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actions such as leases and loans. The documents stem from southern Egypt (none from farther north than Hermopolis), an area which can be characterized as “a breeding ground for a cultural affirmation” (p. 93). Fortunately, the background of the scribes can be traced in several cases and they are shown to be bilingual individuals alias persons with bicultural competence (Fournet talks about “digraphic scribes” or “digraphs”). The author highlights the significance of the Second Persian Period (AD 619–629) for the decline of Greek written culture in Egypt, as it modified, despite its shortness, the functioning of the state institutions, probably including language use.

In Chapter 4 ‘The role of the Church and monasticism in the growth of legal Coptic’, the author revisits the image of the monastic sphere as predominantly non-Greek and concludes that one should not underestimate the presence of Greek-speaking urban elements in the monasteries. Similarly, the old cliché opposing Greek Chalcedonians against Egyptian non-Chalcedonians is an oversimplification and does not stand up to scrutiny. In this chapter, we are given a glimpse of important still-unedited documents, such as the Weill codex (to be seen on the cover), now in the Louvre, consisting of eight wooden tablets with receipts both in Greek and Coptic. The analysis of this exceptional document informs us that monks, responsible for tax collection in their local context, also issued tax receipts. The chapter also includes a discussion on the differences between the wills of two successive abbots of the monastery of St Phoebammon, the famous bishop Abraham of Armant (died in the late 610s AD) and his successor Victor (died in AD 634). The first is written in somewhat clumsy Greek, the second in Coptic, which bears the mark of Greek models. It is probably significant for the differing choice of language, as Fournet points out, that the Second Persian Period falls in the intervening years. Fournet also deals with Abraham’s extensive legal dossier on ostraca, which had, he argues against Ewa Wipszycka, full legal value. It appears that Abraham ruled on disputes also for laymen, not only clerics, and that the execution of the rulings fell upon the civil authorities.

The book is pleasantly designed and well-illustrated in black and white. One is grateful for the careful transcriptions that accompany several of the texts discussed, both in the main text and in the endmatter (Appendix 1 ‘Coptic endorsements in Greek legal texts’ and Appendix 2 ‘Five samples of fourth-century Coptic letters’). Readers unfamiliar with Coptic will be grateful for the underlining of Greek words that illustrates the degree of permeation of Coptic by Greek vocabulary. The bibliography includes many recent and still unpublished items. The indices have been compiled with care. One appreciates, especially, to find an index of text passages from ancient documents.

Imperfections are few in number: sometimes Egyptian place-names are spelt according to French norms, which I find

debatable, thus Chams el-Din for Shams el-Din, Douch for Dush, and Aïn Waqfa for Ayn Waqfa. Umlaut (p. 67) is unsuitable as a term for describing the diacritical sign marking diaeresis (two superlinear dots) as in  $\text{M}\ddot{\text{O}}\ddot{\text{Y}}\text{C}\text{H}\text{C}$ . Not only is the function different (umlaut is a phonological process), but also the origin— $\ddot{a}$  and  $\ddot{o}$  derive from  $\text{ā}$  and  $\text{ō}$  respectively so the similarity is superficial. Also, the description of the function of the superlinear stroke in  $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}$  is misleading. The whole point is for the second consonant to form the syllabic peak, therefore the two consonants constitute a “unit”, actually the exact opposite of what is stated on p. 68. A transcription in accordance with the International Phonetic Alphabet would be  $[\text{m}\bar{\text{n}}]$ . In the bibliography, the year of publication for “ACO I–III 1914–1920” (p. 173) should be changed to 1927–1940. While it is true that Eduard Schwartz’s monumental edition of the Acts of the Ecumenical Councils started in 1914, the first issue to appear was a part of volume 4.

If I have any regret, it would be that the speech communities are absent although, admittedly, a few individuals flash past us, such as the 8th-century witness Jacob, son of Isaac, who put his Greek signature to a Coptic document. Fournet explains this through his Lower Egyptian origin (p. 92). One cannot help to ask to what degree the expansion of Coptic is explained by dwindling numbers of native speakers of Greek, in particular in the south, as a natural process of assimilation. Even if documents are not preserved in the north, what is the likely scenario for the abandonment of Greek in the north? It is natural that this reviewer’s curiosity on such matters is not satisfied given the author’s method of relying on facts. Overall, this is a well-balanced (detailed, but not overloaded), intimately document-based and persuasive analysis, set forth in a clear way so as to allow readers with different backgrounds to engage in the story of how Coptic turned into a language for legal use in Late Antiquity.

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G. Wiplinger, *Der Değirmendere Aquadukt von Ephesos*, 2 vols, (Babesch Suppl. 36), Leuven, Paris, Bristol, Connecticut: Peeters 2019. XVI + 686 pp. ISBN 978-90-429-3895-3.

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Gilbert Wiplinger’s publication of the Roman Değirmendere aqueduct is the latest comprehensive study of a such a structure. Yet, while the title puts aqueduct in the singular, in practice the work deals with two lines: an older Hadrianic line, which was later largely rebuilt under Antoninus Pius af-

ter an earthquake. The publication, which goes well beyond what may be expected both in terms of bulk and content, consists of two volumes divided into twelve sections. The first volume (pp. IX–349) is almost completely dedicated to the description of the aqueduct itself, while the second (pp. IX–XI, 355–686) is concerned with auxiliary topics such as geology, construction and maintenance of the aqueduct, sinter deposit analysis, appendices, and bibliography. In order to achieve this wide range of studies Wiplinger has recruited a team of 18 contributing specialists. Finally, the volume comes with a CD containing almost 8,000 illustrations, consisting primarily of field photographs, but also a large number of maps and plans.

The introduction (pp. IX–XVI) in volume 1 is formed by four parts: three prefaces and an instruction to readers. This latter part is considerably more important than the former three. In particular, the author stresses that the publication is intended for both those who want a swift overview, and those who are interested in all the available details. The text also includes keys for many technical abbreviations and naming schemes used, making it a frequently consulted part of the book.

Section I (pp. 3–21) consists of a brief outline of previous research and a lengthy description of the yearly documentation progress. While the latter presumably will be appreciated by scholars of archaeological methodology in the future (for example the description of the team's everyday life) it is difficult to see how it contributes significantly to the publication at the moment.

The second section (pp. 23–349) forms the bulk of Wiplinger's work. Here the author first (pp. 25–54) provides an excellent summary of the whole structure from the water source to the city, making it easy to orient oneself and grasp the most crucial information without trawling the whole work. Following this, the description of the aqueduct is structured around three larger zones, each treated in turn. These zones are then subdivided further, creating a total of 25 subsections. When discussed, each zone is first described in general, and then the specific subsections with their features. When running in parallel the Hadrianic and Antonine lines are dealt with separately. The author should be credited for the detail with which the description of the monument is made, both in terms of the text and available depictions, while also successfully making the text easily readable. It is difficult to see how it could have been done more conscientiously.

The chapters in volume 2 are largely written by a number of specialists, often together with Wiplinger. The volume begins with section III (pp. 355–364) which deals with the geological conditions encountered in the area of the aqueduct. Thereafter section IV (pp. 367–493) discusses the structure's construction. This encompasses a chapter about the

general building process of aqueducts as well as texts on the Değirmendere aqueduct's quarries, the types of stones used, the available tools, the nature of the water channels and a substantial description of the tunnels.

Section V (pp. 497–507) treats the maintenance and repair of the aqueduct. While fairly short, it offers important information rarely accessible in such detail. Thereafter in section VI (pp. 511–537) the sinter accumulation is first discussed and analysed by Cees Passchier and Gül Sürmelihiindi, presenting evidence for e.g. larvae living in the aqueduct. Following this (section VII, pp. 525–537) Paul Kessener writes about the aqueduct's discharge, giving a notion of how much water it provided to Ephesus, and the forces of the water on the structure's walls.

Section VIII (pp. 541–558) deals with the date of the aqueduct based on epigraphic, ceramic, and numismatic evidence. This is particularly important as the chronology of the Değirmendere lines was both largely unknown and greatly confused before Wiplinger's studies. Furthermore, due to the unique situation where the original Hadrianic line was reconstructed in Antonine times it was possible to establish that it only took three years to construct the younger aqueduct, a remarkably short period of time. Finally, the last section (IX, pp. 561–615) discusses the post-antique use of the aqueduct with a focus on two later lines taking water from the remains of the Roman structure, and the water mills utilizing the flow. The end of the volume comprises of sections X, final observations (pp. 619–629) XI, appendix (pp. 633–674), and XII, bibliography and list of authors (pp. 677–686).

As a whole this is an impressive publication with many strengths, first and foremost the collection and presentation of the empirical material. In connection to this, the many photographs of the aqueduct made available on CD is a distinctly useful addition, offering an unparalleled comparative material for scholars. Furthermore, Wiplinger's approach, attempting to write a volume adapted both for a quick overview and detailed studies is admirable and one which can only be hoped that other authors adopt in the future. However, it does make the text somewhat repetitive at times. In a similar vein, the author's commendable willingness to give credit to other individuals where it is due results in constant breaks in the text. The auxiliary studies setting the aqueduct in its context are also most welcome and add considerably to the understanding of the monument and thus the value of the publication. This is clearly an approach which should be used more commonly when investigating the ancient water supply.

One notable aspect of the publication is Wiplinger's willingness to share the primary documentation and the process through which it was acquired. In addition to the methodology, everyday life of the team, and yearly work

progress described in the printed volumes, a considerable part of the handwritten field documentation is included on the CD. This can be perceived as somewhat double-edged. Obviously, it is marvellous to be able to go back to the original documentation for further details, or to check information which is published. Doubtlessly, scholars will find new material for studies here for a long time. Yet, as with all field notes, much of this material is somewhat messy and by nature unsuitable for publication. In many cases it may confuse rather than enlighten the reader who does not have first-hand knowledge of the work and the aqueduct to aid them. All in all, the primary documentation is a welcome and useful inclusion. It would, however, have benefited from being structured as a separate primary documentation section of the CD rather than spread out over the individual sections.

Despite the volume's strengths there are areas that could have been improved. Firstly, the volume would have been considerably shorter if Wiplinger's style was somewhat less verbose. Sometimes it is difficult to avoid the impression that the author enjoys the journey to the point of the text as much as the point itself. Secondly, a discussion of the impact of the aqueduct on life in the city of Ephesus is conspicuous by its absence. While such discussions are commonly avoided in studies of aqueducts, this would have been a particularly apt opportunity for one, as the destruction and swift reconstruction suggests that the inhabitants had become reliant on the aqueduct. Thirdly, while the material on the CD is impressive, the way it is presented is not optimal. There is no index, and it is consequently difficult to find specific details. Moreover, the massive number of photographs could have been greatly

reduced by including only one, or a small number of, relevant pictures for each feature. For example, there are three almost identical photographs of DL3 in section 9. The files should also have been renamed following a consistent and succinct scheme instead of retaining their original names. Finally, while the overall quality of Wiplinger's text is high, isolated contributions by other authors are less so. In particular, the chapter on the construction of aqueducts (IV.1) would have benefited from more original research, improved review, and language editing.

Despite this, there should be no mistaking that Wiplinger's volume has many strengths: the diligent collection and presentation of the empirical material, as well as the contextual studies. One might wish that some questions were further addressed, e.g. why the material from the earlier Hadrianic aqueduct was not completely cannibalized by the later Antonine line. However, the two volumes run to almost 700 pages and the author may have wanted to leave some material for future publications. In summary, this is a comprehensive and impressive publication that will interest anyone working on the supply of water in the ancient world. For those studying aqueducts specifically it is absolutely indispensable. It is only to be hoped that future publications within the field aim for the same high quality and ambitious scope.

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