

Adam Łukaszewicz

**MARK ANTONY
AND THE DATE OF THE INIMITABLES
A REMARK ON AN EDITED TEXT**

THE INSCRIPTION TO BE BRIEFLY REVISITED BELOW is a well-known item found in the nineteenth century in Alexandria in the area of Ramleh Station. No information on the date and circumstances of the discovery is available. The Greek text in five lines is written on a block of basalt which once was a statue base. The inscription is damaged, especially in the left and right parts, the central portion being better preserved. The text was published several times,¹ and was first understood as a dedicatory inscription by one Aphrodisios, Mark Antony's *parasitos* or companion of meals. The date is 28 December 34 BC.

A more recent reading was provided in 1957 by Peter M. Fraser who also gave the dimensions of the stone and a detailed account of the earlier versions with references.² Fraser's reading introduced an essential change into line 2 which influenced the understanding of the entire text. Instead

¹ The text has been available as *OGIS* 195. The inscription was reproduced in *IGR* I 1054 (= *SB* V 8777). *SB* V 8777 shows the final $\kappa\theta$ (with a stroke over the number) as line 6 of the text, which is an error. A further publication was produced in 1911 by Evaristo Breccia who brought minor improvements: E. BRECCIA, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie: Inscriptions grecques et latines*, Cairo 1911, no. 42 (pl. XI 30).

² P. M. FRASER, 'Mark Antony in Alexandria – a note', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 47 (1957), pp. 71–73. Some of his information is briefly related above in note 1.

of the name *Ἀφροδίσιος*, the reading *ἀφροδισίους* was proposed. Consequently, *Παράσιτος* should be regarded as an equivalent of a proper name.³

Giuseppe Botti had placed the stone in the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria where the inscription was kept (no. 10) until recent works in the building. The visitors could have a close view of the inscription in the open inner court of the Museum.⁴ A visit by the present writer to the Greco-Roman Museum of Alexandria in 2005 was an occasion to produce a transcript of the text (fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Inscription in honour of Antony, Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum (photo A. Łukaszewicz)

Ἀντώνιον μέγαν
[ἀ]μίμητον ἀφροδισίους
Παράσιτος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεὸν
 4 *καὶ εὐργέτην (ἔτους) ιθ τοῦ καὶ δ̄*
Χοιὰχ κθ

Antony the Great, inimitable in love, Parasitos to his god and benefactor (set this up). Year 19 which is also 4, Choiach 29.

³ FRASER, 'Mark Antony' (cit. n. 2), p. 72; SEG XVIII 641. Cf. S. WALKER & P. HIGGS, *Cleopatra of Egypt. From History to Myth*, London 2001, no. 213, p. 232.

⁴ At that time, by courtesy of Dr. Mervat Seif el-Din, the present writer took the photographs now accompanying this paper. I am grateful to the General Director of the Museums of Alexandria Dr. Mervat Yehia for her kind permission to publish these photos.

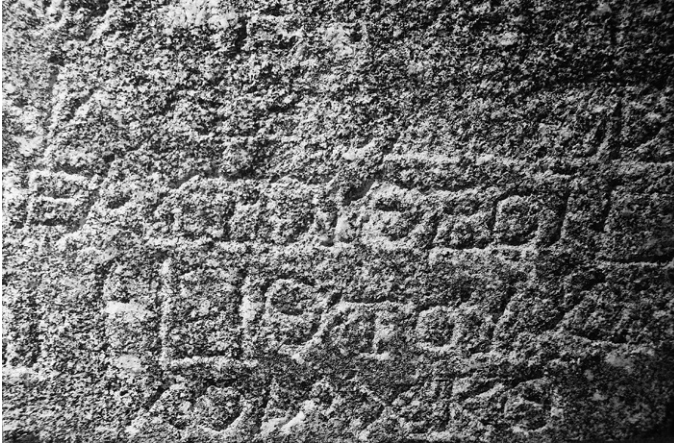


Fig. 2. Detail of the inscription (photo A. Łukaszewicz)

The above version does not really differ from the reading proposed by Fraser. There is no reason to produce here a full re-edition of the inscription with an apparatus. The essential information can be found in Fraser's article. Only a few additional observations are given below.

There can be no doubt that a vertical stroke which, at the end of line 2, separates the *omicron* from the *sigma*, is an *iota*, and ἀφροδισίσις must be read. The inscription is now usually quoted according to Fraser's reading with some irrelevant modifications: {ε} (?) at the end of line 3 is printed without the superfluous dot; ιδ in line 4 of Fraser's publication is obviously a printing error instead of ιθ; a stroke over κθ is omitted.⁵

The supposed *epsilon* at the end of line 3 is uncertain. An open space after *N* suggests the possibility of a sign. However, the horizontal strokes of the supposed *E* are shallow and may be illusory, while the vertical stroke belongs in reality to the *N* of θεόν (Fraser supposed an attempted ligature). The horizontal stroke below belongs to the date at the end of line 4 and contributes to the impression of an *E*. If the *E* were real, it could have been erroneously written as an intended beginning of εὐεργέτην, as Fraser points out.

⁵ WALKER & HIGGS, *Cleopatra* (cit. n. 3), no. 213.

The reading of the date is evident in the part concerning the regnal year of Cleopatra: (ἔτους) ιθ. What follows after τοῦ is less clear. καί is a part of the formula and indeed it was read by Botti. The sign which looks like an *I* combined with Δ was also regarded as a combination of *K* and Δ . Fraser calls this group ‘both an abbreviation and a ligature’. In the present contributor’s opinion we may have here *KAI* $\bar{\Delta}$ inserted into the narrow space at the end of the line. It seems that the Δ is entangled with *KAI*, but this reading is far from certain. The horizontal stroke over the $\bar{\Delta}$ seems to be a normal mark over a number, although the preceding year-number has no such sign. The horizontal stroke over the final day number κθ is more than uncertain. It seems that only the *delta* at the end of line 4 has such stroke.

Year 19 of Cleopatra is also the year 4 of her son Ptolemy XV Caesar (‘Caesarion’), which is 34/33 BC. The text is an unconventional dedication to Antony, ‘a lover without peer’. Mark Antony is in that inscription described as the dedicant’s god and benefactor, with the accompanying epithet *amimetos* or Inimitable, which is obviously connected with the existence in Alexandria in his time of a society of *amimetobioi* or Inimitable Livers.⁶

The dedicant of the inscription and of the lost statue of Antony was one Παράσιτος. It is a question, which was already asked by Fraser, whether Παράσιτος can be considered a real name of the dedicant.⁷ This is rather a kind of pseudonym (‘Companion of meals’) related to the membership of the dedicator in the society of the Inimitables. The Ἀμιμητόβιοι or ‘Inimitable Livers’ were a club around Antony and Cleopatra, undoubtedly with Antony presiding. Their main activity was organizing festive meals to which they invited one another.⁸ Whether the παράσιτος (understood as a holder of a priestly function) could be a priest of the association as suggested by Fraser and also by Peter Higgs, Susan Walker, the authors of a note in

⁶ Plut. *Ant.* 28.2.

⁷ For a Parasitas, see *I. Knidos* 606.

⁸ Plut. *Ant.* 28.2: καθ’ ἡμέραν εἰστίων ἀλλήλους, ἄπιστόν τινα ποιούμενοι τῶν ἀναλισκομένων ἀμετρῶν; cf. Plin. *HN* 9.119: *cum exquisitis cotidie Antonius saginaretur epulis, superbo simul ac procaci fastu.*

a catalogue of an exhibition on Cleopatra, is an open question.⁹ Anyway, it would be risky to attribute special importance to *ἑαυτοῦ* in this context.¹⁰

The dedicatory inscription may contain an allusion to Antony's love affair with Cleopatra but perhaps also to his other notorious adventures in Alexandria, since *ἀφροδίσιον* was a name for a brothel.¹¹ From the text of this Alexandrian inscription emerges an apparent contrast between the definition of Mark Antony as a god and benefactor and his reputation of a lover without peer. If the inimitable excellence of Antony included his visits to Alexandrian brothels, would Cleopatra, who had been declared Antony's wife in the same year 34 BC, feel flattered as well? Fraser, somewhat confused by the unusual meaning of the inscription, mentioned the possibility of an error and of a reading *Ἀφροδίσιον*{ι}ς *παράσιτος*, but finally rejected it. His interpretation of 'Inimitable Lover' as a pun on 'Inimitable Liver' sounds more convincing in English than in Greek. Antony was *ἀμμητοβίος* which means that he was *eo ipso ἀμίμητος* in everything, also in love.

It was already recognized long ago that the inscription under discussion is an invaluable documentary confirmation of Plutarch's passage about the society of the Inimitables. It is also important evidence of the date of the Inimitables. Plutarch mentions this association without giving the precise time of its existence.¹² The context in which that story appears, inserted into the description of the events of 41/40 BC, suggests that date as the time of the society's activity.¹³ Günther Hölbl follows Plutarch's chronology and mentions the festivities and splendour of lifestyle of both Antony and Cleopatra during the winter of 41/40.¹⁴ However, the inscription under discussion shows that the Inimitables were (still?) active in 34 BC.

⁹ FRASER, 'Mark Antony' (cit. n. 2), p. 73, according to a suggestion by A. Momigliano; WALKER & HIGGS, *Cleopatra* (cit. n. 3), no. 213, p. 232.

¹⁰ FRASER, 'Mark Antony' (cit. n. 2), p. 73.

¹¹ A. ŁUKASZEWICZ, *Les édifices publics dans les villes de l'Égypte romaine: problèmes administratifs et financiers*, Warsaw 2018, p. 28. Cf. *P. Tebt.* I 6, ll. 28–29 (140–139 BC): τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων ἀφροδισίων. For Antony's adventures in Alexandria, see Plut. *Ant.* 29.

¹² Plut. *Ant.* 28.2: ἦν γὰρ τις αὐτοῖς σύνοδος ἀμμητοβίων λεγομένη.

¹³ Cf. FRASER, 'Mark Antony' (cit. n. 2), p. 73 n. 14.

¹⁴ G. HÖBL, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, London – New York 2001, p. 241.

Immediately after the brief mention of the Inimitables, Plutarch tells a story which his grandfather heard from one Philotas of Amphissa in Locris who had been a student of medicine in Alexandria. In Antony's kitchen Philotas to his amazement saw eight boars being roasted for about twelve guests of Antony. These boars were in various stages of preparation in order to have the meat perfectly roasted at any moment when an order to serve the dinner would come.¹⁵ From the same source derives the story about Antyllus, the eldest son of Mark Antony, who for a witty sophism offered to Philotas his father's valuable tableware.¹⁶ Who knows whether these cups and plates were not originally a gift of Cleopatra as perhaps was the precious stone which Antyllus wore about his neck?¹⁷ This story of Antyllus' lavish gift is important evidence showing that Plutarch's narrative (also?) concerns the period after 40 BC.¹⁸ When Philotas became one of the medical attendants of Antony's son, and Antyllus could already receive his guests at dinner and use golden tableware, he was certainly no longer a child but rather a bold teenager. Antyllus was probably born in 47 BC, and he was still a child when in 36 BC he was betrothed to Octavian's daughter. He only received the *toga virilis* in 30 BC.¹⁹ The story of the gift to Philotas must concern the period between 34 BC and the ominous year 30 BC. We may even venture a hypothesis that, in spite of the place which the description of the Inimitables occupies in Plutarch's biography of Antony, the whole passage about the *Ἀμμηγητόβιοι*, Antony's kitchen and Antyllus, concerns the period 34–30 BC and not 40 BC. It is possible that the association of the Inimitables was in reality founded in 34 BC as a part of the festivities of the year: the 'triumph' of Antony after the Armenian campaign,²⁰ the 'division of the East',²¹ and the marriage of Antony and Cleopatra (not recognized by Roman law).²²

¹⁵ Plut. *Ant.* 28.2–3.

¹⁶ Plut. *Ant.* 28.4–7.

¹⁷ After Octavian's soldiers had cut off Antyllus' head, his pedagogue Theodoros, who had betrayed Antony's son, stole the jewel and was crucified for that theft: Plut. *Ant.* 81.1–2.

¹⁸ Plut. *Ant.* 28.4: *χρόνου προϊόντος*.

¹⁹ Plut. *Ant.* 81.1; Dio Cass. 51.15.5; cf. *Kleine Pauly* 1, Munich 1979, s.v. 'Antonius (10)', p. 412.

²⁰ Cf. Plut. *Ant.* 50; Dio Cass. 49.40.

²¹ Dio Cass. 49.41; Plut. *Ant.* 54.

It should not pass unnoticed that the Alexandrian inscription is very close in time (less than two months) to an official act of Cleopatra on papyrus (*P. Bingen* 45) dated Mecheir 26 of the year 19 and 4 = 23 February 33 BC. That famous royal ordinance granted unusual privileges to an eminent Roman.²³ Even if we do not follow Peter van Minnen who proposed Publius Canidius Crassus, a leading general of Mark Antony, and agree with Klaus Zimmermann who states that the privileges were granted Quintus Cascellius,²⁴ it was still a distinguished Roman who received the benefit. That substantial grant undoubtedly strengthened the beneficiary's ties to Cleopatra. Some time later, the queen took advantage of Canidius' influence on Antony to stay with the Roman warlord during the campaign against Octavian. However, as Plutarch states, the price of the *captatio benevolentiae* of that Roman general by the Egyptian queen was high.²⁵

Octavian's propaganda of the time of the conflict with Antony shows the triumvir as a slave of the Oriental queen.²⁶ Velleius Paterculus explains the eccentric behaviour of Mark Antony in Alexandria as a result of his passion for Cleopatra.²⁷ Florus states that a drunken Antony promised to grant Cleopatra rule over the Roman empire as a payment for her love.²⁸ Antony reportedly ordered his guards to write Cleopatra's name on their shields.²⁹ Also Plutarch contributed to the image of Cleopatra as a flattering 'tutor' of Antony, and an indefatigable inventor and companion of Antony's pleasures.³⁰ The actual situation in Alexandria was perhaps different from that image. In the last years of her reign Cleopatra VII was increasingly dependent on Antony and his entourage. Cleopatra had apparently

²² Cf. HÖLBL, *Ptolemaic Empire* (cit. n. 14), p. 244.

²³ P. VAN MINNEN, 'An official act of Cleopatra (with a subscription in her own hand)', *Ancient Society* 30 (2000), pp. 29–34.

²⁴ K. ZIMMERMANN, 'P. Bingen 45: Eine Steuerbefreiung für Q. Cascellius, adressiert an Kaisarion', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 138 (2002), pp. 133–139.

²⁵ Plut. *Ant.* 56.4: ἔπεισε πολλοῖς Κανίδιον χρήμασιν Ἀντωνίῳ διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῆς κτλ.

²⁶ Dio Cass. 50.25.3–4.

²⁷ Vell. Pat. 2.82.

²⁸ Flor. 2.21.

²⁹ Dio Cass. 50.5.1.

³⁰ Plut. *Ant.* 29.1.

less influence on the decisions of Antony than one of his generals, whom the queen had to bribe in order to realize her plans.

The society of the Inimitables was obviously an eccentric club of *débauchés*. The style of their amusements was undoubtedly humorous, and this allows us to understand the audacious allusion to Antony's erotic exploits emphasized in the inscription. Any analysis of the ideological background of the lifestyle of the *amimetobioi* is difficult because of the scarcity of our sources. Suffice it to point to the atmosphere of a Dionysiac *komos* as a probable inspiration. The association of Antony with Dionysos³¹ was combined with the Dionysiac tradition which Cleopatra certainly inherited from her ancestors, especially Ptolemy IV³² and her father Ptolemy XII.³³

It is not necessary to recount here all the details of the gossip about Antony's (and Cleopatra's) way of life known from the ancient authors. Pliny's story about Cleopatra (*regina meretrix*) drinking an extremely valuable pearl dissolved in vinegar is obviously unsubstantiated gossip.³⁴ The normal table vinegar is not able to dissolve pearls.³⁵ Even if Alberto Angela is right when he states that pearls can be dissolved in a highly concentrated vinegar, such process would last much longer than a dinner's time and the liquid would be hardly potable.³⁶ It seems nevertheless possible that this story may contain an echo of some experiments which Cleopatra made, perhaps attempting to obtain an extract of pearls. Pliny's information about Antony's writing *De sua ebrietate* must not be reliable and

³¹ Before the battle of Actium, the young Caesar spoke to his troops about Mark Antony: 'he venerates that woman like an Isis or a Selene, he calls her children Helios and Selene and also calls himself Osiris and Dionysos': Dio Cass. 50.25.3-4. For Antony's festival in honour of Dionysos at Samos, see Plut. *Ant.* 56.6-10.

³² C. Ord. *Ptol.* 29; for evidence of that Ptolemy's devotion to Dionysos, see HÖLBL, *Ptolemaic Empire* (cit. n. 14), pp. 170-171.

³³ For Ptolemy XII as a worshipper of Dionysos, see HÖLBL, *Ptolemaic Empire* (cit. n. 14), pp. 223, 289.

³⁴ Plin. *HN* 9.119-121.

³⁵ A modern commentator who does not believe in the existence of a vinegar that can dissolve pearls suggests that Cleopatra swallowed the pearl in vinegar to recover it later on: Pliny, *Natural history*, vol. III, ed. H. RACKHAM, London 1956, p. 244, note b.

³⁶ Alberto ANGELA, *Cleopatra. La regina che sfidò Roma e conquistò l'eternità*, Rome 2018, pp. 283-284.

certainly depends on the propaganda of Octavian's time.³⁷ Peter Green remarked correctly that Pliny had no sense of humour.³⁸ Antony probably wrote that text as an ironic apology and not as an arrogant provocation exhibiting his love of drink. Velleius Paterculus mentions with distaste a show performed by Plancus, a secretary and assistant to Antony, who played Glaucus, and was dancing nude with his body painted blue, with a crown of reeds on his head and with an attached fish-tail.³⁹ Cleopatra's role was to frolic and comply with the extravagant and whimsical lifestyle of the company. It was certainly a part of her natural vivacity and sense of humour. She probably took pleasure in accompanying Antony in some of his night wanderings through Alexandria.⁴⁰ Her joke with the salted Pontic fish (*Ποντικὸν τάρλιχος*) which she ordered to fasten to Antony's hook under water during his fishing is an example of her witty style. (The triumvir had been cheating in order to impress Cleopatra and pulled up fish that had been previously caught).⁴¹

Cleopatra, who had a reputation as a playful, lighthearted woman given to sensual pleasures, was also a serious politician. Her desire to strengthen the position of Ptolemy Caesarion as co-regent is visible in her activities during her nineteenth regnal year.⁴² Antony's Romans were her only hope for a re-establishment of Egypt's dominant position in the East. Besides, she was probably genuinely infatuated with Antony.

Cleopatra granted lucrative positions and various benefits to Antony's men, covered their extravagant expenses, and contributed to the preparations for the inevitable war with Octavian, which culminated later in the disastrous campaign in Greece. The companions of Antony were not reliable, and indeed some of them, like Plancus, deserted and brought Octavian useful information.⁴³

³⁷ Plin. *HN* 14.28.148.

³⁸ P. GREEN, *D'Alexandre à Actium. Du partage de l'empire au triomphe de Rome*, Paris 1997, pp. 744, 998 n. 223.

³⁹ Vell. Pat. 2.83.

⁴⁰ Plut. *Ant.* 29.1–2.

⁴¹ Plut. *Ant.* 29.3–4.

⁴² Cf. ZIMMERMANN, 'P. *Bingen* 45' (cit. n. 24), pp. 133–139.

⁴³ Vell. Pat. 2.83.

After the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra all Alexandrian protagonists died. Octavian had no pity for his enemies. Orosius in his extract of the lost book 133 of Livy gives a succinct account of some victims:

Occisi sunt iussu Caesaris maior Antonii filius et P. Canidius, infestissimus quidem semper Caesari, sed et Antonio infidus, et Cassius Palmensis, ultima violati patris Caesaris victima, et Q. Ovinus ob eam maxime notam, quod obscenissime lanificio textrinoque reginae senator populi Romani praeesse non erubuerat.⁴⁴

The dedicatory inscription to the inimitable Mark Antony supplements the information of Plutarch and illustrates the ludicrous style of Antony's company in Alexandria in the days following the famous ceremony of the 'assignment of kingdoms'. Not much can be said about the reception of all these events by the Alexandrians. It is a question whether Constantine Cavafy's was right in his description of the opinion of the Alexandrians who according to him knew well that the 'assignment of kingdoms' (and perhaps all that was happening in 34 BC) was only *λόγια καὶ θεατρικά*.⁴⁵

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⁴⁴ Oros. 6.19.20.

⁴⁵ *Ἀλεξανδρινοὶ βασιλεῖς*, in: C. Kavafis, *Poesie*, ed. F. M. PONTANI, Milan 2013, p. 50: *Οἱ Ἀλεξανδρινοὶ ἔνοιωθαν βέβαια | ποὺ ἦσαν λόγια αὐτὰ καὶ θεατρικά*.

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

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

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

Amin BENAÏSSA

*P. Oxy. LXXVII 5123 and the economic relations
between the Apion estate and its coloni adscripticii* 49

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

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

Willy CLARYSSE & Christelle FISCHER-BOVET

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

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

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

Jean-Luc FOURNET

*Trois nouveaux reçus d'annone civile
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Abstract: Edition of three sixth-century shipping receipts for the *annona civilis* transported by the Monastery of the Metanoia (near Canopus). Two of

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

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

Edward M. HARRIS

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

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

Giulio IOVINE & Ornella SALATI

Die Geschäfte des Herrn Julius Caesar.

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

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

Andrea JÖRDENS

Die Priester und der Textillieferant.

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

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

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

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

Adam ŁAJTAR

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

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

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

Adam ŁUKASZEWICZ

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

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

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

Grzegorz OCHAŁA

Nubica onomastica miscellanea V:

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

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

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

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

Joanna WILIMOWSKA

Sacred animal cult workers in the Ptolemaic Fayum 263

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

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

Ewa WIPSZYCKA

Monks at work in Eastern Mediterranean: Ideals and reality 299

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

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

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