

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE 27TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PAPYROLOGY

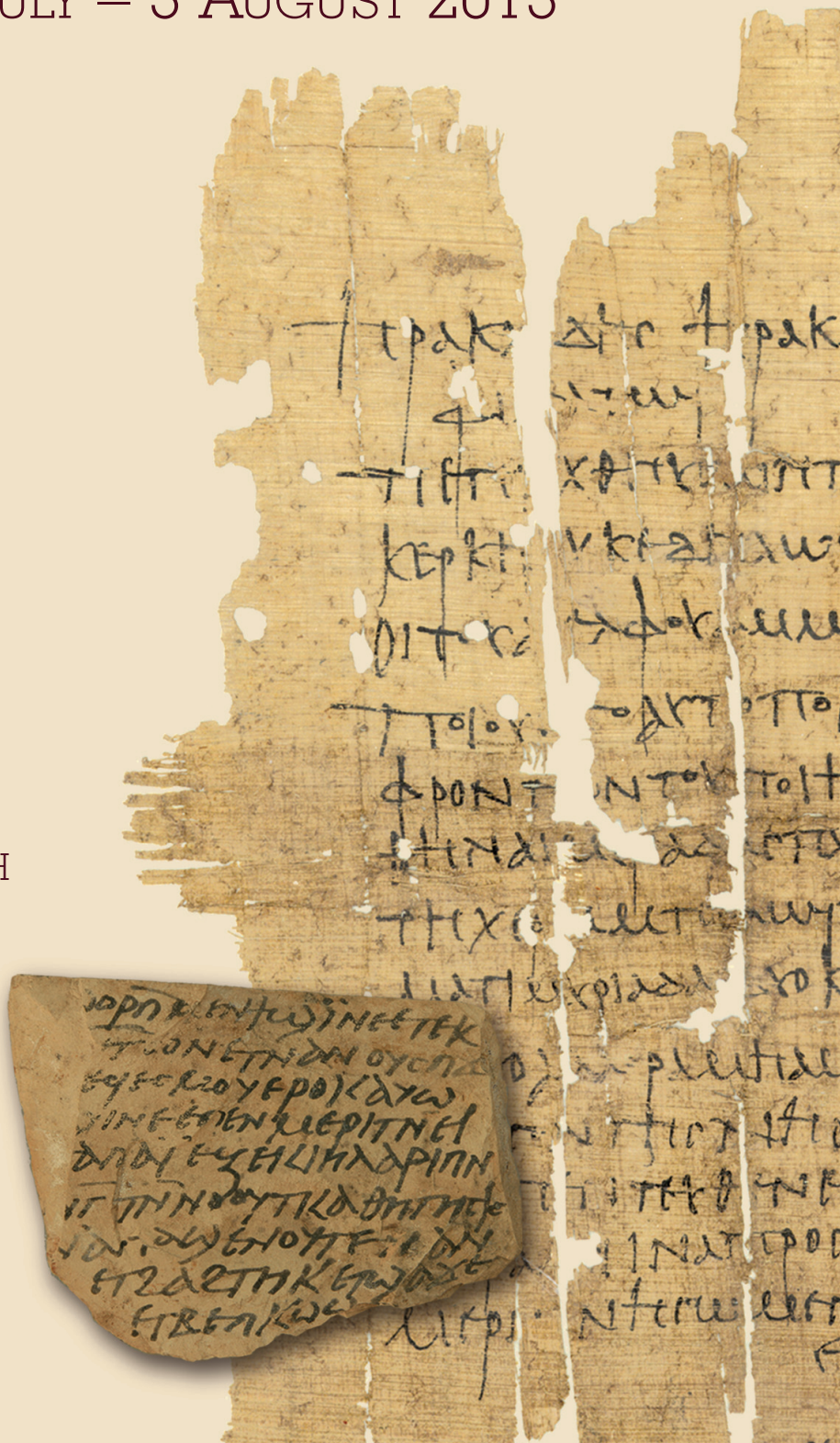
WARSAW | 29 JULY – 3 AUGUST 2013



EDITED BY  
**TOMASZ DERDA**  
**ADAM ŁAJTAR**  
**JAKUB URBANIK**

IN COOPERATION WITH  
**GRZEGORZ OCHAŁA**  
**ANDRZEJ MIROŃCZUK**

WARSAW 2016





UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW  
FACULTY OF LAW AND ADMINISTRATION  
CHAIR OF ROMAN AND ANTIQUE LAW



UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW  
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY  
DEPARTMENT OF PAPYROLOGY



THE RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG  
FOUNDATION

# THE JOURNAL OF JURISTIC PAPYROLOGY

Supplements

SERIES EDITORS

**TOMASZ DERDA**

**ADAM ŁAJTAR**

**JAKUB URBANIK**

VOLUME XXVIII

*Proceedings*  
*of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*  
Warsaw, 29 July – 3 August 2013

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

**Volume One**

**LITERARY PAPYRI: TEXTS AND STUDIES**

OPENING LECTURE

- Roger S. BAGNALL, *Illegitimacy in Roman and Late Antique Egypt* ..... 5

SECTION ONE: POETRY

- José Antonio FERNÁNDEZ DELGADO, *Contribution of the new papyri to the history of Hesiod's text* ..... 21
- Marco Antonio SANTAMARÍA ÁLVAREZ, *Theseus' and Pirithous' catabasis in P. Ibscher col. I (Hes. fr. 280 Merkelbach–West = Minyas fr. 7 Bernabé)* ..... 37
- C. Michael SAMPSON, *A new reconstruction of Sappho 44 (P. Oxy. X 1232 + P. Oxy. XVII 2076)* ..... 53
- Benedetto BRAVO, *Anacreonte, Poetae Melici Graeci 346/1, fr. 1, 1–12: Uno scherzo sull'erōs del potere politico* ..... 63
- Kathleen McNAMEE, *A new look at the Würzburg Phoenissae commentary* ..... 85
- Fjodor MONTEMURRO, *P. Berol. 5514 re-examined: textual and exegetical problems in Euripides, Melanippe desmotis, fr. 495 Kannicht* ..... 97
- Krystyna BARTOL, *How to serve a giant fish? Pap. Duk. F 1984.7 = Adesp. Com. 1146 K.-A.: Some textual problems* ..... 117
- Angelo CASANOVA, *Note sul lessico della rhesis di Panfile (Men., Epitr. 801–835)* ... 129
- Jan KWAPISZ, *P. Heid. G 310A revisited: Hellenistic sotadeans, hexameters, and more?* ..... 145
- Marco PERALE, *A Hellenistic astronomical poem from Oxyrhynchus* ..... 155
- Gabriel NOCCHI MACEDO, *Juvenal in Antinoë. Palaeographic and contextual observations on P. Ant. s.n.* ..... 167

## SECTION TWO: PROSE

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Natascia PELLÉ, <i>Frammenti delle Historiae di Tucidide su rotoli riutilizzati: uno studio bibliologico e paleografico</i> ..... | 187 |
| Francesca DE ROBERTIS, <i>P. Mich. inv. 918 e la tradizione della terza Filippica di Demostene</i> .....                          | 201 |
| Rosa OTRANTO, <i>Esegesi demostenica su papiro: P. Lit. Lond. 179 [MP<sup>3</sup> 307]</i> .....                                  | 223 |
| María Paz LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, Consuelo RUIZ MONTERO, <i>The Parthenope's novel: P. Berol. 7927 + 9588 + 21179 revisited</i> .....     | 235 |
| Giuseppe UCCIARDELLO, <i>New light on P. Strasb. Gr. 1406–1409: An early witness of Secundus' sentences</i> .....                 | 251 |
| Chris RODRIGUEZ, <i>Le cri d'une victime de la tyrannie: La théâtralisation des débats dans les Acta Appiani</i> .....            | 279 |
| Natalia VEGA NAVARRETE, <i>Acta Appiani: Gerüchte über den kaiserlichen Hof in Alexandria</i> .....                               | 301 |

## SECTION THREE: HERCULANEUM PAPYRI

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Christian VASSALLO, <i>Towards a comprehensive edition of the evidence for pre-socratic philosophy in the Herculaneum papyri</i> .....   | 315 |
| Giuliana LEONE, <i>L'edizione di Epicuro, Sulla natura, libro II</i> .....   | 347 |
| Aurora CORTI, <i>P. Herc. 454: Una «scorza» di Epicuro, Sulla natura XXV (P. Herc. 1420/1056)</i> .....  | 357 |
| Michele ALESSANDRELLI, Graziano RANOCCHIA, <i>P. Herc. 1020 (Stoici scriptoris anonymi opus incertum). Condizioni fisiche, aspetti bibliologici e storia editoriale</i> .....          | 373 |
| Mario CAPASSO, <i>Nuovi frammenti del De adulatione di Filodemo (P. Herc. 1092) ...</i>  | 389 |
| Mariacristina FIMIANI, <i>Contributo al testo del P. Herc. 1423 (Filodemo, Retorica, libro IV)</i> .....   | 401 |
| Graziano RANOCCHIA, <i>P. Herc. 1004 ([Filodemo], [Sulla retorica], libro incerto). Condizioni fisiche, descrizione bibliologica e storia degli studi</i> .....                        | 413 |
| Matilde FIORILLO, <i>Segni di interpunzione e di correzione nel P. Herc. 1004 (Filodemo, Retorica VII)</i> .....   | 433 |
| Giovanni INDELLI, Francesca LONGO AURICCHIO, <i>Il P. Herc. 1471 (Filodemo, La libertà di parola) nelle carte Vogliano</i> .....   | 445 |
| Kilian FLEISCHER, <i>New readings in Philodemus' Index Academicorum: Dio of Alexandria (P. Herc. 1021, col. XXXV, 17–19)</i> .....   | 459 |
| Daniel DELATTRE, Joëlle DELATTRE-BIENCOURT, Annick MONET, Agathe ANTONI, <i>La reconstruction du P. Herc. Paris. 2, Philodème, [La Calomnie]: Quelques nouveautés textuelles</i> ..... | 471 |
| Holger ESSLER, Daniel RIAÑO RUFILANCHAS, <i>'Aristarchus X' and Philodemus: Digital linguistic analysis of a Herculanean text corpus</i> .....   | 491 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Michael McOSKER, <i>Verso una nuova edizione del P. Herc. 188 (Demetrio Lacone, Sulla poesia I). Storia del papiro ed indentificazione degli avversari</i> ..... | 503 |
| Antonio PARISI, <i>Osservazioni preliminari sul P. Herc. 124</i> .....   | 515 |
| Gianluca DEL MASTRO, <i>Il titolo del P. Herc. 1005</i> .....  | 525 |

## SECTION FOUR: CHRISTIAN LITERARY PAPYRI

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Jitse H. F. DIJKSTRA, <i>The 'Alexandrian World Chronicle'. Place in the late antique chronicle traditions, date, and historical implications</i> ..... | 535 |
| Marco STROPPA, <i>I papiri greci dell'Asceticon dell'abate Isaia</i> .....  | 549 |
| Alan GAMPEL, Céline GRASSIEN, <i>P. Duke Inv. 766: Le plus ancien témoin papyrologique d'un canon poétique liturgique</i> .....                         | 561 |

## Volume Two

**SUBLITERARY PAPYRI, DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI,  
SCRIBAL PRACTICES, LINGUISTIC MATTERS**

## SECTION FIVE:

## POPULAR LITERATURE, MEDICINE, MAGIC, LETTERS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Francisca A. J. HOOGENDIJK, <i>Page of an oracle book: Papyrus Kellis 96.150</i> .....  | 595 |
| Luigi PRADA, <i>P. Oxy. XXXI 2607 re-edited: A Greek oneirocriticon from Roman Egypt</i> .....  | 623 |
| Ann Ellis HANSON, <i>P. Ryl. III 530 and the Latin commentaries to the Hippocratic aphorisms</i> .....                                      | 647 |
| Isabella BONATI, <i>Between text and context: P. Oslo II 54 reconsidered</i> .....  | 659 |
| Antonio RICCIARDETTO, <i>Inventaire et typologie des listes grecques et latines de produits pharmaceutiques</i> .....                       | 677 |
| Korshi DOSOO, <i>Magical discourses, ritual collections: Cultural trends and private interests in Egyptian handbooks and archives</i> ..... | 699 |
| Rachel YUEN-COLLINGRIDGE, <i>Legibility in the Greek magical papyri: The treatment of formulae in PGM IV</i> .....                          | 717 |
| Laura WILLER, <i>Die Handhabung magischer Schriftamulette im römischen Ägypten</i> .....  | 735 |
| Lincoln H. BLUMELL, <i>A Christian amulet containing a doxology with sketches on the back</i> .....   | 745 |
| Iain GARDNER, <i>The Sethian context to a Coptic handbook of ritual power (= P. Macquarie I)</i> .....                                      | 755 |



|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Marie-Hélène MARGANNE, <i>Du texte littéraire au document: Les connexions entre les papyrus littéraires et documentaires grecs et latins</i> ..... | 767 |
| Amaia GOÑI ZABALEGUI, <i>On the other side of the dialogue: letters addressed to women from Roman Egypt</i> .....                                  | 777 |
| Antonia SARRI, <i>Handsbifts in letters</i> .....  | 797 |

## SECTION SIX: COLLECTIONS OF PAPYRI

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| María Jesús ALBARRÁN MARTÍNEZ, <i>Archives d'Apa Sabinos dans le fonds copte de la Sorbonne</i> .....  | 823 |
| Carla BALCONI, <i>Papiri della collezione dell'Università Cattolica di Milano provenienti dalla Grande Oasi</i> .....                        | 837 |
| Katherine BLOUIN, <i>Papyri in Paris: The Greek papyrus collection in the Bibliothèque nationale de France</i> .....                         | 853 |
| Franziska NAETHER, <i>Demotic texts from Leipzig</i> .....   | 883 |
| Déborah VIGNOT-KOTT, <i>D'Apollonopolis Magna à Varsovie. Regard sur les textes démotiques d'Edfou dans les collections polonaises</i> ..... | 895 |

## SECTION SEVEN: GREEK AND LATIN

## PAPYRI AND OSTRACA: NEW AND REVISITED TEXTS

|  |      |
|--|------|
| Panagiota SARISCHOULI, <i>BKT IX 158 revisited: An extract from judicial proceedings rather than a prose fragment</i> .....  | 911  |
| Hélène CUVIGNY, <i>Un type méconnu de document administratif militaire: la demande de versement de frumentum praeteritum (O. Claud. inv. 7235 et ChLA XVIII 662)</i> ..... | 931  |
| Eleonora Angela CONTI, <i>PSI inv. 1816. Una lettera privata in scrittura libraria..</i>   | 943  |
| Alia HANAFI, <i>Two unpublished documents from the Coptic Museum in Cairo</i> ....   | 953  |
| Fatma E. HAMOUDA, <i>A boule-papyrus from Karanis</i> .....  | 961  |
| Shareen A. ALY, <i>Three Greek ostraca from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo</i> .....   | 967  |
| Nadine QUENOUILLE, <i>The Gerontios-Archive: A sub-archive to the Abinnaeus-Archive?</i> .....   | 975  |
| Anne BOUD'HORS, Jean GASCOU, <i>Le monastère de Dorothee dans la montagne d'Antinoopolis</i> .....   | 991  |
| Seham D. A. AISH, Noha A. SALEM, <i>Ten new documents from the archive of the elaiourgoi of Aphrodite (O. Cairo Museum S.R. 18953)</i> .....                               | 1011 |

## SECTION EIGHT: COPTIC PAPYRI AND OSTRACA

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Anne BOUD'HORS, <i>Apprendre à lire et à écrire: deux documents coptes revisités</i> .  | 1027 |
| Esther GAREL, <i>The ostraca of Victor the priest found in the hermitage MMA 1152</i> . | 1041 |

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Jennifer CROMWELL, <i>Coptic documents in two copies: A study of corrections and amendments</i> ..... | 1055 |
|---|------|

## SECTION NINE: ARABIC PAPYRI

|  |      |
|--|------|
| Ursula BSEES, <i>Half a sale contract or an unknown type of document? Going deeper into P. Cair. EgLib. inv. 885 verso</i> ..... | 1077 |
| Johannes THOMANN, <i>An Arabic horoscope on parchment with a square diagram for AD 1002 (P. Vind. inv. A. Perg. 236)</i> .....   | 1085 |

## SECTION TEN: ANATOMY OF A TEXT, BIBLIOLOGICAL MATTERS

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Francesca MALTOMINI, <i>Use and reuse of papyrus rolls and scraps: Some bibliological matters</i> .....   | 1097 |
| Francisca PORDOMINGO, <i>Scriptio plena vs. élision dans les papyrus littéraires: Les papyrus ptolémaïques avec des textes poétiques</i> .....              | 1113 |
| Enrico Emanuele PRODI, <i>Titles and markers of poem-end in the papyri of Greek choral lyric</i> .....  | 1137 |
| Chiara MECCARIELLO, <i>Title, ἀρχή, ὑπόθεσις. Notes on the heading and arrangement of the tragic hypotheses on papyrus</i> .....                            | 1185 |
| Chiara MARTIS, <i>Sistemi di correzione nei papiri letterari greco-egizi: Considerazioni preliminari</i> .....  | 1201 |
| Thomas A. WAYMENT, Michael R. TROTTER, <i>P. Oxy. LXIV 4405: An early witness to a system of textual division at Oxyrhynchus</i> .....                      | 1231 |
| Nathan CARLIG, <i>Symboles et abréviation chrétiens dans les papyrus littéraires grecs à contenu profane (IV<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles)</i> ..... | 1245 |

## SECTION ELEVEN: LANGUAGE, VOCABULARY, ONOMASTICS

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Sonja DAHLGREN, <i>Egyptian transfer elements in the Greek of Narmouthis ostraka</i> .  | 1257 |
| Grzegorz OCHAŁA, <i>Multilingualism in Christian Nubia: A case study of the monastery of Ghazali (Wadi Abu Dom, Sudan)</i> .....        | 1265 |
| Maria Chiara SCAPPATICCIO, <i>Coniugare nell'una e nell'altra lingua. Sondaggi dalle flessioni verbali greco-latine su papiro</i> ..... | 1285 |
| Joanne Vera STOLK, <i>Dative and genitive case interchange in Greek papyri</i> .....  | 1305 |
| Elena MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, <i>Μονόσκορον (PGM IV 2209)</i> .....  | 1325 |
| Zsuzsanna SZÁNTÓ, <i>Les noms bibliques des Juifs dans l'Égypte hellénistique</i> .....   | 1333 |

**Volume Three**  
**STUDYING POPYRI**

## SECTION TWELVE:

## HISTORY OF POPYROLOGY, NEW POPYROLOGICAL TOOLS

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Holger ESSLER, <i>Wilckens Briefe an britische Kollegen</i> .....   | 1351 |
| Alain MARTIN, <i>Charles Wessely à la «Semaine Égyptologique» de Bruxelles</i> .....  | 1365 |
| Herbert VERRETH, <i>Topography of Egypt online</i> .....  | 1379 |
| Marius GERHARDT, <i>Die Berliner Papyrusdatenbank (BerlPap)</i> .....   | 1387 |
| Jean-Luc FOURNET, Simona RUSSO, <i>La culture matérielle dans les papyrus: une nouvelle entreprise lexicographique</i> .....                            | 1393 |
| Nicola REGGIANI, <i>Data processing and state management in Late Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt: The project ‘Synopsis’ and the archive of Menches</i> ..... | 1415 |

## SECTION THIRTEEN: POPYROLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

|  |      |
|--|------|
| Rodney AST, Paola DAVOLI, <i>Ostraka and stratigraphy at Ambeida (Dakhla Oasis, Egypt): A methodological issue</i> .....     | 1447 |
| Mario CAPASSO, <i>Nuovi ritrovamenti di papiri e ostraka a Soknopaiou Nesos (2010–2012)</i> .....                            | 1473 |
| Alberto NODAR, <i>Two new texts from Oxyrhynchus: Archaeology and papyrology on the site</i> .....                           | 1483 |
| Thomas LANDVATTER, <i>Archaeological and papyrological inquiry at Karanis: Problems and potentialities</i> .....             | 1493 |
| Giovanna MENCI, <i>Ogetti iscritti appartenenti alla collezione dell’Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli»</i> .....            | 1519 |
| Maria MOSSAKOWSKA-GAUBERT, <i>La papyrologie à la rencontre de l’archéologie: Le lexique des mobiliers d’éclairage</i> ..... | 1533 |

## SECTION FOURTEEN: JURISTIC POPYROLOGY

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Rob KUGLER, <i>Judean legal reasoning in P. Polit. Iud. 3–5: A research report</i> .....                        | 1565 |
| Joachim HENGSTL, <i>Noch einmal zum Erfahrungsprofil des Apostels Paulus aus rechtshistorischer Sicht</i> ..... | 1579 |
| Fara NASTI, <i>The new complete edition of P. Haun. De legatis et fideicommissis: Some remarks</i> .....        | 1591 |

## SECTION FIFTEEN: HELLENISTIC EGYPT

|  |      |
|--|------|
| Lucia CRISCUOLO, <i>Queens’ wealth</i> ..... | 1605 |
|--|------|



|  |      |
|--|------|
| Andrew MONSON, <i>Harvest taxes on cleruchic land in the third century BC</i> .....  | 1615 |
| Hans HAUBEN, <i>Boats and skippers in the service of Apollonios the dioiketes especially in Zenon's Alexandrian years (261–256 BC)</i> ..... | 1633 |
| Christelle FISCHER-BOVET, <i>Les Égyptiens dans les forces armées de terre et de mer sous les trois premiers Lagides</i> .....               | 1669 |
| Patrick SÄNGER, <i>The meaning of the word πολιτεύματα in the light of the Judaeo-Hellenistic literature</i> .....                           | 1679 |
| Christian-Jürgen GRUBER, <i>Amtsdauer und -nachfolge von Eklogistai vom ausgehenden ersten Jh. v.u.Z. an in Ägypten</i> .....                | 1695 |

## SECTION SIXTEEN: ROMAN EGYPT

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Livia CAPPONI, <i>C. Calpurnius Proculus and an example of Greek stenography under Augustus</i> .....                                 | 1709 |
| Micaela LANGELLOTTI, <i>Contracts and people in early Roman Tebtunis: A complex affair</i> .....                                      | 1725 |
| Marie-Pierre CHAUFRAY, <i>Comptes du temple de Soknopaios à Dimé à l'époque romaine</i> .....   | 1737 |
| Adam ŁUKASZEWICZ, <i>Double greetings in P. Brem. 5 and some other remarks on Hadrian's Egypt</i> .....                               | 1751 |
| Thomas KRUSE, <i>Zu den Kompetenzen des administrativen Hilfspersonals der enchorischen Beamten in der römischen Kaiserzeit</i> ..... | 1761 |

## SECTION SEVENTEEN: LATE ANTIQUE EGYPT

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Miroslava MIRKOVIĆ, <i>Taxes and people: Transactions and misuses in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Egypt</i> ..... | 1775 |
| Usama A. GAD, <i>Who was who in the aristocracy of Byzantine Oxyrhynchus</i> .....                                      | 1787 |
| Alexandra JESENKO, <i>Die Topoteretai im spätantiken und frühbarabischen Ägypten</i> ..                                 | 1801 |
| Karin MAURER, Sven TOST, <i>Polizeiliche Erzwingungs- und Verwaltungsstäbe im spätantiken Ägypten</i> .....             | 1825 |
| Matthias STERN, <i>Welche Gefängnisse kontrolliert der Pagarch?</i> .....   | 1843 |
| Isabelle MARTHOT, <i>L'irrigation des terres du village d'Aphrodité à l'époque byzantine</i> .....                      | 1871 |

## SECTION EIGHTEEN:

## LIVING IN EGYPT IN GRAECO-ROMAN TIMES

|  |      |
|--|------|
| Mario C. D. PAGANINI, <i>Decisional practices of private associations in Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt</i> ..... | 1889 |
|--|------|

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Lucia ROSSI, <i>Le navire kerkouros, une galère marchande fluviomaritime? Pour une contribution à l'étude de la mobilité commerciale sur le Nil</i> ..... | 1903 |
| Isabella ANDORLINI, <i>Import of luxury goods in the light of the papyri of the Roman period</i> .....  | 1927 |
| Yousry DEYAB, <i>Laissez-passers in the light of documentary evidence from Mons Claudianus, AD 98–117</i> .....   | 1943 |
| Myrto MALOUTA, <i>Antinoopolis by land and river</i> .....  | 1961 |
| Eman Aly SELIM, <i>Where was Psenharpsenêsis?</i> .....   | 1973 |
| Claudia TIREL CENA, <i>Who hides behind the god Djeme?</i> .....  | 1981 |
| Rasha Hussein EL-MOFATCH, <i>Where is the party?</i> .....  | 1993 |

## SECTION NINETEEN ARABIA AND BEYOND

|  |      |
|--|------|
| Jaakko FRÖSÉN, <i>From carbonized papyri to the Monastery of Saint Aaron at Petra. The 'last will' of Mr. Obodianos (P. Petra Inv. 6A)</i> ..... | 2013 |
| Jorma KAIMIO, <i>The division of landed property in P. Petra 17</i> .....  | 2025 |
| Rachel MAIRS, <i>New discoveries of documentary texts from Bactria: Political and cultural change, administrative continuity</i> .....           | 2037 |

*Proceedings*  
*of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*  
Warsaw, 29 July – 3 August 2013  
pp. 745–753

Lincoln H. Blumell

**A CHRISTIAN AMULET CONTAINING A DOXOLOGY  
WITH SKETCHES ON THE BACK\***

ACCORDING TO THE CATALOGUE RECORDS P. Mich. inv. 1567 was acquired by the University of Michigan in November of 1924 and is of unknown provenance. The papyrus measures 3.5 cm × 20 cm (H × W) and has writing on both sides. One side of the papyrus contains a three-line doxology that is written against the fibers and the other side contains three xis (ξξξ) written along the fibers in succession followed by two dots then sketches of two animals. The papyrus is broken off on the side so that only the back half of the second animal is preserved and the beginning of each line of the doxology on the reverse is lost. Nevertheless, because the doxology contains set phraseology the missing text at the beginning of each line can be reconstructed with confidence and consists of not more than a few letters. Assuming the lost text in the left margin of the doxology began at the left margin of the papyrus, just as the right textual margin extends to the very edge of the papyrus, not more than one (or possibly two) centimeters has been broken off and lost. The top of the papyrus has been deliberately cut to fit the doxology.

\* I would like to thank Brendan HAUG, Archivist of the Papyrus Collection at the University of Michigan, for permission to publish this papyrus as well as Nikos LITINAS for bringing it to my attention.

It is difficult to determine whether or not the texts on each side of the papyrus are related. While both sides are written with a dark brown ink and share some general similarities, it seems that they are different hands, which suggests that there is no direct relation between them. The three xis written on the recto are distinctly larger than the single xi (l. 1) on the verso and possess different letter forms that are more fluid and evolving than the single xi that appears in l. 1 of the doxology that is considerably smaller and written with a square uncial script. Nevertheless, because of the very limited text sample for comparison one has to be cautious with any paleographic comparison between the two sides.

Turning first to the doxology, the hand of the text is regular and clear with consistently spaced letters averaging 0.55 cm in width and line heights measuring 1.1 cm. Stylistically the letters are upright with rounded forms and loops and are indicative of 'Alexandrian majuscule' script with the closest paleographic parallels being found in texts dated to the sixth and seventh centuries: *P. Grenf.* II 112 (ca. AD 577?); *P. Oxy.* XV 1820 (sixth century AD); *P. Köln* V 215 (ca. AD 663?); cf. *P. Heid.* IV 295 (seventh/eighth century AD). Orthographically the spelling is fairly regular but the writer does have some phonetic shifts as final position omegas are written as omicron upsilon (ll. 1, 2) and an initial zeta is replaced with a sigma (l. 2).<sup>1</sup> On l. 2 the writer employs the *nomen sacrum* for πνεῦμα and on two occasions marks the text with dots (·) to signal breaks in the text (ll. 2, 3).

While the doxology is made up of phrases that appear frequently in doxologies the overall form of the doxology is unattested; the closest parallel is to be found in a homily of Amphilochius of Iconium (ca. 340–395).<sup>2</sup> In literary texts similar forms to the expanded doxology found on this papyrus appear at the conclusion of prayers in eucharistic rites, e.g. the prayer of 'thanksgiving' in the Egyptian Liturgy of St. Mark,<sup>3</sup> and by the

<sup>1</sup> On σ > ζ and ω > ου interchange, see F. T. GIGNAC, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, I: *Phonology*, Milan 1976, pp. 120–124, 209–211.

<sup>2</sup> In *Lazarum* (orat. 3) V 148–150: Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. Greek text taken from *Amphilochii Iconiensis Opera*, ed. C. DATEMA, Turnhout 1978, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> F. E. BRIGHTMAN (ed.), *Liturgies Eastern and Western: Being the Texts Original or Translated*

later fourth century are ubiquitous at the conclusion of patristic treatises or sermons;<sup>4</sup> for example, John Chrysostom concludes a number of sermons with doxologies that parallel the doxology found on the present fragment and Cyril of Alexandria likewise concludes his *De sancta trinitate* with a similar doxology.

Turning to the papyri, no exact parallel for the doxology exists although a number of similar doxologies are found in amulets that include a version of the Lord's Prayer that is followed with a doxology.<sup>5</sup> However, it is important to note that there is no indication that there is any text preceding the first line and the papyrus appears to have been deliberately cut along the top according to the present layout of the text. In terms of overall content the closest parallel to the present text is Van Haelst 0877, a fifth-century ostrakon that only includes a doxology, but the text is different and it ends with an 'amen,' which is absent in the present text. In fact, the use of 'amen' appears to be fairly standard in doxologies, either spelled out in full (ἀμήν) or signified by the isopsephy *koppa theta* (Ϟθ), and there are only a couple of doxologies that lack a concluding amen: *O. Crum* 520 (seventh century AD); *PGM* II 5d (= *P. Lond. Lit.* 231; seventh century AD).<sup>6</sup> This might suggest that the basis of the present text was the liturgy since doxologies in the liturgy were not always followed by 'amen.' Though I have been unable to locate another amulet that only contains a doxology, doxologies are attested at the conclusions of various amulets: *P. Bon.* I 9 (fourth/fifth century AD); *P. Lond. Lit.* 231 (seventh century AD); *P. Köln* VI 257 (fourth/fifth century AD); *P. Turner* 49 (fifth/sixth century AD); *Suppl. Mag.* I 36 (fifth/sixth century AD); *P. Ross. Georg.* I 24 (sixth century AD); *O. Crum* 520 (seventh century AD).

*of the Principal Liturgies of the Church, I: Eastern Liturgies*, Oxford 1896. p. 142: ... σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

<sup>4</sup> A basic search on the TLG will confirm this.

<sup>5</sup> C. A. LA'DA & A. PAPAETHOMAS, 'A Greek papyrus amulet from the Duke Collection with biblical excerpts,' *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 41 (2004), pp. 93–114, ll. 22–23 (on p. 98). Line 23 contains also *koppa theta* for 'amen' (VI/VII).

<sup>6</sup> *O. Crum* 520: doxology and alphabet; *PGM* II 5d: doxology that contains no 'amen' but it does continue after the doxology finishes.

The dimensions of the papyrus along with the vertical folds where the papyrus is damaged suggest that it was folded or rolled and functioned as a charm or amulet. In terms of its dimensions (3.5 cm × 20 cm [H × W]) it is similar to *Suppl. Mag.* I 31 (= *P. Turner* 49; *BKT IX* 134; fifth/sixth century AD), an amulet containing a prayer for healing, that measures 3 cm × 30 cm (H × W). Likewise, it also shares similar dimensions with *P. Oxy.* LXXVI 5073, an amulet containing Mark 1:1–2 (third/fourth century AD) that measures 4.5 cm by 25.2 cm (H × W). *P. Oxy.* LXXVI 5073 is also notable because as with the present document the text is written against the fibers of the papyrus with a competent hand whereas most amulets are written along the fibers in hands that are less skilled.

The writing on the back of the doxology is rather puzzling. It contains three xis, written in succession, followed by two dots and rough sketches of two animals. As noted earlier the xis are larger and are written with a different hand than the single xi on l. 1 on the verso, which probably suggests a different hand. Given that the formation of each xi evolves from one to the next it may be that the writer of these letters was simply practicing this rather uncommon and intricate letter as each successive letter-form is more elaborate and pronounced.

Since the two drawings lack accuracy and detail it is difficult to determine what animals they are depicting and with the second picture where only the backside of the animal is extant it is even more difficult. Nevertheless, the first sketch seems to depict some sort of viverid (family *Viverridae*). In fact, the drawing resembles the ichneumon (*ἰχνεύμων*), or Egyptian mongoose (*Herpestes ichneumon*), that was depicted with some regularity in the Old Kingdom Saqqara tombs and in a few Ptolemaic period figurines of copper and bronze. In documentary papyri there is only one reference to ichneumons; it occurs in *P. Lond.* III 904, l. 4 (pp. 124–126; AD 104), where twenty-four ichneumons were sent from the Fayum to the Prefect in Alexandria.<sup>7</sup> The other context in which references to ichneu-

<sup>7</sup> The text gives no apparent reason why the Prefect was in need of ichneumons and though one commentator has speculated that they may have been for ‘amusement’ (A. C. JOHNSON, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian* [= *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* 2], Baltimore 1936, p. 625), one might also wonder, given that ichneumons were known for killing



mons appear in the papyri is in a few magical texts; but the references are only passing (see n. 1 below). In literary texts the animal is mentioned as an indigenous animal to Egypt and is usually mentioned in *descripta* of various animals and was typically associated with the Heracleopolite Nome where it was purportedly venerated.<sup>8</sup>

The second image, of which only the back half of the animal is preserved, is similar enough to the first that it might also have been an ichneumon; however, it may be noted that the hind legs are more upright and muscular, the belly is more flat and does not seem to sag, the back more pronounced, and the tail thinner and tapers off at the end. It therefore seems that the second animal could be a horse given that the picture of the posterior shares vague similarities with certain sketches of horses that appear on papyri as well as in Greco-Roman graffiti from Syene.<sup>9</sup> Though the tail of the animal is quite long, seemingly touching the ground, and is not anatomically correct for a horse, it may be noted that in the sketches of horses in graffiti the tails tend to be unusually long.<sup>10</sup>

If the sketches on the recto are in some way related to the text on the verso the connection is not immediately clear. While some amulets that serve as apotropaic charms against animals will include pictures of the animals (e.g., scorpions, snakes, etc.), the pictures are usually on the text side and are typically referred to in the actual text. As for the three  $\chi$ is on the recto, their specific purpose is similarly enigmatic if it is anything other than a quick writing exercise; this letter combination is not otherwise attested in magical texts. In *P. Oxy.* XVI 2063 (sixth century AD), an amulet against scorpions, on l. 12 a series of six  $\rho$ hos are written in succession, but their specific purpose for the amulet is not immediately clear. In

snakes and smaller rodents, whether the Prefect was seeking them for some more utilitarian purpose like pest control. See Strabo XVII 39; cf. Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 380e.

<sup>8</sup> Clement, *Protr.* II 39, 5; cf. Strabo XVII 39.

<sup>9</sup> *C. Illum. Pap.* 14 (late fourth/early fifth century AD), 21V (fifth century AD), 32 (sixth–eighth century AD), 64 (twelfth century AD), 65 (twelfth century AD), 66 (twelfth century /thirteenth century AD). See also J. H. F. DIJKSTRA, *Syene I: The Figural and Textual Graffiti from the Temple of Isis at Aswan*, Darmstadt – Mainz 2012, nos. 23, 28, 31–33.

<sup>10</sup> DIJKSTRA, *Syene I* (cit. n. 9), who notes in all the descriptions of the graffiti with horses (nos. 23, 28, 31–33.) that the tails are ‘very long.’

SB XVIII 13323 (sixth/seventh century AD), an amulet on a wooden tablet that contains a portion of Ps. 28:3 written out six times, on the back is a series of letters in Greek and Coptic; while it was supposed that the letters on the back somehow refer to the material on the front, others have suggested that the tablet may have been a repurposed school exercise.<sup>11</sup> It therefore seems most likely that the material on the back of the doxology, both texts and images, are not related to the doxology and may probably be regarded as an informal practicing of a letter accompanied by some doodles.

↓ [ὄτι] σοῦ ἐ(στυ)ν <ῆ> δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίου  
 [τε κ]αὶ σωποιοῦ σου πν(εύμα)τι: νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς  
 3 [τοὺς] αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶ[νω]ν:

1. I. παναγίω || 2. I. ζωοποιῶ | pap. πντι

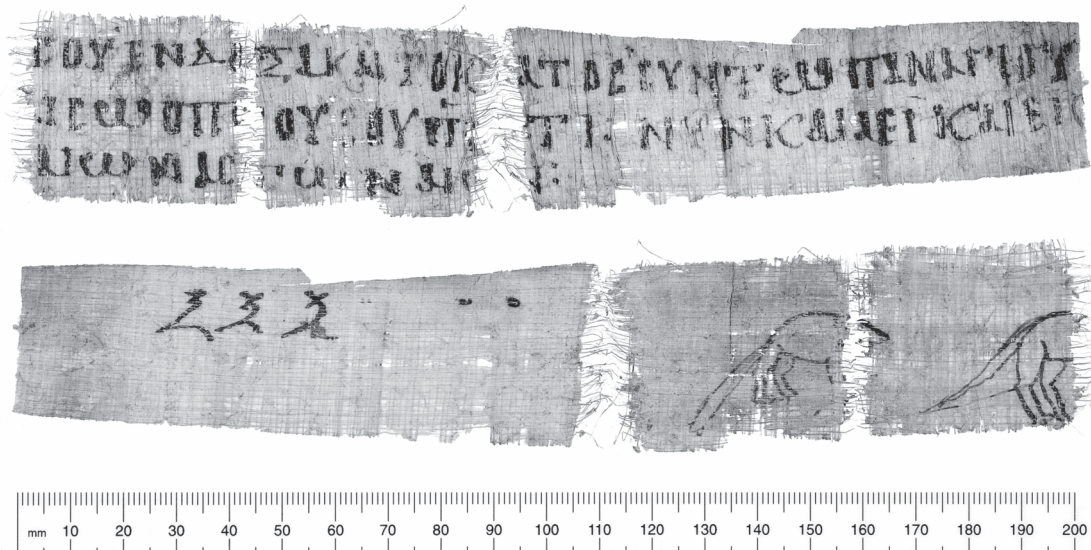
→ (m2?) ξξξ

*For yours is the glory and power with your all-holy and life-giving Spirit now and always and forever and ever.*

(↓) I. [ὄτι] σοῦ ἐ(στυ)ν <ῆ> δόξα. This phrase is paralleled in *P. Iand.* I 6.3.2 (fifth/sixth cent. AD) and in La'da & Papatomas, 'A Greek papyrus amulet' (cit. n. 5), p. 98, where in both texts it begins the doxology. This phrase is also attested in LXX Odes 12:15 (= Pr Man 1:15); *Did.* 9:4 (cf. *Did.* 8:2, 10:5); John Chrysostom, *Pasch.* 63 (SC 27, p. 191); John Chrysostom, *Eclogae i-xlvi ex diversis homiliis* 20 (PG 63, p. 694, ll. 60–61); Ephraem, *Sermones paraeneticus ad monachos Aegypti, Orat.* 48, l. 278; Barsanuphius and John, *Ep.* 60, l. 41 (SC 426, p. 296), *Ep.* 69, l. 13 (SC 426, p. 334), *Ep.* 440, l. 11 (SC 451, p. 518), *Ep.* 582, l. 29 (SC 451, p. 776), *Ep.* 660, l. 10 (SC 468, p. 94).

The εν should be taken as the contraction for ἐ(στυ)ν based on phraseological parallels and it appears that there might even be a faint trace of a supralinear

<sup>11</sup> Claire PREAUX, 'Une amulette chrétienne aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles,' *Chronique d'Égypte* 20 (1935), pp. 361–370.



mark signaling the abbreviation. Admittedly this is an unusual abbreviation but similar kinds of abbreviations for *έστιν* are attested: *BGU* II 622 (AD 182; Karanis), l. 8; *BGU* IX 1896 (AD 166; Theadelphia), l. 223; *P. Erl.* 85 (second/third cent. AD; Oxyrhynchite), l. 6; *P. Lond.* IV 1433 (19 Sept. AD 707; Aphrodito), ll. 42, 49, 56, 113; *P. Mich.* III 180 (2 Aug. AD 131; Bacchias), l. 10; *P. Mich.* VI 385 (AD 182–185; Karanis), l. 46.

The missing definite article *ή* is probably intended even though it is absent since it almost always appears with the phrase *δόξα και τὸ κράτος*; when this phrase is used I have only located one occasion where the article is not employed: Cyril, *Fest. Ep.* VII 2: ... *δι' οὐδ' και μεθ' οὐδ' τῷ Πατρὶ δόξα και τὸ κράτος, σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, και νῦν, και ἀεί, και εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. Ἀμήν.* But it should be noted that elsewhere when Cyril uses the same formula in his paschal letters he includes the definite article *ή*: *Fest. Ep.* II 9, VI 12, VII 2, XIII 4.

*τῷ παναγίου.* On the *ω > ου* interchange see Gignac, *Grammar*, pp. 120–124 (cit. n. 1). The adjective *πανάγιος* appears only twice in documentary papyri: *P. Lond.* VI 1916 (ca. AD 330–340; Heracleopolite), l. 1, where it is reconstructed as part of an epithet for some presbyters: *τοῖς παν[αγίο(?)]ῖς ἀγαπητοῖς [και γλυ]κυτάτοις [Παι]ηοῦτι πρεσβ[υτέρω ...]*; *SB* XX 14218 (sixth cent. AD; provenance unknown), l. 3: *δέσπο(τα), παναγιώτατε πάτερ.* The adjective is first attested in 4 Macc. 7:4 and 14:7 where it is used to refer to the Maccabean martyrs.

1-2. *σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ | [τε κ]αὶ σωσοποιῷ σου πνεύματι*. This phrase is first attested at the end of the Greek recension of the *Acta Scillitanorum martyrum*: cf. John Chrysostom, *In Rachelem et infantes*, PG 61, p. 700; Amphilochius, *In Lazarum* (orat. 3), 149. However, there are two slight variations of this phrase attested: *σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι* (Epiphanius, *Homilia in Christi resurrectionem*, PG 43, 477; Asterius, *Hom.* VI 7, 4) and *σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι* (*Acta graeca Andreae*, 65; John Chrysostom, *In Petrum et Paulum*, PG 59, 496). In documentary papyri this phrase is currently unattested.

2. *σωσοποιῷ*. On the ζ > σ interchange see Gignac, *Grammar*, pp. 209-211 (cit. n. 1). The adjective *ζωοποιός*, derived from the verb *ζωοποιέω*, appears in documentary papyri of the fifth through seventh centuries with some regularity as part of Trinitarian formulas that preface various documents; the popularity of this term as part of such formula is due to the fact that this term was employed by the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed of AD 381 to help describe the Holy Spirit: *καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον καὶ ζωοποιόν ...* The related noun *ζωοποιία* appears once before the fifth century in *P. Sakaon*. 48 (Apr. 6 AD 343; Theadelphia), l. 18. The adjective is first used by Theophrastus, *De causis plantarum* II 9, 6.

2-3. *νὺν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς [τοὺς] αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶ[νω]ν*. This phrase appears frequently in Christian literary texts after the third century and in almost every example it is followed by *ἀμήν*. Nevertheless, there are a few cases where the phrase is attested and it is not followed by *ἀμήν*: *Const. ap.* 8, 5 but in this case the text goes on to state that after this phrase is pronounced the rest of the priests are to add “*ἀμήν*”; John Chrysostom, *De eleemosyna* (PG 51, 272); *In epistulam i ad Timotheum* (PG 62, 580).

(→) 1. The sketch of the ichneumon measures 2.4 cm × 3.8 cm (H × W) and the animal faces to the right. The ichneumon (*ἰχνεύμων*) had been considered in certain quarters of Egypt a sacred animal ever since the Middle Kingdom and was associated with various gods: Atum, Horus, Re, Osiris. See K. Sethe, ‘Atum als Ichnemon,’ *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 63 (1928), pp. 50-53; J. F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* [= *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 51], Leiden 1971, p. 119. There are periodic references to ichneumons in magical texts: F. L. Griffith & H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, London 1904, p. 201 (verso, col. XXX, ll. 9-10) where the dung of an incheumon is thought to possess some curative powers; *PGM* III, col. XVI, l. 506: spell to establish relationship with Helios (fourth cent. AD; Dios Polis); *PGM* LII, l. 9: love spell (third cent. AD; provenance unknown).

The extant portions of the second sketch measures 2.2 cm × 3 cm (H × W) and the animal faces to the right. While the posterior portion of the animal seems to be that of a horse (see discussion above), the sketch of the tail also shows affinities with sketches of a Hyena's tail: see R. Kinzelbach, *Tierbilder aus dem ersten Jabrbundert: Ein zoologischer Kommentar zum Artemidor-Papyrus*, Berlin – New York 2009, Tafel II Abb. 3.

*Lincoln H. Blumell*

---

Brigham Young University  
Department of Ancient Scripture  
JSB 210F  
Provo, Utah 84059  
USA  
e-mail: [lincoln\\_blumell@byu.edu](mailto:lincoln_blumell@byu.edu)