ ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΦCΝΗΥ is found in two other inscriptions from Saqqara: *SB Kopt.* 1.790.16-17 and Quibell (n. 3) 75 (no. 240.12). An ΔΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ is also mentioned in the following inscriptions from Saqqara and Bawit: *SB Kopt.* 2.1142.17 (Saqqara); *SB Kopt.* 1.792.13 (Bawit); *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.10 (Bawit).

4-5 ΝΕΦ|[CΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ]. This phrase is attested in: *SB Kopt.* 1.425.2; *SB Kopt.* 2.839.11; *SB Kopt.* 4.2081.1.

5-6 [ΝΕΝ]ΙΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΑΡΤΥΡ|[ΟC]. This phrase appears in the following inscriptions from Saqqara and Bawit: *SB Kopt.* 4.1887.3 (Saqqara); Quibell (n. 3) 59-60 (no. 203.8) (Saqqara); M. Cramer, *Koptische Inschriften im Kaiser-*



*Friedrich-Museum zu Berlin. Ihre sachliche, örtliche und zeitliche Einordnung in das Gesamtgebiet koptischer Grabinschriften* (Cairo 1949) 9751.11-12 (probably from Saqqara); *SB Kopt.* 1.793.6 (Bawit); *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.1-2 (Bawit).

6-8 [ΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ Δ]ΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ | [ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΠΑ ΓΕΩ]ΡΓΕ ΑΠΑ ΚΥΡΙΑ|[ΚΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΦΙΛΟΘΕ]ΟΣ. This exact phrase occurs twice, once in an epitaph from Saqqara and once in an epitaph from Bawit: Quibell (n. 3) 59-60 (no. 203.8-10) (Saqqara); *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.1-4 (Bawit). Tudor (n. 2) 189 notes that the martyrs Victor, Phoibamon, Menas, George, Cyriacus, and Philotheus sometimes occur together in epitaphs from Saqqara.

6 [ΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ Δ]ΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ. The reconstruction ΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ is attested before Phoibamon in the list of martyrs (see n. 6-8 above). On the attestation of this martyr in inscriptions from Saqqara see Wietheger (n. 13) 223; see also Papaconstantinou (n. 3) 62-68. Given that ΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ is mentioned among the martyrs, this individual might be the well-known martyr bearing this name who was allegedly executed in the early fourth century under Maximian. See Papaconstantinou (n. 3) 212-14; Tudor (n. 2) 190. On ΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ in inscriptions from Saqqara see Wietheger (n. 13) 240. This name is also attested in a single epitaph from Bawit: *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.2-3, 23.

7 [ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΠΑ ΓΕΩ]ΡΓΕ. The reconstruction ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ is attested before ΓΕΩΡΓΕ in the list of martyrs (see n. 6-8 above). On ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ and ΑΠΑ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ in inscriptions from Saqqara see Wietheger (n. 13) 224, 232; for Bawit see *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.3.

7-8 ΑΠΑ ΚΥΡΙΑ|[ΚΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΦΙΛΟΘΕ]ΟΣ. On ΑΠΑ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ and ΑΠΑ ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΣ in inscriptions from Saqqara see Wietheger (n. 13) 230, 240; for Bawit see *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.4.

8-9 ΑΠΑ ΖΩΡ ΑΠΑ [ΠΩΟΙ]. These two saints are mentioned in order in *SB Kopt.* 2.1252.5 (Saqqara) and in Quibell (n. 11) 35 (no. 26.3-5) (Saqqara). On ΑΠΑ ΖΩΡ and ΑΠΑ ΠΩΟΙ in inscriptions from Saqqara see Wietheger (n. 13) 237, 241. Neither of these saints is presently attested in an epitaph from Bawit.

9 [ΑΠΑ ΙΩΣ]ΔΑΝΝΗΣ. An ΑΠΑ ΙΩΣΔΑΝΝΗΣ is attested in a two inscriptions from Saqqara: Quibell (n. 11) 70 (no. 150.6) and Quibell (n. 3) 51 (no. 175.1).

9-10 ΑΠΑ ΕΠΙΜΑ|[ΧΕ ΑΠΑ ΔΑΝ]ΙΗΛ. The name ΕΠΙΜΑΧΕ is attested in *SB Kopt.* 1.467.4 and *SB Kopt.* 3.1415.1. While this reading is probable given the space provided in the lacuna at the start of l. 10, this name is not presently attested in epitaphs from Saqqara or Bawit. However, there is a well-known ΑΠΑ ΕΠΙΜΑ from the Oxyrhynchite nome, see T. Mina, *Le Martyre d'Apa Epima* (Cairo 1937). For ΕΠΙΜΑΧΟΣ see Papaconstantinou (n. 3) 79-80.

The reconstruction [ΑΠΑ ΔΑΝ]ΙΗΛ in l. 10 seems probable as there are relatively few names that end in -ΙΗΛ besides ΔΑΝΙΗΛ. The only names ending in -ΙΗΛ that appear in inscriptions from the monastery of Apa Jeremias are ΔΑΝΙΗΛ, ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ, and ΙΕΡΗΜΙΗΛ. While ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ is the most common, it typically appears at the start of an inscription after the invocation of the Trinity and refers to the Archangel Gabriel. ΙΕΡΗΜΙΗΛ appears only once and refers to an angel, see Wietheger (n. 13) 227-228, 367. ΔΑΝΙΗΛ is the only one that appears as a personal name used with the title ΑΠΑ: Quibell (n. 3) 94 (no. 304.7). See also Wietheger (n. 13) 224.

10-11 ΑΠΑ ΑΡCΥΝΙΟΣ Μ[ΝΕCΙΝΗΥ ΡΜ]ΠCΥΝΗΥΡΟΣ. Because of the presence of the Μ at the end of l. 10 one anticipates that ΜΝ ΝΕCΙΝΗΥ, or possibly ΜΝ ΝΕCΩΗΡΕ, will follow in the lacuna (see ll. 3-4 and 4-5). The present reconstruction is based on a parallel found in *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.5-6 from Bawit: ΑΠΑ ΜΕΛΙΤΟΥ ΜΝΕCΙΝΗΥ ΡΜΝΤΕΡΩΤ ΝΩΟΝC “Apa Melitus and his brethren the men of Terot Neshoons [village in the Hermopolite].” The word ΠCΥΝΗΥΡΟΣ, which immediately follows the lacuna in l. 11, is a toponym and further secures the reconstruction.

ΠCΥΝΗΥΡΟΣ is often rendered ΠΕΨΙΝΕΥΡΗΣ or ΠΨΙΝΟΥΡΕC (see also ΩΗΝΑΡΩ); in Greek it is typically rendered ΨενῦριC or ΨινεῦριC. See S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1984-1992) 4.2034-35 (s.v. Psenyris) and 5.2355-56 (s.v. Sinauris) and *P.Naqun* 2, p. 143, n. 7. On the interchange ι > γ and ε > η see *P.Bal.* 1, pp. 70-71, 88; on ε > ο see p. 75. This village is the modern-day Sinnuris that is situated 15 km north of Medinet el-Fayum; it is attested already in the early Ptolemaic period and is especially well represented in the seventh and eighth centuries AD. This toponym is again mentioned in the inscription in ll. 13-14 as the home of the deceased. On the limited Christian evidence from Sinnuris see Grossmann, Derda, and van der Vliet (n. 7) 29-48.

ΑΠΑ ΑΡCΥΝΙΟΣ: l. ΑΡCΕΝΙΟΣ. On an ἄββα Ἄρσένιος see Papaconstantinou (n. 3) 59 and De Lacy O’Leary, *The Saints of Egypt* (London 1937) 134. On the interchange ε > γ see Gignac, *Gram.* 1:274 and *P.Bal.* 1, pp. 56-57. An ΑΠΑ ΑΡCΕΝΙΟΣ is also mentioned in *SB Kopt.* 3.1456.14; see also *SB Kopt.* 1.311.2-3 and *SB Kopt.* 2.932.10.

11-12 ΝΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ | [ΤΗΡΟΥ] ΝΤΑΥΡ ΠΟΥΩΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. At Bawit this phrase appears in *SB Kopt.* 1.793.12-13. At Saqqara it is attested in Quibell (n. 11) 45 (no. 54.3-4), 47 (no. 65.7-8), Quibell (n. 3) 53 (no. 180.3-4) and 59-60 (n. 203.12-13), and 101 (324.6).

13-14 ΜΠΑΠΑ ΙΩΔΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΡΜΠ|[CΥΝ]ΗΥΡΟΣ. The spelling ΠΠΑΠΑ is widely attested in volumes 1 and 2 of *SB Kopt.* On the meaning of the title

παπα see T. Derda and E. Wipszycka, “L’emploi des titres abba, apa et papas dans l’Égypte byzantine,” *JJP* 24 (1994) 23-27. παπα ιωζαννης is attested in the following inscriptions from Saqqara: Quibell (n. 11) 35 (no. 26.14-15) and Quibell (n. 3) 106 (no. 339b.1). At Bawit a παπα ιωζαννης is attested in *SB Kopt.* 4.1997.9.

The use of πρμ “the man of” establishes that what follows is a toponym. For instance, ρωρ πρμ νιομ δαμτων μμοϥ νσοϥ μητ νζαθωρ “Hor the man of Iom who rested on day ten of Hathyr” is found in *SB Kopt.* 2.1112.2-4. See also *SB Kopt.* 1.790.12-14, *SB Kopt.* 1.792.18-19, and *SB Kopt.* 2.1081.11. For the toponym πσυνηϥρος see n. 10-11. It is not apparent what the connection was between πσυνηϥρος and Saqqara or Bawit; however, Grossmann, Derda, and van der Vliet (n. 7) 39-40 have pointed out shared iconographic parallels between the three locales.

14 νταμτων μμοϥ. This is a widespread formula in Coptic epitaphs and most often serves to introduce the date of death. The phrase μτων μμοϥ is equivalent to the Greek ἀναπαύομαι and is not merely a euphemism for death but expresses hope in a future resurrection: J. van der Vliet, “What is Man? The Nubian Tradition of Coptic Funerary Inscriptions,” in A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Nubian Voices: Studies in Christian Nubian Culture* (Warsaw 2011) 171-224.

14-15 νσοϥ | [μ]ητ νεμωϥ. The month of μωϥ is most often rendered μεχειρ in Coptic inscriptions; the present spelling εμωϥ is attested elsewhere, including a few inscriptions from Saqqara: *SB Kopt.* 1.694.6-7, *SB Kopt.* 3.1610.14, and *SB Kopt.* 4.1977.9-10. The dating phrase νσοϥ + day of the month + month is widely attested in Coptic epitaphs; on the use of this formula at the monastery of Apa Jeremias see Wietheger (n. 13) 199-200.

15 ι)να(ι)κ(τιωνος). While the abbreviation νακ is unattested, similar forms are found: ναικ (*SB Kopt.* 1.119.2), νακ (*SB Kopt.* 1.214.1).

15-16 ρν οϥ|ειρηνη ντε πνοϥτε ραμην ϥθ. The phrase ρν οϥ|ειρηνη could be taken as a wish that the deceased might have a peaceful afterlife, and should be understood in the sense of a future eschatological salvation; see E. Dinkler, “Schalom – Eirene – Pax: Jüdische sepulkralinschriften und ihr Verhältnis zum frühen Christentum,” *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 50 (1974) 131-134. In the context of finding “peace” in the grave LXX Isa. 57:2 is particularly noteworthy: ἔσται ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ ταφῇ αὐτοῦ “his burial shall be in peace.” In Coptic epitaphs the phrase ρν οϥ|ειρηνη ντε πνοϥτε appears occasionally, and most of these attestations are in epitaphs from Saqqara: *SB Kopt.* 1.471.9-10; *SB Kopt.* 1.735.14-17; *SB Kopt.* 1.774.9-11; *SB Kopt.* 2.1176.17; *SB Kopt.* 4.1975.10-12; *SB Kopt.* 4.1977.10-11; *SB Kopt.* 4.2108.4-6.

The isopsephic spelling  $\var�\theta$  signifies “amen”:  $99 = \alpha (=1) + \mu (=40) + \eta (=8) + \nu (=50)$ . Though the first letter in this isopsephy is inscribed just like a  $\var�$ , it should be understood as a koppa ( $\var�$ ), which has the numeric value of 90. This isopsephy is widely attested in Coptic and Greek (Christian) epitaphs from Egypt. It is first attested in the second century when Irenaeus of Lyon notes that certain Christians, namely the Marcosians whom he criticizes, associated  $\alpha\mu\eta\nu$  with the number 99 (*Haer.* 1.16.1; cf. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 34.12.6). The isopsephy is first attested in Egypt in the third and fourth centuries in certain early Christian letters; see L.H. Blumell, *Lettered Christians: Christian Letters and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus* (Leiden 2012) 47.

Detecting Settlement Communities in Graeco-Roman Egypt	
<i>Yanne Broux</i> .....	295
Additions to the Philosarapis Archive	
<i>Jane Rowlandson</i> .....	315
More Land, More Production, or More Taxes? Growth and the Apion Estate	
<i>Ryan McConnell</i> .....	355
Notes on Papyri.....	367
Christian Inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia 3 (2015)	
<i>Alain Delattre, Jitse Dijkstra, and Jacques van der Vliet</i> .....	377
Review Article	
The Ptolemaic Army and Egyptian Society: From Invasion to Integration	
<i>Hans Hauben</i> .....	395
Reviews	
Sandra Luisa Lippert and Martin Andreas Stadler (eds.), <i>Gehilfe des Thot</i> (Koen Donker van Heel) .....	411
Michael Gronewald, John Lundon, Klaus Maresch, Gesa Schenke, and Philip Schmitz, <i>Kölner Papyri (P. Köln), Band 13</i> (Marja Vierros).....	415
Mohamed Gaber El-Maghrabi and Cornelia Römer (eds.), <i>Texts from the</i> <i>“Archive” of Socrates, the Tax Collector, and Other Contexts at Karanis</i> (Peter van Minnen) .....	419
R.P. Salomons, <i>P. Cair. Preis.</i> <sup>2</sup> (Francisca A.J. Hoogendijk).....	421
Kevin W. Wilkinson, <i>New Epigrams of Palladas</i> (Amphilochios Papatomas) .....	425
Alain Delattre and Sarah J. Clackson, <i>Papyrus grecs et coptes de Baouît conservés</i> <i>au Musée du Louvre</i> (Lajos Berkes) .....	429
Anne Boud’hors, Alain Delattre, Catherine Louis, and Tonio Sebastian Richter (eds.), <i>Coptica Argentoratensia</i> (Jennifer Cromwell) .....	433
James M. Robinson, <i>The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi</i> (Brent Nongbri).....	439
Joseph E. Sanzo, <i>Scriptural Incipits on Amulets from Late Antique Egypt</i> (Roxanne Bélanger-Sarrazin and Jitse H.F. Dijkstra) .....	443
Carolin Arlt and Martin Andreas Stadler (eds.), <i>Das Fayyûm in Hellenismus und</i> <i>Kaiserzeit</i> (Brendan Haug).....	447
Books Received.....	453
American Studies in Papyrology .....	455

# Contents

Homeric and Pharmacologic Medical Recipes in a Greek Papyrus Formulary <i>Michael Zellmann-Rohrer</i> .....	5
Drei neue ptolemäische Papyri und das Amtsarchiv des Demetrios <i>Matthias Stern</i> .....	17
Three Unpublished von Scherling Texts in the McGill University Library <i>Brice C. Jones</i> .....	53
New von Scherling Papyri in Uppsala <i>Klaas A. Worp</i> .....	61
Labor Contracts from the Harthotes Archive <i>W. Graham Claytor, Nikos Litinas, and Elizabeth Nabney</i> .....	79
Four Poll Tax Receipts on Papyrus from the Early Roman Fayum <i>W. Graham Claytor, Richard G. Warga, and Zachary Smith</i> .....	121
A Private Letter in the Beinecke Collection <i>Jennifer Weintritt</i> .....	145
Fünf neue griechische Brieffragmente aus Bonn <i>Fritz Mitthof and Amphilochios Papathomas</i> .....	149
Packing List of a <i>Katholikos</i> <i>Philip F. Venticinque</i> .....	175
Villages, Requisitions, and Tax Districts <i>Lajos Berkes and Brendan Haug</i> .....	189
A New Coptic Epitaph from the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology <i>Lincoln H. Blumell and Erik O. Yingling</i> .....	223
Un nouveau sauf-conduit du monastère d'Àpa Jeremias à Saqqara? <i>Perrine Pilette and Naïm Vanthieghem</i> .....	233
Two Arabic Papyrus Documents Relating to Payments in Kind <i>Khaled Younes</i> .....	239
A History of the Theban Magical Library <i>Korshi Dosoo</i> .....	251
Some Remarks on <i>O.Frangé</i> 751 <i>Anastasia Maravela</i> .....	275
Some Corrections to Ptolemaic Petitions and Related Documents <i>Gert Baetens</i> .....	283