The current editorial address for the *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* is:

Peter van Minnen  
Department of Classics  
University of Cincinnati  
410 Blegen Library  
Cincinnati, OH 45221-0226  
USA  
peter.vanminnen@uc.edu

The editors invite submissions not only from North-American and other members of the Society but also from non-members throughout the world; contributions may be written in English, French, German, or Italian. Manuscripts submitted for publication should be sent to the editor at the address above. Submissions can be sent as an e-mail attachment (.doc and .pdf) with little or no formatting. A double-spaced paper version should also be sent to make sure “we see what you see.” We also ask contributors to provide a brief abstract of their article for inclusion in *L’Année philologique*, and to secure permission for any illustration they submit for publication.

The editors ask contributors to observe the following guidelines:

- Abbreviations for editions of papyri, ostraca, and tablets should follow the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html). The volume number of the edition should be included in Arabic numerals: e.g., P.Oxy. 41.2943.1-3; 2968.5; P.Lond. 2.293.9-10 (p.187).
- Other abbreviations should follow those of the *American Journal of Archaeology* and the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.
- For ancient and Byzantine authors, contributors should consult the third edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, xxix-liv, and *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, xi-xiv.
- For general matters of style, contributors should consult the 15th edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style* or this issue of *BASP*.

When reading proof, contributors should limit themselves to correcting typographical errors. Revisions and additions should be avoided; if necessary, they will be made at the author’s expense. The primary author(s) of contributions published in *BASP* will receive a copy of the pdf used for publication.

John Wallrodt and Andrew Connor provided assistance with the production of this volume.
Report of Proceedings in Red Ink from Late Second Century AD Oxyrhynchus

Lincoln H. Blumell Tulane University

Abstract


P.Mich. inv. 1568v 11 cm by 9.5 cm (H. x W.) ca. AD 187/8

In some respects P.Mich. inv. 1568v is a rather unexceptional piece, since it only contains a few fragmentary lines from a report of proceedings, about which little can be ascertained with certainty given the many lacunae and gaps in the text. Yet it deserves to be published for one noteworthy feature: it is written in red ink and is therefore a welcome addition to a very small corpus of such documents.¹

¹ While the use of red ink is attested in a wide variety of documents from the Pharaonic period through the Arabic period, very few were ever written entirely in red ink as it was mostly used to draw attention to certain words or phrases, mark the opening of various sections within a document, or render the total of certain accounts. See R. Parkinson and S. Quirke, *Papyrus* (Austin 1995) 45-46. In O.OI 19361 (ca. 1200-1080 BC), a hymn to the inundation (Hieratic), the verse points and date are written with red ink whereas the rest of the document is written with black ink. Similarly in O.OIM 25040 (ca. 1200-1080 BC), another hymn to the inundation (Hieratic), the verse points are written with red ink. In Princ. inv. Scheide M 95 (ca. 1100-950 BC), a Book of the Dead (Hieratic), certain lines are written with red ink, though most are written with black ink. Red ink was mostly made from a clay called ochre that contained a high degree of the mineral hematite (Fe₂O₃) that was reddish in color. To make ink it was typically mixed with gum Arabic and water. The less ochre that was added to this mixture the more yellow the ink, whereas the more ochre that was added the more red the ink became. See P. Schubert, *Les archives de Marcus Lucretius Diogenes et textes apparentés* (Bonn 1990) 34. Additionally, red ink might also be made from either cinnabar (κιννάβαρις) or minium (μιλτος). See B.M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Paleography* (Oxford 1981) 17.
In the Roman period red ink was used very rarely for writing an entire
document.\(^2\) In fact, a recently published catalogue of red ink documents from
this period could list only fifty such texts.\(^3\) A survey of these texts reveals that
most of them were written during the second or third centuries and that the
overwhelming majority come from the Arsinoite nome,\(^4\) although a few red

\(^2\) During the Ptolemaic and Roman periods red ink appears to have been used mostly
to highlight key words and phrases within a document or mark off and divide sections
within a text. Likewise, it also appears to have been used intermittently in magical
papyri, perhaps because it was thought to possess apotropaic qualities. See O. Montev
cchi, \textit{La Papirologia} (Milano 1988 [1973]) 16; cf. \textit{POSLO} 1.4 (AD IV). Additionally, it
appears that red ink was the ink of choice for validating certain kinds of documents. For
example, in \textit{SB} 6.9233 (early III BC), a customshouse receipt, two red lines are drawn
through the document and may constitute a mark of official validation. There are also
some documents where red ink stamps have been used on the verso as a way of valida

252, where Schubert updates his former list (cf. Schubert [n. 1] 34-35) of documents
(published and unpublished) written with red ink. To his most recent list I would add the following:
\textit{PTebt}. 2.587 (26/5 BC), a tax receipt; \textit{PDuke} inv. 7v (AD 26), a loan; \textit{PTebt}. 2.350
(AD 70/1), a receipt for tax on sales; \textit{PMich}. 9.554 (AD 81-94), a division of inherited
property; \textit{PMich}. 10.585 (AD 87), a loan with right of habitation; \textit{PMich}. 9.569 (AD
92), a contract concerning repayment of debt; \textit{PMich}. 11.625 (AD 121), a receipt for
taxes on loan with contract of habitation; \textit{PLouvre} 2.109 (AD 123 or 137), a contract
concerning cession of cataecic land.

\(^4\) Of the forty-two published documents listed by Schubert, twenty five (60\%) are
provenanced to the Arsinoite nome: \textit{PHamb}. 1.31 (after AD 117), an extract of a register
of a recording of civic status; \textit{CPR} 1.18 (= \textit{SPP} 20.4 = \textit{M.Chr}. 84 = \textit{Jur.Pap}. 89), a report
of proceedings about dispute over inheritance (AD 124); \textit{PHamb}. 1.31a (ca. AD 126-
138), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; \textit{PRoss.Georg}. 2.18 (= \textit{PCair.
Preis}. 31), a register of contracts (ca. AD 139/40); \textit{PDiog}. 6 (AD 143-161), an extract of
a register of a recording of civic status; \textit{PDiog}. 7 (AD 143-161), an extract of a register
of a recording of civic status; \textit{BGU} 3.780 (ca. AD 155-159), an extract of a register of a
register of civic status; \textit{BGU} 4.1032 (after AD 173), an extract of a register of a register
of civic status; \textit{SB} 4.7427 (ca. AD 180-230), an extract of a register of a recording of
civic status; \textit{BGU} 1.361 (= \textit{M.Chr}. 92 = \textit{FIRA} 3.57), a report of proceedings about dispute
over inheritance (AD 184); \textit{PPetaus} 59 (AD 185), a copy of a list of nominations for a
liturgy; \textit{SB} 4.7362 (= \textit{Sel.Pap}. 2.315), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status
ink documents are also attested from Oxyrhynchus, Hermopolis, Syene, Tenis (Memphite nome), Antinoopolis, and Alexandria. For the most part these documents deal with official matters, and a disproportionately large number of them concern the registration of civic status (ἐπίκρισις of ephebes). Noting the high proportion of such documents among red ink papyri, H.I. Bell suggested many years ago that such papyri likely served as personal certificates. As he noted, “... certificates [of the registration of civic status] written in red ink were extracts from the registers made at a later period than the actual registration and served merely as records of the entry which the party concerned could produce when required. They were written in red ink and sometimes provided with a decorative border to enhance the dignity of their appearance.” More recently, in a study of red ink documents by P. Schubert, he has found Bell’s suggestion persuasive, particularly that certain documents pertaining to registration of various sorts and written in red ink should usually be thought of as personal copies produced sometime after the original was made for the purpose of supporting or establishing other claims.

(AD 188); SB 20.14237 (AD II-III), a lease receipt; BGU 1.175 (AD II-III), an extract of a tax register; P.Diog. 53 (AD II-III), a receipt of taxes; SB 6.9233 (beginning AD III), a toll receipt; SB 20.14512 (beginning of AD III), an extract of a register of archives; BGU 13.2226 (AD 202/3), a census declaration; P.Diog. 21 (AD 202/3), a census declaration; PCol. 10.274 (AD 209), an extract of a property register; CPR 1.33 (AD 215), a list of in kind deliveries; P.Diog. 4 (AD 212–217), a declaration of birth; P.Diog. 2 (after AD 217), a declaration of birth; P.Diog. 8 (after AD 217), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; P.Diog. 65 (date?), contents undetermined.

5 Oxyrhynchus: PSI 7.736 (AD 208), a communication to a strategus concerning a dispute over property; P.Oxy. 12.1535 (AD III), a list of land owners; P.Oxy. 40.2940 (AD 270/1), an extract of register of archives; Hermopolis: P.Ryl. 2.153 (AD 169), a copy of a will; P.Flor. 1.46 (AD 186), an extract of a loan contract; Syene: SB 6.9227 (after AD 161), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; SB 6.9228 (after AD 161), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; Tenis (Memphite nome): SB 3.6995 (AD 124), a declaration concerning birth of a slave; Antinoopolis: P.Fam.Tebt. 32 (AD 146–161), an extract of a register of a recording of civic status; Alexandria: BGU 11.2070 (AD 142–144), a report of proceedings about dispute over inheritance.

6 Of the forty two published documents, sixteen (38%) concern the registration of civic status: P.Hamb. 1.31 (after AD 117); BGU 4.1033 (after AD 117); P.Hamb. 1.31 (AD 126–38); BGU 1.113 (AD 143); P.Diog. 6 (AD 143–161); P.Diog. 7 (AD 143–161); P.Fam. Tebtt. 32 (AD 146–161); BGU 3.780 (AD 155–159); SB 6.9227 (after AD 161); SB 6.9227 (after AD 161); BGU 4.1032 (after AD 173); SB 4.7427 (AD 180–230); SB 4.7362 (AD 188); P.Mich. 15.708 (AD II-III); P.Diog. 2 (after AD 217); P.Diog. 8 (after AD 217).

7 H.I. Bell, “Diplomata Antinoitica,” Aegyptus 13 (1933) 526.

8 Schubert (n. 3) 249-250.
Turning to P.Mich. inv. 1568v, it should first be pointed out that there are three other reports of proceedings written in red ink: CPR 1.18 (= SPP 20.4 = M.Chr. 84 = Jur.Pap. 89) from Ptolemais Euergetis (AD 124); BGU 11.2070 (ll. 19-33 and Verso, Col. 1 = SB 5.7516) from Alexandria (AD 142-144); and BGU 1.361.2.10-3.30 (= M.Chr. 92 = FIRA 3.57) from Ptolemais Euergetis (AD 184). However, P.Mich. inv. 1568v is to be distinguished from these proceedings in one key respect: whereas they are all written on the recto, P.Mich. inv. 1568v is written on the verso of a land register.9 Remarkably, this is the only red ink papyrus written on the verso of another document.10 If it is accurate to suppose that documents written entirely with red ink should not generally be regarded originals, but rather personal copies or even abstracts provided by the register upon request to support another claim, it seems odd that the present document is written on the verso of an old land register, as one might expect such a text to be written on a clean sheet of papyrus. Perhaps, then, the scribe simply copied the present text on the verso of another document since he was short on papyrus and because it would not affect the integrity of the present document for the claim it was establishing.11

Aside from being written on the verso this fragment is not markedly different in its appearance from other red ink documents. The hand of the document is not exquisite but it is not altogether sloppy even if it displays some irregularity.12 While the beginning of each line is lost, not much seems to be

9 The land register’s remains are very fragmentary. It appears the register contained at least two vertical columns; however, only half of each is partially preserved and both contain considerable effacement making them largely illegible. Nevertheless, the text on the recto may be safely identified as a land register given the appearance of certain abbreviations and the repeated use of numbers and large fractions, such as \( \frac{1}{16} \), \( \frac{1}{64} \), that are typical for various measurements in arourae. The register is written in black ink, although there are some red ink spots that made their way onto this side of the text. The hand of the recto is rather skilled and differs from the hand on the verso. This hand shares some affinities with the hands of P.Oxy. 38.2871 (AD 175/6), a sitologoi document, and P.Oxy. 45.3242 (AD 185-187), a declaration of property.

10 As far as I was able to ascertain none of the fifty red ink documents included in Schubert’s list were written on the verso. Though part of BGU 11.2070 is written on the verso it is simply a continuation of the recto.

11 It may be noted that there is one example where a different text is written on the back of a red ink papyrus. On the verso of P.Oxy. 12.1535 (AD III), a list of landholders, may be found a receipt for burial (= P.Oxy. 12.1535v [10 February AD 249 or 259]).

12 At times letter sizes fluctuate and there is also some inconsistency with letter spacing as letters are bunched together in certain sections of the fragment and well spaced in other areas. Notwithstanding these fluctuations the letters are for the most part well-formed cursive and are generally distinguishable except in the case of \( \beta \) and \( \kappa \) whose
missing to the right: the writing gets progressively smaller, which suggests the writer was nearing the end of the line; at ll. 10, 11, and 13 there appears to be a gap between the last visible letter and the edge of the papyrus, which suggests the lines ended thereabouts.

Though this piece was purchased by the University of Michigan in 1924 and was unprovenanced, it seems likely that it originated in Oxyrhynchus. In the final line (l. 15) reference is made to an individual bearing the name and alias “Herammon also called Kastor.” Only one other individual by this name and alias is known and appears in P.Oxy. 36.2762 (census return) as the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome in the year AD 187/8. Two additional pieces of evidence may be cited to reinforce this identification. First, the word “strategus” can be read at the end of l. 14 and should be taken as reference to this “Herammon also called Kastor” who appears in the following line, and second, earlier in the same line (l. 14) reference is made to the “twenty-eighth year” (κηΙ), the very same year of Commodus’ reign that is referred to in P.Oxy. 36.2762.8.

The present fragment appears to preserve the introductory section of a report of proceedings, where the location and date of the proceedings was typically given and the opening statements were made. Besides the name of the strategus there are only two other persons mentioned in the fragment, Menestheus (l. 9) and Soter (l. 14). Given that both persons are recorded speaking (εἶπεν), it seems at least likely that these speakers (lawyers?) represented the opposing parties. While the fragment affords precious little context, there is a reference to “theft” (βαστάζω) in l. 7 and a reference to “money” (τὸ ἀργύριον) in l. 11. Interestingly, the other three reports of proceedings preserved in red ink all concern disputes over inheritances. While it might therefore be tempting to suppose the present proceeding deals with this same issue, there is nothing definitive in the extant portions of the text to establish this connection.

Forms are virtually identical. Though a better hand might be expected for a red ink document, it is certainly not worse than what is found in P.Oxy. 40.2940 (AD 270/1), an extract of register of archives (red ink).

14 Given the use of plural verb forms in ll. 7, 9, and 11, as well as an address in the plural in l. 13, it is certain that at least one of the parties involved was composed of multiple persons. On the speakers at court see Coles (n. 13) 38-48.
15 Even though BGU 1.361 deals with a dispute over inheritance there is an allegation of “theft” (βαστάζω) in Col. 3.10, similar to the reference found in l. 7 in the present document.
28 Lincoln Blumell

. . . . . . . . . 
Μεχ{είρ κδ}. [ 
]θα και[ι] περ[ι]
]. . . . ]ανας γρα[
]
o ουτε γαρ ερει . . . . [ . . . ] . [ 
]τρατηγιας. να. περι ών ειωθαι[κανω?
]βασταζαμεν τι αυτου. οι μ[ 
]πολυν. να. εξ ου μονα διακου[ν]σα[
]μεν παρ’ αυτοις. να. κενεθευ[ς] ειπε· να. [ 
]ει δια γραμματων μονον και[ει 
]το οργυριον αυτοις ηγνο[ . . ]μο[
]. . . . . . . . []ων ενκεκλικα παρα τω λ[ . ] . . . [ 
]γεγραφη [τε ευρηκε]ναι ποιου εστιν [ 
]Σωτηρ] ειπεν να. κη (ετους). να. ό δε στρατηγος [ 
]Ηραμων ο και Καστωρ [ . . . ] [ 
]12 l. έγκεκλεικα 13 κηρ} pap.

4 στρατηγιας: Does not refer to the strategus specifically but rather to the “office” or “bureau of the strategus” (P.Oxy. 36.2764.11n.). Consequently, it almost never occurs on its own (except in P.Tebt.Fam. 15.3.63 [AD 114-115]).

6 περι ών ειωθαι[κανω?: This phrase is without any parallel, but it is likely that εθω is followed by a verb since it is usually accompanied by a complementary infinitive. The ω in ών is written with black ink but then the following ν is written with red ink. Here presumably the scribe mistakenly dipped his pen into the black inkpot, and once he realized his mistake he quickly dipped his pen back into the red inkpot and kept writing. As a result, the remainder of this line is written with a brownish tint.

7 βασταζαμεν: While this verb typically has the meaning of “to lift, raise, bear, carry or support” (LSJ, s.v. βασταζω), in the papyri it is almost always used in the context of theft where it has the meaning of “carrying off (illegally)” or “stealing” (P.Oxy. 50.3561.15 [AD 165]; P.Oxy. 58.3926.13-14 [AD 246]). Assuming that this is the connotation of the verb in this fragment perhaps there was some admittance of wrongdoing on the part of the defendant since it is used in the first person.
8 ἐξ οὗ μόνα: It is difficult to make sense out of what the writer was trying to convey at this point. If the reading μόνα is correct, then it must anticipate a neuter plural noun.

9 Μενεσθεύ[ς]: While the name is attested in five other documents from Oxyrhynchus that range in date from the early first century to the late third century, none are contemporary with the present text (P.Ryl. 4.677 [AD 14–37]; P.Oxy. 1.97 [AD 115–116]; P.Oxy. 12.1459 [AD 226]; P.Oxy. 7.1044 [AD 235]; P.Oxy. 1.55 [AD 283]).

10 Perhaps both times ei in this line.

– διὰ γραμμάτων μόνον: This phrase can be understood in different ways. If the writer intended μόνον as an adverb it could mean “once,” with the
implication that only a single letter was sent. Alternatively, it could also be used as a way of drawing contrast to something else. If on the other hand μόνον is to be taken as an adjective where the writer has mistakenly interchanged ω > ο the implication is that correspondence was strictly epistolary and more than one letter could have been sent.


12 ἐνκέκλικα: This unusual spelling is also attested in BGU 3.1012.8 (170 BC) and SB 6.9252.8 (= PFam.Tebt. 19 [AD 118]). In the papyri this verb typically has the connotation of being “shut in” or even “imprisoned.” The meaning here is probably something like, “I have locked N.N. up with N.N.” Since this verb is immediately followed by παρὰ τῷ [ . . ] . . . . [ . . ], the reading could be something like παρὰ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ηγεμόνι.

13 The correction is in black ink. In the lacuna at the end perhaps ἔτους vel sim., if l. 14 refers back to this line.

14 [Σωτήρ]: Though this name is more prominent in the Ptolemaic era, it is nevertheless still attested well into the Roman period. What the exact reasons were for the scribe crossing this name out can only be a matter of speculation. If this report constitutes a later copy, as the use of red ink seems to imply, it may simply have been an error of transcription.

15 Ἡράμμων οἱ καὶ Κάστωρ: Besides the present document he is only attested in P.Oxy. 36.2762. See J. Whitehorne, Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt² (Firenze 2006) 100.
Reviews

P.Köln 11 (A. Papathomas) ........................................................... 189
P.Sijp. (A. Papathomas) ............................................................... 195
P.Worp (P. van Minnen) ................................................................. 199
O.Muhs (W. Clarysse) ................................................................. 209
P.Heid. 9 (A. Verhoogt) .............................................................. 213
O.Krok (N. Gonis) ................................................................. 217
P.Naqlun 2 (P. van Minnen) ...................................................... 219
O.Abu Mina (P. van Minnen) .............................................. 225
O.Brux.Bawit (J. Cromwell) ..................................................... 229

Grob, Eva Mira, and Andreas Kaplony (eds.), “Documentary Letters from the Middle East” (P. van Minnen) .................. 235
Anke Joisten-Pruschke, Das religiöse Leben der Juden von Elephantine in der Achämenidenzeit (S. Kaufman) ....................... 241
Peter Bing and Jon Steffan Bruss (eds.), Brill’s Companion to Hellenistic Epigram down to Philip (S. Stephens) ....................... 243
Guglielmo Cavallo, La scrittura greca e latina dei papiri. Una introduzione (P. van Minnen) ...................................................... 249
T.J. Kraus, Ad Fontes: Original Manuscripts and Their Significance for Studying Early Christianity. Selected Essays (D.C. Parker) ................. 251
Lin Foxhall, Olive Cultivation in Ancient Greece: Seeking the Ancient Economy (D. Sandy) ....................................................... 259
Sally-Ann Ashton, Cleopatra and Egypt (J. Whitehorne) .................. 263
Tomasz Derda, Ἄρσινοίτης νομός: Administration of the Fayum under Roman Rule (P. van Minnen) ........................................ 267
Marguerite Hirt Raj, Médecins et malades de l’Égypte romaine. Étude socio-légale de la profession médicale et de ses praticiens du 1er au IVe siècle ap. J.-C. (P. van Minnen) .................................................. 271
A. Łajtar, Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: A Study of an Egyptian Temple Based on Greek Sources (J.H.F. Dijkstra) ............ 281
Laura Miguélez Cavero, Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid, 200-600 AD (P. Schubert) .............................. 287
Sophrone de Jérusalem, Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean (BHG I 477-479) (P. van Minnen) ................................................................. 291

Books Received .................................................................................. 293

Advertisement ...................................................................................... 297
Contents

Alan Edouard Samuel (1932-2008) .................................................................7
A Fragment of Homer, Iliad 21 in the Newberry Library, Chicago
  Sofía Torallas Tovar and Klaas A. Worp ..................................................11
A Latin Manumission Tax Tablet in Los Angeles
  Peter van Minnen and Klaas A. Worp ......................................................15
Report of Proceedings in Red Ink from Late 2nd Century AD Oxyrhynchus
  Lincoln H. Blumell .............................................................................23
Two Papyri in Lund
  Todd M. Hickey ..............................................................................31
Two Michigan Papyri
  Jennifer Sheridan Moss ......................................................................37
Letter from Simades to Pynas
  Athanassios Vergados .................................................................59
Annotazioni sui Fragmenta Cairensia delle Elleniche di Ossirinco
  Gianluca Cuniberti ........................................................................69
The Deferment of Postpositive Particles in Greek Documentary Papyri
  Stephen M. Bay .............................................................................75
Antinoite Citizenship under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius: A Prosopographical Study of the First Thirty Years of Antinoopolis
  Myrto Malouta ............................................................................81
Diversification foncière dans le nome mendésien à l’époque romaine
  Katherine Blouin ............................................................................97
A Church with No Books and a Reader Who Cannot Write: The Strange Case of P.Oxy. 33.2673
  Malcolm Choat and Rachel Yuen-Collingridge ................................109
The Embolator in Sixth/Seventh-Century Papyri
  Philip Mayerson ...........................................................................139
Notes on Papyri ..................................................................................145

Review Articles
Papyrology on the Threshold of a New Millennium
  James G. Keenan ........................................................................151
Less Artemidorus and More
  Peter van Minnen ........................................................................165
Egypt at Empire’s End
  Clement A. Kuehn ....................................................................175

(continued on inside cover)