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EDITED BY  
TOMASZ DERDA  
ADAM ŁAJTAR  
JAKUB URBANIK

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UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW  
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THE RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG  
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Serena AMMIRATI & Marco FRESSURA

*Towards a typology of ancient bilingual glossaries:*

*Palaeography, bibliography, and codicology* ..... 1

**Abstract:** This paper surveys the Latin-Greek and Greek-Latin bilingual glossaries known through papyrological evidence, both digraphical and non, focusing on their scripts, book formats, and layouts. The systematic comparison between archaeological evidence and western manuscripts bearing similar texts helps to detect conservative and innovative layout strategies. This article mainly focuses on classical and para-literary texts (thematic and non-thematic bilingual glossaries, glossaries of classical authors), without passing under silence the main bilingual Latin-Greek and Greek-Latin Christian texts.

**Keywords:** ancient bilingual glossaries, layouts, bibliography, codicology, palaeography, classical authors, Christian texts.

Constantinos BALAMOSHEV

*The Jews of Oxyrhynchos address the strategos of the nome:*

*An early fourth-century document* ..... 27

**Abstract:** In August 309 the Jews of Oxyrhynchos addressed the *strategos* of the Oxyrhynchite nome. If the interpretation is correct, the people who filed

the document on behalf of the Jews appear to represent a *koinon*, which is a term also used for professional associations but here seemingly applied to the town's Jewish community as a whole. A scholarly consensus has yet to be reached on whether the Jewish communities could be classified as *collegia* according to Roman law but various pieces of evidence adduced here indicate that this was possible. Another issue that is addressed here is the nature of the document and why it was addressed particularly to the *strategos* of the nome, who is known to have changed duties after Diocletian's administrative reforms. Finally, this papyrus furnishes another important piece of information, as it records a further year-in-office of Dioskourides alias Ioulianos, a member of a prominent family of councillors and officials, whose origins can be traced back to Alexandria and who are known to us through (at least) three successive well-documented generations. The history of the family's career (as evidenced by the hitherto published material) is offered in a nutshell in the form of an appendix.

**Keywords:** Jews, Jewish community, *koinon*, Oxyrhynchos, fourth century, Beinecke library, Dioskourides alias Ioulianos, *strategos*.

Anne BOUD'HORS

*The Coptic ostraca of the Theban hermitage MMA 1152. 1. Letters*

(*O. Gurna Górecki 12–68*) .....

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**Abstract:** This article is the first in a series that aims to publish all the Coptic ostraca discovered by Tomasz Górecki during his excavations in the hermitage MMA 1152 (Western Thebes) between 2003 and 2013. Here, I am presenting the edition of private letters. There are altogether sixty-eight such texts, of which eleven have been published elsewhere and fifty-seven are edited here. Even though many of them are very fragmentary, one can recognize various topics common to the letters of this region in the seventh–eighth centuries. They also testify to the relations that existed between the hermitage and the neighbouring sites of the Theban region.

**Keywords:** Coptic, ostraca, Western Thebes, hermitage MMA 1152, letter, book production, monasticism, clerks, daily life, prayer, charity.

Åke ENGSHEDEN & Andreas WINKLER

*Three Coptic letters in the Museum Gustavianum* .....

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**Abstract:** In this paper, three Coptic ostraca, which all most probably originate in the Theban area, are edited. The texts are all epistolary in nature. It is probable that all three stem from a monastic environment; ostensibly no. 1 relates to the Epiphanius Monastery, while no. 2 comes from the dossier belonging to the Monastery of Phoibammon. The latter piece concerns an

argument about the appointment of a shepherd, thus providing another witness to the economic activities of the mentioned institution. No. 3 concerns a delivery of an unnamed commodity kept in sacks.

**Keywords:** Coptic, ostraca, Late Antiquity, Thebes, Monastery of Phoibammon, Monastery of Epiphanius, apa Viktor, cattle husbandry.

Vincent W. J. VAN GERVEN OEI

*A dance for a princess: The legends on a painting in room 5 of the Southwest Annex of the Monastery on Kom H in Dongola* ..... 117

**Abstract:** The article provides a transcription, translation, and analysis of the Old Nubian legends on a painting of a dancing scene in room 5 of the Southwest Annex of the Monastery on Kom H in Dongola. The painting shows two groups of Nubian singing and dancing, and from the legends we understand that the occasion is the birth of a new heir to the royal throne, and that the Virgin Mary is invoked to ease the pangs of labour.

**Keywords:** Old Nubian, epigraphy, wall inscriptions, Dongola, Monastery on Kom H, Nubian iconography, Nubian painting.

Lothar THÜNGEN

*Zwei Fragmente frühbyzantinischer Rechtsliteratur aus Hermupolis Magna. Neuedition von P. Berol. Inv. Nr. 16976 und 16977. Teil 2. Neuedition von P. 16976, kurze Texte aus dem 5. Jh. über unterschiedliche Rechtsfragen* ..... 137

**Abstract:** P. 16976, one of the two papyri which Wilhelm Schubart published in 1945 in the *Festschrift* for Leopold Wenger, is to be dated to ad 457–500. It probably belonged to a small *codex* (which seems to have had no more than 48 pages) with many short legal texts on different subjects. It may have been an ‘*Enchiridium* on Actual Legal Questions Taken from Imperial Constitutions’ for jurists. Beside the main text, there may have been a separate booklet providing additional juridical comments in the form of *paragraphai*. While the two parts may have been authored by the same person, a long comment below the main text on the recto is in a different hand. It may therefore have been copied by a later user from the booklet. This is certainly not a marginal *scholion*, as believed from the time of Schubart. The subjects included in the preserved piece are two cases from civil law (an *actio ex stipulatu* against a woman for paying back a credit and getting a title of possession for a provincial estate by the older *longi temporis praescriptio*), a civil process (prescription of a lawsuit) and a case from fiscal law (confiscation). The last text includes an instruction for the readers.

**Keywords:** juristic papyrology, legal literature, ‘*Enchiridium* on Actual Legal Questions’, *actio ex stipulatu*, *longi temporis praescriptio*, confiscation, Hermopolis Magna.

Jacques VAN DER VLEIT & Klaas A. Worp

*A fifth Nubian funerary stela from the Bankes Collection.*

*An addendum to CIEN 3, 26–29* .....

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**Abstract:** The article offers a first edition of a Christian funerary stela from northern Nubia, inscribed in Greek. The monument belongs to a small series of similar stelae from the collection of W. J. Bankes (1786–1855) and may date from about the seventh century. As a likely provenance, Kalabsha (ancient Talmis) is proposed.

**Keywords:** Christian Nubia, Talmis, Greek, funerary inscription, Bankes collection.



Jacques van der Vliet  
Klaas A. Worp

**A FIFTH NUBIAN FUNERARY STELA  
FROM THE BANKES COLLECTION.  
AN ADDENDUM TO *CIEN* 3, 26–29**

IN 2015 WE EDITED four Nubian funerary stelae from the collection of William John Bankes (1786–1855), presently kept at the Kingston Lacy estate in Dorset (England).<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile a fifth stela belonging to the same collection has turned up. In order to complete the dossier, we publish this stela here, in an addendum to our earlier article, as number 5. Like the other stelae, this additional piece belongs to the collections of the British National Trust, where it bears inventory no. 1257839. An excellent photo can be freely accessed on the website of the National Trust, at the address <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk>. This photo has been the sole source of our edition. For a discussion of the earlier history of the entire lot of five funerary monuments and a full bibliography, the reader is referred to our 2015 study.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. VAN DER VLIET & K. A. WORP, 'Four north-Nubian funerary stelae from the Bankes collection', [in:] A. ŁAJTAR, G. OCHAŁA, & J. VAN DER VLIET (eds.), *Nubian Voices II. New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology, Supplement* 27], Warsaw 2015, pp. 27–43.

<sup>2</sup> We once more thank Ian Barnes, MCIFA, FSA, Head of Archaeology of the National Trust, for his permission to publish the stela here and for kindly supplying its dimensions.



### 5. Funerary stela of a man Georgios

National Trust inv. no. 1257839.

Rectangular sandstone tablet, 21 × 14.5 × 8 cm, plain and well dressed. The stone is complete, apart from some marginal chips and the lower right-hand corner, which is partly broken away. It is inscribed in Greek with eleven lines of crudely incised uncials, slightly sloping to the right and fairly irregular in shape. A symmetric broken-bar *alpha* is used everywhere, except in the very last *alpha* of line 2. Simple crosses precede and follow the text in lines 1 and 11. Apart from a narrow bottom margin, the text takes up the entire surface of the stone. In addition to the habitual erratic spellings, partly due to iotacism, the mason made some awkward mistakes, in particular in lines 3 and 11. The letters and the crosses preserve traces of vivid red coloring.

Kalabsha/Talmis?, ca. 7th century

‡ ἔνθα κατὰ-  
 κίτη ὁ μακα-  
 ρίος Γεόργιος  
 4 μηνὴ Μεσουρέ  
 ζ' ἐνδκ(τίωνος) ἰ' ὁ θ(εὸ)ς  
 ἀνάπαυσον  
 τὸν δοῦλο σου  
 8 Γεόργιου ἐν κόλ-  
 πῖς Ἀβραὰμ  
 κ(αὶ) Ἰσακ κ(αὶ) Ἰακώ-  
 κ. ἀμήν ‡

1-2. κατὰκείται || 3. Γεώργιος || 4. μηνὴ Μεσουρή || 5. ἰνδικτίωνος || 7. δοῦλον ||  
 8. Γεώργιον || 8-9. κόλπους || 10. Ἰσαὰκ || 10-11. Ἰακώβ

† Here lies the blessed Georgios, (deceased) in the month Mesore 7, indiction 10. God, grant rest to your servant Georgios in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Amen. †

As the formal and textual features of this small monument bring out clearly, it shares with the four Bankes stelae edited in 2015 a provenance in the former Roman Dodekaschoinos, the northernmost part of Christian Nubadia. It is perhaps possible to be more precise. The stone exhibits a formulary that is quite similar in particular to no. 2 of the same collection, the stela of a woman Edra, which we attributed tentatively to Kalabsha/Talmis.<sup>3</sup> The same formulary and even some of the stone's odd spellings occur furthermore in *I. Lefebvre* 624 (DBMNT 483 = TM 102846), the stela of a man called Samson, one of the lot from Kalabsha, published in 1821 by Thomas Young, and *I. Lefebvre* 623 (DBMNT 482 = TM 102845), the stela of Abraam, from the same lot, the latter with a slightly expanded prayer section.<sup>4</sup> In the present epitaph, however, the distinctive word for dying, introducing the date (ἐτελεώθη in the other stelae), is lacking. In its appearance, the smooth and undecorated tablet is particularly close to the Leiden stela of Manna (*I. Lefebvre* 652 = SB III 6089 [DBMNT 495 = TM 102861]), which has a likely provenance again in Kalabsha.<sup>5</sup> Even though none of these similarities are really conclusive, we are inclined to assign also the present stela to Kalabsha.

1–2. For the word final αι (ε) / η interchange in κατά|κιτη, see F. Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, I: *Phonology* [= *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità* 55], Milan 1976, pp. 242–249, in particular 248 (cf. 244). Compare the Kalabsha stelae of Samson, ll. 1–2, and Abraam, ll. 1–2, quoted above, which both spell κατά|κητη.

<sup>3</sup> VAN DER VLIET & WORP, 'Four north-Nubian funerary stelae' (cit. n. 1), pp. 32–33.

<sup>4</sup> Th. YOUNG, 'Observations on a fragment of a very ancient Greek manuscript on papyrus, together with some sepulchral inscriptions from Nubia, lately received by the Earl of Mountnorris', *Archaeologia* 19 (1821), pp. 156–160, at 158, pl. x, no. v (Samson), and 157, plate IX, no. III (Abraam). The Mountnorris stelae published by Young derive most likely from the same source as the Bankes stelae, see VAN DER VLIET & WORP, 'Four north-Nubian funerary stelae' (cit. n. 1), pp. 28–29.

<sup>5</sup> For a reproduction of this stela, see P. A. A. BOESER, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, VII: *De monumenten van den Saïtischen, Grieks-Romeïnschen, en Koptischen tijd*, The Hague 1915, no. 32, pl. xvii; for a discussion, see J. VAN DER VLIET, 'Gleanings from Christian northern Nubia', *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 32 (2002), pp. 175–194, at 178–184; on the stone's provenance, in particular 180–183.

3. The mason forgot to carve the leg of the *rho* in Γεόογιοσ.

4. The present spelling of the month name Mesore occurs more often in Nubia; see the table in G. Ochała, *Chronological Systems of Christian Nubia* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology, Supplement* 16], Warsaw 2011, p. 236; cf. Gignac, *Grammar* I (cit. above), p. 244. The final *epsilon* was drawn on the very edge of the stone.

5. For ἐνδκ(τίωνος), compare ἐντεκδῖ(ων)ος in the stela of Samson, l. 6 (our reading from Young's plate x, no. v) and possibly ξδεκ(τίωνος) in the stela of Abraam, ll. 4–5 (our reading from Young's plate IX, no. 111), both from Kalabsha and quoted above. Ochała, *Chronological Systems* (cit. above), pp. 112–113, notes a few more examples of the spelling with initial *epsilon* or omitting the first vowel altogether, all from Lower Nubia (Nobadia). In the Greek papyri from Egypt, it appears to be very rare; the DDBDP records only two examples, *P. Oxy.* LX 4089, l. 8, and *SPP VIII* 8444, l. 2. The present spelling and its Kalabsha variants seem to indicate that the scribe (or the mason) perceived both unaccented iotas of ἰνδικτίωνος as a shwa, which is not uncommon in Coptic (see H. Förster, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten* [= *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 148], Berlin – New York 2002, pp. 347, 351–352). On this assumption, we prefer not to correct the text. The omission of the second *iota*, however, could be explained alternatively as a kind of visual haplography, by conflation with the vertical of the following *kappa*.

7. For the drop of final *nu* in the papyri, see Gignac, *Grammar* I (cit. above), pp. 111–112; an identical example from elsewhere in Nubia (Meinarti), *I. Khartoum Greek* 9 (DBMNT 8 = TM 99098), l. 19: τὸν δοῦλο σου, was quoted already in our commentary to no. 1 of the Bankes stelae.

8. Γεόργιον: not a genitive, but most likely a false ending due to the influence of preceding σου.

11. In the name of Jacob, the mason erroneously wrote a *kappa* instead of the final *beta*, either by inadvertence, omitting two strokes in a squarish *beta*, or under the influence of the repeated *kappas* in line 10. The division of the name over lines 10–11 is awkward, but not without parallels in similar Nubian epitaphs, for instance in the same name in *I. Tibiletti Bruno* 49, ll. 7–8 (from Ginari [Tafa], Firth's grave 807 [DBMNT 436 = TM 102427]).

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