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28th Congress of Papyrology

Barcelona 1-6 August 2016

Edited by Alberto Nodar & Sofía Torallas Tovar

Coedited by María Jesús Albarrán Martínez, Raquel Martín Hernández,

Irene Pajón Leyra, José Domingo Rodríguez Martín & Marco Antonio Santamaría

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE 28TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PAPYROLOGY (BARCELONA AUGUST 1ST-6TH, 2016)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword **i**

Program of the congress **vi**

Photograph of participants **xxi**

PART I: Papyrology: methods and instruments 1
Archives for the History of Papyrology

ANDREA JÖRDENS, Die Papyrologie in einer Welt der Umbrüche 3-14
ROBERTA MAZZA, Papyrology and Ethics 15-27
PETER ARZT-GRABNER, How to Abbreviate a Papyrological Volume? Principles, Inconsistencies, and Solutions 28-55
PAOLA BOFFULA, Memorie dal sottosuolo di Tebtynis a ... Roma e a Venezia! 56-67
ELISABETH R. O'CONNELL, Greek and Coptic manuscripts from First Millennium CE Egypt (still) in the British Museum 68-80
NATASCIA PELLÉ, Lettere di B. P. Grenfell e A. S. Hunt a J. G. Smyly 81-89

PART II: Literary Papyri **91**

IOANNA KARAMANOU, The earliest known Greek papyrus (Archaeological Museum of Piraeus, ΜΠ 7449, 8517-8523): Text and Contexts 93-104
FRANZISKA NAETHER, Wise Men and Women in Literary Papyri 105-113
MAROULA SALEMENOU, State Letters and Decrees in P.Haun. I 5 and P.Oxy. XLII 3009: an Evaluation of Authenticity 114-123
MARIA PAZ LOPEZ, Greek Personal Names, Unnamed Characters and Pseudonyms in the Ninos Novel 124-134
MASSIMO MAGNANI, The ancient manuscript tradition of the Euripidean hypotheses 135-143
MARIA KONSTANTINIDOU, Festal Letters: Fragments of a Genre 144-152
MARCO STROPPA, Papiri cristiani della collezione PSI: storia recente e prospettive future 153-161
ANASTASIA MARAVELA, Scriptural Literacy Only? Rhetoric in Early Christian Papyrus Letters 162-177

PART III: Herculaneum **179**

GIOVANNI INDELLI - FRANCESCA LONGO AURICCHIO, Le opere greche della Biblioteca ercolanese: un aggiornamento 181-190
GIANLUCA DEL MASTRO, Su alcuni pezzi editi e inediti della collezione ercolanese 191-194
STEFANO NAPOLITANO, Falsificazioni nei disegni di alcuni Papiri Ercolanesi 195-206
ANGELICA DE GIANNI, Osservazioni su alcuni disegni dei Papiri Ercolanesi 207-218
GAIA BARBIERI, Studi preliminari sul PHercul. 1289 219-230

VALERIA PIANO, P.Hercul. 1067 Reconsidered: Latest Results and Prospective Researches 231-240
DANIEL DELATTRE - ANNICK MONET La Calomnie de Philodème (PHerc.Paris.2), colonnes E-F-G. Une nouvelle référence à Hésiode 241-249
MARIACRISTINA FIMIANI, On Several Unpublished Fragments of Book 4 of the Rhetoric of Philodemus of Gadara 250-254
FEDERICA NICOLARDI, I papiri del libro 1 del De rhetorica di Filodemo. Dati generali e novità 255-262
CHRISTIAN VASSALLO, *Analecta Xenophanea.* 263-273
GIULIANA LEONE - SERGIO CARRELLI, Per l'edizione di Epicuro, Sulla natura, libro incerto (P.Hercul. 1811/335) 274-288

PART IV: Paraliterary texts- School, Magic and astrology 289

RAFFAELLA CRIBIORE, Schools and School Exercises Again 291-297
JULIA LOUGOVAYA, Literary Ostraca: Choice of Material and Interpretation of Text 298-309
PANAGIOTA SARISCHOULI, Key episodes of the Osirian myth in Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride and in Greek and Demotic Magical Papyri: How do the sources complement each other? 310-324
ELENI CHRONOPOULOU, The authorship of PGM VI (P.Lond. I 47) + II (P.Berol. Inv. 5026) 325-332
EMILIO SUÁREZ, The flight of passion. Remarks on a formulaic motif of erotic spells 333-341
JOHANNES THOMANN, From *katarchai* to *ikhtiyārāt*: The Emergence of a New Arabic Document Type Combining Ephemerides and Almanacs 342-354

PART V: Scribal practice and book production 355

MARIE-HÉLÈNE MARGANNE, Les rouleaux composites répertoriés dans le Catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins du CEDOPAL 357-365
NATHAN CARLIG, Les rouleaux littéraires grecs composites profanes et chrétiens (début du IIIe – troisième quart du VIe siècle) 366-373
GIOVANNA MENCI, Organizzazione dello spazio negli scholia minora a Omero e nuove letture in P.Dura 3 374-381
PIERRE LUC ANGLES, Le grec tracé avec un pinceau comme méthode d'identification des scripteurs digraphes: généalogie, limites, redéfinition du critère 382-398
ANTONIO PARISI, Citazioni e meccanismi di citazione nei papiri di Demetrio Lacone 399-404
ANTONIO RICCIARDETTO, Comparaison entre le système d'abréviations de l'Anonyme de Londres et ceux de la Constitution d'Athènes et des autres textes littéraires du Brit.Libr. inv. 131 405-416
YASMINE AMORY, Considérations autour du π épistolaire: une contamination entre les ordres et la lettre antique tardive ? 417-421
BENJAMIN R. OVERCASH, Sacred Signs in Human Script(ure)s: Nomina Sacra as Social Semiosis in Early Christian Material Culture 422-428

PART VI: Documentary papyri **429**

Ptolemaic documents

CARLA BALCONI, Due ordini di comparizione di età tolemaica nella collezione dell'Università Cattolica di Milano 431-436

STÉPHANIE WACKENIER, Quatre documents inédits des archives de Haryôtês, basilicogrammate de l'Hérakléopolite 437-447

BIANCA BORRELLI, Primi risultati di un rinnovato studio del secondo rotolo del P.Rev.Laws 448-455

CLAUDIA TIREL CENA, Alcune considerazioni su due papiri con cessione e affitto di ἡμέραι ἀγνευτικαί 456-464

Roman and Byzantine documents

EL-SAYED GAD, ἀντίδοσις in Roman Egypt: A Sign of Continuity or a Revival of an Ancient Institution? 465-474

MARIANNA THOMA, The law of succession in Roman Egypt: Siblings and non-siblings disputes over inheritance 475-483

JOSÉ DOMINGO RODRÍGUEZ MARTÍN, Avoiding the Judge: the Exclusion of the δίκη in Contractual Clauses 484-493

FABIAN REITER, Daddy finger, where are you? Zu den Fingerbezeichnungen in den Signalements der römischen Kaiserzeit 494-509

DOROTA DZIERZBICKA, Wine dealers and their networks in Roman and Byzantine Egypt. Some remarks. 510-524

ADAM BULOW-JACOBSEN, The Ostraca from Umm Balad. 525-533

CLEMENTINA CAPUTO, Dati preliminari derivanti dallo studio degli ostraca di Berlino (O. Dime) da Soknopaiou Nesos 534-539

SERENA PERRONE, Banking Transactions On The Recto Of A Letter From Nero To The Alexandrians (P.Genova I 10)? 540-550

NAHUM COHEN, P.Berol. inv. no. 25141 – Sale of a Donkey, a Case of Tax Evasion in Roman Egypt? 551-556

ANDREA BERNINI, New evidence for Colonia Aelia Capitolina (P.Mich. VII 445 + inv. 3888c + inv. 3944k) 557-562

JENS MANGERUD, Who was the wife of Pompeius Niger? 563-570

Late Roman and Islamic documents

JEAN-LUC FOURNET, Anatomie d'un genre en mutation: la pétition de l'Antiquité tardive 571-590

ELIZABETH BUCHANAN, Rural Collective Action in Byzantine Egypt (400-700 CE) 591-599

JANNEKE DE JONG, A summary tax assessment from eighth century Aphrodito 600-608

STEFANIE SCHMIDT, Adopting and Adapting – Zur Kopfsteuer im frühislamischen Ägypten 609-616

PART VII: Latin papyri **617**

MARIACHIARA SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri and LAtin Texts: INsights and Updated Methodologies. Towards a philological, literary, and historical approach to Latin papyri 619-627

SERENA AMMIRATI, New developments on Latin legal papyri: the ERC project REDHIS and the *membra disiecta* of a lost legal manuscript 628-637

GIULIO IOVINE, Preliminary inquiries on some unpublished Latin documentary 638-643

papyri (P.Vindob. inv. L 74 recto; 98 verso; 169 recto)
ORNELLA SALATI, Accounting in the Roman Army. Some Remarks on PSI II 119r + Ch.L.A. IV 264 644-653
DARIO INTERNULLO, Latin Documents Written on Papyrus in the Late Antique and Early Medieval West (5th-11th century): an Overview 654-663

PART VIII: Linguistics and Lexicography **665**

CHRISTOPH WEILBACH, The new Fachwörterbuch (nFWB). Introduction and a lexicographic case: The meaning of βασιλικά in the papyri 667-673
NADINE QUENOUILLE, Hypomnema und seine verschiedenen Bedeutungen 674-682
ISABELLA BONATI, Medicalia Online: a lexical database of technical terms in medical papyri 683-689
JOANNE V. STOLK, Itacism from Zenon to Dioscorus: scribal corrections of <ι> and <ει> in Greek documentary papyri 690-697
AGNES MIHÁLYKÓ, The persistence of Greek and the rise of Coptic in the early Christian liturgy in Egypt 698-705
ISABELLE MARTHOT-SANTANIELLO, Noms de personne ou noms de lieu ? La délicate question des 'toponymes discriminants' à la lumière des papyrus d'Aphroditê (VIe -VIIIe siècle) 706-713

PART IX: Archaeology **715**

ROGER S. BAGNALL - PAOLA DAVOLI, Papyrology, Stratigraphy, and Excavation Methods 717-724
ANNEMARIE LUIJENDIJK, On Discarding Papyri in Roman and Late Antique Egypt. Archaeology and Ancient Perspectives 725-736
MARIO CAPASSO, L'enigma Della Provenienza Dei Manoscritti Freer E Dei Codici Cristiani Viennesi Alla Luce Dei Nuovi Scavi A Soknopaiou Nesos 737-745

PART X: Papyri and realia **747**

INES BOGENSPERGER - AIKATERINI KOROLI, Signs of Use, Techniques, Patterns and Materials of Textiles: A Joint Investigation on Textile Production of Late Antique Egypt 749-760
VALERIE SCHRAM, Ἐρίκινον ξύλον, de la bruyère en Égypte? 761-770

PART XI: Conservation and Restoration **771**

IRA RABIN - MYRIAM KRUTZSCH, The Writing Surface Papyrus and its Materials 773-781
1. Can the writing material papyrus tell us where it was produced? 2. Material study of the inks
MARIEKA KAYE, Exploring New Glass Technology for the Glazing of Papyri 782-793
CRISTINA IBÁÑEZ, A Proposal for the Unified Definition of Damages to Papyri 794-804
EMILY RAMOS The Preservation of the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California Berkeley 805-827
EVE MENEI - LAURENCE CAYLUX, Conservation of the Louvre medical papyrus: cautions, research, process 828-840

PART XII: Digitizing papyrus texts **841**

NICOLA REGGIANI, The Corpus of Greek Medical Papyri Online and the digital edition of ancient documents 843-856

FRANCESCA BERTONAZZI, Digital edition of P.Strasb. inv. 1187: between the papyrus and the indirect tradition 857-871

FOREWORD

For the first time ever, our country had the honor of assembling the international community of papyrologists into their 28th international congress, taking over most recently from the University of Warsaw, Poland in 2013. At the headquarters of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, under the sun of a very hot summer, around 300 congressants from different horizons gathered in a week of intensive work, in five parallel sessions, and in turn producing some 250 papers, posters, and keynotes. The last three years we have continued to renew the memories of that week of fascinating exchange by editing the present volume of proceedings.

The Congress would not have been possible without the support of many institutions and many individuals. We are extremely grateful, first and foremost, to the Universitat Pompeu Fabra and its administration team, who from the very first moment supported our decision to host the congress and proceeded to provide every possible assistance for the academic sessions, social events, and publications. The "Campus del Mar" was the perfect venue for this intensive session of academic exchange, and we have to remain grateful to the personnel of *Eventia* for providing the University's services in the organisation of events, to the head of the Humanities Department and to the Rector and his team, who helped give visibility to the Congress within and outside the University, involve the local authorities, and, most importantly, the Mayor of Barcelona.

The two main collections of papyri, the Palau Ribes (Companyia de Jesus, Barcelona) and Abadia de Montserrat, have been crucial in the development of our research group, and ultimately in placing us as papyrologists within the international scene and in a position to host the congress. We are extremely grateful to the institutions who own these papyri for putting their trust into us while we have worked with their treasures for the last 18 years. We especially wish to mention Father Pius Tragan, the whole Benedictine community from the Abadia de Montserrat and the Fundaciò Abadia de Montserrat 2025 and his directors, Josep Sinca and Carles Riba, who always believed in our project. In addition, we want to acknowledge both the late and the present directors of the Historical Archive of the Jesuits in Catalonia, Father Jordi Roca and Francesc Casanovas, respectively, to whom our debt is immeasurable.

With the invaluable support of IEMed (Institut Europeu del Mediterrani) and Fundaciò Abadia de Montserrat 2025, we could organise an exhibit with papyri from these two collections, following the tradition wherein some kind of papyrus exhibit is displayed simultaneously alongside the hosting of the congresses. "Pharaoh's Reeds, a papyrus voyage up the Nile" was displayed at the magnificent Palau del Lloctinent –which today houses the General Archive of the Crown of Aragon's historic headquarters–. It is one of the most beautiful 16th century buildings in Barcelona's Gothic quarter. The exhibit was intended for the congress participants, but it became a successful gift to the people of Barcelona, closing with over 18,000 visitors from April to September 2016. Organised as a pleasant boat trip up the Nile, each stop and each city illustrated an aspect of human life represented in the papyri. The exhibit collected some 60 pieces from the collections Roca Puig and Museum Biblicum of the Abbey of Montserrat, and Palau Ribes of the Archive of the Company of Jesus in Barcelona. The catalogue was published also under the auspices of IEMed. We owe the successful execution of the exhibit to Senén Florensa and Carina Soriano, whose hard work and positive energy made the entire event possible.

The Spanish Government and the Fundación La Caixa have also contributed very significantly to the organisation of the Congress by means of their sustained financial support to our activity during the period of the preparation of the Congress and beyond.[1]

Our team –a research group established over ten years ago, forged and built upon bonds of friendship and collaboration– was definitely a dream team. The organization of the congress proved the firmness of these bonds: María Jesús Albarrán and Sergio Carro were crucial in the main organization of the congress. Based in Barcelona, they worked indefatigably to make the congress a success. Sergio Carro was also responsible for the artistic design of the congress. His wonderful ideas gave the congress a distinctive visual style and elegance. Alba de Frutos and Raquel Martín were the essential support in the exhibit design and the edition of the catalogue. José Domingo Rodríguez Martín, Marco Antonio Santamaría, Amalia Zomeño, and Irene Pajón were there at every moment before and during the congress.

We would also like to thank the enthusiastic team of students who worked laboriously every single day of the Congress, taking care of all the details to ensure the pristine condition of the venue and the comfort of the participants. Last but not least, we wish to thank Silvia Ranz (Blue Egg Global Education) for organizing with such care and attention the postcongress trips, as well as Alejandro Campos Bravo, not only for taking the pictures of the congress but also, above all, for the high professionality and human touch with which during the last five years he approached the task of photographing the papyrus funds of the Palau Ribes collection, which are now available in our DVCTVS portal. We want to pay him here a special tribute on the sad occasion of his premature departure.

Evaluation of the Congress

This is probably not the place for an evaluation of the evolution of the discipline up to 2016. Perhaps we are not the right people to do this either. We would, however, like to express our impressions regarding significant developments reflected in the program of the Barcelona congress and the impact that they have had in the development of the discipline in our country.

The 28th congress had a remarkably high concentration of restorers and scientists when compared with previous editions. While digital tools and databases have been present for a while, perhaps the most noteworthy developments encountered in recent times are those belonging to the "material turn". Taking as a starting point the increasingly necessary presence of archaeology in our discipline, the community has realised that applying the same approaches and methodologies used in other types of archaeological findings may provide invaluable information to contextualise the papyri, which has been one the major challenges of Papyrology from its very beginning. Thus, the study of the chemical composition of the inks used to write our documents, or the condition of the papyrus support from a physico-chemical point of view, are enriching papyrological methodologies for providing not only chronological, but also environmental and geographical context. In this respect, both the conservation of papyrus collections and subsequent reflection on the protocols of interaction with the material acquire particular importance: the papyri are no longer just a support for

[1] In this regard, we would like to specifically mention the last two researh grants awarded to us by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness for the projects "La memoria escrita: texto, materialidad y contexto de las colecciones papiráceas españolas" (2016-2019 ref.: FFI2015-65511-C2-1-P and FFI2015-65511-C2-2-P) and "The written memory: from surface manufacture to text interpretation" (2019-2022 ref.: PGC2018-096572-B-C21 and PGC2018-096572-B-C22), and the grant awarded by the Fundación la Caixa "Tratamiento tecnológico de archivos digitales (imágenes y textos) de documentación papirácea antigua" (2015-2017 ref.: Recercaixa ref.: PR01715).

texts, they also carry information within their physicality intimately related to those texts which we ought to preserve, too.

The current political climate has also had an impact in our field. The market of antiquities, being a natural place for the trade of papyrus documents, shares many of the same concerns and discussions that today are affecting the archeological and art historical fields. In the recent years, associations of papyrologists have issued ethical codes or guidelines as recommendations on how to deal with papyrology. If it is true that papyrologists can contribute greatly to the understanding of the ancient world, and, in this manner, propose methods of interpreting and resolving problems that we face in our present day, it is also true that we cannot ignore practices that we would otherwise find unacceptable just for the sake of bringing to light new documents.

Due to the large number of papers proposed for the conference we decided not to hold plenary sessions in the mornings, but instead, on the morning of Friday, August 5th, a session was held that was devoted to questions relevant to the actual state of the art in our field. We asked the following five colleagues to bring their views to a round-table discussion with the community on the following topics: Gianluca del Mastro (Papyrology and science); Mark Depauw (Papyrology and new digital technologies); Marie-Hélène Marganne (Papyrology and academia); Roberta Mazza (Papyrology and ethics) and Cornelia Römer (Papyrology and archaeology). We were very happy with the results of this experiment; surely, we have wound up with a clearer view on where our limits –and limitations– as papyrologists currently stand, which was the purpose of the session. At the same time, we have opened new areas to explore, such as challenging our self-representation that casts us as highly specialised researchers mainly, and not so much teachers involved in earlier stages of education or communicators in our environment. In this respect, we might also give further thought to how we see ourselves in terms of the social responsibility of our research.

For us, it was an honor and an opportunity to be able to have organised this congress. An honor, because we were given the chance to return all the benefits that we have received from the papyrological community all these years, and an opportunity, because we have also taken the chance to make papyrology more visible in the academic context in our country. Papyrology was not and still is not adequately present in the university curriculum, and does not have the place it deserves in the realm of Classics in Spain. In the past ten years, however, we have managed to bring the attention of scholars in this country to the richness of our collections and, most importantly, to the advancements that papyrology as a discipline has contributed to so many fields of study of the ancient world in which they work. Through regular courses and seminars addressed to postgraduate students of various Spanish universities, and through the funding we have been consistently awarded from the Spanish Government ever since we participated in the first competition for public research support, we have been expanding our activity and now have more than ten doctoral dissertations defended or about to be submitted. We have to thank once more the community of papyrologists and the AIP for entrusting us with the organization of this Congress which will definitely help consolidate the discipline of papyrology in this country.

Organisation of the volume and editorial decisions

For various reasons, we have decided to publish these Proceedings in open access. Our two main considerations were the following: the first of them was financial –it is very hard to find a publisher these days who would agree to produce a nearly one thousand page volume of proceedings. But the most important one is that we believe that our work has to be openly

available, and the University Pompeu Fabra offered their support and assistance in the final process of uploading and maintaining the digital files. The UPF digital repository thus fully guarantees the stability and continuous maintenance needed for the platform where the proceedings will be stored while ensuring free and open access to the published contributions.

This is not the first time the proceedings of our congresses have been published digitally, as the 25th congress at Ann Arbor became our model for this decision. Digital publications also have a great impact as they are widely distributed instantly.

We received around 90 papers, of which for some reason or another only 81 made it to the final volume. We want to thank wholeheartedly, first of all, the authors who worked very hard in submitting their papers on time and adapting them to our requirements, and especially our nearly 100 peer reviewers who helped enormously in making this publication better. We understand that this is a thankless job that remains anonymous, and we greatly appreciate your time and efforts.

We have decided to organize the papers by topic in groups as follows: 1. Papyrology: methods and instruments; archives for the history of papyrology, including the address of our President, Prof. Joerdens; 2. Literary papyri; 3. Herculaneum; 4. Paraliterary texts –school, magic and astrology; 5. Scribal practice and book production; 6. Documentary papyri; 7. Latin papyri; 8. Linguistics and lexicography; 9. Archaeology; 10. Papyri and realia; 11. Conservation and restoration; and 12. Digitizing papyrus texts.

One of the challenges with the edition of such a volume in four different languages, plus Latin and Greek, Coptic, Demotic and Arabic, are the editorial decisions. We are aware that every language has typographical specificities, but we have chosen –as previous editors of the proceedings– to adopt one single typographical style. We apologize for any inconveniences this decision may cause.

References

All references to papyri, ostraca and other documents follow the "Checklist of Papyri" (http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist_papyri.html). The abbreviations of papyrological journals and tools also follow section VI of the same Checklist. Journals and corpora not listed in the Checklist follow the Année Philologique, and otherwise they are cited in full. Classical authors are quoted, with very few exceptions, with the abbreviations provided by the Liddle and Scott Greek English Dictionary or the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. We list below the abbreviations that do not appear in the Checklist or the Année Philologique:

ACO = Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum
AOP = Archivio dell'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi
BMPES = British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan
CDL = Codice Diplomatico Longobardo
CEDOPAL = Centre de recherche de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres. http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/fr/
CEL = Corpus Epistularum Latinarum (= C.Epist.Lat.)
CEML = Catalogue des étiquettes de momies du Musée du Louvre
CGL = Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum
Chartes = Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi online (http://www. chartes.it).
CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CLA = Codices Latini Antiquiores
CLGP = Commentaria et lexica graeca in papyris reperta.
CMG = Corpus medicorum graecorum
CPF = Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini. (Firenze) 1989-1999.

CPGM = Corpus of the Greek Medical Papyri Online
CT = Coffin Texts
DCLP = Digital Corpus of Literary Papyri (http://litpap.info/dclp/59968).
DEMGOL = Dizionario Etimologico della Mitologia Greca online (https://demgol.units.it/index.do)
DG = Doxographi Graeci
DK = Diels, H. / Kranz, W., Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker
DMic. = Diccionario Micénico (http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib/portal/diccionariomicenico)
DT = Defixionum Tabellae
EI = Encyclopaedia Iranica (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles)
EKM = Epigraphes Katō Makedonias
ETCSL = The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk)
GG = Grammatici Graeci
GMAW^2 = Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World
GRMS = Greek and Roman Musical Studies
IBAES = Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie. http://www.ibaes.de/
IDP3 = Integrating Digital Papyrology Project
IG = Inscriptiones Graecae.
ISAW Papers: Institute for the Studies of the Ancient World
IVSLA = Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti
LDAB = Leuven Database of Ancient Books. https://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/
LfgrE = Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos
LGPN = Lexicon of Greek Personal Names
LMPG = Léxico de magia y religión en los papiros mágicos griegos (http://dge.cchs.csic.es/lmpg/)
MedOn = Medicalia Online.
MP^3 = Mertens-Pack 3 online Database. http://cipl93.philo.ulg.ac.be/Cedopal/MP3/dbsearch_en.aspx
OLA = Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLD = Oxford Latin Dictionary
PDM = Papyri Demoticae Magicae
PG = Patrologia Graeca
PGM = Papyri Graecae Magicae.
PSR = Papyri Schott-Reinhardt
PT = Pyramid Texts.
RE = Real Enzyclopädie des Classichen Altertumwissenschaft.
REDHIS = Rediscovering the hidden structure. A New Appreciation of Juristic Texts and Patterns of Thought in Late Antiquity
RGRW: Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
SAOC: Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SBL: Studies in Biblical Literature
SEG = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SHR Suppl. to Numen: Studies in the History of Religions. Supplements to Numen
SoSOL = Son of Suda Online
STCPF = Studi e Testi per il Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici
TM = Trismegistos (www.trismegistos.org)
TrGF = Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta
VH = Herculanensium Voluminum quae supersunt. Collectio altera, I-XI

Program of the congress

MONDAY 1 AUGUST

9:30h – 10:30h: Plenary (Room: Auditorium): Lecture by Andrea Jördens, President of the *Association Internationale de Papyrologues*

11:00h – 13:30h

PARALLEL SESSIONS

Room Hatshepsut: Archaeology

- 11:00h – 11:30h: **Roger Bagnall/Paola Davoli**, Papyrology, stratigraphy, and excavation method
- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Ruey-Lin Chang/Jakub Ordutowski**, Report of the first survey season at Philadelphia (IFAO, 2015)
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Paola Boffula Alimeni**, Memorie del sottosuolo di Tebtynis a … Roma e a Venezia!
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **AnneMarie Luijendijk**, On discarding papyri in Roman and Late Antique Egypt: Theoretical, archaeological, and ancient perspectives
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Cornelia Römer**, The Gods of Karanis

Room Arsinoe: Documentary Papyri. Ptolemaic Egypt

- 11:00h – 11:30h: **Stéphanie Wackenier**, Four new documents from the archive of Haryotes (IIIrd BC)
- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Laura Willer**, Documents from the Temple – Two re-used papyri
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **David Martinez**, P. Texas inv. no. 1: A petition concerning a dispute over land boundaries
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Carla Balconi**, Due "ordini di comparizione" di età tolemaica nella collezione dell'Università Cattolica di Milano
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Caroline Cheung**, A rare and early double document of a vineyard lease (P.Tebt.0137)

Room Berenice: Literary Papyri

- 11:00h – 11:30h: **Gertjan Verhasselt**, The lives of Sappho and Simonides in a biographical compendium (P.Oxy. 1800)
- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Marco Perale**, A new Simonides papyrus?
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Jeffrey Fish**, On the reconstruction of new Sappho fragments: fiber matchings in P.GC. inv. 105
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Enrico Emanuele Prodi**, The offsets in P.Oxy. XV 1790
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Giovanna Menci**, Organizzazione dello spazio negli scholia minora a Omero: a proposito di una 'mise en page' immaginaria e di fantomatici titoletti in P.Dura 3

Room Cleopatra: Paraliterary Papyri. Medicine

- 11:00h – 11:30h: **Douaa Aly Elalfy**, Practice of surgery in Greco-Roman Egypt
- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Anna Monte**, Sharpen the sight without glasses: the κολλύρια ὀξυδορκικά in the papyrological and medical sources
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Yousry Deyab**, The impact of religion on healing practices in Egypt during the Roman rule

- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Kevin Funderburk**, Monastic medicine: UPENN E16238, account of wine and unguents
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Isabella Bonati,** Medicalia Online: an electronic dictionary of technical terms in medical papyri

Room Theodora: Juristic Papyrology

- 11:00h – 11:30h: **Eva Jakab**, Conflict of laws? Legal Pluralism in the Roman Empire
- 11:30h – 12:00h: **José Luis Alonso**, The *Constitutio Antoniniana* and the private legal practice in the Eastern Empire, 125 years after Mitteis' "Reichsrecht"
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Serena Ammirati**, A new look at ancient and late-antique Latin juristic texts and their transmission: the ERC project REDHIS
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Timothy M. Teeter**, An unpublished Latin legal text
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Maria Nowak/Agnieszka Kacprzak**: Legal and social status of extramarital children in the Roman Empire before Constantine the Great

15:00h – 17:00h
PARALLEL SESSIONS
Room Hatshepsut: Archaeology

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Mario Capasso**, L'enigma della provenienza dei codici Freer e degli altri 12 testi cristiani di Vienna alla luce dei nuovi scavi a Soknopaiou Nesos/Dime
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Todd Hickey**, Petrie at Oxyrhynchus: the papyri
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Laure Brossin-Pillot**, « EXP » Étude archéologique d'une *tabula cerata* du Musée départemental Arles Antique (France)
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Jitse H.F. Dijkstra**, Visitors to the Temple of Khnum at Elephantine: Who were they?

Room Arsinoe: Documentary Papyrology: Ptolemaic Egypt

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Deborah Vignot-Kott**, Demotic accounts and land-registers from the Sorbonne collection (Sorb. inv 228 a-c)
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Eleni Skarsouli**, Ein ptolemäisches Archiv aus Oxyrhyncha
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Magdy Aly**, Deed of service assignment
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Valérie Wyns**, Happiness and state in Ptolemaic Egypt

Room Berenice: Literary Papyri

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Massimo Magnani**, The ancient manuscript tradition of the Euripidean hypotheses
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Maroula Salemenou**, Papyri and the documents in Demosthenes' *De Corona*
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Valeria Tezzon**, "A mystic cook". Some considerations about P.Duke 1984.7
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Davide Amendola**, Verso una nuova edizione di P.Berol. inv. 13045 (BKT VII 13-31)

Room Cleopatra: Paraliterary Papryi. Astronomy and Astrology

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Marina Escolano-Poveda**, Tracking the wandering ones: a Demotic planetary table from Montserrat (P. Monts.Roca inv. 314)
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Irene Pajón Leyra**, Astronomical geography on papyrus

- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Andreas Winkler**, Some astronomers and their astrology in Graeco-Roman Egypt
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Johannes Thomann**, From *katarchai* to *ikhtiyārāt*: Documentary evidence of electional astrology in Greek and Arabic

Room Theodora: Juristic Papyrology

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Manex Ralla Arregi**, Legal representation of the monasteries: a regulatory and papyrological approach
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Małgorzata Sołek**, *Origo castris* and the local recruitment policy of the Roman army
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Micaela Langellotti**, Slavery, social attitudes, and the impact of Roman rule
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Peter van Minnen**, *Epikrisis* Documents from the Theognostos Archive

17:30h – 19:00h

PARALLEL SESSIONS

Room Hatshepsut: PANEL: Inside out: An introspective look at papyrology through its international congresses

- 17:30h – 18:00h: **Rachel Mairs,** Who? Gender and ethnicity at the ICP
- 18:00h – 18:30h: **Katherine Blouin,** What? Topics and linguistic trends at the ICP
- 18:30h – 19:00h: **Usama Gad,** Where? Mapping the ICP

Room Arsinoe: Documentary Papyri. Ptolemaic Egypt

- 17:30h – 18:00h: **Thomas Backhuys**, Zum ptolemäischen Monopolwesen: Die ὀθόνιον-Produktion im frühen 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr.
- 18:00h – 18:30h: **Christopher Cornthwaite**, Shippers, buyers, or guarantors: The *egdocheis* revisited
- 18:30h – 19:00h: **François Gerardin**, The foundation of cities in Egypt in the 2nd century B.C.

Room Berenice: Literary Papyri

- 17:30h – 18:00h: **Giuseppe Ucciardello**, P.Lille 71+126: hexameters on Herakles?
- 18:00h – 18:30h: **Benjamin Henry**, New hexameters from Oxyrhynchus
- 18:30h – 19:00h: **Livia Capponi**, Chaeremon of Alexandria and the *Apotheosis of Poppaea* (P.Oxy. 77.5105)

Room Cleopatra: Paraliterary Papyri. Mathematics

- 17:30h – 18:00h: **Giuseppina Azzarello**, Arithmetic tables from Graeco-Roman Egypt
- 18:00h – 18:30h: **Federico Morelli**, "Più che 'l doppiar de li scacchi s'immilla" (Dante, *Paradiso* XXVIII 93). Un singolare papiro matematico della collezione vienense

Room Theodora: Juristic Papyrology

- 17:30h – 18:00h: **Elizabeth Buchanan**, Rural collective action in Late Antique Egypt (400-630 CE)
- 18:00h – 18:30h: **Jens Mangerud**, Who was the wife of Pompeius Niger?

TUESDAY 2 AUGUST
9:00h – 11:00h
PARALLEL SESSIONS
Room Hatshepsut: Linguistics

- 9:00h – 9:30h: **Giuseppina di Bartolo,** ἐρωτάω: Semantik und Syntax in den dokumentarischen Papyri der römischen und byzantinischen Zeit
- 9:30h – 10:00h: **Daniel Riaño Rufilanchas**, Semantic reinterpretation of the basic case values in the process of dative loss: a study of the papyrological evidence
- 10:00h – 10:30h: **Leiwo Martti**, Act of the scribe: Transmitting linguistic knowledge and scribal practices in Graeco-Roman Antiquity
- 10:30h – 11:00h: **Sven Tost/Lucian Reinfandt**, 'Bilingualism' or diglossia? The use of language in Early Arab Egypt

Room Arsinoe: Documentary Papyri. Ptolemaic Egypt

- 9:00h – 9:30h: **Mario C. D. Paganini**, Till death do us part. Funerary practices of associations in Ptolemaic Egypt
- 9:30h – 10:00h: **Demokritos Kaltsas**, Zu P.Sorb. III 128
- 10:00h – 10:30h: **Matthias Stern**, All the *dioiketes*' men. Serving at the local level in Ptolemaic Egypt
- 10:30h – 11:00h: **Alba de Frutos García**, The commensal politics of associations in Graeco-Roman Egypt

Room Berenice: Latin Papyri

- 9:00h – 9:30h: **Valeria Piano**, P.Herc.1067 Reconsidered: Latest Results, New Prospects
- 9:30h – 10:00h: **Ornella Salati**, A 'forgotten' Latin Account-Book from Oxyrhynchus. New Perspectives on *PSI* II 119 + *P.Oxy*. III 454 + *P.Laur*. IV 134 *recto*
- 10:00h – 10:30h: **Andrea Bernini**, New remarks on consul Publius Seius Fuscianus and new evidence for Colonia Aelia Capitolina (P.Mich. VII 445 + inv. 3888c + inv. 3944k)
- 10:30h – 11:00h: **Maria Chiara Scappaticcio**, Papyri and LAtin Texts: INsights and Updated Methodologies. Towards a philological, literary, and historical approach to Latin papyri (PLATINUM project – ERC-StG 2014 n°636983)

Room Cleopatra: Paraliterary Papyri. School Texts

- 9:00h – 9:30h: **Raffaella Cribiore**, Schools and school exercises again
- 9:30h – 10:00h: **Jennifer Cromwell**, Teacher, student, or writer? The ostraca from Theban tomb 310 and the monk Pleine
- 10:00h – 10:30h: **Julia Lougovaya**, Literary ostraca: Material choice and cultural context
- 10:30h – 11:00h: **Luigi Prada**, "Have them bring a scribe from the school!": Introducing a systematic study of school texts in Egyptian from Hellenistic and Roman Egypt

Room Theodora: Juristic Papyrology

- 9:00h – 9:30h: **Marcin Kotyl**, P.Giss.inv.216A–C: An unpublished first-century roll with drafts of P.Hamb. I 3?

- 9:30h – 10:00h: **José-Domingo Rodríguez Martín**, Avoiding the judge: The exclusion of the δίκη in contractual clauses
- 10:00h – 10:30h: **Federica Micucci**, The dossier of Flavius Heraclius and two new papyri from the British Library

11:30h – 13:30h
PARALLEL SESSIONS
Room Hatshepsut: Linguistics

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Sonja Dahlgren**, Evidence from the papyri: a preliminary definition of an Egyptian Greek variant
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Christoph Weilbach**, A new Fachwörterbuch
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Marja Vierros**, Sematia platform, linguistic annotation and the *katochoi* of the Serapeion
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Ágnes T. Mihálykó**, The persistence of Greek and the rise of Coptic in the early Christian liturgy in Egypt

Room Arsinoe: Documentary Papyri. Ptolemaic Egypt

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Claudia Tirel Cena**, Alcune considerazioni su due papiri con cessione e affitto di ἡμέραι ἀγνευτικαί
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Bianca Borrelli**, Primi risultati di un rinnovato studio del P.Rev.Laws
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Andrew Hogan**, Auctions in Ptolemaic Egypt: UPZ I 114, II 220, and II 221 as a case study for markets
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Renate Fellinger**, The legal role of women revisited: Ptolemaic documents for money from Upper Egypt

Room Berenice: Latin Papyri

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Giulio Iovine**, Delving into Latin documents. Towards an edition of unpublished Latin documentary papyri in Vienna
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Dario Internullo**, Latin documents on papyrus from late Antique and Early Medieval West: a framework
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Gabriel Nocchi Macedo**, Papyri and the Ancient editions of Terence

Room Cleopatra: School Texts and Scribal Practices

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Charikleia Grace Ioannidou**, Selection of literature extracts in school manuals
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Chiara Meccariello**, Heracles in Graeco-Roman Egypt. A new puzzling mythological papyrus
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Ángela Cámara**, A writing exercise in the Palau Ribes Papyrus Collection: P.PalauRib. inv. 217r
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Eunsoo Lee**, Euclidean Diagrams in mathematical papyri: How they are different from diagrams in early manuscripts

Room Theodora: Juristic Papyrology

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Hilla Halla-aho**, An unpublished Latin testament (P. Carlsberg 671 + PSI inv. I 143 R)

- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Marianna Thoma**, The law of succession in Roman Egypt: siblings and non-siblings disputes over inheritance
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Alkestis Spinou**, A freight list, a list of expenses and a Roman birthday celebration
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Nicholas Venable**, The persistence of Roman law in Post-Chalcedonian Egyptian Christianity

15:00h – 17:00h
PARALLEL SESSIONS
Room Hatshepsut: Conservation and Restauration

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Marieka Kaye**, Exploring new glass technology for the glazing of papyri
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Abdellatif Hassan Afandy**, Investigation and conservation of some Ancient papyri housed in Cairo Egyptian Museum
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Emily Ramos**, Preservation of the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California Berkeley
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Eve Menei/Laurence Caylux**, Conservation of the Louvre Medical Papyrus : cautions, research, process

Room Arsinoe: Mystery Cults and Wisdom

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Ioanna Karamanou**, The earliest known Greek papyrus (Piraeus Museum, ΜΠ 7449, 8517-8523): Text and Contexts
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Richard Janko**, The Derveni papyrus: new images for a new edition
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Alberto Bernabé**, The Derveni papyrus: new editorial projects
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Marco Antonio Santamaría Álvarez**, Do the demons of col. VI of the Derveni Papyrus act in Netherworld or on Earth?

Room Berenice: Literary Papyri

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Alberto Nodar Domínguez**, A new novel fragment? P.PalauRib. inv. 709
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Nikoletta Kanavou**, New remarks on the *Panionis* (P.Oxy. LXXI 4811)
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **María Paz López Martínez**, Greek Personal Names in novel fragments
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Panagiota Sarischouli**, The Osiris legend in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* and in Greek and Demotic magical texts: How do the sources complement each other?

Room Cleopatra: Scribal Practices

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Antonio Ricciardetto**, Comparaison entre le système d'abréviations de l'*Anonyme de Londres* (P.Lit.Lond. 165, Brit.Libr. inv. 137) et ceux de la *Constitution d'Athènes* et des autres textes littéraires du Brit.Libr. inv. 131
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Danai Bafa**, Bookhands in letters from Late Antique Egypt
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Alexandros Tsakos**, Documents on leather – a Nubian phenomenon?

Room Theodora: Juristic Papyrology

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Nahum Cohen**, P. Berol. 25141 – A case of tax evasion in Roman Egypt?
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Paul Heilporn/Diletta Minutoli/Rosario Pintaudi**, P. Laur. inv. 19655 : un nouveau rouleau fiscal de Théadelphie
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Ann Ellis Hanson**, 'Ages of the census' in Philadelphia tax-registers
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Shereen A. Aly**, What did the βοηθοί do?

17:30h – 19:30h

PARALLEL SESSIONS

Room Hatshepsut: Conservation and Restauration

- 17:30h – 18:00h: **Ahmed Youssef/Ana Beny**, Persevering after a 1,000 years and a blast!
- 18:00h – 18:30h: **María Cristina Ibáñez Domínguez**, Proposal for conservation glossary applied to papyrological collections

Room Arsinoe: Mystery Cults and Wisdom

- 17:30h – 18:00h: **Ana Isabel Jiménez San Cristóbal**, Demeter in a Berlin Papyrus (BKT 5.1, pp. 7-18, nº I 2)
- 18:00h – 18:30h: **Franziska Naether**, Wise men and women in literary papyri

Room Berenice: Rhetoric

- 17:30h – 18:00h: **Mark de Kreij**, The story of Tydeus in P.Mil.Vogl. III 123: A new fragment
- 18:00h – 18:30h: **Daniela Colomo**, Re-editing a subliterary fragment a century later: The case of P.Oxy. XVII 2086v, *Treatise on Rhetoric*
- 18:30h – 19:00h: **Alessio Ruta**, PSI Congr. XIII 2: due frammenti da una raccolta paremiografica. Nuove integrazioni, una proposta di attribuzione

Room Cleopatra: Juristic Papyrology

- 17:30h – 18:00h: **Antti Arjava**, People of Petra
- 18:00h – 18:30h: **Serena Perrone**, Operazioni bancarie sul recto di una lettera di Nerone agli Alessandrini (PUG I 10)?
- 18:30h – 19:00h: **Dominic Rathbone**, Age and fiscality in Roman Egypt

WEDNESDAY 3 AUGUST

9:00h – 11:00h

PARALLEL SESSIONS

Room Hatshepsut: Arabic Papyrology

- 9:00h – 9:30h: **Lajos Berkes**, Which Abd Allāh? Prosopographic problems across Greek, Coptic and Arabic Papyri from the Fayum
- 9:30h – 10:00h: **Asmahan Abu'Alasaad**, Three different letters addressed to the servant, Mamluk
- 10:00h – 10:30h: **Ursula Bsees**, A desperate lover or a bored official? An unusual Arabic poem on papyrus
- 10:30h – 11:00h: **Khaled Younes**, Naked on the street: An Arabic written testimony on papyrus

Room Arsinoe: Documentary Papyri. Words and Contexts

- 9:00h – 9:30h: **Yosra Ahmed Mosleh**, The Doorkeepers in the light of the papyri
- 9:30h – 10:00h: **Rasha El-Mofatch**, A touch of scent in Greco- Roman Egypt (κῦφι, μύρον and ἄρωμα)
- 10:00h – 10:30h: **Suzanne Soliman**, Horses and their breeders: from the Fayum to Oxyrhynchos
- 10:30h – 11:00h: **Eleonora Angela Conti**, Lessico affettivo nelle lettere private: alcune considerazioni su ἀμμά

Room Berenice: Herculaneum Papyri

- 9:00h – 9:30h: **Giovanni Indelli/Francesca Longo Auricchio**, Le opere greche della Biblioteca ercolanese: un aggiornamento
- 9:30h – 10:00h: **Vincenzo Damiani**, Towards an *editio princeps* of PHerc. 1026
- 10:00h – 10:30h: **Kilian Fleischer**, The circumstances of the death of Philo of Larisa – Towards a new edition of Philodemus' *Index Academicorum* (PHerc. 1021/1691; 164)
- 10:30h – 11:00h: **Mariacristina Fimiani**, Su alcuni frammenti inediti del IV libro della *Retorica* di Filodemo di Gadara

Room Cleopatra: Juristic Papyrology

- 9:00h – 9:30h: **William Mundy**, Euhemeria in the early Roman period: some new observations on texts from an Arsinoite village
- 9:30h – 10:00h: **Audrey Eller**, The Antinoite subdivision: from nomarchy to nome. Creation of a new geographic subdivision and change of status
- 10:00h – 10:30h: **Michael Sampson**, Official correspondence with Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontios (P.Mich. inv. 404)
- 10:30h – 11:00h: **James G. Keenan**, Correspondence of the *praefectus annonae Alexandriae*: P.Oxy. 24.2408 reconsidered

Room Theodora: Christian Papyri

- 9:00h – 9:30h: **Aaltje Hidding**, The Martyrs of Oxyrhynchus – Remembering the Great Persecution in the Christ-loving City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish
- 9:30h – 10:00h: **Gesa Schenke**, Reconstructing the origins of the cult of saints in Egypt: Documentary evidence on miracle Healing
- 10:00h – 10:30h: **María Celia Ropero Serrano**, Two pieces of Egyptian funerary linen with a Latin inscription from the Biblical and Oriental Museum of León
- 10:30h – 11:00h: **Anastasia Maravela**, Scriptural literacy only?

11:30h – 13:30h
PARALLEL SESSIONS
Room Hatshepsut: Arabic Papyrology

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Sergio Carro Martín**, Three Illustrated Hajj documents in the Palau Ribes Collection: A preliminary study
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Mohamed Abd Ellatif Ibrahim**, Archaeological and cultural study of some texts on Ostraca from the Early Islamic Period (Century 1-3 A H. / 7-9 AD.) newly discovered in Elephantine Island in Aswan
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Ahmed Mazen**, Testimonies and recommendation for the appointment of priesthood leadership P.Cair.B.E. inv. 2424

- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Amalia Zomeño/Matt W. Malczycki**, Two Prophetic *Dicta* in Papyrus (PPalauRib inv 1049)

Room Arsinoe: Documentary Papyri. Words and Contexts

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Valérie Schram**, Ἐρίκινον ξύλον, de la bruyère en Égypte?
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Simona Russo**, Lex.Pap.Mat : Chapeau!
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Nadine Quenouille**, Memoranda – The use of ὑπόμνημα and other noteworthy administrative terms throughout the centuries
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Océane Henri**, How to name one's god. Transcription versus translation of theonyms in Greek documents from Egypt

Room Berenice: Herculaneum Papyri

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Christian Vassallo**, PHerc. 1788 ([*Philodemi*] *Opus incertum*): Edition, translation, and commentary
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Daniel Delattre/Annick Monet**, PHerc.Paris. 2 (fr. 216-230), [Philodème, *La Calomnie*] : une nouvelle référence à Hésiode
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Gaia Barbieri**, Studi preliminari sul PHerc. 1289
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Gianluca Del Mastro**, Su alcuni pezzi editi e inediti della collezione ercolanese

Room Cleopatra: Documentary papyri: Roman Egypt

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **El-Sayed Gad**, ἀντίδοσις in Roman Egypt: A sign of continuity or a revival of an ancient institution?
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Cisca Hoogendijk**, Letter of vice-prefect Mussius Aemilianus (ca. 256-259 CE)
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Elena Chepel**, Two Roman payment lists from the Leiden collection
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Tomasz Derda**, Wills from the Oxyrhynchite agoranomeion

Room Theodora: Christian Papyri

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Marco Stroppa**, Papiri cristiani della collezione PSI: storia recente e prospettive future
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Benjamin R. Overcash**, *Nomina Sacra* and social semiosis in Early Christian material culture
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Grzegorz Ochała**, Towards a Nubisches Namenbuch: First results of a study on Christian Nubian onomastics
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Maria Konstantinidou**, Festal letters: Fragments of a genre

THURSDAY 4 AUGUST
9:00h – 11:00h
PARALLEL SESSIONS
Room Hatshepsut: Magical Papyri

- 9:00h – 9:30h: **Emilio Suárez de la Torre**, The flight of passion. Remarks of a formulaic *topos* of the erotic spells
- 9:30h – 10:00h: **Mélanie Houle**, Fluidité exorcistique et iatromagique dans les papyri magiques gréco-romains
- 10:00h – 10:30h: **Richard L. Phillips**, Seeing is not believing: Rationalizing invisibility and transformation in Late Antiquity

Room Arsinoe: Panel: *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*

- 9:00h – 9:30h: **Meron Piotrkowski**, A brief sketch of Oxyrhynchan Jews and Judaism in light of the literary papyri
- 9:30h – 10:00h: **Tal Ilan**, Julia Crispina of Ein Gedi and the Fayum revisited
- 10:00h – 10:30h: **Zsuzsanna Szántó**, *Shabtai* in Egypt: Cultural interaction between Jews and Egyptians under the Ptolemies

Room Berenice: Herculaneum Papyri

- 9:00h – 9:30h: **Angelica De Gianni**, Osservazioni su alcuni disegni dei Papiri Ercolanesi
- 9:30h – 10:00h: **Stefano Napolitano**, Falsificazioni nei disegni di alcuni Papiri Ercolanesi
- 10:00h – 10:30h: **Holger Essler**, Zur Paläographie der Abzeichnungen herkulanischer Papyri
- 10:30h – 11:00h: **Inna Bukreeva/Alessia Cedola/Graziano Ranocchia**, Virtual unrolling and deciphering of Herculaneum rolls by X-ray phase-contrast tomography

Room Cleopatra: Documentary Papyri. Archives

- 9:00h – 9:30h: **Anna Dolganov**, Archives and imperial Power: The Arsinoite archive crisis revisited
- 9:30h – 10:00h: **Amphilochios Papathomas**, Bemerkungen zu medizinischen und dokumentarischen Papyrustexten des Seminars für Klassische Philologie der Universität Athen
- 10:00h – 10:30h: **Michael Zellmann-Rohrer**, P.Oxy. processing numbers and the re-contextualization of the Oxyrhynchus papyri
- 10:30h – 11:00h: **Maria Rosaria Falivene**, Questions concerning 'El Hiba mummy 97'

Room Theodora: Documentary papyri. Roman Egypt

- 9:00h – 9:30h: **Fabian Reiter**, Daddy finger, where are you?
- 9:30h – 10:00h: **Sofie Waebens**, Send him an artaba of olives and some fish, as we want to make use of him": Gift exchange and bribery in Roman Egypt
- 10:00h – 10:30h: **Stephen M. Bay**, Evidence for organized crime in documentary papyri
- 10:30h – 11:00h: **David M. Ratzan**, Honoring debt in Roman Egypt

11:30h – 13:30h
PARALLEL SESSIONS
Room Hatshepsut: Coptic Papyri

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Tonio Sebastian Richter**, Coptic land leases
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Esther Garel**, Les ventes à terme de vin coptes du Fayoum et de Moyenne-Égypte
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Loreleï Vanderheyden**, La famille de Dioscore d'Aphroditê dévoilée par sa correspondance copte
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Xavier Vicens Pedret**, The papyrological collection MSG-ABEV

Room Arsinoe: Panel: *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Thomas Kruse**, A new petition to the *politeuma* of the Jews of Heracleopolis
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Natalia Vega Navarrete**, Eulalos und Areios vor Kaiser Caligula
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Drew Longacre**, Two Selective Greek Texts of Exodus: A Comparative Analysis of Rahlfs 896 and 960

Room Berenice: Herculaneum Papyri

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Federica Nicolardi**, I papiri del I libro del *De rhetorica* di Filodemo
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Giuliana Leone/Sergio Carrelli**, Per una nuova edizione di Epicuro, *Sulla natura, liber incertus*
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Xavier Riu**, Miscellaneous readings and proposals to Philodemus, *Perì parrhesías* (*PHerc.* 1471)
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Antonio Parisi**, Citazioni e meccanismi di citazione nei papiri di Demetrio Lacone

Room Cleopatra: Documentary Papyri. Archives

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Noha A. Salem**, What can happen under the cover of night? Reading in *Cair. Isid.* 141
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Graham Claytor**, Autographs of a Roman soldier: The life and letters of Gaius Iulius Apollinarius
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Eman Aly Selim**, A new text from the archive of Gaius Iulius Sabinus and Apollinarius

Room Theodora: Juristic Papyrology

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Jakub Urbanik**, *Nomikoi* in the Roman courts
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Guus van Loon**, Minutes of a process (?) from the VIth century AD
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Marzena Wojtczak**, How formal was 'informal'? Arbitration and settlement of claims in Late Antiquity

15:00h – 17:30h
PARALLEL SESSIONS
Room Hatshepsut: Experimental Sciences

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Myriam Krutzsch**, Investigations on the question of the production place of the papyrus writing material
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Ira Rabin**, Material study of the inks
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Magdalena Brasas/Julio Abad-González/Rafael Álvarez**, Atomic and structural study of Egyptian papyrus of the Roman and Byzantine periods
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Roger T. Macfarlane**, PHerc. Paris 1: analysis of opened fragments with multispectral imaging
- 17:00h – 17:30h: **Vito Mocella**, L'uso del sincrotrone europeo ESRF per la lettura non invasiva dei rotoli carbonizzati e non aperti di Ercolano

Room Arsinoe: Ostraca and Inscribed Material

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Marie-Pierre Chaufray**, Demotic ostraca from Bi'r Samut, Egyptian Eastern Desert: an overview

- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Hélène Cuvigny**, The 3rd c. BC *entolai* from Bi'r Samut and the names of the stations on the Ptolemaic road from Apollonos polis to Berenike
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Adam Bülow-Jacobsen**, Ostraca from Umm Balad
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Marek Dospěl**, Inscribed material from the El-Hayz Oasis
- 17:00h – 17:30h: **Rodney Ast**, A survey of Latin ostraca from North Africa

Room Berenice: Book Production

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Marie-Hélène Marganne**, Les rouleaux composites répertoriés dans le catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins du CEDOPAL
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Nathan Carlig**, Les rouleaux littéraires grecs de nature composite profane et chrétienne (début du IIIe – troisième quart du VIe siècle)
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Francesca Maltomini**, The second life of the Hibeh literary papyri
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Francesca De Robertis**, Near-Eastern literary papyri
- 17:00h – 17:30h: **Bruce W. Griffin**, Some quantitative notes on the palaeography of Oxyrhynchus literary papyri

Room Cleopatra: Documentary Papyri. Roman Egypt

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Fatma E. Hamouda**, A letter in the Yale Papyrus Collection
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Dorota Dzierzbicka**, Wine dealers: a case study in merchant networks of Roman and Byzantine Egypt
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Yasmine Amory**, Considérations autour du π/ épistolaire : une contamination entre les ordres et la lettre antique tardive?
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Mohamed G. Elmaghrabi**, A *tomos synkollesimos* reunited

Room Theodora: Panel: The rhetoric of complaint: The petition from the Romans to the Mamluks

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Ari Bryen**, The rhetoric of complaint in the Roman period
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Marina Rustow**, Rhetoric and institutional practices in Fatimid petitions
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Tamer el-Leithy**, The social logic of complaint: How petitions forged groups in Ayyübid and Mamlūk society
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Jean-Luc Fournet**, Anatomie d'un genre en mutation: la pétition de l'Antiquité tardive
- 17:00h – 17:30h: **Naïm Vanthieghem**, Arabic petitions from Umayyad and Abbasid Egypt (VIIe-Xe centuries). An overview of their form, content and context

FRIDAY 5 AUGUST

9:00h – 11:00h PLENARY SESSION: Round table: *Setting limits to our discipline?*

Speakers:

Gianluca del Mastro (Papyrology and science)
Mark Depauw (Papyrology and new digital technologies)
Marie-Hélène Marganne (Papyrology and academia)
Roberta Mazza (Papyrology and ethics)
Cornelia Römer (Papyrology and archaeology)
Moderated by Alberto Nodar

11:30h – 13:30h
PARALLEL SESSIONS
Room Hatshepsut: Magical Papyri

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Raquel Martín Hernández**, More than a *logos*. The *typhonicos logos* in context
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Korshi Dosoo**, Icon and praxis: reading a drawing in a Coptic magical papyrus
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Marius Gerhardt**, News on the peculiar erotic charm Suppl.Mag. I 39
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Eleni Chronopoulou**, Some thoughts about P.Berl. 5026 (PGM II)

Room Arsinoe: New Technologies

- 11:30h – 12:00h**: James Cowey**, Report on Papyri.info, HGV and more
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Nicola Reggiani**, The Corpus of Greek Medical Papyri Online and the digital edition of ancient documents: issues and outlooks
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Francesca Bertonazzi**, Digital edition of P. Strasb. inv. 1187: between the papyrus and the indirect tradition

Room Berenice: Book Production

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Brent Nongbri**, Binding Techniques and the Development of the Codex Format in Egypt
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Ines Bogensperger**/**Aikaterini Koroli**, Patterns, techniques and materials of textiles: A joint investigation on textile production of Late Antique Egypt
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Clementina Caputo**, The importance of the writing support in studying ostraca
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Pierre-Luc Angles**, Le grec tracé avec un pinceau comme méthode d'identification des scripteurs digraphes. Généalogie, limites, redéfinition du critère

Room Cleopatra: Documentary Papyri. Roman Egypt

- 11:30h – 12:00h**: April Pudsey**/**Ville Vuolanto**, Reconstructing youth in Oxyrhynchos: *gymnasium* and identity
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Eline Scheerlinck**, Learning for a better life: the relationship between happiness and education in Graeco-Roman Egypt
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Isabelle Marthot-Santaniello**, Noms de personne ou noms de lieu? La délicate question des « toponymes discriminants » à la lumière des papyrus d'Aphroditô (VIe -VIIIe s.)
- 13:00h – 13:30h: **Nikolaos Gonis**, Egyptian nobility from Theodosius to Justinian

Room Theodora: Panel: La jarre d'Edfou

- 11:30h – 12:00h: **Jean Gascou**, The Papas archive: methodological questions
- 12:00h – 12:30h: **Alain Delattre**, Les papyrus coptes des archives de Papas: résultats préliminaires
- 12:30h – 13:00h: **Anne Boud'hors**, Papyrus coptes de la jarre d'Edfou

15:00h – 17:30h
PARALLEL SESSIONS

Room Hatshepsut: Magical Papyri

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Christopher Faraone**, Instructions for carving magical gems: Missing diagrams and misunderstood directions
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Sofía Torallas Tovar**, The transmission of magical knowledge: presentation of a new project
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin**, Vers un catalogue des textes magiques coptes
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Magali de Haro Sanchez**, Towards a typology of Greek magical papyri: identify and differentiate copy stages and scribal skills within 4th century handbooks

Room Arsinoe: New Technologies

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Yanne Broux**, Trismegistos Networks
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Herbert Verreth**, Trismegistos Places, a geographical platform for Egypt and (far) beyond
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Joanne Stolk**, How to write proper Greek? Scribal revision vs. editorial regularization
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Peter Arzt-Grabner**, How to abbreviate a papyrological volume? Principles, inconsistencies, and solutions
- 17:00h – 17:30h: **Nico Dogaer**, Epistolary networks

Room Berenice: History of Papyrology

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Natascia Pellé**, Lettere di B.P. Grenfell e A.S. Hunt a J.G. Smyly
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Susan Fogarty,** John Gavin Tait: A re-assessment
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Alain Martin**, Les archives de l'AIP
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Brendan Haug**, Between Cairo and Ann Arbor: Michigan papyrology in the 1950's
- 17:00h – 17:30h: **Matilde Fiorillo**, Da Tebtynis a Padova. La collezione dei P. Tebt. Pad. tra passato, presente e futuro

Room Cleopatra: Unpublished Material

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Elisabeth R. O'Connell**, Greek and Coptic manuscripts (still) in the British Museum
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Lincoln H. Blumell/Thomas A. Wayment**, Some unpublished fragments in the J. Rendel Harris Collection
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Jean-Michel Mouton**, Aperçu sur la collection des « Papiers de Damas »

Room Theodora: Documentary Papyri. Roman and Islamic Egypt

- 15:00h – 15:30h: **Sophie Kovarik**, People and power in Late Antique Fayyum: the formation of a local elite, 5th to 7th centuries
- 15:30h – 16:00h: **Amin Benaissa**, A new bird's-eye view of the Oxyrhynchite estate of the Flavii Apiones
- 16:00h – 16:30h: **Janneke de Jong**, A new assessment from eighth century Aphrodito
- 16:30h – 17:00h: **Stefanie Schmidt**, Adopting and adapting. Certain aspects of economic change in Early Islamic Egypt

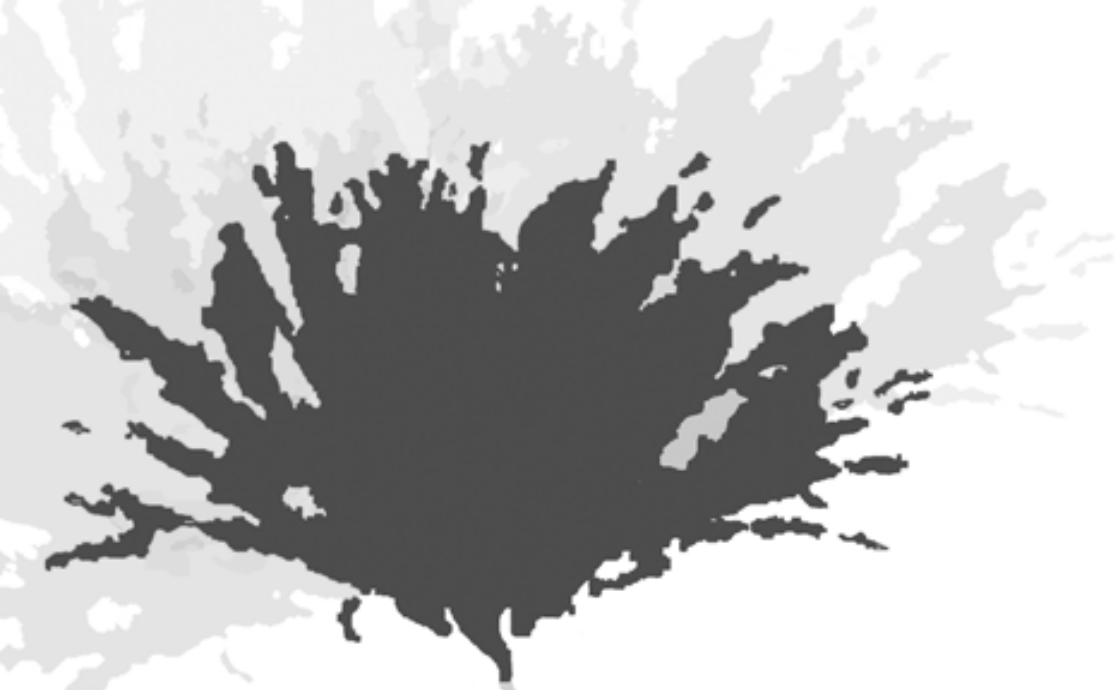
- 17:00 – 17:30h: **Arietta Papaconstantinou**, Objects, labour, and client networks in late antique rural credit transactions

SATURDAY 6 AUGUST

- **9:00h – 12:00h: GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the *Association Internationale de Papyrologues* (Auditorium)**



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PART I

PAPYROLOGY: METHODS AND INSTRUMENTS
ARCHIVES FOR THE HISTORY OF PAPYROLOGY

Proceedings of the 28th International Congress of Papyrology, Barcelona 2016
Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona 2019) 3-14

Die Papyrologie in einer Welt der Umbrüche
Rede zur Eröffnung des XXVIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses

Andrea Jördens
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Meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren, liebe Papyrologen und Papyrologinnen, Fachkollegen und Angehörige verschiedenster Disziplinen, Sympathisanten, Freunde und Weggefährten,

es ist mir eine große Ehre und ein Vergnügen, Sie alle heute hier als Präsidentin der Association Internationale de Papyrologues auf dem XXVIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongreß begrüßen zu dürfen – Benvinguts! ¡Bienvenidos! Bienvenus! Benvenuti! Welcome! Auch im Namen der Veranstalter darf ich die anwesenden wie auch die noch später hinzukommenden Teilnehmer aus allen fünf Kontinenten (und auch Britanniens) herzlich hier willkommen heißen und uns allen Tage fruchtbaren Austauschs, bereichernder Vorträge, lebhafter Diskussionen und vielfacher neuer Erkenntnisse wünschen. Wie Sie gesehen haben werden, ist mir für diese Begrüßung bis zum Coffee break fast eine Stunde eingeräumt worden. Ich könnte nun versuchen, jeden von Ihnen κατ᾽ ὄνομα zu begrüßen und die Begrüßungsworte in allen hier anwesenden Sprachen und immer neuen Wendungen zu wiederholen, was sicherlich eine schöne Demonstration unserer Internationalität wäre. Aber so etwas gibt es auch andernorts, und als Auftakt eines Kongresses, der schließlich nur alle drei Jahre stattfindet, scheint die Zeit dafür zu kostbar. Lieber möchte ich daher über unser Fach sprechen, und zwar aus der Sicht eines Menschen, der mehr oder weniger um die Mitte des letzten Jahrhunderts auf die Welt gekommen ist.

Meine erste Begegnung mit der Papyrologie datiert aus dem Jahr 1979, als ich auf Empfehlung einer Göttinger Kommilitonin meinen Fuß in das Istituto Vitelli, damals noch in der Via degli Alfani, setzte. Seither ist die Welt kaum wiederzuerkennen, angefangen von den rasanten Veränderungen auf dem Gebiet der Telekommunikation bis hin zu selbstfahrenden Autos, und auch vor unserem Fach haben diese Entwicklungen bekanntlich nicht haltgemacht, wie wir vor allem an unseren Arbeitsinstrumenten sehen. In dieser Welt voller Umbrüche im privaten wie im beruflichen Bereich sind die Momente selten geworden, einmal innezuhalten und sowohl zurück wie voraus zu blicken, was an alldem positiv, was vielleicht auch negativ war und wohin der Weg uns führen kann oder sollte.

Meine heutige Begrüßung scheint mir nun ein solcher Moment, eben über diese Entwicklungen und ihre Möglichkeiten, aber auch manche Gefahren nachzudenken, womit ich keinesfalls eine Bewertung oder gar ein moralisches Urteil verknüpft wissen will. Mir geht es lediglich darum, verschiedene Aspekte ins Gedächtnis zu rufen, die beim Streben nach Aktualität gern und leicht aus dem Blick geraten. Denn auf der Jagd nach immer neuen Errungenschaften ist man erfahrungsgemäß nur allzu bereit, wohlbewährte Traditionen als obsolet über Bord zu werfen, die aber, einmal verloren, nur mit größten Mühen wiederzubeleben sind. Der alte Satz *quicquid agis prudenter agas et respice finem* hat jedoch noch immer seine Berechtigung erwiesen, namentlich was das *finis* betrifft. Insofern möchte ich im folgenden Denkanstöße geben und auch die Jüngeren zu verstärkter Reflexion über unser Tun und Lassen anregen, auch wenn mir durchaus bewußt ist, daß vielleicht nicht jeder davon zu überzeugen ist.

Bezogen auf unser Fach sind für die Umbrüche vor allem drei Faktoren in Anschlag zu bringen, die ich hier mit den Stichwörtern Anglisierung, Digitalisierung und Globalisierung bezeichnen will. Dabei handelt es sich wohlgemerkt nicht um völlig getrennte Phänomene – Fortschritte auf dem einen Gebiet bedeuten nicht zwangsläufig solche auf dem anderen, wie auch bei Stagnation, Rückschritten oder gar Niedergang nicht gleich alles zusammen in den Abgrund gerät. Gemeinsam ist ihnen jedoch der Drang nach dem immer Mehr und immer Weiter, ohne Gedanken an mögliche Kosten oder Verluste. Ich möchte demgegenüber den Blick wieder stärker auf die Inhalte lenken und dabei zugleich ein Wort für Methodenvielfalt und Multiperspektivität einlegen.

Unter den genannten drei Faktoren ist die Anglisierung zweifellos der unspektakulärste, scheint sie doch fast gleichbedeutend mit Internationalität. International war die Papyrologie allerdings seit jeher, wie sich schon an den vor gut 110 Jahren erschienenen Mélanges Nicole erweist, meiner Meinung nach einem der nach wie vor beeindruckendsten Werke unseres damals noch recht jungen Faches. Die Beiträge zu Ehren des Genfer Gelehrten wurden in insgesamt fünf Sprachen verfaßt, die Mehrzahl davon natürlich in Französisch und nur vier von insgesamt 52 in Englisch.[1] Diesbezüglich sind die Verhältnisse inzwischen nahezu auf den Kopf gestellt, wie nicht zuletzt das anstehende Kongreßprogramm lehrt. Schon die schiere Menge von 270 Vorträgen in fünf gleichzeitigen Sektionen ist ein absolutes Novum, aber auch ein derartiges Übergewicht englischsprachiger Vorträge ist mir von einem Papyrologenkongreß – und dieser ist mein elfter – nicht erinnerlich.[2] Denn sofern den angekündigten Titeln zu trauen ist (in zwei Fällen bin ich mir unsicher), werden außer dieser meiner Begrüßung nur sieben weitere Vorträge auf Deutsch gehalten; gut doppelt soviele, nämlich 15, auf Französisch; noch einmal fast doppelt so viele, genauer 27, auf Italienisch; und schließlich weit mehr als 200 auf Englisch. Das Verhältnis ist also grob 1 : 2 : 4 : 31 oder anders, die drei anderen großen Wissenschaftssprachen machen zusammen nicht einmal ein Viertel der Vorträge auf Englisch aus.

Tatsächlich wird man Englisch als Geschäftssprache zur allgemeinen Verständigung für sinnvoll und angemessen halten, wenn Angehörige verschiedenster Nationen bei Kongressen zusammenkommen. Auch in der EU wird das schließlich weiterhin so bleiben, selbst wenn das Englische nach dem Brexit-Referendum wohl seinen Rang als Amtssprache verliert, da jedes Mitgliedsland nur eine Amtssprache benennen durfte und Irland und Malta sich für Irisch und Maltesisch entschieden. Sicher wird niemand für eine Rückkehr zu der Regelung von 1958 plädieren, als es in der damaligen EWG – wohlgemerkt ohne Englisch! – nur vier statt der heutigen 24 Amts- und Arbeitssprachen gab, obwohl die Übersetzungen schon vor

[1] Vgl. Mélanges Nicole (1905). Genauer ist das Verhältnis 27 Beiträge in Französisch : 16 in Deutsch : 4 in Englisch : 3 in Lateinisch : 2 in Griechisch, wobei auffälligster Faktor das Fehlen italienischsprachiger Beiträge ist. Tatsächlich hatte Domenico Comparetti seine Ed. pr. von P.Flor. II 278 (nach 24. 9. 203 n. Chr.) in Französisch verfaßt, während Girolamo Vitelli zusammen mit Wilhelm Schubart an der von Otto Gradenwitz auf Deutsch vorgelegten Ed. pr. von SB I 4298 (= P.Flor. III 380; 203/204 n. Chr.) partizipierte.

[2] Bei dem am Nachmittag des Eröffnungstages veranstalteten Panel "Inside out: An introspective look at papyrology through its international congresses" war allerdings festzustellen, daß diese Erinnerung trog, da es bereits 2007 bei dem XXV. Internationalen Papyrologenkongreß in Ann Arbor einen ähnlich hohen Anteil englischer Vorträge gab. Dies hing freilich engstens mit der Wahl des Tagungsortes zusammen, da der Anteil amerikanischer Teilnehmer – Papyrologen und noch mehr Nicht-Papyrologen, die diese seltene Gelegenheit beim Schopfe ergriffen – dort weit über dem Durchschnitt lag, während schon aus Kostengründen zahlreiche Europäer von einer Teilnahme abgesehen haben mögen. Insofern stellte dies einen Sonderfall dar und kann jedenfalls nicht als Beleg für eine kontinuierliche Entwicklung von der Viersprachigkeit hin zum Englischen gelten.

zehn Jahren mit mehr als einer Milliarde Euro zu Buche schlugen.[3] Bei uns könnte weniger das Kostenargument als vielmehr ein übergeordnetes wissenschaftliches Interesse und zumal der vielbeschworene Aspekt der Globalisierung einen Abschied von der Mehrsprachigkeit empfehlen.

Gerade aus wissenschaftlichen Erwägungen scheinen mir freilich eher Warnungen am Platze, sich auf einem solchen Weg weiter fortzubewegen. Denn anders als in den sog. *sciences* geht es bei uns um eine Wissenschaft, die nicht nur aus Fakten, reinen Formeln und einem reduzierten Basiswortschatz, sondern aus den Erzeugnissen menschlichen Lebens, Denkens und Fühlens besteht. Das ist nicht ohne weiteres in eine andere Sprache zu pressen, sofern man sie nicht von Kindesbeinen an spricht. Selbst wer extrem sprachbegabt ist und sich in einer zweiten oder noch mehr Sprachen zuhause fühlt, wird mir vermutlich beipflichten, daß ihm diese andere nicht wie die eigene für alles, was er ausdrücken möchte, mit sämtlichen Nuancen und in vollem Umfang zu Gebote steht.

Nun gibt es unter den hier Anwesenden sicherlich einige, die selbst das in bewundernswertem Maße beherrschen, was immerhin zeigt, daß es möglich ist. Aber letztlich sind sie als die berühmte Ausnahme von der Regel anzusehen, während im Normalfall und damit bei allen anderen der Wechsel der Sprache zugleich eine Verarmung des Ausdrucks mit sich bringt. Aus meiner Sicht birgt die zunehmende Anglisierung daher gleich zweierlei Gefahren: Zum einen wird man sich damit begnügen, neue Erkenntnisse wie in den Naturwissenschaften als bloßes Faktenwissen zu präsentieren, zum anderen droht – schlimmer noch – damit zugleich das Denken zu verflachen. Damit meine ich wohlgemerkt nicht, daß die weniger komplexe Sprachstruktur des Englischen sich etwa negativ auf die Reflexionsfähigkeit auswirkt, auch wenn die Argumentationsfolgen nachweislich andere werden. Mir geht es vielmehr darum, daß der Zwang zu einer fremden Sprache bestimmte Seitenwege und Denkexperimente gar nicht erst aufkommen läßt, weil man nicht die rechten Formulierungen findet, wenn die berühmte "Schere im Kopf" nicht sogar schon viel früher ansetzt und manche Ideen sich nicht bilden können, weil die Freiheit des muttersprachlichen Denkens fehlt. So fallen schon Diskussionsbeiträge in einer fremden Sprache meist deutlich unpräziser und/oder unnötig weitschweifig aus, wenn sie denn überhaupt noch gestellt werden, was beides weder erfreulich noch hilfreich ist.

Nun werden viele unter Ihnen einwenden, daß es ihnen schließlich noch nie anders erging, da ihre Sprache eben nicht zu den vier großen Wissenschaftssprachen zählt. Wer dies deswegen für zumutbar hält, möge freilich auch bedenken, daß nicht wenige darunter Französisch, Deutsch oder Italienisch als Wissenschaftssprache erwählten. Sie alle wären nun zu einer erneuten Volte zu zwingen, ebenso wie diejenigen, die seit jeher in einer dieser Sprachen leben, forschen und lehren. Doch auch dies wäre durchaus vertretbar, sofern daraus ein wesentlicher Fortschritt für unser Fach erwächst.

Den aber vermag ich beim besten Willen nicht zu erkennen. Denn gesetzt den Fall, wir würden künftig nurmehr auf Englisch kommunizieren und publizieren, bliebe doch die weit überwiegende Menge unserer Literatur in einer der drei anderen Sprachen geschrieben, die man also trotz alledem lernen muß. Das ist ein grundlegender Unterschied zu den Naturwissenschaften, wo nichts, was älter als fünf oder gar zehn Jahre ist, überhaupt noch forschungsrelevante Bedeutung besitzt. Bei uns wird dagegen jeder sofort aus seinem Arbeitsgebiet Aufsätze und Bücher in Französisch, Deutsch oder Italienisch benennen

[3] Vgl. zu den Sprachen der EU einschließlich der Ausgaben für die Übersetzungen https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_the_European_Union, zur Sprachenfrage in der EWG Amtsblatt Nr. 017 vom 6. Oktober 1958, S. 385 f. mit:
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/brussels/website/media/Basis/Legislative/Pdf/VO_Nr_1.pdf

können, die für eine vertiefte Studie zwingend beizuziehen sind, und manchmal auch solche in Niederländisch oder Katalanisch. Schon ihre Fülle schließt Übersetzungen all dessen ins Englische aus, während automatisierte Übersetzungsprogramme in der Regel vor der Fachsprache kapitulieren. Das heißt wir oder besser gesagt die muttersprachlichen Kollegen müßten letztlich selbst diese Arbeit übernehmen. Aber wer möchte das tun, statt lieber selbst zu forschen? Und wer sollte das alles bezahlen, zumal es uns das Wichtigste kostet, was wir haben, nämlich Zeit, Zeit und nochmals Zeit?

Die besten Übersetzungen sind überdies stets den herausragenden Figuren eines Faches zu verdanken, die den Sinn eines Beitrags am raschesten und genauesten zu erfassen pflegen. Das ist keineswegs Zufall; denn die Fähigkeit, Literatur selbständig zu rezipieren, weitet den Blick. Nicht der Gegenstand selbst, mit dem wir uns beschäftigen, sondern erst die Auseinandersetzung mit den von anderen dazu vorgetragenen Deutungen vermag uns schließlich zu unserer eigenen zu bringen. Als Forscher kann ich mich dabei nicht auf das beschränken, was gerade vor meiner Nase liegt und mir unmittelbar zugänglich ist. Vielmehr muß ich all das zur Kenntnis nehmen und einbeziehen, was insoweit einschlägig ist, und zwar unabhängig von seiner Erscheinungsform, ob es nun andere Objekte oder andere Forschungen betrifft, und das heißt bei Publikationen auch unabhängig von der Sprache. Wer dazu nicht bereit und imstande ist, mag zwar das ein oder andere fertigbringen, wird aber, wie ich gern formuliere, nie in der ersten Liga spielen. Die wirklich guten englischen und amerikanischen Kollegen werden Ihnen das gerne bestätigen, denn auf sie trifft dies nachweislich ebenfalls zu. Mir ist darunter keiner bekannt, der sich bei seinen Forschungen etwa nur mit englischsprachiger Literatur begnügte. Im übrigen besitzt der 60 Jahre alte Grundsatz des Mittelalterhistorikers Hermann Heimpel weiterhin Gültigkeit: «Literaturkenntnis schützt vor Neuentdeckungen».[4]

Etwas anderes ist es freilich, all diese Sprachen nicht nur vom Lesen, sondern auch vom Hören zu verstehen oder gar sprechen und schreiben zu können. Tatsächlich handelt es sich um drei völlig verschiedene Aktivitäten, wie gerade wir Altertumswissenschaftler, die wir uns mit sog. 'toten' Sprachen befassen, besser als andere wissen sollten. Sprechen und noch mehr Schreiben ist dabei die höchste Kunst; hier gab und gibt es immer nur wenige, die es in allen vier Sprachen gleichermaßen vermögen. Aber Hören ist etwas anderes, und hier möchte ich Sie alle ermuntern, es immer wieder aufs neue zu versuchen. Gerade wenn es um Fachprobleme geht, werden Sie erstaunt sein, wieviel Sie doch auch von einem Vortrag in einer Ihnen nur wenig geläufigen Sprache mitnehmen können, sofern er jedenfalls langsam und in angemessener Lautstärke gehalten ist. Schwierig wird es dagegen sofort, wenn Vorträge zu vollgestopft, zu schnell und zu leise und womöglich dialektal eingefärbt sind. Am schlimmsten daran ist zweifellos das Tempo. Selbst Muttersprachler kann dies an ihre Grenzen bringen, zumal auf Kongressen wie diesem, wo die Aufnahmefähigkeit über den Tag hinweg selten dieselbe ist.

Wenn ich so auf der Beibehaltung der vier großen Wissenschaftssprachen insistiere, geschieht dies freilich nicht nur *pro domo*, sondern hat noch einen ganz anderen und sogar wichtigeren Grund: Sie sind oft mit eigenen Wissenschaftstraditionen und gar ganzen Wissenschaftsfeldern verbunden, so daß ihre Pflege im Interesse des Faches liegt, wie auch jede Beschränkung das Fach stets als ganzes trifft. Wie jeder weiß, sind etwa Kodikologie und Paläographie inzwischen genuin französische und italienische Spezialitäten, während das Recht der Papyri weiterhin als deutsche Domäne gilt. Gerade die Wissenschaftslandschaft Italiens steht derzeit unter ungeheurem Druck, wo sich bekanntlich – anders als etwa in

[4] Heimpel (1954) 210: «Literaturkenntnis schützt vor Neuentdeckungen und ist das Elementarste an jenem zweckmäßigen Verhalten, das man etwas hochtrabend historische Methode zu nennen pflegt».

Griechenland, dessen Nachwuchs seit jeher großenteils im Ausland ausgebildet wurde – noch bis in dieses Jahrhundert hinein eine Reihe bedeutender Forschungsinstitute hatte halten können. Mit den neuen Entwicklungen und nicht zuletzt dem unseligen Bolognaprozeß drohen nunmehr nicht nur diese Standorte, sondern ganze Bereiche des Faches wegzubrechen. Mit ihnen wird am Ende auch das dort entstandene und von Generation zu Generation weitergegebene Wissen verschwinden, das an anderem Ort wieder aufzubauen nahezu unmöglich ist. In anderen Ländern stellt sich die Situation vielleicht noch nicht ganz so dramatisch dar, doch der Trend ist überall derselbe. Am Ende steht eine Akademisierung in *light*-Version, in der es außer vielleicht am CNRS keinerlei ernsthafte Forschung mehr gibt. Eine ebenso verfehlte wie unnötige Anglisierungspolitik würde all dem noch Vorschub leisten, den Rang und die Bedeutung dieser Zentren weiter untergraben und auf diese Weise dem Fach als ganzen schaden.

Gefördert wird dies freilich auch durch den zweiten der genannten Faktoren, die Digitalisierung. Hier besitzt das Englische schon deswegen große Vorzüge, weil es weder Umlaute noch sonstige Sonderzeichen kennt, wiewohl die meisten dieser Schwierigkeiten mit der Einführung von Unicode behoben scheinen. Die ungeheuren Vorteile der Entwicklungen wird jedenfalls niemand anzweifeln wollen. Bereits der Übergang von einer mechanischen zu einer elektrischen Schreibmaschine stellte einen Fortschritt sondergleichen dar; denn hatte man bis dahin die Lücken für die einzufügenden Graeca mühsam auszurechnen und zudem ständig Sehnenscheidenentzündungen riskiert, waren jetzt für die verschiedenen Schriften nurmehr die Kugelköpfe auszuwechseln. 1989 wurde dann auf dem Kongreß in Kairo die erste Suchmaschine vorgeführt – man konnte in Ruhe einen Kaffee trinken, bis man das Ergebnis der Suche endlich zu Gesicht bekam, und trotzdem kannte die Begeisterung keine Grenzen. Daß inzwischen nicht nur jeder Nutzer über einen eigenen Bildschirm verfügt, sondern ein einziger Click bei papyri.info uns zu sämtlichen Paralleltexten führt, ob wir nach Einzelbelegen oder ganzen Wendungen, nach Daten oder nach Orten suchen,[5] grenzt für mich nach wie vor an ein Wunderwerk. Dabei bieten unsere Datenbanken nicht einmal mehr nur den reinen Textbestand dar; auch wer nach Übersetzungen oder Bildern und gar paläographischen Beispielen sucht, wird ohne weiteres fündig werden, so daß das größte Problem am Ende gar darin liegt, all der Fülle der Informationen Herr zu werden. Auch hier werden Sie mir jedoch erlauben, etwas Wasser in den Wein zu gießen.

Tatsächlich verleiten die Medien allzu rasch zur Bequemlichkeit und erwecken bei Unkundigen leicht den Eindruck, im World Wide Web sei letztlich alles vorhanden. Doch auch wenn unsere Datenbanken anerkanntermaßen zu den ausgereiftesten der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaften zählen und wir stets nach weiteren Verbesserungen streben, werden immer gewisse Lücken bleiben – nicht nur, wenn bei einem fehlgeleiteten Link eine Errormeldung kommt. Denn jede Suche setzt nicht nur intelligente Nutzer, sondern auch die passenden Parameter voraus; letztlich müssen Suchmaschinen sogar schon im Voraus die künftigen Fragen ahnen. Das Wissen darum entwickelt sich jedoch erst im Laufe der Zeit, wie auch unsere Datenbanken wachsen und dabei steter Veränderung unterliegen. Wer hier Perfektionierung anstrebt – was immerhin als traditionelle Forschertugend gilt –, wird letztlich permanent Schiffbruch erleiden, da der nächste Moment schon wieder Neues bringt und also alles bisher Vorhandene früher oder später notwendig überholt erscheint.

Einheitlichkeit bei den Suchparametern ist daher niemals zu erhoffen, da Unzulänglichkeit letztlich ihr Markenzeichen ist; Unikate sind auf diese Weise erst recht nicht zu entdecken. Doch nicht nur der Perfektionierungsdrang, auch das Bemühen um Vollständigkeit und systematische Erfassung drohen mehr und mehr auf der Strecke zu bleiben. So scheint manch

[5] Vgl. http://www.papyri.info/search.

Jüngerer damit zufrieden, lediglich ein paar den Datenbanken entnommene Parallelen zusammenzustellen – wohlgemerkt oft ohne Übersetzung – und es dem Leser zu überlassen, wie weit er sie für verstanden oder überhaupt einschlägig hält, von einer Durchdringung des Sachverhalts und Darlegung der Ergebnisse allfälliger Überlegungen ganz zu schweigen. Dabei weiß jeder, der mit Datenbanken arbeitet, daß sie nur Menschenwerk sind und auch hier *mutatis mutandis* das immerhin Winston Churchill zugeschriebene Dictum gilt: «Trau keiner Statistik, die du nicht selbst gefälscht hast».[6] Datenbanken wie Übersetzungen sind eine von uns allen dankbar akzeptierte und inzwischen sogar mehr oder weniger selbstverständliche Hilfe, sie bieten nahezu alles; doch auch hier gibt es keinen Königsweg.

Hinzu kommt noch ein weiteres, aber offenbar kaum je bedachtes Problem, nämlich daß es keinen automatischen Datenbankgenerator gibt. Datenbanken sind, wie gesagt, Menschenwerk, d.h. sie müssen von Menschen geschaffen und von Menschen auf Stand gehalten werden, und zumindest nach heutiger Lage wollen Texte, Metadaten und alle weiteren wünschenswerten Extras ebenso von Menschen eingegeben sein. Vor einigen Jahren war daher die Idee aufgekommen, hieraus ein Gemeinschaftswerk der ‘community’ zu schaffen; das allgemeine Interesse an der Sache und ihre Bedeutung ließen durchaus einige Bereitschaft zur Mitarbeit an der großen Aufgabe erwarten, solange nur hinreichende Einweisung gewährleistet sei. An einer Reihe von Orten wurden daraufhin Workshops und Einführungskurse angeboten und auch immer recht dankbar angenommen. Die erhoffte langfristige Wirkung ist allerdings nicht zu sehen. Selbst anfänglich großes Engagement war in der Regel alsbald erlahmt, das angestrebte ‘crowd feeding’ insofern Wunschdenken geblieben. Wie üblich sind es nur wenige und immer dieselben, die weit überdurchschnittlich tätig werden, während die große Mehrheit keine Gedanken daran verschwendet und still genießt.

Das mag man vielleicht so hingehen lassen, da Begabungen nun einmal unterschiedlich ausgeprägt sind und es nicht unbedingt jedem liegt, sich durch die Eingabe in Datenbanken zu profilieren. Einige Bemerkungen dazu scheinen mir gleichwohl angebracht, da Heidelberg eines der Zentren derartiger Aktivitäten ist, wodurch mir die Problematik der Situation sozusagen tagtäglich vor Augen tritt.

Zum einen machen sich vermutlich nur die wenigsten klar, wieviel Kräfte dadurch allein schon für die Eingabe von Texten gebunden werden und wieviel deswegen an anderem und letztlich Wichtigerem darniederliegt. So mag sich mancher gefragt haben, warum es mit der Fortführung der Grundlagenprojekte, namentlich der Aufnahme der neupublizierten Texte in das *Sammelbuch*, aber auch der gemeinsam mit Leiden erstellten *Berichtigungsliste*, nach ihrem Wechsel von Marburg nach Heidelberg nicht rascher vorwärts geht. Nun, hier liegt eine der Antworten, nämlich in der Vielzahl der Aufgaben bei äußerst begrenzten Ressourcen. Die Älteren von Ihnen werden sich gewiß noch an die vor 14 Jahren plazierte Schreckensmeldung von Dieter Hagedorn erinnern, wonach das HGV womöglich «sterben muß».[7] Wenn das bisher nicht geschah, so deswegen, weil der Gründervater, der vor wenigen Wochen seinen 80. Geburtstag feiern konnte – dazu nachträglich die herzlichsten Glückwünsche auch von dieser Stelle –, bis heute aktiv an seinem Erhalt mitwirkt.

[6] So daß ‘Statistik’ wahlweise auch durch ‘Übersetzung’ oder ‘Datenbank’ zu ersetzen wäre. Die deutsche Fassung des Dictums scheint bemerkenswerterweise sogar die stabilere, da für die englische zumindest zwei Versionen geboten werden: «I only believe in statistics that I doctored myself» (http://quotations.tastefulwords.com/winston-churchill/ Nr. 14) bzw. «The only statistics you can trust are those you falsified yourself» (https://www.causeweb.org/cause/resources/fun/quotes/churchill-statistics), erklärlich wohl durch den hier hinzugefügten Vermerk «the attribution to Churchill is ironically falsified»; vgl. auch https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_geflügelter_Worte/T#.

[7] Vgl. http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/meldung2.html.

Tatsächlich sind es diesseits und jenseits des Atlantiks erschreckend wenige Schultern, auf denen die Arbeit an unseren digitalen Hilfsmitteln ruht, die wir inzwischen als selbstverständlich hinzunehmen uns angewöhnt haben. So verfügt Heidelberg beispielsweise über gerade einmal zweieinhalb Stellen dafür, wovon eine befristet ist, und ein paar studentische Hilfskräfte, die außer für SB und BL auch für das HGV, einen guten Teil von papyri.info und dazu noch Digitalisierung, Restaurierung und online-Kataloge der Sammlung zuständig sind und in den letzten Jahren überdies etwa BOEP und pappal ins Leben gerufen haben.[8] Dabei habe ich noch nicht von den sonstigen Kosten gesprochen – nicht nur für die Hardware, also Computer und Server, sondern auch für den laufenden Betrieb: die Sicherung der Daten, die Kreierung stets neuer Arbeitsinstrumente, die Integrierung noch weiterer Datenbanken, die immer rascher erforderliche Migrierung der vorhandenen Daten von alten auf neue Datenträger usw. usf. In all diesen Fällen heißt es Gelder aufzutreiben, was angesichts immer knapperer Mittel immer anstrengender wird. Insofern können wir nur nochmals dafür werben: Wer sich beteiligen oder gar als Partner einsteigen will – wohlgemerkt ernsthaft, verläßlich und am besten auf Dauer –, sei ausdrücklich aufgefordert, hervorzutreten.[9]

Das wiederum leitet zu dem dritten Faktor über, nämlich ob in einer Welt der Umbrüche nicht ohnehin an eine gerechtere Verteilung der Aufgaben wie des Wissens, also auch an einen Umbruch im Sinne einer Globalisierung zu denken sei. Vor allem das Schlagwort des Eurozentrismus macht in diesem Zusammenhang gern die Runde – zu lange habe das alte Europa den Gang der Wissenschaft bestimmt, nun sei es an der Zeit, endlich auch andere zum Zuge kommen zu lassen. Daran ist sicherlich soviel richtig, daß der Schwerpunkt von Forschung und Ausbildung seit jeher in Europa oder besser im Westen lag, worunter Vereinigte Staaten und Australien wohl ebenfalls rechnen; Ägypter und Japaner sind demgegenüber weit in der Unterzahl, der Rest des Globus so gut wie gar nicht vertreten. Das kommt freilich nicht von ungefähr, da bislang nur diese Länder sich um den Aufbau entsprechender Zentren bemühten, an denen letztlich jeder unabhängig von seiner Herkunft das Fach studieren konnte, sofern er nur guten Willens sowie hinreichender Begabung und Hartnäckigkeit war. Mit dem derzeit herrschenden Ökonomismus wird freilich vieles davon, so ist zu befürchten, eher heute als morgen eine Ende finden. Wie die Entwicklungen in Italien zeigen, steht zumindest in Europa eher der Verlust des Vorhandenen als eine Expansion mit Hilfe der elektronischen Medien an. Eine Illusion ist es vor allem zu meinen, Ersatz dafür sei ohne weiteres an anderer Stelle aus dem Boden zu stampfen.

Die Globalisierungsdebatte hängt aber vielleicht mehr noch mit der Definition des Faches zusammen, näherhin der Frage, was unter ‘Papyrologie’ recht eigentlich zu verstehen sei. Dabei zeigt schon das schlichte *de* anstelle des bestimmten Artikels – also *Association de*, nicht *des Papyrologues* – im Namen unserer Vereinigung an, daß es ‘die’ Papyrologen nicht gibt, auch wenn damals ganz andere Gründe zu dieser Namenwahl rieten.[10] Tatsächlich verweist schon das breite Programm des aktuellen Kongresses darauf, wer alles sich angesprochen und zugehörig fühlt und was also alles unter diesem Begriff zu fassen ist. Die

[8] Vgl. also neben SB und BL auch http://aquila.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/start für das Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens: HGV; http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/Papyri/P.Heid._Uebersicht.html für die Kataloge der Sammlungsbestände, wobei eine neue Präsentation der online-Kataloge in Verbindung mit der Universitätsbibliothek derzeit in Arbeit ist; http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zaw/papy/projekt/bulletin.html für das Bulletin of Online Emendations to Papyri BOEP sowie allgem. http://www.papyri.info und http://www.pappal.info.

[9] Vgl. auch das eindrucksvoll illustrierte Motto «We want you for Trismegistos – Do not ask what TM can do for you, but what YOU can do for TM!» der Löwener Kollegen am Ende der Seite http://www.trismegistos.org/about_how_to_cite.php.

[10] Vgl. Bingen (1977) 34-35, mit Auszügen auf http://www.ulb.ac.be/assoc/aip/histor.htm.

namengebende Pflanze spielt dabei die geringste Rolle, da es nur um ihre Nutzung als Beschreibstoff geht und Ostraka oder Holz genauso dazu zählen. Den Kern des Faches stellen die griechischen und lateinischen Originaltexte der Antike dar, wie in trismegistos.org von 800 v. Chr. bis 800 n. Chr. oder auch "from Alexander to the Copts"[11] – dies aber nur, weil unsere Quellen größtenteils aus Ägypten stammen, obwohl sich die Fundorte über den gesamten Nahen Osten bis nach Afghanistan und über Tunesien bis nach Vindolanda erstrecken.

Auf Griechisch und Lateinisch ist insofern zu beharren, weil wir damit eine disziplinäre Basis gewinnen, wie es für Lehre und Studium nun einmal unabdingbar ist; um ägyptischsprachige Papyri kümmert sich traditionell die Ägyptologie, um arabische Arabistik oder Islamwissenschaft. Das sind wohlgemerkt nur Namen und Konventionen, was aus Gründen der Verständigung und eben der Ausbildung freilich auch sinnvoll ist; schließlich ist in diesem Kern des Faches nicht mehr als der kleinste gemeinsame Nenner zu erblicken. Letztlich muß und wird jeder von uns seine eigenen Arbeitsschwerpunkte entwickeln, da sich der eine eher für Fragen der Textüberlieferung, der andere für gesellschaftliche Phänomene, der dritte für das angewandte Recht der Antike und der nächste für dieses oder jenes interessiert, wie auch philologische, historische und archäologische Methoden gleichberechtigt nebeneinander stehen. Die Frage möglicher Grenzen des Fachs wird man insofern grundsätzlich offen sehen – man darf gespannt sein, was die Diskussionsrunde am Freitag dazu erbringt.[12] Im Mittelpunkt werden jedoch weiterhin die griechischen und lateinischen Originaltexte bleiben, da anders die Bezeichnung jeglichen Sinn verliert.

Wir sind also hier zusammengekommen, um in den nächsten fünf Tagen griechische und lateinische Originaltexte auf Papyri, Ostraka oder Holz zu studieren, manchmal auch solche in anderen Sprachen und Schriften oder solche in anderen Materialien und Formaten, wozu sich zudem noch zahlreiche andere Gegenstände und Themen aus dem näheren und weiteren Umfeld gesellen. Immer sollte es dabei um das Verständnis antiker Texte in ihrem kulturellen Kontext gehen und ihre Einordnung in die sie umgebende Welt. Durch die sprachliche Fassung wächst diesen Zeugnissen ein ihnen eigener Aussagewert zu, da sie Einblick nicht nur in das Leben, sondern auch das Denken und Fühlen der damaligen Menschen gewähren. Allerdings wird man sich hiermit nicht begnügen wollen; leitendes Moment sollte vielmehr wie bei jeder echten Wissenschaft das Erkenntnisinteresse sein. Die materiellen Hinterlassenschaften der antiken Welt sind insofern hiervon nicht zu trennen, wie auch andere Quellen und Methoden unsere Erkenntnis um eine Vielzahl weiterer Aspekte zu bereichern und zu vertiefen vermögen. Dies vermag von selbst zu einer recht verstandenen Globalisierung zu führen, wie ich ganz am Ende an einem aus meiner Sicht besonders gelungenen Beispiel zeigen will.

Freilich mag mancher von Ihnen das nicht für ausreichend halten, da es ein grundsätzlich antiquarischer Zugang ist. In der Tat; aus diesem Interesse heraus bin ich eben Altertumswissenschaftlerin geworden und habe bewußt nicht Wirtschafts- oder Naturwissenschaften, Jura oder Medizin studiert. Daß all diese Fächer wichtig und nützlich sind, wird natürlich niemand in Abrede stellen. Dennoch beobachte ich mit wachsender Sorge, wie sehr die von ihnen ausgehende Überzeugung, auch, wenn nicht gerade Wissenschaft müsse objektiv meßbar und für jeden Außenstehenden überprüfbar sein, zunehmend die Diskussion bestimmt; droht doch Wissenschaft damit nicht mehr als das

[11] Vgl. nur http://www.trismegistos.org bzw. den Titel von Bagnall / Rathbone (2004, ^{2}2017).

[12] Bemerkenswerterweise sollten sich die inhaltlichen Übereinstimmungen der Beiträge auf der Plenary Session "Setting limits to our discipline?" vom 05. August als geradezu frappant erweisen, so insbesondere bei M. Depauw ("Papyrology and new digital technologies") sowie M.-H. Marganne ("Papyrology and academia").

angesehen zu werden, was sie ihrem Wesen nach ist: Ein Selbstzweck, der sich aus dem Erkenntnisdrang des denkenden Menschen ergibt.

Für fatal hieran sind nicht zuletzt die Nebenwirkungen zu halten, was die Verfügung über wissenschaftliche Ressourcen und Finanzmittel betrifft, da zugleich das dort vertraute Konzept der Projekt- und Verbundforschung zunehmend in den Vordergrund rückt. Dem mit den Phänomenen des menschlichen Daseins befaßten Geisteswissenschaftler sind diese Arbeitsmethoden ebenso fremd wie der immer weiter um sich greifende Ökonomismus und Utilitarismus. Dem aktuellen Trend in der Bildungs- und Wissenschaftspolitik, nur allein noch solche Zwecke gelten zu lassen, und dem damit verbundenen, stetig wachsenden Rechtfertigungsdruck wissen zumal die Altertumswissenschaften oft noch weniger als andere entgegenzusetzen, doch zitiere ich dazu gern eine befreundete Iranistin: «Die Medizin sorgt dafür, daß wir besser leben; *wir* sorgen dafür, daß es sich lohnt». Interne Streitereien oder sonstiges Konkurrenzgehabe sind jedenfalls das letzte, was in dieser Situation hilfreich ist; in Zeiten ohnehin schon knapper Mittel ein höchst gefährliches Spiel! Wer meint, sich auf Kosten anderer zu profilieren zu müssen, wird erleben, daß es ihn ebenfalls trifft, bis am Ende wir alle die Verlierer sind.

Auch in dieser Welt der Umbrüche gibt es freilich nach wie vor Anlaß, jenseits von Anglisierung, Digitalisierung und Globalisierung neue Wege und Möglichkeiten für das Fach zu entdecken. Bereits zu Beginn hatte ich dafür die Stichworte Methodenvielfalt und Multiperspektivität benannt. Manch anderer würde vielleicht eher von Interdisziplinarität und Transkulturalität sprechen, doch scheinen diese Begriffe inzwischen ebenso beliebt wie beliebig geworden. Meiner Meinung nach sollte es nicht um eine Öffnung in alle nur denkbaren Richtungen gehen, sondern um eine grundsätzliche Offenheit, was Methoden und Phänomene jenseits der vertrauten philologischen und historischen Pfade betrifft.

Zweifellos werden Philologen, Allgemeinhistoriker und Juristen auch künftig den Ton des Faches angeben, wie sich schon aus dem Charakter unserer Quellen ergibt. Immer deutlicher wird indessen, daß ohne den methodischen Rückhalt anderer Fächer kaum in wünschenswertem Umfang zu neuer Erkenntnis zu gelangen ist. Dies gilt schon für die Ägyptologie, zu der die Verbindungen eher lose waren, wenn nicht gar, von wenigen rühmlichen Ausnahmen abgesehen, so gut wie inexistent. Unheilvoll hat hier wie dort die Besinnung auf das Klassische gewirkt, die nach den Traumata des Zweiten Weltkriegs am ehesten noch Halt zu gewähren schien; Ägypten unter fremden Herrschern geriet genauso ins Abseits der Forschung wie die griechisch-römische Epoche oder erst recht die Spätantike. Die Nachwehen dessen sind heute noch zu spüren, doch ist als äußerst ermutigend zu werten, daß die Demotistik zunehmend an Bedeutung gewinnt und vor allem immer mehr gemeinsame Projekte entwickelt werden.

Für noch bedeutsamer mag man die Öffnung gegenüber den archäologischen Disziplinen halten. Wie bei der Ägyptologie betrifft dies auch das Fach selber, das sich inzwischen vermehrt auch mit den Erzeugnissen jenseits der klassischen Zentren und Zeiten befaßt. Feldforschung und Grabungstätigkeit scheinen in der Klassischen Archäologie sogar vielfach an die Stelle der großen, oft nur noch dem Namen nach bekannten Autoren getreten. Die Beiziehung von Archäobotanikern, Archäozoologen, Keramikern und anderen Spezialisten ist dagegen heute fast ebenso selbstverständlich wie eine von Anfang an internationale Zusammenarbeit, ob dies für Oasen oder Ostwüste, für Faijum oder Niltal gilt.

Bewegen wir uns hier weitgehend noch in der antiken Welt, hat eine Öffnung freilich auch gegenüber den späteren Epochen stattgefunden. Der Übergang vom byzantinischen zum arabischen Ägypten mitsamt seinen gesellschaftlichen wie religiösen Implikationen ist in jüngster Zeit verstärkt in den Fokus gerückt, in Leiden, Wien oder Basel sind sogar

regelrechte Großprojekte dazu entstanden.[13] Zwar stellt es weiterhin die Ausnahme dar, daß Forscher Griechisch, Koptisch und Arabisch gleichermaßen beherrschen, von deren Neben- und Miteinander die Jahrhunderte an der Schwelle zum Mittelalter gekennzeichnet sind. Nicht zuletzt aus der heutigen Erfahrung einer Welt der Umbrüche heraus ist das Interesse an dem vielfältigen Wandel dieser Zeit stetig gewachsen, was durch den parallel dazu verlaufenden Aufschwung nubischer Studien weiter unterstrichen wird.

So sind letztlich zwei Richtungen zu beobachten, in die sich die Papyrologie unter dem Blickwinkel der Methodenvielfalt und Multiperspektivität erweitert: Zum einen gleichsam horizontal, indem der Zeitrahmen des griechischen Millenniums von Alexander d. Gr. bis in früharabische Zeit grundsätzlich beibehalten bleibt, aber verwandte Phänomene miteinbezogen werden. Dies betrifft neben epigraphischen Quellen wie Inschriften oder Militärdiplomen vor allem die gesamte griechisch-lateinische Alltagsschriftlichkeit – vom sog. Instrumentum domesticum über Fluchtäfelchen bis hin zu Graffiti –, und zwar sowohl innerhalb des damaligen Orbis terrarum wie ggf. auch darüber hinaus. Unter dem Aspekt der Globalisierung ist überdies auch an andere Sprachen und Schriften zu denken. Waren die italischen wie alle sonst vom Griechischen abhängigen Schriftsysteme seit jeher im Blick, ist im Mittleren oder gar Fernen Osten doch einiger Nachholbedarf zu konstatieren.

Daneben gibt es jedoch auch eine vertikale Richtung, die über alle Sprachen und Epochen hinweg Ägypten ins Zentrum des Interesses rückt, wie es sich etwa auch in den aktuellen Forschungen zur Entstehung eines muslimischen Staatswesens im Niltal niederschlägt. Beachtung verdient dies schon deswegen, weil die traditionelle Einteilung der Geschichte des Landes letztlich nur drei frühe Hochphasen kennt. Schon Altes, Mittleres und Neues Reich wurden durch sog. Zwischenzeiten getrennt, bis im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr. der endgültige Niedergang begann und Ptolemäer oder gar Römer kaum mehr als ordentliche Dynastie verbucht wurden. Um so wichtiger erscheint daher, vermeintliche Zwischenzeiten und eine wohlgemerkt bereits 3000 Jahre anhaltende Spätzeit von derartigen Pauschalurteilen zu entlasten und auch sie einer wissenschaftlichen Erforschung zu würdigen, die diesen Namen verdient. Wer dies angesichts einer Vielzahl von Sprachen und Kulturen leisten kann, die während dieses langen Zeitraums im Niltal siedelten und dort ihre Spuren hinterließen, bleibe freilich dahingestellt; am ehesten wird man dies im Rahmen von ‘regional studies’ zu verorten haben, insbesondere wenn man auch die neuen Forschungen zu Nubien hierin miteinbezieht.

Schließen möchte ich indessen mit einem Beispiel, das geradezu exemplarisch auf den Nutzen einer geglückten Verbindung von Papyrologie, philologischer Arbeit und ‘global studies’ verweist. Es schreibt sich in die aktuellen Forschungen zum Roten Meer und zum Indienhandel ein, die in den letzten 20, 30 Jahren ungeahnten Aufschwung erlebten.[14]

[13] Vgl. in Leiden unter der Leitung von P. M. Sijpesteijn, “The formation of Islam: The view from below” (ERC Starting Grant 2009-2015, mit https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-projects/humanities/the-formation-of-islam-the-view-from-below), sowie “Embedding Conquest: Naturalising Muslim Rule in the Early Islamic Empire (600-1000)” (ERC Consolidator Grant 2017-2021, mit https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-projects/humanities/embedding-conquest); in Wien eine Reihe von Projekten, die seit 2009 vom Nationalen Forschungsnetzwerk NFN im Rahmen des Forschungsverbundes “Imperium and Officium. Comparative Studies in Ancient Bureaucracy and Officialdom” gefördert wurden; in Basel das von Sabine R. Huebner geleitete Projekt “Change and Continuities from a Christian to a Muslim Society — Egyptian Society and Economy in the 6th to 8th centuries” (Swiss National Research Foundation (SNSF) 2016-2018, mit https://altegeschichte.unibas.ch/forschung/projekte/change-and-continuities/).

[14] So insbesondere im Vergleich mit dem nach wie vor grundlegenden Beitrag von Raschke (1978), wobei angesichts der Fülle der seither erschienenen Publikationen und ihres stetig anhaltenden Flusses jeder Einzelnachweis unsinnig erscheint.

Reflexionen über das Auftauchen westlicher Händler in der indischen oder besser tamilischen Literatur hatte es schon lange gegeben, aber selten wagten Althistoriker sich in diese Breiten vor; noch seltener waren sie zu einer Reise dorthin bereit, um offene Fragen notfalls vor Ort zu klären. Federico De Romanis gelang es auf diese Weise jedoch, das Rätsel der mysteriösen *schidai* aus dem berühmten Muziris-Papyrus zu lösen, bei denen es entgegen früheren Vermutungen weder um Tuchballen noch um Elfenbeinsplitter geht, sondern um die gekappten Endstücke von Stoßzähnen gefangener Elefanten.[15]

Fast noch beeindruckender sind jedoch seine Darlegungen zu einem geradezu märchenhaften Passus in Philostratos' Vita des Apollonios von Tyana, wonach in den Wäldern des südwestindischen Hinterlands angeblich Affen an der Pfefferernte mitwirkten.[16] Hierzu griff De Romanis auf den österreichischen Sprachforscher und Missionar Fra Paolino da San Bartolomeo, genauer auf ethnographische Ausführungen in dessen 1796 verfaßtem Büchlein Viaggio alle Indie Orientali zurück. Das hohe Interesse an exotischen Reiseberichten hatte damals rasch zu Drucken auch in anderen Sprachen geführt, die jedoch nicht selten ausgerechnet diese Partien übersprangen.[17] Vielleicht waren die Details seinerzeit als zu anstößig erschienen; ich überlasse es Ihnen, sie nachzulesen.[18] Erkenntnis ist nur, wie sich daran nochmals mit besonderer Deutlichkeit zeigt, auf dem mühsamen Wege eigenen Forschens zu erlangen, indem man sich weder auf Übersetzungen noch Referate oder sonstige Informationen aus dritter Hand verläßt, sondern den Dingen auf den Grund zu gehen sucht und alle dem entgegenstehenden Hürden überwunden werden. Allein dies vermag meiner festen Überzeugung nach schließlich auch Befriedigung zu verschaffen, und in diesem Sinne wünsche ich nochmals allen hier anwesenden Kongreßteilnehmern eine fruchtbare, friedliche und freudevolle Zeit.

[15] So gegen Harrauer / Sijpesteijn (1985) 148 in der Ed. pr. «Ballen Stoff» bzw. Rathbone (2000) 45 «'fragments' of ivory» jetzt überzeugend De Romanis (2014) im vorangestellten Abstract: «fragments of tusks trimmed away from captive elephants».

[16] Philostrat., Vita Apoll. III 4; zitiert auch bei De Romanis (2015) 149-150 mit Anm. 71.

[17] Vgl. De Romanis (2015) 145-148, zur Begründung der Kürzungen bes. die Vorrede des Übersetzers – entgegen dem Titelblatt wohlgemerkt aus dem Italienischen, nicht dem Französischen, vgl. auch P. Paulin (1808) I i – in Fra Paolino (1798) v: «So schätzbar des Fra Paolino Buch ist, so war doch manches Ueberflüßige darin, besonders die weitläuftigen Untersuchungen über die Religion der Indier»; entsprechend 252 mit direktem Übergang von Fra Paolino (1796) 181 zu 183 (jeweils etwa in der Mitte), desgleichen Fra Paolino (1800) 250 in der hiervon abhängigen englischen Übersetzung. Die vom italienischen Original ausgehende französische Fassung ist entgegen De Romanis (2015) 147 mit Anm. 63 allerdings vollständig, vgl. nur P. Paulin (1808) I 488-489.

[18] Fra Paolino (1796) 182, zitiert auch bei De Romanis (2015) 147: «I *Maler*, che abitano le montagne di *Ghattes* sono uomini silvestri, che non comunicano cogli altri Malabari, se non una volta l'anno, quando vengono a comprare le provisioni. Io ne vidi varj a *Maleatur*, a *Codamangalam* e a *Vaypur*. Essi vanno ignudi uomini e donne, ma queste si coprono le parti con un solo foglio di *Banana*, attaccato ad un cordone, che fa il giro delle reni. Si dice, che esse si vergognano più nella loro società di mostrare il seno che questa parte, perchè dicono, che il petto cresce tardi, e che colli altri membri uno nasce dal ventre della sua madre: Quindi girano affatto ignude nei boschi, e il foglio sudetto si attacca quando vengono alli borghi sulle pianure. Gli uomini raccolgono il mele, la cera, il cardamomo, il pepe, varie erbe medicinali, il *Bezoar* dell'Antilope. Essi dormono sopra gli alberi, per non essere assaliti dalle tigri quando girano per le montagne. Le donne partoriscono sole senza assistenza delle Commari. Nei loro tugurj hanno una pietra, che rappresenta l'anima dei loro parenti defunti, hanno un Re o Capitano che chiamano *Malenràgiàva*, cioè, *Re dei Montagnoli*. Essi non hanno nè culto pubblico, nè Sacerdoti» (die Kursivierungen im Original).

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Papyrology and Ethics

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Papyrology and ethics is a complex topic, which involves different aspects of our profession. There are various questions we deal with in research, especially when publishing papyri for the first time: how do we ensure that the process of editing and presenting a text is as transparent as possible for the audience? What should be published in terms of technical details, such as the proprieties of the digital images used for deciphering or information on those instruments that assisted in the reading process? The situation is even more complex for those who are in charge of collections, as either curators or academics with an interest in the papyri eventually owned by universities. What are our duties in matters such as preservation, publication and access to manuscripts? What should we prioritize? Should collections be available to anyone to study, or are rules necessary, especially regarding the unpublished material? And who should eventually set out these rules? Answers to these questions are often complicated further by others' agendas, sometimes conflicting with papyrologists' aspirations. For instance, there must often be some negotiation between papyrologists and libraries, universities or other institutions with regard to policies and practices on digital images' standards and repositories. Last but not least, the shrinking funding that is currently challenging many institutions worldwide obviously poses serious limits to what can be achieved in the conservation, study and publication of papyri.

Certainly among the thorniest ethical issues we are called to address is the link between papyrology and the antiquities market, which papyrologists' professional associations have only recently and partially grappled with. These ethical issues concern first of all the necessity to fully document the find circumstances (when available) and collection history of a manuscript, which becomes difficult, as it will be shown, in those cases when information is scanty; moreover, we are now called to follow a set of national and international laws that, despite being in place for decades, have often been neglected by collectors, dealers and also academics. Discourse on cultural heritage preservation has dramatically changed over the last decades, as a result of a debate in which the legislation promoted by UNESCO and implemented by member States has played a major role.[1]

The urgent necessity for papyrologists to tackle issues of provenance and the antiquities market has been most recently addressed by Roger Bagnall in these terms:

> «As the documentary disciplines move closer to archaeology, they will have to come to grips with the troubling questions posed by the existence of the antiquities market, a subject that has been buried by generations of papyrologists. I would not necessarily say that papyrologists and epigraphists should adopt the formulations promulgated by the professional archaeological associations, which in some respects strike me as excessively rigid. Documentary historians are not in general likely to think that refusing to study texts because they lack provenance and archaeological context is a responsible professional approach. But

[1] For a recent general overview on the state of the question see Anderson (2017) and O'Keefe (2017).

> they cannot responsibly avoid thinking about how much information is lost when everyday writing comes into collections stripped of its archaeological context».[2]

This article is mainly an attempt to start discussing the ways in which, to use Bagnall's words, papyrology could come to grips with the troubling questions posed by the existence of the antiquities market. The recent case of the so-called Jesus' Wife fragment and the publication of papyri from private collections with poorly documented or undocumented provenances, part of a longer history of shadowy acquisitions and publications of manuscripts, prove that despite some efforts we still need to improve our practices.[3]

In the following pages, I shall first address professional ethics codes: I am going to present an overview of the two relevant documents produced respectively by the American Society of Papyrologists (ASP from now onwards) and the Association Internationale des Papyrologues (AIP from now onwards) in 2007 and 2010, and will comment on their contents, aims and applications. Secondly, I shall discuss the realia of the market (licit and illicit) and the threats papyrologists face when publishing recently emerged manuscripts, which will lead me to address a third connected point, that of provenance[4] and current publication and access policies.

On the basis of these three main areas of analysis, I will conclude with some personal thoughts and proposals about how to implement our ethics codes and publication policies in the wider context of a discipline that has experienced radical changes, especially in this last decade, in terms of epistemology, methods and theories, but has not sufficiently reflected upon them. This lack of reflection has resulted in a lack of action and changes in practices, which I believe should be corrected. Needless to say, what follows is my personal point of view and is presented to the readers as a means to stimulate a wider and therefore more useful discussion.

1. Current ethics codes

So far, papyrologists as a professional body have produced two documents which address issues of ethics and policies: the ASP's Resolution Concerning the Illicit Trade in Papyri,[5] and the AIP's working party's Recommendations on the Commerce in Papyri.[6] Despite the fact that both titles seem to focus on the circulation of papyri on the market, with significant distinctions in the terminology used, 'illicit trade' in one case, neutral 'commerce' in the other, the two documents also address wider issues. The key year for both of them was 2007.

[2] Bagnall (2011) 143–144.

[3] On the Jesus' Wife case see below. Recent examples of papyri of insufficiently documented provenance are, for instance, the new Sappho fragments owned by an anonymous collector and the Green collection. These papyri first appeared in two articles where nothing was said about their provenance, Obbink (2014) and Burris, Fish, Obbink (2014); almost one year later, some information was added in Obbink (2015) and (2016). I have explained why provenance is still insufficiently documented in Mazza (2015b). Other recently debated cases are the Artemidorus papyrus (at the center of a new formal enquiry by Turin's investigators, as reported by Giustetti 2015); the so-called Tchacos codex, on which see Mazza (2015a) 121 with n. 35; and finally the papyri in the hands of an anonymous Finnish collector (P.Ilves), some of which have been recently published with alarming information on their provenance in Miroshnikov (2015) and (2017), to be read with Takla (2014). The eBay accounts through which some of the papyri have been acquired are operating illegally from Turkey, as I have shown in Mazza (2018).

[4] Archaeologists sometimes distinguish provenience (= archaeological finding context of an object) from provenance (= its collection history); in this paper I am using 'provenance' to mean both. On the meaning of looted, undocumented and illegal antiquities I am following the definitions given by Gerstenblith (2014) 215–216.

[5] http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/asp-resolution.pdf (last accessed on 4 September 2018).

[6] http://www.ulb.ac.be/assoc/aip/workingparty.pdf (last accessed on 4 September 2018).

In fact, despite its ratification in 2010, the AIP's recommendations came as a reaction to the ASP's resolution and the debate it solicited.[7]

Therefore, let us start with the ASP's resolution. It opens with a long preamble, which frames the following policy in a wider cultural discourse very close to that implied in the abovementioned lines from Bagnall's book: the document stems from the acknowledgement of both the material nature of the objects at the center of our discipline, and of the importance of the preservation of their archaeological find contexts, jeopardized by the illicit market, and the illicit excavations and looting which are often behind it.[8]

The resolution consists of two main articles. The first prohibits the direct participation «in the buying or selling of papyri or other archaeological objects that have been excavated illegally or exported from their country of origin after 24 April 1972[9] ... members should consider any activity that is in violation of local or international antiquities law to be an instance of direct participation».

The second article addresses the more elusive case of indirect participation, the determination of which is left to the «prudential judgment of its [i.e. ASP's] individual members». A footnote offers, however, a couple of examples: «buying 'legal' objects from a dealer whom one knows to be engaged in illegal activity; accepting a contribution from a dealer known to be engaged in illegal activity».

Actions that increase the commercial value of papyri and objects that have been excavated illegally or exported from their country of origin after 24 April 1972 are unacceptable, in other words they are interpreted as direct participation; therefore «ASP members should not authenticate illicit material for the benefit of antiquities dealers or other sellers» and «the ASP declares that the publication, presentation, and/or exhibition of such material shall not occur under Society's auspices ... unless the author, speaker, curator includes a frank and thorough discussion of the provenance of every item». A footnote clarifies the active, important role of editorial, exhibit and conference boards in the enforcement of such policy.

The document ends with a statement fully supporting activities, from conferences to publications, and lobbying to improve legislation in the field of cultural heritage preservation.

The AIP document is rather different; first of all it contains 'recommendations', i.e. suggestions rather than binding rules. In this case, the preamble is very short; it recalls the 2007 assembly's mandate and stresses the necessity of studying the question, with the aim of finding measures «that may appropriately serve the purposes of scholarship, support the development of papyrological studies in Egypt and further the preservation of the documentary heritage of Egypt and other countries».

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[7] The debate on both documents was lively and sometimes tense; American members of the AIP were the driving forces asking for new policies on the antiquities market. It is a pity these debates seem not to have been documented anywhere; I hope participants will record those memories somewhere.

[8] Some experts in ancient texts disagree on this approach, arguing that texts are per se valuable sources even when decontextualized, see e.g. Owen (2009). This attitude towards ancient textual evidence stems from the idea that the modern history of ancient objects has no impact on scholarship and interpretation. As will become clear from the following pages, I strongly disagree with this approach to the study of antiquities, including manuscripts. Nonetheless, as I will show in my conclusion I believe that academic associations and editorial boards can have a positive active role in mediating between the two extreme positions, and that it is possible in some specific circumstances to publish unprovenanced antiquities, including papyri.

[9] This is the date when the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property was enforced (see art. 21; the Convention's text is available through the UNESCO portal http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13039&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC &URL_SECTION=201.html).

The following 16 points can be divided into four main action areas, all linked in various degrees to the goal of controlling the commerce in papyri and papyrologists' role within it:

a. The acknowledgement of national and international legislation and conventions regarding the protection of cultural heritage and the commitment to respect them (1, 2, 3).

b. The commitment to the publication, broadly conceived, of papyri through different media (4, 5, 6, 14).

c. The sustaining of initiatives to support and help Egyptian colleagues and institutions to improve cataloguing, conservation, excavations and study of manuscripts (8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16).

d. The undertaking of measures more strictly connected with the circulation of papyri on the market (7, 12, 13).

To conclude on the two documents, they both stress the necessity of following national and international legislation concerning the trade of ancient objects, but while the ASP document targets the market as the main threat, the AIP's recommendations are preoccupied with wider problems involving the preservation of ancient documents and the promotion of scholarship. The stress on measures «that may appropriately serve the purposes of scholarship» is an aspect to which I will return in the following pages.

2. The market

Before discussing the impact of these two documents on our practices further, I wish to turn to my second point, the realia of the market, because it will help to understand why, in my opinion, the two Associations' statements, which contain many points we all agree with, nevertheless have some limits.

The trade in manuscripts started as soon as papyrology was born; it is widely known that archaeologists and papyrologists who excavated in Egypt were also buying on the legal and illegal markets.[10] Legislation on the preservation of cultural heritage was in place in Egypt since 1835; it allowed the commerce of antiquities to some extent under the strict control of the State. It should be recalled that since Napoleon's expedition, the Egyptian State was under the heavy control of colonial nations, first France and then Great Britain from 1892, although France still had a strong influence on the Antiquities Service.[11] Different measures were undertaken in 1912 (Law no. 14 of 12 June 1912) and in 1951 (Law no. 215 of 31 October 1951) to control the market through licenses, until a new law issued in 1983 (Law no. 117 of 6 August 1983, amended by Law no. 3 of 14 February 2010) basically forbade the commerce in antiquities and established once and for all the important principle that the State owns archaeological sites and cultural heritage objects of any kind found in the country.[12] A point I would like to stress is that the 1970 UNESCO convention and its following application date of April 1972 recalled in our current ethics codes are ethical rather than legal

[10] See e.g. Hagen and Ryholt (2016) 43: «...the line between archaeologist and 'dealer' (or at least customer) was blurred, and it is difficult to envisage any archaeologist working in Egypt in this period [i.e., 1880–1930] not taking an active part in the antiquities trade».

[11] See Reid (2002) and (2015), and Colla (2007) for a narrative and analysis of how colonialism has impacted Egyptology and other academic disciplines, besides the establishment and development of museums and other cultural and political institutions, including the Antiquities Service, in Egypt.

[12] Khater (1960); Kersel (2010); Davoli (2015); Hagen and Ryholt (2016) 133-146. The complete list of Egyptian legislation is available through the UNESCO website: http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/eg/laws/ (last accessed on 4 September 2018).

watersheds: they work well as guidelines, but can be eventually challenged in a court case and academics should be aware of this.[13]

Despite legislation, illegal excavations and looting have been and still are endemic in Egypt, as well as in other countries, even in those such as Italy, where considerable resources are invested in police enforcement, control and cultural heritage protection. In Egypt, political instability and the economic crisis, especially following the Arab Spring, have caused a dramatic increase in both illegal excavation and looting, as attested by different sources, from the media to ICOM red-lists, denunciations by archaeologists and papyrologists, articles, and scientific analyses.[14] Contextually, the quantity of Egyptian antiquities, including papyri, of undocumented or poorly documented provenance, on the market has also increased[15] and we have witnessed a number of repatriation cases from the UK, the US, Spain, and Israel among other countries.[16] The high volume of antiquities imports from Egypt to the USA, in particular, has increased so much in recent years that it led Obama's administration and the Egyptian government to sign a bilateral cultural property agreement (Memorandum of Understanding) on 30 November 2016, in the hope of curbing the phenomenon.

The difficulties in controlling the flux of Egyptian antiquities on the market are evident especially in the case of e-commerce. I am going to demonstrate this through the following example. For a while now, a dealer based in Montrose, California, Gabriel Vandervort of Ancient Resource, has been auctioning Greek and Coptic papyri, besides other Egyptian antiquities, online.[17] The following provenance struck me among others: «Ex Hamdy Sakr collection; previously in the private collection of Alex Anckonie III, acquired during his time in the Navy in the 1960s-1970s». As I was intrigued by the quantity and also the quality in some cases of the material from the abovementioned collection and the connection to an American Navy officer, I started posing questions to the dealer via email. The story I was told by Ancient Resource runs as follows:[18] a London-based dealer of Egyptian origin, Mahmoud El-din, active in the 1960s-1970s, left his collection to his nephew Hamdy Sakr who later moved to the US and legally imported his collection there. He himself started acquiring antiquities and purchased a quantity of objects from Alex Anckonie III. I asked about documents proving the collection history of a Coptic parchment in particular and Ancient Resource sent me a PDF copy of a document dated 6 January 2001 signed by Hamdy Sakr and Alex Anckonie III. It lists the sale of:

> 120 Scarabs – all different sizes
> 60 Glass pieces – all different sizes
> 17 Large green-blue glazed amulet [sic]

[13] The situation is complicated further by the different dates on which countries subscribed to the convention; in some cases (e.g. the United States) subscription has also been accompanied by documents clarifying the modalities and extent of acceptance of some of the convention's articles. For instance, Great Britain, which has one of the most important antiquities markets in the world, ratified the convention only in 1984. For a recent assessment on the convention's effects and limits, see O'Keefe (2017).

[14] For quantitative data on the increase in illegal excavations and looting obtained through satellite technology see Parcak et al. (2016). See also Pintaudi et al. (2014) on looting in Antinoopolis, and Eamena's case study on looting and damages to Roman military sites in the eastern desert, EAMENA (2016). ICOM-red list for Egypt is available online: http://icom.museum/resources/red-lists-database/red-list/egypt/ (last accessed on 4 September 2018). Among the most recent media denunciations, see Mueller (2016).

[15] Gill (2015).

[16] Repatriation reports are regularly included in the Newsletters of the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities, available at http://www.egyptologyforum.org/MOA/MOA.html (last accessed on 4 September 2018), besides featuring very often in the media.

[17] See the dealer's website, http://www.ancientresource.com/ (last accessed on 4 September 2018). I have collected some of the items from his catalogues using Pinterest: https://uk.pinterest.com/facesandvoices/papyri/.

[18] There were slightly different versions offered at various stages.

4 Roman stone figures
A collection of papyrus [sic]

It is worth mentioning that prices are missing; pictures and other details of the objects are unavailable, according to the dealer, and we are only provided with a simple statement by the seller: «I sold a variety of artifacts to Mr. Hamdy Sakr. All of which I acquired during my service in the Navy (late 60s–70s)». Now is this document sufficient to prove that the papyri sold by Ancient Resource are all or in part coming from this source? Clearly it is not, although the same document cannot exclude that this is in fact the case.

I started thinking about how to obtain more information on the collectors in question, so I did some searches on Mr. Hamdy Sakr, his uncle, and Alex Anckonie III. I was unable to find anything on Mr. Sakr except what Ancient Resource told me, but a simple Google search provided interesting details on the American collector. Alex Anckonie III was born in Detroit, Michigan in 1937 to Alex Anckonie II and Mary Hassen. He studied at the University of Michigan, where he earned two Doctorates, one in Nuclear Physics and the other in Engineering. He was enrolled in the Navy University program and then had a successful career participating in the development of nuclear submarines' programs and serving on them; he was commanding officer of the Nautilus, the first USS nuclear-powered submarine, between 1972 and 1976. After his retirement from the Navy he taught economics at George Washington University and Georgetown University. Alex Anckonie III died in January 2003.

The Anckonie family seems to have Lebanese origins; Alex Anckonie III was an observant Muslim, so possibly his collection of Middle Eastern antiquities is rooted in his family's history.[19] Since I was intrigued by the profile of this collector, and wanted also to check the signature on the document, I must admit, I tried to track down members of his family, and in fact I got in touch with one of his nephews. He confirmed that the signature was that of his uncle, and said that the objects on sale were the kind of antiquities Anckonie used to collect, although neither he nor his mother (a sister of Alex Anckonie) were in the position of being able to identify specific objects.

To sum up, this story demonstrates that some dealers make efforts to document the collection history of the antiquities they sell, but the private nature of most transactions of the kind, and the scanty information given in such private documents, makes it difficult if not impossible for academics to trust the papers (are they genuine? In view of the undetailed nature of the statements, could a dealer or collector eventually conceal illicit artefacts among licit ones? etc.). This case also raises interesting questions on the quantity and quality of lost objects hidden in private collections (including those of academics) and dispersed in various ways.

Finally, were all the acquisitions made by Alex Anckonie III licit in view of the character of the Egyptian antiquities market in those years, and the general limited knowledge of and respect for Egyptian and international laws by dealers (including Egyptian dealers), collectors and buyers until recently?[20] This can hardly be ascertained in view of the state of the

[19] See Tucker (2009) 68.

[20] The widespread disrespect for the law among dealers and buyers, including those representing institutions such as museums and libraries, in the very recent past is attested by a number of famous cases, see e.g. allusions to the routine of buying smuggled antiquities with undocumented provenances throughout the famous memorial of T. Hoving (Hoving 1993) as director of the Metropolitan Museum in New York: the episodes are quoted in a way that shows how unproblematic and commonly accepted the practice was. Another example is the scandal involving Sotheby's in the late 1990s as reported by Watson (1998), and the wider network of looting, smuggling and commerce of antiquities surrounding the dealer Giacomo Medici documented in Watson and Todeschini (2006). The photographic archive of Medici has facilitated the repatriation of many pieces to their

documents, and also considering that as a matter of fact the legality of this and of other cases is complicated, and depends on the legislation we consider, whether that of the source or that of the destination country.[21] If we accept the conventional watershed of April 1972, then we should be careful in publishing any of the papyri in question since they were acquired in the 60s and 70s, and the state of the documentation does not allow us to establish which ones were acquired and exported before or after 1972. From the perspective of the Egyptian law, these papyri were legally acquired only if Anckonie III made his purchases from licensed dealers and exported them with due documentation, but once again extant documents to prove this was the case seem to be missing.[22] This is not an isolated case, but just one example among many.

3. Provenance and publication and access policies

As an expert in antiquities laws has recently stated, «if one were to devise a badly flawed market, one would be hard-pressed to surpass the antiquities trade. The reasons for this are numerous, but can be attributed to two main factors: a restricted supply and a trade plagued by anonymous buyers and sellers often shielded by auction house practices and traditions».[23]

The questions raised by the Sakr-Anckonie case show how factors such as the scanty documentation accompanying the collection make it very difficult if not impossible to verify provenance, and as a consequence to eventually publish these texts without infringing laws and publication policies. The Jesus' Wife fragment episode has recently demonstrated in a crystal clear way some of the risks academics undertake when publishing an object without making in-depth investigation of its provenance beforehand.[24] After years of debate, the disclosure of the real history of the fragment and its owner demonstrated that Karen King, Harvard University and the editorial board of Harvard Theological Review, which published a first edition of and commentary articles on the fragment,[25] had underestimated the importance of investigating provenance thoroughly. It is difficult to understand how publication decisions have been made, but I wonder if the abovementioned principle of scholarship's purposes played a role. When an object with a potentially high impact on

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country of provenance, and has also improved to some extent current knowledge of their original finding spots; see most recently Gill and Tsirogiannis (2011). Yet in May 2015, the University of Virginia bought a papyrus on auction without enquiring about its provenance as admitted by the Library's curator after questions were posed, see Schroeder (2017) 312.

[21] Fincham (2008) analyses legal difficulties in repatriation court cases due to conflicting national and international legislations and argues that an international agreement on applying the legislation of the countries where the contested antiquities originally come from could help curb the flow of illicit objects on the market.

[22] I wish to stress that the lack of documents can be due to many good reasons, such as their loss or even later discard due to the different mentality and attitudes of collectors in those years. Nonetheless the lack of these documents presents a problem when verifying the acquisition history of the manuscripts.

[23] Fincham (2010) 147.

[24] In September 2012 Karen King, Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard, presented to the 10th International Congress of Coptic Studies a papyrus fragment which contained some lines from an unknown gospel in Coptic mentioning the wife of Jesus. The news was reported worldwide and years of polemics followed between those who deemed the fragment a forgery, and others who maintained the possibility of it being genuine; for a summary on the debate see the six articles collected as "Assessing the Jesus' Wife Papyrus" in New Testament Studies 61/3 July 2015. Regrettably, very little attention was paid to the poorly documented and odd collection history of the piece, apart from a few articles and blog posts, see e.g. Jarus (2014), Mazza (2014a). In June 2016 an extensive reportage by journalist and writer Ariel Sabar published in The Atlantic exposed the history of the fragment and its owner (Sabar 2016a). As a result, it became evident beyond any doubt that the papyrus is a modern forgery, as recognized by the same Karen King (Sabar 2016b). On the whole story, including the last developments, see most recently the articles of Schroeder, McGrath, Goodacre, and Spittler in Burke ed. (2017).

[25] Harvard Theological Review 107/2 (2014) 131-193.

scholarship appears, academics are ready to undertake huge risks, and weak policies on issues of provenance can lead editorial boards and institutions to make mistakes with serious consequences as in this case.

The Jesus' Wife fragment story has also brought to light the connection between undocumented or badly documented antiquities and the circulation of forgeries and fakes on the market. This has become a quite serious issue in the field of Dead Sea scrolls and Biblical artefacts.[26] It should also be recalled that the suspicion of antiquities smuggling has not been completely clarified: radiocarbon analysis results on the Jesus' Wife fragment seemed to indicate that the papyrus was ancient, which implies that a genuine blank papyrus must have been retrieved somewhere.[27]

Now, the risks to the reputations and careers of scholars are evident in this case as in many others, but legal consequences can be much more serious. If scholars publish or provide expertise on illegally acquired antiquities, for instance, they may be called into court for breaching different laws depending on the country of residence. In the UK, academics can be charged with an offence under section 328 of the Proceeds of Crime Act 2002 connected with money laundering, because their expertise facilitated exchanges of criminal property.[28]

The AIP recommendations and the ASP resolution are both adamant on the necessity of being aware of the legislations in place and on our duty to respect them as any other citizen. In the course of conversations with colleagues on the matter of unprovenanced papyri, I often heard the mantra «scholarship comes first», which sounds similar to part of the AIP's resolution that mentions measures «that may appropriately serve the purposes of scholarship». This mantra puzzled me since it is clear how easily it can lead to behaviour at the limit if not against national and international laws, when these laws impede the aim of scholarship, that for some scholars seem to be to publish texts at all costs. Clearly, tension derives from the way some academics conceive scholarship as isolated from the wider socio-political context where it is produced. Therefore the way research and the production of knowledge is conceptualized becomes central to the definition of professional ethics and publication policies.

Professional bodies' ethics are established through two main channels: 1) official documents – like those issued by the AIP and the ASP – and their enforcement, and 2) everyday professional practices, which are not only informed by shared principles, like those contained in the two abovementioned documents,[29] but are the outcome of self-reflective actions of intellectuals who are concerned about what they are doing and are eventually ready to change their methods and behaviours. I do believe that papyrology is at a turning point in terms of ethical codes for many different reasons. The first is linked with Roger Bagnall's and the ASP resolution's point about the material nature of our sources and the archaeological soul of papyrology.[30] If papyrologists share this view, as it seems they do, it is clear that we have to

[26] On forgeries of Biblical antiquities see Rollston (2005), Burleigh (2008) and Davis Parker (2016); on the doubtful nature of recently emerged Dead Sea scrolls' fragments see Davis (2017) and Davis et al. (2017) with previous bibliography. Similarly, I believe that the polemics surrounding the Artemidorus papyrus are in part fuelled by the mysterious circumstances of its finding and collection history.
[27] See Tuross (2014) and Hodgins (2014).
[28] See Ulph and Smith (2012) 110-111.
[29] It must be admitted that the ASP document's contents were debated and controversial at the time of their discussion. In other words, the term 'shared' in this case should be taken with some caution.
[30] See also Davoli (2015).

join a wider conversation on texts (in our case) as cultural heritage objects that archaeologists and other specialists have been engaged in for some time now.[31]

I do think, however, that there are other reasons for the shift besides the need to protect archaeological evidence. Addressing the issue of the provenance of the manuscripts we study is now urgent in light of a wider reflection on the history of papyrology, so deeply involved in the establishment of the antiquities market itself, both licit and illicit, and so deeply involved also in questions of colonialism and post-colonialism. Museum archaeology and the study of the history of papyrology have brought to light evidence on how antiquities, including papyri, have been at the centre of market exchanges and cultural enterprises, which were the outcome of complex interactions between Egyptian and foreign subjects; in this panorama of publications usually focussing on the biography of famous personalities, the recent volume published by Hagen and Ryholt on the Egyptologist O. Lange represents a more complex achievement. The authors, in fact, have brought to light important documents allowing them to reconstruct in detail the complex network of actors in the antiquities market and the formation of collections of Egyptian antiquities not only outside, but also in Egypt.[32] Hagen and Ryholt have programmatically chosen a descriptive approach to the subject, due to the complexities of dealing with modern colonial history;[33] nonetheless, their study is in fact an invitation to frame the history of the discipline in the wider context of the colonial era.

Papyrologists need to reflect on the history of their discipline, and at the same time spell out clearly what our current position is, not only regarding the illicit market but also the licit one since, as I have argued elsewhere, any change of ownership of a papyrus is a potential threat to its conservation and availability for study.[34] Moreover, should papyrology go global, so to speak, and recognize that the legacy of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Egypt does not belong exclusively to Europe and 'the West', but also to the rest of the world, Egypt first and foremost? If the answer is yes, as some of AIP's and ASP's statements seem to imply, what kind of policies and actions should we undertake in order to encourage this change, and implement policies that aim to protect Egyptian cultural property? On the other hand, Egyptian papyrologists should take more responsibility in the discipline and exercise a more pro-active role in the preservation of and public access to their country's papyrus collections, and in promoting the study of the Graeco-Roman legacy in Egypt.

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[31] Papyrologists' scholarship on ethical issues is almost nonexistent; see Johnson (2012); Mazza (2015a). Blog posts and online articles have recently appeared especially as a result of the Jesus' Wife fragment debate, see e.g. Choat (2016) and Schroeder (2017), offering a general discussion of online contributions on the topic. Papyrologists' delay in joining this conversation is clear when one compares the table of contents of the Oxford Handbook of Papyrology to that of the Oxford Handbook of Archaeology (both published in 2009). The first has nothing on current debates and ethics (there are only articles on the history of the discipline and the archaeological finding of texts; Cuvigny's article, in particular, has some implicit ethical questions), while the other has an entire section on issues and debates including repatriation; similarly the Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Art and Architecture (2014) has a section of the same kind including M.M. Miles' "Greek and Roman Art and the Debate about Cultural Property".

[32] Hagen and Ryholt (2016).

[33] Hagen and Ryholt (2016) 7-9.

[34] See Mazza (2015a) on the vicissitudes and risks of disappearance of P.Oxy. 15 1780. Another recent case is that of the private sale of the Oxyrhynchus papyri distributed by the Egypt Exploration Society to the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley (P.Oxy. XII 1432 and 1550; P.Oxy. XIII 1595 and 1596; P.Oxy. XIV 1677, 1686, 1737 and 1774). The lot was privately sold by the School in 2015 through a dealer, without paying any attention to the terms of the donation, and without following the recommendations contained in art. 7 of the AIP document or taking any precautions for future accessibility. Officially, only the current location of P.Oxy. XIII 1596 is known, since the owner, Mr. Gifford Combs, informed the scientific community and specified that the manuscript would be available for study.

The necessity of recognizing the centrality of Egypt as a nation to which papyri and the history they document belong brings me to the final point on provenance and publication and access policies. I believe that as a professional body we must be very clear on the need to include full discussion of the provenance of the papyri we publish. This discussion must always be provided when a piece is presented for the first time and not months after publication. Moreover, I do believe that collections (both institutional and private) must give full access to acquisition documents, through online digital copies and direct access to the originals upon request.

To avoid discussing provenance in publications hinders a fundamental aspect of scholarship, that of providing the audience with all the information necessary to evaluate research and eventually challenge it. This is highly unethical behaviour, which actually goes against the aims of scholarship, to recall the AIP's documents.[35]

A crucial point connected to papyrology and ethics also regards documenting any manipulation of papyri for conservation or reading purposes. In particular, I am thinking about the dismounting of cartonnage of all kinds: collections should properly document any intervention of this type, and papyrologists publishing texts obtained in this way must discuss the process in their publications and include relevant images. Again, access to collections' conservation documents should be allowed upon request.

4. Conclusion: Some suggestions

It is clear then that papyrologists have the professional duty to discuss provenance and conservation history in detail in publications and that collections should give open access to documents regarding both acquisition and manipulation, restoration, and conservation. These positions should be formally supported by the AIP and the ASP, and must be enforced by editorial boards and conference committee members.[36] Research on provenance must be taken much more seriously than it has been so far: especially in the case of recently emerged manuscripts, academics cannot merely rely on copies of documents or the word of collectors and dealers. The results of research on provenance should be reported in detail in publications in order to offer the clearest picture to the readers, honoring the trust-based relationship, which informs academic research.

Should we publish looted, undocumented, or even illegal Egyptian antiquities? I believe that the answer could be affirmative under specific circumstances: when a looted, undocumented or even illegal papyrus is published, the editor must provide not only a frank and detailed statement about this, but also a thorough discussion of the reasons why publication has been nonetheless accorded (e.g. the object is going to be repatriated, or the country from which it originally came has allowed publication).[37]

[35] On the point, see Mazza (2014a) and (2014b).

[36] I have already advocated this in the blog posts cited in the previous footnote. Choat (2016) has taken a similar view.

[37] As we all know, even without taking the watershed date of 1972, strictly speaking many of the papyri which have been published in the long history of our discipline are undocumented or poorly documented, and some were also looted and illegal. It must also be noted that a publication policy along these lines has already been officially taken by ASOR, but according to recent analyses has rarely if ever been applied. It is obviously highly unattractive for collectors since the recognition of such problematic statuses has a negative impact on the price of the antiquities in question and may lead to repatriation requests; see ASOR Policy on Preservation and Protection of Archaeological Resources available at http://www.asor.org/excavations/policy.html, with the analysis of Gerstenblith (2014) 224.

It becomes crucial to establish what 'specific circumstances' means on a case by case basis, and this can only be done by association, editorial, and conference or exhibit board members. They play a major role in ensuring that legal and ethical principles are respected. However, from what I have gathered so far, interventions from these bodies in our field have been non-existent or minimal. I think a more proactive role in this ambit is indeed desirable.

Finally, the terminology and formulation of some principles also require attention or revision. Let us consider AIP recommendation number 12:

> «The Working party has recommended [...]: 12. That papyrologists who identify material for sale or held in private collections as having been stolen from Egyptian museums or magazines should so advise its owner and urge the owner to return it to the Egyptian authorities; they should not assist in the marketing of such material in any way».

Now it is very difficult to identify stolen material and prove it as such without complete digital catalogues of museum and library collections on the one hand, and images of dealers' and auction houses' archives on the other. As a consequence, there is urgency for collections, Egyptian collections in particular, to act quickly on this matter; while other countries can help by providing expertise and economic resources, it is the duty of Egyptian institutions and their employees, including academics, to improve access policies to collections and to reform the complicated and not always transparent bureaucratic processes which regulate them so that joint projects can be indeed possible.[38] It should also be recalled that there are different national legislations regulating the duty to inform police authorities of possible breaches of the laws. I believe that the creation of an open source database of papyri appearing on sale, which was recommended by the AIP working party as point 13, should be implemented: many of us are collecting images and information already, but at present there is no way to store and share this material, which is of great importance for keeping track of papyri that are at risk of disappearing into inaccessible private collections, and for providing evidence of illicit trafficking.

Finally, as it stands, recommendation 12 seems to imply that stolen material could be identified only as on sale or in private collections; I do believe, instead, that the document should recognize that stolen material could also be in publicly funded museum, library and university holdings. Moreover, the paragraph seems to be preoccupied only with material stolen from Egyptian museums and storage facilities as if that could be the only source of illegal circulation of manuscripts; but as I have explained above, illegal excavations and looting in Egypt are nowadays common ways through which antiquities, papyri included, reach the market.

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[38] This statement is based on my frustrating experience in trying to coordinate a joint application to a British funding body in order to work on the Cairo papyrus collections held respectively in the National Library and Archives and the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities.

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How to Abbreviate a Papyrological Volume? Principles, Inconsistencies, and Solutions

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Since the so-called Checklist was founded, and published for the first time, by John F. Oates and William H. Willis in 1974,[1] Papyrology and related academic fields have tremendously benefited from this standard list of abbreviations for editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets. It is regularly updated by a number of papyrologists to whom we all owe so much. One might think that the Checklist[2] is observed by everyone who is dealing with the edition or analysis of papyri and related material but, in reality, also the most important tools and databases use a rather broad variety of abbreviations which is, especially for users from other fields, sometimes confusing and leads to a negligence of important data. It, therefore, may be time to recall to common knowledge the chief goals and principles for standardized abbreviations that were commissioned by a committee of the XIIIth International Congress of Papyrology meeting at Marburg in 1971. In this paper, I will show and explain the results of cross-checking the abbreviations introduced by the Checklist with those used by Tristmegistos Texts[3], HGV, WörterListe (20th ed., June 1, 2016), and BL[4]. I will provide concordances, raise questions, and suggest solutions for the future that are easily manageable, electronically and in print.

1. Priorities, Standards, and Changes on the Way

The priorities, that have been established as a guideline for the Checklist, still offer a good option to produce standard abbreviations for new papyrological editions, and to solve problems of variant abbreviations used by important papyrological databases and related resources.

These priorities had been presented in the earlier printed versions of the Checklist (1st-4th edition in different versions, see below) and in the electronic versions of PHI #6 and PHI #7. As we can read in the preface to the first edition, the Checklist «grew out of the efforts of [J.F.] Oates to assemble a working collection of papyrological material in the Papyrology and Palaeography Room in the Rare Book and Manuscript Department of the Duke University Library. […] Another, and equally important, purpose of this list is to establish a standard list of papyrological abbreviations. Such a standard list may be an ideal incapable of fulfillment, and it may seem a presumptuous undertaking on the part of a few persons to impose their standards on everyone else. Nonetheless, standardization is a highly desirable goal, and the decision to attempt it was established at a conference held at Marburg on the occasion of the XIIIth International Congress of Papyrology on August 6, 1971. […] The principles that have governed our choices [i.e. the choices of the first editors Oates, Bagnall, and Willis] do not aim at a rigid consistency. Brevity and clarity have been the chief goals. Usages long

[1] Oates *et alii* (1974). Coptic and Demotic editions were originally not included.
[2] If not mentioned otherwise I refer to Checklist (2017-03).
[3] TM Texts (2017-03).
[4] According to BL Konkordanz I; BL VIII-XII; BL I-XI on CD-ROM (2007).

sanctioned, particulary by Wilcken, have been maintained. Our preference has been to use abbreviations based on the location of the collection (P.Mich.), on the site where found (P.Oxy.) or on the name of the person whose papers constitute an archive (P.Petaus) wherever possible. […] We have provided some cross-references to variant abbreviations but have not attempted to scour the sources for all such. We have also noted reprinted editions as far as they are known to us. […] Needless to say, we have consulted many preexisting lists and have attempted to incorporate their virtues in ours».[5]

At this early stage, there were only three preferences (location of the collection, site where found, or name of the holder of an archive), and all three were of equal value. In the 4th edition of the Checklist, the preferences are explained as follows: «Brevity and clarity, not rigid consistency, have been the chief goals in choosing abbreviations, based on the following principles in order of priority: first, the site of the collection (e.g. P.Mich., O.Mich.); second, the find-site[6] (P.Oxy., T.Vindol.); third, in the case of an archive, the name of the person or group whose papers constitute the archive (P.Petaus); if none of these is feasible, fourth, the owner of the collection (P.Mert.) or honorand of a volume from various sources (P.Coll.Youtie, P.Turner); or finally, the editor (P.Meyer). Exceptions have been allowed only in some cases of long-sanctioned usage (e.g. BGU, CPR, UPZ, Stud.Pal., SB)».[7]

This altered description was also included on PHI #6 and 7, but it was completely dropped from the 5th edition of the Checklist[8] and the online versions.

If we look at the current state of the Checklist (2017-03), the first two priorities obviously have been dealt with more or less equally (as suggested by the first edition), and the third priority (name of an archive holder) has to be preferred in the case of an archive. Only priorities 4 and 5, that had been established after the earliest editions, have to be postponed.

We also find abbreviations in the Checklist that are not consistent with any of the suggested preferences, e.g., P.Ackerpacht.; P.Bürgsch.; P.CattleDocs.; P.Chronik; P.Count.; P.Customs; etc.[9] But I guess, we all accept that abbreviations like these are practical, brief, and clear, and they serve their purpose especially when an abbreviation that follows any of the established priorities is not feasible.

Finally, some abbreviations have been changed at some point of the Checklist's history. I myself remember very vividly when the late John Oates showed me the papyrology room of his department at Duke University in November 2000, and when we had some talk on the Checklist, he–among other things–explained to me: «P.Mur. is nonsense, we have to change it to P.Murabba'ât!». And, actually, the 5th edition that was published in 2001 had P.Murabba'ât instead of P.Mur. Other changes known to me were: P.Babatha to P.Yadin I[10]; P.Brook. (4th ed., Oates / Bagnall *et alii* [1992]) to P.Brookl.; P.Kell. (5th ed., Oates / Bagnall *et alii* [2001]) to P.Kellis; P.Vindob.x to P.Vind.x; P.Vind.Eirene to P.Eirene; O.Deissmann to O.Deiss.; O.Brüss.Berl. to O.Berl.; C.P.Jud. to C.Pap.Jud.; C.P.Lat. to C.Pap.Lat.; P.Graec.Mag. to Pap.Graec.Mag.

Some of these changes obviously led to several differences between Checklist and HGV abbreviations (as well as differences between Checklist and DDBDP abbreviations). The

[5] Oates / Bagnall / Willis (1974) 1-3.
[6] It could be added «or site where the document was written (P.Erl.Diosp.)».
[7] Oates / Bagnall *et alii* (1992) vii.
[8] Oates / Bagnall *et alii* (2001).
[9] It should be mentioned that S.P. Vleeming's previous work on the Demotic Checklist brought its own agenda and names that had been used for decades – many did not fit the Greek/Latin Checklist.
[10] There should be an entry 'P.Mur.' (see P.Murabba'ât) in analogy to 'P.Babatha' (see P.Yadin); actually this one should read 'P.Babatha' (see P.Yadin I).

following table may illustrate this (abbreviations in italics have been the same in earlier editions of the Checklist as well as in HGV and DDBDP or in HGV and DDBDP; the two abbreviations in bold are used by HGV and DDBDP, and should be adopted by the Checklist for particular reasons, see below).

Table 1

Checklist (2017-03)	Earlier Checklist (ed.)	HGV [11]	DDBDP
P.Brookl.	*P.Brook.* (4th ed.)	*P.Brook.*	*p.brook.*
P.Kellis	*P.Kell.* (5th ed.)	*P.Kell.*	*p.kell.*
P.Murabba'ât	*P.Mur.* (4th ed.)	*P.Mur. II*	*p.mur.*
P.Vind.Bosw.	*P.Vindob.Bosw.*	*P.Vindob. Bosw.*	p.vind.bosw.
P.Vind.Sal.	*P.Vindob.Sal.*	*P.Vindob. Sal.*	p.vind.sal.
P.Vind.Sijp.	*P.Vindob.Sijp.*	*P.Vindob. Sijp.*	p.vind.sijp.
P.Vind.Tand.	*P.Vindob.Tandem*	*P.Vindob. Tandem*	p.vind.tand.
P.Vind.Worp	*P.Vindob.Worp*	*P.Vindob. Worp*	p.vind.worp
O.Chic.Muhs	—	**O.Theb. Taxes I**	**o.theb.taxes.1**
O.Taxes II	—	**O.Theb. Taxes II**	**o.theb.taxes.2**

The BL, too, changed several abbreviations during the many years of its history so far. In BL VIII, BGU was changed to B.G.U. (similar minor changes are CEML to C.E.M.L.; CPJ to C.P.J.; CPR to C.P.R.; P. IFAO to P. I.F.A.O.; P.L. Bat. to P. L.Bat. and eventually P. L. Bat.; SB to S.B.; PSA Athen. to P.S.A. Athen.; PUG to P.U.G.; UPZ to U.P.Z.). More important changes are the following (entries in bold contain a BL abbreviation which is similar to or identical with the Checklist abbreviation which means that it is easy to find the respective BL entry by searching for it with the Checklist abbreviation; entries in italics contain a BL abbreviation which is very different from the Checklist abbreviation which means that the Checklist abbreviation does not lead to the respective BL entry; entries in bold and italics contain a BL abbreviation which is similar to the Checklist, but if an entry in the same line is formatted in bold, the latter one is more similar to or even identical with the Checklist abbreviation:

Table 2

Earlier vol(s). of BL	BL XII	Checklist (2017-03)
P. Cairo Isidor.	**P. Cair. Isidor**	P.Cair.Isid.
P. Goodsp. Cairo	**P. Cairo Goodspeed**	P.Cair.Goodsp.
P. Goodsp. Chic.	**P. Chic.**	P.Chic.
P. Magd.	**P. Lille 2**	P.Lille II
P. Meyer	***P. Mey.***	P.Meyer
P. Petrie^2 I	***P. Petrie I^2***	P.Petr.^{2} I

[11] In HGV, there is generally a space before a second term in the abbreviation that follows 'P.' or 'O.' (e.g., P.Vindob. Bosw.). This is only database driven.

Earlier vol(s). of BL	BL XII	Checklist (2017-03)
P. Primi	**P. Mil. Vogl. 1**	P.Mil.Vogl. I
P. Soc. Omaggio	*P. Soc. XI Congr.*[12]	PSI Congr.XI
P. Vatic.Aphrod.	***P. Vatic.Aphr. (in BL XI) and back to P. Vatic.Aphrod. (in BL XII)***	P.Vat.Aphrod.
P. Vaticano	**P. Marmarica**	P.Marm.
P. Warren	*P. L. Bat. 1*	P.Warr.
SB Bh. 1	Rev. Laws	P.Rev.
V.B.P.	**P. Baden and O. Baden**	P.Bad.
Tait, Ostr.	*O. Tait*	O.Bodl.
Theban Ostraca	**O. Theb.**	O.Theb.
O. Bodl. 2	*O. Tait 2*	O.Bodl. II
O. Deissm.	O. Meyer	O.Deiss. / O.Meyer?
Wilcken, Griech. Ostr.	O. Wilcken	O.Wilck. (or WO)

We realize that the changes in BL led to a greater similarity between Checklist and BL abbreviations. And both tables show that there have been changes in the past. So, why shouldn't there be–for practical reasons–several changes also in the future?

What I am trying to show most of all is, that the history of the Checklist can explain some of the inconsistencies that we face today. As far as cross-references are concerned, the clarity of the 4th edition[13] could be exemplary and feasible.

Maybe, it is a good opportunity now, after an extensive relaunch of the Checklist in 2014 and regular updates since then, to collect some inconsistencies and variant abbreviations, and to try to find practical solutions wherever necessary or reasonable. With this paper, I myself would like most of all to contribute to the current Checklist and its still up-to-date important purpose «to establish a standard list of papyrological abbreviations».[14]

2. Concordance of Abbreviations for Papyrological Editions

In the second part of this paper, I will focus on the variant abbreviations (i.e., abbreviations different from those of the Checklist) that we find in use by TM Texts, and HGV. The editors of BL have recently decided to use the abbreviations of the Checklist for forthcoming volumes, starting from volume 14. The forthcoming online version of the BL, again announced for volume 13, and afterwards including step by step also older volumes, will make searches easy and provide consistent ways of searches. BL abbreviations, therefore, are

[12] P. Soc. XVII Congr. (P. Soc. Omaggio) was changed to P. Soc. XVII Congr.
[13] Oates / Bagnall *et alii* (1992).
[14] This is also due to the intention of the Checklist's board, chaired by J.D. Sosin, that the online version of the Checklist «carries forward the spirit of openness and collaboration that they [John F. Oates and William H. Willis, the founding editors of the Checklist] championed. […] The quickest way to initiate discussion of updates and abbreviations is to write the papylist, or any one of the individuals named above. Editors are strongly urged to let us know when new volumes are published» (introduction to the current online version of the Checklist, papyri.info/docs/checklist, March 2017).

not further included in this study but Appendix II has the concordances for Checklist and BL abbreviations. The complete Concordance of Abbreviations for Papyrological Editions (see Appendix I) includes also variant abbreviations used by WörterListe (20th ed., June 1, 2016).[15]

The Concordance of Appendix I list 218 cases where a Checklist abbreviation has a variant in any other resource or several other resources just listed. As also visible from this Concordance, there are 131 cases where–according to my opinion–something should be done to get standardized abbreviations that are listed in the Checklist and usable for searches in TM Texts, HGV, and WörterListe.

The main purpose of this paper is to provide an overview about the current situation, and to ask questions or make some suggestions towards standardized abbreviations. Such abbreviations, that are usable and useful for papyrologists to search the databases, may be even more useful to those who are not papyrologists but scholars of related fields (e.g., archaeology, ancient studies, classics, theology, patristics) who want to include papyri and related material in their studies. Wouldn't it be wonderful if they all used not only selections of papyri or the results of their searches in the DDBDP but also all the data of TM Texts, and the HGV, to mention only these two databases, if they all could be searched by using identical abbreviations?

A first step has already been taken by Mark Depauw of TM Texts who included all variant abbreviations of the Checklist according to Appendix II in the lookup tool for publications of TM Texts.

Many of the variant abbreviations listed in my Concordance do not cause any problems when using the Checklist abbreviation for searches in the other resources. The following table gives some examples:

Table 3

Checklist	TM Texts[16]	HGV
P.Aberd.	P. Aberdeen	P.Aberd.
P.Achm.	P. Achmim	P.Achm.
P.Ackerpacht.	P. Ackerpachtverträge	—
P.Adl.	P. Adler Gr.[17]	P.Adler
P.Äg.Handschrift.[18]	P. Äg. Handschr.	—
P.Amh.	P. Amh. Gr.	P.Amh.
P.Ant.	P. Ant.	P.Ant.

[15] The Bulletin of Online Emendations to Papyri (www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zaw/papy/projekt/bulletin.html) and PapPal (www.pappal.info) use the abbreviations of the DDBDP (e.g., Chr.Mitt. instead of Chrest.Mitt.; Chr.Wilck. instead of Chrest.Wilck.).

[16] In TM Texts, there is generally a space after every part of the abbreviation (e.g., P. Athen. Xyla; P. Kellis Copt.).

[17] TM Texts often adds 'Gr.' to Greek volumes to distinguish them from Coptic or Demotic volumes where Checklist does not (the Checklist only adds 'Dem.' or 'Copt.' respectively), but see, e.g., in TM Texts 'P. Lips.' for the Greek volumes (not adding 'Gr.') vs. 'P. Lips. Copt.'

[18] In German, 'Handschrift.' would be a very unusual abbreviation for 'Handschriften'.

All these abbreviations of the Checklist (except P.Äg.Handschrift.) work well for searches in TM Texts, and HGV if only the final dot of the Checklist abbreviation is not entered.[19] In other words: If any abbreviation used by TM Texts or HGV is longer than the Checklist abbreviation (e.g., P. Aberdeen instead of P.Aberd.; P. Achmim instead of P.Achm.; P. Ackerpachtverträge instead of P.Ackerpacht.; P. Adler/P.Adler instead of P.Adl.) the search with the Checklist abbreviation works well in these databases if one omits the final dot of the Checklist abbreviation.

But whenever an abbreviation is shorter than or completely different from the respective Checklist abbreviation, a search with the Checklist abbreviation will not produce any valid results in the respective databases. Those are the entries in the complete Concordance that are formatted in italics. Here, I would like to give a few suggestions for groups of dissimilarities how they could be handled to get a standardized practical, brief, and clear abbreviation.

3. Suggestions for Checklist - TM Texts - HGV - WörterListe

Some Checklist abbreviations for Coptic and/or demotic editions could be changed according to TM Texts. At least as far as abbreviations for demotic editions are concerned, this should be done for simple practical reasons as the relevant abbreviations of TM Texts have been chosen in accordance with BL Dem.:

Table 4

Checklist	TM Texts[20]
P.Äg.Handschrift.[21]	**P. Äg. Handschr.**
P.Bal.	**P. Bala'izah**[22]
P.CattleDocs.[23]	**P. Cattle**
P.KölnLüddeckens	**P. Köln Dem.**
P.KölnLüddeckens, pt. 2	**P. Köln Kopt.**[24]
P.Mallawi	**P. Hermupolis (or, better, change both to P.Herm.Dem.)**[25]
P.Schenkung.	**P. Schenkungsurk.**
P.Verpfründung.	**P. Verpfründungsurk.**

[19] It does not work for a search in BL I-XI on CD-ROM (2007) where you have to enter the exact BL abbreviation. Therefore, only P. Aberd. of the examples above works in the CD-ROM version of BL.
[20] In TM Texts, there is generally a space after every part of the abbreviation (e.g., P. Äg. Handschrift).
[21] In German, 'Handschrift.' would be a very unusual abbreviation for 'Handschriften'.
[22] Cf. the similar change of P.Mur. to P.Murabba'ât (note: P.Murabba'ât, not P.Murabba'ât, according to transcription rules and according to the title of the edition!). The Advanced Search in TM Texts for a publication containing '' does not work; one has to separate the title in the 'Advanced Search' and type in the first part before the '' into the field 'Publication' and the part following the '' into the field after 'AND'. The Advanced Search works also if one fills only the first field as just mentioned, e.g. 'P. Bala' AND 'izah' or simply 'P. Bala'. In general, using diacritical marks in abbreviations is to be avoided if an important criterion is machine searchablilty. But the new search engine at https://www.trismegistos.org/tm/index.php allows to search for publications containing ''.
[23] 'Docs.' is not elsewhere used in the Checklist within the abbreviation for a papyrus or ostraka edition!
[24] The Checklist, too, usually distinguishes editions with the same abbreviations, but different languages (i.e., other than Greek or Latin), by adding 'Dem.' or 'Kopt.' (for English editions 'Copt.').
[25] Both (Checklist and TM Texts) already have P.Herm. for the Greek and Latin documents (which then might be changed by TM Texts to P. Herm. Gr.).

Other Checklist abbreviations could be introduced to TM Texts and WörterListe, and replace more extensive bibliographical references:

Table 5

Checklist	TM Texts	WörterListe
P.Aphrod.Reg.	Zuckerman, Autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô	Zuckerman, Registre fiscal
P.Brit.Mus. II	Glanville, Onchsheshonqy	—
P.Egerton	Bell / Skeat, Fragments of an unknown gospel and other early Christian papyri	—
P.Fouad Astr.	Fournet / Thion, Conformément aux observations d'Hipparque	—
P.Freib.	P. Freib., but P. Freib. I 1b = P. Freib. (Sitzb. Heid. Akad. 1914, 2)	—
P.Harkness	Smith, Papyrus Harkness	—
P.Jud.Des.Misc.[26]	Charlesworth e.a., Miscellaneous texts from the Judaean desert	DJD 38
P.Lond.Wasser	Habermann, Zur Wasserversorgung einer Metropole	P.Lond. 1177
P.Meerman.	Spiegelberg, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum	—
P.Mich.Nims	Nims, Michigan Demotic Papyri	—
P.Oxy.Astr.	Jones, Astronomical papyri from Oxyrhynchus	—
P.Oxy.Census	P. Oxy. Census	P.Oxy. 984
P.Oxy.Cosgrove	Cosgrove, An ancient Christian hymn with musical notation	—
P.Pa-Month	Stadler, Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month	—
P.Prag.Satzung.	Erichsen, P. Prag	—
P.Princ.Scheide (Princ.Stud.Pap. III)	Johnson / Gehman / Kase, The John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri. Ezekiel (Princ. Stud. Pap. 3)	—
PSI Com.	Comunicazioni dell'Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli	PSI Com.
PSI Il.	Manfredi, Papiri dell'Iliade[27]	—
P.Stras. X	P. Strasb. Gr. 10	Chang, Dossier
P.Ups.8	Björck, Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus (Pap. Upsaliensis 8)	—
O.Cair.Monuments	Crum, Coptic monuments (CGC)	—
T.Dacia	Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae (IDR) 1	—
T.Jucundus	CIL IV Suppl. 1	—

[26] According to the edition, the sections should be distinguished as Jericho nos. 4-6 and 16-19; Nahal Hever no. 4; Nahal Mishmar no. 2; Nahal Se'elim nos. 4 and 5. The HGV distinguishes between sections A, C, D, and E.
[27] Note: PSI Od. is abbreviated in TM Texts in the same way as by Checklist.

Checklist	TM Texts	WörterListe
T.Mom.Louvre	Cahier de rech. de l'Inst. de pap. et égypt. de Lille	—
Ch.L.A.	Chartae Latinae Antiquiores (ChLA)	—
C.Epist.Lat.	Cugusi, Corpus Epistularum Latinarum (CEL)	—
C.Illum.Pap.	Horak, Illuminierte Papyri	—
C.Pap.Hengstl	Hengstl, Griechische Papyri	—
C.Pap.Lat.	Cavenaile, Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum (CPL)	—
C.Zen.Palestine	Durand, Des Grecs en Palestine	—
Doc.Eser.Rom.	Daris, Documenti per la storia dell'esercito romano in Egitto	—
FIRA III	Fontes iuris Romani antejustiniani (FIRA) (2nd ed.) 3	—
Jur.Pap.	Meyer, Juristische Papyri	—
New Docs.	New documents illustrating early Christianity	—
Oroscopi	Baccani, Oroscopi greci	—
Pap.Eleph.Eng.	Porten, The Elephantine Papyri in English	—
Rom.Mil.Rec.	Fink, Roman Military Records	—
Shorthand Manuals	Milne, Greek shorthand manuals	—

Abbreviations of TM Texts, HGV, and WörterListe that are too different from the Checklist abbreviations so that the latter cannot be used for searches in TM Texts or HGV, should–if possible–be replaced by the Checklist abbreviations. Blank fields signify that the respective database uses the same abbreviation as the Checklist (or, as especially with WörterListe, the database does not cover the particular volume).

Table 6

Checklist	TM Texts [28]	HGV [29]	WörterListe
P.Athen.Xyla		P.Sta. Xyla	
P.Aust.Herr.	P. Trophitis	P.Trophitis	
P.Bad.	P. Baden	VBP	
P.Batav.	P. L. Bat. 19[30]	P.Lugd. Bat. XIX	
P.Benaki		P.Ben. Mus.	P.Ben. Mus.

[28] In TM Texts, there is generally a space after every part of the abbreviation (e.g., P. Eleph. DAIK).
[29] In HGV, there is generally a space before a second term in the abbreviation that follows 'P'. or 'O'. (e.g., P.Eleph. DAIK).
[30] The abbreviation 'P. L. Bat.' for volumes of this series is not consistently used by TM Texts; for P.Wisc. I, TM Texts uses P. Wisc. 1.

Checklist	TM Texts [28]	HGV [29]	WörterListe
P.Brit.Mus. I	P. BM Glanville[31]		
P.Brit.Mus. II	Glanville, Onchsheshonqy		
P.Brit.Mus. III	P. BM Smith[31]		
P.Brit.Mus. IV	P. BM Andrews[31]		
P.Brit.Mus.Reich	P. BM Reich[31]		
P.Brookl.	P. Brooklyn Gr.	P.Brook.[32]	
P.Chic.Haw.	P. Hawara OI	P.dem. Chic. Haw.	
P.Choach.Survey	P. Survey		
P.Chrest.Nouvelle	P. Nouv. Chrest.		
P.Chrest.Revillout	P. Chrestomathie		
P.Col. III-IV	P. Col. Zen. 1-2		
P.Congr.XV	P. XV. Congr.	P. XV. Congr.	
P.David	P. L. Bat. 17		
P.Dion.	P. L. Bat. 22		
P.Diosk.		P.Phrur. Diosk.	P.Phrur. Diosk.
P.Dubl.	P. Dublin	P.Dub.	
P.Eleph.Wagner	P. Eleph. DAIK	P.Eleph. DAIK	P.Eleph. DAIK
P.Euphrates		P.Euphr.	
P.Fam.Tebt.	P. L. Bat. 6		
P.Fam.Theb.	P. Phil. Dem.		
P.FuadUniv.		P.Fuad I Univ.	
P.Genova		PUG	PUG
P.Giss.Univ.		P.Giss. Bibl.	
P.Hever			P.Ḥever
P.Holm.	P. Holm		
P.Kellis		P.Kell.[33]	P.Kell.
P.Kellis IV			P.Kell. 04
P.Kellis V	P. Kellis Copt. 10-52		P.Kell. Copt. 01

[31] 'BM' is only used for T.BM Arlt in the Checklist where it should probably be changed to T.Brit.Mus.Arlt or T.Lond.Arlt because elsewhere the Checklist uses either 'Brit.Mus.' or 'Lond.' for papyri or ostraka housed in the British Museum in London. On the other hand, T.BM Arlt is commonly used (i.e., also in TM Texts and HGV), but in TM Texts 'Brit. Mus.' instead of 'BM' is used for 'O. Brit. Mus. Copt.' (as in Checklist).

[32] P.Brook. was used in the 4th ed. of the Checklist (Oates / Bagnall *et alii* [1992]) when this volume was introduced.

[33] P.Kell. was used in the 5th ed. of the Checklist (Oates / Bagnall *et alii* [2001]) when this edition was introduced.

Checklist	TM Texts [28]	HGV [29]	WörterListe
P.Kellis VI	P. Kellis Lit. 2		
P.Leid.Inst.	P. L. Bat. 25	P.Lugd. Bat. XXV	
P.Mich. I	P. Mich. Zen.		
P.Mich.Mchl.	P. Mich. Michael		
P.Mil. I and II	P. Mil. 1.1 and 1.2	P.Med. I	
P.Murabba'ât		P.Mur. II[34]	
P.Narm. I	P. Narm. 2006	P.Narm. 2006	P.Narm. 2006
P.Oxf.	P. L. Bat. 3		
P.Paris		P.Par.	
P.Philammon	P. Aktenbuch	P.Aktenbuch	P.Aktenbuch
P.Recueil		Recueil	
P.Rein. I (demotic texts)	P. Reinach Dem.		
P.Rein. I (greek texts), II	P. Reinach Gr.		
P.Schøyen	P. Schoyen		
P.Select.	P. L. Bat. 13		
PSI Congr.XI	PSI Congr. 11[35]	PSI Omaggio	
PSI Congr.XVII	PSI Congr. 17		
PSI Congr.XX	PSI Congr. 20		
PSI Congr.XXI	PSI Congr. 21		
P.Siut	P. BM Siut		
P.Vind.Bosw.	P. L. Bat. 2	P.Vindob. Bosw.[36]	
P.Vind.Sal.		P.Vindob. Sal.[37]	
P.Vind.Sijp.	P. L. Bat. 11	P.Vindob. Sijp.[38]	
P.Vind.Tand.		P.Vindob. Tandem[39]	
P.Vind.Worp		P.Vindob. Worp[40]	
P.Warr.	P. L. Bat. 1		
P.Worp	P. L. Bat. 33		

[34] P.Mur. was used up to the 4th ed. of the Checklist (Oates / Bagnall *et alii* [1992]) and changed in the 5th edition (Oates / Bagnall *et alii* [2001]) to P.Murabba'ât.
[35] For the different volumes of P.Mil.Congr., TM Texts uses Roman numbers (like the Checklist). Thus, Roman numbers should be used also for the PSI Congr. volumes.
[36] P.Vindob.Bosw. was used in the early editions of the Checklist.
[37] P.Vindob.Sal. was used in the early editions of the Checklist.
[38] P.Vindob.Sijp. was used in the early editions of the Checklist.
[39] P.Vindob.Tandem was used in the early editions of the Checklist.
[40] P.Vindob.Worp was used in the early editions of the Checklist.

Checklist	TM Texts [28]	HGV [29]	WörterListe
P.Zen.Pestm.	P. L. Bat. 20		
SB Kopt.			KSB
O.Berenike		O.Ber.	O.Ber.
O.Cair.	O. Cairo[41]	O.Cair. GPW	
O.EdfouIFAO	O. Edfou Copte		O.Edfou Copte
O.Eleph.Wagner	O. Eleph. DAIK	O.Eleph. DAIK	O.Eleph. DAIK
O.Medin.HabuCopt.	O. Med. Habu Copt.		
O.Medin.HabuDem	O. Med. Habu Dem.		
O.Vleem.	P. L. Bat. 26	O.Varia	
Chrest.Mitt. (or M.Chr.)		M.Chr.	
Chrest.Wilck. (or W.Chr.)		W.Chr.	
Ch.L.A.	Chartae Latinae antiquiores (ChLA)	ChLA	
C.Epist.Lat.	Cugusi, Corpus epistularum Latinarum (CEL)	CEL	
C.Gloss.Biling.			Gloss. Bil.
C.Jud.Syr.Eg.	P. Conflict		
C.Pap.Gr.		CPGr	
C.Pap.Jud.	CPJ		
C.Pap.Lat.	Cavenaile, Corpus papyrorum Latinarum (CPL)	CPL	
C.Ptol.Sklav.	CPS		
Feste	P. Feste		
Pap.Lugd.Bat.	P. L. Bat.	P.Lugd. Bat.	P.Lugd. Bat.

In some cases, variant abbreviations are consistent with the priorities of the Checklist, but it would be helpful if the responsible persons could decide for one common abbreviation. Blank fields, again, signify that the respective database uses the same abbreviation as the Checklist (or, as especially with WörterListe, the database does not cover the particular volume).

Table 7

Checklist	TM Texts[42]	HGV	WörterListe	BL
P.Bacch.	P. Soknobraisis			P. Soknobr.

[41] But O. Cair. Cat.
[42] In TM Texts, there is generally a space after every part of the abbreviation.

Table 7

Checklist	TM Texts[42]	HGV	WörterListe	BL
P.Lund		P.Lund.[43]		
Chrest.Mitt. (or M.Chr.)		M.Chr.		Mitteis, Chrest.
Chrest.Wilck. (or W.Chr.)		W.Chr.		Wilcken, Chrest.
Stud.Pal.		SPP	SPP	

4. Suggestions for Future Editions

The editors of the current online version of the Checklist at <papyri.info/docs/checklist> write in their introduction among other issues: «Editors are strongly urged to let us know when new volumes are published». Actually, it happens more and more regularly that the editor(s) of a new volume her-, him- or themselves suggest a particular abbreviation for their edition but sometimes this abbreviation is not consistent with any of the Checklist's priorities. It may be the case that it is impossible to establish such an abbreviation (e.g., P.Count [published in 2006], or P.Paramone [2004]), but there are several examples where an abbreviation could be established that is practical, clear, brief, and in accordance with one of the first three priorities of the Checklist whereas the abbreviation suggested by the editor(s) is not. I would like to comment on the following examples (abbreviations in bold are in accordance with one of the major priorities of the Checklist; abbreviations in italics are not in accordance with any priority of the Checklist; abbreviations in standard format are [partly] in accordance with one of the major priorities of the Checklist but for a particular reason they are not functional):

Table 8

Checklist	DDBDP	TM Texts[44]	HGV[45]	WörterListe
P.Narm. I	p.narm.2006*	P. Narm. 2006*	P.Narm. 2006*	P.Narm. 2006*
P.Philammon	*p.aktenbuch* *	*P. Aktenbuch* *	*P.Aktenbuch* *	*P.Aktenbuch* *
SB Kopt.	—	**SB Kopt.**	—	KSB*
O.Chic.Muhs**	**o.theb.taxes.1**	O. Chicago Muhs	**O.Theb. Taxes I**	—
O.Taxes II *	**o.theb.taxes.2**	*O. Taxes* 2*	**O.Theb. Taxes II**	*O.Taxes* 02*

* As suggested by editor(s)

** The editor suggested O.Taxes

The editors of P.Narm. I (published in 2010) suggest «d'utiliser les sigles P. Narm. 2006, T. Narm. 2006, O. Narm. 2006 et I. Narm. 2006 pour désigner les documents édités dans le présent volume».[46] Actually, a year like–in this instance–2006 is absolutely unusual as part of

[43] According to the differences in the titles of P.Lund and O.Lund., the Checklist distinguishes between P.Lund (without dot at the end) and O.Lund. (with dot at the end), whereas the HGV has both abbreviations with dot at the end (i.e., P.Lund. and O.Lund.).

[44] In TM Texts there is generally a space after every part of the abbreviation (e.g., O. Chicago Muhs).

[45] In HGV there is generally a space before a second term in the abbreviation that follows 'P.' or 'O.' (e.g., P.Narm. 2006, O.Theb. Taxes).

[46] E. Bresciani, A. Delattre, P. Heilporn, A. Martin, A. Menchetti, G. Nachtergael, R. Pintaudi and F. Silvano in P.Narm. I.

a Checklist abbreviation, and it is not very practical as soon as the number of a document is added (e.g., P.Narm. 2006 1).[47] Consequently, Arabic numbers as part of an abbreviation of an edition itself should be avoided by the Checklist (this is the case with P.Ups.8: the abbreviation of the volume could just be P.Ups. like in HGV, and no. 8 would be the [only] document of this edition; cf. also P.Iand. inv. 653 which could be changed to P.Iand.Account). I myself, I have to confess, suggested to the editors of the Checklist to choose P.Narm. I as abbreviation for Narmouthis 2006. Thus, a forthcoming volume with texts from Narmouthis can consequently be abbreviated P.Narm. II. In this as well as in all other cases in the future, a standardized and consistent abbreviation can be ensured if the editor(s) of a forthcoming volume contact the editors of the Checklist to get a functional abbreviation established–possibly in cooperation with each other–before (!) they choose one (only by themselves).

The Editors of P.Philammon (published in 2012) suggest P.Aktenbuch as abbreviation for their edition.[48] With this suggestion, they pick up the title of the *editio princeps* as they themselves mention in the preface,[49] but at the same time they express their conviction that the interest of one person in his central function caused the collection of the texts: the *epimeletes* Aurelios Philammon («dass das Interesse einer Person in zentraler Funktion die Zusammenstellung der Texte veranlasste: Es war der Epimelet Aurelios Philammon»).[50] So, what we have here is more or less an archive that is abbreviated by the Checklist according to its priorities as P.Philammon.

The Checklist uses O.Chic.Muhs for the first volume of a collection of ostraka from early Ptolemaic Thebes which has been abbreviated by the editor himself in vol. 2 as O.Taxes.[51] Thus, both volumes should bear the same abbreviation. O.Theb.Taxes I and O.Theb.Taxes II are already used by the HGV; moreover, these abbreviations are in better accordance with the Checklist's rules (priority 2) whereas the suggestion by the editor (O.Taxes) is not following any original Checklist priority.

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Oates, J.F. / Bagnall, R.S. / Willis, W.H. (1974), "Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca", BASP 11, 1-35.

Oates, J.F. / Bagnall, R.S. *et alii* (1992), Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets, BASP.S 7, 4th ed. (Atlanta, GA).

Oates, J.F. / Bagnall, R.S. *et alii* (2001), Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets, BASP.S 9, 5th ed. (Oakville/Oxford).

BL I-XI on CD-ROM (2007) = Berichtigungsliste der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten Band I-XI auf CD-ROM (2007), edited by the editors of vols. 1-11 (Friedrich Preisigke *et alii*), BL Konkordanz, ed. W. Claryssee *et alii*, and BL Konkordanz II, ed. M.J. Bakker *et alii* (Leiden).

Checklist (2017-03) = Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets (2017-03), founding editors: Oates, J.F. / Willis, W.H., currently ed. Sosin, J.D. et alii (papyri.info/docs/checklist).

[47] If one would cite a document of this edition like 'P.Narm. 2006,1', readers who are not familiar with papyrology could even misinterpret the reference if they are used to getting volumes cited in Arabic numbers (e.g. P.Oxy. 1,1). Although this may seem to be ridiculous concerning the number 2006, it is inconsistent from a systematic point of view.

[48] P.Philammon Introduction VI.

[49] P.Philammon Introduction V.

[50] P.Philammon Introduction V.

[51] Cf. O.Taxes II Introduction xiv. The abbreviation O.Taxes 2 for the second volume is again suggested by the same editor, and has been picked up by the Checklist.

TM Texts = Trismegistos Texts (TM Texts) (2017-03), edited by Depauw, M. *et alii* (www.trismegistos.org/tm/index.php).

Appendix I

Concordance of Abbreviations for Papyrological Editions (Checklist, TM Texts, HGV, WörterListe)

The following Concordance is based on the abbreviations as established in the online version of the Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets (http://papyri.info/docs/checklist; March 2017).

Notes

If the abbreviation used in Trismegistos Texts (TM Texts) and/or the Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis (HGV) is longer than the one suggested by the Checklist (e.g., P.Adler for P.Adl.), a search in TM Texts and/or HGV also works perfectly well when one uses the Checklist abbreviation without the final dot (e.g., searching for 'P. Adl' in TM Texts produces results for 'P. Adler Gr.', searching for 'Adl' in HGV produces results for 'P.Adler', whereas searching for 'P. Adl.', or 'Adl.' respectively, produces no results in TM Texts or HGV). In other words: the TM Texts and/or HGV search works with truncated entries, but not with dots that are not part of the TM Texts and/or HGV abbreviations!

The publication lookup tool of TM Texts allows to search for any Checklist abbreviation, and if the TM Texts abbreviation is different, one gets the hint that this abbreviation is not used in TM and is referred to the relevant abbreviation which has to be tried for the search in TM Texts.

Abbreviations in bold: Preferable abbreviation if not Checklist.

Abbreviations in italics: Abbreviation should be changed according to Checklist if possible.

Abbreviations in bold and italics: Two or more abbreviations are consistent with the Checklist priorities but should preferably be standardized.

Blank fields signify that the respective database uses the same abbreviation as the Checklist (or, as especially with WörterListe and sometimes with HGV, the database does not cover the particular volume).

Checklist	TM Texts[52]	HGV[53]	WörterListe
P.Aberd.	P. Aberdeen		
P.Achm.	P. Achmim		
P.Ackerpacht.	P. Ackerpachtverträge		

[52] In TM Texts there is generally a space after every part of the abbreviation (e.g., P. Athen. Xyla; P. Kellis Copt.; cf. also the introduction to the lookup tool for publications). Concerning the search for publications containing '' cf. n. 22.

[53] In HGV there is generally a space before a second term in the abbreviation that follows P. or O. (e.g., P.Alex. Giss., P.Köln ägypt.).

Checklist	TM Texts[52]	HGV[53]	WörterListe
P.Adl.	P. Adler Gr.[54]	P.Adler	
P.Äg.Handschrift.	**P. Äg. Handschr.**[55]		
P.Amh.	P. Amh. Gr.		
P.Aphrod.Reg.	*Zuckerman, Autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô* [56]		*Zuckerman, Registre fiscal*
P.Athen.Xyla		*P.Sta. Xyla*	
P.Aust.Herr.	*P. Trophitis*	*P.Trophitis*	
P.Bacch.	***P. Soknobraisis***		
P.Bad.	P. Baden	*VBP*	
P.Bal.	**P. Bala'izah**[57]		
P.Bas.	P. Basel		
P.Batav.	*P. L. Bat. 19*[58]	*P.Lugd. Bat. XIX*	
P.Benaki		*P.Ben. Mus.*	*P.Ben. Mus.*
P.Berl.Brash.	P. Berl. Brashear[59]		
P.Berl.Dem.	P. Berl. Kaufv.		
P.Berl.Salmen.	P. Berl. Salmenkivi	*P.Berl. Salm.*	*P.Berl. Salm.*
P.Berl.Sarisch.	P. Berl. Sarischouli		
P.Berl.Thun.	P. Berl. Thunell		
P.Bodm.	P. Bodmer		
P.Bour.	P. Bouriant		
P.Brit.Mus. I	***P. BM Glanville***[60]		
P.Brit.Mus. II	***Glanville, Onchsheshonqy***		
P.Brit.Mus. III	***P. BM Smith***		
P.Brit.Mus. IV	***P. BM Andrews***		
P.Brit.Mus.Reich	***P. BM Reich***		
P.Brookl.	P. Brooklyn Gr.	*P.Brook.*	
P.Brookl.Dem.	P. Brooklyn Dem.		

[54] TM often adds 'Gr.' to Greek volumes to distinguish them from Coptic or Demotic volumes where Checklist does not (the Checklist only adds 'Dem.' or 'Copt.' respectively), but see, e.g., in TM 'P. Lips.' for the Greek volumes (not adding 'Gr.') vs. 'P. Lips. Copt.'.
[55] In German, 'Handschrift.' would be a very unusual abbreviation for 'Handschriften'.
[56] For searching this volume see n. 22.
[57] For searching this volume see n. 22.
[58] Contrary to other volumes of Pap.Lugd.Bat., TM Texts goes with the Checklist concerning vol. 1 of P.Wisc.
[59] Some P.Berl.X are abbreviated in TM Texts in the same way as in the Checklist: P. Berl. Bibl.; P. Berl. Bork.; P. Berl. Leihg.; P. Berl. Spieg.; P. Berl. Zill.
[60] 'Brit. Mus.' instead of 'BM' is used for O. Brit. Mus. Copt. (as in Checklist).

Checklist	TM Texts[52]	HGV[53]	WörterListe
P.Brookl.Pierce	P. Brooklyn Pierce		
P.Brux.	P. Brux. Gr.		
P.Cair.	P. Cairo		
P.Cair.Cat.	P. Cairo Cat.		
P.Cair.Goodsp.	P. Cairo Goodspeed	P.Cair. Goodspeed	
P.Cair.Isid.	P. Cairo Isid.		
P.Cair.Masp.	P. Cairo Masp.		
P.Cair.Mich.	P. Cairo Mich.	vol. I: P.Cair. Mich. 359	P.Cairo Mich.
P.Cair.Preis.	P. Cairo Preis.		2nd ed.: P.Cairo Preis.[2]
P.Cair.Salem	P. Cairo Salem		
P.Cair.Zen.	P. Cairo Zen.		
P.Carlsb.	P. Carlsberg		
P.CattleDocs.	**P. Cattle**		
P.Chic.Haw.	*P. Hawara OI*	*P.dem. Chic. Haw.*	
P.Choach.Survey	*P. Survey*		
P.Chrest.Nouvelle	*P. Nouv. Chrest.*		
P.Chrest.Revillout	*P. Chrestomathie*		
P.Col. III-IV	*P. Col. Zen. 1-2*		
P.Congr.XV	*P. XV. Congr.*	*P. XV. Congr.*	
P.Corn.	P. Cornell		
P.CorpusRevillout	P. Corpus		
P.David	*P. L. Bat. 17*		
P.Demotica	Demotica		
P.Dion.	*P. L. Bat. 22*		
P.Diosk.		*P.Phrur. Diosk.*	*P.Phrur. Diosk.*
P.Dubl.	P. Dublin	*P.Dub.*	
P.Egerton	*Bell / Skeat, Fragments of an unknown gospel and other early christian papyri*		
P.Ehevertr.	P. Eheverträge		
P.Eleph.	P. Eleph. Gr.		
P.Eleph.Wagner	*P. Eleph. DAIK*	*P.Eleph. DAIK*	*P.Eleph. DAIK*
P.Erl.Diosp.	P. Erl. Diospolis		
P.Euphrates		*P.Euphr.*	

Checklist	TM Texts[52]	HGV[53]	WörterListe
P.Fam.Tebt.	*P. L. Bat. 6*		
P.Fam.Theb.	*P. Phil. Dem.*		
P.Fouad Astr.	*Fournet / Thion, Conformément aux observations d'Hipparque*[61]		
P.Freib.	*P. Freib., but P. Freib. I 1b = P. Freib. (Sitzb. Heid. Akad. 1914, 2)*		
P.FuadUniv.		*P.Fuad I Univ.*	
P.Gebelen	P. Gebelen Heid.		
P.Genova		*PUG*	*PUG*
P.Giss.Univ.		*P.Giss. Bibl.*	
P.Gur.	P. Gurob	P.Gurob	
P.Hal.	P. Halle		
P.Harkness	*Smith, Papyrus Harkness*		
P.Harr.	P. Harris		
P.Hausw.	P. Hauswaldt Manning[62]		
P.Hawara		P.Hawara dem.	
P.Heid.	P. Heid. Gr.		
P.Hever			*P.Ḥever*
P.Hib.	P.Hibeh		
P.Jud.Des.Misc.[63]	*Charlesworth e.a., Miscellaneous texts from the Judaean desert*		*DJD 38*
P.Kar.Goodsp.	P. Kar. Goodspeed		
P.Kellis		*P.Kell.*	*P.Kell.*
P.Kellis II[64], P.KellisCopt. 1-9	P. Kellis Copt. 1-9		
P.Kellis IV			*P.Kell. 04*
P.Kellis V	P. Kellis Copt. 10-52		*P.Kell. Copt. 01*
P.Kellis VI	*P. Kellis Lit. 2*		

[61] For searching this volume see n. 22.
[62] The older ed. of 1913 which is mentioned in the Checklist in the entry P.Hausw. (= ed. of 1997) is abbreviated as P. Hauswaldt and distinguished from P. Hauswaldt Manning.
[63] According to the edition the sections should be distinguished as Jericho nos. 4-6 and 16-19; Nahal Hever no. 4; Nahal Mishmar no. 2; Nahal Se'elim nos. 4 and 5. The HGV distinguishes between sections A, C, D, and E.
[64] For P.Kellis II the Checklist distinguishes (according to the edition) between T.KellisCopt. 1-7; P.KellisCopt. 1-9; P.KellisSyr.Copt. 1-2; P.KellisSyr. 1; P.KellisSyr.Gr. 1; P.KellisGr. 91-94.

Checklist	TM Texts[52]	HGV[53]	WörterListe
P.Köln	P. Köln Gr.		
P.KölnÄgypt.		P.Köln ägypt.	
P.KölnLüddeckens	**P. Köln Dem.**		
P.KölnLüddeckens, pt. 2	**P. Köln Kopt.**		
P.LeedsMus.		P.Leeds Museum	
P.Leid.	P. Leiden Gr.		
P.Leid.Dem.	P. Leiden Dem.		
P.Leid.Inst.	*P. L. Bat. 25*	*P.Lugd. Bat. XXV*	
P.Lille	P. Lille Gr.		
P.Lond.Wasser	*Habermann, Zur Wasserversorgung einer Metropole*		*P.Lond. 1177*
P.Lund		***P.Lund.***[65]	
P.Macq.	P. Macquarie		
P.Mallawi	**P. Hermupolis**[66]		
P.Meerman.	*Spiegelberg, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum*		
P.Mert.	P. Merton	P.Merton	
P.Mich. I	*P. Mich. Zen.*		
P.Mich.Mchl.	*P. Mich. Michael*		
P.Mich.Nims	*Nims, Michigan Demotic Papyri*		
P.Michael.	P. Michael. Gr.		
P.Mil. I and II	*P. Mil. 1.1 and 1.2*	*P.Med. I*	
P.Murabba‘ât		*P.Mur. II*	
P.NagHamm.			
P.Narm. I	*P. Narm. 2006*	*P.Narm. 2006*	*P.Narm. 2006*
P.Neph.		P.Nepheros	
P.Ness.		P.Nessana	
P.Oxf.	*P. L. Bat. 3*		

[65] According to the differences in the titles of P.Lund and O.Lund., the Checklist distinguishes between P.Lund (without dot at the end) and O.Lund. (with dot at the end), whereas the HGV has both abbreviations with dot at the end (i.e., P.Lund. and O.Lund.).

[66] As the Checklist abbreviation P.Herm. refers to a volume of Greek documents, a better choice for both, the Checklist abbreviation P.Mallawi and the TM Texts abbreviation P. Hermupolis, would be P.Herm.Dem./P. Herm. Dem. (and for P. Herm. in TM Texts P. Herm. Gr.).

Checklist	TM Texts[52]	HGV[53]	WörterListe
P.Oxy.Astr.	*Jones, Astronomical papyri from Oxyrhynchus*		
P.Oxy.Census			*P.Oxy. 984*
P.Oxy.Cosgrove	*Cosgrove, An ancient christian hymn with musical notation*		
P.Pa-Month	*Stadler, Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month*		
P.Paris		*P.Par.*	
P.Petr.	P. Petrie		
P.Petr.^{2} I	P. Petrie(2) 1		
P.Pher.	P. Pheretnuis		
P.Phil.	P. Phil. Gr.		
P.Philammon	*P. Aktenbuch*	*P.Aktenbuch*	*P.Aktenbuch*
P.Polit.Jud.	**P. Polit. Iud.**	**P.Polit. Iud.**	**P.Polit. Iud.**
P.Prag.	P. Prag		
P.Prag.Varcl	P. Prag Varcl		
P.Prag.Satzung.	*Erichsen, P. Prag*		
P.Princ.Scheide (Princ.Stud.Pap. III)	*Johnson / Gehman / Kase, The John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri. Ezekiel (Princ. Stud. Pap. 3)*		
P.QasrIbrim	P. Qasr Ibrim Dem.		
P.Rain.Cent.	P. Rainer Cent.	P.Rainer Cent.[67]	
P.Rain.Unterricht	P. Rainer Unterricht		
P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt.[68]	P. Rainer Unterricht Kopt.		
P.Recueil		*Recueil*	
P.Rein. I (demotic texts)	*P. Reinach Dem.*		
P.Rein. I (greek texts), II	*P. Reinach Gr.*		
P.Rev. (ed. 1896)	P. Rev. (1st ed.)	P.Rev. Laws	
P.Ryl.	P. Ryl. Gr.		
P.Sarga	Crum / Bell, Wadi Sarga		
P.Schenkung.	**P. Schenkungsurk.**		

[67] HGV has P.Rainer Cent. but P.Rain. Unterricht (like Checklist).
[68] But in 'Series' under MPER N.S. XVIII referred to as P.Rain.UnterrichtCopt.

Checklist	TM Texts[52]	HGV[53]	WörterListe
P.Schøyen	*P. Schoyen*		
P.Schub.	P. Schubart		
P.Select.	*P. L. Bat. 13*		
PSI Com.	*Comunicazioni dell' Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli*[69]		
PSI Congr.XI	PSI Congr. 11[70]	*PSI Omaggio*	
PSI Congr.XVII	PSI Congr. 17		
PSI Congr.XX	PSI Congr. 20		
PSI Congr.XXI	PSI Congr. 21		
PSI Il.	*Manfredi, Papiri dell'Iliade*[71]		
P.Sijp.	P. Sijpesteijn		
P.Siut	*P. BM Siut*		
P.SlaveryDem.	P. Slavery		
P.Soter.		P.Soterichos	
P.Stras.	P. Strasb. Gr.	P.Strasb.	*vol. 10: Chang, Dossier*
P.Stras.Copt.	P. Strasb. Copt.	P.Strasb. Copt.	P.Strasb.Copt.
P.Stras.Dem.	P. Strasb. Dem.		
P.Tor.Amen.		P.Tor. Amenothes	
P.Ups.8	*Björck, Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus (Pap. Upsaliensis 8)*		
P.Vat.Aphrod.		P.Vatic. Aphrod.	
P.Verpfründung.	**P. Verpfründungsurk.**		
P.Vind.Bosw.	*P. L. Bat. 2*	*P.Vindob. Bosw.*	
P.Vind.Sal.		*P.Vindob. Sal.*	
P.Vind.Sijp.	*P. L. Bat. 11*	*P.Vindob. Sijp.*	
P.Vind.Tand.		*P.Vindob. Tandem*	
P.Vind.Worp		*P.Vindob. Worp*	
P.Warr.	*P. L. Bat. 1*		
P.Worp	*P. L. Bat. 33*		
P.Zen.Pestm.	*P. L. Bat. 20*		

[69] For searching this volume see n. 22.
[70] For the different volumes of P.Mil.Congr., TM Texts uses Roman numbers (like the Checklist). Thus, Roman numbers should be used also for the PSI Congr. volumes.
[71] For searching this volume see n. 22. PSI Od. is abbreviated in TM Texts in the same way as by Checklist.

Checklist	TM Texts[52]	HGV[53]	WörterListe
SB Kopt.			*KSB*
O.Ashm.Shelt.	O. Ashm. Shelton		
O.Berenike		*O.Ber.*	*O.Ber.*
O.Buch.	O. Bucheum		
O.Cair.	O. Cairo[72]	*O.Cair. GPW*	
O.Cair.Monuments	*Crum, Coptic monuments (CGC)*		
O.Chic.Muhs	O. Chicago Muhs	**O.Theb. Taxes I**	
O.EdfouIFAO	*O. Edfou Copte*		*O.Edfou Copte*
O.Eleph.Wagner	*O. Eleph. DAIK*	*O.Eleph. DAIK*	*O.Eleph. DAIK*
O.Joach.	O. Joachim		
O.Leid.	O. Leiden Gr.		
O.Leid.Dem.	O. Leiden Dem.		
O.Medin.HabuCopt.	*O. Med. Habu Copt.*		
O.Medin.HabuDem	*O. Med. Habu Dem.*		
O.Medin.Madi	O. Medinet Madi		
O.Mon.Phoib.	O. Mon. Phoibammon		
O.Narm.	O. Narm. Gr.		
O.Narm.Dem.			O.Narm. dem.
O.Oasis O.Chams el Din O.AinLabakha O.Bahria O.Sarm. O.Dor. O.Bahria div.	— **O. Chams el-Din** **O. Bahria Div.**	— **O.Chams el-Din** **O.Bahria Div.**	
O.Petr.	O. Petrie		
O.Petr.Mus.	O. Petrie Mus.		
O.Sarga	Crum / Bell, Wadi Sarga		
O.Stras.	O. Strasb.	O.Strasb.	O.Strasb.
O.Taxes II		O.Theb. Taxes II	
O.Theb.	O. Theb. Gr.		
O.Vleem.	*P. L. Bat. 26*	*O.Varia*	
O.Wilck.	O. Wilcken		
T.Dacia	*Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae (IDR) 1*		

[72] But O. Cair. Cat. in TM Texts like in Checklist.

Checklist	TM Texts[52]	HGV[53]	WörterListe
T.Jucundus	*CIL IV Suppl. 1*		
T.Mom.Louvre	*Cahier de rech. de l'Inst. de pap. et égypt. de Lille*		
Chrest.Mitt.		***M.Chr.***	
Chrest.Wilck.		***W.Chr.***	
Ch.L.A.	*Chartae Latinae antiquiores (ChLA)*	*ChLA*	
C.Epist.Lat.	*Cugusi, Corpus epistularum Latinarum (CEL)*	*CEL*	
C.Gloss.Biling.			*Gloss. Bil.*
C.Illum.Pap.	*Horak, Illuminierte Papyri*		
C.Jud.Syr.Eg.	*P. Conflict*		
C.Pap.Gr.		*CPGr*	
C.Pap.Hengstl	*Hengstl, Griechische Papyri*		
C.Pap.Jud.	*CPJ*		
C.Pap.Lat.	*Cavenaile, Corpus papyrorum Latinarum (CPL)*	*CPL*	
C.Ptol.Sklav.	*CPS*		
C.Zen.Palestine	*Durand, Des Grecs en Palestine*		
Doc.Eser.Rom.	*Daris, Documenti per la storia dell' esercito romano in Egitto*[73]		
Feste	*P. Feste*		
FIRA III	*Fontes iuris Romani antejustiniani (FIRA) (2nd ed.) 3*		
Jur.Pap.	*Meyer, Juristische Papyri*		
New Docs.	*New documents illustrating early christianity*		
Oroscopi	*Baccani, Oroscopi greci*		
Pap.Eleph.Eng.	*Porten, The Elephantine Papyri in English*		
Rom.Mil.Rec.	*Fink, Roman Military Records*		
Shorthand Manuals	*Milne, Greek shorthand manuals*		

[73] For searching this volume see n. 22.

Checklist	TM Texts[52]	HGV[53]	WörterListe
Pap.Lugd.Bat.	*P. L. Bat.*	*P.Lugd. Bat.*	*P.Lugd. Bat.*
Stud.Pal.		***SPP***	***SPP***

Appendix II

Concordance of Abbreviations for Papyrological Editions (Checklist, BL)

The BL abbreviations are according to the CD-ROM version of BL I-XI or the printed version of BL XII. The printed versions of BL VIII-XI have been searched for alternative abbreviations which are also mentioned.

1. Checklist (alphabetical) → BL

Checklist	BL
C.Pap.Jud.	C.P.J.
Ch.L.A.	Chartae Latinae
Chrest.Mitt. (or M.Chr.)	Mitteis, Chrest.
Chrest.Wilck. (or W.Chr.)	Wilcken, Chrest.
Jur.Pap.	Meyer, Juristische Papyri
MPER N.S.	M.P.E.R.
O.Brux.	O. Brüss.-Berl.
O.Cair.	O. Cairo G.P.W.
O.Crum	Crum, Coptic Ostraca
O.Deiss.	O. Deissm. ► O. Meyer
O.Eleph.Wagner	O. Eleph.D.A.I.K.
O.Elkab	O. Elkab gr.[74]
O.Leid.Dem.	O. dem.Leid.
O.Mattha	O. dem.Mattha
O.Mon.Phoib.	P. Mon.Phoeb.
O.Narm.	O. Gr.Narmuthis, O. gr.Narmuthis
O.Narm.Dem.	O. Dem.Narmuthis
O.Vleem.	P. L. Bat. 26
O.Wilb.	O. Wilb.-Brk.
P.Athen.	P.S.A. Athen
P.Athen.Xyla	P. Sta.Xyla
P.Bad.	P.Baden IV 60-69, 98-111: O. Baden 4

[74] The addition ‘gr.’ is not elsewhere used in BL.

Checklist	BL
P.Batav.	P. L. Bat. 19
P.Benaki	P. Ben.Mus.
P.Berl.Bork.	P. Panop. Borkowski
P.Berl.Thun.	P. Berl. Sitol.
P.Col. III-IV	P. Col. Zen. 1-2
P.Congr.XV	P. XV Congr.
P.David	P. L. Bat. 17
P.Dion.	P. L. Bat. 22
P.Dubl.	P. Dub.
P.Eleph.Wagner	P. Eleph.D.A.I.K.
P.Fam.Tebt.	P. L. Bat. 6
P.FuadUniv.	P. Fouad Crawford
P.Genova	P.U.G., PUG
P.Giss.Univ.	P. Giss. Bibl.
P.Heid.	P.Heid. III 249-288: O. Heid. 3
P.Herm.	P. Herm. Rees
P.Herm.Landl.	P. Landlisten
P.Iand.	P. Jand.
P.Leid.Inst.	P. L. Bat. 25
P.Masada	P. Doc.Masada
P.Mich. I	P. Mich. Zen.
P.Mil. I and II	P.Mil. I (1st ed.) = P. Mil.; I (2nd ed.) = P. Med. 1^1;[75] II = P. Med. 1^2; CD-ROM: P. Med. 1
P.Münch.	P. Mon.
P.Murabba'ât	P. Mur.
P.Ness.	P. Colt Ness.
P.NYU	P. New York
P.Oxf.	P. L. Bat. 3
P.Panop.Beatty	P. Beatty Panop.
P.Paris	O. Par.
P.Paris	P. Par.

[75] P. Med. according to the editor of the 2nd edition: Daris (1967).

Checklist	BL
P.Rain.Unterricht	M.P.E.R. 15
P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt[76]	M.P.E.R. 18
P.Recueil	Recueil
P.Ross.Georg.	P.Ross.-Georg.
P.Select.	P. L. Bat. 13
P.Vat.Aphrod.	P. Vatic.Aphrod., P. Vatic.Aphr.
P.Vind.Bosw.	P. L. Bat. 2
P.Vind.Sal.	P. Vindob. Salomons
P.Vind.Sijp.	P. L. Bat. 11
P.Vind.Tand.	P. Vindob. Tandem
P.Vind.Worp	P. Vindob. Worp
P.Warr.	P. Warren ► P. L. Bat. 1
P.Wisc. I P.Wisc. II	P. L. Bat. 16 P. Wisc. 2
P.Zen.Pestm.	P. L. Bat. 20
Pap.Lugd.Bat.	P. L. Bat.
PSI	P. Soc. vol. 3, nos. 254-279: O. Soc. 3 vol. 8, nos. 983-1000: O. Soc. 8
PSI Congr.XI	P. Soc. Omaggio, P. Soc. XI Congr.
PSI Congr.XVII	P. Soc. XVII Congr. (P. Soc. Omaggio)
PSI Congr.XX	P. Soc. XX Congr.
PSI Congr.XXI	P. Soc. XXI Congr.
T.Mom.Louvre	C.E.M.L.
T.Varie	Tavolette Varie

2. BL (alphabetical) → Checklist

BL	Checklist
C.E.M.L.	T.Mom.Louvre
C.P.J.	C.Pap.Jud.
Chartae Latinae	Ch.L.A.
Crum, Coptic Ostraca	O.Crum
M.P.E.R.	MPER N.S.

[76] But in 'Series' under MPER N.S. XVIII referred to as P.Rain.UnterrichtCopt.

BL	Checklist
M.P.E.R. 15	P.Rain.Unterricht
M.P.E.R. 18	P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt[77]
Meyer, Juristische Papyri	Jur.Pap.
Mitteis, Chrest.	Chrest.Mitt. (or M.Chr.)
O. Brüss.-Berl.	O.Brux.
O. Cairo G.P.W.	O.Cair.
O. Deissm. ► O. Meyer	O.Deiss.
O. dem.Leid.	O.Leid.Dem.
O. dem.Mattha	O.Mattha
O. Dem.Narmuthis	O.Narm.Dem.
O. Eleph.D.A.I.K.	O.Eleph.Wagner
O. Elkab gr.[78]	O.Elkab
O. Gr.Narmuthis, O. gr.Narmuthis	O.Narm.
O. Par.	P.Paris
O. Wilb.-Brk.	O.Wilb.
P. Beatty Panop.	P.Panop.Beatty
P. Ben.Mus.	P.Benaki
P. Berl. Sitol.	P.Berl.Thun.
P. Col. Zen. 1-2	P.Col. III-IV
P. Colt Ness.	P.Ness.
P. Doc.Masada	P.Masada
P. Dub.	P.Dubl.
P. Eleph.D.A.I.K.	P.Eleph.Wagner
P. Fouad Crawford	P.FuadUniv.
P. Giss. Bibl.	P.Giss.Univ.
P. Herm. Rees	P.Herm.
P. Jand.	P.Iand.
P. L. Bat.	Pap.Lugd.Bat.
P. L. Bat. 11	P.Vind.Sijp.
P. L. Bat. 13	P.Select.
P. L. Bat. 16 P. Wisc. 2	P.Wisc. I P.Wisc. II

[77] But in 'Series' under MPER N.S. XVIII referred to as P.Rain.UnterrichtCopt.
[78] The addition 'gr.' is not elsewhere used in BL.

BL	Checklist
P. L. Bat. 17	P.David
P. L. Bat. 19	P.Batav.
P. L. Bat. 2	P.Vind.Bosw.
P. L. Bat. 20	P.Zen.Pestm.
P. L. Bat. 22	P.Dion.
P. L. Bat. 25	P.Leid.Inst.
P. L. Bat. 26	O.Vleem.
P. L. Bat. 3	P.Oxf.
P. L. Bat. 6	P.Fam.Tebt.
P. Landlisten	P.Herm.Landl.
P. Mich. Zen.	P.Mich. I
P. Mon.	P.Münch.
P. Mon.Phoeb.	O.Mon.Phoib.
P. Mur.	P.Murabba‘ât
P. New York	P.NYU
P. Panop. Borkowski	P.Berl.Bork.
P. Par.	P.Paris
P. Soc. vol. 3, nos. 254-279: O. Soc. 3 vol. 8, nos. 983-1000: O. Soc. 8	PSI
P. Soc. Omaggio, P. Soc. XI Congr.	PSI Congr.XI
P. Soc. XVII Congr. (P. Soc. Omaggio)	PSI Congr.XVII
P. Soc. XX Congr.	PSI Congr.XX
P. Soc. XXI Congr.	PSI Congr.XXI
P. Sta.Xyla	P.Athen.Xyla
P. Vatic.Aphrod., P. Vatic.Aphr.	P.Vat.Aphrod.
P. Vindob. Salomons	P.Vind.Sal.
P. Vindob. Tandem	P.Vind.Tand.
P. Vindob. Worp	P.Vind.Worp
P. Warren ► P. L. Bat. 1	P.Warr.
P. XV Congr.	P.Congr.XV
P.Baden IV 60-69, 98-111: O. Baden 4	P.Bad.
P.Heid. III 249-288: O. Heid. 3	P.Heid.

BL	Checklist
P.Mil. I (1st ed.) = P. Mil.; I (2nd ed.) = P. Med. 1[1];[79] II = P. Med. 1[2]; CD-ROM: P. Med. 1	P.Mil. I and II
P.Ross.-Georg.	P.Ross.Georg.
P.S.A. Athen	P.Athen.
P.U.G., PUG	P.Genova
Recueil	P.Recueil
Tavolette Varie	T.Varie
Wilcken, Chrest.	Chrest.Wilck. (or W.Chr.)

[79] P. Med. according to the editor of the 2nd edition: Daris (1967).

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Memorie dal sottosuolo di Tebtynis a ... Roma e a Venezia!

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> «[…] L'Italia si sa, è un paese disordinato e qualcosa fuori posto si trova sempre, qualche storia che si doveva dimenticare finisce per salvarsi».[1]
> «[...] Mi sembra che avere del materiale di Tebtunis sparso per tre musei italiani sia veramente eccessivo […] ».[2]

«Dei fortunati e ricchi ritrovamenti papiracei a Tebtynis sono stati già pubblicati alcuni cospicui saggi»[3] ma l'eccezionale ritrovamento nel 2012, di papiri e documenti di natura varia, presso l'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e di Storia dell'Arte (INASA) a Roma riporta l'attenzione alle campagne di scavo di Tebtynis[4] effettuate negli anni 1930-1935 dalla Regia Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto, coordinate da Carlo Anti[5] (1930-1936), Gilberto Bagnani[6] (1931-1936) e Achille Vogliano[7] (1934-1935). Disponiamo inoltre di altri pochi ma preziosi riferimenti a un'altra campagna di scavi,[8] effettuata nel 1936, grazie anche agli scambi epistolari tra il Bagnani, l'Anti e il Paribeni.[9] I problemi di ordine politico e di carattere economico affliggevano a tal punto l'Anti da indurlo a scrivere diverse volte al Paribeni «[...] Desideravo parlarti dell'Egitto. Laggiù le cose non vanno bene. Vogliano ha fatto della confusione [...] il personale indigeno di laggiù ha bisogno di una sbrigliata. [...]».[10] L'urgenza era reale: i fondi lasciati dal Bagnani presso il Banco Italo-Egiziano del Fayyûm non bastavano a coprire le spese dei salari del dragomanno Michel[11] e dei *ghaffîr* Abdel Ragik, ʾIssa e Abdel el-Shafiʿ, i quali «[...] minacciano di abbandonare casa, antichità e rovine perché da tre mesi non sono pagati [...]».[12] Ma la situazione era aggravata anche dai rapporti conflittuali tra il Vogliano e Michel deterioratisi senza la mediazione (e il controllo) del Bagnani: «[...] Ho sentito che dopo la mia partenza l'inevitabile è sopraggiunto e Michel e Vogliano si sono presi per i capelli. Non è possibile collaborare con quell'uomo (Vogliano)

[1] Vassalli (2014) Premessa, III.
[2] Lettera di G. Bagnani a C. Anti del 22-02-1934-XII (IVSLA, Archivio Anti, Cartella 9).
[3] Breccia (1958) 208.
[4] Tebtynis (Umm el-Breigât, 'la madre delle torri', أُمّ البُرِيجات) è un sito archeologico nell'oasi del Fayyūm; il villaggio fu fondato nel 1800 a.C. sotto la XII dinastia (1955-1760) e rimase abitato fino al XIII secolo d.C.; cf. Bagnall / Davoli (2008) 115-122; Gallazzi / Hadji-Minaglou (1989) 179-191; Gallazzi (2003) 131-195; Hadji-Minaglou (1995) 111-118; Jouguet (1932) 359-361.
[5] Carlo Anti (1889-1961) professore di Archeologia e di Storia dell'Arte Greca e Romana (dal 1922 al 1943) e rettore dell'Università di Padova dal 1932 al 1943; cf. Isnenghi (1992) 222-240 e Zampieri (2011) XXIII-LI.
[6] Gilberto Bagnani (1900-1985) professore di Storia Greca e Romana (Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario, Canada).
[7] Achille Vogliano (1881-1953) grecista e papirologo; cf. Lehnus / Puricelli (2003) XV-XX.
[8] Begg (1998) 209: «[…] There was indeed a brief additional season from [Sunday] 5 April 1936 until at least [Thursday] 7 May 1936, again according to the excavation guestbook».
[9] Roberto Paribeni (1876-1956) professore di Archeologia (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano); dal 1922 rivestì numerose cariche tra le quali direttore del Museo Nazionale Romano e direttore generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti del Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale.
[10] Lettera di C. Anti a R. Paribeni del 9-12-1935-XIV (IVSLA, Archivio Anti, Cartella 7).
[11] Michel Boulos Ghattas di Luxor, figlio di Boulos, che lavorò come sorvegliante locale durante le campagne di scavo di Schiaparelli (1856-1928) e del Breccia (1876-1967) agli inizi del secolo scorso (cf. Morelli / Pintaudi [1983] vol. I, 71 e 348); Michel partecipò come *rais* a tutte le campagne di scavo di Tebtynis (1930-1936); tramite l'aiuto dell'Anti riuscì anche a lavorare presso la Società Egiziana per l'Estrazione ed il Commercio dei Fosfati nelle miniere di Kosseir, Mar Rosso.
[12] Lettera di C. Anti a R. Paribeni del 12-12-1935-XIV (IVSLA, Archivio Anti, Cartella 7).

e ne sono perfettamente stufo [...]», ma nonostante l'orrenda situazione creatasi «[...] io sarei disposto di andare a far atto di presenza sul cantiere e preparare la pubblicazione anche a mie spese [...]».[13] Gli sforzi dell'Anti furono ripagati e in una lettera Paribeni lo informa che «una tua corsa laggiù sembra al Ministero Esteri opportuna [...]»;[14] dopo aver ottenuto i fondi necessari l'Anti dovette comunque rinunciare al viaggio a causa dei suoi impegni accademici lasciando ancora una volta la direzione dello scavo al Bagnani. L'Anti ritornerà in Egitto soltanto nel 1937, per una ventina di giorni, in occasione della Conferenza sulla tecnica degli scavi (Cairo, 7-12 marzo)[15] con in mente il proposito di approfittarne «per fare un sopraluogo a Tebtunis [...]. Ignorando un sacco di cose [...] vado giù alquanto alla cieca e me ne dispiace assai [...]».[16] L'ultimo riferimento riguardante le campagne di scavo a Tebtynis si trova in un verbale di adunanza del 20 gennaio 1940-XVIII, svoltosi in una delle sale del Ministero degli Affari Esteri, conservato all'INASA: «[...] Missione Anti. Ha la concessione degli scavi a Tebtunis. Purtroppo l'Anti è per ora immobilizzato dalle sue molteplici cure quale Rettore dell'Università di Padova accresciutesi per i lavori in corso del rinnovamento edilizio dell'Università; sembra perciò assai difficile, almeno per ora, che egli possa ritornare in Egitto. *Rebus sic stantibus* miglior partito sarebbe quello di affidare l'incarico della missione e dello scavo all'Adriani,[17] direttore del Museo Greco-Romano di Alessandria d'Egitto, in modo da concludere gli scavi di quella concessione. [...] Missione Bagnani. Del Bagnani ormai da un pezzo non si ha più notizia essendosi recato nel Canadà; si dice che egli abbia preso la cittadinanza inglese: comunque può considerarsi perduto per le nostre Missioni».[18]

La breve cronistoria testé documentata serve a comprendere il ritrovamento dei faldoni "(Bagnani) Pr. Anti", contenenti una miscellanea di carte eterogenee lasciate dal Bagnani di ritorno da una delle missioni archeologiche in Egitto presso l'INASA;[19] ma non giustifica la presenza delle cartelle contenenti i papiri ivi dimenticati per anni. Di questi papiri si parlerà in un secondo momento,[20] ma tenendo conto dell'estremo rigore con cui solitamente i papiri venivano spartiti tra Firenze, Milano e Padova, i dubbi sulla loro provenienza permangono: non considerando al momento l'ipotesi più ragionevole, ovvero quella che siano stati acquistati, non si comprende a quale ente essi fossero destinati. Nel 1950 l'Anti scrisse: «[...] Quelli meno belli (papiri) sono tuttora presso di me e gli [*sic*] affiderò al nostro nuovo grecista, Diano[21] [...]»,[22] quindi con molta probabilità i papiri INASA non erano destinati a Padova o comunque lo stesso Anti deve essersene dimenticato oppure non fu avvisato dal Bagnani; dal momento che «[...] Durante gli scavi di Anti e Bagnani, nel 1934-1935, furono

[13] Lettera di G. Bagnani a C. Anti del 15-12-1935-XIV (IVSLA, Archivio Anti, Cartella 7).
[14] Lettera di R. Paribeni a C. Anti dell'8-1-1936-XIV (IVSLA, Archivio Anti, Cartella 7).
[15] Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri a Roma: Conferenza sulla tecnica degli scavi, Cairo 7-12 marzo 1937, in Fabbricatore, E. / Tozzi Condivi, P. (senza data), Busta 131, Faldone 521 (1927-1937), Posizione 49 a1, p. 39.
[16] Lettera di C. Anti a G. Bagnani del 4-2-1937-XIV (IVSLA, Archivio Anti, Cartella 9).
[17] Achille Adriani (1905-1982) ispettore delle Soprintendenze alle Antichità di Roma e Napoli, succedette a Evaristo Breccia come direttore del Museo Greco-Romano di Alessandria in Egitto dal 1932 al 1940 e dal 1948 al 1952. Sostituì il Breccia (1876-1967) durante la campagna di scavi ad Antinoe, el-Sheikh 'Ibâda (6 marzo-28 aprile 1939).
[18] Il verbale del "Comitato Centrale per le Missioni e gli Istituti Archeologici all'Estero", viene conservato in uno stipo presso l'INASA, in copia conforme (Missioni Scientifiche all'Estero. Pubblicazioni, 2320/G e 2736/G).
[19] L'elenco completo dei faldoni si trova in Boffula Alimeni (2017) 14-22.
[20] È prevista una pubblicazione dei papiri INASA nella rivista RIASA; l'*editio princeps* sarà effettuata dagli studiosi della Berkeley University.
[21] Carlo Alberto Diano (1902-1974) filologo, dal 1950 professore di Letteratura Greca presso l'Università di Padova.
[22] Lettera di C. Anti a E. Breccia del 22/06/1950; cf. Soldati (2015) XI.

recuperati più di 500 esemplari papiracei, di dimensioni assai variabili (pochi interi e molti di dimensioni assai minuscole), che furono inviati a Padova per esser lì custoditi e studiati in vista dell'auspicata pubblicazione scientifica [...]» si scopre anche che «[...] sempre nel cantiere, Bagnani corredò i vetri e le cartelle di indicazioni sull'esatto luogo di ritrovamento nel sito archeologico, una pratica allora del tutto innovativa che permette oggi di studiare con molta maggiore precisione la provenienza dei singoli documenti. La raccolta custodita a Padova si compone principalmente di testi in lingua greca [...] Vi sono inoltre testi ieratici, demotici e copti [...]».[23] Se il Bagnani fu così preciso nel riportare l'esatta ubicazione dei ritrovamenti papiracei perché mai fece eccezione per questi papiri dell'INASA se provenienti da un suo scavo?

Un nuovo spunto sulla provenienza dei papiri si può trovare in una lettera di Anti che ribadiva, per l'ennesima volta al Paribeni, la necessità di un suo viaggio in Egitto «[...] per portare in Italia del nuovo materiale archeologico, almeno i papiri ancora giacenti al Museo del Cairo, ma per far questo possono occorrere tra fotografie, imballaggio e spedizione non pochi quattrini [...]».[24] L'anno è il 1936, a pochi mesi dell'arrivo del Bagnani in Egitto, quindi è ragionevole supporre che i papiri INASA potessero far parte di quei papiri «giacenti al Museo del Cairo» oppure che, basandoci sui contenuti linguistici (quattro dei sei papiri sono scritti in copto sahidico), fossero stati acquistati presso amici antiquari o *sebakhin* locali.[25] Gli errori e le sviste non erano infrequenti: a conferma di ciò la scoperta, nell'Archivio della Soprintendenza di Roma, di due manufatti di Tebtynis che rientravano nell'elenco degli oggetti destinati al Museo Egizio di Torino,[26] e che invece sono trattenuti nel museo romano! In uno dei due elenchi[27] (fig. 1), redatti dalla persona preposta al trasferimento dei manufatti, ho notato una discrepanza: i numeri di inventario 121115– capitello dorico e 121190–rilievo decorativo con divinità egizia (figg. 2-3), avevano accanto la dicitura «no» mentre la medesima all'inv. 121188 era stata cancellata.[28]

Il capitello dorico (inv. 121115, calcare grigio, alt. 19 cm) era conservato nel deposito del Museo Nazionale di Arte Orientale e per errore catalogato come reperto yemenita facente parte della donazione Zoli-Ansaldi![29] Il manufatto è molto deteriorato, presenta due tagli rettangolari ad incastro e conserva, a mo' di protezione, una vecchia applicazione di carta giapponese (fig. 4).

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[23] Soldati (2015) VII-VIII.

[24] Lettera di C. Anti a R. Paribeni del 30-01-1936-XIV (IVSLA, Archivio Anti, Cartella 9).

[25] Lettera di G. Bagnani a C. Anti del 14-04-1934 (IVSLA, Archivio Anti, Cartella 9): «[...] Askren mi ha detto che [...] dagli scavi nostri non pare che sia venuto nulla di importante tranne roba copta trovata dai sebakhin [...]».

[26] Dopo la chiusura della "Mostra d'Arte Antica" alla Galleria Nazionale di Valle Giulia (nel 1933) il Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale dispose che alcuni dei reperti più significativi provenienti da Tebtynis venissero trattenuti a Roma, presso il Museo delle Terme (Museo Nazionale Romano); tutto il materiale fu unito con gli altri reperti delle campagne seguenti in attesa di un loro trasferimento nel Museo di Antichità di Torino oppure nel Museo dell'Alto Medioevo all'Eur, Roma; cf. lettera di Bianca Maria Felletti Maj al Soprintendente GianFilippo Carettoni del 12-04-1968 (Archivio della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, Opere d'Arte 43, senza numero di inventario): «[...] Si prega di prendere in esame il materiale sopraddetto per un eventuale trasferimento a questo Museo, dove potrebbe essere esposto entro breve tempo in una sala dedicata esclusivamente all'artigianato c.d. copto [...]»; cf. anche Adornato (2007) 14.

[27] Il «materiale egizio di Tebtunis» fu preso in consegna il 20 luglio 1970 da Adriana Ruggeri, economo della Soprintendenza alle Antichità-Egittologia di Torino, «compreso in nove casse e sette scatole di cartone» (Archivio della Sopr. Arch. di Roma, Opere d'Arte 43, senza numerazione).

[28] Elenco "Materiale da Tebtynis" (Archivio della Sopr. Arch. di Roma, Opere d'Arte 43, senza numerazione). La lettura delle schede R.A. ha confermato la provenienza egiziana dei due manufatti e la loro natura di 'donazione'.

[29] Corrado Zoli (1877-1951) governatore dell'Olregiuba (Somalia italiana) e Cesare Ansaldi, medico personale dell'Imam Yahya in Yemen; la donazione entrò nel posseduto del MNAO nel 1984.

La stele rettangolare (inv. 121190, marmo, cm 47x36x12) datata al II sec. d.C., è decorata a rilievo (fig. 5) e rappresenta la dea Iside-Thermouthis[30] nell'iconografia tipica dell'epoca romana (in posizione frontale e anguiforme–ad eccezione della testa e del busto); l'acconciatura è composta dal *basileion* isiaco (con corna bovine e disco solare) con i capelli che scendono ai lati, fin sulle spalle, in cinque file di boccoli che lasciano però scoperte le orecchie e i grandi orecchini ad anello. L'abbigliamento è costituito da un corto gonnellino plissettato annodato al seno; il petto, nudo, è adornato da una collana con un ciondolo a mezza luna. La parte inferiore del corpo è di serpente con le squame minuziosamente delineate. La dea è posta al centro dell'ingresso di un tempio; gli stipiti del portale sono sormontati da due leoni accucciati, dei quali rimangono i resti soltanto di uno; la dea allatta Sobek (Isis *lactans*), sorreggendolo con la mano sinistra, mentre con la destra impugna un bastone (scettro-papiro). Tracce visibili di un pigmento nero tra i capelli (fig. 6 a+b) testimoniano che in origine la stele era dipinta. Alla base del manufatto si trovano incise («*Quid in medio pectore fuerit non intelligo, neque letteras pessime infra exaratas*»[31]) la lettera greca M e le sequenze MY e MIYEH (fig. 7 a+b) che potrebbero essere interpretate nel senso del nome proprio del dedicante Μύσιος-Μυσός, di quello divino di MUSIS o di [---]μυ̣[----]μιυεη[---].[32]

Questo rilievo merita estrema attenzione non soltanto per la sua raffigurazione ma perché fino a pochi anni fa si riteneva che provenisse da uno scavo di un *sacellum deorum orientalium*, effettuato nel 1929, al VII km della Via Appia a Roma e in tal senso fu studiato; al reperto però viene attribuita la corretta provenienza nel catalogo della mostra "Cleopatra. Roma e l'incantesimo dell' Egitto" e in altre pubblicazioni,[33] ma fino ad oggi nessuno aveva posto l'attenzione sul primo manufatto (inv. 121190) e sulle motivazioni di tale lascito al museo romano al posto di quello torinese come era stato stabilito dal Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione in un decreto del 28 febbraio 1970.[34]

I ritrovamenti a Tebtynis di oggetti archeologici con le effigi della dea Iside sono legati alla presenza di una cappella dedicata al suo culto (Isis-Narmouthis) che si trova a nordest del *temenos* del santuario in onore del dio Soknebtynis.[35]

All'interno del faldone "Opere d'arte 43", conservato nell'archivio della Soprintendenza di

[30] Nel periodo tolemaico Iside Ermouthis-Thermouthis fu considerata l'*interpretatio Graeca* di Renenoutet (Rnn-wt.t), la dea cobra, protettrice dei buoni raccolti (Iside agraria) spesso accompagnata dall'attributo del serpente o essa stessa raffigurata in tale forma; cf. Ballet / Galliano (2010) 199-202; Sbordone (1946) 140; Witt (1997) 121-140.

[31] Moretti (1968) 119-120: «[...] Anno 1929 in lucem prolata sunt ad VII chiliometrum Viae Appiae, prope deverticulum Appiae quae Pignatelli dicitur, non longe a Villa Quintiliorum, sacelli cuiusdam vestigia [...] In eodem sacello reperta sed ab Annibaldio neglecta, extat in Museo Nationali Romano (inv. 121190) [...]»; Bresciani (1977) 11: «[...] Devo alla gentilezza del Prof. Luigi Moretti dell'Università di Roma la preziosa informazione su un tale monumento, e alla grande generosità dello stesso collega il permesso di poter riprendere lo studio della stele da lui pubblicata [...]».

[32] Cf. Fraser / Matthews (1987-2005) vol. I, 322-vol. IV, 245; Moretti (1968) 120, n. 137.

[33] Cf. Arslan (1997) 232, n. IV 229; D'Ascoli (2015) 11, n. 39; Gallazzi / Hadji-Minaglou (2000) 11, n. 22; Gentili (2013) 114-115, n. 30 e 256-257; Malaise, M. (2005) 106-107, n. 194; Manera / Mazza (2001) 128, n. 97; Rondot (2004) 95; la mostra romana "Cleopatra. Roma e l'incantesimo dell'Egitto" fu inaugurata il 12 ottobre 2013 al Chiostro del Bramante e si concluse il 2 febbraio 2014; fu allestita in altre località quali Singapore, Madrid e in Francia.

[34] «[...] Si comunica che il Consiglio Superiore delle Antichità e Belle Arti [...] in considerazione del carattere di entità dei reperti in questione, in quanto provenienti da un unico scavo, e la particolare tecnica di restauro che essi richiedono, è del parere che il suddetto materiale debba essere assegnato al Museo Egizio di Torino quale sede più idonea per la sua conservazione e per 1a esecuzione della necessaria opera di restauro [...]», (Archivio della Sopr. Arch. di Roma, Opere d'Arte 43, senza numerazione).

[35] Cf. Bagnall / Davoli (2011) 119-120; Gallazzi / Hadji-Minaglou (2000) 37-50; Rondot (2004) 101; Thomas (1996) n. 121, Berkeley, Inv. 6-20448.

Roma si trovano anche alcune lettere; tra tutte ne ho scelte due scritte dal Bagnani a Massimo Pallottino[36] (fig. 8) e dall'Anti a Giuseppe Moretti[37] (fig. 9). Il Bagnani aveva stretto amicizia con il Pallottino e con ogni probabilità proprio in occasione della preparazione della Mostra d'Arte Antica[38] i rapporti si intensificarono durante i soggiorni romani del Bagnani, grazie anche alle lezioni che il Pallottino gli impartiva;[39] lo si intuisce dal tono confidenziale ma soprattutto scherzoso con cui riporta la notizia della scoperta dei due leoni nella Via Processionale di Tebtynis; scriveva infatti il Bagnani che aveva trovato «[...] due leoni colossali di calcare [...]. Non posso dire che sono belli ma sono abbastanza interessanti come tipo – posteriormente fanno vedere un par di coglioni veramente leonini – e fanno una certa figura. Li volete? [...] Ne manderò una fotografia al Moretti affinché possa decidere [...]»;[40] tono che non aveva utilizzato alcuni giorni prima nel comunicare la stessa scoperta, in una missiva indirizzata all'Anti, dove i due enormi leoni erano «[...] assai ben conservati e di tipo abbastanza interessante [...]. In giorni di festa venivano ricoperti con un baldacchino e si accendevano lampade tra le zampe, che son ricoperte con la solita sporcizia [...]».[41]

Altri leoni erano stati già scoperti durante la campagna di scavo del 1931 (Tempio A con due leoni) ma non erano perfettamente conservati come questi due esemplari.[42] Già dall'Antico Regno esisteva l'usanza di porre, all'ingresso di una determinata tipologia di costruzione, un leone guardiano, efficace protettore grazie alle sue naturali caratteristiche di predatore;[43] la loro importanza era tale che stupì il ritrovamento di due di essi in un tempio di provincia, quale era quello di Soknopaiou Nesos (Dimê es-Seba)[44] e si è avanzata l'ipotesi che, a partire dal Nuovo Regno, i doppi leoni da guardiani protettori siano diventati custodi del sacro, figure apotropaiche che guidavano nell'ingresso dell'Aldilà.[45]

La lettera dell'Anti, invece, mostra preoccupazione per una mancata comunicazione del Moretti riguardo l'arrivo di alcune «casse d'antichità» dall'Egitto poiché era stato avvisato dal Bagnani che «[...] il materiale dell'ultima campagna doveva essere trasportato in Italia a spese delle Terme. Il Moretti aveva chiesto un credito speciale dal Ministero [...]».[46] In realtà il materiale era già arrivato a Roma l'anno precedente.[47] L'Anti era seriamente preoccupato per le condizioni dei manufatti e riteneva che «[...] sarebbe bene che tu le facessi aprire» le

[36] Massimo Pallottino (1909-1995) archeologo, nel 1933 divenne Ispettore per la Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Roma ed assunse la direzione del Museo di Villa Giulia.
[37] Giuseppe Moretti (1876-1945) soprintendente, dal 1930, alle Antichità del Lazio e direttore del Museo Nazionale Romano.
[38] La mostra fu inaugurata il 9 aprile del 1932 alle ore 10, come si legge nel telegramma inviato da R. Paribeni ad Antonio Minto, direttore del Museo Archeologico di Firenze e di Siena (1925-1943), il 6 aprile (Firenze, Archivio Storico della SBA-TOS [Biblioteca della Soprintendenza di Torino], Faldone 7, Museo Egizio, Pos. 7/1, Egitto, 1932, senza numero di inventario).
[39] Lettera di G. Bagnani a C. Anti del 8-07-1932 (IVSLA, Archivio Anti, Cartella 9): «[...] Le mie lezioni egizie con il Pallottino vanno bene. Ha una conoscenza della lingua egizia abbastanza discreta specie una buona raccolta di vocaboli».
[40] Lettera di G. Bagnani a M. Pallottino del 22-02-1934 (Archivio della Sopr. Arch. di Roma, Opere d'Arte 43, senza numerazione).
[41] Lettera di G. Bagnani a C. Anti del 15-02-1934-XII (IVSLA, Archivio Anti, Cartella 9).
[42] Cf. Anti (1931) 389; Bagnani (1934) 7; Bagnani (1935) 376-377, fig. 1; Begg (1998) 187-188; Rondot (2004) 166-168, Pl. 162-171.
[43] Capasso / Davoli (2012) 100-101; Ciampini (2005) 106; De Wit (1951) 71-72; Vezzani (2005) 199-200.
[44] Davoli (2013) 6.
[45] Vezzani (2005) 207.
[46] Lettera di G. Bagnani a C. Anti del 6-02-1936 (IVSLA, Archivio Anti, Cartella 9).
[47] Cedolino dell'American Express Co del 29 luglio 1935: «[...] 15 casse di antichità [...] provenienti da Cairo giacenti presso la [...] dogana di Roma S. Lorenzo» (Archivio della Sopr. Arch. di Roma, Opere d'Arte 43, senza numerazione).

casse «per far rivedere gli oggetti da uno dei tuoi restauratori». Si trattava infatti «[...] in gran parte di materiale intaccato dal salso che soffre molto a star rinchiuso [...]».[48] Fortunatamente il Bagnani «[...] dopo infinite ricerche al Museo» (Egizio al Cairo) riuscì «a scoprire che le casse di antichità» erano «state spedite al Museo Nazionale Romano che ha regolato il conto. Meno male, ma il Moretti» avrebbe dovuto «avvisare[...]».[49]

Molti interrogativi rimangono ancora senza risposta ma, grazie alla futura inventariazione informatizzata del fondo archivistico Carlo Anti,[50] si darà modo a tutti gli studiosi di approfondire e proseguire nelle ricerche, dando così l'opportunità di fare ulteriori scoperte e di fornire un quadro storico più accurato dell'organizzazione delle Missioni italiane in Egitto.

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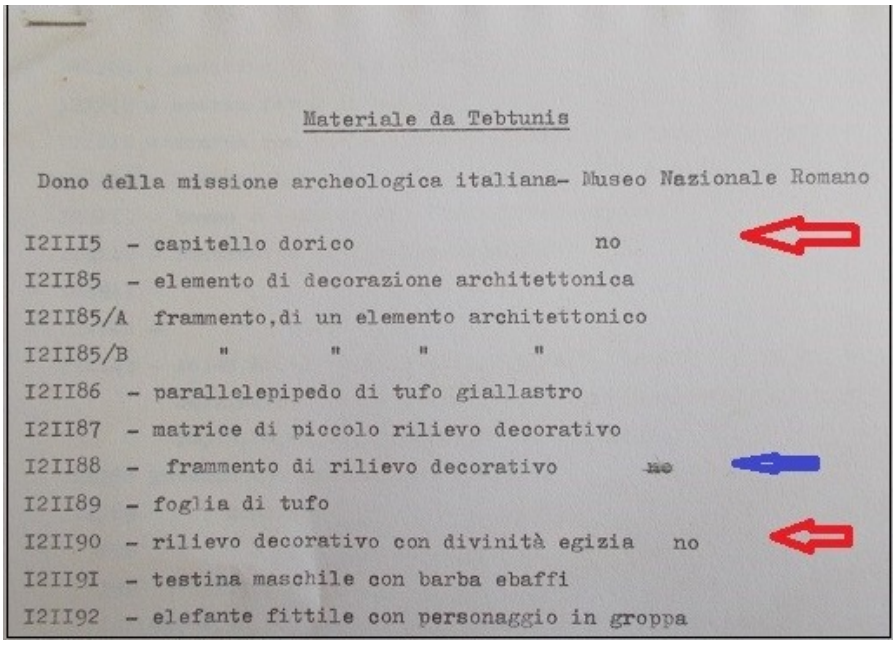
[48] Lettera di C. Anti a G. Moretti del 4-05-1936-XIV (Archivio della Sopr. Arch. di Roma, Opere d'Arte 43, senza numerazione).

[49] Lettera di G. Bagnani a C. Anti, R. Paribeni e C. M. De Vecchi del 12-04-1936-XIV (INASA, Archivio, Faldone "(Bagnani) Pr. Anti" 2, inv. 10).

[50] Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti di Venezia, il cui progetto è illustrato dall'archivista, dott. Carlo Urbani in https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=32haXqgzICI (accesso 30 luglio 2018).

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Tavole

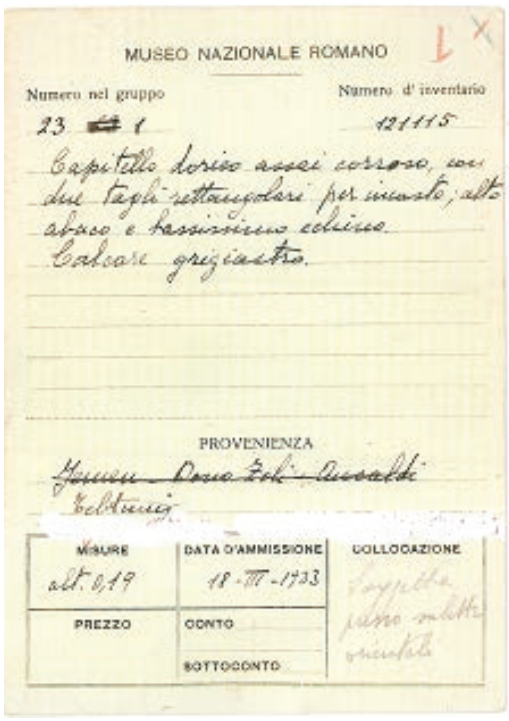


Materiale da Tebtunis

Dono della missione archeologica italiana- Museo Nazionale Romano

I2III5 - capitello dorico no
I2II85 - elemento di decorazione architettonica
I2II85/A frammento,di un elemento architettonico
I2II85/B " " " "
I2II86 - parallelepipedo di tufo giallastro
I2II87 - matrice di piccolo rilievo decorativo
I2II88 - frammento di rilievo decorativo no
I2II89 - foglia di tufo
I2II90 - rilievo decorativo con divinità egizia no
I2II9I - testina maschile con barba ebaffi
I2II92 - elefante fittile con personaggio in groppa

Fig. 1. Estratto da uno dei due elenchi degli oggetti provenienti da Tebtynis in consegna al Museo Egizio di Torino (Foto © Paola Boffula Alimeni).



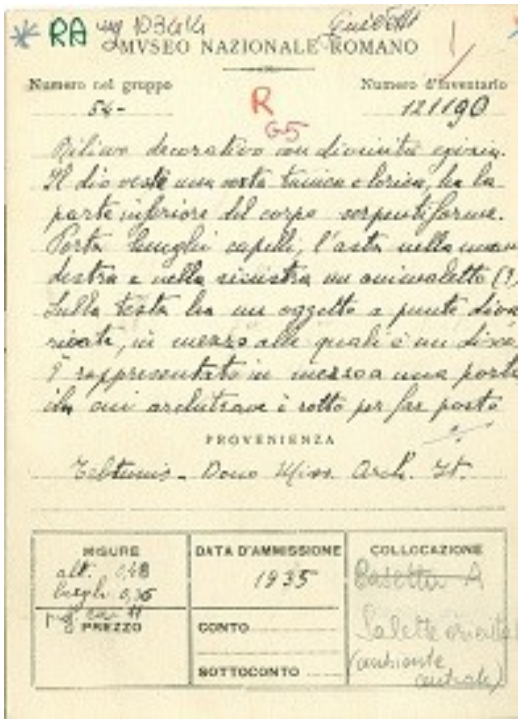
MUSEO NAZIONALE ROMANO

Numero nel gruppo 23 1
Numero d'inventario 121115

Capitello dorico assai corroso, con due tagli rettangolari per incastro, alto abaco e bassissimo echino. Calcare grigiastro.

PROVENIENZA
Missione Dono Sig.ri Ausaldi
Tebtunis

MISURE	DATA D'AMMISSIONE	COLLOCAZIONE
alt. 0,19	18-III-1933	Soppalco primo nicchia orientale
PREZZO	CONTO	
	SOTTOCONTO	



RA
MVSEO NAZIONALE ROMANO

Numero nel gruppo 54 R
Numero d'inventario 121190

Rilievo decorativo con divinità egizia. Il dio veste una corta tunica e lorica, ha la parte inferiore del corpo serpentiforme. Porta lunghi capelli, l'asta nella mano destra e nella sinistra un scimmietto (?). Sulla testa ha un oggetto a punte divaricate, ai cui lati alle punte è un disco. È rappresentato in mezzo a una porta alla cui architrave è retto per le punte

PROVENIENZA
Tebtunis - Dono Miss. Arch. It.

MISURE	DATA D'AMMISSIONE	COLLOCAZIONE
alt. 0,48 largh. 0,36	1935	Soletta A Soletta quarta (ambiente centrale)
PREZZO	CONTO	
	SOTTOCONTO	

Figg. 2-3. Schede R.A. inv. 121115 e 121190 (Su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Nazionale Romano)



Fig. 4. Capitello dorico, inv. 121115 (Foto © Paola Boffula Alimeni) (Su concessione del Museo delle Civiltà – Museo d'Arte Orientale Giuseppe Tucci).



Fig. 5. Rilievo decorativo, inv. 121190 fronte/retro (Foto © Paola Boffula Alimeni) (Su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Nazionale Romano).



Fig. 6 a+b. Tracce del pigmento nero (A) e residui di gesso (B) al microscopio ottico portatile Dino-Lite (Premier AM 4113/AD 4113) (Foto © Paola Boffula Alimeni).



Fig. 7 a+b. Incisioni delle parole “MY” (A) e “MIYEH” (B) (Foto © Paola Boffula Alimeni).

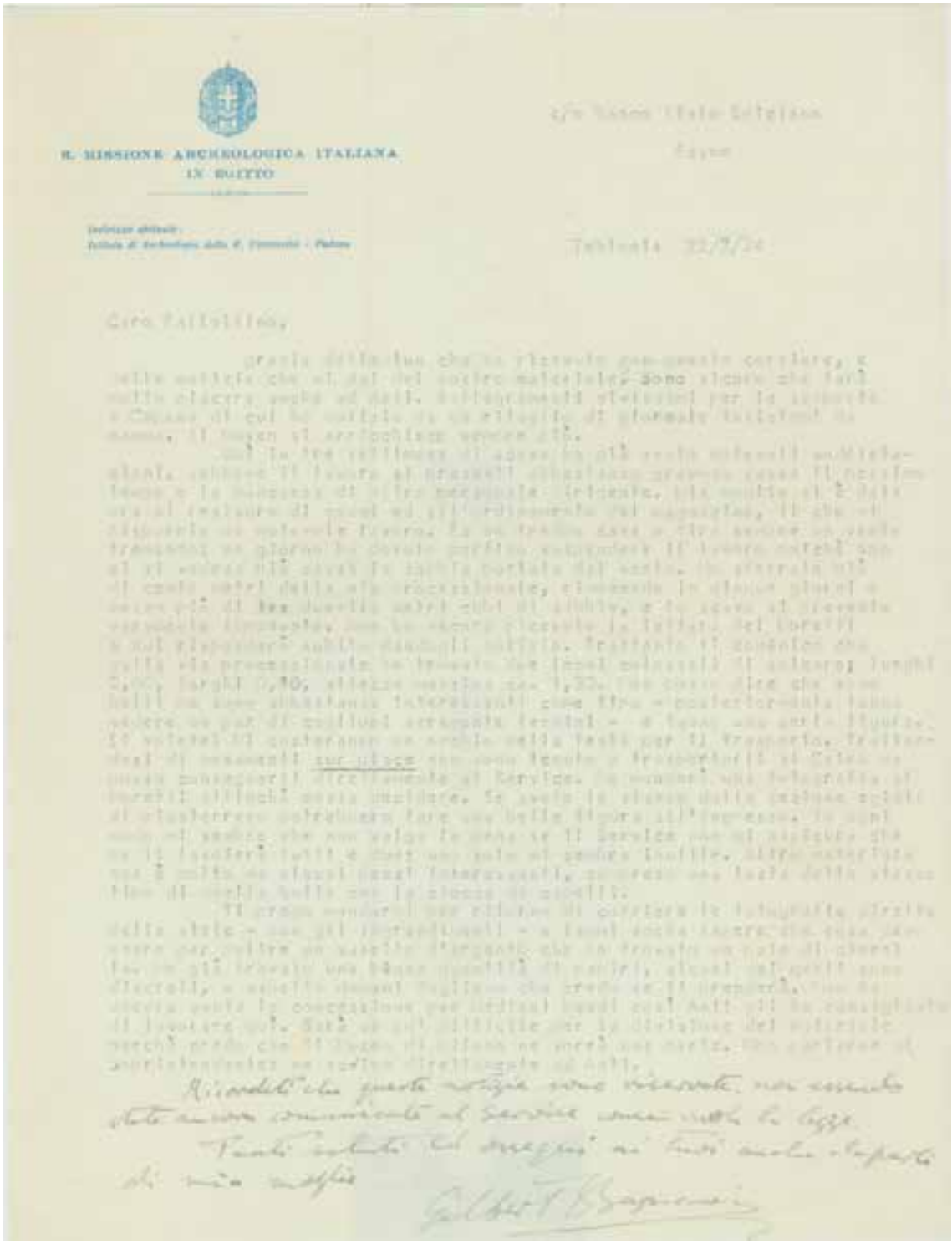
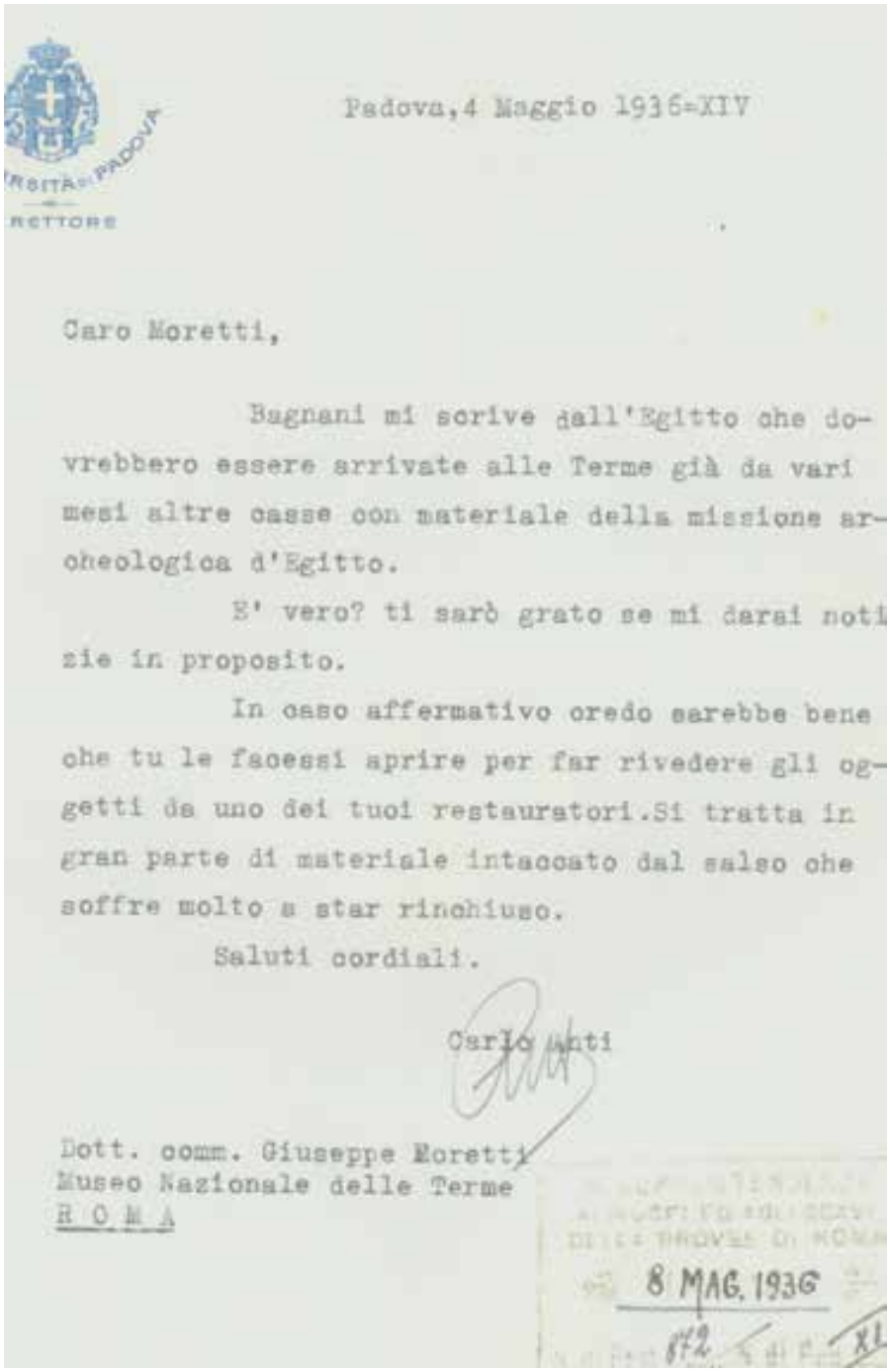

R. MISSIONE ARCHEOLOGICA ITALIANA
IN EGITTO

Fig. 8. Lettera di G. Bagnani a M. Pallottino del 22-02-1934 (Su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Nazionale Romano).



Padova, 4 Maggio 1936=XIV

RETTORE

Caro Moretti,

Bagnani mi scrive dall'Egitto che dovrebbero essere arrivate alle Terme già da vari mesi altre casse con materiale della missione archeologica d'Egitto.

E' vero? ti sarò grato se mi darai notizie in proposito.

In caso affermativo credo sarebbe bene che tu le facessi aprire per far rivedere gli oggetti da uno dei tuoi restauratori. Si tratta in gran parte di materiale intaccato dal salso che soffre molto a star rinchiuso.

Saluti cordiali.

Carlo Anti

Dott. comm. Giuseppe Moretti
Museo Nazionale delle Terme
R O M A

8 MAG. 1936

872 XI

Fig. 9. Lettera di C. Anti a G. Moretti del 4 maggio 1936-XIV (Su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Nazionale Romano).

Proceedings of the 28th International Congress of Papyrology, Barcelona 2016
Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona 2019) 68-80

Greek and Coptic manuscripts from First Millennium CE Egypt (still) in the British Museum*

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As a result of the 1972 British Library Act, the British Library (BL) ceased to be a part of the British Museum (BM) in 1973. Today, Greek and Coptic papyri and ostraka from Egypt, sometimes even from the same archaeological site, are often held by up to four departments, now across the two institutions. In general, Greek papyri and ostraka are in what is now Western Heritage Collections in the BL with the curator of Ancient and Medieval manuscripts, and the Coptic manuscripts are in Asian and African Collections, now with the Hebrew and Christian Orient manuscripts curator. Coptic ostraka are held in the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan (AES) at the BM. I write 'in general', because this is not always the case.[1] This contribution surveys Greek and Coptic manuscripts today in the BM and projects undertaken in recent years to study papyri and other manuscripts as part of the Roman and Late Antique world represented by BM collections, exhibitions and fieldwork.[2] It is intended as a point of departure for future work.

1. The British Museum collections

Beginning in the first half of the nineteenth century, Greek and Coptic literary and documentary texts on papyri and parchment entered the BM collections in large numbers.[3] At first, all manuscripts were deposited in the Department of Manuscripts, formed in 1757. Later, in 1839, Egyptian papyri written in the hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic scripts were transferred from the Department of Manuscripts to the Department of Antiquities, where Egyptologist Samuel Birch (1813-1885) could catalogue and study them.[4] Thus, Greek and Coptic papyrus, parchment and paper manuscripts remained in the Library collection along with other manuscripts written in the languages of the Classical, Byzantine and Medieval worlds (P.Lond. I-VII and P.Lond.Copt. I-II). While Greek papyri were given continuous 'Pap.' numbers (1-3136), Coptic papyri were numbered differently. About 65 Coptic items received 'Pap.' numbers, but, when the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts was created in 1892[5] and Coptic manuscripts were divided from Greek, the majority of Coptic papyrus, parchment and paper manuscripts received 'Or.' numbers for 'Oriental'.

* I thank Shenali Boange for assistance compiling and formatting the bibliography of this contribution, and Jennifer Cromwell, Adrienn Almásy, Neal Spencer, Bridget Leach, Helen Sharpe and Peter Tóth for their comments. Any errors in judgement or fact remain mine.

[1] Records for all British Museum objects and images, if they exist, can be found by searching British Museum, Collections Online, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx. Cataloguing and imaging objects in the Museum is an on-going process. All EA numbers refer to objects in the BM AES Department and all G&R numbers refer to objects in the BM Greece and Rome Department.

[2] Written material from Egyptian Nubia and Sudan is excluded here, as are Arabic papyri.

[3] For the dispersal of monastic libraries in general, see Hamilton (2006); for Coptic text collections in AES, see Bierbrier (1994) and (1999); O'Connell (2012).

[4] Wilson (2002) 104.

[5] Harris (1998) 397-398 and 408-409.

With large-scale excavations in Egypt at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, papyri and ostraka entered the Museum in large numbers. Texts were further divided by material. At first, all ostraka found in Egypt, regardless of language, were deposited in the antiquities department (from 1886 called Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities), and not the Library. Later, mainly in the 1930s, 1970s and 1980s, 3255 Greek ostraka were transferred in several batches from what is now AES to what is now Western Heritage Collections in the BL (O.Wilck.; O.Sijp. 38a-y). The total number of Greek ostraka in BL today is 4161.[6]

As I have discussed elsewhere, this physical division of inscribed and uninscribed objects in museum collections at once reflected and actively produced the emerging disciplines of Philology and Archaeology.[7] The subsequent divisions by language and material separated manuscripts copied or composed in the same historical milieus–that is, Roman and Late Antique Egypt. In some cases, Greek and Coptic manuscripts, which were once read by the very same ancient community and discovered at the same archaeological site, were separated into different departments and, now, different institutions and locations.

a. Ostraka in the British Museum

Today, AES holds about 4000 Coptic ostraka and vessel notations, of which six are on display in the galleries. The Greece and Rome Department (G&R) hold ten ostraka, mainly acquired post-1973; of these, seven are Greek, two Latin and one Coptic, and eight are today on display in the galleries.[8] The great majority of BM ostraka are from only a handful of findspots, when they are known at all (fig. 1). The two main sources of AES ostraka are the Theban region and Wadi Sarga. Both collections resulted from large-scale excavations. Together they account for about three-quarters of the ostraka collection.

Ostraka attributed to Deir el-Bahri on the Theban West Bank are well-known through a series of publications. More than 1500 Coptic ostraka from the Egypt Exploration Fund's excavation at the site of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, which was later reused as the Monastery of Phoibammon, came to the BM through subscription. Of the 1520 ostraka in the collection, c. 400 are published. In 1901, W. E. Crum edited 293 ostraka from the Egypt Exploration Fund excavation of the site accessioned by the BM in 1900 (O.Crum). Thirty-five more were published by H. R. Hall in O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I. More recently, in 2001, A. Biedenkopf-Ziehner edited and published fifty-four ostraka in her volume, O.Brit.Mus.Copt. II. W. Godlewski published thirty-three, mainly figural, ostraka in his monumental 1986 monograph reconstructing the Late Antique site (O.Deir el-Bahari). Given the great interest in the Late Antique phase of Western Thebes, there is arguably still more to do, especially in finding links between the dozen or so collections that hold Deir el-Bahri ostraka today.

Some 379 ostraka attributed to Karnak are suspicious. Ninety-nine are published in Hall's volume O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I. They were mostly purchased by E. A. W. Budge (Assistant Keeper 1883; Keeper 1894-1924), and, while they may have been purchased in Karnak, they are probably mostly or at least partly from the West Bank (cf. O.Bodl.). Crum made several joins between fragments said to be from Karnak and those excavated at the so-called

[6] The figure of 3.255 is based on BM object records recorded as transferred. Further work would illuminate the relationship between the collections. I thank Peter Tóth for providing the BL figure.
[7] O'Connell (2012) and (2014).
[8] Two of the G&R ostraka fall outside the chronological or geographic boundaries of this survey, but I include them above, nevertheless: a Late Period or early Ptolemaic ostrakon from Naukratis, G&R 1886,0401.5 in Villing *et alii* (2013-2015) BC.02; and a list of potters' names incised in Greek on a fragment of Italian Red Slip Ware from Arezzo, c. 15 BC G&R 1919,0718.24 in Johnston (1985).

Monastery of Epiphanius on the West Bank.[9] Further, eighty-three ostraka said to be from Karnak are limestone flakes of the type so well-known from Western Thebes.

Whereas material from archaeological sites like Deir el-Bahri was distributed to international collections, objects from Wadi Sarga–near modern Asyut–were divided only between the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the BM. The site was excavated by R. Campbell Thompson in 1913-1914. Some 385 texts on papyrus, parchment, ostraka, inscriptions and painted *dipinti* were published by H. I. Bell and W. E. Crum in 1922 (O.Sarga), but the excavation itself was never published in full due to the beginning of World War I. Today, AES holds more than 2800 objects from Wadi Sarga together with the excavator's documentation. As the subject of a BM Research Project, an international team of scholars are in the process of studying and publishing the site's archaeology, pottery and glass, textiles, and ostraka and vessel notations.[10] J. Cromwell is now preparing editions of the remaining unpublished c. 540 ostraca and c. 50 vessel notations, and is incorporating them into her study of the economic and social history of the monastery.[11] The excavator, Campbell Thompson, wrote the feature numbers where they were found on many of the objects. Thus, it is possible to re-associate many objects, including ostraka, related to the rooms, rubbish heaps or other features where they were excavated.[12] With field numbers written on diagnostic pottery, we can start to develop the chronology of the monastery, and it may be worth looking to see if ostraka found in the same rooms or parts of the site relate to the same people. As is typical, most of the ostraka are from trash heaps (fig. 2), but since the contents of ancient archives were often disposed of at the same time, relationships are possible.

Smaller groups of ostraka come from sites like Elephantine, Abydos, Oxyrhynchus and Latopolis. Ten of the thirty-seven ostraka given by the Rev. Greville John Chester and attributed to Elephantine have been published in O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I,[13] and all are now part of a European Research Council project to systematically document all Elephantine texts.[14] Ostraka acquired from the Egypt Exploration Society's excavations at Abydos will be surveyed as part of Adrienn Almásy's contribution to a monograph on the site.[15] Three ostraka from Oxyrhynchus were acquired as a result of Egypt Exploration Fund excavations at the site, a Greek school exercise acquired in 1906 (G&R 1906,1022.4) and two Coptic ostraka in 1910 (EA 49558 and EA 49559). While most of the sites represented by BM ostraka are also well-represented in other international collections, six ostraka, five Greek and one Latin, purchased by the G&R Department in 2008 are said to be from Latopolis/Esna and concern military matters (cf. Roman period Esna ostraka from the fish cemetery, Gascou in O.Worp 6-8). Based on content, A. Delattre has attributed a Coptic ostrakon purchased in 1999 by G&R to Middle Egypt (Delattre in O.Clackson 18).

[9] O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I, pl. XXXIV 7 + O.Mon.Epiph. 531; O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I, pl. XXIX 2 + O.Mon.Epiph. 576; O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I, pl. XXI 1 + O.Mon.Epiph. 16A; O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I, pl. XVIII 1 + O.Mon.Epiph. 16B.

[10] The British Museum. Wadi Sarga at the British Museum.
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/wadi_sarga.aspx.
For the archaeology of the site, see O'Connell (2014) and (2016); for pottery and glass, see Faiers (2014); for textiles Pritchard (2017), and for ostraka, see Cromwell (2013).

[11] The vessel notations will appear in J. Faiers' study of the pottery.

[12] O'Connell (2014) 130.

[13] See also O.Rain.Unterricht Kopt. 100; Wilfong (2003) no. 2; Delattre (2010) no. 1.

[14] Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung. Elephantine: Localizing 4000 Years of cultural history. Texts and scripts from Elephantine Island in Egypt
http://www.smb.museum/en/museums-institutions/aegyptisches-museum-und-papyrussammlung/collection-research/research.

[15] O'Connell (2019).

b. Papyri and Other Manuscripts in the British Museum

Texts on papyrus, parchment and leather from Egypt are mainly those acquired after 1973, although there are some notable exceptions. Today, there are some 283 registered Coptic items and eighty-five registered Greek items in AES.[16] I write 'registered items' because 1) a single object is sometimes divided into several glass frames, and 2) one or more registered objects may be contained within a single glass frame. Most of the pre-1973 acquisitions are literary or sub-literary in character, whereas those acquired after are largely documentary. In addition to texts on papyrus, parchment and leather, there are also a number of wooden writing-tablets bearing Greek and Coptic mainly acquired prior to 1973, which I will not deal with here.[17]

Among the objects acquired prior to 1973 are a book binding and parts of Coptic codices. The acquisition date and provenance of a c. eighth-century leather book-binding with applied panels of decorated and gilded leather originally depicting representations of enthroned Christ Emmanuel and the four evangelists, each labelled, is unknown (EA 67080).[18] The acquisition history and provenance of a c. ninth-century parchment bifolio containing extracts from the Life of Shenoute (EA 10820) and parchment book cover are also unknown (EA 10821).[19] Leaves of a Coptic papyrus codex containing miracles experienced in Shenoute's monastery and now identified as the beginning of a work of Shenoute, You Know, O Brethren, is now attributed to the Theban region on the basis of palaeography (EA 71005).[20] These codex leaves once belonged to John Lee (1783-1866), who travelled extensively forming a collection of books, manuscripts, gems. In 1837, Henry Tattam provided Lee with a transcription, translation and identification.[21] In 1935 they were donated to the BM by the solicitors Messrs Rutter and Marchant along with Bohairic manuscripts now in the British Library (P.Lond.Copt. II Introduction XLIX-LI), but they were only registered in AES in 1988.

In the albeit artificial category sub-literary are magical texts and a Greek-Coptic glossary on papyrus. The AES collection contains some of the earliest attempts at writing Egyptian in the Greek alphabet, or Old Coptic: a second century invocation and spell acquired from the Egypt Exploration Society (EA 10808), part of the demotic and Greek London-Leiden Magical Papyrus with glosses in Old Coptic acquired in 1857 from Anastasi (EA 10070), and the glossary.[22] Dated to the late third-early fourth century, the Greek-Coptic glossary to the Minor Prophets Hosea and Amos is one of the earliest examples of a Christian text in Coptic (EA 10825).[23] It was written on the verso of a reused papyrus roll bearing a Greek land register on the recto, which was recently dated to the mid- to late-second century CE and attributed to the Oxyrhynchite.[24]

[16] The G&R Department has three Greek papyrus fragments donated in 2011 by former curator Donald M. Bailey (1931-2014).
[17] E.g., EA 21615+EA 21617 and EA 29527, Cribiore (1996) nos. 107 and 202; G&R 1906, 1020.2, Cribiore (1993).
[18] Shore (1970-1971); see also the description on H. Granger Taylor, textile card dated 24 March 1992 (AES Ar. 566).
[19] Shore (1979); Lubomierski (2007) 57.
[20] Alcock / Behlmer (1996); Emmel (2004) 1:381, 2:683, 2:996; Boud'hors (2017) 190, fig. 3. I thank Anne Boud'hors for sharing her unpublished paper with me.
[21] Alcock / Behlmer (1996) 1-2.
[22] For Old Coptic and early Coptic manuscripts, see Choat (2010) table 35.1.
[23] Bell / Thompson (1925) 241. The fragments were purchased 'from a dealer' in 1924 along with miscellaneous fragments in different languages from different locations spanning 'from the Ptolemaic to Arab' period.
[24] Benaissa (2016).

An important corpus of magical texts on leather was among some 500 objects from Robert Hay's collection acquired in 1868 and now in AES. Received together with some of the Museum's earliest acquired Coptic ostraka (O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I passim), the leather manuscripts include the famous Hay cookbook (EA 10391)[25] and other Coptic magical texts on leather (EA 10376, 10414, 10122, 10434).[26] Crum suggested they were written in the same hand in the fifth or sixth century, and presumed them to be from the Theban region.[27] The surface is dark and the writing largely illegible without infrared imaging. Since they were infrared photographed in the 1930s (fig. 3), they have suffered breakage and slippage in their glass mounts; their treatment and re-housing is urgent. Today they are the focus of a BM Research Project. In the course of treatment, planned in 2014-2015 and started in 2017, each manuscript has been fully documented by multi-spectral imaging and RTI with scientific analysis aiming to identify the ink; animal species and whether or not all sheets are from the same animal; and the presence of tannins,[28] results of which would inform the cultural context of their production.

Aside from these literary and sub-literary texts, the remainder of the AES collection is largely documentary in character. Twenty-six Coptic papyri said to have been 'Found in some tombs in the hills behind Assiut' were acquired in 1887 from Reverend Gulian Lansing. Sarah Clackson, however, demonstrated that they are in fact from the Bawit region, publishing four in her 2000 volume (P.Mon.Apollo Introduction 11, nos. 28, 29, 46 and 47). Alain Delattre is currently studying the remaining objects in the collection with a view to publication.

After the 1973 split with the British Library, the great majority of acquisitions have comprised documentary papyri. Some Greek and Coptic papyri were acquired with batches of unrelated papyri in other languages and scripts, e.g., in 1977 (G. A. Michaelides),[29] 1989 (Egypt Exploration Society), or isolated groups of two, e.g., in 1988 (Christie's) and 1992 (Charles Ede Ltd). These acquisitions amount to only a handful of papyri, with the exception of the 1989 donation by the Egypt Exploration Society which included over 200 small, dissociated fragments in Coptic and Greek now mounted in five frames of glass (EA 10982.1-5).

After W. Vivian Davies became Keeper of AES (Assistant Keeper 1974; Keeper 1988-2011), he began to actively acquire Coptic papyri through purchase. In past decades, the department has been privileged to have a dedicated papyrus conservator, Bridget Leach until 2016 and now Helen Sharpe, who have painstakingly mounted these new acquisitions.[30] In 1996, Sarah Clackson advised on the purchase of 400 fragments purchased from Christie's. They constitute AES's largest acquisition of Coptic papyri. Clackson published fifteen texts from the Christie's purchase in her 2000 volume (P.Mon.Apollo Introduction 12, nos. 9, 13-15, 19-21, 34, 39, 44 and 62-66) and sixteen texts on twelve objects in her posthumous 2008 volume (P.Bawit Clackson 21 and 87, 23, 30, 31, 41 and 79, 44, 50 and 89, 56, 65-66, 67 and 83, 68). All or most of the 400 fragments may be from the Hermopolite region, and we are keen to investigate this group further since there is much of interest therein (fig. 4). Sarah Clackson's

[25] Ed. and trans. Kropp (1930-1931) M, 1.55-62 and 2.40-53; English trans. Frankfurter in Smith / Meyer (1994) no. 127.
[26] Ed. and trans. Crum (1934a) and (1934b); Frankfurter in Smith / Meyer (1994) nos. 78-81.
[27] Crum in Kropp (1930-1931) 1, xii; Crum (1934) 51.
[28] Cf. Leach (1995).
[29] For Michaelides Coptic papyri, see Clackson (1994).
[30] Donnithorne (1986). Paper Conservator Alan Donnithorne (1976-1994) initiated a papyrus conservation survey in the 1980s and was responsible for the creation of a dedicated post, later filled by Caroline Barry (now head of Pictorial Arts Conservation), Bridget Leach (1990-2016) and Helen Sharpe, who began 'succession training' in 2003 (Bridget Leach, pers. comm. 3 April 2017; Helen Sharpe pers. comm. 4 April 2016).

papers in the Griffith Institute Archive may provide the support for a posthumous volume on the model of P.Louvre Bawit.

In 1998, seventeen items, formerly in the collection of the prolific manuscripts collector Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), were acquired from Charles Ede Ltd (EA 74952-59; EA 75177, 75179-86). Two have previously been published by Crum in 1921. One is a fragment of a letter (EA75179, O.CrumST 178), and the other is part of the Bishop Pisentius' corpus from c. 600 CE Western Thebes (EA74952, O.CrumST 175).[31] Given that fifteen Phillipps papyri were published in his volume, it was reasonable to expect that they should have been sold as a group, perhaps according more or less with the seventeen BM fragments. Unfortunately, these are the only matches among them. Nevertheless, it may be possible to identify other published texts in due course. In 2013, half the group (EA 74952-59) were conserved and glazed.

In 2000, 389 items of previously unregistered and unglazed papyri of various dates in AES were registered. Among them were thirty-six items mounted in paper including a near complete codex leaf and, stored with them handwritten facsimiles (EA 79673-79708). Others were conserved and mounted as part of the registration project, including eighteen Coptic papyri with another eleven frames containing 146 fragments with between three and thirty-three fragments in each frame, and up to twelve frames of or including Greek fragments. Other tiny fragments were stored in boxes, some of which have mixed contents (including Greek, Coptic, or both: EA 76293, 76294, 76456, 76505-9, 76512 and 76514). Some have associated slips of paper that describe the contents, for example one reading 'Michaelides' and in pencil 'Griech. Papyri z. T. ungeglaettet' (Greek papyri in part unglazed) (EA 76294). There are otherwise few details of the acquisition or provenance of these objects, some of which are complete or near-complete or exhibiting book-hands, and thus may be particularly promising for future study (e.g. EA 75338-39 and EA 79673-708).

In 2008, 12 Greek papyri from Oxyrhynchus were acquired from Charles Ede Ltd.[32] They had been previously among two lots of papyri sold through Sotheby's on 20 June 2003 (lots 92 and 93) on behalf of Colgate Rochester Divinity School, which had received them as part of their Egypt Exploration Fund subscription about a hundred years earlier. Despite the protests of the EES and papyrologists, the sale went forward, with the presence of a gospel fragment and Christian letters putting the cost far beyond the means of academic institutions and public museums. Twelve (non-Christian) documents later resurfaced in London. In 2008, the BM was able to secure them for a publically accessible institution and to show all of the languages and scripts of pre-modern Egypt through AES collections. The documents are all first to third-century CE, and include a census return, a sale of a donkey, letters, an invitation to a feast of Serapis and a loan that has been crossed out showing that it has been paid (P.Oxy. XIII 1662, 1471, 1520, 1548, 1583; P.Oxy. XIV 1675, 1707, 1721, 1748, 1755, 1760, 1768).

2. Displaying British Museum Papyri

Such everyday documents are precisely the kinds of objects that British Museum audiences love. Since they were acquired, the twelve documents have become some of the most-seen and best-travelled papyri in the world. Six documents on rotation, displayed three at a time, were part of a UK touring exhibition called "Rome: Power and people", seen by over 197000 people at six UK venues (September 2015-September 2016). At the BM, the invitation to a

[31] I thank Adrienn Almásy for identifying O.CrumST 178.
[32] For announcement of purchase, see O'Connell (2009).

feast of Serapis was seen by over 66000 people in the "Egypt: Faith after the Pharaoh" exhibition (28 October 2015-7 February 2016). The crossed-out loan has been part of a BM free, temporary exhibition on credit entitled "Money matters" (June-October 2016) seen by c. 144000 people.

Past BM temporary exhibitions have experimented with displaying written material in general and papyri in particular.[33] Covering Egypt from 30 BCE to 1171 CE, "Egypt: Faith after the pharaohs" provided an opportunity explore how to incorporate post-pharaonic texts effectively into Museum displays.[34] Out of 200 objects, forty were texts with the British Library generously lending twelve manuscripts, including the iconic Codex Sinaiticus, a fragment of the Cotton Genesis depicting Abraham, the First Gaster Bible and a Karaite Book of Exodus in Judeo-Arabic. In a series of site-specific or thematic displays we were able to contextualise manuscripts and, in particular, papyri. The BL's famous letter of the emperor Claudius to the Alexandrians (P.Lond. VI 1912) was shown in the opening "Alexandria" section, and the Greek will of Abraham, Bishop of Hermonthis and founder of the Monastery of Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahri (P.Lond. I 77), was shown with other material culture from his monastery, now held in BM. A fragment of the Gospel of Thomas (P.Oxy. IV 654) illustrated the formation of Christian canon, and one of the Coptic magical spells belonging to Severus, son of (Jo?)anna (BL Or. 6794 [4], 6796),[35] demonstrated continuity of earlier magical practice among Christians. Such temporary exhibitions thus provide the opportunity to contextualise manuscript collections, to experiment with ways to engage museum visitors and to explore ways to temporarily or digitally reunite collections now shared by the British Museum and British Library.

3. Sharing Collections

The exhibition was also the opportunity to revisit a corpus of mainly British Library manuscripts associated with the monastic site at Hagr Edfu, where a BM expedition has undertaken work since 2001.[36] The corpus consists of up to twenty-two Coptic tenth and eleventh-century parchment and paper manuscripts, including the earliest dated paper codex in Coptic, a homily by Theodosius of Alexandria on St Michael copied in Esna in 987 CE (P.Lond.Copt. II 120), as well as one Greek (Add. MS 37534) and one Old Nubian manuscript (BL Or. 6805).[37] Based upon their collection history, the statements of their collectors and, most importantly, the content of their colophons, their findspot has been identified as Hagr Edfu.[38] Where a recipient is given in the colophons, it is to the monastery of St Mercurius in the Mountain of Edfu, to the *topos* of Aaron or the *topos* of the Archangel Michael that the manuscripts were given. Thus, we should have here Medieval toponyms for the archaeological site.

In 2011, the BM and BL were jointly awarded a grant to image all of the manuscripts to give copies to the modern monastery's inhabitants.[39] "Egypt: Faith after the pharaohs" provided

[33] Parkinson (1999), Taylor (2010).
[34] O'Connell (2016); Fluck / Helmecke / O'Connell (2015).
[35] Ed. and trans. Kropp (1930-1931) J, 1.47-49; 2.57-63; English trans. Frankfurter in Smith / Meyer (1994) no. 132.
[36] P.Lond.Copt. II Introduction xxvi-xxx; The British Museum. Hagr Edfu. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/hagr_edfu,_egypt.aspx
[37] For earliest paper Coptic codex, see Parpulov (2012) 314-315.
[38] Gabra (1985); Effland (1994) 28-31.
[39] Davies / O'Connell (2015).

the opportunity to make two of the manuscripts shown in the exhibition available via the British Library's Digital Manuscripts website, with the others to follow in due course.[40]

4. Conclusion

The British Museum is working on a number of fronts to recontextualise texts in their archaeological and historical milieus. The first step is adequate documentation, assessing what the Museum has and why. Since 2007, over 1000 records of BM papyri and ostraka have been improved with their Checklist abbreviation, bibliography, findspot and other data, when it exists.[41] In 2008, we became members of the Advanced Papyrological Information System.[42] In 2013, Jennifer Cromwell photographed 1450 Coptic ostraka from Wadi Sarga as a part of a three-month fellowship in AES. In 2017 Adrienn Almásy began the systematic imaging and cataloguing Coptic papyri–that is the most recently acquired and least well–known part of the collection. Thus, we are slowly and steadily documenting the collection, and, since the Museum's Collections Online database is freely available to scholars, students and indeed anyone with an internet connection, we are simultaneously sharing it.

Accurate documentation and knowledge of the most up-to-date literature are essential for the correct identification and, ultimately, the presentation of all objects in a museum. Ancient objects on display in permanent galleries or temporary exhibitions have the demonstrated ability to provide «heart-stopping moments in which the gulf between the past and us temporarily disappears».[43] The few ancient texts that, pending conservation assessments, we can display, are capable of communicating directly with our audiences, if mediated through panel and label text as reviews for "Egypt: Faith after the pharaohs" clearly showed.

> «As you walk from display to display, what is most enjoyable are the quiet moments spent pondering the significance of everyday objects, or when you spot something oddly familiar, but with an alien twist. A second or third century AD invitation to dine at a feast, sent by a man named Apion to a guest, seems relatable enough, until you realize that he's renting out the temple of the Graeco-Egyptian God Serapis for the event».[44]

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[40] The British Library. Digitized Manuscripts. http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Default.aspx
http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Or_6801&index=0;
http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Or_7029&index=0

[41] Updating object records has largely been achieved with the assistance of supervised interns, to whom I am indebted.

[42] Papyri.Info. APIS. http://papyri.info/browse/apis/.

[43] Sooke (2015).

[44] Shaw (2015).

British Library, Digitized Manuscripts, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Default.aspx
British Museum, Collections Online, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx.
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Plates

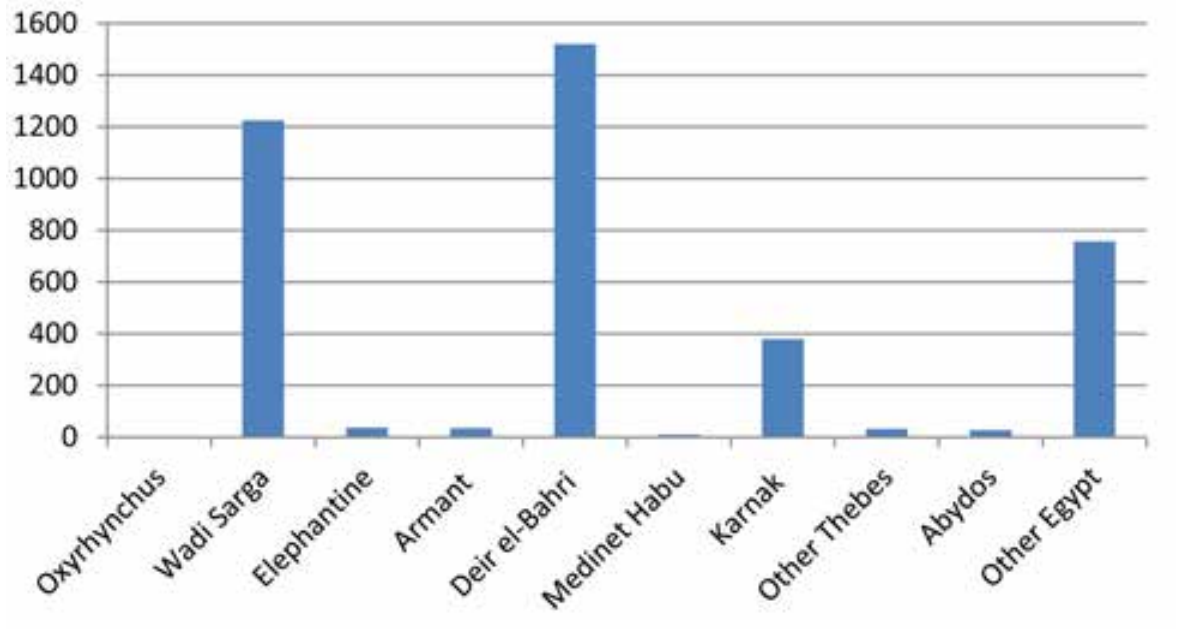


Fig. 1 Archaeological sites represented by Coptic ostraka in AES (exported from BM database).

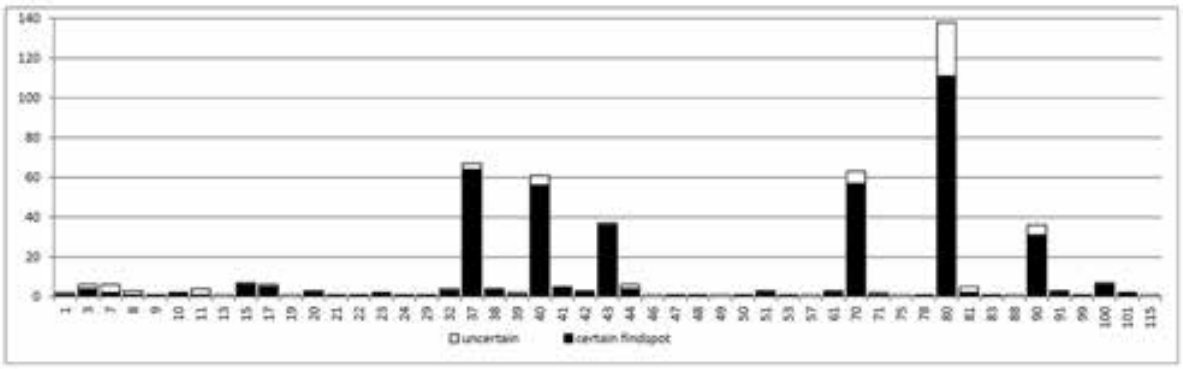


Fig. 2 Findspots (where recorded) for Wadi Sarga ostraca now in AES (exported from BM database).



Fig. 3a-b Infrared image of the recto and verso of the so-called Hay cookbook (EA 10391), c. 1934.
© British Museum.



Fig. 4a-b Example of glazed disassociated fragments purchased in 1996 (EA 75437–38 'recto') and a detail of unpublished papyrus (EA 75437 'verso') showing a sketch of a human figure. © British Museum. © Image: A. Almásy.

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Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona 2019) 81-89

Lettere di B.P. Grenfell e A.S. Hunt a J.G. Smyly

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Negli archivi della Manuscripts and Archives Research Library del Trinity College di Dublino è custodita una ricca corrispondenza[1] di Josiah Gilbart Smyly,[2] abilissimo decifratore di testi, che si rivelò prezioso collaboratore di B.P. Grenfell[3] e A.S. Hunt[4] nell'edizione dei papiri di Tebtynis[5] e che diede alla papirologia le fondamentali edizioni dei P.Petrie[6] e dei P.Gurob,[7] oltre che una serie di acuti articoli su alcuni dei problemi più discussi dell'egittologia e della papirologia della sua epoca.[8] Si tratta di una serie di lettere, cartoline postali e illustrate e foto, inviategli da studiosi di tutta Europa: papirologi, ma anche egittologi, paleografi, filologi classici, orientalisti e perfino matematici, alcuni semplicemente interessati alla sua poliedrica attività scientifica, altri desiderosi di ottenere commenti, critiche e osservazioni relativi a loro recenti lavori, altri ancora prodighi di suggerimenti sui lavori da lui di volta in volta pubblicati. Non mancano polemiche, talora abbastanza accese, sugli argomenti più spinosi affrontati dal papirologo dublinese, quale quella sulle relazioni tra il calendario egiziano e quello macedone; esse comunque si concentrano nei primi anni del Novecento, quando la sua autorità andava affermandosi soprattutto tra i papirologi, ma non era ancora universalmente nota anche presso gli studiosi di discipline "affini". Le lettere ricevute da Smyly in età matura sono invece, essenzialmente, richieste di lettura preliminare di lavori in corso di pubblicazione, di consulenza su letture dubbie, di giudizi su interpretazioni controverse da parte di colleghi giovani, o anche coetanei, che si avvalgono dell'acribia e dell'esperienza accumulate negli anni da un instancabile e puntiglioso lettore di papiri. Nella presente comunicazione mi propongo di rendere noti i primi risultati di uno studio da me condotto su tali materiali, finalizzato ad un'edizione commentata dell'intera corrispondenza dello studioso. Finora ho pubblicato le lettere inviategli da C.C. Edgar[9] (6),[10] da F.G. Kenyon[11] (12 + 1 di risposta),[12] da P. Jouguet,[13] dallo storico della matematica tedesco M. Cantor,[14] dall'orientalista e bibliotecario inglese A.E. Cowley[15] e da W. Crönert.[16]

[1] I manoscritti sono catalogati da IE TCD 4323 nr. 1 a IE TCD 4323 nr. 116. Ringrazio la Biblioteca per avermi concesso l'autorizzazione alla pubblicazione.
[2] 1867-1948. Su Smyly cf. Pellé (2015); McGing (2004).
[3] 1869-1926. Su B.P. Grenfell cf. Lehnus (2009) 115-120.
[4] 1871-1934. Su A.S. Hunt cf. Lehnus (2009) 120-142.
[5] Grenfell / Hunt / Smyly (1902); Hunt / Smyly (1933).
[6] Mahaffy / Smyly (1905).
[7] Smyly (1921).
[8] Smyly (1900); Smyly (1905); Smyly (1906).
[9] Su C.C. Edgar (1870-1938) cf. almeno Pellé (2009a).
[10] Pellé (2015a).
[11] Su F.G. Kenyon (1863-1952) cf. almeno Pellé (2009).
[12] Pellé (2016).
[13] Pellé (2016). Su P. Jouguet (1869-1949) cf. Husson (2009).
[14] Pellé (2016). Su M.B. Cantor (1829-1920) cf. Dörflinger (2016).
[15] Su Cowley (1861-1931) cf. Tomlinson (2004). Per le lettere a Smyly cf. Pellé (2016).
[16] Pellé (2015b). Su W. Crönert (1874-1942) cf. Beck (1991) e Gigante (1987).

Presento qui il gruppo più vasto di lettere e cartoline indirizzate a Smyly conservate presso il Trinity College di Dublino, dove egli svolse la sua attività scientifica e l'intera carriera accademica.

Si tratta di un nucleo costituito da 48 lettere e 26 cartoline inviate a Smyly da Grenfell e da Hunt. Il primo inviò 39 lettere e 21 cartoline postali, il secondo 9 lettere e 5 cartoline postali. Del materiale spedito da Grenfell non sempre si può determinare univocamente la data: lo studioso, infatti, adopera l'indicazione dell'intera data solo nelle 4 lettere inviate dall'Egitto e nella lettera del 5/5/1901.[17] Negli altri casi omette l'indicazione dell'anno, limitandosi a specificare giorno e mese, con le due uniche eccezioni delle missive del 5 maggio 1901 e del 4 dicembre 1902 (tuttavia, quest'ultima lettera, pur essendo stata collocata dalla Biblioteca del Trinity College di Dublino tra i documenti di Smyly, non sembra essere indirizzata a lui. Si tratta, infatti, di una lettera formale che non reca il nome del destinatario e nella quale Grenfell chiede che gli venga comunicato il numero d'inventario assegnato dalla biblioteca ai P.Oxy. inviati a Dublino 2 anni prima dall'Egypt Exploration Fund e la corrispondenza tra tale numero e quello assegnato a ciascun papiro dal Fund, apposto in inchiostro rosso su ognuno di essi).[18]

> «Queen's College | Oxford | Dec. 4. 1902[19]
>
> Dear Sir,
>
> Two years ago the | Dublin Univ(ersity) Library received | from the Egypt Exploration | Fund a number of Oxyrhynchus | papyri.[20] As we wish to print | a list of all these papyri with | their present numbers, could you ‖ kindly supply me with a list | of the numbers assigned to them | corresponding to the numbers in | our publication (which are | marked in red ink on each | papyrus). | I am leaving Oxford for Egypt | on Dec. 7 but the information | is not inventoried until April | 1st 1903. | Yours truly | B.P. Grenfell».

Per le cartoline la data precisa si desume dal timbro postale, mentre non sempre è possibile stabilirla per il resto delle lettere. Nella maggior parte dei casi essa è suggerita dal contenuto, in particolare dal riferimento a pubblicazioni in corso di stampa o ad eventi raccontati in cartoline o lettere datate. Il materiale spedito da Hunt, invece, reca sempre la data in tutti i suoi elementi, indipendentemente dal luogo di partenza. Questo consente di definire con maggiore precisione l'intervallo di tempo in cui i due studiosi intrattennero contatti epistolari. Alla cospicua quantità di materiali di Dublino non corrisponde un'analoga abbondanza di documenti custoditi ad Oxford. Presso le Papyrology Rooms della Sackler Library, infatti, sono conservate soltanto cinque lettere ed una cartolina postale che Smyly inviò a Grenfell ed Hunt: 4 lettere e la cartolina sono destinate a Grenfell, la restante lettera è indirizzata ad Hunt. Due delle lettere a Grenfell risalgono al maggio del 1902 (3 e 29 maggio rispettivamente), 1 al 1903 (5 novembre), una è senza data e la cartolina è datata 30 ottobre 1905. La lettera per Hunt è dell'1 agosto 1905.[21]

Con ogni probabilità i materiali conservati al Trinity College non esauriscono l'intera corrispondenza di Smyly, che deve aver conservato altrove, non inverosimilmente presso la sua abitazione privata, lettere e cartoline ricevute.

[17] IE TCD 4323 nr. 46.
[18] Smyly diresse la Library dal 1914 al 1948.
[19] IE TCD 4323 nr. 60.
[20] Si tratta dei 19 papiri menzionati nella List of Oxyrhynchus and Fayûm Papyri Distributed (parte relativa ai P.Oxy.) in Grenfell / Hunt (1904) 267-268. Grenfell li menziona esplicitamente nella cartolina del 7/11/1900 per cui vd. infra.
[21] Per i materiali custoditi ad Oxford cf. Pellé (2018).

Secondo la documentazione dublinese il primo contatto epistolare tra Grenfell e Smyly risalirebbe al 12 maggio 1900 (nr. 1) , quando, in una cartolina postale, Grenfell comunicava a Smyly il suo parere su un tentativo di integrazione di P. Meyer[22] di G.P.[23] II 42,[24] palesemente errata, come confermato anche da un controllo autoptico da lui richiesto a Kenyon, che poteva rapidamente avervi accesso, essendo il frammento conservato presso il British Museum. Grenfell esprime un giudizio assolutamente negativo sul volume in cui il papiro era pubblicato[25] e invita Smyly, che pure sa essere dello stesso parere, a mettersi in contatto con U. Wilcken[26] al fine di recensire l'opera in Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete: Wilcken lo ha chiesto a lui, Grenfell, il quale, per mancanza di tempo, ha suggerito che sia Smyly a farlo. La richiesta non deve aver avuto séguito: la recensione dettagliata del volume fu affidata a W. Schubart[27] ed apparve nel secondo volume di Archiv für Papyrusforschung.[28] Il tono di amichevole complicità della cartolina fa presupporre una consuetudine anche epistolare tra Grenfell e Smyly, oltre alla stima reciproca che emerge chiaramente in tutti i documenti dublinesi. Grenfell affronta nella corrispondenza con l'amico e stimato collega argomenti di ogni tipo; non mancano, anche nei brevi testi delle cartoline, riferimenti allo stadio di lavorazione dei volumi a cura comune o pubblicati da Grenfell insieme con Hunt ed ai problemi finanziari, che, già all'inizio del XX secolo, rendevano difficile la realizzazione di una Missione Archeologica. Nella cartolina del 7/11/1900 (nr. 2)[29] Grenfell informa Smyly sulla data della propria partenza per la Campagna 1900-1901[30] e sulla speranza di raggiungere un accordo con l'Università di Berkeley. Il riferimento agli Americani e agli accordi sui volumi in cui pubblicare i rinvenimenti delle Campagne di Scavo, qui soltanto accennato, ritorna anche in una lettera che Grenfell invia a Smyly da Oxford il 5/5/1901.[31] In essa egli informa l'amico e collaboratore delle trattative intercorse in Egitto con George A. Reisner,[32] Direttore della Missione Archeologica della University of California dal 1899 al 1905, nonché uomo di fiducia della benefattrice Phoebe Apperson Hearst,[33] rettrice dell'Università di Berkeley e finanziatrice dello scavo nel 1900, al quale avevano proposto di pubblicare per il 1901 e 1902, in luogo di due volumi di P.Oxy., una scelta di documenti rinvenuti nel corso della Campagna del 1900 a Tebtynis, Campagna finanziata appunto dalla University of California di Berkeley. Queste le parole di Grenfell:

> «… We went and saw the American man in | Egypt (and)[34] fixed matters up so far as | we could, but it is necessary for the proposals to be ratified by the | millionairess, from whom we expect a | cable shortly. If she is favourable | we hope to force the Fund to accept | the crocodiles[35] as this year's volume,[36] | but the negotiations are rather ticklish | and Mahaffy's

[22] Su P.M. Meyer (1866-1935) cf. Klopsch (2009) 145.
[23] Grenfell / Hunt (1897).
[24] Meyer (1900) 39 n. 136: [ιπ]π[α]ρ[χιας] per integrare la forma π[.]ρ[. . . di Grenfell / Hunt (1897) 69.
[25] Meyer (1900).
[26] Wilcken (1862-1944). Su Wilcken cf. Poetke (2009).
[27] Schubart (1873-1960). Cf. Poethke (2009a).
[28] Schubart (1903). Wilcken (1900) si limita a citare l'opera, dando notizia di alcuni interventi critici da parte di diversi studiosi: Bauer (1900); Cagnat (1900); Strack (1900); Beloch (1901).
[29] IE TCD 4323 nr. 47.
[30] Su tale Campagna cf. Grenfell / Hunt (1901a).
[31] IE TCD 4323 nr. 46, p. 3.
[32] Indianapolis, 5/11/1867–Giza, 6/6/1942. Sul celeberrimo egittologo che, tra l'altro, scavò a Giza, cf. almeno l'Encyclopaedia Britannica online: http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9063116; Bierbier (2012) 459-460.
[33] Sulla figura di Phoebe Apperson Hearst (1842–1919) cf. almeno Bierbrier (2012) 249.
[34] La congiunzione è resa con una forma molto corsiva del segno "+".
[35] Vale a dire i papiri ricavati dal cartonnage delle mummie di coccodrillo rinvenute a Tebtynis nella precedente stagione, che avrebbero costituito la prima parte del primo volume dei P.Tebt. Cf. Grenfell / Hunt / Smyly (1902).

> ill-timed review of us | in the Athenaeum[37] hasn't helped | matters. However I hope things | will go straight and that we shall ‖ be able to start work on the crocodiles | early in June. It will take us till then | anyhow to finish the Amherst Li[38] papyri.[39] | ἐὰν δὲ – ὃ μὴ γένοιτο – the arrangement | between the Fund (and)[40] Americans for a joint | volume doesn't come off, we shall have | to do an Oxyrhynchus vol(ume) this year | (and)[41] postpone the Tebtunis papyri. I will | write and let you know, as soon as the | question is decided –which will be | not[42] later than the beginning of June».

L'accordo viene raggiunto, come è noto, così sia Grenfell e Hunt sia Smyly possono dedicarsi alla scelta e alla preparazione delle edizioni che avrebbero consentito l'uscita della prima parte del primo volume dei P.Tebt.

Tra gli argomenti di tenore tecnico, frequenti nelle cartoline postali, è la richiesta di delucidazioni da parte di Grenfell su alcune letture nei P.Petrie,[43] cui Smyly lavorava insieme con il suo maestro J.P. Mahaffy,[44] informazioni di carattere topografico dei luoghi citati:[45] propone proprie integrazioni di passi lacunosi dei papiri in corso di studio,[46] scioglie alcuni dubbi testuali relativi a papiri alla cui decifrazione l'uno o l'altro stanno lavorando.[47] Spesso chiede conferma a Smyly della ricezione di bozze o materiali di studio da lui inviatigli,[48] talora aggiungendo qualche veloce ragguaglio sui materiali di scavo.[49] Nella cartolina del 26/4/1902 (nr. 3),[50] ad es., riferisce entusiasta che tutti i papiri recuperati nella Campagna di Scavo appena terminata[51] sono in viaggio verso Oxford. Doveva trattarsi di una grande quantità di materiali di varia datazione e di varia provenienza: nel marzo 1902 nella necropoli ad ovest di Khamsîn Grenfell e Hunt avevano recuperato documenti greci e demotici della metà del I sec. a.C.[52] A tale nucleo va aggiunto quello, cospicuo, costituito dai papiri da cartonnage da El-Hibeh –sia quelli acquistati sia quelli recuperati nella necropoli e risalenti al III sec. a.C., di cui Grenfell e Hunt parlano nel Report del 1901-1902.[53] Alcuni cartonnages vengono inviati anche a Smyly a Dublino, come dimostra, oltre ai vari riferimenti nelle

[36] Il volume annuale del Graeco-Roman Branch del Fund che tutti gli abbonati aspettavano. Cf. Grenfell / Hunt / Smyly (1902) 18.
[37] Si tratta della recensione a Fayûm Towns and their Papyri. Cf. Mahaffy (1901).
[38] La sequenza di lettere è cancellata con un tratto di penna.
[39] Grenfell / Hunt (1901).
[40] La congiunzione è resa con una forma molto corsiva del segno "+".
[41] La congiunzione è resa con una forma molto corsiva del segno "+".
[42] "not" è soprascritto ad una lettera iniziale: "m"?
[43] IE TCD 4323 nr. 99.
[44] Mahaffy (1839-1919). Un recente profilo dello studioso è in Valerio (2013).
[45] IE TCD 4323 nr. 100.
[46] IE TCD 4323 nr. 90.
[47] IE TCD 4323 nr. 47.
[48] Ad es. in IE TCD 4323 nr. 45, pp. 1-2.
[49] IE TCD 4323 nr. 45, p. 2.
[50] IE TCD 4323 nr. 45, pp. 1-2.
[51] La Campagna 1902-1902 era cominciata a gennaio 1901 nel Fayyum. In un primo momento Grenfell e Hunt avevano ripreso a scavare un cimitero nel quale avevano già lavorato in precedenza (tra Manashinshâneh e la stazione di Sêla), a metà febbraio si erano spostati a Talit, per lavorare in un cimitero di epoca tardo tolemaica nei dintorni. Avevano quindi proseguito verso Khamsin, per completare lo scavo di un cimitero la cui parte tolemaica avevano scavato nel 1900. All'inizio di marzo avevano raggiunto Illahûn, avendo saputo che alcune tombe di epoca tolemaica erano state aperte da scavatori clandestini locali, e qui avevano continuato il loro lavoro. Infine avevano acquistato alcuni papiri da cartonnage e, una volta identificata la loro provenienza (El-Hibeh), avevano ottenuto il permesso di scavare in tale villaggio, che avevano raggiunto subito dopo per terminarvi la Campagna. Sui rinvenimenti cf. Grenfell / Hunt (1902).
[52] Cf. Grenfell / Hunt (1902) 3-4.
[53] Grenfell / Hunt (1902) 4-5.

lettere, una cartolina che Grenfell gli invia il 12/11/1903[54] (nr. 4), ma fanno parte di quelli rinvenuti a Tebtynis e provengono, dunque, da mummie di coccodrillo. Lo smontaggio dei cartonnages avviene, però, di solito ad Oxford, dove Smyly trascorre un periodo di intenso lavoro in vista della pubblicazione del primo volume dei P.Tebt.[55] Nelle cartoline è documentata anche la partecipazione di Smyly alla Campagna di Scavo del 1905-1906,[56] l'ultima prima del manifestarsi della malattia di Grenfell.[57] Il 19/11/1905 (nr. 5),[58] infatti, Grenfell, dopo aver informato Smyly sullo stato di lavorazione del primo volume dei P.Hibeh[59] gli chiede se abbia già provveduto all'acquisto del biglietto, comunicandogli la data prevista per la partenza.

Il contenuto delle lettere risulta, naturalmente, di più ampio respiro e verte essenzialmente su tre argomenti: testi papiracei –con relative correzioni, revisioni, datazioni, commenti;[60] le campagne di scavo (soprattutto nelle lettere dall'Egitto); discussioni su pubblicazioni recenti o su argomenti di comune interesse scientifico. Sullo sfondo è sempre l'Egitto, sede dell'attività di scavo e fonte di speranze e preoccupazioni al contempo. Non mancano in ogni comunicazione i riferimenti alle Campagne di Scavo: quella in corso (nelle lettere dall'Egitto, appunto), quella futura in fase di organizzazione, quella passata con i rinvenimenti che essa ha fruttato. Il registro narrativo non è molto diverso da quello dei Reports di volta in volta pubblicati da Grenfell e Hunt per l'EEF e ricorda da vicino quello del loro noto articolo "A large find of Ptolemaic papyri", pubblicato nel primo numero di Archiv,[61] ma non di rado il racconto viene arricchito da riferimenti confidenziali, non sempre benevoli, a colleghi e rivali.

Il rapporto epistolare di Smyly con Hunt sembra, in generale, meno intimo rispetto a quello stabilito con Grenfell, probabilmente per ragioni caratteriali. Hunt scrive a Smyly per la prima volta, secondo la documentazione di Dublino, il 10 novembre 1901, ma anche in questo caso, come per Grenfell, si tratta di una cartolina troppo confidenziale perché si possa pensare ad un primo contatto tra i due. Lo studioso inglese chiede a Smyly se sia a conoscenza di testimonianze su Ptolemais Euergetis, dal momento che non ha potuto trovarne notizia nei P.Petrie e si lamenta della mancanza di tempo prima della partenza per l'Egitto da dedicare allo studio dei materiali e alla revisione delle bozze.[62]

Il tenore delle lettere e delle cartoline di Hunt risulta complessivamente più 'tecnico' rispetto a quello di Grenfell. Lo studioso chiede lumi su questioni di carattere 'matematico' incontrate nello studio di alcuni frammenti greci,[63] oppure informa il suo collega dublinese su alcuni dubbi relativi a papiri da costui pubblicati[64] o, ancora, chiede spiegazioni su punti poco chiari in articoli o edizioni recenti di Smyly oppure fornisce in modo rapido informazioni di servizio. Un esempio significativo di quest'ultimo caso è nella cartolina del 17/7/1906 (nr. 6),[65] quando Hunt informa Smyly dell'arrivo di P. Jouguet a Oxford, facendogli sapere che le date del soggiorno dello studioso francese non coincideranno con quelle della prevista visita oxoniense di Smyly. Chiude chiedendo a quest'ultimo la data precisa del suo arrivo ad

[54] IE TCD 4323 nr. 49.
[55] Grenfell / Hunt / Smyly (1902) 18.
[56] Sulla Campagna, che sarebbe stata particolarmente ricca, cf. Grenfell / Hunt (1906).
[57] Cf. Lehnus (2009) 119.
[58] IE TCD 4323 nr. 52.
[59] Grenfell / Hunt (1906).
[60] IE TCD 4323 nr. 90, p. 3, con suggerimenti relativi ai P.Petrie.
[61] Grenfell / Hunt (1900).
[62] IE TCD 4323 nr. 115.
[63] IE TCD 4323 nr. 109, p. 3.
[64] IE TCD 4323 nr. 105.
[65] IE TCD 4323 nr. 116.

Oxford non senza un breve riferimento alla temporanea assenza di Grenfell, ancora in Svizzera per un soggiorno di cura.

Tra le lettere inviate da Hunt a Smyly sicuramente vanno ricordate quella del 26 maggio 1926,[66] in cui Hunt comunica a Smyly la scomparsa dell'amico fraterno e la lettera successiva, quella del 19 giugno 1926 (nr. 7),[67] nella quale dà spazio ai futuri progetti di studio, da condurre insieme con Smyly seppur senza il comune carissimo amico.

Quella del 19 giugno è la lettera più recente conservata al Trinitiy College e da un lato racconta in modo sintetico ma chiarissimo l'apporto di Smyly allo studio dei materiali recuperati in Egitto da Grenfell e Hunt (apporto, che, com'è noto, Smyly continuerà ad assicurare al collega Hunt),[68] dall'altro consente di comprendere pienamente la profondità del rapporto di stima e di profonda amicizia che tenne legati tra loro tre grandi esponenti della papirologia.

Nr. 1

«Oxford 12/5/1900[69]

G.P. II[70] xlii[71] being at the B.M. I asked Kenyon | who says P. Meyer's reading [ιππα]ρχιας[72] won't do. | I agree with you it is a bad book. The Roman part | is already largely upset by O.P. II[73] vide P.M's | appendix.[74] Wilcken wanted me to review it for | the Archiv. But I of course have no time (and)[75] have | suggested to him now that you should do it for | him. So I hope you will hear from him on the subject. | Wilcken agrees with you the Ptol(emaic) part is all wrong. | Yours | B.P. Grenfell».

Nr. 2

«Queen's Coll. April 26 | I am just back. Can you let me have | your remarks on the proofs[76] soon? All our | papyri (21 packing cases!)[77] are in their way | to Oxford. The Hibeh things[78] ought to be | very nice. I hope P.P. III[79] is nearing the end. | Yours B.P.G.».

Nr. 3

«… We leave on the 20th. You should get the Fayoum | vol(ume)[80] in the week after next. We have done a good | deal of the 2nd Amherst vol(ume).[81] The Treasurer of the EEF[82] | is a little

[66] IE TCD 4323 nr. 107, in fase di studio da parte di chi scrive.
[67] IE TCD 4323 nr. 108.
[68] Cf. Edgar / Hunt / Smyly (1938).
[69] IE TCD 4323 nr. 101.
[70] Grenfell / Hunt (1897).
[71] Si tratta di una lettera dell'ufficiale Pyrrus, incaricato della distribuzione della terra ai cateci, indirizzata ad un ufficiale subordinato del medesimo dipartimento, con ordini relativi all'assegnazione di alcune terre a determinati individui. Il documento è datato all'86 d.C.
[72] Cf. *supra*, n. 23.
[73] Il riferimento è a Grenfell / Hunt (1899).
[74] Meyer (1900) 55-57.
[75] La congiunzione è resa con una forma molto corsiva del segno "+".
[76] Si tratta delle bozze del primo volume dei papiri di Tebtynis: Grenfell / Hunt /Smyly (1902), uscito nel giugno 1902.
[77] La totalità dei papiri rinvenuti nella Campagna di Scavo 1901-1902. Cf. in proposito Grenfell / Hunt (1902) 4 e 5.
[78] Tutti i papiri da El-Hibeh (quelli acquistati e quelli rinvenuti nel cimitero, risalenti al III sec. a.C.). Essi saranno pubblicati nel 1906; cf. Grenfell / Hunt (1906a) v.
[79] Mahaffy / Smyly (1905).
[80] Grenfell / Hunt / Hogarth (1900), pubblicato da poco.
[81] Grenfell / Hunt (1901).
[82] Herbert Appold Grueber (1846-1927), Tesoriere dal 1883 al 1912. Su Grueber cf. Brooke (1927).

fractious about the arrangement with the | Americans, concerning the crocodile volume,[83] but I hope | to arrange things all right. A consignment of 19 Oxyrhynchus | papyri[84] will reach Trin(ity) Coll(ege) in a few days. | Yours B.P.G.».

Nr. 4

«A box containing Tebtunis mummy | cartonnage has been dispatched to you (and)[85] will I | hope arrive safely. Dont let M(ahaffy) have more to do | with the unrolling than you can help. I leave | on Monday aft(ernoon). Many thanks for your letter | on the metrol(ogical) fragm(ent).[86] I have been so busy the last | few days in delivering lectures etc., that I have not | had time to study it productively, but will utilize it | before I leave. Proofs will be sent you in batches | as before. We shall return before the end of March, | as the vol. must be out next June.[87] So we should give the | proof back by March 20. | Goodbye. | Yours ever BPG.».

Nr. 5

«Nov. 19 | Hibeh I goes to Press[88] tomorrow (and)[89] I leave | in the afternoon. I am sending J(ohn) P(entland) M(ahaffy) a | proof of the entire vol(ume), and you will receive | proof of the it all except the introd(uction) and | literary pieces. Have you got your ticket? | We shall leave Cairo for Beni-Mazar[90] on | about Dec. 4th. Keep an eye open for J.G. | Milne[91] in Egypt. He is starting on the 29th (and)[92] will | probably be at the Hotel du Nil. | Au revoir. | Yours ever B.P.G.».

Nr. 6

«Queen's College, Oxford

By all means come here | after Charterhouse.[93] Jouguet | I believe is to be in Oxford | early in August, though probably rather later than your date, | which is a pity. I am not sure | yet when G(renfell) will return; possi|bly after the end of this week, | though apparently Switzerland hasn't been such an effective | remedy this time (and)[94] he may | be staying on a bit longer. | Let us know when to expect | you, when the time comes. | 17 July 1906 A.S.H.».

Nr. 7

«6 Chadlington Road | Queen's College[95] | Oxford

[83] Si tratta del primo volume dei P.Tebt.
[84] Cf. List of Oxyrhynchus and Fayûm Papyri Distributed in Grenfell / Hunt (1904) 267-268.
[85] La congiunzione è resa con una forma molto corsiva del segno "+".
[86] Il riferimento è alla lettera inviata da Smyly a Grenfell il 5/11/1903, conservata presso la Sackler Library di Oxford, sulla quale cf. Pellé (2018). Il frammento metrologico, sul quale i due studiosi avevano discusso tra la fine di settembre ed il novembre 1903, sarebbe poi stato pubblicato come P.Oxy. IV 669 verso (MP^3 2329; LDAB 5214; TM 63999). Esso appartiene ad un'opera in prosa su varie misure di lunghezza e di superficie.
[87] Con ogni probabilità si tratta delle bozze di P.Oxy. IV. In effetti il volume uscì prima della fine del mese di giugno e la premessa è datata aprile 1904.
[88] Oxford University Press.
[89] La congiunzione è resa con una forma molto corsiva del segno "+".
[90] Cf. Hickey (2017) 223 n. 16.
[91] Su J.G. Milne (1867-1951) cf. Bierbrier (2012) 288-289. Lo studioso si stava recando in Egitto per prendere parte alla Campagna di Scavo 1905-1906 a Deir el-Bahari con l'archeologo canadese C.T. Currelly (1876-1957), che dal 1897 al 1907 lavorò per l'EEF come "assistente" di W.M. Flinders Petrie. Nel 1895-1896 Milne aveva visitato lo scavo di Grenfell e Hunt a Karanis (cf. http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4milne.html) e nel 1906 pubblicò uno studio sui sigilli in argilla rinvenuti in tale sito, che i papirologi inglesi gli avevano messo a disposizione: Milne (1906).
[92] La congiunzione è resa con una forma molto corsiva del segno "+".
[93] Smyly aveva frequentato questa prestigiosa istituzione scolastica privata inglese fino al 1892. Il riferimento qui non è chiaro, ma non inverosimilmente lo studioso aveva in programma di recarvisi durante il suo viaggio estivo in Inghilterra e lo aveva comunicato ad Hunt in una precedente lettera (o cartolina).
[94] La congiunzione è resa con una forma molto corsiva del segno "+".
[95] Hunt cancella con un tratto di penna la prima linea dell'intestazione del foglio.

19 June 1926

My dear Smyly,

Many thanks for your letter. | I am glad to say that there is | to be no trouble about the gift | to you of the Gurob cartonnage.[96] | I have now to write again | about the Tebtunis papyri. The | suggestion is made that Vol(ume) III[97] | should be published, like Vol(ume) I, | under the joint auspices of the | University of California and the | Egypt Exploration Society, and there | is to be a meeting on Friday | next to consider that among other | things. Could you send me a | line by that date to say whether | you would be willing to help, as before, with the commentary? It is ‖ now so long since I had any truck | with Ptolemaic stuff that I should | feel very uncomfortable without | support, even if the items were short, | which is very far from the case. You have already prepared the way | by doing a lot of work on the texts, | which, so far, I have not so | much as seen. I hope that, if | the scheme comes off, ⟦that⟧ you may be able to undertake a large part of the note writing also –in fact | I hardly see how it can come off, | within a reasonable time, unless | you do so. | Yours ever | A.S. Hunt».

L'intero dossier delle lettere dei due papirologi oxoniensi a Smyly contribuisce a far luce su alcuni aspetti di un periodo della storia della papirologia che avrebbe fruttato alla disciplina il recupero di un'ingente quantità di materiali, sui quali anche le generazioni presenti hanno la possibilità di lavorare. Esso mostra, poi, come i progressi più significativi della disciplina papirologica siano stati realizzabili solo grazie ad una stretta ed incrollabile collaborazione tra studiosi, disposti a discutere, proporre soluzioni, accettare consigli su ogni singolo passo di ogni minimo frammento, lavorando nel comune interesse della conoscenza del mondo antico.

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[96] Il riferimento è ad una lettera inviata da Smyly a Hunt, ma non conservata presso la Sackler Library, in risposta a quella del 26/5/1926 (IE TCD 4323, nr. 106). In quest'ultima Hunt comunicava a Smyly che Grenfell gli aveva lasciato in eredità il cartonnage recuperato a Gurob nel 1894-1895. Egli afferma «By his will, made in 1917, he bequeathed to you the papyrus ob-| tained by him from Gurob 1894-5. | I see that in your preface to | "Greek papyri from Gurob" you say | that this cartonnage had been | 'given' to you : did you use 'given' | in the full sense of the word». Sul lascito cf. anche Hickey (2017) 222 e n. 14.

[97] Hunt / Smyly (1933) e poi Edgar / Hunt / Smyly (1938).

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PART II

LITERARY PAPYRI

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The earliest known Greek papyrus (Piraeus Museum, ΜΠ 7449, 8517-8523): Text and Contexts*

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This paper aims to communicate the results of the research conducted so far on the earliest known Greek papyrus, which provides the second case of a roll unearthed in Greek territory, following the discovery of the Derveni papyrus in 1962. In what follows, I shall present the amount of text which has been recovered and attempt to evaluate its literary and cultural significance, as well as the overall importance of this finding for papyrological research.

On 13 and 14 May 1981 an emergency excavation in Daphne, Attica (53 Olgas Street), where the cemetery of the ancient deme of Alopeke was probably situated, brought to light two tombs in the form of cist-graves. Tombs I and II lie at the same depth, very close to one another and have exactly the same construction, material and dimensions, which entails that they were most probably constructed and used at the same period of time. They form a singular ensemble and could have been a family burial.[1]

The first tomb contained the skeleton of a person estimated to have died in his or her forties[2] and four *lekythoi* dated between 430 and 425 BCE.[3] In the second tomb a papyrus roll was unearthed along with further writing material (four wooden writing tablets and fragments of a fifth, a writing case, a bronze ink pot, a chisel and a bronze stylus), musical instruments (fragments of a harp, of a tortoise shell, which must have been the soundbox of a lyre, and a wooden *aulos* tube with mouthpiece), a saw made of iron and nine knucklebones. The papyrus roll seems to have been put in a leather bag inside a small wooden box for safekeeping.[4] The condition of the skeleton discovered in this tomb, which became known as 'the Musician's tomb', indicates that the deceased must have been a young person in his or her early twenties.[5] The findings of both tombs were taken to the National Archaeological Museum for restoration in 1981 and were transferred to the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus in 1996.

Considering that the *lekythoi* in the first tomb are dated to 430/425 BCE and that the two tombs are most likely to belong to the same period, then we can deduce that the papyrus roll could be dated some time earlier than 430/425 BCE (having been written before the death of the person buried in the tomb).[6] Therefore, it constitutes the earliest Greek papyrus discovered so far. The same holds true of the five wooden tablets, three of which are of

* I am most grateful to Prof. Egert Pöhlmann and to Dr Eutychia Lygouri-Tolia for discussing with me details pointing to the contemporary dating of the two tombs. This paper is an abridged and updated version of Karamanou (2014) and (2016).

[1] See Liangouras (1981); Pöhlmann / West (2012) 9; Pöhlmann (2013) 8; Lygouri-Tolia (2014) 10-11.

[2] Pöhlmann / West (2012) 2-3; Pöhlmann (2013) 12.

[3] Simon / Wehgartner (2013) 64.

[4] Cf. Alexopoulou / Kaminari / Panagopoulos / Pöhlmann (2013) 1243.

[5] See Pöhlmann (2013) 13. On the findings of Tomb II: Pöhlmann / West (2012) 2-3; Pöhlmann (2013) 12-14; Psaroudakēs (2013); Terzēs (2013); Lygouri-Tolia (2014) 7-10.

[6] Pöhlmann / West (2012) 3, 9. The date of the harp, which belongs to the 'spindle harp' type, could be consistent with but not conclusive for the dating of the findings of Tomb II, since literary sources attest that this type of harp was used from the early fifth to the second century BCE; see recently Laywine (2014) 160 challenging Terzēs' dating of the harp between 430 and 410 BCE (Terzēs [2013] 126).

matching size having holes bored on one of the long sides, which suggests that they formed a *polyptychon*.[7]

From 1981 to 2010 the papyrus from the 'Musician's Tomb' remained unpublished, despite the initial excitement instigated by its discovery. In 2011 Prof. Egert Pöhlmann and late Prof. Martin West were granted permission by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture to study the findings of the two Daphne tombs; research teams were organized (in the fields of Archaeology, Papyrology, Musicology, Archaeometry and Anthropology) to delve into and provide a holistic approach to this material.[8] The publication of the research output began in 2012 and has continued regularly since then.[9]

The Daphne roll, whose original size is estimated to have reached 12 cm in height and 3 cm in diameter, was described upon its discovery as «a shapeless, flattened mass» comprising several layers pasted together, in consequence of the unfavourable conditions of high humidity in the grave (see fig. 1).[10] It was transferred to the chemical department of the National Archaeological Museum, where it was kept under high humidity approximating the conditions in the tomb, so that further disintegration would be avoided. No expert in papyrus restoration could be found in the Museum, in the Archaeological Service or in the National Library, and this task was assigned by the Ministry of Culture to the painter and restorer Antonios Glinos. The fragments were glued on a silk fabric between two sheets of glass kept 0.5 cm apart, so that even the slightest touch of the papyrus with the glasses would be avoided, as this could cause further disintegration of the fragments. Glinos mounted the fragments in eight frames and tried to keep joins where possible, without always being able to preserve their original relative position and to separate the compacted layers.[11]

Frames 1 (=ΜΠ 7449), 4 (=ΜΠ 8519) and 7 (=ΜΠ 8522) include several hundreds of tiny fragments arranged in 15-20 rows in each frame and preserving one or two letters at best. Frame 3 (=ΜΠ 8518) contains a particularly compact piece (9 cm x 4.5 cm) consisting of multiple layers pasted together. Frame 5 (=ΜΠ 8520) comprises forty-four fragments, some of which are medium sized containing remnants of lines of text coming from several layers. Frame 8 (=ΜΠ 8523) includes a larger piece (3 cm x 4 cm), which was detached upon the discovery of the roll and also consists of several layers. Frames 2 (=ΜΠ 8517) and 6 (=ΜΠ 8521) contain several hundreds of small fragments arranged in eight and nine rows respectively, some of which preserve four to seven letters per line.[12] It thus becomes evident that the legible material does not comprise a continuous text, but it consists of letter-sequences of five to nine letters per line in the largest fragments.

The legibility of the fragments of the Daphne roll has been attained through imaging documentation, which was undertaken by Prof. Athena Alexopoulou (Technological Educational Institute of Athens), who kindly granted me permission to republish her photographs in this article. Multispectral imaging demonstrated that the ink-traces discerned between the lines of the text of the fragments placed in frames 5 and 8 are not musical

[7] Pöhlmann (2013) 13; West (2013) 74.
[8] See Pöhlmann (2013) 11-12.
[9] Pöhlmann / West (2012); Pöhlmann (2013); West (2013); Simon / Wehgartner (2013); Psaroudakēs (2013); Terzēs (2013); Alexopoulou / Kaminari (2013); Alexopoulou / Kaminari / Panagopoulos / Pöhlmann (2013); Hagel (2013); Lygouri-Tolia (2014); Alexopoulou (2014); Karamanou (2014); (2016); Najock (2015).
[10] See Modiano (1981); Pöhlmann (2013) 10.
[11] For more detail about the restoration process, Pöhlmann (2013) 9-11; Alexopoulou / Kaminari (2013) 29-30.
[12] Pöhlmann / West (2012) 6; West (2013) 79-80; Karamanou (2014) 39, 43, 47.

notation, as suggested in the inventory of the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus, but lines of permeated text from lower layers.[13]

A selection of fragments of the Daphne roll (coming from frames 5 and 8) was edited by late Prof. Martin West, who assigned me to edit the rest of the fragments, so that an overview of the legible material could be obtained (West 2013, Karamanou 2014). The text of the papyrus, as well as that of the tablets, is written in the Ionic alphabet often used in Athens from mid-fifth century BCE onwards, before being officially adopted in 403 BCE.[14] The damaged state of these findings naturally calls for due caution in the process of deciphering the legible material, not least because the papyrus fragments preserved especially in frames 3, 5 and 8 consist of multiple layers. Though speculation is inevitable, every plausible supplement attested in literature until 430 BCE (i.e. the *terminus ante quem* of the writing of these texts) has been explored and different kinds of word-division have been investigated.

For the purposes of this article, I am drawing attention to those readings which are most suggestive of the possible character of this papyrus text. The large piece of Frame 8 (=ΜΠ 8523) consists of more than five layers and is partly legible only through multispectral imaging (see fig. 2). In l. 3 of the fifth layer West read]̣πολυ ἰδα[-, which may involve the epithet ἰδαῖος or the name of the Trojan herald Ἰδαῖος (Il. 3.248, 7.276, 278, 416).[15] In the former case, the adjective may denote s.o./sth. coming from Mount Ida in the region of Troy (A. A. 311; attached to Paris in E. Andr. 706, Hel. 29, Or. 1364, IA 1289) or in Crete, where Zeus was nurtured (Pi. O. 5.18; A. Niobe fr. 162.3 R.; E. Cretans fr. 472.10 K.).

Frame 5 (=ΜΠ 8520) comprises 44 fragments, most of which consist of several layers legible only through infrared photography; of these West edited frs. 1, 3, 4, 5 and 8. Fr. 3 (lower layer, l. 5:]αρκηε.ς̣ε[) seems to include an adjective in -αρκης,[16] which, I suggest, could hint at ποδάρκης (a formulaic epithet of Achilles: Il. 1.121, 2.688, 20.413) or the proper name Ποδάρκης (Il. 2.704, 13.693, Hes. fr. 199.5 M.-W.) or adjectives such as ἐξαρκής (A. Pers. 237) or πανταρκής (A. Pers. 855).

In fr. 4 (l. 6:]τοκυδε̣.[) I would observe that the only possible word-division seems to preserve the form κύδε̣ϊ, which up until that period occurs exclusively in Homer and, as West noted, could also be a sign of dactylic rhythm.[17] I would note here for the first time that this letter-sequence might conceivably hint at epic formulaic phrasing, as for instance καθέζε]το κύδε̣ϊ [γαίων, which regularly occurs in the Iliad (1.405, 5.906, 8.51, 11.81). Fr. 5 (upper layer, l. 6: -]ρανιδης) hints at a poetic patronymic, such as Τευθ]ρανίδης or Οὐ]ρανίδης attached to Cronus, or perhaps -]ραν Ἴδης.[18]

My edition has comprised the rest of the legible papyrus fragments, including frame 5, frs. 2, 9-11, frame 2, frs. 1-4 and frame 6, fr. 1. In Frame 5, fr. 2 (fourth layer, l. 2:]κ̣λε̣ω[) one may recognize an adverb such as εὐ]κ̣λε̣ῶ[ς or ἀ]κ̣λε̣ῶ[ς or the adjective εὐ]κ̣λέ̣ω[ν (see fig. 3). Line 3 of this layer provides the letter-sequence].ργαλ̣[; if the ascending oblique before P

[13] See West (2013) 80, 83; cf. Inventory (9ο Ευρετήριο Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Πειραιά) 182. On the imaging documentation techniques applied, see Alexopoulou / Kaminari (2013) 27-28; Alexopoulou / Kaminari / Panagopoulos / Pöhlmann (2013) 1244-1249; Alexopoulou (2014) 29-30.
[14] West (2013) 76, 80. See Threatte (1980) I 27-34.
[15] West (2013) 83-84; Alexopoulou / Kaminari (2013) Plate II 8a-b.
[16] West (2013) 78-79; Alexopoulou / Kaminari (2013) Plate II 5a.
[17] The reading κύδε̣ϊ may seem likelier than κυδε̣ε̣[c proposed by West (2013) 82, since, as he admitted, a compound epithet ending with]τοκυδεεc is unattested.
[18] West (2013) 82, Alexopoulou / Kaminari (2013) Plate II 6a-b.

comes from the same layer, it could belong to an A, thus being suggestive of the poetic word ἀργαλ̣[έος (‘painful’: Il. 1.589; Hes. Th. 718; Sol. fr. 13.61 W.).[19]

In fr. 10 (lower layer, l. 1:]φρα[) a form of φράζω or the Ionic poetic conjunction ὅ]φρα could be detected. Line 3 of the same fragment (].οκ̣λος[) could provide the ending of a proper name, such as Πάτ]ροκ̣λος, Ἴπ]π̣οκ̣λος or Ἐτ]έ̣οκ̣λος, which would be suggestive of a mythical or poetic theme. In fr. 11 (lower layer, l. 2:].β̣ιεμ̣ν.[) the letter-sequence could hint at ὄ]λ̣β̣ιε regularly employed in invocations (Od. 24.36; Hes. fr. 211.7 M.-W.; Sapph. fr. 112.1 Voigt) or the vocative Ταλθ]ύβ̣ιε of the name of the Iliadic herald.[20]

The fragments of Frames 2 (=ΜΠ 8517) and 6 (=ΜΠ 8521) are legible through high resolution photomacrography enabling the detection of letter-sequences on the surface and underneath. In Frame 2, fr. 1 (lower layer, l. 3:].οφυδ̣[) the rare combination of letters could be suggestive of the Homeric word ὀ]λ̣οφυδ̣[νός (‘lamenting’: Il. 5.683, 23.102, Od. 19.362). The letter-sequence in l. 3 of the upper layer (]κλεᾳ̣[) may hint at κλέᾳ̣ and its compounds (e.g. εὐ]κλέᾳ̣, ἀ]κλέᾳ̣, δυσ]κλέᾳ̣), also occurring in fr. 2.2 of Frame 5, or might belong to a proper name ending in -κλεα, e.g. Ἡρα]κλέᾳ̣, Ἰφι]κλέᾳ̣, Ἐτεο]κλέᾳ̣ (see fig. 4). Heracles’ name may also be read in tablet A2.3 after a possible Hesiodic quotation coming from the Wedding of Keyx (fr. 264 M.-W.): αὐτόματοι δ’ ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαῖτας ἵενται (see fig. 5). This saying was delivered by Heracles, when he arrived uninvited at the wedding feast.[21]

In fr. 3.1 (see fig. 6 on the left) the combination of letters might hint at the poetic and mainly epic form ἔμμο̣ρε (‘to obtain one’s due share’: Il. 1.278, Hes. Th. 414). If the letter-sequence in l. 2 (]ηνο̣ρες[) belongs to one word, it could provide the second component of epithets, such as ἀγ]ήνορες (‘courageous’, ‘arrogant’), εὐ]ήνο̣ρες (‘glorious’), φθισ]ήνορες, ὀλεσ]ήνο̣ρες (‘man-destroying’), which are poetic and mostly epic (Il. 2.833, Od. 2.235, 4.622; Hes. Op. 7; Thgn. 399). The reading]ηνο̣ρες[could provide a further case of dactylic rhythm, as in the aforementioned fr. 4.6 of Frame 5.

Fr. 4.2 (see fig. 6 on the right) seems to read]..φορεδ̣[; the vocative -φόρε of a compound adjective in -φόρος could be detected (e.g. βουληφόρος, Θεσμοφόρος, ἀεθλοφόρος, πυροφόρος, τελεσφόρος). These adjectives mainly occur in poetry until that period (Il. 5.180, Od. 4.86; Hes. Op. 549; Pi. fr. 37.1 Maehl.).[22] In Frame 6, fr. 1.3 reads]ιδηρεο̣ς[(see fig. 7). The letter-sequence suggests σ]ιδήρεος, which is an Ionic and epic type (see e.g. Il. 5.723, 22.357, Od. 1.204; Hes. Th. 764).[23]

The legible fragments of the Daphne roll thus display signs of poetic diction. It is worth pointing out that the possible readings seem to derive first and foremost from epic poetry, especially from the Iliad, and in certain cases from lyric poets as well; poetic themes (mythological proper names or patronymics) and ideas (e.g. *kleos*) also appear to be represented. The tablets similarly provide hints at the use of poetic style, as West observed, the most striking of which is the aforementioned possible Hesiodic quotation from the Wedding of Keyx. The use of poetic diction in this papyrus text would be consistent with the fact that Greek literary production until 430 BCE was mainly poetic, with the exception of the Ionian logographers, Herodotus, certain pre-Socratic philosophers and Hippocratic treatises.[24] Furthermore, the artistic activity emerging from the musical instruments would

[19] See Karamanou (2014) 44, photograph in Alexopoulou (2014) fig. 9.
[20] Karamanou (2014) 46-47; Alexopoulou (2014) figs. 10-11.
[21] See West (2013) 77.
[22] Karamanou (2014) 39-42; Alexopoulou (2014) figs. 16-17.
[23] Karamanou (2014) 48; Alexopoulou (2014) fig. 18.
[24] See e.g. Goldhill (2002) 1-9.

also suggest that at least a part of the text of the Daphne roll was written in poetry rather than prose.

From a papyrological viewpoint, it is worth exploring the circumstances of preservation and the particular features of the Daphne roll in comparison with the two other early papyri, that is, the Derveni and the Timotheus papyrus. Unlike the notably humid environment in which the Daphne roll was discovered, the Derveni papyrus was found carbonized among the ashes of a funeral pyre in a rich cemetery close to the ancient town of Lete, about twelve km north of Thessalonica. Its carbonization saved the roll from putrefaction, as the fire evaporated the humidity from the papyrus fibres. Twenty-six columns have been reconstructed in the *editio princeps*, leaving 113 *fragmenta incertae sedis*.[25] The text comprises an allegorical interpretation of a cosmogonical poem attributed to Orpheus, which provides the earliest exegetical commentary in the Greek scholarly tradition.[26] The eschatological implications of the initiatory ritual described in this text would suit a funerary context. Moreover, the proximity of the tomb to the shrine of Demeter and Persephone, who was revered in Orphic mysteries as the mother of Bacchus (Dionysus), might suggest that the deceased could have been an initiate.[27]

The challenging task of unrolling the Derveni papyrus was undertaken by Anton Fackelmann, an expert in the treatment of the charred scrolls of Herculaneum. Fackelmann decreased the friability of the carbonized roll by applying fresh papyrus juice and managed to separate the layers through the application of static electricity. The fragments were placed between nine glass plates, and their original position was established only after high quality photographs were taken.[28] Hence, the Derveni papyrus was preserved thanks to its carbonization, protecting it from rotting like the Daphne roll, and thanks to the significant expertise provided in the restoration process, due to Fackelmann's previous unrolling of the Herculaneum papyri. Conversely, the particularity of the preservation of the Daphne papyrus in a very humid environment and the absence of a precedent case, which could have guided the restoration process, considerably decreased the effectiveness of its restoration and, in turn, the legibility of its text.

Unlike the two papyri discovered in Greece under unusual circumstances, the papyrus of Timotheus' Persae was preserved in a good condition thanks to the dry climate of Egypt protecting organic material from decay. The papyrus was found to the north of a wooden anthropoid sarcophagus at Abusir in 1902 along with remains of a sponge, of an iron scraper, of a leather bag and a wooden object.[29] The sponge may not necessarily suggest that the deceased was a scribe, since no further writing implements were discovered, and sponges were also employed to prepare corpses for burial.[30] The leather bag is another interesting finding, in that it may be paralleled to the leather pouch in which the Daphne papyrus appears to have been kept. The text consists of six irregular columns preserving more than 250 lines of Timotheus' *nomos* written without division into *kola*, which is typical of pre-Alexandrian

[25] See Kouremenos / Parássoglou / Tsantsanoglou (2006) 62-125 and plates 1-30; Janko (2016); Kotwick (2017) 68-103.
[26] See Laks (1997) 121-142; Janko (2001) 2-3; Obbink (2003) 177-188; Betegh (2004) 92-135; Kouremenos in Kouremenos / Parássoglou / Tsantsanoglou (2006) 19-59, 143-272; Bernabé (2007) 99-130; Piano (2016) *passim*.
[27] See Tsantsanoglou (1997) 110-117; Most (1997) 131-134; Tsantsanoglou in Kouremenos / Parássoglou / Tsantsanoglou (2006) 4. For the initiatory character of the Derveni text, Obbink (1997) 40-54; Calame (1997) 74-80; Betegh (2004) 349-359; Graf (2014) 75-84; Piano (2016) 5-58.
[28] See Kapsomenos (1964) 3-6; Fackelmann (1970) esp. 145; Betegh (2004) 59-60; Tsantsanoglou in Kouremenos / Parássoglou / Tsantsanoglou (2006) 4-7.
[29] Borchardt (1902) 47; Hordern (2002) 64 and n. 170.
[30] See Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1903) 4; Hordern (2002) 64-65.

papyri.[31] In both the Timotheus and the Derveni papyrus *paragraphoi* are employed to signpost a new section and the quotation of the Orphic poem respectively.

The hand in all three papyri is upright and bilinear. It resembles the style of epigraphic writing, to judge especially from the square E, the epigraphic form of Z and Ω and the four-barred Σ. The script in the Daphne papyrus is small and well-formed indicating a skilled hand (see the alphabet provided by West 2013 in fig. 8). The height of the letters is about 2 mm. Similarly, the writing style in the Derveni roll is elegant, unlike that in the Timotheus papyrus, which is less elaborate.[32]

The contents of a papyrus and the contexts of its discovery (i.e. location, accompanying objects, etc.) might shed light on the qualities of the person who owned it. In the case of the Daphne findings, the rich collection of musical instruments and writing implements could yield insight into the activity of the person buried with these objects.

Our evidence suggests that this young person was well acquainted with music and poetry. The vocabulary which seems to have been used in this papyrus text mainly derives from Homer –pre-eminently from the Iliad, as I observed above– and in certain cases also from Hesiod and the lyric poets, namely from those very poems which formed the 'canon' of the 'old' Athenian education. We know that *mousikē* ('music with poetry', that is, poetry, singing and playing a musical instrument), which along with *gymnastikē* ('physical training') constituted the two branches of the 'old' Athenian education, involved a close interaction between music and literacy: the pupils were taught to read and write, to memorize poems and to set poetry into music, to mention but a few sources, such as the Aristophanic passages from the Clouds (964-968) and the Banqueters (frs. 232-233.1-2 K.-A.).[33] This interplay between music and poetry in the 'old' Athenian education is well attested in the iconography from 500 to 430 BCE presenting papyrus texts used for the musical recitation of poetry in educational contexts. It is noteworthy that in the school scenes of the well-known Douris cup (Berlin F2285) almost all of the writing implements and musical instruments discovered in the 'Musician's Tomb' are depicted, with the exception of the harp.[34] The same writing implements along with a lyre are depicted in the earlier Spina *kylix* of the Adria Painter (Museo Archeologico di Ferrara, inv. nr. 19108), whereas in a cup fragment attributed to Onesimus a youth is seated holding a papyrus roll, which evidently contains a poem of Stesichorus played on the *aulos* by a bearded man (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G 138.3,5,11).[35]

Due to space limits I focused on the papyrus, but it is worth stressing that the tablets, which also display signs of poetic diction, are similarly written in a small, elegant and skilled hand (see the letter-forms drawn by West 2013 in fig. 9). The Hesiodic line possibly occurring in tablet A2 was widely quoted by authors acknowledging its proverbial validity (see B. fr. 423 Sn.; Cratin. Pylaia fr. 182 K.-A. and Pl. Smp. 174b) or for parodic purposes (see Eup. Chrysoun Genos fr. 315 K.-A.). Likewise, it is worth raising the question whether the poetic, especially the Homeric vocabulary, which appears to have been employed in the papyrus,

[31] For the text and interpretation of the Persae, see Janssen (1989); Hordern (2002). On the preservation of this papyrus, Janssen (1989) 9-13; Hordern (2002) 62-73; Roemer (2007) 88-89.
[32] On the letter-forms in the Daphne papyrus, see Pöhlmann / West (2012) 6-7 and West (2013) 80; for those in the Derveni roll as compared to the Timotheus papyrus, Kapsomenos (1964) 7-9; Turner in Kapsomenos (1964) 15; Turner / Parsons (1987^2) 92.
[33] See Marrou (1956) 41-43; Beck (1964) 117-122; Robb (1994) 183-192; Morgan (1998) esp. 47-50, 53-54; Ford (2003) 24-27; Carr (2005) ch. 5.
[34] Cf. West (2013) 75; Lygouri-Tolia (2014) 19-21.
[35] See Immerwahr (1964) 18-20; Booth (1985) 275-280; Pöhlmann (2009) 43-46. For further iconographic evidence, Immerwahr (1964) 18-26, 37-43; Beck (1975) esp. 14-22 and pl. 9-15; Pöhlmann (2009) 39-48.

derives from a poetic composition adopting epic style or comprising Homeric quotations. The latter practice was at times applied by poets up until that period; for instance, Simonides (fr. 19.1-2 W.) stresses the authority of Il. 6.146, but also brings forward his own position towards a piece of traditional wisdom.[36] This kind of reception could bear cultural significance, being a yardstick for the evaluation of the author's education and ideology.

In conclusion, the importance of the Daphne roll emerges from its prominence as the earliest known Greek papyrus, in conjunction with its probable poetic character and notable circumstances of preservation. Moreover, the papyrus alongside its companion writing implements and musical instruments could offer further evidence for the intrinsic relation between poetry and music in the third quarter of the fifth century BCE, thereby forming indicators of the Athenian educational and cultural milieu.

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Tables[37]

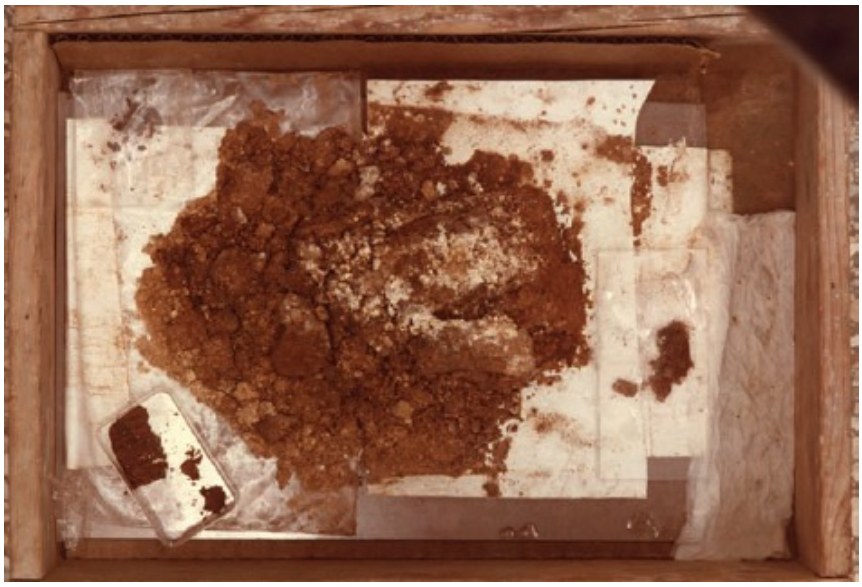


Fig. 1. The state of the papyrus before restoration (photograph in Pöhlmann 2013, 16, pl. I 2)

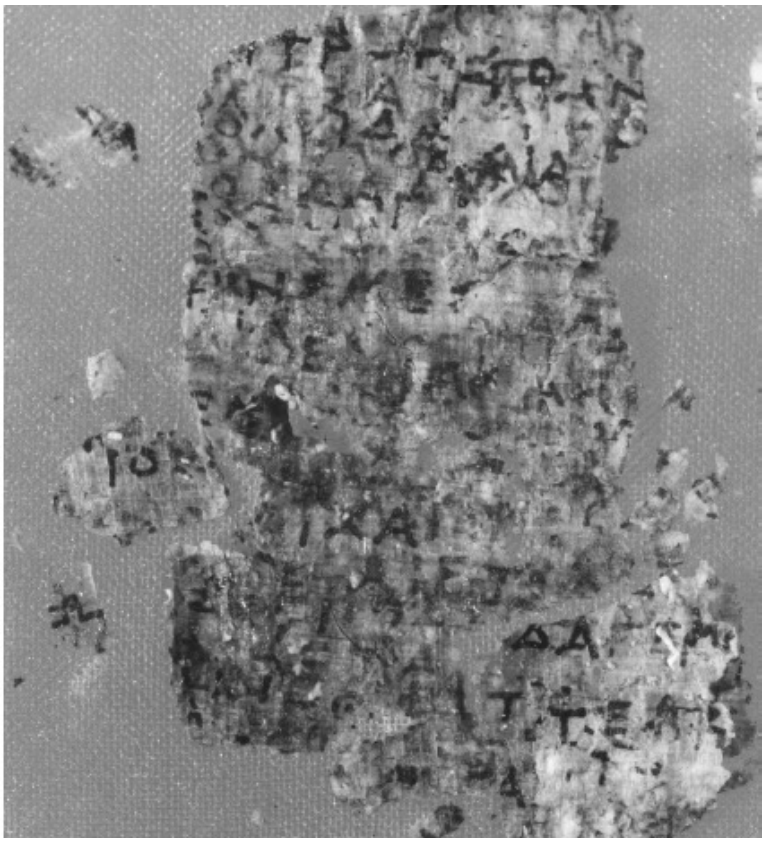


Fig. 2. ΜΠ 8523 (Frame 8) infrared (photograph by A. Alexopoulou; see Alexopoulou / Kaminari 2013, 44, pl. II 8b)

[37] All photographs are published by permission of the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus.

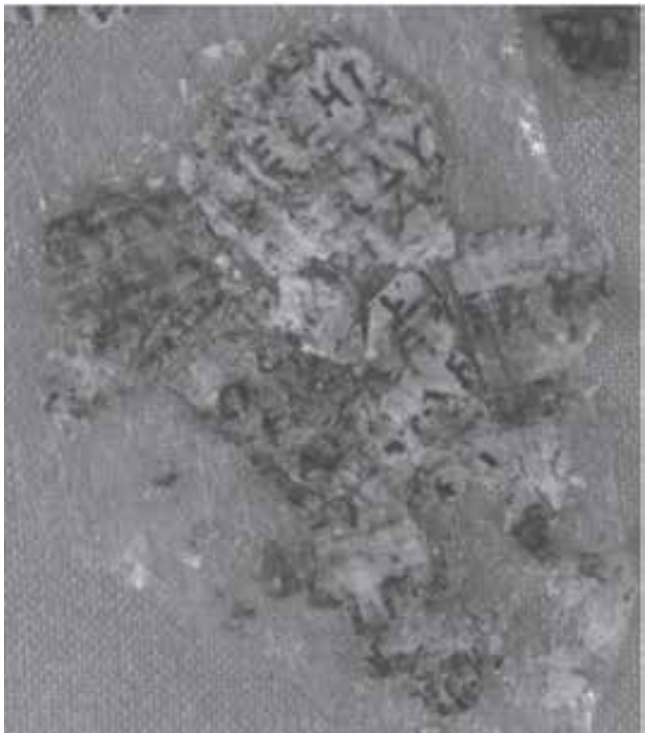


Fig. 3. ΜΠ 8520 (Frame 5) infrared (photograph by A. Alexopoulou; see Alexopoulou in Alexopoulou / Karamanou 2014, 31, fig. 9)



Fig. 4. ΜΠ 8517 (Frame 2) high resolution photomacrography; enlarged detail (photograph by A. Alexopoulou; see Alexopoulou in Alexopoulou / Karamanou 2014, 36, fig. 16)



Fig. 5. Tablet A2, infrared (photograph by A. Alexopoulou; see Alexopoulou / Kaminari 2013, 48, pl. II 12a)



Fig. 6. ΜΠ 8517 (Frame 2) high resolution photomacrography; enlarged detail (photograph by A. Alexopoulou; see Alexopoulou in Alexopoulou / Karamanou 2014, 37, fig. 17)



Fig. 7. ΜΠ 8521 (Frame 6) high resolution photomacrography; enlarged detail (photograph by A. Alexopoulou; see Alexopoulou in Alexopoulou / Karamanou 2014, 37, fig. 18)



Fig. 8. The letter-forms on the papyrus drawn by West (2013) 80.

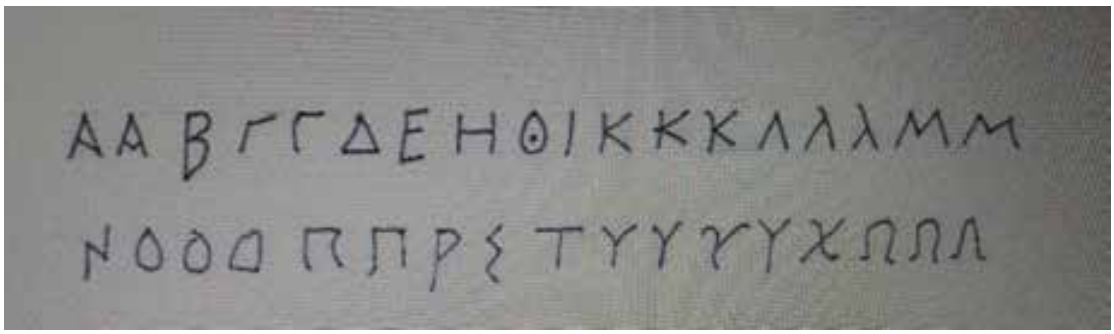


Fig. 9. The letter-forms on the tablets drawn by West (2013) 76.

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Wise Men and Women in Literary Papyri

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1. Introduction

What describes a wise man or a wise woman? This is a question from my project "Cult Practices in Egyptian Literature" in which religious, ritual, divinatory and magical phenomena are analyzed –together with their practitioners.[1] In this contribution, I would like to comment on wise men and women chiefly within two contexts: as protagonists in narratives and as good characters in wisdom texts. The sources are attested predominantly in Graeco-Roman Egypt, but some earlier Egyptian material will be considered as well.[2] The evidence from literary texts adds more information about the role of such practitioners than ritual texts themselves. Therefore, the question remains: Do the characters in literary texts accurately reflect the nature of ritual professionals known from other sources?

Who is a wise man or a wise woman? Not necessarily members of the priestly elite, who work at the temples or counsel the ruler, as one might think at first. In a modern perception, they could be expertly skilled individuals standing outside of the religious establishment, such as the wise woman from Deir el Medina in the New Kingdom (ca 1500-1070 BCE), the θεῖος ἀνήρ of foremost Roman literary works, or the holy man of Late Antiquity. Maybe names such as St. Antonius or wandering Christian Saints performing miracles like Priscilla or Thecla come to mind first, or charismatic church leaders such as Shenoute, or eminent figures like Thessalus of Tralles, Pythagoras, or Petosiris and Nechepso. Most of them are known through works of fiction, however, and therefore, one must be careful because of the large amount of pseudepigraphy and literary constructions of such wise men as protagonists and authors.[3]

With the literary –and therefore a more emic– perspective, it remains difficult to maintain such a hypothesis. Many protagonists in narratives who could be called wise, come chiefly from institutional backgrounds. They might nowadays be commonly referred to as witches and wizards, sorceresses and sorcerers, magicians, exorcists, healers, shamans, or, to use a more neutral term, mantic specialists. The most frequently occurring profession, however, is the priest-magician, the Egyptian *ḫry-ḥb-ḥry-tp*, a ritual expert who is initiated in official rituals and therefore capable of e.g. performing magical spells and curing diseases.[4] Moreover, such a priest could also be the son of the pharaoh or a military general. Since so many overlaps in the roles and functions of these accomplished people occur, it is therefore

[1] The research for this project benefitted from a fellowship from the Volkswagen Foundation at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World in New York (USA) and the Erasmus Plus of the European Union at the Department of Ancient Studies at Stellenbosch University (South Africa). I wish to thank Amy Daniels, Sofía Torallas Tovar and the two referees for suggestions on earlier versions of this article.

[2] Most of the Egyptian and Greek literary papyri and ostraka are published. Transliterations and translations of the Egyptian sources are, if not stated otherwise, taken from the Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (TLA), http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/ which also cites the editions. In order to avoid long footnotes with basic information, the TM numbers of texts are given to look up the respective metadata in the Trismegistos database.

[3] See Moyer (2011) 59-60.

[4] They correspond to the Near Eastern ḫarṭibi/azipu. The Nubian shaman from the Second Setna Novel bears a Meroitic title corresponding to the Egyptian priestly title of *ḫry-ḥb*. See Hofmann (1993) 209-210.

possible to describe these literary figures by comparisons to the holy or divine people or the θεῖος ἀνήρ of classical and papyrological studies.

The cases of wise women are harder to analyze because of the limited textual evidence –there are by far more attestations of men in the literary works. Both men and women have to be treated together in order to recognize their features as modeled on each other or as exceptional. Especially the wisdom texts mentioned below are directed at a male audience and portray women accordingly.

2. Protagonists in Narratives – the Wise Man

Within the plots of tales, novels etc., wise men offer advice on cultic matters. They can make use of human and divine knowledge because of their initiation into secret cultic knowledge, mostly by being cult personnel (e.g. priest, scribe, healer, in Late Antiquity also a philosopher; the overlap of such duties was very common).[5] This is not just a fantastic element within a story, but ritual reality: The 'good scribe' and 'wise man' are established Egyptian literary terms.[6] Such personages are also characterized as being modest, gentle, and friendly. They often act mysteriously, or hide their true identity. Few protagonists in these stories are not priest-magicians. Despite their education and talents, wise men could also fail in their actions, but usually, stories move on towards a good ending. Some of these people and their deeds have been transmitted through folk tales, not just within Egypt, but throughout the ancient Mediterranean and beyond, such as the Dream of Nectanebo or the Alexander Romance. The most well-known of such heroes in Late Egyptian and Demotic sources are:

Mery-Ra from the Story of P.Vandier (TM 57489, ca 650-670 BCE): This priest-magician is a real wunderkind. Because of his great abilities, the other priests keep his existence a secret from the pharaoh Si-Sobek. When the king is about to die, the priests can offer no cure and approach Mery-Ra. The young man knows how to prolong the king's life by dying himself in Si-Sobek's place. After some adventures in the Underworld, Mery-Ra seems to be able to go back on earth.

The old priest, Na-Nefer-Ka-Ptah, his wife, and Setna from the First Setna Novel (TM 55857): Na-Nefer-Ka-Ptah is a highly qualified priest-magician and constantly yearns for secret knowledge. An old, unnamed priest explains to him how to get hold of the god Thoth's magic book. After killing his own family, Na-Nefer-Ka-Ptah finally realizes the disaster he has brought upon his loved ones. The story repeats itself when Setna, the priest-magician and son of Ramesses II, acquires the book. Both men and their families reunite afterwards and acknowledge their mistakes. The old priest might have been another wise man who acted unwisely on the quest for magical powers. Ahwere, Na-Nefer-Ka-Ptah's wife, is also mentioned as being capable of performing magical spells.

Setna's son, Si-Osiris, and his Nubian opponents in the Second Setna Novel (TM 48854): While Setna is this time not the cunning priest-magician, his wunderkind-son, Si-Osiris, performs several miracles, already as a child,[7] to save his grandfather, the pharaoh, including

[5] Ritner (1993) 220-233.

[6] See Sauneron (1966) 51-55 (discussed as «le magicien dans le folklore égyptien»); Sauneron (1988) 177-179; Koenig (1994) 38-47; Lucarelli (2019); Love (2019) §3. This emic term corresponds best to the θεῖος ἀνήρ. On this character, see Bieler (1967).

[7] Second Setna Novel 1, ll. 9-14 mentions Si-Osiris being able to answer all questions in his first year at school and being better in reciting cultic handbooks(?) than the scribes in the house of life of the temple of Ptah. After the research in Bieler (1967), his story matches those of a θεῖος ἀνήρ.

entering and leaving the Underworld. As a reincarnation of the priest-magician Hor, son of Paneshe, he returns to earth as Setna's son 1500 years after a magical duel with a Nubian priest-magician and his mother. Finally, he is able to overthrow the enemies again. Both Si-Osiris and the Nubian wizard Hor, son of the Nubian woman and his unnamed mother, qualify as wise people.[8]

Petese from the Stories of P. Petese (TM 56098): This priest-magician cannot prolong his life, but at least he is able to find out about his fate by enchanting a ghost. Through magical and funerary practices, Petese prepares for his funeral and secretly sets up a good life for his wife, whom he cannot bear telling the truth about his approaching death.[9] He creates magical baboons from wax, who read his wife stories to distract her from sorrow after Petese is gone.[10]

Next to these protagonists from late period and Graeco-Roman Egypt, there are several fascinating wise men attested in earlier narratives. The Middle Egyptian Story of P.Westcar (P.Berol. inv. 3033) features several wise men performing extraordinary magic. All of them are priest-magicians (the unnamed priest in the lost first story, Ubainer, and *Dja-dja-em-ankh*), but one –Dedi. He is characterized in more detail than the others as being a 'simple man' (*nḏs*), 110 years old and appearing frail, but with a tremendous appetite for bread and beer, and initiated in magical knowledge such as taming lions, knowing the location of the holy chambers of Thoth and being able to reattach a severed head back to its body.[11] When the pharaoh asks Dedi to perform such a miracle with a prisoner, Dedi is wise enough to talk the king out of such an inhumane endeavor and chooses three animals instead.[12] One aspect of Dedi's tale is particularly interesting: when invited to the king's court, he asks that his books and his children (or disciples, *ḫrd.w*) be brought to the residence with him. Not unlike a scholar, this wise man has a library with magical reference works and students –making up two boat loads.[13]

Another group of protagonists performing preventive magic is not part of the priestly élite – namely, the men of the Herdsman Story. These «wise men of the herds» (*rḫ.w jḫ.t*) recite a spell against crocodiles and the Nile's inundation, to protect their herds. At another point in the story, they even meet a fierce goddess. It is possible that they were part of a priestly phyle, performing monthly duties in the temple and therefore knowledgeable of cultic details, but more probably, the execution of the spells will have been handed down through the generations as professional knowledge.[14]

Other examples mentioning wise men in narratives should be treated only briefly here: In the Dispute of a Man with his Ba, the suicidal sick man paints life after death in bright colors – e.g. the deceased turn into wise beings in the afterlife (*rḫ-jḫ.wt*).[15] The wisest of those beings, it seems, are assigned to the god Thoth: In a story called The Revenge of Isis, the demigod

[8] There are more Setna stories, see TM 56084, TM 55858, and TM 115825; TM 130910 has not been edited so far.
[9] The story mentions someone as being a «very wise man» in P.Petese I Tebt. A. 2. ll. 1-7 but due to the lacuna, it is not sure if the ghost or Petese is meant.
[10] Those stories feature wise men as well –e.g. the prophet of Horus of Pe and Buto, «a very wise and noble man» who falls in love with another priests' daughter (P.Petese I Tebt. A. 8. ll. 4-9).
[11] P.Westcar vi ll. 22-27, 9 and vii ll.14-23.
[12] P.Westcar viii l. 12-ix l. 1.
[13] P.Westcar viii ll. 3-4.
[14] In ll. x+12-22, the whole spell is cited –a rare occasion in narratives.
[15] The text is also known as the Lebensmüde, ll. 142-147.

Imhotep descends from heaven, and a woman prays to him by calling him wise among other venerations (*iw=k n nȝ rḫ.w n Ḏḥwtj*).[16]

In the Story of P.Queen's College, a person talks about informing a ruler about words that are not worth listening to –perhaps lies or slander. He adds that only a slave would pay attention to these affairs, while a wise man puts his hand to his ears.[17] This unspecified wise man reminds one of the characters in the wisdom texts treated below.

In the Story of P.Saqqara dem. I 24, the wise man is referred to as a judge in pharaoh's service in several instances. The fragments, however, do not make it clear as to whether this judicial competence was due to his profession, or due to the wise man's general wisdom to judge matters.[18]

Starting with these protagonists, it can be concluded that both the θεῖος ἀνήρ or ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ and the holy man may be compared to the wise men in the Egyptian literary texts.[19] While the first is a literary figure from the Late Classical period, acting within society as part of the community and the religious institutions, the other, best attested in Late Antiquity, is a stranger to village or city life, without family bonds, no position or interest in economy, preferring to dwell outside the civilized world, the cultivated land and the religious establishment, in desert caverns, and leading an ascetic lifestyle. Both figures[20] bear knowledge of cult practices and are consulted by people for help. In the case of the θεῖος ἀνήρ, we find the priest-magician of the narratives and wise man from the wisdom texts treated below. The concept of the holy man, however, is more fitting to explain Dedi or the herdsmen, who are not part of the priestly elites but a neutral third party. In Late Antiquity, holy men had ritual handbooks and were asked to perform cult practices of all kinds (e.g. exorcisms, giving counsel by means of oracles), or to resolve conflict (e.g. mediation in violent uprisings through collectively shared religious experiences, such as a mass baptism), and to be spokespeople for the poor.[21] In this period, we observe a shift from temples and monasteries to individuals carrying ritual knowledge with them and coexisting next to established clergies.[22]

3. Protagonists in Narratives – the Wise Woman

Two wise women have already been mentioned above together with the wise men –Na-Nefer-Ka-Ptah's wife Ahwere (First Setna Novel), and the nameless mother of the Nubian priest-magician (Second Setna Novel). Ahwere performs magic from Thoth's handbook of spells like her husband, who stole the papyrus from the god. But she underplays her abilities

[16] P.Saqqara dem. I 2 ro., 6. ll. 20-23.
[17] P.Queen's College, x+3. ll. 12-14. The story is not yet published; I wish to express my thanks to H.-W. Fischer-Elfert for providing me with the manuscript.
[18] P.Saqqara dem. I 24. ll. 2-5 (mentions law and maybe a chapel), l. 5 and 6.
[19] See Bieler (1967) on the characteristics of the θεῖος ἀνήρ, many of them such as birth, appearance, education, charisma, teaching his students, performing rituals, connection to the gods etc. go together well with the priest-magician and the *rmṯ-rḫ* explained below.
[20] Here of course reduced to a few extreme features, for details on the holy man see Brown (1971) on this hermit/monk/church leader in Egypt, his contribution in Brown (1972); Fowden (1982) 48-49, and the extension of Brown's work by Frankfurter (2003), especially 347-350 and 371-374, and Frankfurter (1998) 198-264; 186-193; 215-216; 258-260; 267-282 for holy people like healers, monks, saints, prophets etc. in Egypt. A more general treatment on holy people in general proposing a center-periphery-model is Frankfurter (2002) 161-167 (see 173-177 for evil ritual practitioners).
[21] See Brown (1971) 88; Frankfurter (1998) 174-177. Letters mentioning the mediation of a local churchman have been edited by Gonis (2008).
[22] Brown (1971) 99-101.

in comparisons with her husband, claiming she is not a good scribe and wise man as he, the man and brother she so dearly loves and admires.[23]

The Nubian woman is able to set a magical sign and transform herself into a goose, but as an enemy to the Egyptian wizard, she is not able to protect her son from the powerful Si-Osiris. Her actions are interpreted as motherly, protective magic. She plays only a minor role in the story but clearly, her son must have learnt a good deal of his magic from her. No other positive female protagonists in Egyptian narratives are specifically characterized as wise women.

When looking into Egyptian religious life, there are a few attestations of a 'wise woman' (*t3 rḫ.t*) in the village of Deir el-Medina during the New Kingdom. This woman had an intermediate position and was able to offer solutions to daily problems, to counsel, to detect *b3w* (divine manifestations), to foretell oracles, to explain divine will (e.g. the death of children) and to perform healings. She was no priestess, but a positive force –again with a motherly connotation.[24] Was she a forerunner of Late Antique holy men and women, a witch of the village?[25]

The wise woman of Deir el-Medina is neither the witch found in Western folklore, nor can she be compared to professionals of cult practices in other ancient civilizations, such as in Mesopotamian cultures.[26] An indicator of this is the fact that there were no witch trials in Egypt or measures comparable to the expulsion of ritual experts in Rome.[27] The only text that comes close to shaming a woman who was suspected of involvement in cult practices, is the tractate Schmähworte gegen eine Frau, in which the speaker calls the woman *wr3.t*, a *hapax legomenon* for humans, translated as 'witch' by the editor, Zauzich. Usually, the *wr3.t* is a female demon.[28] According to the narrator, the woman should wear a wheel crown(?) and ride an old(?) sow on the day of the «inspection of witches» (*snhe n wr3.t*, 'Hexenmusterung'). In this rather unique text, it is unfortunately not clear if the speaker holds an official position or, more likely, if he is just expressing personal grudges against the woman through the use of extreme rhetoric.

4. Good Characters in Wisdom Texts – the Wise Man

Most of the attestations of the wise man can be derived from wisdom texts. In Late Egyptian and demotic teachings, the rules regarding how to live a good life are explained with the help of good characters, such as the wise man (*rmṯ-rḫ*) and the man of god (*rmṯ-nṯr*). He is the continuation of the just and silent man in teachings predating the Graeco-Roman period. Vice versa, evil characters serve as bad examples. The fool's (*lḫ*, *rmṯ-swg*, *ḫne*) immoral actions and conduct of life, the enemy of the gods (*s3b3*) or the 'hot-tempered one' (*šmw*) are presented to the audience with the purpose of teaching them to avoid these characters and their bad fates.

[23] First Setna Novel, col. 3. l. 39-col. 4. l. 3 (*sḫ-nfr rmṯ-rḫ m-šs*). Ahwere is also the first-person narrator in this part of the novel.
[24] Main discussion: see Karl (2000); Demichelis (2000); texts also mentioned as nos. 77-79 in Fischer-Elfert / Richter (2005) 94-95. An older treatment is Borghouts (1982) §8, 24-27.
[25] For holy women, see Athanassiadi (2014) 14 and Tanaseanu-Döbler (2014) 125-128. A special case is Sosipatra; see Denzey Lewis (2014) and Tanaseanu-Döbler (2014) on her. On the foreignness of these female figures within Egyptian society, see Naether (2019).
[26] See Lucarelli (2019) on Egypt and Konstantopoulos (2019) on Sumerian sources.
[27] Naether (2010) 411-426. The literary image of the witch in Greek and Latin sources is a different conception; see Stanley Spaeth (2014) and Stratton (2014) on this.
[28] TM 56138, ll. 5-10.

The wise man possesses self-control, shame and fear of the gods. He is not perfect, but his patience, his gentle nature, and his generosity in caring for others are presented as positive features in the teachings. The gods grant him a good and long life.

The man of bad character, however, will suffer a sudden and painful death. The gods punish his lack of self-control, his obscenity, his carelessness, unreliability, and lack of faith. It is not only a matter of distinction between the good and the bad in terms of manners and the practice of religion, however. Fools and evil people also despise education, preferring to stay ignorant. The wise man is capable of perfect speech, because of his rhetorical competence and because of being well-versed in cultic practices, such as oracles. He is often presented as the enemy of the fool.

This is not the place to cite all the references in Egyptian instructive texts concerning the wise man and the man of god. Especially the Teaching of P.Insinger bears numerous instances, and the characters have already been described elsewhere.[29] Those characters cannot be found in Greek wisdom literature –there, the sentences usually start with «you should …».[30] A few examples should suffice to illustrate the features of the wise man in Demotic texts: Teaching of Onkhsheshonqy 8. l.6: «You will (should) ask three wise men about a single matter which (or if) it is worthy of the oracle of a great god.»(?); P.Insinger x l.1: «[It is the god who] protects the wise man because he serves (him)».[31]

Going back even further, to earlier than the Middle Kingdom (before 2137 BCE), a maxim in the Teaching of Ptahhotep praises the wise man. In this passage, he cares for his superior's Ba after his death, presumably through offerings and other funerary customs. This leads to a good life on earth for the wise man.[32] A maxim in the Teaching of Ani presents caring for a son as normatively good behavior and states that such a human is a wise man.[33]

In addition to such characters, some authors of wisdom texts call themselves wise. Usually the teachings are uttered by a father to a son, or a teacher to a student. These are constructed relationships and most likely based on pseudepigraphic authorship.[34] This is also a difference in comparison to Greek wisdom texts: they generally have more specific authors.[35]

5. Good Characters in Wisdom Texts – the Wise Woman

The representation of women in Graeco-Roman wisdom texts is most often a dismal one – except for mothers, daughters, wives, girlfriends, neighbors etc. are generally presented in a misogynistic fashion. They are even compared to animals and serve as a foil for the wise man.[36] The purpose of such texts was to present the rules for becoming a wise man. The

[29] Lichtheim (1983) 45-48 (Onkhsheshonqy); 116-128 (P.Insinger); 165 (on the man of god); see also Houser-Wegner (2001) 41-42; 105-109; 125-129 (on the hot one and the silent man as predecessors in Late Egyptian teachings).
[30] Lazaridis (2007).
[31] Other Graeco-Roman attestations are: the Brooklyn Wisdom Papyrus (TM 56077) 3. l. 16-17; 3. l. 18-21; 4. l .4; Teaching of Onkhsheshonqy (TM 55919) 8. l. 23; 12. l. 9; P.Insinger (TM 56918) 2. ll. 9-13; 4. l. 23; 5. l .4; 6. ll. 3-8; 9. ll. 6-8; 12. ll. 6-7; 12. ll. 19-20; 15. ll. 10; 16. ll. 17-20; 19. ll. 9-15; 21. ll. 9; 26. ll. 7-8; 26. ll. 20; 27. l. 9; 28. l. 3; 29. l. 3; 29. ll. 5-6; 30. l. 19; 34. ll. 1-12; 34. l. 13.
[32] P.Prisse = P.BN inv. 186-194, §D 519-525, 15. ll. 11-13.
[33] P.Boulaq inv. 4 r. 23. ll. 15-16.
[34] The speaker of the Satirical Letter, O.DeM inv. 1070, §KÄT 11-15, 1. ll. 2-7 calls himself wise (in addition to many other things) if the reading is correct.
[35] See Lazaridis (2007) 223-226.
[36] Dieleman (1998). See also Bickel (2010) 123: «Der vorherrschende Diskurs über Frauen hat sich jedoch geändert, es prädominiert in der literarischen Darstellung eine markante Betonung der Alterität, über die Distanz und Ausgrenzung konstruiert werden. Es wird nicht mehr die Beziehung des Mannes zu seiner Gattin oder zu

predominantly male audience had many bad male characters to read about –and women. There are no female fools or enemies; there are only females, and very few wise women. Even the designation, wise woman, is modeled after the male term (*sḫm.t-rmṯ(.t)-rḫ.t*). Only three maxims mention a wise woman: Onkhsheshonqy 18. l. 9 «Give a hundred silver pieces to a wise woman; do not accept two hundred silver pieces from a foolish one»; 18. l. 22 «(the) blessing of a property is a wise woman»; and P.Insinger viii ll. 5-7: «A beautiful woman who has not loved another belongs to the family(?) of wise wom(en). Bad women of the named kind are not numerous. Good temper develops in them by the ordinance of the god». As with male characters, the female characters are also given by the gods and their natures decreed upon birth. The perspective of the teachings is clear: the male audience is supposed to be warned about all other females except the wise woman.[37] A woman with such a character should be able to keep wealth together, to give a proper education to her husband's sons and to refrain from gossiping.

Finally, it is important to note that this wise woman of the teachings is not the wise woman of New Kingdom Deir el-Medina: such female ritual competence cannot be found in Graeco-Roman teachings.[38]

6. Conclusions

I hope that I have been able to demonstrate that there are wise men and women in literary texts: as protagonists in narrative and as characters in wisdom texts, both in a longue durée from earlier periods and attested in Graeco-Roman Egypt. It is important to distinguish between the religious figure, such as the *theios aner*, the holy man or wise woman, and literary representations such as the priest-magician, though overlaps do occur. Therefore, comparisons are legitimate and help to shed light on the intellectual background of these personages.

Moreover, the protagonists and the characters are not identical: the wise people of the narratives are not the wise people of the wisdom texts –the latter presenting more general figures, while the fictional stories focus on concrete individuals, sometimes based on historical figures, who might have been modeled after the ideal types of the wise men as occurring in wisdom literature. However, the continuation of such prototypes in Egypt is remarkable; there are matching concepts of such characters e.g. in (pagan) Greek and demotic narratives and later, in patristic literature and martyr legends. The Egyptian instructions bear out one important fact: according to the idea of fate (Shaï) and predetermination, the characters are created by the gods. Their divine plan is decreed upon every human upon birth, which makes it nigh impossible to change one's actions and fate in order to live a better life.

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bestimmten Frauen thematisiert, sondern ein globales entfremdendes Bild eines vom Mann gänzlich unterschiedlichen und für diesen oft gefährlichen Wesens gezeichnet. Die späten Lehren wollen sehr explizit den Elitemann auf den Weg der Weisheit führen, eine nicht näher definierte Weisheit wird als Standesethos propagiert. Auf diesem Weg wird die Frau immer wieder als ein Hindernis dargestellt oder als das krasse Gegenstück zum weisen Mann gezeigt».

[37] Bickel (2010) 126: «Die Ausgrenzung der Frauen aus dem Bereich der weisen Männer könnte als ein Mittel eingesetzt worden sein, wenigstens im Medium der Selbstinszenierung den Machtanspruch dieser Gesellschaftsgruppe zu festigen und ihre Rolle als alleinige Träger kulturellen Wissens zu bekräftigen». See also Lazaridis (2007) 36-37.

[38] Karl (2000) 145-146, n. 89.

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State Letters and Decrees in P.Haun. I 5 and P.Oxy. XLII 3009: an Evaluation of Authenticity

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The following discussion evaluates the issue of authenticity of the decrees and state letters in P.Haun. I 5 and P.Oxy. XLII 3009. No medieval manuscript preserves any documentary passages after the decree of Demosthenes (§§181-187) in the speech On the Crown. However, P.Haun. I 5 (1st-2nd cent. CE), which preserves portions of §§217-222, contains two state letters at §221, one decree at §217, and extensive traces of two decrees at §222. Furthermore, P.Oxy. XLII 3009 (2nd cent. CE) preserves out of context a state letter whose wording in the main text is identical with that of one of the letters at §221 in P.Haun. I 5. The only difference between the two concerns the prescript of the letter in P.Oxy. XLII 3009, which is different from that in P.Haun. I 5 but matches, nonetheless, the prescript of the state letter preserved at §157 in the medieval manuscripts and in an unpublished Oxyrhynchus papyrus of the second-third century CE. This paper combines quantitative and qualitative approaches in order to judge the authenticity of each decree and state letter. At the outset, a word on terminology is warranted. As quantitative approach I understand the examination of the standardized or formulaic parts of these documents, such as their prescripts and dating conventions. On the other hand, I refer to focusing on the genre of these documents and the way this influences their content and style as qualitative approach.

The reasons for choosing to map out the issue of authenticity in this set of documents are many. First of all, by virtue of their close interconnection, these documents lend themselves easily to such a discussion. Second, many scholars have generally rejected all kinds of documents, decrees, and state letters, arguing that they could not have been present in Demosthenes' original draft of the speech because they are not included in the ancient stichometric totals.[1] It is mainly this parameter of the documentary material that Canevaro treats in his recent book on the documents in Demosthenes' public speeches that needs to be reconsidered.[2] I contend that stichometry from a copy that lacked the documents cannot be used as evidence for or against the authenticity of said documents or of authentic elements therein. This paper offers an alternative to Canevaro's stichometric theory: I consider the differences between Demosthenes' original drafts of the speech for delivery and later copies of the speech On the Crown for publication and what these differences suggest about the aim of the editor who inserted the documents at a later date. In addition, I examine the

[1] Goodwin (1901) 351 claimed that documents not represented in the ancient stichometric count have supplied «a new and most unexpected argument against the authenticity of the public documents which are found in our text of the oration on the Crown and of some other orations of Demosthenes». MacDowell (1990) 46 demonstrated that the fact that documents are not included in the ancient numbering of lines «is not conclusive proof that the documents are spurious», and concluded that the study should be based on the form and content of each document individually. Wankel (1976) 63-82 gives a comprehensive survey of previous documents in Demosthenes' On the Crown. Using a computerised count as a check against the manuscript line-count, Canevaro (2013) 319-342 has identified two different sets of documents in the public speeches of the Demosthenic corpus: documents included in the edition to which stichometry refers are usually reliable and documents omitted from the stichometric edition cannot be considered authentic.
[2] Canevaro (2013) 10-27 and 237-239.

authenticity of each document on the basis of its content and usage. This leads me to the third and final reason for examining these documents. For all passages in the On the Crown that cite or refer to state letters, we have a context that helps us to evaluate them; such a context is lacking or misunderstood especially in the case of decrees. A review of the relevant literature clarifies the confused and contradictory way in which the authenticity of the documents in the speech On the Crown has been perceived. There is much less agreement about what constitutes authenticity. In particular, prescripts, which are a typical component of decrees and state letters, hardly qualify as relevant evidence due to their most formulaic character, which means that they were merely pasted as subheadings.

All medieval manuscripts of the On the Crown attest the titles of the decrees and state letters Demosthenes refers to in §§217-223 of the speech. However, until the discovery of P.Haun. I 5 and P.Oxy. XLII 3009, the content of these documents was not known. It would seem that the documents these two papyri preserve are quite old, antedating Demosthenes' speech by at least ten or more years. They involve: first, an Athenian decree declaring a public thanksgiving; second, a decree of Aristonicus to reward Demosthenes for his services; quite possibly an honorific decree passed by Demomeles and Hyperides; and finally, Philip's letters. In all probability, Demosthenes found the state letters, together with the decrees uniquely attested in P.Haun. I 5, in the Metroon, the building in the Athenian Agora in which the central archive of the Council and the Assembly was housed. If these documents were meant to impress the jury, as is plausible to suppose, the only reason why Demosthenes would refer to them being read by the Clerk, without quoting them in his speech, would be for Demosthenes to justify the extraordinary range and intensity of his activity about which he boasted earlier in the speech.[3]

These documents, however, are not used for their content but to provide evidence that «democratic decrees are now the reason for royal discomfort and epistolary royal communication»:[4]

> Dem. 18.218:
>
> ἀλλὰ μὴν οἵας τότ' ἀφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν οἵαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπεν. και μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβών, ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ἡ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ ταλαιπωρίαι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρεν, τί ἀπηργάσατο.
>
> «You will see from Philip's letters to the Peloponnese what line he took in public at that time and what kind of trouble these events caused him. Clerk, please take the letters and read them. You need to understand what was accomplished by my tenacity, my going from place to place, my toils, and my many decrees that this man was just now ridiculing».[5]

Had the documents been included in Demosthenes' published version of the speech, they would have distracted the audience's attention from the clarity of Demosthenes' main point about the battle of Chaeronea. They would have overburdened the text by providing too much information about the implementation and success of the Theban alliance, which Philip II of Macedon had overcome. Demosthenes asks his audience at §176 to consider what he says with regard to his policy to confront Philip at Chaeronea without regard for the consequences. This requires first that he makes his speech about the Theban alliance short; second, that he avoids all details about bringing the Thebans over to Athens; and third, that he discusses the Theban issue only in outline.

[3] Yunis (2001) 232.
[4] Ceccarelli (2013) 280.
[5] Yunis (2005) 85.

Since he was concerned with the audience's patience, Demosthenes omits the arguments of the earlier delivered version of the speech, as Yunis puts it, because «his brilliant performance in the Athenian Assembly must not be overshadowed»:[6]

> Dem. 18.214:
>
> ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν {τοῦ βίου}, ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε· ὅ τι δ' οὖν ἐπείσαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. λέγε ταυτὶ λαβών.[7]
>
> «As for what we said in response, I would give my entire life to relate it in detail, but since the moment has passed, and you may feel as if a cataclysm has overtaken the political world, I fear that the speeches on this subject would seem pointless and tedious. But hear what we persuaded them to do and how they answered us. Clerk, take the document and read it».[8]

It is especially Demosthenes' wording that he «would give [his] entire life to relate it in detail» that conveys, as Yunis states, «Demosthenes' chagrin that this audience will not hear this speech»,[9] let alone any documents which are otherwise fully integrated with this speech.

Demosthenes certainly had access to copies of all the documents while he was preparing the speech for delivery –he needed to study the material before the trial– or at a later point, when he was preparing the text of the speech for publication. How can this be reconciled with the fact that all documents from §29 to §181-187 have been included in the transmitted text, while this is not the case with the documents referred to in the section from §212 to §289? Demosthenes was, quite likely, responsible for the inclusion of the documents in the first two-thirds of the published version of the speech. If that is really so, the presence or absence of documents in the On the Crown must reflect an authorial choice, rather than some vagary of the manuscript tradition. Accordingly, Demosthenes added to the speech only those documents that he considered to be crucial to his case –that is, documents that explained to Demosthenes' audience the reasons why Demosthenes adopted the policy of fighting against Philip and encouraged the jurors to crown him. In support of this hypothesis, I would draw attention to the fact that all medieval manuscripts, and virtually all our papyri, preserve the same documents for the same sections of the speech. We must also bear in mind that our manuscripts are independent witnesses of earlier manuscripts that no longer exist.[10] Consequently, they preserve the text of a common ancestor that must go back to the earlier stages of the transmission of the text or even to Demosthenes himself.[11]

The proposed hypothesis accounts for what is in most need of explanation: namely the uniformity of content of the documents transmitted in all medieval manuscripts and the oldest extant papyri of the On the Crown. We may postulate that at some point an edition of the On the Crown with these documents was handed down, becoming so authoritative and widespread that it was the only one to be represented in the medieval tradition. P.Oxy. XI 1377 (1st cent. BCE) reports the letter to the Thebans that we read in the medieval manuscripts at §167. This means that a copy of such an edition of On the Crown was in circulation in Oxyrhynchus by the end of the Hellenistic age, as the *terminus ante quem* provided by the papyrus seems to confirm.

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[6] Yunis (2001) 230.
[7] The text of On the Crown, documents and all, has been taken from Dilts (2001), unless when represented by the papyri, in which case the transcribed or edited text is printed.
[8] Yunis (2005) 84.
[9] Yunis (2001) 230.
[10] Yunis (2001) 28. Erbse (1961) 262-264 for a general discussion on the Demosthenic manuscript tradition. Wankel (1976) 63-71 on the manuscripts of On the Crown.
[11] Pasquali (1962) 285.

However, this reconstruction of the speech's textual tradition cannot account for the inclusion of the documentary passages in P.Haun. I 5 and P.Oxy. XLII 3009 that are not found in any of the medieval manuscripts and also differ from each other in the prescript.[12] (I will return to the prescript in my assessment of the authenticity of state letters in P.Haun. I 5 and P.Oxy. XLII 3009 below). The documents preserved in these papyri may go some way towards explaining why Demosthenes did not include them in the version of the text he intended to publish after the trial, unless we suppose that he produced for circulation two recensions of the text, one with the passages these papyri preserve and one without. However, like Yunis, I find this hypothesis unconvincing.[13] Instead, it makes more sense that an early editor included these documents in an edition tailored for readers who lacked knowledge of the historical circumstances Demosthenes refers to. However this may have been, the main question that remains to be answered concerns the provenance or authenticity of the documents that P.Haun. I 5 and P.Oxy. XLII 3009 preserve.

In his recent discussion of documents in Demosthenes' public speeches, Canevaro argues that the documents in the On the Crown have no claim to authenticity because they were most certainly not included in Demosthenes' edition to which stichometry refers.[14] Consequently, Canevaro continues, they must be later insertions and as such Hellenistic forgeries.[15] In support of his claim, Canevaro sums up in his conclusions that all non-stichometric documents, as he calls them, are «inconsistent with independent historical information»; he also claims that «their language and terminology do not resemble those of contemporary inscriptions, and the information they provide seems to derive from casual reading of the orators and (perhaps) of some other source».[16] However, as MacDowell argues in his discussion of the documents of the speech Against Meidias (which Canevaro also takes to be later forgeries again because they are not included in the stichometric totals), there is no reason why we should dismiss all the documents out of hand. MacDowell rightly concludes that, although the documents will not have been present in the original draft of the Against Meidias, they may nonetheless have been collected in a separate dossier, as would have been the case for the trial, and inserted by an editor at a later date.[17]

Consequently, as MacDowell argues, the authenticity of each document ought to be judged on its own merits; similarly in his study of the documents of Against Meidias, MacDowell adduces the law of hybris, three other laws, and the oracles as proof that we may accept at least some documents as authentic.[18] In his most recent paper, Carawan (2016) demonstrates why the issue of stichometry is immaterial for our purpose: in the speech Against Timokrates the targeted law, Timokrates' Surety Law (§§39-40), which was included in the line-count edition, as Carawan calls it, may be forged at the beginning and end, whereas Epikrates' decree (§27), which cannot have been part of the stichometric totals, is in parts an extract

[12] Even though Demosthenes had instructed the court clerk to read out letters that Philip had sent to the Peloponnese (§221), in P.Haun. I 5 there follows a different addressee: P.Oxy. XLII 3009 ll. 1-3. → ποννησι[ων τοις δη]||μιουργοι[ς] κ̣α̣ι̣ [τοις | συνεδροι[ς] χ̣α̣[ιρειν; P.Haun. I 5 col. iv ll. 32-34. βασιλευς Μακε̣̣[δονων Φιλιπ|π]ος Βοιωτων̣ [. . . . . τοις στρα| τηγοις και̣ τοις [. . . . . χαιρειν; P.Oxy. ined. inv. C 229 ll. 22-27. [β]α̣̣σιλευ̣ς Μακεδ[ονων] | [Φι]λιππ[ος] Πελοπ̣̣[ον]||[ν]ησιων̣ [τ]ων ε̣ν̣ [τηι] | [σ]υμμαχ[ιαι] τοις δη[μιουρ]||[γο]ις και τοι[ς] συνεδ̣[ροις] | [τ]ω̣ν αρχειων κ̣α̣ι̣ [τοις] | [α]λ̣λοις συμμαχοις̣ [πα]||[σι] χαιρειν.

[13] Yunis (2001) 27 on the supposition that «Demosthenes could have put more than one recension of On the Crown into circulation». This is a hypothesis, as Yunis argues, which «cannot be disproved, though nothing in the history of the text requires it».

[14] Canevaro (2013) 239.

[15] Canevaro (2013) 333-334.

[16] Canevaro (2013) 319, and also 329-333.

[17] MacDowell (1990) 46.

[18] MacDowell (1990) 46.

from the authentic one.[19] This stands in opposition to Canevaro's view that the documents in Demosthenes' speech Against Timokrates, which were included in the stichometric totals, are usually reliable, while those that were inserted at a later date should be considered later forgeries.[20] In view of these difficulties, it seems sensible to reserve judgment on how much stichometry can contribute to answering questions of authenticity, and base our study instead, as MacDowell urges, on the form and the content of each of our documents individually.[21]

In the set of documents preserved in P.Haun. I 5 and the self-standing letter of Philip in P.Oxy. XLII 3009 we can see quite clearly how later editing of component parts of the document that are external, at any rate, to the content of the documents, has muddled the textual tradition and given a confused and contradictory picture about their structure, which has led some scholars to believe that the documents do not merit a place in modern editions.[22] The irregularity of the prescript in the letter of Philip to the Boeotians in P.Haun. I 5 has been the main reason why Droysen argued against the authenticity of this letter.[23] It is certainly true that in the context of §218 Peloponnesians have an expected place, and Boeotians have not. If the irregularity in the prescript were the only objection to the authenticity of the letter, which is otherwise unobjectionable, it would be sensible to suggest that prescripts are not integral to the message. Again, we may doubt that an editor would have taken the trouble to learn the proper form of Macedonian prescripts addressed to the Peloponnesians at §157, or else magistrates and councillors should not have appeared in a Peloponnesian context. We might therefore expect that the editor would at least try to save himself trouble by always using the same one prescript so that its repetition, as in the letter at §157 in the papyri and the medieval manuscripts, might be proof of his careless work or of fabrication.

Even though Canevaro acknowledges that prescripts are more susceptible to fabrication than any other structural element in a document for reasons I am currently bringing together in a paper discussing the quantitative approach, he claims on the basis of this evidence alone that «Different forgers were in action and that they sometimes composed different documents for the same gaps in the text of a speech».[24] Wankel undertook a detailed study of the two papyri preserving the documents and reconstructed the letter of Philip to the Peloponnesians in P.Haun. I 5 reconstructing the text from P.Oxy. XLII 3009.[25] It may clearly be seen that the so-called Boeotian and Peloponnesian versions, as scholars name them, differ only in minor details in the sentences following the prescript; furthermore, these details are such that, were it not for the different addressee in the prescripts, the Peloponnesians in P.Oxy. XLII 3009

[19] Carawan (2016) 45, 52-53.
[20] Canevaro (2013) 78, 319.
[21] MacDowell (1990) 46, with footnote 2.
[22] Yunis (2001) 30-31.
[23] Droysen (1893) 141-142.
[24] Canevaro (2013) 332-333 states that «the most formulaic sections of Athenian [...] decrees are the prescripts» and that «it was necessary for the forgers of the decrees of Dem. 18 to fabricate the prescripts, since the dating and the context of the individual measures were often the main point of the orator's argument». Canevaro supposes (2013 [333]) that the reason why «such factors» as the prescripts «can account only partially for the different quality of the insertions», is due to the fact that alternative versions of this speech circulated in antiquity. However, this argument fails to take into account that P.Haun. I 5, P.Oxy. XLII 3009, and P.Oxy. ined. inv. C 229, all three of which cover the gap at § 221, agree in the text they preserve, with the minor difference of the addressee in the prescript of P.Haun. I 5. He thus follows the view of previous scholars that «Perhaps different recensions of the forgeries circulated, just as different selections of them appeared in different texts of the speech (PAnt. 27, introduction)» (as cited in P.Oxy. XLII 3009).
[25] Wankel (1975) 152-154. Canevaro (2013) 2 (with footnote 5), citing Wankel (1975), states at the outset that «The document reported by P.Oxy. XLII 3009 at §221 does not match the corresponding document in P.Haun. I 5». Through this elusive statement , Canevaro prepares the way for dismissing the documents as utterly spurious despite the fact that both edited papyri and P.Oxy. ined. inv. C 229 clearly represent the same tradition with regard to the main text of the letters.

and the Boeotians in P.Haun. I 5, they cannot be considered to represent two different versions of the documents. If we postulate that the prescripts are extraneous to the letters transmitted, then the differences are not sufficient to support the assumption that these are different versions. They represent minor variants of the usual type exhibited in the tradition. Even if we suppose that the state letter existed in a number of different versions, the nature of the variations shows that the editor responsible for P.Haun. I 5 and P.Oxy. XLII 3009 followed the same text for both inserts in the copies of the speech, and that this text must have existed for at least some time, in order to spread out across the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite nomes, from which P.Haun. I 5 and P.Oxy. XLII 3009 originate.

For the purpose of the discussion concerning the decrees and state letters in P.Haun. I 5, I will next take a closer look at the decrees in §217 and §222 in order to demonstrate that there are components that seem to derive from reliable sources. The wording preserved in the decree of Demomeles and Hyperides (§222) resembles in its component parts the wording of Aristonicus' decree in §84 and that used by Demosthenes (§57) and Aeschines when they refer to Ctesiphon's decree (Aeschin. 3.49, 101, 237). The expression [λεγων και πραττων] τα αριστα | [- - - 10 - - - διατελει τ]ω [δη]μω τω | [Αθηναιων - - 10 - -] (col. vi 1-3), which may be safely reconstructed on the grounds of the name of Demosthenes, i.e. Δημοσθε|[νης Δημοσθενους Π]αιανιευς (col. v 37-38), is consistent with that in the decree moved by Aristonicus (§84), διατελεῖ εὔνους ὢν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπέρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων («is a constant friend of the Athenian People, and by word and deed does his utmost in the interests of the Athenian themselves as well as of the other Greeks»).[26] Likewise, there are different iterations of the expression πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ ἄριστα in Demosthenes and in those passages of Aeschines cited above.

Furthermore, the language in which the praise is expressed, i.e. καλοκαγαθια[c] ενεκεν ο̣π̣ο̣|τε ε̣ι̣c τ̣ε αυτους και τ̣ο̣ν̣ cυμπαν|τα δ[η]μ̣ο̣ν̣ τον Αθ[η]ν[αι]ω̣ν̣ εν παν|τι καιρω προθυμος ε[cτι]ν (col. vi 31-34), is consistent with what is said about Demosthenes in the indictment (§54), ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἴς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρόθυμος ἐστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν («for his merit and for the goodwill which he has constantly displayed both towards all the Greeks and towards the people of Athens, and also for his steadfastness, and because he has constantly by word and deed promoted the best interests of the people, and is forward to do whatever good he can»).[27] Both sets of wording cited from the decree parallel contemporary Athenian honorific decrees in aspects that are easily identifiable on account of their formulaic character.[28] Canevaro argues that the presence of the formula of praise διατελεῖ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα, quoted several times in Demosthenes and Aeschines' speeches with consistent wording, would credit the decree of Ctesiphon (§118) with some authenticity if it were present in the document.[29] Indeed, repetitions of the same formula, i.e. διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων (with the variants τὰ ἄριστα, τὰ βέλτιστα, and ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν) in the speeches and the decrees quoted in P.Haun. I 5 make its presence certain in the original document and guarantees the authenticity of such components.

Demosthenes (§223) provides the strongest evidence that the documents in P.Haun. I 5 may preserve reliable historical information drawn from the decrees of Demomeles and

[26] Vince / Vince (1971) 71.
[27] Vince / Vince (1971) 53.
[28] Larsen (1942) 36-37 and Canevaro (2013) 258-259 adduce instructive examples from honorary decrees inscribed in that period that corroborate the wording attested in the decree.
[29] Canevaro (213) 289.

Hyperides. According to Demosthenes, both these decrees, which would have just been read out in court, are phrased in the exact same manner as the decree of Aristonicus (§84) and the decree of Ctesiphon (§118) indicted by Aeschines. Features in them that can be paralleled in other honorific decrees do not in themselves provide sufficient grounds of their authenticity. These could be, after all, the product of a composer repeating the same wording for decrees intended for the same individual. But, since these words and formulas to which Demosthenes refers are confirmed by independent evidence and conform to the language and formulas of contemporary inscriptions, as I hope to have demonstrated, they can indeed be considered evidence that these four inserts in the speech, may have actually descended in parts from the original texts of the documents in the speech.

> Dem. 18.223
>
> Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ ταὐτὰ ῥήματ᾽ ἔχει ἅπερ πρότερον μὲν Ἀριστόνικος, νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὑτοσί. καὶ ταῦτ᾽ Αἰσχίνης οὔτ᾽ ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς οὔτε τῷ γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησεν. καίτοι τότε τον Δημομέλη τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν Ὑπερείδην, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ᾽ ἐδίωκεν.
>
> «These decrees, Athenians, have the same language, word for word, as both the one earlier proposed by Aristonicus and the one now moved by Ctesiphon here, though Aeshines neither prosecuted them himself nor lent any support to the prosecutor. Yet if his current charges against me have any merit, he would have had more reason to prosecute the authors of these decrees, Demomeles and Hyperides, at that time than he now does to prosecute Ctesiphon».[30]

Aristonicus' decree (in §84), which is the closest match to the decrees of Demomeles and Hyperides (in §222), has misled Canevaro to think that the composer of the decrees may have lifted the wording from Demosthenes' account of Aristonicus' decree. Canevaro claims that «the speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines could easily be the sources of a forger, and the consistency with Athenian inscriptions could be due to Demosthenes' and Aeschines' text rather than to some first-hand source for the decree of Aristonicus».[31] On balance, however, it seems reasonable to suppose that the texts of the decrees of Demomeles and Hyperides in P.Haun. I 5 (col. v 28-38 at §222) represent a set of honorific decrees with authentic parts and features therein framed to introduce something like *stare decisis* or a precedent for the approval of the decree of Ctesiphon.[32] Canevaro stresses the dubious character of the decree of Aristonicus that the decrees in §222 resemble, but it is doubtful whether any or all of those details that Canevaro objects to were part of the earlier tradition of the documents.[33] All in all, as in the decree of Aristonicus (§ 84), the early editor may have recovered parts of the decree of Demomeles and Hyperides (§222) from reliable historical sources or official records. But I doubt that in the first century he could do so much more research than his

[30] Yunis (2005) 86-87.
[31] Canevaro (2013) 259.
[32] Demosthenes at §224 of this speech makes it clear that τότε δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ πράγμ᾽ ἂν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ᾽ αὑτοῦ, πρίν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν, «Previously, the question was subject to adjudication on its own merits without these additional factors», Yunis (2005) 87. And even though Yunis (2001) 235, citing Todd (1993) 61, warns the reader that a precedent had no formal or practical role in Athenian judicial decision-making and that «there could be no doctrine of binding precedent», it could nonetheless be invoked for rhetorical or persuasive purposes.
[33] In any event, I do not think that all those parts or features that Canevaro (2013) 259-260 lists in relation to the decree of Aristonicus (§84) constitute such a departure from the documents that can prove their inauthenticity. It seems more likely that the wrong name, place and dating formula, the odd prescript or that last detail, ἀγωνοθέτης, in the document which seems anachronistic, were added by someone who took it upon himself to recover the text from whatever material he had in hand. Since the inserted document follows precisely the features summarised by the orator, we should be wary of attributing too much importance to intrusions such as the ones we encounter in the decree at §222.

successors. Otherwise he would not have added the quite unacceptable motion formula (δεδοχθ]ᾳ[ι] τη βουλη και̣ τω δη | μω, col. vi 17-18), the anachronistic wording (ἐπ<ι>[μεληθῆναι δὲ τῆς] ἀναγορευσεως, col. 21-22), and the wrong dating formula (μηνος ελαφηβολιω|νος, col. vi 25-26) in the decrees. The composer resorted to the sort of fabrication that muddled the later tradition of documents with divergent phrases such as the ones we now find in Demomeles and Hyperides. Yet this evidence should not detract from the verifiable content in the decrees, which could otherwise indicate original and reliable excerpts from the documents.

As for the decree that P.Haun. I 5 ii 9-35 preserves for the gap at Demosthenes (§217), where the decrees appointing a public thanksgiving would have stood, i.e. ψηφ[ι]ς̣ματα ||[τ]ω̣ν θυ̣σιων (col. ii 9-10), the composer would have no reason to invent an episode involving Athenian divinities in a document that sought to reconstruct the events as they had actually unfolded after the alliance of Athens and Thebes and the attendant honours and celebrations for Demosthenes' policy:

> [· · · ·]θ̣ηναι τον δημον [Αθηνα] | [Πολι]ᾰ̣δη και Ηραι και Κ̣ορ̣[η και Νι]||[κη κ]α̣ι̣ Διοσκορ̣[οι]ς κ[αι Αρει κ]αι | [Ποσ]ε̣ι̣δωνι και Θησει κ̣α̣ι̣ Ε[ρε]||[χθ]ει και τοις αλλοις ηρωσι το[ι]ς | κ̣α̣τ̣εχουσι την πολιν Α[θ]ηνα[ι]|ων και την χωραν. (col. ii 23-29)
>
> «the people to (make an offering?) to Athena Polias and Hera and Persephone and Nike and Dioscuri and Ares and Poseidon and Theseus and Erechtheus and the other heroes who inhabit the city and territory of the Athenians».

Furthermore, the expression following the names listed therein is found in very similar form in the decree of Demosthenes (§184), εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων («after offering prayers and sacrifices to the gods and heroes who guard the city and country of the Athenians»).[34] The composer must have found it in one of his sources for the decrees, which makes it quite likely that the information and the formulas they use are reliable. Again, in the first decree preserved for the gap at Demosthenes §222 (under the title ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ of the medieval manuscripts) it is likely that the editor had access to a copy of key documents from the decree of Aristonicus onwards or else he could not have provided the full name of Aristonicus, i.e. Αριστονεικο[·]||[Νικοφανους Αναγ]υρας[ι]ου (col. v 32-33), «Aristonicus, the son of Nicophanes from Anagyrus», later confirmed in the Lives of the Ten Orators ([Plut.] Mor. 848d, πρῶτος δ' ἔγραψε στεφανωθῆναι αὐτὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ Ἀριστόνικος Νικοφάνους, ὑπωμόσατο δὲ Διώνδας).

The issue of preservation plays a role in how we assess the authenticity of those documents. One notes a certain reluctance to inscribe (and thus confer a monumental format on) the writings of another state or *polis* within one's own lifetime. This tendency concerns not solely simple administrative writing, but also royal letters whose primary function was to take precautionary measures. Yet this should not be taken as evidence against the authenticity of the documents. At any rate, we should not expect the Athenians to allow state letters from the king (which at this time means orders) to be inscribed on stone in their city's landscape. This, however, does not mean that letters were not formally accepted or that they were not received. As there was no mechanism for rejecting them, they were simply kept in the archives rather than publicised.

And here I do not mean just archives in the sense of a static repository of excerpts preserved from the text of the decrees and state letters, that editors recovered to reconstruct the documents, but rather archives in the sense of a dynamically interactive, compositional

[34] Vince / Vince (1971) 142-143.

interface of that era, consisting of a full set of decrees and state letters adduced in support of the targeted decree –in this specific case the decree of Ctesiphon. Therefore, there would also be copies (or significant excerpts) of records and documents in the official archives. These may have been preserved for many years and, perhaps for generations, among legal evidence important to Ctesiphon and to his family, if not actually in Demosthenes' collection. At any rate, if my overall argument that the documents have genuine extracts in them is correct, they must have been accessible as late as the edition that P.Haun. I 5 and P.Oxy. XLII 3009 represent. As discussed earlier with regard to the issue of stichometry, Demosthenes would probably keep a reference copy of the documents along with his personal copy of the On the Crown. Then, at some point in the third century BCE, an early editor, who somehow had access to them, saw fit to insert these documents (or significant excerpts) into the main text. Small deviations such as the odd prescripts, the wrong dating formula or the occasional anachronistic details in the decrees and state letters could have resulted from careless or officious hands responsible for the muddle in the later tradition.

There are several other possible sources from which the early editor could have drawn these documents from. He may have consulted or relied on his recollection of historical collections, such as the one Krateros made of decrees (FGrHist. 342), and inserted it in the speech. We do not know of any collection of Philip's diplomatic correspondence. Yet the fact that the letters preserved in P.Haun. I 5 and P.Oxy. XLII 3009 are in the same regular style exhibited in all other state letters by Philip in the *corpus Demosthenicum* indicates they must have been taken from collections of interstate letter writing. In any event, the editor knew of such records and recognised the importance of this set of documents that P.Haun. I 5 and P.Oxy. XLII 3009 represent –they serve as a reminder of the significant gains that the Athenians made at Philip's expense; so the editor set about recovering them, one way or another.

In conclusion, the preceding discussion has tried to demonstrate that in P.Haun. I 5 and P.Oxy. XLII 3009 we have a solid case for a set of documents that was not represented in the stichometric tradition and that could not have been made up solely from the orator's comments. It has, further, been argued that the wording of the documents preserved in P.Haun. I 5 and P.Oxy. XLII is consistent with the decrees of Ctesiphon and Aristonicus, as well as contemporary honorific decrees. Consequently their wording belongs to a set of decrees and state letters that were well known and accessible to Demosthenes and his early editors. The way in which these documents have survived makes it inevitable that speculation is inherent in any discussion of them. Nonetheless, I contend that the study of these documents, which have been overlooked or misunderstood in secondary literature, can provide some grounds for understanding the origin and authenticity of the documents in Demosthenes' public speeches in general. The application of this approach in particular to the study of the diplomatic correspondence in the *corpus Demosthenicum* will provide fresh evidence in support of the interpretations proposed in the discussion above.[35]

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[35] I hope to present the results of my research in a forthcoming monograph.

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Greek Personal Names, Unnamed Characters and Pseudonyms in the Ninos Novel*

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The present article concerns the subject of onomastics in the first novel in the history of Greek literature.[1] The main character is Ninos, the legendary king of the Assyrians according to Greek sources.[2] I will try not only to explain the origin of the proper names appearing in this fictional work (i.e. Νίνος, Θάμβη and Δερκεία) but also to connect them with Greek literary tradition, epigraphic testimonies and a number of oriental sources. Regarding Νίνος, my starting hypothesis is that this Greek form may have had an archetypal or aulic value at some point in the history of this word, such as the name Σεμίραμις or perhaps even Μίνως. I will also suggest possible reasons why two important characters remain unnamed in the papyri (more precisely, Nino's betrothed and his father), and pose a separate question about the name of some of the authors, wondering if they could be pseudonyms.

Personal names in the Vita Aesopi, the Ephesiaka by Xenophon Ephesius, The Golden Ass by Apuleius, the Satyricon by Petronius and other works still preserved in their complete form have long been the subject of study.[3] My starting point is that the novel genre comprises fiction in prose where authors have complete freedom when naming their characters. However, most of the personal names found in papyrus fragments of novels are real and are attested in inscriptions and other sources.[4]

The corpus of lost novels now comprises ca. 40 papyri which include over fifty personal names (approximately 30 of them male and the other 20 female).[5] While a number of these names appear in other novels preserved in their complete form (such as Ἀνθεία, Δρύας, Θεμιστώ, Ἵππασος, Καλλιγόνη and Κλέανδρος), others stem from historiographical sources or can be identified with historical figures (Νίνος, Μητίοχος, Πολυκράτης, Ἡγησιπύλη, Ἀναξιμένης, Σεσόγγοσις and Θεανώ, to cite but a few), still others correspond to the Epic

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[1] The original text is lost. Only three fragments corresponding to two papyri have been preserved (P.Berol. 6926 + P.Gen. 2.85 and PSI 13.1305). O.Edfou. 2.306, whose reading is uncertain, may correspond to a school exercise inspired by the novel, as is the case of the ostrakon corresponding to the romance Parthenope. Editions of Ninos by Kussl (1991) 13-101 and (1997); Stephens and Winkler (1995) 23-71; López-Martínez (1998a) 37-80; Bastianini (2010). Recent studies: Gärtner (2010); Kanavou (2016); López-Martínez (2017a); (2017b). In López-Martínez (forthcoming), I argue that the original text may have been written in the region of Parthia halfway through the 1st century BCE. Bowie (2002), Tilg (2010) and Laplace (2011) offer different dates for the first novels.

[2] Mignona (2000) presents an overview of all the sources.

[3] Brotherton (1934); Hägg (1971); Priuli (1975); Hijmans (1978); Barchiesi (1984); Rodríguez-Morales (1989); Ruiz-Montero (1994); (2017); Herrero Ingelmo (1996); Bowie (1995); Kanavou (2006); (2010); Cioffi / Trnka-Arnrhein (2010). See also Booth / Maltby (2002).

[4] I have used data from the TLG, LGPN, Trismegistos (People), ETCSL (Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature), CIG, and the Dizionario Etimologico della Mitologia Greca Online (DEMGOL).

[5] For an explanation of the criteria employed to include fragments within the corpus, see López Martínez (1997); (1998b); (2010).

Cycle (appearing in fragments of the Ephemeris by Dictys) and a final group includes those hitherto unattested (Θάμβη, Μαγώας, Μεαμῆρις, Οὐέβηελις, Πανιονίς or Τινοῦφις, among others).

The proper name Νίνος is not associated with any historical Assyrian king.[6] According to the most widely held view, the Greek form Νίνος corresponds to the eponymous hero of the city of Nineveh.[7] The fact that the character already appears in the works of Herodotus and Ctesias suggests that the legend may have been invented before the 5th century.[8] Phocylides is cited as the earliest reference: Καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδου· πόλις ἐν σκοπέλωι κατὰ κόσμον / οἰκεῦσα σμικρὴ κρέσσων Νίνου ἀφραινούσης.[9]

Concerning the origin of the proper name Νίνος,[10] I incline towards the proposal made by the Assyriologist Speiser (1958). The short forms of proper names tend to replace the long forms both in the name's place of origin and in foreign territories, especially within a family context;[11] thus, Nimrod and the Greek form Νίνος come from a hypocoristic form Ninurta, which is in turn a simplification of the compound name Tukulti-Ninurta,[12] borne by an Assyrian king around whom a native legend could have developed.[13] Hence my speculation about the possibility that in the time of Ctesias or even earlier, any native Greek speaker travelling around Persia would understand and use the Greek form Νίνος as a title referring to an archetypal Assyrian king from a particular period –perhaps the Bronze Age.

To this must be added that the form Νίνος might have a connection with the name of another legendary king, the Cretan Μίνως[14] –also interpreted as an aulic name. The difference with respect to the ending could be due to the obscure origin of the form Μίνως. It may be documented in Mycenaean texts in the form *me-nu-wa*, which can appear as a title and as a personal name in Linear B tablets, and probably also preserves a pre-Greek substratum.[15]

The form Μίνως (which already appears in Homer, f. ex. Il. 13.450-451, 14.322) may also have facilitated the use of Νίνος as a dynastic title. Νίνος could be a standardised form with *omicron* of an older form, *Νίνως. The personal name Νίνος appears in Herodotus, and according to the LGPN, the oldest epigraphic testimony of Νίνος, found in Miletus (Caria), dates back to the 3rd century BCE.[16] Nevertheless, the form Νίνων with omega is already

[6] Weidner (1936); Roscher (1965).
[7] Regarding the Akkadian and Aramaic etymology of the name of the city of Nineveh, cf. Baden / Najman / Tigchelaar (2017) 437-438.
[8] Hdt. 1.7 and Ctes. 688 F 1b FGrH (*ap.* D.S. 2.1-21). Cf. Dalley (2013) 121.
[9] Fr. 4 Gentili / Prato. See Rollinger / Korenjak (2001).
[10] Νίνος is not mentioned by Chantraine (1999) or Beekes (2009).
[11] Matthews (2012).
[12] «My trust is in (the god) Ninurta». The simple 'Ninurta' is the standardised form of the Sumerian divine name 'nin-urta', cf. ETCSL, s.v. nin-urta.
[13] Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242-1206 BCE).
[14] Chantraine (1999) 705, s.v. Μίνως: «Terme de substrat sans etymologie. Hypothèse de Brandenstein, Jahrb. Kleinas. Forsch. 2,13 s.qq., qui pense que le mot signifierait "roi"». Μίνως does not appear in Beekes (2010).
[15] Aura Jorro (1985) 436-437; Krieter-Spiro (2009) 149-150; Kanavou (2015) 51 and n. 127. Carnoy (1957) 129 compared Minos with the Hindu Manu, the first man in Indian mythology. Zufferli / Marzari s.v. Μίνως: «Un'etimologia sicura non è stata ancora trovata. Secondo Chantraine (1999) questo nome appartiene al sostrato. Von Kamptz (Homerische Personennamen, p. 353) ritiene che si tratti di un nome pregreco dell' Asia Minore. Carnoy (1957) pensa che sia possibile un confronto con *Manu-*, divinità degli Indù, figlio di Vivasvat, "il sole nascente", anche se con cautela: ipotizza che un'uscita forte in *-ōus > ōs* abbia potuto rendere la a una vocale vaga, che in pelasgico sarebbe stata resa con *u*; dalla forma **munōus* ci sarebbe stato il passaggio a *mynōus*, quindi a *minōs*».
[16] LGPN, s.v. Νίνος. Two papyri from Alexandria dated to the 2nd century CE shed light on the social status of some people named Νίνος: the first (P.Bingen 77, TM 78045) contains a record of the cargo ships that arrived in Alexandria from Ostia and the ports in the eastern Mediterranean. In this case, one of the ship owners is named

found in the 5th century BCE in southern Italy, and more specifically in Croton (LGPN, s.v. Νίνων). In addition, the form Μίνος appears in Amargetti (Cyprus) halfway through the 3rd century BCE.[17]

All the above-mentioned variants and evidence allow me to propose a hypothesis which undoubtedly entails a certain degree of risk: could the term Μίνως/Μίνος have facilitated the forms Νίνων/Νίνος?[18] Herodotus claims that Ninos is third in descent from Herakles and places him in the context of the Trojan War and the ensuing settlement stage.[19]

A similar process regarding a historical figure –the Pharaoh Sesostris of the Twelfth Dynasty in Egypt, whose name was also used as an aulic name[20]– deserves to be borne in mind. He too played the leading role in a lost Greek novel that we only know in part thanks to five papyri conserving fragments of the original text.[21]

Despite the distance between them, Sesostris and Ninos share several features that I would categorise as curious because we have testimonies of the relationships between the Middle East (Anatolia and Asia Minor) and Egypt.[22] Tukulti-Ninurta I reigned between 1243 and 1207 BCE,[23] and a significant volume of archaeological and literary evidence referring to important buildings has been preserved describing the foundation of a new capital together with the implementation of an aggressive foreign policy.[24] While still alive, Tukulti Ninurta I was honoured with an epic poem entitled The epic of Tukulti-Ninurta,[25] and recent studies have argued that this text was used in Mesopotamian education in the 1st millennium BCE.[26]

A similar process would have taken place in the case of the Greek name of Sammu-ramat:[27] the Assyrian queen became an archetype of queens married to kings from exotic and faraway

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Νίνος and his ship was loaded with wine from Anemourion, Cilicia, the southernmost point of Asia Minor, opposite Cyprus. The other (BGU 2 462, M 9190) details an application filed with the *epistrategus* Gaius Statilius Maximus in the city of Arsinoites, Egypt, ca. 155-156 CE. In this text, the soldier Gaius Iulius Apollinarius requests that the tenants pay him a rent for the land that had been confiscated from his family, his father and his brother Ninos.

[17] Date and reading (the last vowel could be *omicron* or *omega*) are not completely sure. Cf. LGPN, s.v. Μίνος.

[18] Regarding the form Μίνως from Perinthos-Herakleia, in the 4th century BCE, cf. LGPN, s.v. Μίνως.

[19] Hdt. 1.7. Yildirim (2004) 23-52.

[20] Senwosret I (1920-1875 BCE), Senwosret II (1845-1837 BCE) and Senwosret III (1837-1819 BCE, cf. Hornung / Krauss / Warburton (2006) 491-492. Senwosret I and after Senwosret III earnt a such an enduring reputation for his military skills, the importance of his conquests and his qualities as a leader that literary texts inspired by this dynasty were written during the Middle Kingdom, cf. Posener (1996); Simpson (1996); Parkinson (2002); (2009), among others. As for the legend of Sesostris in classical sources, see Malaise (1966). Greek texts present variants in the transcription of this name: Σέσωστρις (Hdt. 2.102-111), Σεσόωσις (D.S. 1.53-59), and Σεσογγωσις / Σεσοχγωσις (P.Oxy. XXVII 2466, P.Oxy. XLVII 3319, P.Oxy. XV 1826, P.Oxy. XXXI 2562 and P.Oxy. XXXI 2563), among others. Herodotus and Diodorus are the main Greek sources on Sesostris, Sesoosis and Sesonchosis. According to Ryholt (2010) 432: «a further measure of the great popularity enjoyed by these stories is the number of people, both Egyptian and Greek, who were named after Sesostris».

[21] P.Oxy. 2466, XLVIII 3319 and P.Oxy. XV 1826 were edited by Stephens / Winkler (1995) 246-266 and López-Martínez (1998a) 357-375. P.Oxy. XXXI 2562 and P.Oxy. XXXI 2563 have been edited by Trnka-Amrhein (2016a); (2016b).

[22] And also Crete, cf. Matthews / Roemer (2016), among others.

[23] Klengel (1961); Streck (2014), among others.

[24] Gilibert (2008).

[25] Machinist (1978); Foster (1993) 209-230, 318-323; Carr (2011).

[26] Carr (2011) 312.

[27] 810-782 BCE. Regarding the identification Sammu-ramat–Semiramis, cf. Rollinger / Korenjak (2001) 201-206 and Rollinger (2010) 385-386.

lands. Hence, the Hellenised form of her name, Σεμίραμις, was applied to other prestigious historical Assyrian queens, particularly Naqi'a-Zakutu, Sennacherib's second wife.[28]

My hypothesis can be summarised as follows: according to Greek sources, it is possible that anthroponyms such as Σέσωστρις, Μίνως, Νίνος or Σεμίραμις served as aulic names designating emblematic figures in native legends about historical kings and queens from the Bronze Age transmitted through the oral and written tradition.

Also according to Greek sources,[29] Queen Semiramis was Ninos' consort and later his widow.[30] A number of scholars have claimed that the historical Assyrian Queen Sammu-ramat (c. 809-806) is behind the legendary character of Semiramis. Diodorus (2.4.4-6) describes her baptism: her mother abandoned her while she was still a newborn baby, but she managed to survive thanks to the care of doves. She was later found by shepherds, who delivered her to the guard, who in turn delivered her to the king. The king adopted her and gave her a speaking name, Semiramis, which according to Diodorus means 'dove' in Assyrian.[31] Greek sources describe her as an intelligent, active and ambitious person, sometimes depicting her as a masculine woman with libertine and even depraved sexual habits (Dino 690 F7 FGrH; Ath.Hist. 681 F1 FGrH; Cono 26, narr. 9 FGrH; and Plu. Amat. 753DE).[32]

However, it is an important fact that «the most famous of all the women we know»[33] is an anonymous character in the Greek papyri of the lost Ninos novel,[34] in which she is only referred to as ἡ παῖς (P.Berol. Inv. 6926 II.146 and II.175), ἡ παρθένος (P.Berol. Inv. 6926 II.251, II.278 and II.205) and ἡ κόρη (P.Berol. Inv. 6926 II.248 and II.296). The absence of the name may be due to chance, because no fragment containing the form Σεμίραμις has been preserved, but might equally be due to a deliberate plan to erase her name with this *damnatio memoriae*, remove all traces of the famous Assyrian queen's inappropriate past and focus all attention on the young prince Ninos instead.[35]

The Ninos novel is usually studied in relation to Parthenope, another lost historical novel that corresponds to the early stages of development of this genre and has Metiochos and Parthenope as its main characters.[36] He is the young son of Miltiades, the hero of Marathon, and she, the daughter of the tyrant Polycrates of Samos, unnamed in Herodotus' third book

[28] Dalley (2005); (2013).
[29] Ctes. Persica 1-2 = FGrH 688 F1 a-n; D.S. 2.4-20 and Nic.Dam. FGrH 90 F1. Other sources: Hdt. 1.184; Dino FGrH 690 F7; Polyaen. 8.26; Luc. Syr.D. 14; Pompeius Trogus (Just. Epit. 1.1-2); and Sud. s.v. Σεμίραμις.
[30] Cappomacchia (1986) 17-48 and Gera (1997) 65-83 provide a review of classical sources. There are many monographs and partial studies on Semiramis and the couple Ninos–Semiramis: Lehmann-Haupt (1910); Eilers (1971); Nagel (1982); Pettinato (1985); Kussl (1991); Gera (1997); Mignona (2000); Dalley (2005); (2013); Asher-Greve (2006); Bernbeck (2008); Rollinger (2010); López-Martínez (2017a); (2017b), among others. Three studies from a gender perspective merit special mention: Asher-Greve (2006); Bernbeck (2008); López-Martínez (2017b). A historiographical review of studies on the Ancient Near East from a gender perspective was carried out by Justel (2011). Regarding the possibility that P.Oxy. XXXI 2564 is a fragment from a lost Semiramis novel, see: Trnka-Amrhein (2016c); López Martínez (2017c). The iconography provides several testimonies about this couple in the Roman Empire, cf. Yildirim (2004).
[31] On the Syro-Palestinian background of the names Semiramis and Derketo, cf. Weinfeld (1991); Bernbeck (2008).
[32] Cf. Gera (1997) 76-77 and 82-83; Mignona (2000) 323-324.
[33] D.S. 2.4.1.
[34] Τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην ἁπασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν ἣν παρειλήφαμεν, D.S. 2.4.1.
[35] One possible explanation from a political point of view can be found in: López-Martínez (2017a); (2017b). In relation to Semiramis' shame, see: Anderson (2009); López-Martínez (2010); Kanavou (2016).
[36] A complete study by Hägg / Utas (2003). Editions by Kussl (1991) 165-167; Stephens / Winkler (1995) 72-100; López-Martínez (1998a) 121-144. See also López-Martínez / Ruiz-Montero (2016a); (2016b).

but called Parthenope in the papyri.[37] I allude to Parthenope at this point because the novel is the opposite of Ninos: Polycrates' daughter is unnamed in historiographical sources (Herodotus) but bears a name in the papyri. Furthermore, curiously enough, Μητίοχος and Πολυκράτης bear speaking names in the episode narrated by Herodotus.[38]

Semiramis also remains present with variants of her name. The legend subsequently passed on to Armenia;[39] thus, in the History of Armenia by Moses Chorenensis (5th century CE), the Assyrian queen, King Ninos' widow, is named Shamiran. She fell in love with Ara the Beautiful, the Armenian prince who founded the Armenian nation.[40] Centuries later, the Persian poet Neẓāmi wrote a romantic epic Ḵosrow o Širin, which has Shirin as its main character. Shirin –the niece and heir of Shamirā, queen of Armenia and Arrān– is a strong girl who receives a careful and thorough education comparable to that received by the female protagonist of a Persian epic poem based on the aforementioned lost Greek novel, Parthenope. The Persian version of Parthenope entitled Vāmiq u 'Adhrā (The Virgin and her Lover) was written by 'Unṣurī in the 11th century.[41] To my mind, a lost Greek novel with the Assyrian Queen Semiramis as its protagonist was the source for the Armenian chronicle written by Moses Chorenensis and the Persian epic poem authored by Neẓāmi.[42] Moreover, P.Oxy. XXXI 2564[43] mentions the conquest of Egypt and the construction of pyramids by a powerful woman –probably a queen– whose name does not appear. Based on Greek tradition, the editor of this papyrus offers several possibilities regarding her identification, notably including the Assyrian Semiramis. I wonder if the fragment P.Köln. 6.248 might be another papyrus from a hypothetical Semiramis novel (3rd century BCE).

Ninos' father is mentioned in the Greek papyri, albeit not by name (P.Berol. 6926 B II.3 and A.II.11). This may be due to pure chance, but such anonymity might also have been intended to focus attention exclusively on his son. According to the novel, Ninos and Semiramis are cousins (P.Berol. 6926 A I.35, II.43, 55). Their mothers –whose names are Δερκεία (P.Berol. 6926 A II.37-38, IV 128-129 and V 190-191) and Θάμβη (P.Berol. 6926 A IV.136 and V.159-160)– are sisters.

The name Θάμβη constitutes a *hapax*. It is probably associated with θάμβος, 'amazement' and 'astonishment', and θαμβέω, 'to remain astonished, amazed'.[44] Θάμβος has been connected to θαῦμα and τέθηπα,[45] but the etymology remains obscure.[46] As for the proper name Ἄθαμβος, this has been attested as a very frequent personal name in Delphi between 290 and 280 BCE.[47] As is well known, this oracle played an important role in the process of colonisation, strongly suggesting that this name circulated throughout a large territory that reached as far as Mesopotamia. The male form Ἀθάμβητος appears in mid-5th century BCE Thasos as well as in Styra, Euboea, from the 4th to the 3rd centuries BCE.[48]

[37] Hdt. 3.124 (Polycrates' daughter, here unnamed) and 6.39-41. See How / Well (1979); Asheri / Lloyd / Corcella (2007).
[38] I thank Prof. Maehler for this comment. On personal names and ancient historians, cf. Hornblower (2000).
[39] Maciuszak (2011).
[40] Moses Chorenensis 1.16. Armenia also plays an important role in the papyri of the Ninos novel (P.Berol. 6926 II.35 and II.69).
[41] Hägg / Utas (2003); Davies (2002).
[42] López-Martínez (2017c).
[43] Edited by Trnka-Amrhein (2016a).
[44] Chantraine (1999) 421-422.
[45] Beekes (2010) 535, s.v. θαῦμα.
[46] Beekes (2010) 532-533, s.v. θάμβος: the etymology is unclear and the origin could be pre-Greek.
[47] CIG, Ἄθαμβος. I have found neither Θάμβη nor Ἄθαμβος in TM-people.
[48] CIG, Ἀθάμβητος.

Given that the origin of Θάμβη remains unclear, I have attempted to extract information from the last part of this form. The ending of Θάμβη is similar to ἴαμβος and Ἰάμβη.[49] I do not think I am going too far in suggesting that this personal name could be inspired by the name of one of the protagonists of a legend in which another mythical maternal figure appears, the inconsolable Demeter, Δη-μήτηρ, whom only Ἰάμβη could make laugh with her obscene jokes.

In light of this information, it may be no coincidence that there are three proper names with a common origin, Ἰάμβη, Ἰαμβοῦλος and Ἰάμβλιχος,[50] which also present undeniably literary and even novelistic echoes. The first is the writer Ἰαμβοῦλος (c. 3rd century BCE, regardless of whether he is a historical figure or not, or a Syrian native or not), who can be placed within the same geographical context as the Ninos novel.[51] The second is Ἰάμβη, which may have been the inspiration for the name the novelist created for the mother of the legendary Assyrian King Ninos, Θάμβη, which in turn is a *hapax.* The last is Iamblichus from Syria,[52] who wrote the Babyloniaka (Τὰ Βαβυλωνιακά) between 164 and 180 CE, more than a century after Ninos. The adventures of the leading couple, Rhodanes and Sinonis, also unfold in Mesopotamia.[53]

In the light of coinciding names such as Xenophon of Ephesus and Xenophon of Athens[54] or Lollianos the author of Phoinikika and Lollianos the professor of rhetoric,[55] I wonder the extent to which ancient novelists selected names from literary tradition as a pseudonym.[56] Could the author of the Babyloniaka have chosen a pseudonym due to local and fictional associations with a name such as Ἰάμβλιχος? More specifically, if we accept the possibility that the personal name Ἰάμβη may have been the inspiration for Θάμβη, could both names – Ἰάμβη and Θάμβη– have influenced the choice of the pseudonym Ἰάμβλιχος by the author of the Babyloniaka?[57]

Even though the complete text of Babyloniaka has been lost and we have no papyri from this novel, we know the plot from a summary in the Bibliotheke by Photios and some quotations

[49] Regarding ἴαμβος, Chantraine (1999) 453; Beekes (2010) 572, s.v. See also LGPN, s.v. Ἴαμβος Regarding Ἰάμβη, see Zufferli s.v.

[50] LGPN and TM-People, s.v. Ἰάμβλιχος. The proper names Ἰάμνεια (LGPN, s.v.) and Ἰάμβλοχος (LGPN, s.v.) also exist.

[51] We know him because of the information provided by D.S. 2.55-60 and Luc. VH 1.3.4.

[52] This name has a considerable literary tradition. According to the online version of the Diccionario Griego-Español (DGE), there are three Greek authors called Iamblichus: *alchemista*, *philosophus* and *scriptor eroticus.*

[53] On the context of this novel, see Morales (2006); Rojas Álvarez (2016), among others.

[54] See also Herrero Ingelmo (2001) 66.

[55] The name Lollianos often appears in documents from Greco-Roman Egypt, but I wonder if the fact that four particularly highly educated people (three of them connected to Oxyrhynchus) were called Lollianos is a mere coincidence: 1. The sophist Hoerdonius Lollianus (in Ephesos, 2nd century CE); 2. The novelist (papyri found in Oxyrhynchus and dated in the 2nd-3rd centuries CE); 3. The teacher (γραμματικὸς δημόσιος at Oxyrhynchus in 253-260 CE); and 4. The lettered woman Lolliana (called Aurelia Taisous, who is mentioned in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus dated on 15 July 263 CE), as I note in López-Martínez (forthcoming). According to data from the LGPN, there was also an orator from Aphrodisias named Χαιρέας in the 2nd-3rd century CE. He is the main character in the novel written by Chariton of Aphrodisias and dated to the 1st-2nd century CE. However, this information is not enormously significant because the total number of Χαιρέας in this database amounts to 190-198 in Aphrodisias.

[56] It might be interesting to consider this question in relation to the presence of an author's name attached to his text, see the study by Ni Mheallaigh K (2006), which discusses this subject in the Verae Historiae by Lucianus.

[57] In the event that this name is indeed a pseudonym voluntarily chosen by the author of the novel and not his real name. It is interesting to note the presence in 2nd century CE Egypt, specifically in Elephantine, of a Ἰάμβλιχος who worked as a γραμματεύς, cf. O.Eleph. DAIK 13, O.Eleph. DAIK 56 and O.Eleph. DAIK 14. Recall the opening of Chariton's novel: Χαρίτων Ἀφροδισιεύς, Ἀθηναγόρου τοῦ ῥήτορος ὑπογραφεύς (1.1.1).

from the Suda.[58] According to the information provided by the author himself, Iamblichos was Babylonian; he knew the language and customs of Syria and Babylonia but had also been trained in the Greek *paideia*. In addition, Russell has suggested an Armenian connection for this novel and the Ninos novel, which I have dated to I BCE, earlier than the Babyloniaka. Ninos also alludes to Armenia in fragment B (Ἀρμενι[B.I.35; Ἀρμενίους B.II.31) and refers to the Hippos River beside the Phasis (ἐπ᾽ ᾰ̣κ̣τ̣ῆς Ἵππου, D.1) and Kolchis (εἰς τὴ[ν Κ]ο̣λχίδος ἀκτήν, D.12-13), also close to Armenia. In the case of the Babyloniaka,[59] Rhodanes and Sinonis are Persian epic heroes and the personal name Rhodanes could be a Hellenised form of the Armenian *Hruden*. Russell also mentions the value of Sinonis as a speaking name, as well as the link with the Akkadian form *sinuntu* and the Aramaic *senunit*, which means 'swallow':[60] as I already said above, the speaking name 'Semiramis' means 'dove' in the Syrian language. The etymology is probably based on the Akkadian word for 'dove', *summu/summatu.*[61] Although this does not provide a conclusive answer to my previously posed question, it does at least evidence Iamblichus' onomastic sensitivity.[62]

Δερκεία (Semiramis' mother) is a variant of Δερκετώ, the leading goddess in Lucian's De Syria dea.[63] It also seems to have «Semitic roots and apparently means 'ruler of the sea'».[64] Nevertheless, the Greek form might have echoes of the verb δέρκομαι, 'to see clearly, to have sight', and is also present in personal names such as Δερκέτης, Δέρκετος, Δερκέτυς, Δερκύλος, Δέρκων and many others. Of note among these is Derkyllis, who was the main character in another lost Greek novel, Incredible things beyond Thule (Τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα), written by Antonio Diogenes and very popular in Antiquity.[65] Furthermore, Δερκ- names appear to be popular literary choices, especially in comedy.[66]

I conclude by noting that although I have been unable to answer all the questions I have raised, I hope that the present paper has helped to show that onomastics in Ninos forms a rich and complex network of references to an even greater extent than the relative to water and fish.[67]

[58] Stephens / Winkler (1995) 179-245.
[59] Russell (1994); Morales (2006).
[60] Schneider-Menzel (1948) 79; Stephens / Winkler (1995) 199; Morales (2006).
[61] Frahm (2017) 436. Other relationships can be established (Onnes, Semiramis' first husband / Assyrian Uanna) but I cannot elaborate further on this subject here.
[62] By way of example, the names given to the two brothers Tigris and Euphrates in chapter 11 could also be added.
[63] Syr.D. Cf. Lightfoot (2003) 217-218, 335-351.
[64] Gera (1997) 70. See also Weinfeld (1991); Bernbeck (2008).
[65] Ruiz-Montero (forthcoming).
[66] I thank the anonymous reviewer for this information.
[67] Water plays an important role in the Semiramis legend: her mother was called Δερκετώ, which means 'ruler of the sea' in Semitic, and excavations have confirmed the existence of a pond at Ascalon (cf. Lenfant [2004] 236). Meanwhile, Derketo has been identified as a goddess, a woman and a nymph who eventually becomes amphibian when, tormented by the feelings she has for the handsome mortal with whom she conceived her daughter, Semiramis, she throws herself into a lake (D.S. 2.4.2-3). Note also that Moses Chorenensis' History of Armenia tells us that when the Assyrian Queen Shamiran became King Ninos' widow, she fell in love with a prince and invaded Armenia to kidnap him, but he died on the battlefield and Shamiran headed south until reaching Lake Van, where she founded a city. Given the foregoing, I have concluded this paper taking into account the suggestion of another recent scholar regarding this legend, Frahm (2017) 437-438: «An additional dimension to this network of piscine references is provided by the name of the city of Nineveh. It is written in cuneiform with the grapheme NINA, which includes the sign KU_6, 'fish', and was pronounced as *Ninu(w)a* or *Ninâ,* which sounds quite similar to *nūnu* and *nunya*, the respective Akkadian and Aramaic terms for 'fish'».

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The ancient manuscript tradition of the Euripidean *hypotheses*

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The aim of this paper is to offer a survey of the *hypotheses* of Euripides' plays preserved in papyri and to assess their main features. Some of the papyrological and bibliological features of the collection, most of all consisting of narrative *hypotheses*,[1] are presented in the chart at the end of this contribution (see below, pp. 134-135). All the texts of the Euripidean *hypotheses* come from Egypt, eight certainly from Oxyrhynchus; all of them are papyri, all part of rolls, with the exception of P.Amh. II 17, a papyrus codex: for this reason, not surprisingly the most recent of the books (5th cent. CE), while P.Mil.Vogl. II 44 can be dated to the end of the 1st cent. CE, giving a chronological span of five centuries (see the table at the end of the article). Four *hypotheses* are written on the backside of the roll; in one case the fragment is opisthograph, in another the content is exclusively *hypotheses*; in seven cases the roll is blank on the verso, while in two cases the verso was re-used for accounts. In four cases the *hypotheses* are written on fragments of *kollemata*. One may be a single leaf. In at least four cases we are not sure that the text belongs to the collection of narrative *hypotheses* (P.Amh. II 17, P.Harr. I 13, P.Amst. I 7v, and P.Oxy. III 420, but the last two have at least a strictly narrative character). In nine cases more than one *hypothesis* is recoverable and it is highly probable that those rolls preserved the entire collection (or a good part of it), arranged in alphabetical order.[2] Thanks to the popularity of this kind of subliterature in imperial and late antique Egypt, the list is provisional and new accessions continue to be added: the publication of two Michigan papyri has been announced (P.Mich. inv. 2794(a) and P.Cair.Mich. inv. 2787 [LDAB 10028, CPP 226], see CLGP 10), and two new Oxyrhynchus fragments (possibly regarding the *hypothesis* of Danae, according to the future editor).[3] One item, P.Berol. inv. 13930 (= P.Schubart 21; MP^3 1203; LDAB 2762), a fragment of a parchment codex of the 5th cent. CE, was in the past thought to belong to the narrative *hypotheses*, at least for a part of its text, but has been re-identified as a work by Mythographus Homericus.

The CLGP edition follows recent and valuable editions and many substantial studies on the subject, offering a tangible sign of the increasing interest for this type of texts. The edition of Van Rossum-Steenbeek (1998) includes much more than the Euripidean *hypotheses* of

[1] Modern scholarship agrees on the following typological definition: 1) narrative *hypotheses*, known since Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff with the title of Tales from Euripides, originating from a superficial analogy with the Tales from Shakespear (sic) Designed for the Use of Young Persons of Charles <and Mary> Lamb, London, Thomas Hodgkins [*alias* William Godwin] at The Juvenile Library, 1807; 2) learned *hypotheses*, e.g., the *hypotheses* traditionally but wrongly attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium [Budé: «sage-*hypotheseis*»]; 3) descriptive *hypotheses*, e.g., the comic narrative *hypotheses* of the Aristophanic plays [medieval tradition] and the Cratinus' *hypothesis* of the Dionysalexandros (P.Oxy. IV 663: MP^3 252; LDAB 577); 4) Menandrean *hypotheses* (prose *hypotheses*, with the play's title, play's *incipit*, didascalic information, and iambic *hypotheses* [from the papyri: Men. Dysc., Her.; from the medieval manuscripts: S. OT and Ph., Aristophanes' plays [except the Th.]).

[2] To the Euripidean narrative *hypotheses* we have to add two papyri with similar Sophoclean *hypotheses*: P.Oxy. XLII 3013 (MP^3 1480.2; LDAB 3938; CPP 32; II-III^p, according to Parsons [1974]: Ter.) and LII 3653 (MP^3 1480.1; LDAB 3933; CPP 33; II^p: Naupl., Niob.).

[3] See Meccariello (2014) 107, n. 80; Meccariello (2016a); (2016b).

narrative type; the latest edition with commentary of Meccariello (2014) has not only the Euripidean and Sophoclean *hypotheses* of ancient tradition, but also those transmitted by medieval manuscripts. The papyrus fragments of the Euripidean *hypotheses* were edited as *testimonia* to the lost plays by Kannicht (2004); before and after, Jouan / van Looy (1998-2003) and Collard / Cropp (2008) made them available with French or English translation and notes.[4] The medieval Euripidean *hypotheses* were investigated in depth by the pioneering dissertations of Krenn (1971) and of Budé (1977), whose work also takes into account the comic *hypotheses* and the problem of attributing the narrative *hypotheses*. Together with the seminal contribution of Zuntz (1955) 129-152 and the countless articles dedicated to this subject by the late Wolfgang Luppe, Diggle (2005) 27-67 offered something new. Following a suggestion first made by Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff[5] and then by William Spencer Barrett, he was able to identify rhythmical *clausulae* as a systematic characteristic of ancient narrative *hypotheses*. On this basis, Diggle assigned the composition of the papyrus *hypotheses* to the so-called Asianic school of Hegesias of Magnesia. This would date their composition to between the 2nd cent. BCE and the 1st cent. CE.[6] Given the implications of this discovery for the date, the authorship, and the text of the *hypotheses*, an in-depth analysis of the prose rhythms is needed, since a study of the same phenomenon in the work of Arrian by Hutchinson (2015) may suggest a reconsideration, not necessarily a correction, of Diggle's approach.[7]

The dating proposed by Diggle is, moreover, irreconcilable with the traditional attribution of the Euripidean and Sophoclean *hypotheses* to Dicaearchus of Messana, Aristotle's pupil. The question of authorship was recently addressed by Meccariello (2014) and Verhasselt (2015). Both cautiously support the supposition of Thomas Reinesius (1660) 108, who attributed the Euripidean *hypotheses* not to the well-known Peripatetic Dicaearchus (see his biography in Suda δ 1062 A.) but to the much more obscure Spartan Dicaearchus,[8] whose existence is merely attested by the following, concise entry in the same encyclopaedia (δ 1063 A.).[9] In the Περὶ ἀντωνυμίας Apollonius Dyscolus relates that Aristarchus 'gladly' (ἀσμένως) accepted a Homeric reading by of one Dicaearchus against the *consensus codicum*.[10] According to Meccariello, the adverb ἀσμένως should hint at a close relationship between Aristarchus (the master) and this Dicaearchus (one of his pupils, presumably). Even if this interpretation of the

[4] See also Collard / Cropp / Lee (1995); Collard / Cropp / Gibert (2004).

[5] With reference to the *hypotheses* of Melanippe sapiens, Pirithous and Stheneboea transmitted by Joannes Logothetes (9th cent. CE) and Gregorius of Cyprus (10-11th cent. CE) in their commentaries on the Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος attributed to Hermogenes of Tarsus (Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff [1908] 225-232).

[6] This dating has been approved by Bing (2011) 201-202 and n. 8; see also Bing (2011) 9, n. 24 and Meccariello (2014) 80. It is consistent not only with the chronological distribution of the papyri (see above), but also with language and style of the fragmentary *hypotheses*.

[7] Meccariello (2014) accepts the evidence of the rhythmical *clausulae* for dating the collection at the end of the Hellenistic period, but refrains from using this evidence for supplementing. Given the complexity of the problem and the existence of alternate views, I will publish further on the subject.

[8] About Reinesius' theory, see the opposite opinion of Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1907) 133, n. 19 (initially favorable: see Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff [1882] 355) and Zuntz (1955) 146 and n. 1 («one will be careful not to raise the ghost of a supposed later namesake of Dicaearchus»).

[9] In addition, Reinesius identified in the Spartan Dicaearchus the Dicaearchus (cited without ethnic) rebuked by Aristophanes of Byzantium «*de male emendato carmine Alcaei*» in Ath. 3.85F (see Alc. fr. 359.3-4 V., Ar. Byz. fr. 367 Sl.). Finally, the Spartan Dicaearchus would be the deuteragonist of fr. 94 Mirhady (= 91 Wehrli^2), usually edited among the fragments of Dicaearchus the Peripatetic.

[10] A.D. Pron. 68B (II 1.1, p. 48, ll. 5-11 Uhlig-Schneider) … καὶ ἐπὶ θηλυκῆς 'τὸν ξεῖνον πέμπωμεν ἐὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν' (ν 52). φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον ἀσμένως τὴν γραφὴν τοῦ Δικαιάρχου παραδέξασθαι (Bekker : ἀναδέξασθαι cod., rec. Wehrli), ἐν γὰρ ἁπάσαις ἦν τὸ (Γ 244) 'ἑῆι ἐν πατρίδι γαίηι', ὑπολαβόντα τὸ ἑαυτῆς νοεῖσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἑῆι, δέον πάλιν ψιλῶς μεταλαμβάνειν. See also Sch. A Il. 3.244 (I p. 404, ll. 74-77 E.).

fr. 94 were right,[11] it would not be assured that the Hellenistic Dicaearchus was the author of the *hypotheses*, even if his chronology conveniently synchronized with the dating established by Diggle.

Conversely, the authorship of Dicaearchus of Messana is traditionally supported by four *testimonia*, and while none of them is devoid of uncertainty, none of them is surely unreliable either. The first and perhaps the most relevant witness is a short mention in Sextus Empiricus' Πρὸς μαθηματικούς (3.3, p. 107, ll. 11-17 Mau, see fr. 112 Mirhady = 78 Wehrli^2):[12] Sextus is explaining the meaning of the term ὑπόθεσις by using the example of Δικαιάρχου τινὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους μύθων («certain *hypotheses* of the plots of Euripides and Sophocles by Dicaearchus»).[13] The second one is the Byzantine *hypothesis* of Sophocles' Aiax (fr. 113 Mirhady = 79 Wehrli^2, S. test. 153 R.^{2}; E. test. 212 K.), which asserts that Dicaearchus (no ethnic) entitled the play Αἴαντος Θάνατος.[14] The third *testimonium* comes from the second section of the medieval *hypothesis* to the Pseudo-Euripidean Rhesus ([E.] Rh. arg. (b)[15] 23-32 D., see fr. 114 Mirhady = 81 Wehrli^2; S. test. 129 R.^{2} [= ll. 23-24 D.], E. Rh. test. ia K. [= ll. 23-44 D.]). There we read that Dicaearchus (whose name was only conjecturally restored by Nauck)[16] «in setting down the *hypothesis* of the Rhesus word for word writes as follows […]». The writer cites first an iambic *incipit* of the play not attested in our manuscripts, then an alternative prologue declared as spurious.[17] The final *testimonium* is provided by the Byzantine scholar Demetrius Triclinius, who adds

[11] See my discussion of the issue (2016).

[12] τάξεως δὲ ἕνεκα προληπτέον ὅτι πολλαχῶς μὲν καὶ ἄλλως ὑπόθεσις προσαγορεύεται, τὰ νῦν δὲ ἀπαρκέσει τριχῶς λέγεσθαι, καθ' ἕνα μὲν τρόπον ἡ δραματικὴ περιπέτεια, καθὸ καὶ τραγικὴν καὶ κωμικὴν ὑπόθεσιν εἶναι λέγομεν καὶ Δικαιάρχου τινὰς (τινὸς Fuhr [1841] 70) ὑποθέσεις τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους μύθων, οὐκ ἄλλο τι καλοῦντες ὑπόθεσιν ἢ τὴν τοῦ δράματος περιπέτειαν. Actually, Fuhr never intended to conjecture τινὸς, as we usually read in the apparatuses. In fact, he would have preferred to read καὶ Δικαιάρχου ὑποθέσεις τινῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους μύθων (p. 69) instead of the transmitted sequence; he wrote τινὸς only to exemplify how a modest change in wording could involve an important change in meaning.

[13] Translation of Mirhady (2001) 111. Kassel (1985) 53-59 was unwilling to accept this evidence on the basis of the comparison with an excerpt ἐκ τῶν Ἀνατολίου (Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, 3rd cent. CE, see Hultsch [1864] XIX-XX, 245-280): according to Kassel, both texts come from the same source, even though the shorter extract of Anatolius seems to be more reliable and the wording of Sextus affected by his notorious 'Komplettierungsmanie'. The text of Anatolius runs as follows (see in Hero Def. 138.8): ὅτι ἡ μαθηματικὴ τὰς ἀρχὰς μὲν ἔχει ἐξ ὑποθέσεως καὶ περὶ ὑπόθεσιν. λέγεται δὲ ὑπόθεσις τριχῶς ἢ καὶ πολλαχῶς, καθ' ἕνα μὲν τρόπον ἡ δραματικὴ περιπέτεια, καθ' ὃν λέγονται εἶναι ὑποθέσεις τῶν Εὐριπίδου δραμάτων, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ σημαινόμενον ἡ ἐν ῥητορικῇ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους ζήτησις, καθ' ὃν λέγουσιν οἱ σοφισταὶ θετέον ὑπόθεσιν· κατὰ δὲ τρίτην ὑποβολὴν ὑπόθεσις λέγεται ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἀποδείξεως αἴτησις οὖσα πραγμάτων εἰς κατασκευήν τινος. οὕτω μὲν λέγεται, Δημόκριτον ὑποθέσει χρῆσθαι ἀτόμοις καὶ κενῶι καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδην ὄγκοις καὶ πόροις. ἡ οὖν μαθηματικὴ περὶ τὴν τρίτην εἴληται.

[14] Ll. 12-16 Dain: ἐν οἷς ἐστί τις καὶ κριὸς ἔξοχος, ὃν ὤιετο εἶναι Ὀδυσσέα, καὶ δήσας ἐμαστίγωσεν, ὅθεν καὶ τῆι ἐπιγραφῆι πρόσκειται Μαστιγοφόρος· ἢ πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ Λοκροῦ. Δικαίαρχος δὲ 'Αἴαντος Θάνατον' ἐπιγράφει. ἐν δὲ ταῖς διδασκαλίαις (Arist. fr. 419 Gigon = 623 Rose^3) ψιλῶς Αἴας ἀναγέγραπται.

[15] Cf. Diggle (1994) 429 in app.; Liapis (2012) 55; Fries (2014) 63 in app. For the medieval manuscripts involved, VLQ, cf. Diggle (1994) 430-431 (= AHC in Schwartz [1891] 324-325), to which P must be added (cf. Merro [2008] 75-76).

[16] Nauck (1848) 254, cf. Kannicht (2004) 642 in app. *ad* ll. 5-6.

[17] τοῦτο τὸ δρᾶμα ἔνιοι νόθον ὑπενόησαν, Εὐριπίδου δὲ μὴ εἶναι· τὸν γὰρ Σοφόκλειον μᾶλλον ὑποφαίνειν χαρακτῆρα. ἐν μέντοι ταῖς διδασκαλίαις (= fr. 428 Gigon = 626 Rose^3) ὡς γνήσιον ἀναγέγραπται. καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ μετάρσια δὲ ἐν αὐτῶι πολυπραγμοσύνη τὸν Εὐριπίδην ὁμολογεῖ. πρόλογοι δὲ διττοὶ φέρονται. ὁ γοῦν Δικαίαρχος (Nauck : δικαίαν VL : om. Q) ἐκτιθεὶς (V : ἐπιτιθεὶς Λ) τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ Ῥήσου γράφει κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως· (<Ῥῆσος, οὗ ἀρχή·> Luppe [1990]: <ἐν μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν παλαιῶν vel τῶν ἀξιοπίστων ἀντιγράφων τοῦ Ῥήσου ἡ ἀρχὴ φέρεται οὕτως·> Liapis [2012] 63) 'νῦν εὐσέληνον φέγγος ἡ διφρήλατος' (E. fr. 660a N^2.-Sn. follows). (καὶ <τ. ἕ.> Schwartz cit. duce Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff) καὶ ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἕτερός τις φέρεται πρόλογος, πεζὸς πάνυ καὶ οὐ πρέπων Εὐριπίδηι· καὶ τάχα ἄν τινες τῶν ὑποκριτῶν διεσκευακότες εἶεν αὐτόν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· (fr. adesp. *81 K.-Sn. = [E.] fr. 1109 N.^{2} follows).

the name of Dicaearchus in the genitive after the title of the *hypothesis* of the Alcestis in ms. L (E. Alc. arg. (a) 1-11 D. and fr. 115a-b Mirhady ~ 82 Wehrli[2]).[18]

It is impossible to discuss the four passages in detail, but the fact that the name 'Dicaearchus' is inserted by Triclinius after the title of the *hypothesis* of Alcestis in ms. L is remarkable, since it is a unique case: only here is the name of the author actually juxtaposed with the text of the *hypothesis* (although admittedly this part of the Alcestis' *hypothesis* is exclusively from the medieval tradition).[19] No other ancient or medieval narrative *hypothesis* of Euripides retains the author's name; in a certain way, we should speak of 'omission' if we consider the Byzantine *hypotheses* and the insertion of Triclinius in L right and due to some manuscript evidence, but consider it a 'gap' if the ancient tradition is concerned, because none of the beginnings or ends of the rolls is preserved. Even this mention of Dicaearchus is not completely reliable, though, as I shall try to argue in the introduction of my edition, there are reasons for thinking that the Triclinian addition was conjectural.

The various opinions regarding the two Dicaearchi and the authorship of the *hypotheses* are as follows:

1. The 'traditional theory': the author was Dicaearchus of Messana.[20]

2. The 'homonymy theory': the author was not the Peripatetic Dicaearchus, but the Spartan Dicaearchus.[21]

3. The 'anonymity theory': the Tales from Euripides belonged to a popular subliterary genre, circulated without the author's name and probably created after the 'Golden age' of Hellenistic philology, in the 1st cent. BCE[22] or after.[23]

4. The theory of the 'collective author': the collection was composed not by a single author, but by a 'team' of authors.[24]

5. The theory of the 'pseudepigraphy': «an anonymous set of Euripidean plot summaries were falsely attributed to this famous scholar (*scil.* Dicaearchus of Messana) and became widely known under his name in antiquity» (at least, since the 2nd cent. CE).[25] A similar phenomenon would have happened to the *hypotheses* attributed in our medieval manuscripts to Aristophanes of Byzantium, probably composed between the 1st and 2nd cent. CE.

6. The 'expansion theory': the ancient collection of the narrative *hypotheses* would have been a Hellenistic compilation developed and expanded from summaries of the Peripatetic Dicaearchus.[26]

For the moment, I find the last theory most convincing and not at all inconsistent with the pseudepigraphy supposed by Rusten. On the one hand, at least two of the above mentioned *testimonia* (Sextus Empiricus and the argument of Rhesus), supporting the ascription of the

[18] ὑπόθεσις Ἀλκήστιδος. Δικαιάρχου (Tr : ὑπόθεσις Ἀλκήστιδος BOVP : ἡ περὶ τῆς Ἀλκήστιδος ὑπόθεσις τοιαύτη τίς ἐστιν sch. T 18 *ad* Pl. Smp. 179b6 Cufalo).
[19] P.Oxy. XXVII 2457 ll. 1-17 = E. Alc. arg. [b] D. = fr. 115b Mirhady is missing at the beginning.
[20] The editor of PSI XII 1286, Gallavotti, gave new life to the question (1933, 188; but ten years later he changed his mind, cf. infra); Haslam (1975) 152-156; Budé (1977) 25-26, 188-208; Luppe (1985) 610-612. For the nineteenth century, see Schrader (1884) 4-5.
[21] Cf. Reinesius (1660) 108; Meccariello (2014); Verhasselt (2015).
[22] Zuntz (1955) 146; Turner (1961) 8. Zuntz compared the Tales to works like the Tabulae Iliacae and the Ἐρωτικὰ Παθήματα of Parthenius of Nicaea, Turner to the Callimachean Διηγήσεις.
[23] Gallavotti (1943) 191-196, in his δεύτεραι φροντίδες.
[24] Krenn (1971) 1-3.
[25] Rusten (1982) 366. See recently Fries (2014) 25-26.
[26] Montanari (2009) 388-389; Liapis (2012) 62 *ad* [E.] Rh. arg. (b) 26-29 D.

collection to Dicaearchus, are difficult to discard; on the other, the Tales from Euripides widespread in Egypt seem to have internal Hellenistic attributes: the alphabetic arrangement of the collection, the quotation of the dramatic *incipit* before the *hypothesis* and after the title of the play, perhaps the high frequency of rhythmical *clausulae*. None of these characteristics is absolutely Hellenistic, but taken as a whole they seem to suggest a Hellenistic production. It is impossible to establish whether Dicaearchus wrote a monograph entitled e.g. Περὶ τῶν Σοφοκλέους καὶ Εὐριπίδου μύθων,[27] a work never attested in relation to him, or whether his *hypotheses* were scattered in learned treatises together with some didascalic information.[28] The Peripatetic Dicaearchus could have composed –or gathered– 'some' / 'certain' *hypotheses* of Euripides' and Sophocles' plays for his learned treatises. But this would not have been a systematic collection,[29] if we consider Sextus' wording Δικαιάρχου τινὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους μύθων reliable (keeping the discussed reading τινὰς). He may not have been the only one to have made such a grouping. In fact, the tragic author himself presented a sort of *hypothesis* (or, better, a λόγος) once a year for the audience assembled in the Odeion for the so called *proagon*, in order to submit in advance the plot of his tetralogy.[30] But possibly Dicaearchus did this better or more often than other scholars; however, I believe that his purpose should be to expose the myth, if his *hypotheses* are really the antecedents of the Hellenistic collection. After the Hellenistic edition of the tragedians was produced (end of 3rd cent. BCE), someone took the initiative to compose a book containing all the *hypotheses*. This was a person familiar with Hellenistic prose style, someone who decided to take the *hypotheses* of Dicaearchus as a narrative model and added the title of the play and its *incipit* in order to clarify the origin of the myth. As a companion to and a substitute for the plays of Euripides (and Sophocles), the collection probably circulated anonymously for that very reason, because it was connected –though perhaps not physically– with the works of the tragedians. Their names, and not the name of the author of the *hypotheses*, were presumably located at the beginning of the roll of the *hypotheses*. Finally, we cannot exclude the possibility that at some point in time pseudepigraphy occurred or that a confusion may have arisen between the old Dicaearchean *hypotheses* and the popular Hellenistic collection. If we accept the interpretation of Kassel, Sextus could have been responsible for the confusion (at least, his behaviour could show how pseudepigraphy might have arisen): he perhaps replaced the reference to the anonymous 'Tales of Euripides' quoted by his source, as faithfully reproduced by Anatolius, with the reference to the hypotheses of Dicaearchus. It may not be accidental that this mention of Dicaearchus in Sextus is at the beginning of the book Against the geometricians, and that the Peripatetic had a keen interest in geometry, according to the bibliography in the Suda entry.

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[27] Cf. the Περὶ τῶν Σοφοκλέους μύθων of Philochorus of Athens (FGrHist 328 T 1 = S. test. 149 R.^{2}) and the Περὶ τῶν Αἰσχύλου μύθων of Glaucus of Rhegion (A. test. 86 R.^{2}, on which see Gostoli [2015]).

[28] According to Liapis (2001) 325-326 and (2012) 62, the *hypotheses* would have been part of the Περὶ τῶν Διονυσιακῶν ἀγώνων; extrapolated from there, they would have formed the core of the collection. For Verhasselt (2015) 634-635, a Περὶ τῶν Αἰσχύλου καὶ Σοφοκλέους μύθων would have been a work too long for being contained in a single roll, even though he does not clarify the relevance of this supposition for the question.

[29] See already Fuhr (1841) 47: «*argumenti expositiones cum historica relatione de tempore et modo, quo fabulae doctae fuerant, coniunctas*»; *hypotheses* and «*didascalicae Dicaearchi notitiae*» would have been included in a treatise about Attic drama (p. 48).

[30] Pl. Smp. 194a8-194b5: ἐπιλήσμων μεντἂν εἴην, ὦ Ἀγάθων, εἰπεῖν τὸν Σωκράτη, εἰ ἰδὼν τὴν σὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην ἀναβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὸν ὀκρίβαντα μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ βλέψαντος ἐναντία τοσούτωι θεάτρωι, μέλλοντος ἐπιδείξεσθαι σαυτοῦ λόγους, καὶ οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν ἐκπλαγέντος, νῦν οἰηθείην σε θορυβήσεσθαι ἕνεκα ἡμῶν ὀλίγων ἀνθρώπων. See Pickard-Cambridge (1996) 94 and n. 69, particularly on the equivalence between λόγος and ἡ τοῦ δράματος ὑπόθεσις (cf. Hsch. λ 1216 L. and Ar. Pax 50-53, 146-148 with the commentary of Olson [1998] 78, 96-97).

Date	**Publication (MP^3; LDAB; CPP)**	**Euripides' play**	***Editio princeps***	**Prove-nance**	**Material; bookform**	**CLGP**
1st c. CE (end)	P.Mil.Vogl. II 44 (MP^3 398; LDAB 895; CPP 4)	Hipp. coron. (= arg. ll. 1-17 D.)	Vandoni (1961)	Egypt	papyrus; roll (hyp. on the verso, on the recto accounts register)	11
1st-2nd c. CE	P.Leid.Inst. XXV 2 (MP^3 454.21; LDAB 904; CPP 30)	Melan. sap. (= test. i K.)	Daniel (1991)	Egypt	papyrus; roll? (fragment of a *kollema*?)	8
1st-2nd c. CE	P.Oxy. LXVIII 4640 (MP^3 454.12; LDAB 10219; CPP 225)	Thes., Hipp. vel. (= Thes. test. iiia K., Hipp. I test. ii a K.)	Van Rossum-Steenbeek (2003)	Egypt, Oxy.	papyrus; roll (hyp. on the recto, the verso is blank)	19
2nd c. CE (beg.)	P.Oxy. XXVII 2457 + LII 3650 (MP^3 454; LDAB 927; CPP 25)	Alc., Aeol., Alex., Andr. (= Alc. arg. (b) D., Aeol. test. ii K., Alex. test. iii K., Andr. arg. ll. 4-19 D.)	P.Oxy. XXVII 2457: Turner (1962); P.Oxy. LII 3650: Coles (1974a)	Egypt, Oxy.	papyrus; roll (hyps. on the verso)	14
2nd c. CE (first part)	P.IFAO inv. PSP 248 (MP^3 454.3; LDAB 917; CPP 194)	Peliad. (?), Med. (= Peliad. test. *iiia K., Med. arg. (b) D.)	Papatho-mopoulos (1964)	Egypt	papyrus; roll (hyps. on the recto, the verso is blank)	6
2nd c. CE	MPER III 32 (P. Vind. inv. G 19766v) ll. 6-9 (MP^3 1989; LDAB 788; CPP 149; Cribiore 192)	Autol. I (= test. iiib K.)	Oellacher (1939)	Egypt	papyrus; roll (hyp. on the verso, accounts on the recto)	1
2nd c. CE	P.Harr. I 13 (MP^3 437.1 [= Pack^2 2248]; LDAB 915; CPP 3)	Cress.? Comm. ad Cress.? (= test. *v K.)	Powell (1936)	Egypt	papyrus; roll (hyp. on the recto, the verso is blank)	**5
2nd c. CE	P.Köln I 1 (MP^3 435.1; LDAB 924; CPP 101)	Aug. (= test. ii a K.)	Koenen (1969)	Egypt	papyrus; roll (hyp. on the recto, account on the verso)	7
2nd c. CE	P.Oxy. XXVII 2455 + P.Stras. inv. Gr. 2676 A + B (MP^3 453; LDAB 925; CPP 31)	Med. (?), Melan. sap., Oen., Or., Oed., Peliad. (?), Sthen., Scir. sat., Sisyph. sat. (?), Syl. sat., Tem., Tem./Temen., Teleph. (?), Tr., Tenn., Hypsip., Phrix. I, Phaeth., Phil., Phrix. II, Phoenissae,	P.Oxy. XXVII 2455: Turner (1962); P.Stras. inv. Gr. 2676 A + B: Schwartz (1969)	Egypt, Oxy.	papyrus; roll (hyps. on the recto, the verso is blank)	13

		Phoenix, Chrys. etc.[31]				
2nd c. CE	P.Oxy. LX 4017 (MP^3 454.01 + 552.11; LDAB 1053; CPP 29)	Andr., Ba., Beller. etc. (Andr. arg. ll. 13-15 D., Ba. arg. ll. 1-7 D., Beller. test. iiib K.)	Cockle (1994)	Egypt, Oxy.	papyrus; roll (on the recto quotations from Il. and Od., hyps. on the verso)	18
2nd c. CE	PSI XII 1286 (MP^3 454.4; LDAB 922; CPP 182)	Rh., Rhad., Scyr. (Rhad. fr. 15 Sn.-K., Rh. test. ia K. = Rh. arg. (a) ll. 10-22 D., Scyr. test. ii a K.)	Gallavotti (1933)	Egypt	papyrus; roll (hyp. on the recto, the verso is blank)	20
2nd-3rd c. CE	P.Mich. inv. 3020(a) (MP^3 443.01; LDAB 10028)	Palam., Polyid., Rhad.	Luppe (2011)	Egypt	papyrus; roll (hyp. on the recto)[32]	9
2nd-3rd c. CE	P.Mich. Schwendner 9 (MP^3 454.11; LDAB 949; CPP 140)	Hipp. vel. (= test. ii b K.)	Schwend-ner (1988), Luppe (1994)	Egypt	papyrus; roll (hyp. on the recto, the verso is blank)	10
2nd-3rd c. CE	P.Oxy. XXXI 2544 (MP^3 426.1; LDAB 952; CPP 24)	Phoenissae (= arg. (a) ll. 1-10 D.)	Coles-Barns (1965)	Egypt, Oxy.	papyrus; roll (fragment of a *kollema*, hyp. on the recto)	15
2nd-3rd c. CE	P.Oxy. LII 3651 (MP^3 454.1; LDAB 954; CPP 26)	Beller. et Busir. (= Beller. test. iiia, Busir. test. iiia K.)	Cockle (1984a)	Egypt, Oxy.	papyrus; roll (fragment of a *kollema*, hyps. on the recto)	16
3rd c. CE (beg.)	P.Oxy. III 420 (= P.Lond.Lit. 72: MP^3 388; LDAB 966; CPP 20)	El. (= arg. (a) D.)	Grenfell-Hunt (1903)	Egypt	papyrus; roll (hyp. on the recto, on the verso account)	*12
3rd c. CE	P.Oxy. LII 3652 (MP^3 454.2; LDAB 937; CPP 28)	Hyps., Phrix. I (2x) (= Hyps. test. iiia, Phrix. I test. ii a K.)	Cockle (1984b)	Egypt, Oxy.	papyrus; roll (fr. of a *kollema*, hyps. on the recto)	17
3rd c. CE	P.Amst. I 7v (MP^3 2452.1; LDAB 960; CPP 165)	Peliad.? (see TrGF V p. 609)	Sijpesteijn (1972)	Egypt	papyrus; roll (hyp. on the verso, on the recto the tax register of landowners)	*3
3rd-4th c. CE	P.David 18 (MP^3 2649.1; LDAB 976; CPP 139; Cribiore 301)	Tem./Temen. (= test. iv K.)	Turner (1968)	Egypt	papyrus; roll (opisthograph)	4
5th c. CE	P.Amh. II 17 (MP^3 446; LDAB 1004)	Scir. sat.? (= fr. **953a K., see TrGF V p. 662)	Grenfell-Hunt (1901)	Egypt	papyrus; codex (recto-verso)	**2

[31] = Melan. sap. test. i, Oed. test. iii, Oen. test. *iiia K., Or. arg. ll. 1-2, 15-22 D., Peliad. test. *iiia[1], Sthen. test. iia, Sisyph. sat. test. *iii, Scir. sat. iia, Syl. sat. test. ii, Teleph. test. *iiib, Temen./Temenid. test. i-iii, Temen. test. ii, Tenn. test. ii K. (= Crit. Tenn. hypoth. fr. 20 Sn.-K.), Troa. arg. ll. 1-6 D., Hyps. test. iiia, Phaeth. test. ii, Philoct. test. iiia, Ph. arg. ll. 1-2, 9-21 D., Ph. test. iia, Phr. I test. iia, Phr. II test. iia, Chrys. test. iii, incert. fab. fr. 881a K.

[32] Nothing is said by Luppe (2011) regarding the verso.

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Festal Letters: Fragments of a Genre*

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Festal or Easter Letters are a literary genre unique to Egyptian Christianity. They were circulars sent by the bishop of Alexandria to the other bishoprics, churches and monasteries around Egypt, in order to announce the exact date of Easter for a particular year. They consisted of two parts: a lengthy catechetical one, which was in effect a homily since it was read aloud to the congregation; and the second, practical part, fixing the date of Easter for that year. These letters were usually issued around the day of Epiphany (although written much earlier) to offer sufficient time for Lent, fasting, and all Easter-related festivals. Their practical part, fixing the date of Easter, defines the genre. They also served a catechetical purpose, since they contained a discussion of current ecclesiastical affairs or problems of Christian life and exhortations to observe the fast, to almsgiving, reception of the sacraments, etc. It was an opportunity for the patriarch to present annually to his see important theological issues. They were a useful tool in the hands of their authors and played an influential role in ecclesiastical affairs. This paper addresses evidence and issues arising from papyrological findings of Easter letters in Greek, i.e. the ones circulated by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria.

Festal letters are obviously a sub-genre of epistolography, with all its particularities and a special focus on rhetoric. Only a few festal letters have attracted the attention of scholars, mainly from a theological and a historical point of view.[1] There is still no full study of the genre, despite some recent efforts to rectify this.[2] Being circulars, Easter letters were probably issued in multiple copies, translated into Coptic (if not in Latin too) and read aloud in churches and monasteries, a practice that could have contributed to their physical preservation.[3] But as with most other epistles, a letter is only as important as its author (or its recipient for that matter) and, although we have substantial collections by a few prominent figures, most Easter letters are now lost.

These letters were much more than a formality. They were serving a catechetical purpose and they were a product of disputes: the date of Easter in the early Christian years was not a simple thing to calculate. It had been the subject of several controversies in the early Christian centuries. The issues involved varied from whether the Christian Pasch celebrated the Passion, Christ's Passover or the Resurrection, to the complexity of astronomical calculations at the time. There is very little evidence regarding the celebration of a major religious festival in the first centuries. The first testimony of an established celebratory practice for Easter is probably found in the Paschal Homily of Melito of Sardis. Although by no means an Easter letter it has been traditionally seen as an important text of such a major controversy. The Greek text has mainly come down to us on the fourth century P.Beatty VIII 12 and P.Bodmer XIII. Melito's Paschal Homily has also survived in Latin, Georgian and

* I am grateful to the two anonymous reviewers for their useful comments and suggestions.
[1] The best-known festal letter is probably Letter 39 of Athanasius of Alexandria, which has not survived in Greek in full. It is known mainly because it contains a list of the canonical books of the Old and New Testament.
[2] The main studies are Camplani (2003) and overviews by Külzer (1998) and by Allen (2015).
[3] See Allen (2015) 177.

Coptic translations. To support further the hypothesis of a well-established early tradition of celebrating Easter and in line with relevant doctrinal and practical concerns, comes a recent finding from the Oxyrhynchus collection.[4] It is a fragment from a codex, preserving the beginning of Melito's homily, a part not fully attested by our witnesses so far.[5] The new fragment is dated to the early third century, approximately 50 years after its original delivery (around 170 CE).

Melito supports the prevalent Quartodeciman tradition in Asia Minor that the Christian Easter should coincide with the Jewish Passover. The Church of Alexandria (as well as that of Rome) celebrated Easter the Sunday following that day. The controversy continued into the fourth century, when it was solved at the Council of Nicaea, by endorsing the calculation of the Easter date independently from the Jewish lunar calendar. Needless to say, this took some time to comply with in some areas.[6]

The Church of Alexandria, which was actively involved in the controversies, decided to settle the issue, at least as far as its see and its subordinate churches were concerned.[7] This marked the beginning of the festal letters tradition, which also reflected the primacy of the Alexandrian bishop over the other bishops in Egypt. The actual beginning of this practice is not known. The earlier fragments of a festal letter come from the time of Dionysius, who served as Bishop of Alexandria from 248 to 265.[8] References to this Alexandrian practice are not uncommon as early as the fourth century.[9]

The tradition continued for several centuries and Patriarchs annually issued festal letters. It has been suggested that the tradition of festal letters amongst Greek Orthodox Patriarchs dies out with the Arab conquest of Egypt and the Copts alone continue the tradition, but findings dating in the eighth century suggest that this was not the case.[10]

1. Festal letters surviving on papyrus

Papyrological evidence of this practice includes a relatively short list of fragments. In Greek, all in all seven fragments from such letters survive. Their bulk came down to us in collections and florilegia through medieval manuscripts. Respective evidence in Coptic is as scarce, with eleven fragments of Festal letters found in total on both ostraka and papyri. The ones on ostraka only contain the announcement of Easter date, evidently missing the catechetical part, with all relevant implications and questions arising regarding to their usage. Traces of the practice are found continuously for several centuries, despite the limited direct evidence on manuscripts. Apart from findings in papyri, collected parts in florilegia and incidental references in other literature, few substantial collections survived: all but three of Cyril's letters, several ones by Athanasius (mainly in Syriac and Coptic and very few in Greek and Armenian), as well as a translation of one of Theophilus' epistles and some fragments of

[4] P.Oxy. inv. 16 2B.48/F(d).
[5] A new finding restores the beginning of P.Bodmer XIII, which overlaps with the Oxyrhynchus papyrus. See Nongbri / Hall (2017).
[6] A brief and useful account of the controversies can be found at Évieux (1991) 74-75.
[7] The Council of Nicaea gave the responsibility of fixing the date to the church of Alexandria, which was recognised for its efficiency in astronomical calculations. See Évieux (1991) 80-88.
[8] Évieux (1991) 94-106.
[9] See for instance Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 7.20.1: Ὅ γε μὴν Διονύσιος πρὸς ταῖς δηλωθείσαις ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ ἔτι καὶ τὰς φερομένας ἑορταστικὰς τὸ τηνικαῦτα συντάττει, πανηγυρικωτέρους ἐν αὐταῖς περὶ τῆς τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτῆς ἀνακινῶν λόγους.
[10] Külzer (1998) 390; see also note 9 in La'Da / Papathomas (2004) 10.

other letters of his.[11] The most complete collection is that of Cyril's twenty-nine festal letters, surviving complete for the years 413-442, compiled in a collection possibly by people in his circle shortly after his death.[12] This assumption is mainly based on known such practices regarding the writings of other Church Fathers. Other than that, there is no evidence about the date of such compilations, as the manuscript tradition of these particular letters bears no witnesses before the Middle Ages.

So far only two papyri have been found to contain Cyril's letters, both published in 2011. They are probably official circulars rather than fragments from books containing letter collections. The first one is a fifth century roll fragment preserving Cyril's ninth letter, namely PSI XVI 1576.[13] It has been dated in 421, considered by the editors to be Cyril's actual Easter letter for the year, since the part announcing the date is missing from the papyrus. There are no substantial textual problems that would imply a use different than that of an Easter letter. Considering also its typical Festal letter format (a large format roll with equally large formal Alexandrian majuscule script), and palaeographical dating compatible with the fifth century, it is probably safe to conclude that PSI XVI 1576 was one of the letters distributed in 421 by the patriarchate (possibly sent to the diocese of Antinoe, where it was discovered in all probability) to announce that year's Easter date.[14]

2. The case of P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074

The other finding of this sort is a late sixth-early seventh century papyrus from the Oxyrhynchus collection, namely P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074 Cyril of Alexandria, Festal Letters 28, PG 77.944C-949A. Although this title describes all of the (readable) content of the fragment in question it does not necessarily reflect the content of the roll, from which P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074 comes. The surviving text contains parts of Cyril's twenty-eighth Easter letter and the biblical quotations included within it. This particular letter was issued in 440 and had we followed the method used to date the previous specimen, this should have been the date of the manuscript too. However, palaeography suggests it is improbable that the manuscript was produced during Cyril's lifetime. It was probably produced much later, in the sixth or seventh century.

Unlike PSI XVI 1576, there are some textual problems as well as palaeographical issues in P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074 distinguishing the latter from the typical Easter letter. P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074 is the only Easter letter in Greek found so far not written in the Alexandrian Majuscule script. Instead, it is written in a large formal sloping hand, dating in the late sixth or even in the seventh century containing a text known to have been composed a couple of centuries earlier. This is not an ad hoc composition, which we generally assume to have been common practice for Easter letters. No doubt, different levels of originality in composing the catechetical part is expected, but in P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074, the text preserved is exclusively taken from Cyril. There are also a few textual issues arising when compared to the medieval tradition, which by no means should be considered as an absolute authority.

Because the papyrus is of very large format, the sizeable fragment only contains a small portion of the text. This –together with a textual discrepancy– leaves space for speculation

[11] Cristea (2011).
[12] One of the reviewers brought to my attention the date of Cyril's first letter (413) and not 414 as several scholars cite. See Camplani (1999).
[13] Bastianini / Cavallo (2011) 31-45.
[14] For a detailed discussion on the use of roll for early Christian literary texts including festal letters, see Stroppa (2013).

regarding the roll's function. It's a roll containing the bottom of two consecutive columns with unknown number of lines missing from the top. Between the bottom line of written in a large formal sloping hand.

There is a textual discrepancy at the beginning of col. ii, the three first lines of which cannot be identified with certainty. The space available in the papyrus is not sufficient to accommodate the text found in the medieval tradition. 140 lines would have been required in the upper part of the second column in order to fit the text between PG 77.944.41 and PG 77.948.55 (the text transmitted in the medieval tradition). We do not know of a papyrus roll with more than 55 lines per column, and even if P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074 came from such a large roll, the fragment would still have been short by 100-120 lines. It is obvious that there was an omission –a rather sizeable one– when copying the text, either by accident or deliberately. It concerns the top of the fragment's second column, of which the transcription follows:[15]

col. ii

≥ . μ .[
παντ̣ [οὐκοῦν καθά φησιν
>ὁ θεσπ[έσιος Μελῳδὸς ἀνδρίζεσθε καὶ κραται (PG 77.948.55)
> ούσθω ἡ [κ]ᾳρδία [ὑμῶν πάντες οἱ ἐλπίζοντες
> ἐπὶ κν̄· τίνα δὲ τ̣[ρόπον καὶ τοῦτο κατορθώσω
μεν διαδείξ̣ῃ̣ λ̣έ̣[γων ὁ χῡ̄ μαθητὴς διὸ ἀναζω
>σάμενο̣ι̣ τὰς ὀ̣σ̣φύ̣[ας τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν νή
> φοντες τελεί̣ ω̣ς ἐλ[πίσατε ἐπὶ τὴν φερομέ
> νην ὑμῖν χ[άριν ἐν ἀπ]ο̣κ̣[αλύψει ιοῡ χοῡ ὡς τε
> κνα ὑπακοῆ̣ς [μ]ὴ συσχημ[ατιζόμενοι ταῖς
> πρότερο̣ν ἐν τῇ ἀ̣γ̣νο̣ί̣α̣ι̣ ὑ̣μ̣ῶ̣[ν ἐπιθυμίαις
ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν καλέσ̣α̣ν̣τ̣α̣ ὑ[μᾶς ἅγιον καὶ αὐτοὶ

Solving the issue of the missing text is further obstructed by the first two lines of the second column, which are largely illegible. The missing lines in col. ii possibly contain part or parts of text between 944.41 and 948.55, in which there are several instances matching the traces in col. ii ll. 1-2: 945.5, 945.2, 945.31, 945.48 and 945.49. None of the above contains a quotation to correspond with the possible diple in the margin (marking as usual a quotation from the scriptures). The possibilities can be narrowed down by eliminating the cases where a clause would not have been completed shortly after παντ̣[in col. ii l. 2. Assuming that οὐκοῦν καθά φησιν, i.e. the beginning of the clause in col. ii l. 3, was copied intact in col. ii l. 2 and that no alteration took place to smoothen the transition, 20 letters are needed to complete col. ii l. 2. The only such instance is 945.4 and col. ii ll. 1-2 can be restored as:

πάλαι κεχρη
σμῳ[δημένα μετακεχώρηκεν εἰς ἀλήθειαν
πάντ̣[α γὰρ ἐν Χ̄ω̄ καινά. οὐκοῦν καθά φησι

This solution has the obvious disadvantage that the meaning of the secondary clause: ἐπειδὴ παρῴχηκεν ἡ τοῦ νόμου σκιὰ, καὶ τὰ τυπικῶς τοῖς πάλαι κεχρησμῳδημένα μετακεχώρηκεν εἰς ἀλήθειαν, πάντα γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ καινά, is not completed by a main clause before the new portion of the text starts. This could have arisen from poor understanding of the text by the scribe or from revision by the person responsible for the short version. The printed text encloses πάντα γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ καινά in brackets and then punctuates after καινά, perhaps following one or more of the medieval manuscripts. In terms of meaning, this would

[15] As published in P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074.

represent a suitable breaking point, serving as a concluding sentence before introducing a new discussion on τύπος. In the medieval tradition, the text in col. ii l. 3 marks such a change of topic, following a discussion on gender. If this conjecture holds and the text runs uninterrupted from col. i l. 11 to col. ii l. 1, then there are 22 lines in-between, resulting in a column of 34 lines, and a roll 38-40 cm high and 3.2 cm in length, if containing a single homily.

Several theories could explain the short space available in the papyrus: perhaps the scribe is copying from a codex with a missing folio, since the amount of text missing roughly corresponds to that contained in a large folio or a small bifolio. The reverse could also be the case and the text attested in the medieval tradition may have been inserted at a later stage.

There are other possibilities raised by the hypothesis of a shortened version: perhaps there are several small portions of text missing rather than a single large chunk; or col. ii ll. 1-2 contain a paraphrase of (part of) the text, serving as a transitional phrase connecting the two excerpts and, therefore, not found in the medieval tradition.

Alternatively, col. ii ll. 1-2 could be transmitting a new reading, still assuming that a shorter version is transmitted. This would have made reconstructing col. ii ll. 1-2 impossible. If the omission is deliberate, then P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074 preserves either a shortened version of Cyril's Letter XXVIII, or excerpts from works by Cyril and perhaps by other prominent theologians.

We cannot exclude the possibility that the papyrus contains another text on Easter by Cyril or even another author and our fragment preserves two separate quotations from Cyril's letter twenty-eighth. No doubt, there was a practice of quoting earlier established authorities in Easter letters. One such example comes from P.Grenf. II 112, containing an Easter homily quoting Cyril's commentary on John (not one of Cyril's Easter letters). However the quotation in P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074 is a rather lengthy one compared to e.g. P.Köln Gr. V 215. Four out of the seven known papyri with Easter letters in Greek are by or contain quotations from Cyril. I am not aware of any example of an actual Easter letter quoting an Easter letter. Moreover, in P.Grenf. II 112, where Cyril's homily on John is quoted, the quotation is marked in the left margin with a diple, acknowledging its different authorship. In P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074 the diple only marks those lines of Cyril's letter, which contain an excerpt from the New Testament, thus implying that the rest of the text (the actual Cyril's letter) comes from the main author of the roll. It is rather odd that a compiler would have inserted an excerpt from another work (or even by another author) between two other lengthy excerpts sitting almost consecutively in the same work. Other possibilities include the missing text being the compiler's / composer's own contribution to Cyril's text, some kind of comment or other original text aiming to bridge the two passages.

3. Format, Function, and Provenance

The above hypotheses assume that the papyrus roll in question was intended as a book, since the text itself as well as the formality of the script exclude the possibility of a document or a scrap copy for private use. A roll of such format would have been a very expensive book to produce, with a very formal and exceptionally large script, indicating a luxurious copy probably to be read in public or for the private library of a wealthy individual. It could have even been a copy for the libraries of one of the bishops in Egypt, possibly that of

Oxyrhynchus.[16] However, if our papyrus was intended as a book containing a collection of Easter letters or excerpts from Cyril's or other authors' writings, then its transmission on a roll is rather unusual. This statement needs little justification for a sixth-seventh century manuscript. It suffices to say that by the seventh century, from when our papyrus dates, there is not a single Christian book written on a roll. According to Aland and Rosenbaum (1995) from the 82 patristic papyri (of all periods), 62 were written on codices, and quite a few on sheets and *transversae chartae*.[17] The only patristic texts that are certain to have been written on papyrus rolls in all centuries are paschal letters (six of them so far). All homilies copied after the fifth century are certain to be on codices and only one from the fourth-fifth century is possibly a roll. Even in the second and third century, the vast majority of homilies are copied on codices.

Thus, a fragment of an Easter letter on a roll more likely comes from an actual circular Easter letter than a literary collection of them. The papyrus contains the pastoral part of the Easter letter either circulated directly from the patriarchate in Alexandria to the bishop of Oxyrhynchus, or copied and forwarded by the bishop to the local churches.[18] However, it has been suggested that copies for all the churches in Egypt were made in and sent off from Alexandria directly, but there is no evidence for this.[19]

The format of the roll further supports the theory that P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074 comes from an actual Easter letter, issued a few centuries after Cyril's lifetime, since it is improbable on palaeographical grounds to date the papyrus before the second half of the sixth century. The hand represents a much later version of the Formal Mixed Style. The contrast between the narrow and wide letters has considerably given in, compared to its earlier forms and there is no shading, a trend typical of the fourth century.

Apart from Easter letters, no other homily or other patristic text from the same period survives in such a large and majestic script (although there are some in formal hands, but still much smaller), usually reserved for very luxurious copies of the classics and the Bible.[20] This holds true both for the Alexandrian majuscule, the script of all surviving Greek Easter letters, and for the sloping pointed majuscule, the script of P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074.[21]

The type of the script further complicates the case. All the other Easter letters survive in fine Alexandrian majuscule hands, traditional for the patriarchate of Alexandria and appropriate for the occasion. There is not a single manuscript known to come from the patriarchate of Alexandria in a hand similar to the one of P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074, but then again there are only a handful of such manuscripts in total. If this is indeed a circular letter announcing Easter and not a book containing Cyril's Easter homilies, it is not possible to determine the provenance of the manuscript. The non-Alexandrian script is not necessarily evidence against Alexandrian provenance. Alexandrian majuscule has been stressed as a characteristic of Easter

[16] I assume that the papyrus was found in Oxyrhynchus only because this is the recovery location for the majority of the papyri in the collection. The inventory number does not give clues for the whereabouts of the particular fragment at excavation and an investigation of the excavation notes by Grenfell and Hunt yielded no further information.

[17] Aland / Rosenbaum (1995) CXVI. The only patristic papyrus on a roll that is not a festal letter is also a public epistle (KV89).

[18] See for instance Camplani (2000) 11. On the audience that Cyril has in mind suggesting that the festal letters were read beyond larger cities and reached smaller churches with rural populations, see O'Keefe (2009) 7.

[19] Évieux (1991) 108, where he quotes a letter by Synesius as the source for the distribution of the letter, but Synesius does not refer to the procedure of copying and distributing the letters.

[20] Several fragments of Christian writings in formal script have been recovered especially in Alexandrian majuscule, e.g. fragments of Apophthegmata Patrum are usually in Alexandrian majuscule, but normally of smaller size, see for instance P.Cair. SR 3726 and Bagnall / Gonis (2003).

[21] Tchernetska (2009) 751.

letters from Alexandria, but this has been based only on the scarce evidence mentioned above.[22] One of the main reasons why this particular script was named Alexandrian and it was considered to be the formal script of the patriarchate, was the fact that the Easter letters discovered, which are one of the very few documents known certainly to come from there, are all written in that script. Again, with only seven Easter letters written in Greek discovered so far, there is a scarcity of evidence pointing to that direction. Thus, if we use this script as an argument to assign our papyrus to Alexandria, we fall into the loop of a cyclical argument.

A large formal script is expected in a celebratory Letter from both the patriarch of Alexandria and the bishop of Oxyrhynchus. Thus, P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074 could be a copy of the Easter letter that a local bishop received from the patriarch in Alexandria in order to distribute it to the churches of his diocese, assuming it was each bishop's duty to inform the rest of the churches in his see about the date of Easter after receiving the letter from the patriarch, but we do not know how he was expected to do so. It makes sense, though, that a letter with a catechetical content which was obviously meant to be read out to the people, would have been read in many churches and not only to the bishop's congregation and it has been suggested that these letters were read out to audiences well beyond those of the metropolitan sees.[23] On the other hand, a single copy of the letter received from Alexandria could be read in turns by priests to their congregation, or by the bishop (or his delegate) to the different churches as he visited them. However, if the text was supposed to be read around the same time in all churches, more than one copy would have been needed. The mere number of letters needed in order to reach all the churches and monasteries in Egypt could explain the *transversae chartae* copies of the letters, such as P.Grenf. II 112. On the other hand, it is not improbable that it was read only in the largest and most significant churches of each diocese, especially in times of stress, such as immediately following the Arab conquest, in which case no copies of the letter would have been required (or very few of them).

4. The sender of the Letter

Festal letters are identified as such by their closing, announcing the date for Easter. It is, therefore, easy to date them fairly accurately (usually having two or three alternatives of exact year). This is not the case for P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074, for which dating has been decided purely on palaeographical grounds. Although not completely accurate, it is rather certain that Cyril, who died in 444, is not the sender of the letter. It is also the only Festal letter known so far that consists (perhaps in its entirety, since the portions of Cyril's text seem to be much more than a quotation) of excerpts from an older Festal letter to announce another year's Easter date.

We are dealing, therefore, with a patriarch who is recycling the pastoral part of old Easter letters –one or more per year, perhaps adjusting or enriching their content to match current circumstances– and replaces the part where the dates are announced. For practical purposes and having in mind that the dating in the late sixth-early seventh century opted for maximum inclusion, any year between 550 and 650 is a possibility and the corresponding patriarchs are candidates for its authorship. No Easter letter survives from most of this period's patriarchs (namely: Zoilus, Apollinarius, John IV, Eulogius, Theodore, John V, George, Cyrus and Peter) has an Easter letter by him surviving; in fact, there is nothing at all surviving by some of them.[24] Several important events fall within the period in question that could explain a lack

[22] See for instance La'Da / Papathomas (2004) 11.
[23] Allen (2015) 176-177.
[24] One of the reviewers brought to my attention a surviving Easter letter by Eulogius, see Camplani (2004). He also pointed out that P.Grenf. II 112 has been attributed to Peter by Camplani (1992).

of focus on this tradition and its sidetracking by more important concerns. Not least of these events was the Arab conquest of Egypt from 639 onwards, after which the tradition of Easter letters by the Greek patriarch weakens and only the Copts continue the practice.[25]

One possible explanation is that our Easter letter falls within the two periods of the late sixth and early seventh century (579-581 and 619-621), where the throne of the patriarchate of Alexandria was vacant and part or parts from one or more older homilies were used to announce Easter for the year. Since there was no patriarch on the throne, the clergy serving in the patriarchate possibly did not feel entitled to undertake such a duty and decided to include passages from previous patriarchs. With all the trouble following the council of Chalcedon in 451 (to which the lack of substantial collections of letters from after the fifth century has been attributed), Cyril would have been a safe choice, an authority free of the blemish of heresy in such turbulent times.[26]

5. Conclusion

Although purely on palaeographical and codicological grounds, it appears that P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074 is an Easter letter. Together with PSI XVI 1576 they are possibly the first instances of actual Easter letters in Greek, the full text of which is known to us. The catechetical part of the letter is taken from one (or perhaps more) of Cyril's letters. The patriarch circulating the epistle, in all probability, is not Cyril. It remains to explain why a patriarch (and who) circulated a festal letter without composing an original pastoral text and to be vigilant for other evidence pointing to that direction.

Letters –unlike most other genres that originally served another purpose and are customarily collected and published, like homilies or other speeches– come from a written prototype. Thus, festal letters offer a rare opportunity to study the actual original of a text that came down to us through the usual journey of multiple copies and complicated traditions of medieval manuscripts. Original festal letters, the equivalent of autographs, keep being discovered in papyrological collections. They can then offer us a glimpse into how far the medieval tradition has taken the original text. This is a rare privilege of this genre.

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[25] Külzer (2004) 10.
[26] Allen (2015) 188.

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Papiri cristiani della collezione PSI: storia recente e prospettive future

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1. La collezione dei PSI

L'obiettivo del mio contributo è ricostruire nei momenti essenziali una parte della storia recente dei PSI, quella che riguarda i testi cristiani della collezione. Traccerò una rapida cronistoria degli ultimi 50 anni, dal 1965 al 2015, gettando infine lo sguardo al futuro prossimo, cioè alle edizioni di PSI cristiani che sono appena uscite o che stanno per uscire (i dati sono aggiornati al marzo 2017).

Con l'espressione 'papiri cristiani' intendo i testi di carattere letterario e paraletterario: sono quindi esclusi i documenti. In questo campo il confine fra ciò che è letterario e ciò che è documentario può essere labile. Per comodità io ho scelto di tracciare una linea di confine: ho compreso nella mia ricerca testi magici ed oracolari, ma ho escluso lettere, dichiarazioni e altri testi simili.

Per chiarire invece a che cosa corrisponde concretamente l'espressione 'collezione PSI', presento rapidamente qualche informazione essenziale sui Papiri della Società Italiana: si tratta dei papiri giunti a Firenze grazie all'impegno della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto, voluta da Girolamo Vitelli e attiva dal 1908 al 1928. La raccolta di papiri è passata all'Istituto Papirologico, che ha ereditato dal 1928 il materiale della Società Italiana. Dopo il volume I dei PSI del 1908 nel corso degli anni sono stati pubblicati diversi volumi della serie fino al volume XVI nel 2013.[1] Alcuni testi sono stati pubblicati anche in altre sedi (riviste e miscellanee) e in serie PSI speciali: per esempio i PSI Congr., pubblicati in occasione di Congressi Internazionali di Papirologia o i PSI Com. nei volumi di Comunicazioni dell'Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli.

Oggi una parte dei PSI è fisicamente alla Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze, perché i papiri editi nei volumi PSI I-XIII e parte di quelli del XIV furono ceduti a questa istituzione una volta pubblicati. Parte dei papiri editi nel volume PSI XIV e quelli dei volumi PSI XV e XVI sono invece all'Istituto Papirologico, dove è conservato anche materiale inedito.[2] Tutti i pezzi conservati all'Istituto Papirologico, circa 4000, hanno come sigla di inventario PSI inv., anche se non hanno più nulla a che fare con la Società Italiana e, in alcuni casi, sono stati comprati o recuperati da scavi molti anni dopo lo scioglimento della Società stessa. In questa sede mi occupo quindi di PSI conservati all'Istituto Papirologico e pubblicati negli ultimi 50 anni.[3]

[1] Per la storia dei papiri e della papirologia fiorentina delle origini rimando a Morelli / Pintaudi (1983) 15-37.
[2] Cf. PSI XVI Collocazioni 341-343.
[3] Per esempio non è stato preso in considerazione in questa sede PSI I 65, un testo liturgico riedito da Manfredi (1987) 181-187, e successivamente anche da MacCoull (2008) 1-10, conservato presso la Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

2. Lo studio e la pubblicazione dei PSI cristiani: la prima fase (1908-1964)

I testi cristiani sono una delle categorie di testi comunemente presenti nei PSI e in altri volumi di edizioni di papiri. Già nel volume I dei PSI del 1908 i primi 7 numeri sono testi cristiani; poi via via anche negli altri volumi fino al XIV del 1957 sono presenti testi cristiani. Altri PSI cristiani sono editi in sedi diverse dalla serie ufficiale, per esempio in riviste. In totale dal 1908 al 1964, cioè in 56 anni, sono stati editi 46 PSI cristiani. Dal punto di vista contenutistico si tratta in totale di 27 testi biblici (fra papiri dell'Antico Testamento, Nuovo Testamento e apocrifi); 14 testi fra patristici e liturgici, 3 amuleti e 2 papiri figurati.

La mostra "Documenti dell'antichità cristiana" mi sembra essere il punto nodale della storia dei PSI cristiani: in occasione di tale mostra fu realizzato un volume e nella premessa Mario Naldini presenta il materiale nel suo complesso.[4] La rassegna comprende quasi tutti i papiri cristiani della collezione PSI, e per ciascuno è fornita una breve descrizione, a cui si aggiunge anche una traduzione (tranne che per i testi biblici). Di tutti è fornita una fotografia. Nella rassegna Mario Naldini include anche 6 papiri documentari (un libello della persecuzione di Decio e 5 lettere). Si tratta a mio parere di un evento e di un libro che concludono quella che possiamo considerare la prima fase di studio e pubblicazione dei PSI cristiani. Il lavoro di Mario Naldini è una raccolta esaustiva di testi e rappresenta un momento di sintesi dei dati sui PSI cristiani fino allora pubblicati.

Sottolineo come curiosità un dettaglio editoriale, che rivela la duplice natura di catalogo e di monografia del volume, e anche la funzione di cerniera fra le due fasi. Esiste infatti il catalogo realizzato nel 1964 per la mostra e il volume stampato l'anno successivo, nel 1965. I due libri hanno lo stesso identico contenuto e si differenziano solo per lievi difformità nel sottotitolo e per l'editore diverso che figura in copertina. Nel primo caso il titolo completo è Documenti dell'antichità cristiana. Rassegna di papiri e pergamene della Raccolta Fiorentina. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Firenze, 6-30 giugno 1964 e l'editore è la Libreria Editrice Fiorentina; nel secondo caso il titolo è Documenti dell'antichità cristiana. Papiri e pergamene greco-egizie della Raccolta Fiorentina, a cura di Mario Naldini, l'editore è Le Monnier e l'anno di pubblicazione il 1965.

A questa prima fase può essere assegnato un papiro cristiano fiorentino, pubblicato ancora prima della nascita dei PSI e della Società: è un frammento di lezionario greco-copto del VI/VII sec., conservato al Museo Archeologico di Firenze (inv. 7134) e catalogato come NT 2 in Aland (1976) 217.[5]

3. Lo studio e la pubblicazione dei PSI cristiani: la seconda fase (1965-2015)

Dopo la mostra "Documenti dell'antichità cristiana" e la pubblicazione del catalogo si può far iniziare la seconda fase. Ecco una rapida cronologia di eventi significativi dal 1965 al 2015.

Nel 1967 ebbe luogo un evento tragico che segnò la papirologia fiorentina della fine degli anni Sessanta: la morte prematura e improvvisa di Vittorio Bartoletti, allora direttore dell'Istituto Papirologico. Negli anni che seguirono l'attività intera dell'Istituto Papirologico fu in qualche modo rallentata, tanto che negli anni '70 e '80 da parte di Mario Naldini e di Manfredo Manfredi continuarono le edizioni di nuovi testi cristiani, ma in numero non cospicuo.

[4] Per la figura di Mario Naldini *vide* Carlini (2001) 1-7.

[5] Edizione in Pistelli (1906) 129-131; la descrizione ed edizione del testo copto è in Pellegrini (1906) 153-154. Il papiro è descritto anche in Naldini (1965) no. 13; un commento si trova in Boud'hors (2010) 182-183.

Alla fine degli anni '90, un momento importante per la tutta la papirologia fiorentina, non solo per lo studio di testi cristiani, è costituito dalla mostra di papiri e altri reperti archeologici, allestita nel 1998, dal 10 luglio al 1º novembre: "Antinoe cent'anni dopo". La mostra fu centrata sulla città di Antinoe e fu accompagnata da un ricchissimo catalogo. Nel volume compare qualche scheda dedicata ai papiri cristiani, ma considerando anche il tipo di pubblicazione, non era certo questa la sede per un'analisi dettagliata ed esaustiva sui PSI cristiani. In ogni caso sono presenti contributi parziali, ma molto interessanti, in particolare quello di Giovanna Menci, "I papiri letterari 'sacri' e 'profani' di Antinoe" che fa il punto sulla produzione libraria antinoita.[6] Nella sezione sul cristianesimo si trovano schede su diversi PSI editi ed inediti, sia in greco che in copto.[7] Per esempio nel volume è presentato l'inedito PSI inv. 1213 in una scheda descrittiva, mentre l'*editio princeps* vera e propria dello stesso papiro comparirà sulla ZPE 123 del 1998 in un articolo firmato da Cornelia Römer.[8]

Un successivo momento molto significativo, specialmente per l'argomento che sto trattando, si colloca poi nel 2010, quando fu organizzato a Firenze il convegno "I papiri letterari cristiani", a cui seguirono l'anno successivo gli atti del convegno stesso. Il volume, del 2011, contiene la presentazione in anteprima di due pezzi eccezionali: l'esemplare originale più antico di una lettera festale, quella scritta dal patriarca Cirillo per la Pasqua del 421, e il più antico testimone diretto del Fisiologo. In questa sede è stata presentata l'*editio princeps* di questi testi ed entrambi sono poi stati ripresi nella serie dei PSI (volume XVI, rispettivamente 1576 e 1577). Negli atti di questo convegno non ci sono altri contributi su PSI cristiani.

Oltre a questi eventi di particolare rilievo, nel corso degli anni non sono mancati interventi e riflessioni relativi a PSI cristiani, in particolare da parte di Guido Bastianini; ricordo, in particolare, il suo intervento più recente in ordine di tempo, cioè la sua lezione di saluto all'Università di Firenze del 26 novembre 2015, che ha un titolo significativo: "'Hermeneia', che è? Ovvero il papiro oracolare perduto", relativo a due PSI cristiani testimoni dell'uso di testi oracolari. E forse questo evento potrebbe essere considerato dal punto di vista cronologico una sorta di conclusione della seconda fase di studio dei PSI. In questa linea di rinnovato interesse per i PSI cristiani si colloca anche un precedente intervento di Guido Bastianini, teso invece a ricostruire le prime fasi della produzione libraria cristiana: mi riferisco a "Testi cristiani nei papiri", preparato in occasione della giornata di studio per i 100 anni della nascita di Orsolina Montevecchi, tenutasi a Milano, il 18 marzo 2011.[9] In questo caso alcuni PSI sono stati scelti per illustrare i vari esempi di libri prodotti dai cristiani.

Altre pubblicazioni estemporanee negli ultimi anni sono state curate dal sottoscritto: ho ripreso a lavorare sui pezzi cristiani con nuove edizioni e riedizioni e qualche piccolo tentativo di sintesi su aspetti della produzione materiale, in particolare sul formato del *rotulus*, cioè il rotolo *transversa charta*, e il suo impiego.[10] Tali contributi si collocano nell'ambito dell'interesse per il formato del supporto e le sue caratteristiche: è un dato importante nella ricerca e nell'identificazione di frammenti, da affiancare ad altri criteri come per es. l'analisi paleografica.

Questi sono gli eventi. Passiamo ora ai papiri: quali sono i PSI cristiani editi negli ultimi 50 anni? L'elenco con i dati essenziali è nella Tabella 1. Dopo tutto questo tempo è giunto il momento per un primo parziale bilancio del materiale pubblicato (e ripubblicato) in questo

[6] Menci (1998); un aggiornamento si trova in Fournet (2009) 115-132.
[7] Del Francia Barocas (1998) 91-142: PSI inv. C 6; inv. C1; inv. 1213; XIV 1374; XIII 1296; inv. C 35; inv. C 16; inv. C 8, inv. C 34; XV 1574; inv. 534.
[8] Römer (1998) 101-104 (LDAB 7150). I due testi di questo papiro saranno riediti come PSI XVII 1655, il no. 14 nella Tabella 1, Gr.Nyss., V.Gr.Thaum. e PSI XVII 1656, il no. 11 nella Tabella 1, Basil., Ep. 22.8.
[9] *Vide* nota in Balconi (2011) 143.
[10] Per esempio l'articolo Stroppa (2011) 61-72.

cinquantennio, materiale che non è quantitativamente elevato (23 testi, di cui 2 editi nella prima fase, ma riediti nella seconda fase), ma sicuramente è materiale qualitativamente significativo. Sulla base dei contenuti i PSI editi tra il 1965 e il 2015 si possono così raggruppare: per i testi biblici abbiamo un totale di 10 papiri, di cui 6 appartenenti all'Antico Testamento[11] e 4 al Nuovo Testamento; poi abbiamo 6 testi patristici e 3 liturgici, per un totale di 9; infine abbiamo 4 papiri fra i testi magici e oracolari. In due casi si tratta di riedizioni di papiri editi nella prima fase e già presenti nel catalogo di Mario Naldini (nella Tabella 1 sono il no. 12, PSI XV 1453 di Basilio di Seleucia, e il no. 18, PSI Com. 11 2, preghiera per la comunità). Sono stati tuttavia numerati perché la riedizione ha portato a importanti novità e aggiornamenti rispetto all'*editio princeps*.

Per quanto riguarda la cronologia e le sedi di edizioni e di riedizioni i dati sono raccolti nella colonna a destra della Tabella 1. Negli anni '70 sono stati editi nella rivista Prometheus e nella miscellanea in onore di Alessandro Ronconi.[12] Negli anni '80-'90 PSI cristiani compaiono in volumi editi in occasione dei Congressi di Papirologia, negli Studi in onore di Mario Naldini[13] e nella ZPE. Negli ultimi 15 anni sono comparsi nei volumi della serie ufficiale (PSI XV e XVI) e nei vari volumi di Comunicazioni (PSI Com. 6, PSI Com. 9, PSI Com. 11), oltre che nel recente volume in onore di Rosario Pintaudi.[14]

Uno sguardo rapido anche agli editori dei PSI cristiani editi negli ultimi 50 anni: coloro che hanno pubblicato con una certa continuità sono stati Mario Naldini, Manfredo Manfredi, Guido Bastianini e il sottoscritto; mentre altri collaboratori hanno pubblicato ciascuno un pezzo (i nomi sono nella colonna a destra della Tabella 1).

Una breve annotazione sulla provenienza dei PSI cristiani, su cui poco si può dire perché la maggior parte di essi proviene da acquisto. Solo in 6 casi è possibile determinare il luogo di ritrovamento: 2 papiri provengono da Antinoe, mentre 4 provengono da Ossirinco.

Nella Tabella 1 non ho inserito due papiri perché sono attualmente conservati alla Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ma li segnalo ora per completezza poiché sono in qualche modo collegati alla collezione dei PSI. Mi riferisco a un papiro edito nel 1978 come P.PisaLit. 25, che era comparso già nel 1971 come PSI Congr. XIII 4: un testo patristico sulla controversia cristologica che presenta somiglianze paleografiche e contenutistiche con frammenti di codici pubblicati nei P.PalauRib.Lit., tanto che si pensa che tutti i frammenti appartengano al medesimo codice o almeno al medesimo ambito scrittorio. Dopo essere stato studiato a Pisa, il papiro è ora conservato presso la Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana e sarà ripreso nella serie dei P.Laur.

Così come presso la Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana è conservato PSI XI 1200 bis, un altro testo cristiano di eccezionale interesse. Si tratta di un piccolo frammento che era stato in un primo momento catalogato, in base alla scrittura simile dei pezzi, fra i frammenti di PSI XI 1200, provenienti tutti da un rotolo del Gorgia di Platone, databile al II secolo d.C. Tuttavia PSI XI 1200 bis contiene certamente dei *nomina sacra* e il contenuto presenta una

[11] In base al formato utilizzato, il codice, e alla datazione è possibile assegnare i numeri 1, 3, 4 e 6 della Tabella 1 all'ambito cristiano e non a quello ebraico; per i numeri 2 e 5 cf. le considerazioni in PSI XVI 1575 Introduzione 4.
[12] Studia Florentina (1970).
[13] Privitera / Burini (1994).
[14] Minutoli (2012).

formulazione simile all'Epistola di Barnaba.[15] Sembra quindi trattarsi di un testo patristico, ma da quel poco che resta del testo non è possibile ricavare ulteriori informazioni.

Dedico, infine, solo un rapido cenno ai contributi su nuovi testi provenienti dagli scavi ad Antinoe negli ultimi due decenni: nel volume Antinoupolis I, edito da Rosario Pintaudi nel 2008, Diletta Minutoli illustra i ritrovamenti papiracei negli anni 2003-2007, fra cui compaiono biglietti oracolari per san Colluto e pergamene greche con testi biblici.[16] Altri testi biblici e liturgici copti e greci sono pubblicati da Alain Delattre.[17] Tutti questi reperti sono conservati in Egitto ed è prevista in futuro una serie di PSI ad essi dedicata.

4. Lo studio e la pubblicazione dei PSI cristiani: la terza fase (2016-)

Fin qui dunque ho presentato un resoconto degli studi finora compiuti sui PSI cristiani. Per completezza vorrei ora gettare uno sguardo al futuro prossimo (o forse potrei dire al recentissimo passato): altri PSI cristiani, compaiono in volumi da poco pubblicati oppure che compariranno presto e si tratta quindi di novità assolute (*vide* Tabella 2).

Il primo (no. 3 nella Tabella 2) appartiene alla categoria dei testi biblici ed è un piccolissimo frammento di un codice degli Atti degli Apostoli che sarà pubblicato come PSI XVII 1654: molti indizi portano a ritenere che appartenga allo stesso codice di P.Oxy. LXXIV 4968.

Il secondo, P.Bastianini 4 (no. 1 nella Tabella 2), si inserisce nell'ambito dei testi patristici: è un frammento dei Detti dei Padri del Deserto. Si tratta del terzo testo di questo tipo ad essere reso noto e il primo su papiro. La sua particolarità è di essere scritto su un foglio o forse su un *rotulus* che è stato capovolto per scrivere la seconda facciata.

Questi due papiri sono stati studiati da me, mentre altri tre papiri sono stati riediti da Guido Bastianini: si tratta del filatterio già parzialmente trascritto, PSI inv. 365 (no. 2 nella Tabella 2)[18] e di due papiri con *hermeneiai* tratte verosimilmente dai vangeli. Uno dei due è stato pubblicato come PSI XIII 1364, l'altro invece è un PSI perduto entrambi figurano al (no. 4 nella Tabella 2) a cui aveva accennato brevemente e scherzosamente Girolamo Vitelli nell'introduzione al volume PSI I.[19]

Infine è opportuno accennare a una categoria di PSI cristiani che non annovera molti esponenti: quella dei papiri figurati. Nella prima fase di storia dei PSI cristiani ne sono stati resi noti alcuni, di cui un paio sono davvero molto famosi, la Madonna lactans (PSI XV 1574) e Gesù sul lago di Tiberiade (PSI VIII 920). Nel 2015, la scoperta è recente, è stato ritrovato un foglio con un disegno curioso che presento qui in anteprima e di cui posso fornire alcune indicazioni provvisorie, perché è ancora in corso di studio e la sua pubblicazione è prevista in un futuro prossimo ma non imminente.

Si tratta di PSI inv. 4248 (no. 5 nella Tabella 2). Il foglio è incompleto: è conservato probabilmente solo il margine superiore e forse anche quello sinistro. Si distinguono chiaramente tre personaggi: i due laterali sono simili fra loro per la postura e per

[15] Carlini (1980) 41-45. Recentemente è stato ripreso anche in Blumell / Wayment (2015) no. 79, e inoltre nel volume Charlesworth (2016), dove è inserito in una speciale categoria di testi, 'Other fragments possibly from unidentified non canonical gospels'.
[16] Minutoli (2008) 75-99; un paio di testi sono editi da Nachtergael / Pintaudi (2008) 117-130: P.Ant. inv. 20.10.05 + 22.10.05, 2Re; P.Ant. inv. 25.1.06, Ez.
[17] Delattre (2008) 131-162; in particolare il frammento pergamenaceo di un salterio bilingue greco (pagina a sinistra) e copto (pagina a destra); un inno a Giovanni Battista, in greco, scritto con molti errori e con l'uso anche di lettere copte, riportato su un ostracon (inv. 1036).
[18] Riedito come P.Gascou 20 in Fournet / Papaconstantinou (2016) 47-54.
[19] Cf. Bastianini (2018) 128-129.

l'abbigliamento, mentre differiscono da quello al centro. I due personaggi ai lati sono identificabili con sicurezza come due dei tre giovani ebrei, condannati dal re Nabucodonosor a essere bruciati in una fornace ardente per non aver adorato la statua del sovrano (la storia è narrata in Da 3.16-24). In questa occasione recitano il cosiddetto cantico dei tre fanciulli (che comincia con le parole «Voi tutte opere de Signore, lodate il Signore»). Il personaggio al centro è indicato come angelo dalla scritta alla sua sinistra: il messaggero di Dio interviene per salvare i giovani dal supplizio.[20]

Tale motivo iconografico è molto diffuso nell'arte paleocristiana e in particolare nell'Egitto tardoantico. I tre giovani, Azaria, Anania e Misael, sono spesso caratterizzati dal berretto frigio. La posizione delle braccia alzate in gesto di preghiera è un altro elemento fortemente caratterizzante. Inoltre il personaggio di sinistra indossa chiaramente un gonnellino corto e le gambe sono coperte da una calzamaglia con una decorazione a pallini: anche questo dettaglio dell'abbigliamento si ritrova in raffigurazioni analoghe e coeve, come per esempio il dipinto di Wadi Sarga in Egitto[21] e quello dell'ipogeo di Santa Maria in Stelle a Verona.[22]

Si può escludere a mio parere che il frammento provenga da un codice e che si tratti di un'illustrazione appartenente a un libro vero e proprio: sembra più probabile che un foglio, forse ritagliato *ad hoc*, sia servito per realizzare il disegno da una parte e poi per scrivere appunti, nomi e forse una data dall'altra. L'altro lato, il lato (b), infatti, risulta capovolto rispetto al lato (a) e riporta parole che non sembrano appartenere a un documento omogeneo, ma potrebbero essere forse delle esercitazioni di scrittura: si distinguono su questo lato almeno due mani.

La datazione del papiro è da porre a mio parere nel V-VI secolo in base all'analisi della scrittura usata su entrambi i lati e in base ad una valutazione iconografica del disegno; la presenza dell'angelo senza le ali, con una croce in mano è particolarmente indicativa: tale figura non è ancora predominante, come lo sarà nelle realizzazioni dei secoli successivi.[23]

In conclusione, oltre a queste novità che ho appena segnalato, altri PSI cristiani aspettano ancora di essere studiati e altri ancora addirittura di essere identificati. Questi sei PSI si possono considerare come i primi risultati della terza fase di studio e di edizione dei PSI cristiani, quella che è cominciata nel 2016 e che, mi auguro, proseguirà per il prossimo cinquantennio: a quel punto, nel 2066, sarà un collega ancora sconosciuto che avrà il compito di fare il resoconto.

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[20] Cf. Russo (2017) 95-96, no. 45, per una descrizione e una riproduzione del papiro.

[21] Foto e breve descrizione in Fluck / Helmecke / O'Connell (2015) 172-173.

[22] Foto sul sito http://www.archeoveneto.it/portale/?page_id=131&recid=55.

[23] Per l'iconografia di questo tema cf. Carletti (1975) 25-63 e, specificamente per l'Egitto, Rassart-Debergh (1984) 141-151.

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Tabella 1. Elenco dei PSI cristiani editi dal 1965 al 2015 (seconda fase)

Papiro	Contenuto	Dati dell'edizione
	Antico Testamento	
1. PSI inv. 2666 (III^{p})	Tob. 12.6-7; 8-11	Manfredi (1994) 175-181; LDAB 3110
2. PSI Congr. XX 1 (II^{p})	Ps. 1.2-3	PSI Congr. XX (1992; D. Limongi)
3. PSI Congr. XVII 1 (V^{p})	Ps. 148.6-13	PSI Congr. XVII (1983; V. Baroncelli)
4. PSI Congr. XVII 2 (IV^{p})	Ier. 24.9-10; 25.16-17	PSI Congr. XVII (1983; G. Bastianini)
5. PSI XVI 1575 (III^{p})	Amos 6.9-10	PSI XVI (2013; A. Lopez)
6. PSI Com. 11 1 (VIII^{p})	Odae 8.70?, 63, 74-79, 85-88	PSI Com. 11 (2013; M. Stroppa)
	Nuovo Testamento	
7. PSI inv. 3407 (III/IV^{p})	Mt. 2.13-16; 2.22-3.1; 24.3-6, 12-15	Naldini (1975) 195-200; LDAB 2942; P 70
8. PSI Congr. XVII 3 (VII/VIII^{p})	Mt. 14.22, 28-29	PSI Congr. XVII (1983; P. Pruneti); 0277
9. PSI Congr. XVII 4 (V^{p})	Io. 13.15-17	PSI Congr. XVII (1983; G. Bastianini); P 93
10. PSI XV 1497 (IV^{p})	Hebr. 13.12-13; 19-20	PSI XV (2008; G. Bastianini); P 126
	Testi patristici	
11. PSI inv. 1213v (VI^{p})	Basilius Caes., Epist. 22.8	Römer (1998) 101-102; LDAB 7150
12. PSI XV 1453 (VI^{p})	Basilius Seleuc., Or. 22	PSI XV (2008; G. Bastianini); ed. pr.: Naldini (1958) 139-144
13. PSI XVI 1576 (420/21^{p})	Cyrillus Alex., Ep. Pasch. 9	PSI XVI (2013; G. Bastianini); ed. pr.: Bastianini / Casanova (2011)
14. PSI inv. 1213r (VI^{p})	Gregorius Nyss., De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi (PG 56 912. 52-56)	Ed. pr.: Römer (1998) 102-104; LDAB 7150
15. PSI inv. 2101 (III^{p})	Origenes, Comm. in Io. an in Gen. (?)	Naldini (1978) 97-108; LDAB 3501
16. PSI XVI 1577 (VI^{p})	Physiologus Graecus 41-42	PSI XVI (2013; M. Stroppa); ed. pr.: Bastianini / Casanova (2011)
	Testi liturgici	
17. PSI Com. 9 1 (VI/VII^{p})	Preghiera dalla Liturgia alessandrina di S. Basilio	PSI Com. 9 (2011; M. Stroppa); LDAB 5777 [PSI inv. 73 + P.Lond.Lit. 249 + BKT IX 135]
18. PSI Com. 11 2 (VIII^{p})	Preghiera per la comunità	PSI Com. 11 (2013; M. Stroppa); ed. pr.: Zalateo / Cammelli / Giabbani / Barbera / Tondi (1940) 17-18
19. PSI Com. 6 9 (IV/V^{p})	Inno a Cristo	PSI Com. 6 (2005; S. Azzarà)
	Testi magici e oracolari	
20. PSI Congr. XVII 5 (V^{p})	Sortes sanctorum	PSI Congr. XVII (1983; M. Naldini)
21. P.Pintaudi 11 (IV^{p})	Amuleto (Ps. 90.1-2)	P.Pintaudi (2012; Franco Maltomini)
22. PSI inv. 319 (V^{p})	Esorcismo	Ed. pr.: Naldini (1970) 281-287; ed. alt.: Suppl. Mag. I 24; LDAB 5960
23. PSI Com. 6 10 (VII/VIII^{p})	Formulario magico cristiano (?)	PSI Com. 6 (2005; G. Lembi)

Tabella 2. Elenco dei PSI cristiani editi dal 2016 in poi (terza fase)

Edizioni in uscita e in preparazione		
Papiro	**Contenuto**	**Dati dell'edizione**
1. PSI inv. 4211 (VI^p)	Apophthegmata patrum (coll. syst.) 6.15 e, 17-19	P.Bastianini 4 (2016; M. Stroppa)
2. PSI inv. 365 (VI^p)	Amuleto	P.Gascou 20 (2016; G. Bastianini); ed. pr.: Naldini (1961) 212-218; LDAB 6104
3. PSI inv. 1971 (V^p) (+ P.Oxy. LXXIV 4968)	Acta apostolorum 7.54-55 e, 57-58	PSI XVII 1654 (M. Stroppa)
4. PSI perduto (LDAB 4243) PSI XIII 1364 (V/VI^p)	Hermeneiai	Bastianini (2018) 125-138
5. PSI inv. 4248 (VI^p)	Disegno dei tre giovani ebrei nella fornace	PSI XVIII (M. Stroppa)

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Scriptural Literacy Only? Rhetoric in Early Christian Papyrus Letters*

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1. Introduction

The stylistic and rhetorical aspects of private letters transmitted on papyri from Egypt have been the subject of a fair number of scholarly studies from Koskenniemi's seminal monograph of 1956 to recent studies which explore either the rhetorical organisation of private letters in general or the style and rhetoric of certain, particularly interesting specimens.[1] It is hardly surprising that ancient letter-writers, especially when their letters conveyed important or sensitive requests, wielded rhetorical tools to enhance the efficiency of their appeal and thus the probability of success. Christian letter-writers are no exception in this regard. One of the principal rhetorical means in their correspondence is 'embedded Scriptural discourse', i.e. quotations, introduced as such or not, of identifiable passages from the Old and New Testament and formulations which echo Biblical passages.[2] Biblical citations, quotations and echoes form part of matrices of narrative and argumentation in the everyday correspondence between Egyptian Christians, just as they do when they are embedded in epistles with literary ambition.

This article falls into two parts. The first part presents the preliminary edition of a new Christian letter on papyrus, and analyses its rhetorical features including the use of embedded Scriptural discourse. The second part attempts to shed some more light on the much discussed topic of Scriptural citations in early Christian papyrus letters and argues that in some early letters which incorporate Scriptural citations or quotations the form of which diverges from the transmitted text, the embedded Scriptural discourse has been adapted with an eye to the situation faced or discussed by the letter-writer and is reshaped in a creative manner to better serve the letter-writer's purpose.

2. A New Christian Letter with Embedded Scriptural Discourse

The papyrus collection of the University of Oslo Library includes a hitherto unpublished letter of unknown provenance, the most interesting feature of which is that it contains embedded Scriptural discourse, more specifically a quotation from the Epistle of James and perhaps also two echoes of Old Testament passages. P.Oslo inv. 1481 is a letter from a monastic brotherhood, spearheaded by the Apas Isidoros and Moses, to a recipient, scanty

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[1] See Koskenniemi (1956); another early study is Zilliacus (1956). For recent approaches see Koroli (2016) 127-202 (general study of Greek papyrus letters as acts of communication) and the more focused studies Fournet (2009) 46-56, Papathomas / Koroli (2014).

[2] The terminology employed in discussions of the topic is not absolutely consistent. The comprehensive designation 'embedded Scriptural discourse' which I will be using in this article is closer to Tonio Sebastian Richter's term 'wiederholte Rede' (adopted from Coseriu), see Richter (2008^2) 142 and n. 556. I also adopt the distinction between 'citations' and 'quotations', i.e. marked and unmarked embedding of extraneous discourse respectively, see Choat (2006a) 268 and Blumell (2012) 210 and 218.

remains of whose name may be preserved in the address on the back. The senders of the letter plead on behalf of a debtor –his name, perhaps ending in -γ̣έ̣νης, is partly legible in l. 4– who is unable to repay a debt amounting to one solidus. The palaeographical features of the hand place the letter in the fifth century, perhaps its first half. It thus offers an early testimony for monks in the role of mediators in secular affairs.[3] The text of this remarkable letter reads as follows:

P.Oslo inv. 1481[4] H. 30 x W. 17.8 cm

P.Oslo inv. nos. 1437-1503 were purchased from Maurice Nahman (Cairo) in September 1934. Inv. 1481 has been reconstructed of two fragments which join at ll. 16-18 (the joins are indicated by |). The left part of the sheet is severely damaged, so that line beginnings are missing except for at ll. 14-17. The lower margin is missing but l. 32 is probably the final line of the letter.

→

Fr. A	1	[τῷ ἀ]γ[α]πητῷ καὶ τιμιωτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ
		[..... ἄ]πα Ἰσίδ̣ωρος καὶ ἄπα Μωυσῆς
		[.....]ο̣ι. καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι ἀδελφοὶ ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρ(ειν).
		..[.....]...γ̣έ̣νης ἦλθεν καὶ π̣αρέκλαυσεν̣
	5	[τοῖς ... ἀ]δ̣ελφο̣ῖς π̣ερὶ ἑνὸς ὁλ̣[ο]κοτίνου διὰ
		τ̣ὸ̣ μὴ ἔ̣χ̣ε̣[ι]ν̣ αὐτὸν ὥστε ποιήσ̣ης τὴν ἀγάπην
		[...]....ι̣. τ̣ὸ̣ν̣ κ(ύριο)ν καὶ ἀποστείλ̣ης Φοι-
		[βάμμων]ι̣ τῷ βοηθῷ ὥστε συν̣χωρῆσαι αὐ-
		[τῷ ..... ὁ]λοκοτίνῳ. εἰ δὲ μή γε ποίησον
	10	[τὴν ἀγάπ]ην̣ ἀπόδος αὐτῷ τὴν ἀποχὴν τοῦ̣
		[ἑνὸς ὅλο]κ̣οτ̣ίνου. οὐ̣δ̣ὲν γὰρ ἠσανηχρ̣.[..]
		[.....]ο̣υτο[.]αυ̣τ̣αι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ β̣ο̣η̣.[..]
		[.....] τ̣ὸν αἰώνιον τόπον. ἡ γ̣ὰ̣ρ̣ κ̣ρ[ίσις]
		ἀνέλεος τ̣[ῷ μὴ] π̣ο̣ιήσαντι ἔλεος. τ̣[ο]ί̣ν̣υν [π]ο̣ί̣-
	15	ησον τὴν̣ ἀ̣γ̣ά̣π̣ην καὶ ποίησον τὸ [π]ρ̣ᾶ̣γμ[α]
Fr. A+B		τοῦ μετρίου εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐκ ἐστιν κεφ̣ά̣λ̣α̣ι̣|ο̣ν
Fr. A+B		παρὰ τῆς σ̣ῆς ἀγάπ̣ης μ̣άλ̣ιστα [.....]|ο̣ν
Fr. A+B		[.]..δ̣..ω̣ν̣ τῷ|ν̣ ἀδε[λφῶν] ἐλθόντων πρὸς
Fr. B		[σε εἶπα]ς̣ αὐτοῖς ὅτι σ̣[υ]νχωρῶ αὐτῷ
	20	[.....] εἴ̣δε διὰ τ̣ὸν κ(ύριο)ν̣ [εἴ̣]δε διὰ τοὺς ἁγίους
		[.....]ς μάλιστα δὲ διὰ̣ [τ]ὴν μετρίαν
		[.....].ν̣.. π̣[ο]ίησον τὴν̣ ἀ̣γ̣άπην κ̣αὶ ἀπ̣ό̣-
		[δος αὐτῷ] τὴ[ν ἀπ]οχὴν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήσ̣ης
		[.....].[.]τες π̣[ε]ρ[ι]εγράψαμεν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σ̣ο̣υ̣
	25	[....].ο̣ς ὅτι ποιεῖς τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ μετρίου
		[καὶ τῆς ἀ]γάπης καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης φυλ̣άξει σε
		[μετὰ τοῦ] ἀδελφοῦ σου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου \σου/ ἀπὸ παντ\ὸ/[ς]

[3] 'Mediation' refers to monks' engagement in secular affairs as negotiators and helpers of individuals in need, see Kotsifou (2014) 530-540. Their role as spiritual fathers and intercessors through prayer is referred to in scholarly literature as 'intercession', see Rapp (1999) and Vivian (2004).

[4] What is presented here is a preliminary edition which incorporates supplements –included in round brackets in the translation– which will be accounted for in detail in the commentary of the edition proper which will appear in the forthcoming volume P.Oslo IV.

[κακοῦ κ]αὶ μεγαληνεῖ τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπὶ τ..ϛ
[.....] καὶ ἐπὶ τ̣ῆς γ[ῆ]ς. ἐγὼ̣ Παῦλος ὁ ἐλά[χι]στος
30 [.....]....[. σ]υ̣[ν τ]ῷ̣ ἀγ̣απητῷ̣ σου ἀδελφῷ̣
[καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκ]ῳ̣ [πάντ]α̣ς [κατ' ὄ]νομα. ἐρρῶσθαί σε
[εὐχόμ]εθα ἐ̣ν̣ κ(υρί)ῳ̣ οἱ ἀ̣δ̣ε̣λ̣φ̣οί.

2 ϊϲι̣δ̣ω̣ρος 3 κ̿ω̿ χαιρ 5 l. ὁλοκοττίνου 7 κ̿ν̿ 8 l. συγχωρῆϲαι 9 l. ὁλοκοττίνῳ 11 l. ὁλοκοττίνου 19 l. συγχωρῶ 20 l. εἴτε ... εἴτε; κ̿ν̿ 30 l. μεγαλυνεῖ 32 κ̿ω̿

«To the beloved and highly esteemed brother | (NN), Apa Isidoros, Apa Moses | (...) and the holy brethren greet you in the Lord. | (...)genes came and implored |[5] the brothers about the one solidus, because | he does not have it, in order that you act charitably | (...) the Lord and send word to Phoi|bammon the manager so as to forgive him | the (debt of the one) solidus. Or else, act |[10] charitably, return to him the receipt for | the one solidus. For nothing were (= are?) (...) | For these (or: such/so many?) are (...) | (...) the eternal place. «For judgment| will be without mercy to anyone who has shown no mercy». Therefore(?) act |[15] charitably and do what is | fitting knowing that there is no capital(?) | from your charity most (...) | when the brothers came to | (you, you told?) them (that) "I release him (...) |[20] (...) either for the Lord or for the holy | (martyrs?/ fathers?/ saints?) but above all for the sake of the fitting | (Christian love?/philanthropy?)". (...) act charitably and return | the receipt to him but do not neglect the matter | (as?) we (...) outlined/cancelled(?) for your love.|[25] (The Lord/God?), because you do a fitting thing | and an act of charity and peace, will guard you | (along with) your brother and the members of your family from every | (evil) and will extol your name (on heaven as) on earth(?). I(?), Paul the humble, |[30] (greet you) together with your beloved brother | (and all your family members?) by name. Strength | in the Lord we wish you, (we) the brothers(?)».

An arresting feature of this letter of monastic mediation, in addition to the embedded Scriptural discourse and the nearly calligraphic hand of the scribe, is a remarkable degree of rhetorical dexterity. In order to convince the recipient to forgive the debt the senders employ emotional language (l. 4 π̣α̣ρέκλαυσεν̣), remind him of his own words on the matter in direct speech (ll. 19-22) and, above all, impress the central point of their argument, that the creditor should demonstrate Christian love/charity (ἀγάπη) towards the debtor, at the level of form through verbal repetitions of this key-theme: l. 1 [τῷ̣ ἀ]γ[α]πητῷ̣, l. 6 ὥστε ποιήσῃς τὴν ἀγάπην, ll. 9-10 ποίησον |[τὴν ἀγάπ]ην̣, ll. 14-15 τ̣[ο]ί̣ν̣υν [π]ο̣ί̣|ησον τὴν̣ ἀ̣γ̣ά̣π̣ην, l. 17 παρὰ τῆς σ̣ῆς ἀγάπ̣ης̣, l. 22 π̣[ο]ίησον τὴν̣ ἀ̣γάπην, l. 24 π̣[ε]ρ[ι]εγράψαμεν τῇ̣ ἀγάπῃ σο̣υ̣, ll. 25-26 ποιεῖς τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ μετρίου | [καὶ τῆς ἀ]γάπης, l. 30 [τ]ῷ̣ ἀγ̣απητῷ̣ σου ἀδελφῷ̣. Equally noteworthy is the persistent employment of phraseology at the interface between secular economy and Christian ethics, which translates the creditor's financial interests into Christian thinking. This operation starts in the opening address with the combination of the adjectives ἀγαπητός and τιμιώτατος, which is otherwise relatively rare in papyrus letters,[5] and continues through the use of forms of the verb συγχωρέω 'to forgive', applying to both sins and debt (l. 8 συν̣χωρῆσαι, l. 19 σ̣[υ]νχωρῶ), and of the adjective μέτριον, meaning 'morally right/fitting, moderate, temperate' and 'proportionate' (ll. 15-16 ποίησον τὸ [π]ρ̣ᾶγμ[α] | τοῦ μετρ̣ίου, ll. 21-22 μάλιστα δὲ διὰ̣ [τ]ὴν μετρίαν | [.....] and l. 25 ὅτι ποιεῖς τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ μετρίου). The expressions οὐκ ἐσ̣τιν κεφ̣ά̣λ̣α̣ι̣ο̣ν | παρὰ τῆς σ̣ῆς ἀγάπ̣ης̣ in ll. 16-17 and π̣[ε]ρ[ι]εγράψαμεν

[5] The combination of ἀγαπητός and τιμιώτατος is attested in a handful of fourth and fifth century letters addressed to highly respected individuals, in particular monks and clerics (P.Lond. VI 1917. ll. 1-2; P.Lond. VI 1929. ll. 1 and 21; P.Neph. 3. l. 1; P.Neph. 4. l. 1; P.Neph. 5. l. 1; P.Neph. 14. l. 10 and P.Prag. I 100. l. 1). The sequence ἀγαπητῷ̣ καὶ τιμιωτάτῳ is unique. The reverse order is attested in P.Prag. I 100. ll. 1-3, while the authors of the letters to Nepheros opt for asyndetic syntax.

τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου in l. 24 also set up Christian morality against secular economy, if the restorations proposed are tenable.[6]

Loss of the text due to physical damage of the papyrus makes it difficult to be sure exactly what contributions to the rhetorical matrix of the letter are made by the quotation from the Epistle of James, Jas 2.13a-b, in ll. 13-14 (ἡ γὰρ κρ[ίσις]| ἀνέλεος τ[ῷ μὴ] ποιήσαντι ἔλεος, «For judgment will be without mercy to anyone who has shown no mercy»)[7] and the immediately preceding allusion to Tob 3:6 (ἐπίταξον ἀπολυθῆναί με τῆς ἀνάγκης ἤδη εἰς τὸν αἰώνιον τόπον B 03, A 02: ἀπόλυσόν με εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν αἰώνιον א 01, «command so that I may be released from need now and cross over to the eternal place» / «release me and let me cross over to the eternal place»)[8] in ll. 11-12 or, at the very least, echo of Scriptural language in the expression τὸν αἰώνιον τόπον.[9] At any rate, the mention of 'the eternal place' and the warning about the merciless final judgement of those who failed to show mercy in this life indicates that the argumentative strategy of the letter-writers at this point is to apply harder pressure on the creditor by reminding him that, should he fail to show mercy towards the debtor, he risks eternal punishment after death.

Jas 2.13a-b is not among the passages quoted frequently in early Christian literature. In Greek it is embedded in chapter 9 of the sermon περὶ τῶν συνεισάκτων («Concerning the concubines»), ascribed to Basil of Caesarea, in a context where those who indulge in female company are warned of God's merciless judgement (PG 30.824A). The only instance of this quotation in a context that to a certain extent matches the theme of the present letter comes from the correspondence of the Egyptian ascetic Isidore of Pelusium, whose lifetime partly coincides with the time of the Oslo letter. In a short letter transmitted as I 492 (= PG 78, 449C)[10] Isidore chastises a certain bishop Eusebius for withholding distributions to the poor with the following words: ἴσθι, θαυμάσιε, ὡς ἡ κρίσις ἀνέλεος τῷ μὴ ποιήσαντι ἔλεος, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μόνον δωρεῶν, ὧν αὐτὸς τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἀποστερεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων, ὧν ἑκουσίως τὴν μετάδοσιν ποιεῖσθαι χρεωστεῖς («Be aware, excellent fellow, that "judgment will be without mercy to anyone who has shown no mercy", not only on account

[6] The latter expression would have a double meaning, «as we outlined to your love» and «as we cancelled the debt for your love», exploiting the monetary semantics of the verb περιγράφω (see LSJ s.v. III and PSI I 64. l. 15) and at the same time alluding to the role of the monks as intercessors for humans before God.

[7] The translations of Scriptural passages are from the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible, Metzger and Murphy (1989) unless otherwise stated.

[8] The translation of this passage is mine. The other famous Old Testament locus of the expression is Isa 33.14 ἀπέστησαν οἱ ἐν Σιὼν ἄνομοι, λήμψεται τρόμος τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς. τίς ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν τὸν τόπον τὸν αἰώνιον; («The lawless in Zion are in uproar; trembling will seize the impious. Who will give you tidings of the eternal punishment?»; translation is mine). However, the context in the Book of Tobit where in 2.14 Tobit's wife confronts him with the question ποῦ εἰσιν αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι καὶ οἱ σωφροσύναι σου; («Where are your acts of charity? Where are your righteous deeds?») when he suspects her of illegal possession of goods has more affinities with the situation in the Oslo letter.

[9] In ll. 11-12 a reconstruction compatible with the topic would be οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦσαν η (l. αἱ) χρή|[σεις] («for loans were nothing»). It rests on the assumption of scribal error (η, l. αἱ) –an inherently problematic operation when the context is uncertain– and sounds strained in the absence of the modal ἄν, unless the historic tense is understood as gnomic («for loans are nothing»). An argument in favour of restoring a noun in plural (such as αἱ χρή|[σεις]) at this point is that the wording of the new clause starting in l. 12 with αὗται γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ etc. vel sim., strongly signals the presence of a feminine noun in plural in the previous clause as referent of the pronoun αὗται. In ll. 12-13 the letter-writer may have incorporated an allusion to the Book of Tobit, if the text is restored e.g. as αὗται γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ βοη̣θ[οὶ]| [ἀπολύσεως εἰς] τὸν αἰώνιον τόπον or, taking into account the available space, αὗται γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ βοη̣θ̣[οὶ]| [ἡμῶν εἰς] τὸν αἰώνιον τόπον. In the latter case we are dealing with an echo, i.e. the use of a Biblical expression with known denotations (τὸν αἰώνιον τόπον = the place of eternal rest). On echo in Christian papyri see Harris (1975) 156-157 and Choat (2006b) 77-79.

[10] On the numeration of Isidorus' letters in the manuscript transmission see Évieux (1977).

of external donations which you deprive the poor of, but also on account of your failure to share willingly your private means».)

Closer thematically to the Oslo letter are the Coptic citations of Jas 2.13a-b. In chapter 29 of the sermon On Riches ascribed to Peter I of Alexandria (300-311 CE), which belongs to a part of the work (chapters 20-29) that comments on the New Testament story of the rich man Nineve and Lazarus (Luke 16.19-31),[11] the rich man is apostrophized with Jas 2.13a-b formulated as a question: ⲱ ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲩⲏ ⲉⲓⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲛⲁ ⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲁ («O Nineve, have you not heard *what is written* that "the judgement is merciless for the one who did not show mercy?"»).[12] The other Coptic work which incorporates Jas 2.13a-b is the Life of Apa Aaron of Philae, the composition of which has been placed by recent scholarship to the period 491 to 700 CE.[13] The episode in which the quotation is embedded is also a narrative of monastic mediation: Apa Aaron is visited by a poor man who cannot pay back his debt and risks losing his vineyard to his creditor (ch. 109). Aaron lets the man stay overnight and prays for him (ch. 110-111). The next morning the creditor arrives in haste. He has been afflicted by blindness and, as he has heard that the debtor who he dismissed the day before had resorted to Apa Aaron for help, he has surmised the reason for his affliction (ch. 111-114). The creditor forgives the debt, and Apa Aaron heals him after he has administered the due admonitions including the following (chapter 112 = BL Or 7029, p. 94, ll. 14-15): ⲛⲁ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩ|ⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲕ ϩⲙⲡⲕⲉⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲣⲟϥ | ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕϣⲛϩⲧⲕ ϩⲁⲛϩⲏ|ⲕⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉⲃⲓⲏⲛ ⲛⲛⲓⲛⲉⲩⲏ | ⲡⲁⲧⲛⲁ ⲧⲁϩⲟⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲟⲩ|ⲁⲧⲛⲁ ⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲁ («Be merciful in this world, my son, and you will be shown mercy in the other world, where you will be going. It is good for you to have compassion on the poor so that the misery of merciless Nineveh will not become yours. For "judgement is merciless for the one who has not shown mercy"»).[14] Certain details in the episode from the Life of Apa Aaron are reminiscent of the situation in the Oslo papyrus letter: the problem is inability to repay debt; the debtor resorts crying to a monk (Aaron) and asks for his mediation; the monk cites Jas 2.13a-b while warning the rich of the eternal punishment. On the other hand, the explicit evocation of the New Testament story of the rich man and Lazarus nods towards (Ps.?)Peter's On Riches. Given the uncertainties surrounding the authorship and date of On Riches, it would not be prudent to assume direct connections between the sources, although the coupling of the New Testament story and the citation link the two Coptic works. More to the point, the passage seems to have been a favourite in Egyptian Christianity when the topic of wealth divorced from mercy was touched upon. Given the wide circulation of the quotation in Christian literature from Egypt it may even be conceivable that the monks who wrote the Oslo letter drew the quotation not directly from the New Testament but from an intermediary, a work or context similar to the ones discussed above which addressed the moral use of wealth.

[11] Chapters 14-29 belong to the part of the sermon which is addressed to the rich (chapters 14-54). Pearson and Vivian (1993) 26 consider the chapters as part of the original Petrine core of the work but this is a mere hypothesis, see Richter (1996) 375. The date and authorship of the work are also highly uncertain.

[12] Pearson / Vivian (1993) 53 (Sahidic versions), 74 (Bohairic version: ⲱ ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲩⲏ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲥϧⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲁⲡ ⲟⲩⲁⲑⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲁⲓ) and 108 (translation in which the Bohairic extra elements appear in italics). In the Bohairic version the citation is signalled clearly by means of ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲥϧⲛⲟⲩⲧ, whereas ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲭⲉ in the Sahidic versions is a more discrete marker of citation.

[13] Dijkstra (2007) 196-197; Dijkstra (2008) 227-231.

[14] The translation is by J.H.F. Dijkstra and J. Van der Vliet. I thank J.H.F. Dijkstra for generously sending me this part of the forthcoming edition of the Life of Aaron.
A digital image is available in http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or_7029_f001r. To access the page choose 'fol. 47r'.

The last passage in the Oslo monastic letter which incorporates Scriptural language, ll. 28-29 κ]αὶ μεγαληνεῖ (l. μεγαλυνεῖ) τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπὶ τ..ς| [.....] καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γ[ῆ]ς also occurs in an uncertain context. The lack of clarity arises first and foremost from the loss of the verbal subject, which probably occurred at the lost beginning of l. 25. Nor is it easy to restore the double prepositional expression at the end of l. 28 and the beginning of l. 29.[15] The most likely hypothesis regarding the subject of the clause is that it is 'God'. The passage seems to hold out a promise in the spirit of SB XVI 12474. ll. 11-12 (6th-7th cent. CE; unknown provenance) in which 'God' is the verbal subject: πεπεισμοι (l. πέπεισμαι, or πεπεισμ<έν>οι) γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὡς ὅσα ποιεῖται (l. ποιεῖτε) μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἡμῶν πατὴρ | ἀνταποδίδωσιν ὑμων (l. ὑμῖν) καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις («[I am] convinced that God will return to you both in the present life and in heaven exactly as many charitable acts as you perform»).[16] The writers of the letter resort to Scriptural modes of expression, especially favoured in the Greek Old Testament, echoing perhaps more closely Gen. 12.2 (God to Abraham) καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς ἔθνος μέγα καὶ εὐλογήσω σε καὶ μεγαλυνῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου καὶ ἔσῃ εὐλογητός («I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you, and make your name great, so that you will be a blessing»).[17] The promise that God will enhance the creditor's reputation is a rhetorically expedient denouement that serves to close the letter on a positive note and creates an anticipation of forthcoming reward which balances the threatening notes inserted in the earlier part of the letter (ll. 12-13) by means of the Scriptural echo and quotation.

3. A Rhetorical Perspective on Embedded Scriptural Discourse

The emergence of this letter provides the opportunity to revisit the much discussed topic of embedded Scriptural discourse in papyrus letters from the early centuries of Christianity in Egypt. Citations, quotations and echoes of Scripture in papyrus letters have attracted scholarly interest thus far from several points of view:

a. As indicators of a letter-writer's adherence to the Christian faith.

b. When the Christian belief of the letter-writer is certain, as indicators of the Scriptural literacy of the correspondents, i.e. of their Old and New Testament readings and their degree of familiarity with the foundational texts of Christianity.

c. As textual witnesses testifying to the form in which the text of the Old and the New Testament was known to early Christians. In particular when Scriptural passages in private letters diverge from the transmitted text, scholarly interest has focused on the reason for the divergence. Recovery from memory or recovery from a source now lost are considered to be the most likely reasons for textually divergent citations and quotations.[18]

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[15] Restoration suggestions: ἐπὶ τοὺς| [αἰῶνας] καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γ[ῆ]ς or ἐπὶ τοῖς| [οὐρανοῖς/ οὐ(ραν)οῖς ὡς] καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γ[ῆ]ς. Both have some problematic sides, for which see the commentary ad loc. in the forthcoming edition.

[16] Compare also the closing wish in P.Abin. 19. ll. 24-27 (ca 325-375 CE, Philadelpheia) καὶ ὁ| θ(εὸ)ς ἀποδιδῖ (l. ἀποδιδοῖ) σ[ο]ι πρὸς τὴν ἐλεη|μωσύνην (l. ἐλεη|μοσύνην) σου καὶ ἀνυψῦ (l. ἀνυψοῖ) σε εἰς| τὰ μί[ζ]ωνα (l. μεί[ζ]ονα) («may God reward you for your charity and exalt you to the higher spheres»).

[17] Other Scriptural passages in which the verb μεγαλύνω governs ὄνομα, but are less likely intertexts, are: Ps. 34.3 μεγαλύνατε τὸν κύριον σὺν ἐμοί,/ καὶ ὑψώσωμεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό («O magnify the Lord with me, and let us exalt his name together»); 2 Sam. 7.25-26 καὶ νῦν καθὼς ἐλάλησας, μεγαλυνθείη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἕως αἰῶνος («Do as you have promised. Thus your name will be magnified forever») and Acts 19:17 καὶ ἐμεγαλύνετο τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ («and the name of the Lord Jesus was praised.»)

[18] Naldini (1968) 54-55; Harris (1975); Tibiletti (1979) 115-116; Horsley (1982) 154-158; Pickering (1999) 136-138; Epp (2004) 26-27 and 44-49; Choat (2006a); (2006b) 74-83; Kim (2011) 63-66; Blumell (2012) 208-

Malcolm Choat's balanced remarks illustrate the complexity of the issue: «Even where a scriptural quotation is probable, only rarely does it form a close parallel to the texts of the New Testament and the Septuagint as now extant. This is a function partly of modern source criticism, which produces texts that do not correspond to any one version that ever existed; the text as quoted may have stood in some lost manuscript. More importantly, it is highly likely that these phrases are being imperfectly remembered (or intruding subconsciously?) from an oral context whether Church service or a more informal occasion; it is less probable that they are copied from an actual text».[19]

The present article attempts to add an extra dimension to the discussion by arguing that in some cases the situation faced or addressed by a letter-writer or his/her petitionary agenda (if the letter conveys a request) may have had a shaping influence on the form of the Scriptural discourse cited resulting in modified citations and quotations. If this is so, it may be fruitful to examine the verbal form of the embedded Scriptural references in papyrus letters (as well as in other types of documents with a persuasive agenda, most notably petitions)[20] with an eye to the rhetorical situation and with the letter-writer's purpose or general situation in mind.

I will attempt to illustrate the creative adaptation of Scriptural discourse in private correspondence first by revisiting the Scriptural citations in P.Lond. VI 1915, a letter from the early fourth cent. archive of Apa Paieous/Pageous.[21] Its author is a certain Herieous whose aim is to secure material assistance for the wine-seller Pamonthis who had fallen on hard times and was divested of everything, including his children, by his creditors (ll. 16-28 and P.Lond. VI 1916. ll. 10-18). Herieous embeds Scriptural discourse at three places in his letter, at ll. 3-5, l. 9 and ll. 13-16.[22] Two are marked as citations by means of the formulas «the divine word bids us» (l. 4 π̣[α]ρ̣[α]γγέλεται ἡμῖν ὁ θεῖος λόγος) and «remembering the blessed apostle who says» (ll. 13-14 μεμνη|μέ̣νοι [το]ῦ̣ μ̣α̣κ̣α̣ρίο̣υ̣ ἀ̣ποστό̣[λ]ου̣ λέγοντες (l. λέγοντος)) respectively. As has been noted already, none of the Scriptural passages that have been proposed as sources for ll. 3-5 and 13-16 match Herieous' words exactly. Bell comments on P.Lond. VI 1915. l. 3: «Probably the reference is not to any single text of Scripture but a general recollection of New Testament teaching», while Choat considers what follows P.Lond. VI 1915. l. 14 as «a general reflection of apostolic advice culled from a number of sources».[23]

While it is certainly true that the passages reflect general New Testament teaching, it might be worth observing in detail how the letter-writer's version relates to the possible Scriptural source-passages.

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236 (for Oxyrhynchus); Mathieson (2014) 70-101 (in women's writings). Koroli (2016) 132 n. 174 comments briefly on the practice of citation/quotation/echo of literary texts in private letters in general.

[19] Choat (2006b) 79.

[20] The function of Scriptural citations in petitions from the archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodite has been studied by Papathomas (2000) and Dijkstra (2003). Interesting from the present point of view is the remark of Papathomas (2000) 499: «Spontane und nicht von den Rhetorik bedingte Verwendung neutestamentlicher Elemente ist selten, aber doch vorhanden». The rhetoric of petitions has been explored by Fournet (2004) and Papathomas (2006).

[21] This bilingual archive (Greek and Coptic), connected to the central figure of Paieous/Pageus of the Melitian monastic community at Phathor in the Upper Cynopolite, comprises documents from the 330s published by H.I. Bell in 1924 as P.Lond. VI 1913-1922 and SB Kopt. III 1310-1313, ed. princ. Crum (1927). For general discussions see Bell in P.Lond. VI, 38-45, Goehring (1993) and Hauben (2002).

[22] All noted by Bell in the commentary. See also Choat (2006a) 269-270, 284, 288 and 290.

[23] Choat (2006a) 269.

1. P.Lond. VI 1915. ll. 3-5

τοῖ̣[ς .....]ηφ̣θ̣ονει σ̣υμφορᾷ̣ παραπεσοῦσιν[24]
βοη[θεῖ]ν̣ π̣[α]ρ[α]γγέλεται (l. παραγγέλλεται) ἡμῖν ὁ θεῖος λόγος πᾶσι, μάλιστα
τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἡμῶν

«...the divine word bids us to assist everyone who has fallen in (not enviable?) misfortune, above all our brothers.»

Of the possible source-passages noted by Bell,[25] Gal 6.10 is remarkably close in terms of both content and wording.

Gal 6.10 ἄρα οὖν ὡς καιρὸν ἔχομεν, ἐργαζώμεθα τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως

«So then, whenever we have an opportunity, let us work for the good of all, and especially for those of the family of faith.»

The passage concludes the part of the Epistle to the Galatians, which exhorts the Christian brothers to bear each other's burdens, moral and other (Gal 6.1-10). In this closing formulation the addressees are first urged to do good by each and every person indiscriminately. Then a μάλιστα δὲ-subclause singles out a select group, the members of the household-in-faith, as especially worthy beneficiaries. Herieous' formulation replicates the structure of the Pauline intertext. His statement also consists of a generalised exhortation of assistance (βοη[θεῖ]ν̣ ... πᾶσι) which is then narrowed down to a particular group by dint of a μάλιστα-subclause. However, those Herieous and Paul regard as worthy of aid are different, as Herieous choses them with an eye to the situation of the subject of his letter, Pamonthis. Thus, his first and broader group of aid-worthy individuals, which substitutes Paul's πρὸς πάντας, is «everyone who has fallen in ... misfortune» (τοῖ̣[ς (...) σ̣υμφορᾷ̣ παραπεσοῦσιν | (...) πᾶσι). Herieous turns his reader's attention right from the outset to the group to which Pamonthis also belongs. The select group of particularly aid-worthy individuals according to Herieous, 'our brothers' (τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἡμῶν), ostensibly corresponds to Paul's second group (τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως). However, in view of its reference group, those in misfortune, it turns out to be even narrower as it singles out from among those who have fallen in misfortune only 'our brothers'. In a world which still included both pagans and Christians who might suffer financial or other forms of hardship Herieous' message is 'sectarian', as it stresses the particular obligation to Christians to assist their fellow-Christians in need.[26] One might even take a further step in this direction and suggest that Herieous replaces the Pauline τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως, which would have been perfectly serviceable for his purpose, by τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἡμῶν because his sense of belonging encompasses a particular Christian group, the Melitians, and not all 'brothers-in-faith'.[27] Whether this is so or not (in which case the Pauline turn of phrase is simply replaced by a simpler, perhaps more current term), the noun ἀδελφὸς has a bridging function and enables Herieous to transition to the narrative part of his letter and tell of the troubles of 'our brother Pamonthis' (ἐπειδὴ οὖν ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶ(ν) etc).[28] The upshot of the discussion is that the passage should still count as what it presents itself as,

[24] The ed.princ. restores the preposition ἐν in the lacuna but this is unnecessary in view of περιστάσεσι <οὐ> τες (l. ταῖς){ς} τυχούσαις παρα|πεσὼν in ll. 6-7.
[25] Gal 6.10 and 1 Tim 5.8.
[26] The use of (fictive) sibling language in early Christianity (with emphasis on the Pauline epistles) and its possible replication of expressive modes in professional and religious associations have been discussed recently by Harland (2009) 63-81 with references to earlier treatments of the topic.
[27] On the strong sense of brotherhood of the Melitians see Bell in P.Lond. VI, p. 72.
[28] Inspection of the original shows that the final nu in the pronoun has the form of a stroke above the line, as in ll. 18 and 22.

a citation,[29] albeit one that has been adapted to the context of its use and serves to bestow apostolic sanction on the letter-writer's topic, the dire circumstances of a 'brother' and the duty of the other 'brothers' to offer assistance.

Of the proposed intertexts of ll. 13-16, also all Pauline,[30] three appear sufficiently close in theme and/or wording:[31]

2. P.Lond. VI 1915. ll. 13-16

συμβάλλεσθε αὐτῷ μεμνη-
μένοι [το]ῦ μακαρίου ἀποστό[λ]ου λέγοντες[32] (l. λέγοντος) τοὺς
ἀσθενοῦντας μὴ παροράν [ο]ὐ μόνον [ἐ]ν τῇ πίστι (l. πίστει)
ἀλλὰ κα[ὶ ἐ]ν ταῖς κομικαῖς (l. κοσμικαῖς) π[ρ]άξεσι

«...help him [sc. Pamonthis] recalling the blessed Apostle who said not to neglect the weak, not only in faith but also in secular affairs»

Rom 14.1 τὸν δὲ ἀσθενοῦντα τῇ πίστει προσλαμβάνεσθε, μὴ εἰς διακρίσεις διαλογισμῶν

«Welcome those who are weak in faith, but not for the purpose of quarreling over opinions»

Acts 20.35 πάντα ὑπέδειξα ὑμῖν ὅτι οὕτως κοπιῶντας δεῖ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων, μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν "μακάριόν ἐστιν μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν".

(Paul addresses the Ephesian presbyters) «In all this I have given you an example that by such work we must support the weak, remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, for he himself said, "It is more blessed to give than to receive"»

1 Thess 5.14 (…) παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, νουθετεῖτε τοὺς ἀτάκτους, παραμυθεῖσθε τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους, ἀντέχεσθε τῶν ἀσθενῶν, μακροθυμεῖτε πρὸς πάντας.

«And we urge you, brothers, to admonish the idlers, encourage the fainthearted, help the weak, be patient with all of them»

Rom 14.1 deals specifically with spiritual assistance in cases of feebleness of faith. In Acts 20:35 and 1 Thess 5.14 Paul speaks of ἀσθενοῦντας and ἀσθενεῖς in very general and open terms. Herieous' reworking of the Pauline intertexts has two noteworthy features: it maintains the thematic element 'weakness of faith' of Rom 14.1 (which is his primary intertext since, given that Pamonthis does not suffer from lack of faith, Herieous had no reason to refer to faith in the first place) but modifies it by means of an οὐ μόνον ... ἀλλὰ καὶ-formulation. Thus, the network of those in need of assistance is expanded to include «also those who are in a position of weakness in their wordly affairs». This is exactly the position of the subject of his letter, Pamonthis. He is neither unsteady in faith nor weak in a general and abstract manner but is in dire straits financially. What is more, Herieous' formulation «help him remembering that the blessed Apostle said [(modified) citation]» replicates Paul's speech-act in Acts 20.35 «we must support the weak, remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, for he

[29] Pace Choat (2006a) 270 who opines that «The citation in P.Lond. VI 1915. ll. 3-5 gives it a status in this discussion it might otherwise not have, for it is not the intention here to discuss the quite natural appearance of Christian sentiments, which ultimately nearly all have their origin in the New Testament».

[30] The editors of P.Neph. have noted the predilection of this monastic community and correspondents for the Epistles to Timothy in particular, see P.Neph. p. 70 n. 3.

[31] See Bell's comment on ll. 14-16. Jas 5.14 refers specifically to the care of ailing persons.

[32] Retention of λέγοντες would make the addressees say what echoes the words of Paul, keeping him in mind («...help him [sc. Pamonthis], keeping in mind [sc. you] the blessed Apostle, saying [sc. you] not to neglect the weak, not only in faith but also in the secular affairs»). This is a less attractive construction of the passage since the active form of λέγω with the infinitive has the meaning 'to command', 'to exhort'. This meaning applies better to the speech-act of Paul ('who commands/exhorts') than to that of the addressees who, if they were the subject of λέγοντες, would utter a statement rather than an exhortation.

himself said [citation]». The affinity between the passages is close also at the level of wording: συμβάλλεσθε αὐτῷ corresponds to ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων, while μεμνημένοι [το]ῦ μ̣ακ̣αρίο̣υ̣ ἀ̣ποστό̣[λ]ου̣ λέγοντες (l. λέγοντος) echoes μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. As Paul cites Jesus, so Herieous cites Paul in an attempt to bestow on his exhortation and request of financial assistance for Pamonthis authority that goes back to Paul and ultimately, via Paul's words, to Jesus' sanctioning of giving in Acts 20.35 (ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν 'μακάριόν ἐστιν μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν'). Apparently a citation which contains a citation is rhetorically more efficient. In light of the above, Herieous' use of Pauline citations emerges as conscious and creative. He has a high degree of familiarity with the Pauline intertexts, both in content and form.[33] All the same, his citations are ultimately moulded by rhetorical exigencies, the needs in argumentation raised by the situation at hand.

Another epistolary context in which the letter-writer's situation is likely to have affected the form of the embedded Scriptural discourse is P.Oxy. VIII 1161 (4th cent.), ll. 4-7 ὅ̣π̣ως οὗτοι | πάντες β[ο]ηθήσωσιν ἡμῶν τῷ σώματι, τῇ ψυχῇ, τῷ ⟦π̣ν̣(εύματ)ι̣⟧ | πν(εύματ)ι («so that they all [sc. God and Jesus] help our body, soul and spirit»). What is crucially significant for the order which the members of the triad body-soul-spirit receive in this letter is that foremost in the female letter-writer's mind is her bodily suffering, as her ensuing words clearly show, ll. 7-11 ταῦτα δέ σοι ἔγραψα | νοσοῦσα δ̣ε̣[ιν]ῶς ἔχουσα πά|νυ μὴ δυναμένη ἀναστῆ|ναι ἐκ τῆς κοίτης μου, ὅτι πά|νυ δινῶς (l. δεινῶς) ἔχω («I wrote these words to you although I am gravely ill, unable to get off my bed because I am in a dreadful state»). The precedence given to the body in her version of the triad may therefore be due to her physical suffering and not originate necessarily in external sources. This entails that the question of how the letter relates to 1 Thess 5.23 καὶ ὁλόκληρον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τηρηθείη («and may your spirit and soul and body be kept sound and blameless at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ»), to the liturgy (where the picture is still fluent but the tendency seems to be towards a tripartite reference to soul-body-spirit under the influence of the Liturgy of St. Mark) or to other sources may not be the right question to ask in this case or may even be impossible to answer.[34]

Among the letters of the Meletian archive SB Kopt. III 1310. ll. 2-8[35] contains another interesting example of embedded Scriptural discourse. It is part of a eulogising string of adjectives and relative clauses which are in apposition to the name of the recipient of the

[33] The same holds true for the allusion to Tit 2.13 in P.Lond. VI 1915. ll. 8-10 ὥσ[τ]ε̣ ὡς ἔπως (l. ἔπος) εἰπεῖν ἀναγ'|κασθῆναι τῆς μακαρίας ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν ἀποστερη|θῆναι («so that he [sc. the debtor] was forced to lose –so to speak– our 'blessed hope'»). Herieous moderates the allusion by means of the formulaic expression ὡς ἔπως (l. ἔπος) εἰπεῖν, as he is probably aware that in its original context, Tit 2.13 προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ («while we wait for the blessed hope and the manifestation of the glory of our great God and Savior, Jesus Christ»), the expression refers to something altogether different, the anticipation of Christ's second coming and the final judgement. On an alternative reading the expression signals the citation («so that he [sc. the debtor] was forced to lose –to cite the word [sc. of the Scripture]– our 'blessed hope'»).

[34] The hypothesis that P.Oxy. VIII 1161. ll. 6-7 echo 1 Thess 5.23 was advanced by Harris (1975) 157 and rejected by Epp (2004) 25 n. 63 and 26-27 n. 69. Blumell (2012) 224-225 prefers the liturgy as the source for the sequence in the papyrus letter. The sequence soul-body-spirit of the Liturgy of Mark is first attested in P.Ryl. III 465 (VI), and became standard in the Egyptian rite, see Brightman (1901). The Pauline order (spirit-soul-body) is attested in P.Berol. inv. 13415 ii. ll. 16-17 (V). P.Monts.Roca inv. 155b. ll. 8-9 (IV) and P.Oslo inv. 1665. l. 18 (VII-VIII) have the order body-soul-spirit, while in O.Crum 6v (VI-VII) the relevant passage is partly lost. It then seems that, while there is already a triad, the order of the members is not yet fixed. The liturgy of Basil has only soul and body in the earliest manuscript (VII), while the later ones add the spirit. I thank Ágnes T. Mihálykó for advice on the topic.

[35] P.Lond. inv. 2724. Ed.princ. Crum (1927) 19-20 and pl. X.

letter, Paieous, presumably mentioned at the end of l. 1 which is broken off. The sender, Timotheus, praises Paieous as:

ⲛ̣ⲙⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲥ̣[ⲟⲛ] ⲛ̄[ⲙ]ⲁⲓ̈ ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⲛ̣ⲙ̣.ⲧ̣ⲏ̣...ⲱ̣[ca. ?]
ⲉⲧⲫⲟⲣⲓ ⲛ̄[....]ⲧ̣ⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁϥⲕⲱ ⲛ̄[ⲥ]ⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲃⲱⲱⲧ ⲉⲛⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ̣ⲡⲏⲟⲩ-
ⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁϥ[ⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥ]ⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲁⲩⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲉϥⲃⲱⲱⲧ ⲉⲛⲓⲁⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲥⲉϥⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲙⲟϥ
5 ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲛⲱ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲏ[ⲟⲩ]ⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲃⲉ < ⲛ̄>ⲛⲉϥⲱⲏⲣⲉ
ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲛⲁⲏ[ⲧ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̣[ⲱ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲛⲡⲁⲣⲁ[ⲡⲧⲱ]ⲙⲁ < ⲛ̄>ⲛⲉϥⲥ̣ⲛ̣[ⲏ]ⲟⲩ
ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲱϥ ⲛ̄[ⲱ]ϥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲡ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲧ’ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲥⲗⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲉ-
ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲓⲅⲉ[ⲗⲓⲟ]ⲛ

2-3 l. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲏⲟⲩ|ⲉ (cf. l. 5) 5 l. ⲛⲧⲉ?

«... brother-loving, righteousness-loving, (...) | who bears/wears (...), who has renounced worldly things, looking toward things heavenly, | who has renounced things that perish, looking toward things imperishable, who humbles himself |[5] before those who are unworthy of him because of the height of heaven, who forgives the sins of his children | because of God’s mercy, who forgives the trespasses of his brethren | because of the seventy-seven times who forgives the debts of his servants because of the wo|rd of the Gospel».

Parts of this eulogising string correspond fairly accurately to or echo passages from prayers and from the Old and New Testament.[36] However, their full significance and function are revealed only retrospectively in light of ll. 10-14. There Timotheus begs Paieous to forgive him for a lie which he had told and which was unveiled right before his departure. Timotheus attempts to explain his behaviour as a result of ‘human shame’, i.e. timidity and reluctance to admit his error:

ll. 8-11: ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϭⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲥϩⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲓ̈ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲕ’ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ | ϫⲉ ⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ’ ϩⲓ̈ⲧ[ⲟ]ⲧⲧⲕ’ ⲉⲕⲙⲟⲕϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ’ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡϭⲟⲗ’ ⲉⲧⲉϩⲁⲓ̈ϫⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϭⲉ ϯⲧⲁⲙⲟ | ⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲕ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉϩⲁⲓ̈[ϫ]ⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲟⲩ[ⲉ] ⲉⲡⲕⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲁⲓ̈ϫⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲉⲛ|ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉ

«So now I write beseeching you. For when I left you, you were grieved because of the lie I had told. So now I tell you that I did not say it intending deception but because of human shame/timidity».

Whereas some of the introductory predicates in ll. 2-8 may be viewed as the usual epistolary compliments in the sevice of captatio benevolentiae, the emphasis on love, moral superiority and forgiveness in this part paves the way for Timotheus’ personal request for forgiveness. In particular the author’s ulterior motive sheds new light on the formulation ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲥⲉϥⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲙⲟϥ | ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲛⲱ ⲉⲣⲟϥ in ll. 4-5, which partially rephrases Sir 25.8c μακάριος ... ὃς οὐκ ἐδούλευσεν ἀναξίῳ ἑαυτοῦ, the Sahidic version of which reads ⲛⲁⲓⲁ̄ϥ ... ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲣⲥ̄ⲙⲥⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲛⲱ ⲉⲣⲟϥ («blessed is the man ... who has not served the one who is unworthy of him»).[37] In the LXX version a man’s blessedness is associated with his having avoided the state of serving (οὐκ ἐδούλευσεν / ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲣⲥ̄ⲙⲥⲁⲗ) a person of inferior worth. Timotheus substitutes ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲣⲥ̄ⲙⲥⲁⲗ with ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲥⲉϥⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲙⲟϥ and thus paints a picture of Paieous as willing to humble himself before unworthy persons –a state which is positive from a Christian point of view and compatible with the attitude that Timotheus hopes to be met with, but diverges from the LXX version which only rejects the state of servitude to an unworthy master. The implication of the rephrasing is more far reaching than simply portraying Apa Paieous as a true Christian who shows humility. Since in the light of what follows the (morally) unworthy person is the letter-writer Timotheus, Paieous is implicitly invited to behave toward Timotheus in accordance with the eulogy. Scriptural discourse serves to

[36] ll. 3-4 ≈ P.Berol. 13415r. ll. 29-31; ll. 4-5 ≈ Sir 25.8c (11); ll. 6-7 ≈ Matt 18.22; ll. 7-8 ≈ Matt 6.12 or perhaps Matt 18.23.
[37] Thompson (1908) 160. On the Coptic versions of Sirach see Feder (2008).

convey the letter-writer's hopes and expectations about how the recipient will behave towards him without naming them explicitly and with reference to the forgiveness which Timotheus attempts to elicit from Paieous.[38]

On the other hand, embedded Scriptural discourse does not always serve a purely persuasive purpose, especially when nothing is at stake between the correspondents and the letter does not convey an important or sensitive request.[39] In these cases Scriptural excerpts are employed to invest the letter-writer's statements with higher authority, i.e. to enhance and authorise praise bestowed on the recipient, or simply to show off the letter-writer's knowledge of the Christian authoritative texts. An example is P.Lond. VI 1921, another letter to Apa Paieous.[40] In it the embedded Scriptural discourse forms part of a string of «pious compliments» of which much of the first part of the letter consists (ll. 1-18). The first citation (ll. 12-13 ≈ 2 Tim 2.4) reinforces and elaborates the description of the recipient as "a soldier of Christ" who is elevated above the affairs of this world

> ll. 9-14: ⲉⲛⲣⲁ̀ⲩ̀ⲧ ⲛ̅ⲕⲉⲱⲏⲙ | ⲉ̀ⲧ̀ⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲕ[ⲥⲙⲁ]ⲧ ⲥⲱⲥ ⲉⲕⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲧⲁ̣ⲉⲓ ⲡ̀ⲉ̀ⲭⲥ̅ | ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑ[ⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧ]ⲁⲡⲭⲁⲉⲓⲥ ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲥⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲡⲁⲛ̅ (ed. princ., l. ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ?) ⲭⲉ | ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲗⲁ[ⲁⲩ ⲉ]ⲭⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲉⲓ ⲧⲁⲥⲣ ⲙ̅ⲛⲛⲉⲥ|ⲃⲏⲟⲩ̀ⲉ̀ ⲛ̅ⲧ[ⲉ ⲡⲃ]ⲓⲟⲥ
>
> «We are glad a little because of your manner of life, since you are a soldier of Christ. As the Lord said in the ... 'No one serving in the army gets entangled in everyday affairs'».

The second citation (ll. 13-14 ≈ 2 Tim 2.6) exploits the image of the husbandman who enjoys the fruit of his labour to introduce the promise that Apa Paieous also will savour the outcome of his spiritual labour, which presumably springs from distance from worldly affairs

> ll. 13-14: ⲁⲩⲱ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲉ̣ⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲥⲉ | ⲡⲉ ⲱⲁ̣[ⲫⲭⲓ ⲥ]ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲫⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲱⲁⲣⲉⲡ ⲉ̅ⲛ̅|ⲡⲓⲥⲧ[ⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ]ⲫ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭ̣ⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲉⲓ|ⲥⲉ· ⲁⲥⲫ̣[ⲩⲛ ⲉⲟ]ⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ· ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲥⲉ
>
> «and 'it is the farmer who does the work who ought to have the first share of the crops'. We believe him that thus it shall be fulfilled toward everyone that labours».

Finally, in ll. 17-18 (ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲛⲣⲁ̀ⲩ̀ⲧ | ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛ̣ⲥ̣[..] ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲭⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛ | ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉ<ⲧ>ⲣ̅ⲡ[ⲓⲥ]ⲧⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁⲩ <ⲛ̅>ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭⲓ ⲱⲓⲡⲉ <ⲁⲛ> «And we are glad because of ... For the Scripture says, "No one who believes in him will be put to shame"») the letter-writer cites a passage from Paul (Rom 10.11 λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται, translated into Sahidic as ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲩⲛⲁⲭⲓⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲁⲛ) in which Paul cites Is 28.16 (καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ). Like Paul the letter-writer anticipates that, as a true soldier of the faith, the recipient will savour the result of his spiritual labour and distance from this world and be delivered at the time of judgement. Once again the double citation enhances the authority of the anticipated salvation.[41] All three citations contribute to a tightly knit rhetorical web with the aim of praising, pleasing and

[38] The rhetorical dexterity of this letter with its elaborate *captatio benevolentiae* has been noted by Camplani (2015) 142-143, who has suggested that writers with the ability to write Coptic as elaborately as Timotheus may also have been able to produce literary compositions in Coptic.

[39] On the types of private letters not conveying a request see Koroli (2016) 257-263.

[40] The ed.princ. also allows for the possibility that the letter was sent by Paieous. Choat (2006a) 280 n. 47 argues that Paieous is the recipient mentioned in the heading and the address.

[41] See the discussion of the citations from a textual critical point-of-view in Choat (2006a) 272. I think, however, that he is not right when he states a propos ll. 17-18: «one might consider this a quote of the Old rather than the New Testament». In my view the Pauline passage is picked for citation not only because of its message of salvation at the day of judgement (on which see Moo [1996] 659) but also because Paul employs citation in it. Compare P.Lond. VI 1915. ll. 13-16. It would appear that New Testament passages that cite other passages have double argumentative force when cited.

expressing deference to the recipient.[42] The Scriptural intertexts are rhetorically efficient in their original form and are therefore employed without modification.

4. Conclusion

In this article I have argued that it is worth paying close attention to the rhetorical features of early Christian private letters on papyrus, such as P.Oslo inv. 1481, a preliminary edition and rhetorical analysis of which occupies the first part of the article. Early Christian writers of private letters made skilful use of the appropriate rhetorical means to achieve their ends (debt cancellation, forgiveness for moral transgressions, etc.) no matter how trivial their everyday affairs or how modest their rhetoric may appear when compared to literary products.

The use of embedded Scriptural discourse in everyday correspondence is also governed to a certain extent and in certain contexts by rhetorical requirements. Scriptural passages in papyrus letters –whether marked (citations) or unmarked (quotations and echoes), in the form in which they are known from the manuscript transmission or in a somewhat altered form– invariably contribute to the rhetoric of the specific context into which they were inserted. Scriptural citations, quotations and echoes in letters which convey a petition or simply communicate praise or neutral information to the recipient partake in matrices of persuasive and encomiastic rhetoric. Unpacking the rhetoric and its relation to the situational context may open up new insights about the form which the embedded Scriptural discourse assumes and may as a consequence reveal letter-writers with a particularly creative attitude towards the Scriptural discourse, as the correspondents of Apa Paieous Herieous and Timotheus who adapt the Scriptural text to their persuasive purposes, not unlike what more prominent and better documented Egyptian Christians like Besa and Dioscorus of Aphrodite do.[43] When the wording of a Scriptural passage cited or quoted in private correspondence and in similar writings deviates from the manuscript transmission and reflects closely the situation faced by the letter-writer so that it buttresses his/her petition more efficiently than the transmitted version, there might be grounds to assume that the Scriptural intertext(s) have been modified to serve the letter-writer's persuasive agenda.

This in turn has repercussions for the question of the value and use of these materials in the textual criticism of the Old and New Testament as well as of their status and reception among the early Christians.[44] Citations or quotations which have been adapted to the situation which a letter-writer himself/herself faces or with which he is concerned on behalf of a third party should not serve as direct textual witnesses of the text of the Old and the New Testament known to early Christian readers. They are nonetheless extremely interesting as testimonies to the status, attitudes to and reception of the Bible among early Christians in Egypt, since they disclose a lively interaction of Egyptian Christians with their sacred texts, a creative Scriptural literacy.

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[42] Note the tightly-knit train of thought: ll. 2-6 «I give thanks to God because of your ... ([ϯⲱ]ϕ̄ⲁⲁⲧ ⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ | ⲉ̀ⲧ́ⲃⲉ ⲡⲉ̣[ⲕ....), because you are a man most blessed (ⲥⲱⲥ ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲩⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ | ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ[ⲧⲉ...) and zealous in your good(?) works (inspired) of God (ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲓ̣ⲣⲁⲩ[ⲧ] ⲉⲛⲛⲉⲕ|ⲥⲃ̄ⲃⲏ[ⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲁ]ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)». ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ is picked up by the final greeting (μακαριώ|[τατε, ll. 30-31). The second member of the formulation is carried forward through the double "we rejoice because"-formulation (ll. 9-10 and 16-17) which also echoes ll. 6-8 «so that (...) with joy because of your faith (and) your love...» (ⲥⲱⲥ|ⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛ̣[.....]ⲛ̣ⲁⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲉ[ⲧ́]ⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲕ| ⲡⲓⲥⲧ[ⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ] ⲧⲉⲕ[ⲁ]ⲅⲁⲡⲏ). The citation 2 Tim 2.4 features the noun ⲥⲃⲏⲟⲩ̀ⲉ́ and picks up the same term from ll. 5-6, while the citation Rom 10: 11 resonates ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ of l. 7 and ⲉⲛ|ⲡⲓⲥⲧ[ⲉⲩⲉ of ll. 14-15.

[43] On Shenoute's successor Besa, see Behlmer (2009); on Dioscorus of Aphrodite, see the studies referenced in fn. 20. For the state of research as regards citation of the New Testament by early Christian authors, see Houghton (2011) 252-254.

[44] This offers a complementary perspective to Pickering (1999).

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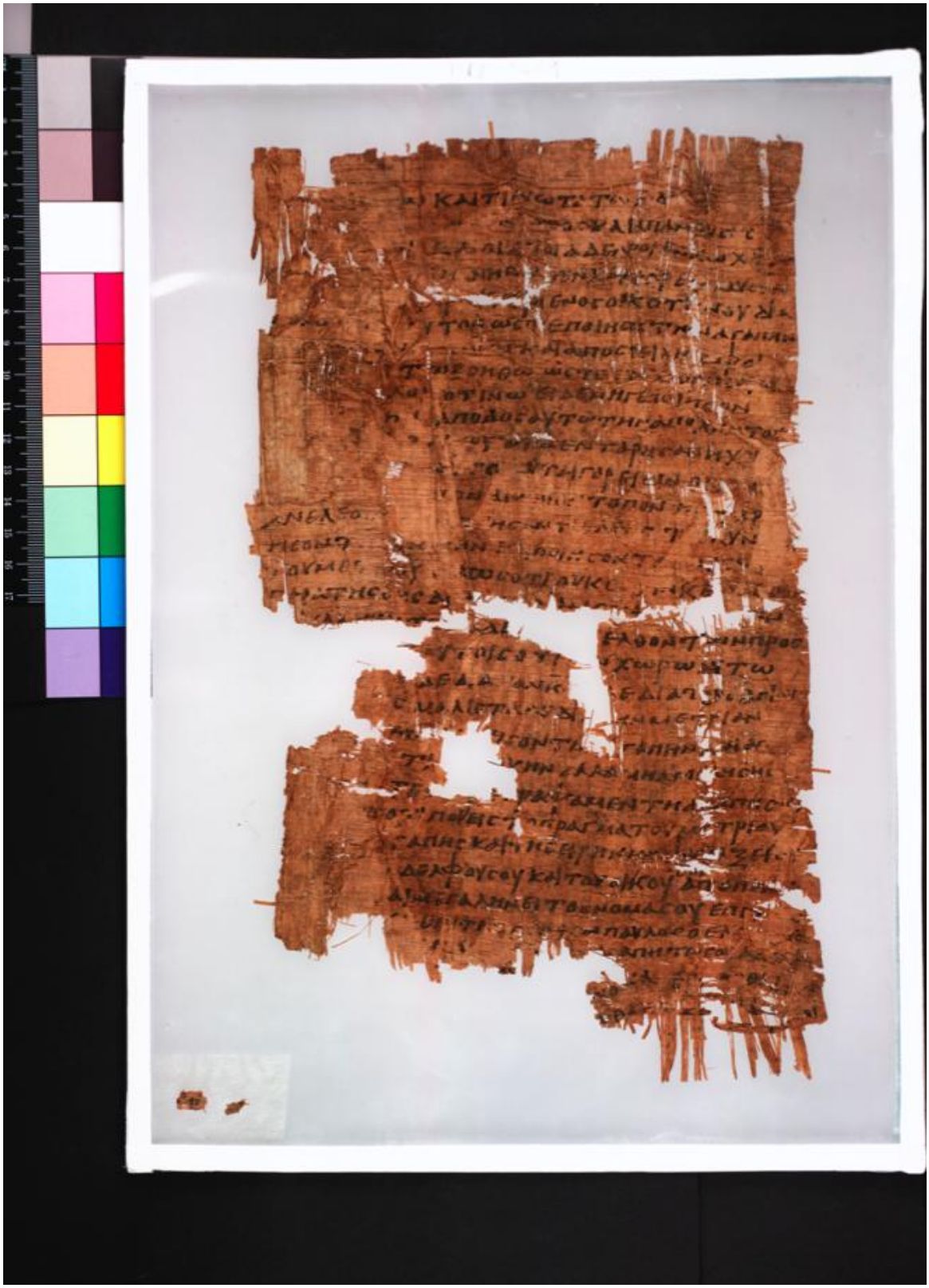
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PART III

HERCULANEUM

Proceedings of the 28th International Congress of Papyrology, Barcelona 2016
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Le opere greche della Biblioteca ercolanese: un aggiornamento

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L'intensificarsi della ricerca sui papiri ercolanesi e il supporto di nuovi strumenti (microscopi sempre più progrediti, immagini digitali multispettrali) e metodologie sempre più avanzate in via di sperimentazione ('Reflectance Transformation Imaging' e Tomografia a raggi X a contrasto di fase) hanno prodotto, in questi ultimi decenni, progressi significativi nello studio dei contenuti della Biblioteca parzialmente recuperata nella Villa di Ercolano, di cui si è potuto tracciare un quadro più ampio e articolato. È stato anche approfondito il processo di ricostruzione dei rotoli, smembrati in molti pezzi dalle operazioni di svolgimento e di conservazione.

Nel XIX secolo, i pezzi erano stati sistemati in cornici, come quadri, sul fondamento di criteri estetici, per risparmiare spazio e, talvolta, senza tener conto della loro successione originaria; per la ricostruzione sono stati recentemente sviluppati modelli matematici.

Inoltre, lo studio sistematico della paleografia ercolanese, compiuto nel 1983 da Guglielmo Cavallo, ha permesso attribuzioni di pezzi anepigrafi e collegamenti tra frammenti inventariati sotto numeri diversi.

Infine, l'esame dei disegni oxoniensi e napoletani, dei dati di archivio e degli Inventari più antichi ha portato a conoscere con maggiore precisione la storia dei rotoli e spiegarne l'attuale stato di conservazione. I lavori più rilevanti su questo tema sono di Gianluca Del Mastro, Tiziano Dorandi, Giuliana Leone e Richard Janko. Passeremo in rassegna le novità più significative.

Cominciamo il resoconto dall'opera capitale di Epicuro, Περὶ φύσεως. In 25 papiri sono stati individuati, più o meno frammentariamente conservati, 10 dei 37 libri di cui constava l'opera, insieme con altri di incerta collocazione, ma sicuramente appartenenti a essa, come si comprende dalla *subscriptio*, anche se il numero del libro è perduto; inoltre, diversi frammenti vengono attribuiti all'opera per considerazioni di carattere paleografico, bibliologico, di contenuto e di lessico.

P.Hercul. 560 permette di recuperare solo poche sequenze di lettere. Per la prima volta, Del Mastro lo ha considerato come uno dei papiri contenenti il Περὶ φύσεως, avendone ricostruito la *subscriptio*

ʾΕ]πικ[ούρο]υ
Ἰερ[ὶ] φύσ[εως
θ̄

(posta a destra dell'ultima colonna di scrittura). Dunque, quasi certamente anche il libro 9 dell'opera Sulla natura era presente nella biblioteca ercolanese.[1]

Nel 2011, Del Mastro ha rilevato che i tre pezzi della cornice 5, l'ultima delle cornici in cui è sistemato P.Hercul. 1416, appartengono a un rotolo diverso da quello conservato nelle altre

[1] Del Mastro (2013) 185-186.

quattro cornici (lo dimostrano il differente colore del supporto, le misure dei pezzi, la scrittura). La mano che ha trascritto i tre pezzi della cornice 5 è la stessa di P.Hercul. 1413 (svolto in tredici pezzi, collocati in quattro cornici), un testo che tratta del tempo, attribuito all'opera Sulla natura. P.Hercul. 1413 contiene le parti superiori del rotolo; la parte centrale potrebbe essere perduta o essere stata catalogata sotto un altro numero; i tre pezzi erroneamente collocati nella cornice 5 di P.Hercul. 1416, che sembrano appartenere a P.Hercul. 1413, contengono le parti inferiori.[2] Di P.Hercul. 1413/1416 non si è recuperata la *subscriptio*: Cantarella attribuiva P.Hercul. 1413 all'opera Sulla natura,[3] invece Crönert aveva pensato a un dialogo di Epicuro;[4] con buone argomentazioni, Sedley ha supposto che P.Hercul. 1413/1416 possa contenere il decimo libro dell'opera Sulla natura.[5]

Nella *subscriptio* (scritta sotto l'ultima colonna di testo) di P.Hercul. 362,

ʾΕπικούρου
Περὶ φύσεως
κᾱ

il numero del libro (21) è stato letto per la prima volta da Del Mastro.[6]

Nella *subscriptio* di P.Hercul. 1431,

ʾΕπικ[ο]ύρου
Περὶ φύσ[ε]ως
λ̣δ̣̄

il numero del libro (34) è stato letto per la prima volta da Leone.[7]

Oltre ai rotoli la cui appartenenza all'opera capitale di Epicuro, già proposta da Crönert,[8] è stata confermata da studi successivi, recentemente sono stati individuati altri *volumina* nella cui *subscriptio* si è ravvisato il titolo Sulla natura: sono P.Hercul. 335 e 990.

P.Hercul. 335, secondo Janko, è stato vergato dall'Anonimo V,[9] che Cavallo ha individuato come lo scriba dei libri 14 e 15 dell'opera Sulla natura (II secolo a.C.).[10] Il papiro fu svolto in due riprese (1796 e 1869) e in entrambi i casi sono stati ricavati sei pezzi. Nell'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi Marcello Gigante, sei pezzi, collocati in due cornici, sono il risultato dell'intervento del 1869, come dimostrano l'ampiezza delle volute e la presenza della *subscriptio*; i sei pezzi ricavati nel 1796 sono stati rintracciati da Leone e Carrelli in P.Hercul. 1811, come si legge nel loro contributo pubblicato in questi Proceedings. Nella *subscriptio*

ʾΕπικο]ύ̣ρου
Περὶ φ]ύσεως
[̄.]

che ha rintracciato per la prima volta, Del Mastro non ha potuto individuare il numero del libro.[11]

[2] Del Mastro (2011) 27-29.
[3] Cantarella (1957).
[4] Crönert (1906) 104, n. 501.
[5] Sedley (1998) 118.
[6] Del Mastro (2013) 182-184.
[7] Leone (2002), in particolare 23-24.
[8] Crönert (1901b) 608-612 (= Studi ercolanesi, 104-108).
[9] Janko (2008) 59.
[10] Cavallo (1983) 45.
[11] Del Mastro (2014) 121. *Vide* anche Leone (2018).

P.Hercul. 990 può essere assegnato al Gruppo A, Anonimo I (III-II secolo a.C.), secondo Del Mastro, che ha ricostruito per la prima volta la *subscriptio*

[ʾΕπικούρου]
Περὶ φ[ύσεως
[.]

nella quale non è conservato il numero del libro.[12] Fondandosi sugli scarni resti del contenuto, Del Mastro suppone che possa essere uno dei primi dieci libri, «in cui si trattava della teoria atomica e delle caratteristiche fondamentali dei corpi».[13]

Sono state individuate anche altre opere di Epicuro.

La *subscriptio* di P.Hercul. 566

ʾΕπικ̣ούρου
ʾΕχ̣έλ̣α̣ος

è stata letta per la prima volta da Del Mastro, che vi ha ravvisato un titolo, Echelao, non attestato tra le opere di Epicuro.[14]

Parti della *subscriptio* di P.Hercul. 996

.[- - -
Π]ερ̣ὶ δ.....[±6]τ̣ο̣ς̣[

sono state lette per la prima volta da Del Mastro.[15] La traccia a l. 1 potrebbe essere ricondotta a un *epsilon*, forse la lettera iniziale di ʾΕπικούρου. Nella linea successiva si può ricostruire con cautela il titolo Π]ερ̣ὶ δ̣ώ̣ρ̣ω̣ν̣ κ̣[αὶ χάρι]τ̣ο̣ς̣ (Sui doni e sulla gratitudine), attestato per Epicuro da Diogene Laerzio[16] e Sesto Empirico.[17] Già Crönert aveva pensato che l'autore potesse essere Epicuro e aveva ravvisato omogeneità di mano con quelle dei rotoli a lui riferiti.[18]

Passiamo ai καθηγεμόνες, i primi maestri epicurei.

Nella *subscriptio* di P.Hercul. 573

Πολυαί]νου
]η̣να̣[
Πρὸς τὸν Ἀ]ρ̣ίστ[ωνα

Del Mastro ha ricostruito il nome di Polieno e il titolo dell'opera Contro Aristone (il titolo è menzionato da Filodemo nell'opera Περὶ εὐσεβείας).[19] L'avversario di Polieno è da identificare, per motivi cronologici, con lo stoico Aristone di Chio.

Nella *subscriptio* di P.Hercul. 200

Μητ̣[ρ]οδ̣ώ̣[ρου
Περὶ π[λού]του
παρ[άδ]οξα τ̣..

[12] Del Mastro (2014) 171.
[13] Del Mastro (2014) 171.
[14] Del Mastro (2011/2012) e (2014) 148-149.
[15] Del Mastro (2014) 173.
[16] 10.27-28.
[17] S. E. M. 1.49.
[18] Crönert (1901b) 612 (= Studi ercolanesi, 108).
[19] Del Mastro (2014) 151 e 153.

πῳ[...]ο̣..
ᾱ̣
..[.....]..λ̣λα..[
μ̣.[.].[.....]τ̣..[
το[.....]...ω.[
.
.α.[

dove Tepedino Guerra aveva letto (l. 1) il nome di Metrodoro e (l. 2) il titolo Sulla ricchezza,[20] Del Mastro ha potuto ricostruire sia (l. 3) un termine che amplia e modifica leggermente la versione del titolo sia (l. 5), con buona probabilità, il numero del libro, il primo, e ha scorto nelle linee successive altre tracce di lettere, in parte già rilevate da Tepedino Guerra, che lasciano supporre che la versione originaria completa del titolo fosse ancora più estesa.[21] Diogene Laerzio[22] e Filodemo[23] testimoniano che Metrodoro ha scritto un'opera intitolata Περὶ πλούτου, ma è possibile che Paradossi sulla ricchezza non sia il titolo di un'opera diversa, ma un titolo alternativo, come accade per P.Hercul. 336/1150 (Πολυστράτου Περὶ | ἀλόγου καταφρονή|σεως (οἱ δ' ἐπιγρά|φουσιν Πρὸς τοὺς ἀλόγως | καταθρασυνομένους) | τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς | δοξαζομένων).

Crönert[24] e Cavallo[25] hanno dimostrato che i P.Hercul. 255, 418, 1112, 1091 e 1084 sono pezzi/scorze da riferire a un unico *volumen* risalente alla prima metà del III sec. a.C. Sul fondamento dell'antichità del rotolo e di un'analisi accurata del contenuto, Spinelli propone, con estrema cautela, l'appartenenza del libro all'opera di Metrodoro Contro i dialettici,[26] testimoniata da Diogene Laerzio.[27] A Crönert,[28] Spinelli[29] e Janko[30] si deve l'edizione di alcune colonne, ma altre parti di testo sono inedite: «a proper edition of all these materials is a major desideratum» è il giusto auspicio di Janko.[31]

Janko[32] ritiene che P.Hercul. 439 sia da riferire all'opera di Metrodoro Contro i dialettici e pensa che appartenga allo stesso rotolo da cui provengono i P.Hercul. 255, 418, 1084, 1091, 1112; inoltre, pensa che il disegno oxoniense (*O* VI 1576), contrassegnato dal nr. 253 e denominato P.Hercul. 1824 nel Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi, sia da assegnare a P.Hercul. 439.

Veniamo a Demetrio Lacone. P.Hercul. 230 contiene un testo attribuito da Scott[33] a un'opera Sulla poesia. Dorandi rileva che la scorza è «di colore marrone chiaro affatto illeggibile» e pubblica il testo di uno dei due disegni oxoniensi, in cui ritiene di ravvisare la presenza di due diversi strati (frr. a e b), ma osserva che non ci sono indizi che inducano a pensare che si tratti

[20] Tepedino Guerra (1979).
[21] Del Mastro (2014) 93 e 95.
[22] 10.23-24.
[23] Phld. Diu. (P.Hercul. 163), col. XXXVII 13, 67 Tepedino Guerra (1978); Oec. (P.Hercul. 1424), col. XII 21-22, 38-39, Jensen (1906).
[24] Crönert (1906) 19, 147.
[25] Cavallo (1983) 44, 46, 57-58.
[26] Spinelli (1986) 31.
[27] 10.24. Secondo Tepedino Guerra (1992), l'opera sarebbe Contro i Sofisti, anch'essa menzionata da Diogene Laerzio.
[28] Crönert (1906) 147.
[29] Spinelli (1986) 38-39.
[30] Janko (2008) 57.
[31] Janko (2008) 57. Sul P.Hercul. 255, *vide* anche Travaglione (2008) 67.
[32] Janko (2008) 64-65, secondo il quale, la mano è la stessa del P.Hercul. 255 (III secolo a.C.).
[33] Scott (1885) 49.

di un testo sulla poetica e che le pessime condizioni e la frammentarietà dei pezzi non autorizzano a ipotesi sul lessico o sul contenuto.[34] Janko ritiene di poter attribuire il papiro all'opera di Demetrio Sulla poesia, per l'affinità paleografica con altri rotoli demetriaci e per il colore chiaro del supporto, e dà l'edizione dei due frammenti oxoniensi: del fr. 1, già edito da Dorandi, nel quale non riconosce la presenza di due strati, e del fr. 2, inedito.[35]

Janko pensa che il fr. C del disegno oxoniense VI 1577 sia la scorza ora denominata P.Hercul. 233, perché le misure coincidono, e suppone che lo strato che è stato disegnato come fr. C sia andato distrutto nel processo di scorzatura.[36] Scott aveva riscontrato identità di scrittura tra il fr. C, il fr. A del disegno oxoniense VI 1579 e il disegno di P.Hercul. 1083 (*O* VI 1575):[37] a questi Janko aggiunge i P.Hercul. 860 e 1671. Secondo Janko, la mano di scrittura di P.Hercul. 233 è affine a quelle del Gruppo B di Cavallo, che sono, per lo più, da riferire a Demetrio Lacone. Janko è fermamente convinto che il testo dei frr. A e C appartenga a un'opera di Demetrio Sulla musica –«both pieces can be referred beyond doubt to a work on music»– e lo stesso pensa a proposito di P.Hercul. 860 (che Del Mastro crede faccia parte dello stesso rotolo di P.Hercul. 1501); per primo, dà l'edizione dei frr. A e C (nel fr. C ravvisa la presenza di due strati, frr. 2a e 2b), e dell'unico disegno di P.Hercul. 1671, realizzato da Davy e conservato tra i "Clarendon Press Facsimiles".

Per primo Del Mastro ha letto nella *subscriptio* di P.Hercul. 1064 (I secolo a.C.) il nome di Demetrio, Δ]ημητρ[ίου, restituito anche grazie alla ricollocazione di un triplice sovrapposto, e ha ravvisato alcuni termini e una figura che inducono a pensare che il contenuto sia di argomento geometrico o astronomico.[38]

La recente ricerca condotta sulle *subscriptiones* dei papiri ercolanesi greci da Del Mastro ha potuto dare alcune conferme relativamente alle opere di Demetrio Lacone. La paternità demetriaca di P.Hercul. 1055, proposta da Crönert,[39] fu accolta da De Falco[40] e condivisa dall'ultima editrice, Santoro,[41] che ha congetturato il titolo Περὶ τῆς θεοῦ μορφῆς, Sulla forma del dio.[42] La rinnovata lettura dell'originale ha permesso di scorgere tracce delle lettere δ e η, che consentono di integrare Δη[μητρίου e confermano le ipotesi degli studiosi.

In P.Hercul. 1001 (I secolo a.C.) Bassi aveva proposto di leggere nella *subscriptio* il nome di Filodemo e il titolo Sulla retorica, accompagnato dal termine ὑπόμνημα o ὑπομνηματικόν.[43] In realtà, Del Mastro, leggendo con maggiore precisione e posizionando nella giusta sede un bisovrapposto, ha individuato, a inizio rigo, la sequenza δημ, che riporta a Demetrio, piuttosto che a Filodemo: Δημ[ητρίου.[44]

Per quanto riguarda Filodemo, l'autore più rappresentato nella biblioteca ercolanese, i dati nuovi emergono a vari livelli e innanzitutto è stato possibile attribuirgli libri non ancora identificati come suoi o confermare alcune appartenenze.

[34] Dorandi (1993) 85 (cf. Janko [1994] 375).
[35] Janko (2008) 29-32; Travaglione (2008) 54.
[36] Janko (2008) 32-35.
[37] Scott (1885) 49.
[38] Del Mastro (2014) 223.
[39] Crönert (1906) 100-125, sp. 102, 112-114.
[40] De Falco (1923) 67; cf. Renna (1989) 28-32.
[41] Santoro (2000) 23-27.
[42] Santoro (2000) 27-28.
[43] Bassi (1916) 482.
[44] Del Mastro (2014) 175.

Nella l. 1 della *subscriptio* di P.Hercul. 19/698 Del Mastro ha letto un φ, che riporta al nome di Filodemo.[45]

Nelle *subscriptiones* dei P.Hercul. 177 e 1449 si è potuto leggere e ricostruire il nome di Filodemo.

P.Hercul.Paris. 2 (I secolo d.C.), come è noto, è uno dei sei rotoli donati a Napoleone nel 1802, svolto tra il 1985 e il 1987 a Napoli in circa 280 pezzi. Di argomento etico, è dedicato alla calunnia: nella chiusa si legge il nome di Virgilio, insieme con quelli degli altri poeti augustei. Nella *subscriptio*

Φι̣[λ]ο̣δ[ήμου
Π]ερ̣ὶ [κακιῶν

Delattre ha letto e integrato il nome di Filodemo[46] e Del Mastro tracce del titolo.[47]

In alcuni casi si sono potuti ricostruire i titoli e, quindi, individuare testi di Filodemo. P.Hercul. 89 (I secolo d.C.) è inedito. Nella *subscriptio*

]..[
..[ὑ]πόμνημα
].νδε[
Πε]ρ̣[ὶ θ]ε̣ῶ̣ν

non è possibile vedere il nome di Filodemo, integrato da Crönert,[48] ma Del Mastro ha ricostruito il titolo dell'opera,[49] con buona probabilità da riferire al filosofo di Gadara.

P.Hercul. 1003 è di molto difficile lettura. Crönert, che in parte lo aveva edito nel 1901,[50] nel 1906 aveva proposto di leggere il titolo Ἐκ [τ]ῶν Ζ[ήνω]νος σχολῶν[51] (un'espressione che ricorre in altri libri filodemei, per esempio, il libro Περὶ παρρησίας), parole, però, che si trovano non subito sotto il nome di Filodemo, ma alla l. 4. Della *subscriptio*

Φιλοδήμου
κ̣[.....]α̣ι̣σθη[σε]ω[ς
‾
.
ἐ̣κ̣ [τ]ῶν Ζ̣[ή]νωνο̣[ς σ]χ[ολῶν

Del Mastro ha ricavato parte della l. 2, che non è facile integrare del tutto, e, alla l. 4, ha confermato la proposta di Crönert. Alla l. 2, la presenza di κ̣ all'inizio fa pensare alla preposizione κατά, che, di solito, si costruisce con il genitivo nel senso di 'contro', ma è difficile che un Epicureo scriva un libro contro la sensazione.[52] Sembra, pertanto, accettabile la proposta di Hammerstaedt, Κατὰ παραισθήσεως, Contro l'errata sensazione.

La stessa considerazione vale per P.Hercul. 1389, assegnato da Cavallo al Gruppo I (I metà del I secolo a.C.).[53] Del Mastro ha restituito alla l. 2 della *subscriptio* κατὰ̣ [..].α[ισ]θ̣ησε̣ως.[54] La presenza della preposizione κατά, che precede le lettere αισθησεως, da cui è separata da

[45] Del Mastro (2014) 41.
[46] Delattre (2004).
[47] Del Mastro (2014) 385.
[48] Crönert (1906) 113, n. 512.
[49] Del Mastro (2014) 59-61.
[50] Crönert (1901a) 572-576 (= Studi ercolanesi, 92-98).
[51] Crönert (1906) 103, n. 498.
[52] Del Mastro (2014) 179-181.
[53] Cavallo (1983) 35 e 52.
[54] Del Mastro (2014) 257-259.

una lacuna di tre lettere, rende, anche in questo caso, la congettura di Hammerstaedt, Κατὰ [παρ]αισθήσεως, la più probabile. È un'opera dedicata alla sensazione, di cui P.Hercul. 1389 conserva il terzo libro.

Del Mastro ha dimostrato che i P.Hercul. 1005 e 862 sono due parti dello stesso rotolo: P.Hercul. 1005 è la parte superiore; P.Hercul. 862 è la parte inferiore.[55] Capasso aveva scoperto che i P.Hercul. 862 e 1485 sono due esemplari dello stesso testo, forse una stesura provvisoria e una stesura definitiva, o due redazioni diverse dello stesso libro.[56] I tre papiri sono assegnati da Cavallo al Gruppo G (I secolo a.C.).[57] Dalla combinazione dei testi, Del Mastro è riuscito a leggere il titolo, che era stato oggetto di varie proposte di ricostruzione. L'autopsia con i nuovi microscopi e le foto multispettrali, la sistemazione dei sovrapposti e il confronto tra i due esemplari hanno consentito a Del Mastro di proporre

Φιλοδήμου
Πρὸς τοὺς
φ̣ι̣α̣σ̣κο̣̣βι̣υβλιακούς
α̅

(Contro coloro che si proclamano conoscitori dei libri 1);[58] Puglia, pur ammettendo che «vanno ovviamente verificate la terza e la quarta lettera del nostro misterioso vocabolo», congettura φαυ̣λ̣οβυβλιακούς («cattivi conoscitori di libri»),[59] ma dalla fotografia il κ sembra certo. La lettera α, che indica il numero del libro, 1, è stata letta da Del Mastro in P.Hercul. 862;[60] che si trattasse del primo libro dell'opera era già evidente da un luogo del testo,[61] e in tal modo se ne ha una chiara conferma. Con tali acquisizioni, l'opera, che riveste un ruolo significativo nell'àmbito della produzione di Filodemo, assume un maggiore spessore; un'edizione completa è ormai ineludibile.

Per alcuni libri le ricerche recenti hanno consentito di stabilire il numero. Oltre a P.Hercul. 1005/862, sappiamo ora[62] che P.Hercul. 1004, già attribuito alla Retorica, contiene il settimo libro

[Φιλοδήμου]
[Περὶ ῥητορικῆς]
ζ̣̅

e che i P.Hercul. 1426 e 1506, due copie dello stesso testo, contengono realmente il terzo libro della Retorica, come si era plausibilmente supposto sul fondamento del contenuto: infatti, Del Mastro ha letto, nelle *subscriptiones*,

Φιλοδή[μου̣
Περὶ ῥητορικῆς
γ̅

(l. 3 di P.Hercul. 1426)[63] e

[55] Del Mastro (2015).
[56] Capasso (1988).
[57] Cavallo (1983) 34, 51. Il testo è edito parzialmente da Capasso (1988): frr. 3, 4, 6-8, 141-147.
[58] Del Mastro (2014) 185-187 e 325.
[59] Puglia (2015) 123-124.
[60] Del Mastro (2014) 185-187, 325.
[61] Col. XVIII 6-12, 182, Angeli (1988).
[62] Del Mastro (2012); Del Mastro (2014) 183.
[63] Del Mastro (2014) 291-293.

Φιλοδήμου
Περὶ ῥητορικῆς
γ̄

(l. 4 di P.Hercul. 1506).[64]

Nei P.Hercul. 1399 e 873, che conservano parti dell'opera Sulla conversazione, sono stati identificati i numeri dei libri. P.Hercul. 1399 è inedito. Nella *subscriptio*

Φ̣[ι]λ̣ο̣[δ]ή̣[μου
Π̣ε̣ρὶ ὁ̣μ̣ει̣λ̣ί̣α̣ς
ᾱ

Del Mastro ha identificato il numero del libro, 1.[65]

Nella *subscriptio* di P.Hercul. 873

Φιλοδήμου
Περὶ ὁμιλίας
β̄

il numero del libro, 2, è stato identificato da Ippolito.[66]

Se, grazie alle ricerche, si sono avute diverse acquisizioni, dobbiamo rilevare anche alcune esclusioni. L'opera Sugli dèi è un esempio di entrambe. Di P.Hercul. 89 abbiamo già detto. Nella *subscriptio* di P.Hercul. 152/157

Φιλοδήμου
Π̣ερὶ τῆς [τ]ῷ̣ʳνʲ θ̣ε̣-
ῷ̣ν διαγωγῆ̣[ς

non si legge il numero del libro, γ (3), che era stato individuato a l. 4 da Scott[67] in una traccia, da ritenere, forse, un elemento decorativo, come ha rilevato Del Mastro.[68]

P.Hercul. 57, che era stato identificato con un libro Περὶ μανίας da Crönert,[69] seguito da Bassi, che lo ha pubblicato,[70] resta un *opus incertum* di Filodemo, in quanto le tracce di lettere identificate da Del Mastro nella l. 2 della *subscriptio*

Φιλοδήμου
Περ̣ὶ ..ῳ̣[..]μ̣η
.

non consentono né di confermare l'identificazione con un libro Περὶ μανίας né di ricostruire altri titoli.[71]

Recentemente ci sono stati diversi interventi sul quadro delle scorze da riferire alla Retorica e all'opera Sulla religiosità e sulla composizione dell'opera Sui vizi e sulle virtù contrapposte, in particolare dei libri Sull'adulazione e Sull'avidità di denaro.

[64] Del Mastro (2014) 333-337.
[65] Del Mastro (2014) 264-265.
[66] Ippolito (1998); Del Mastro (2014) 164-165.
[67] Scott (1885) 203.
[68] Del Mastro (2014) 65 e 67.
[69] Crönert (1906) 108, n. 507.
[70] Bassi (1917) 458 e 465.
[71] Del Mastro (2014) 55-57. Del Mastro (2011) 50 ha supposto che il P.Hercul. 97 e i P.Hercul. 57 e 1814 potessero far parte dello stesso rotolo.

Concludiamo questa rassegna con due testi da riferire a Crisippo. Nella *subscriptio* di P.Hercul. 307

Χρ[υσίππου
Λογι̣κῷ̣[ν
ζη[τη]μά̣[των
‾
..

(Ricerche logiche) Del Mastro è riuscito a scorgere (l. 4) alcune tracce che propone cautamente di restituire come λθ (39); in ogni caso, dovrebbe trattarsi di un numero superiore a 10, dato che sembra certo che le tracce siano da riferire a due lettere.[72] Diogene Laerzio, che non riporta questo titolo nell'elenco (peraltro incompleto, come è noto) delle opere di Crisippo, informa che il filosofo è autore di trentanove ricerche, Ζητήματα, non presenti nelle precedenti sezioni perché trattano di questioni logiche isolate.[73]

P.Hercul. 1380 è inedito; la scrittura, non considerata da Cavallo, è datata da Del Mastro tra la fine del I secolo a.C. e l'inizio del I secolo d.C., grazie anche al confronto con P.Oxy. 2309, che contiene frammenti del Margite, e P.Ryl. 54, che contiene frammenti della Teogonia di Esiodo.[74] Per la prima volta, Del Mastro ha letto e ricostruito nella *subscriptio*

Χ[ρυ]σ̣ίππο̣υ̣
Πε]ρὶ
τ̣ῶν [σ]τ̣οιχείων
τ]ῷ̣ν̣ λεγομέ̣νω̣ν̣
‾
.

il nome di Crisippo e il titolo [Πε]ρὶ | τ̣ῶν [σ]τ̣οιχείων | [τ]ῷ̣ν̣ λεγομέ̣νω̣ν̣ (Sulle parti degli enunciati), che potrebbe essere o la versione ridotta di uno dei titoli riportati nell'elenco di Diogene Laerzio,[75] Περὶ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν λεγομένων, o il titolo di un'opera finora non attestata per Crisippo.[76]

Come abbiamo detto all'inizio, speriamo che l'identificazione dei titoli possa essere un primo passo nell'acquisizione di testi difficili, perché frammentari e conservati in condizioni non buone, e che le nuove metodologie, sia quelle già a disposizione sia quelle in fase di sperimentazione, possano permetterci di raggiungere risultati significativi.

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[72] Del Mastro (2014) 115, 117.
[73] 7.98.
[74] Del Mastro (2005) 61-63.
[75] 7.189-202.
[76] Del Mastro (2005) 65; (2014) 251.

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Su alcuni pezzi editi e inediti della collezione ercolanese*

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Presso l'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi Marcello Gigante della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, sotto il numero di inventario 1813, sono conservati, in due cornici,[1] 22 pezzi di papiro, classificati, dagli Inventari più recenti, come 'scorze'.[2] Di alcuni pezzi si era già occupato, con ottimi risultati, Tiziano Dorandi.[3]

Sul cartoncino di supporto, in basso a destra, si legge «26/2/1907», la data in cui avvenne la sistemazione in cornici, di cui lo stesso Bassi dà conto in una lettera al direttore della Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica pubblicata nel 1913.[4] In un altro lavoro dello stesso anno sui disegni dei papiri ercolanesi,[5] i pezzi numerati come P.Hercul. 1813 conservati in due cornici sono definiti «'scorze' e, nella maggior parte dei casi 'scorze ultimi fogli'»,[6] quindi provenienti da porzioni esterne dei *volumina*. Almeno in alcuni casi è possibile dimostrare che non si tratta di porzioni così esterne, ma di pezzi che, evidentemente, non erano stati distrutti durante le operazioni di svolgimento, ma, dal momento che non erano totalmente coesi con lo strato inferiore, erano stati semplicemente sollevati e messi da parte.[7]

Si conservano due disegni napoletani, realizzati da F. Crispino tra il 1864 (frr. B e C) e il 1865 (fr. A) e identificati da Bassi, che li accluse al dossier del P.Hercul. 1813.[8]

Nel pezzo 2 di questo papiro Dorandi aveva già riconosciuto una scorza superstite di uno dei due rotoli del libro 3 del De rhetorica filodemeo,[9] precedentemente identificata come

*In questa sede si presenta una prima identificazione dei pezzi di papiro che si trovano catalogati come P.Hercul. 1813. Per la trascrizione e altre considerazioni rimando al lavoro che apparirà nella rivista Cronache Ercolanesi.

[1] Cf. Dürr (1988) 217.

[2] Si tratta degli Inventari datati al 1912, 1915 e 1919, poiché i numeri dal 1811 al 1814, come si leggerà, furono compilati nel periodo in cui Domenico Bassi fu direttore dell'Officina dei Papiri (1906-1926). L'allora direttore sistemò dei materiali che si trovavano nei cassetti e che, negli anni, avevano perso tutte, o quasi, le indicazioni dei papiri di provenienza.

[3] Dorandi (1992).

[4] Bassi (1913a) 196.

[5] Bassi (1913b) 464.

[6] Così Bassi (1913b) 438 spiega la sigla «P» nella sua tabella dei papiri disegnati.

[7] Nell'esperienza di apertura dei papiri ercolanesi con il metodo osloense, ho personalmente constatato che alcune porzioni molto compatte, durante le operazioni di svolgimento, si separano senza bisogno di alcun intervento (se non una sollecitazione con una spatola) costituendo due nuove porzioni più piccole. Tale potrebbe essere stata la vicenda di alcuni di questi pezzi: due porzioni si erano generate da una scorza e su entrambe fu operata la scorzatura, numerando consecutivamente i pezzi (sulla numerazione alternata secondo il metodo definito «Delattre-Obbink», cf. Delattre [2006] 116-119), ma lasciando intatto l'ultimo pezzo della porzione più interna. Non aveva senso, allo stesso modo che per le «scorze ultimo foglio», distruggere questi pezzi intermedi. In alternativa, potrebbe essersi trattato di una scorza semplicemente sollevata. Sui differenti esiti delle operazioni di scorzatura cf., in particolare, Angeli (1995) e Blank (1999).

[8] Bassi (1913a) 196.

[9] Il rotolo è composto dalle scorze P.Hercul. 240, 421, 452, 455, 467, 468, 1095, 1096, 1101, 1633, 1646 (e, probabilmente, il P.Hercul. 1099) più il midollo conservato nel P.Hercul. 1426. Cf. Travaglione (2008) 107 e Del Mastro (2011) 44.

P.Hercul. 468.[10] Su questo pezzo non mi soffermo, rimandando all'articolo di Dorandi. Lo studioso, rifacendosi all'elenco degli scribi ercolanesi (i cosiddetti 'Anonimi') compilato da Guglielmo Cavallo,[11] aveva rilevato anche che «il fr. 3 è scritto di mano dell'Anonimo XII», il medesimo che ha copiato il De pietate di Filodemo. Allo stesso modo lo studioso rilevava che «il fr. 4 è di mano dell'Anonimo XXV, il medesimo che ha copiato i rotoli del περὶ κακιῶν».

Presento un elenco dei pezzi, seguito da un'identificazione della scrittura,[12] aggiungendo, laddove in nostro possesso, altre informazioni supplementari, come l'opera di cui fa parte o la menzione di altri papiri che presentano la stessa scrittura.

Numero del pezzo	'Anonimo' Cavallo	Disegni corrispondenti	Note
1		P.Hercul. 1813, N 1 'fr. a'	Proviene dallo stesso rotolo del pz. 5.[13] Stessa scrittura dei P.Hercul. 226, 1111, 1119.
2	IX	P.Hercul. 468, N 8 Sudhaus (1896); P.Hercul. 1813, N 2 'fr. b, bis'[14]	
3	XII	P.Hercul. 247, N fr. 8, 1-22 + P.Hercul. 242, N fr. 7, 1 = Col. 77A, 2213-2234 Obbink (1996); P.Hercul. 1813, N 2 'fr. c, ter'[15]	Si tratta di un pezzo del De pietate di Filodemo. Esso proviene dallo stesso rotolo del pz. 10.
4	XXV		Per papiri vergati dallo stesso scriba, cf. Del Mastro (2013) 135-138.[16]
5			Proviene dallo stesso rotolo del pz. 1. Stessa scrittura dei P.Hercul. 226, 1111, 1119.
6	XIII	P.Hercul. 460, col. 86, 17-24 Janko (2000)	Si tratta di un pezzo del cosiddetto libro 1 del De poematis di Filodemo.
7	XX		Proviene dallo stesso rotolo del pz. 15 e, probabilmente, del pz. 22. Si tratta, con ogni probabilità, di porzioni esterne del libro 1 del De rhetorica di Filodemo.[17]
8	XVI[18]		Stessa scrittura (e, probabilmente, stesso

[10] Dorandi (1992) 47-49. In realtà, l'attuale scorza P.Hercul. 468 deve far parte di un altro rotolo originario. La scorza anticamente conosciuta come P.Hercul. 468 si trova riprodotta in due disegni: il primo è siglato fr. 8 ed è conservato nel dossier del P.Hercul. 468. Esso è stato disegnato tra il 1825 e il 1838 da F. Celentano; la correzione delle date rispetto al Catalogo (1979) è di Dorandi (1992) 48, n. 13; il secondo disegno si trova nel dossier del P.Hercul. 1813 (fr. B). Esso fu disegnato nel 1864 da V. Crispino.

[11] Cavallo (1983) 44-46.

[12] Se inclusi nell'elenco degli Anonimi di Cavallo (1983).

[13] La tipologia del materiale (particolarmente chiaro) e le caratteristiche della scrittura e della lingua delle poche parole leggibili, fanno pensare che si tratti di un papiro di Demetrio Lacone.

[14] Si tratta di una seconda indicazione scritta, accanto al disegno del frammento, da D. Bassi.

[15] Si tratta di una seconda indicazione, scritta, accanto al disegno del frammento, da D. Bassi.

[16] All'elenco dei papiri vergati dall'Anonimo XXV aggiungo qui il P.Hercul. 360.

[17] Questo pezzo, insieme al pezzo 15 e al pezzo 22, si aggiunge ai papiri che rappresentano le porzioni esterne del rotolo del primo libro del De rhetorica che ha il midollo nel P.Hercul. 1427. Si tratta dei P.Hercul. 232, 234, 250, 398, 426, 1601, 1612, 1619, a cui F. Nicolardi (cf. l'articolo in questi stessi Proceedings) ha aggiunto i P.Hercul. 247, 458, 1115.

[18] Cavallo (1983) 45, 53, attribuiva i papiri 296, 459, 1186 e 1735 all'Anonimo XVI e li datava al I secolo a.C. Più recentemente Janko (2008) 67-69, che ha aggiunto alla serie il disegno oxoniense 1116, ha ritenuto di

			rotolo) dei P.Hercul. 296, 459, 1186 (pz. 1),[19] 1489 (pz. 1 della cr. 3),[20] 1735.[21]
9	XXV		Per papiri vergati dallo stesso scriba, cf. Del Mastro 2013, 135-138.
10	XII	P.Hercul. 247, N fr. 7, 12-22 + P.Hercul. 242, N fr. 6, 1 = Col. 86A, 2492-2503 Obbink (1996)	Si tratta di un pezzo del De pietate di Filodemo. Proviene dallo stesso rotolo del pz. 3.
11			Scrittura greca.[22]
12			Scrittura greca.
13			Si osservano poche tracce di scrittura. Potrebbe trattarsi di lettere latine. Il colore del materiale e la forma del pezzo lasciano ipotizzare che potrebbe provenire dallo stesso rotolo del pz. 17.
14	XXXI		Probabilmente proviene dallo stesso rotolo del pz. 19.
15	XX		Proviene dallo stesso rotolo del pz. 7 e, probabilmente, del pz. 22. Si tratta, con ogni probabilità, di porzioni esterne del libro 1 del De rhetorica di Filodemo.
16			Potrebbe trattarsi della stessa scrittura del pz. 1 conservato nella cr. 2 del P.Hercul. 1489.
17			Papiro latino.[23]
18	XXV		Per papiri vergati dallo stesso scriba, cf. Del Mastro (2013) 135-138.
19	XXXI		Si tratta della stessa scrittura del pz. 14.
20			Scrittura greca.
21			Scrittura greca.[24]
22	XX		Dovrebbe trattarsi di un altro pezzo del libro 1 del De rhetorica cui appartengono i pzz. 7 e 15.

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attribuire la scrittura di questi papiri all'Anonimo XV, lo stesso che ha vergato una delle tre copie del libro 25 del De natura di Epicuro. Le due scritture, pur avendo qualche affinità, mi sembra che presentino alcune differenze significative.

[19] Di questo papiro solo il pezzo conservato nella cr. 1 ha la stessa scrittura del pezzo 8 del P.Hercul. 1813, mentre gli altri 7 pezzi appartengono a un papiro latino.

[20] Aggiungo, per la prima volta, questo pezzo a quelli elencati da Cavallo (1983) 45.

[21] Cf. anche il lavoro di A. De Gianni in questi stessi Proceedings.

[22] Si osservano poche sequenze di lettere e, per questo motivo, è difficile ricollegare i pezzi 11 e 12 a uno specifico rotolo.

[23] Si leggono pochissime lettere. Il tratteggio ricorda quello che si osserva nel P.Hercul. 863.

[24] Sui pezzi 20-21 si leggono solo alcune parole greche. Pertanto, al momento, non è possibile formulare ipotesi sulla appartenenza all'uno o all'altro rotolo originario.

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Falsificazioni nei disegni di alcuni Papiri Ercolanesi*

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1. Casanova

È noto che Wilhelm Crönert, in un celebre contributo sulle falsificazioni negli apografi dei papiri ercolanesi, ne segnalò numerose messe in atto da Francesco Casanova tra il 1822 e il 1835, esprimendo un duro giudizio nei confronti del disegnatore.[1] Lo stesso Crönert auspicava che la questione fosse approfondita mediante un'analisi condotta «sia sui rotoli che sulle carte amministrative del Museo».[2] Muovendo da questo auspicio, in un lavoro pubblicato di recente, nel quarantaseiesimo volume delle Cronache Ercolanesi,[3] mi sono occupato, in collaborazione con la dott.ssa De Gianni, della figura di Francesco Casanova e del suo operato, analizzando i documenti d'archivio che lo riguardano, custoditi nell'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi a Napoli, e raggiungendo alcuni risultati, che sintetizzo nella prima parte del presente contributo e che mi hanno spinto a estendere la mia ricerca ad altri papiri dei cui apografi Casanova fu responsabile; ai risultati di questa ricerca è dedicata la seconda parte del contributo.

Francesco Casanova, figlio di Antonio Casanova, già incisore nel 1812,[4] nacque negli anni '80 del XVIII secolo.[5] Fu assunto come svolgitore il 6 gennaio 1808,[6] per ottenere la nomina a incisore il 10 ottobre 1822, incarico che ricoprì fino al 1835, anno della morte. Nella sua trentennale carriera disegnò 75 papiri, un numero cospicuo se confrontato con quello di altri disegnatori che frequentarono l'Officina negli stessi anni in cui egli vi lavorò, come Giovanni Battista Casanova, Luigi Corazza e Francesco Celentano, anche quest'ultimo ritenuto da Crönert colpevole di falsificazioni, seppur in misura nettamente inferiore.[7]

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* Le immagini multispettrali dei papiri ercolanesi e dei disegni napoletani (Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli Vittorio Emanuele III di Napoli) sono riprodotte su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali. Ne è vietata la duplicazione con qualsiasi mezzo.

[1] Crönert (1898) 15-25.

[2] Crönert (1898) 25.

[3] De Gianni / Napolitano (2016) 137-160.

[4] AOP, B[a] III, fasc. II/10 c.12. Questi era figlio del regio disegnatore Giovanni Casanova, cf. Travaglione (2003) 97, da non confondere con l'omonimo Antonio Casanova, figlio di Domenico Casanova, incisore delle Antichità di Ercolano, Travaglione (2003) 100.

[5] È probabile che sia nato nel 1780 perché una carta, relativa al ruolo degli impiegati nella Real Officina de' Papiri, risalente al 1806, ci informa che a quel tempo aveva 26 anni (AOP, B[a] II, fasc. I/3 c.2); tuttavia, da un altro documento, relativo all'anno 1812 (AOP, B[a] III, fasc. II/13 c.1), si ricava un altro anno di nascita, il 1786: quindi, è possibile che egli abbia iniziato a lavorare in Officina a soli sedici anni, perché da una carta del gennaio 1828 (AOP, B[a] VI, fasc. V/35 c.2) emerge che egli lavorava nell'Officina già dal 1802; l'età apparentemente prematura non è un caso eccezionale, se si pensa a Carlo Malesci, partecipe dell'attività dell'Officina dall'età di soli dodici anni, cf. Puglia (1986) 105. A causa di questa ambiguità nella documentazione d'archivio, non è possibile stabilire con certezza quale delle due date di nascita sia giusta.

[6] AOP, B[a] II, fasc. III/15 c.3. Tuttavia, già in un documento d'archivio del 1806 (AOP, B[a] II, fasc. I/2 c. 2), relativo allo stato nominativo degli impiegati della Real Officina de' Papiri, viene inserito tra gli svolgitori e i trascrittori.

[7] Crönert (1898) 24.

Ben undici sono i papiri, editi negli ultimi volumi della VH^2 e trascritti dal Casanova tra il 1822 e il 1835, nei cui apografi il Crönert ravvisò significative falsificazioni.[8] Di questi undici papiri è rimasta una sola scorza per ciascun papiro;[9] come giustamente suppose lo stesso Crönert, proprio l'impossibilità della verifica sull'originale da parte degli Accademici ha permesso al disegnatore di falsificare gli apografi.[10]

Un chiaro esempio del lavoro di falsificazione operato da Casanova sono le tracce del nome Φιλίστας nei disegni di alcuni degli undici papiri. Sulla base di queste ripetizioni, Comparetti attribuiva all'opera Filista di Carneisco, oltre al P.Hercul. 1027, i P.Hercul. 459, 1096, 1110 e 1111 (editi nella VH^2) e i P.Hercul. 440, 472 e 1115 (inediti);[11] lo stesso studioso, infatti, basandosi sul disegno napoletano del P.Hercul. 1027, nella cui *subscriptio* si legge il numerale (κ), venti, aveva ritenuto l'opera di Carneisco molto voluminosa. Se già Crönert aveva considerato errata questa attribuzione,[12] l'ultimo editore del libro, Mario Capasso,[13] ha chiarito l'errore di Comparetti, individuando nella *subscriptio*, integra, chiaramente leggibile e, tra l'altro, correttamente riportata nell'apografo oxoniense, il numerale (β), due, come recentemente ha confermato anche Del Mastro.[14]

Capasso, inoltre, ha confermato l'indubbia alterazione di alcune copie di Casanova e ha indicato altri papiri i cui disegni riportano sequenze sospette di falsificazioni simili a quelle degli undici papiri segnalati dal Crönert, e cioè i P.Hercul. 440, 472 e 1115, i cui apografi Crönert non aveva avuto modo di visionare.[15] D'altra parte, è importante ricordare i giudizi positivi espressi da alcuni studiosi sui disegni di alcuni papiri eseguiti da Casanova nell'arco di tutta la sua carriera: Leone su quelli del P.Hercul. 993, disegnato nel 1809-1810;[16] Gargiulo su quelli del P.Hercul. 222, disegnato nel 1817;[17] Acosta Méndez su quelli del P.Hercul. 1089, realizzati nel 1826.[18]

Per spiegare il comportamento di Casanova, Capasso fa riferimento a ragioni di salute,[19] evincendole dalla documentazione di archivio, e soprattutto a un decreto del 1822, reso noto per la prima volta da Enzo Puglia,[20] in base al quale, a partire da questa data, per svolgitori e incisori era prevista una doppia paga:[21] una fissa e una condizionata alla presentazione di «non meno di una colonna di papiro o svolto e disegnato, o pur inciso».[22] Le operazioni di falsificazione, dunque, sarebbero state mosse da un interesse chiaramente economico:

[8] Crönert (1898) 16.
[9] *Vide* Chartes. Si ricorda che Chartes, salvo diverse indicazioni nel campo Note, ripete i dati del Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi, sotto la direzione di Marcello Gigante, cf. Gigante (1979).
[10] Crönert (1898) 18-19.
[11] Comparetti (1880) 67, 78, 86-87.
[12] Crönert (1898) 22.
[13] Capasso (1986) 149-150.
[14] Del Mastro (2014) 203.
[15] Capasso (1986) 150.
[16] Leone (2012) 196-197.
[17] Gargiulo (1981) 103.
[18] Acosta Méndez (1983) 121 n.
[19] Capasso (1982) 27, (1991) 123.
[20] Puglia (1986) 108-110.
[21] Un sistema simile, che affiancava a una paga fissa un'altra proporzionata al lavoro svolto, era in vigore anche durante la permanenza di Hayter come sovraintendente dei lavori svolti nel Museo di Portici, cf. Crönert (1898) 18-20; Guerrieri (1954) 5-42; Guarino (1977) 318-320; Longo Auricchio (1980) 159-215; Indelli (1980) 217-225; Capasso (1991) 100-102. Tuttavia, come già notò Crönert, gli anni in cui furono disegnati i papiri incriminati non corrispondono agli anni in cui Hayter lavorò in Italia. È possibile, dunque, che a partire dal 1806, anno in cui Hayter fu richiamato in Inghilterra, tale pratica sia caduta in disuso al punto da dover essere ripristinata ufficialmente attraverso un decreto regio.
[22] Puglia (1986) 109.

Casanova avrebbe eseguito a più riprese onestamente il proprio lavoro, ma, a partire dal 1822, spinto dalla remunerazione aggiuntiva rispetto al soldo mensile prevista dal decreto,[23] mise in atto, accanto a disegni eseguiti correttamente, diversi tentativi più o meno maldestri di falsificazione, che non possono essere stati dovuti solo a ragioni di salute, come ho cercato di dimostrare alla luce della rilettura della documentazione di archivio, [24] né tantomeno possono essere frutto di sviste, come ora cercherò di dimostrare.

2. Falsificazioni

Negli apografi dei papiri sospetti, oltre alla occorrenza del nome Φιλίστας, leggiamo sequenze di lettere che per frequenza e per combinazione con altre sequenze sospette sono da ritenere disegnate non genuinamente dal disegnatore, evidentemente non ignaro delle più comuni parole greche, grazie ai molti anni di esperienza in Officina.[25]

Nella mia indagine sul P.Hercul. 1111, un papiro svolto e disegnato da Francesco Casanova nel 1823 di cui abbiamo una piccola scorza e 17 disegni napoletani di 45 frammenti le cui incisioni in rame furono pubblicate nel 1875,[26] ho dimostrato che sequenze riconducibili alla congiunzione ἀλλά ricorrono 12 volte, a καί 19 volte, agli aggettivi πᾶς/ἅπας 13 volte.[27]

Altri dati concorrono a mettere in evidenza la non genuinità di tali sequenze, che pure a ragione potrebbero essere ritenute realmente così diffuse nei testi superstiti: sia καί che ἀλλά non ricorrono mai più di una volta per frammento; καί in 14 occorrenze si trova a inizio linea; in 7 frammenti καί e ἀλλά ricorrono insieme e in 5 di questi troviamo anche πᾶς/ἅπας.[28]

Un'altra tecnica utilizzata da Casanova consiste nell'uso di una sequenza in cui dopo π troviamo una vocale seguita da τ, seguito da un'altra vocale: questa alternanza, che spesso dà origine a sequenze non divisibili e prive di senso, ricorre, per esempio, negli apografi del P.Hercul. 1111 20 volte[29] e nel P.Hercul. 459 23 volte.[30]

Ben più evidenti sono alcune rielaborazioni che Casanova ha compiuto partendo da un originale che in un caso è stato possibile rintracciare in una scorza: è il caso del P.Hercul. 1601, di cui si conservano 2 pezzi; [31] del secondo abbiamo l'apografo, sebbene, inspiegabilmente, di esso si precisi che non esiste l'originale.

Dei 12 frammenti riprodotti nei 6 disegni napoletani, due (frr. 6 e 12: figg. 1, 2) riproducono, pur con alcune differenze, il secondo pezzo originale del P.Hercul. 1601 (fig. 3).

Il disegnatore, dunque, pur con minime variazioni, riproduce due volte un originale né si può pensare che riproduca strati di papiro sovrapposti perché le variazioni di lettere sono minime

[23] Il soldo mensile era piuttosto basso: 10 ducati e 50 grana. A questi andavano sommati i 19 ducati di compenso per ogni colonna svolta e disegnata o incisa, ottenibili una sola volta al mese. Il totale lordo mensile era di 29 ducati e 50 grana, che, come ha ricostruito Puglia, era un salario non basso in relazione allo stipendio medio di un artigiano a metà Ottocento, cf. Puglia (1986) 112.
[24] De Gianni / Napolitano (2016) 137-142.
[25] *Vide* supra.
[26] *Vide* Chartes.
[27] De Gianni / Napolitano (2016) 153-154.
[28] De Gianni / Napolitano (2016) 153 nn. e 154 n.
[29] De Gianni / Napolitano (2016) 153.
[30] De Gianni / Napolitano (2016) 149.
[31] *Vide* Chartes.

e talvolta avvengono tra lettere simili nella forma: fr. 6 l. 8]τωνειδοc[, fr. 12 l. 8]τωνcιδοc[;[32] fr. 6 l. 10] ̣κυδαινει[, fr. 12 l. 10] ̣κυδαινθα[.

Un altro esempio di falsificazione sul modello di un frammento originale, che però in questo caso non abbiamo, è quanto avviene tra i frr. 36 e 44 degli apografi del P.Hercul. 1111; il frammento 44 è l'unico dei 45 frammenti riprodotti da Francesco Casanova del P.Hercul. 1111 a essere stato ritenuto del tutto originale già da Usener (1887);[33] la più recente edizione del frammento è quella di Obbink, nel 1996, nel commento dell'edizione della prima parte del De pietate filodemeo; [34] nel fr. 44 si leggono i titoli di opere come Sulla santità e Timocrate di Epicuro, riferimenti ai libri XII e XIII della sua opera capitale Sulla natura, Contro l'Eutifrone di Platone e Contro Aristotele di Metrodoro, e ᾽Εριστικά di Ermarco.[35]

Tale frammento, certamente genuino, quindi, proprio come ho descritto per il P.Hercul. 1601,[36] fu in parte riutilizzato nel fr. 36 del P.Hercul. 1111 da Casanova con un'inversione di linee e di lettere che non lascia alcun dubbio che si tratti di un tentativo di falsificazione piuttosto che della riproduzione di strati di papiro sovrapposti, erroneamente disegnati (figg. 4, 5).

Frammenti uguali o simili sono stati riprodotti da Casanova negli apografi non soltanto di uno stesso papiro, ma anche di papiri diversi; già Crönert aveva notato che quasi tutto il fr. 22 (N 11) del P.Hercul. 1110 corrisponde alle prime 14 linee del fr. 4 (N 4) del P.Hercul. 1107 e le ll. 6-14 di entrambi corrispondono alle ll. 1-9 del fr. 18 (N 12) del P.Hercul. 1108 (figg. 6, 7, 8).[37]

Capasso ha poi rintracciato le stesse sequenze nel P.Hercul. 1115, in due frammenti (12 e 21), di cui il secondo (fig. 9) riproduce le ll. 6-14 dei P.Hercul. 1110 e 1107 e, quindi, le ll. 1-9 del P.Hercul. 1108.[38]

Casanova, dunque, ha disegnato quattro volte lo stesso frammento creando un ponte tra gli apografi dei 4 papiri, riproducendo di sicuro un originale, che però non possediamo, ma di fatto rendendone difficilissima la ricostruzione, anche per le differenze che ci sono nelle varie redazioni che si sono susseguite a pochi anni di distanza: i disegni dei P.Hercul. 1110, 1107, 1108 e 1115 sono stati realizzati da Casanova rispettivamente nel 1822, nel 1824, nel 1825 e nel 1828.[39]

È tuttavia probabile, come suggerisce Capasso,[40] che l'apografo del P.Hercul. 1110, il primo dei quattro papiri a essere stato disegnato da Casanova, conservi la versione più genuina, successivamente ritoccata sulla base del primo apografo.

[32] La prima lettera di l. 7 è in fr. 6 o, mentre in fr. 12 ω. Questo scambio di lettere foneticamente simili, che capita di trovare più volte anche negli apografi del P.Hercul. 459 e in un apografo del P.Hercul. 458 (XI, 6) del fr. 1 dell'originale del P.Hercul. 459, cf. De Gianni / Napolitano (2016) 151 n., è dovuto con una certa probabilità alla conoscenza, pur minima, che il disegnatore aveva acquisito della lingua greca e all'uso di tenere a mente alcune lettere o linee prima di disegnarle ricordandone il suono e confondendo così lettere foneticamente simili.
[33] Usener (1887) frr. 41, 72.
[34] Obbink (1996) 300. *Vide* anche 284, 298-299, 306-307, 380-387, 454, 471.
[35] Per un'analisi dettagliata cf. De Gianni / Napolitano (2016) 156-159.
[36] *Vide* supra.
[37] Crönert (1898) 16-17.
[38] Capasso (1986) 151.
[39] *Vide* Chartes. Per l'elenco completo dei papiri disegnati da F. Casanova cf. De Gianni / Napolitano (2016) 139.
[40] Capasso (1986) 151.

Ho anche potuto riscontrare il legame tra gli apografi dei papiri 1110 e 1107 sulla base di un altro frammento riprodotto su entrambi: il fr. 16 del P.Hercul. 1110 corrispondente alle ll. 19-28 del fr. 1 del P.Hercul. 1107 (figg. 10, 11).

Non è possibile ipotizzare con un certo grado di sicurezza che i quattro papiri possano far capo a un solo rotolo, perché Casanova potrebbe essersi ispirato per le sue riproduzioni anche a originali di altri papiri non compresi tra gli undici segnalati dal Crönert o tra i tre segnalati da Capasso.

È il caso di un frammento (fr. 12) negli apografi del P.Hercul. 1108 che riproduce il fr. 4 originale del P.Hercul. 1077, attribuito al P.Hercul. 1673/1007 (figg. 12, 13).[41]

Ancora una volta l'intento falsificatorio è confermato dall'incongruente indicazione a margine dell'apografo, secondo cui del frammento riprodotto «non esiste l'originale».[42]

In questo caso, Casanova si è ispirato a un papiro non compreso nei quattordici indicati da Crönert e da Capasso, e, dunque, potrebbe dare qualche risultato interessante ricercare se, tra gli apografi di Casanova che sembrano riportare sequenze genuine, ci siano altre riproduzioni di scorze o papiri originali. A questa ricerca mi riprometto di dedicarmi prossimamente.

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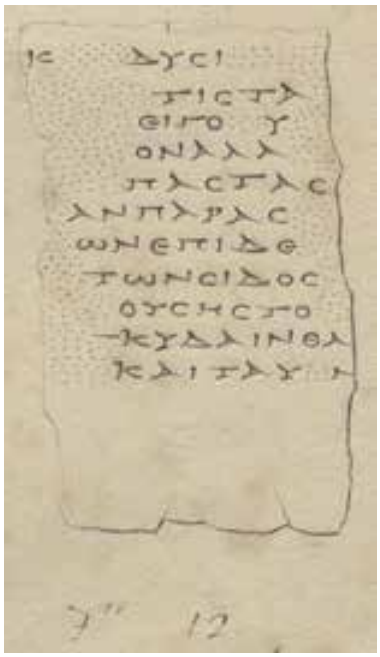
VH = *Herculanensium Voluminum quae supersunt. Collectio altera*, I-XI (Neapoli) 1862-1876.

[41] *Vide* Chartes.

[42] Come ho già evidenziato una simile omissione riguarda anche il P.Hercul. 1601, *vide* supra.

Tavole





Figg. 1-2. P.Hercul. 1601, fr. 6 e 12 N. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.

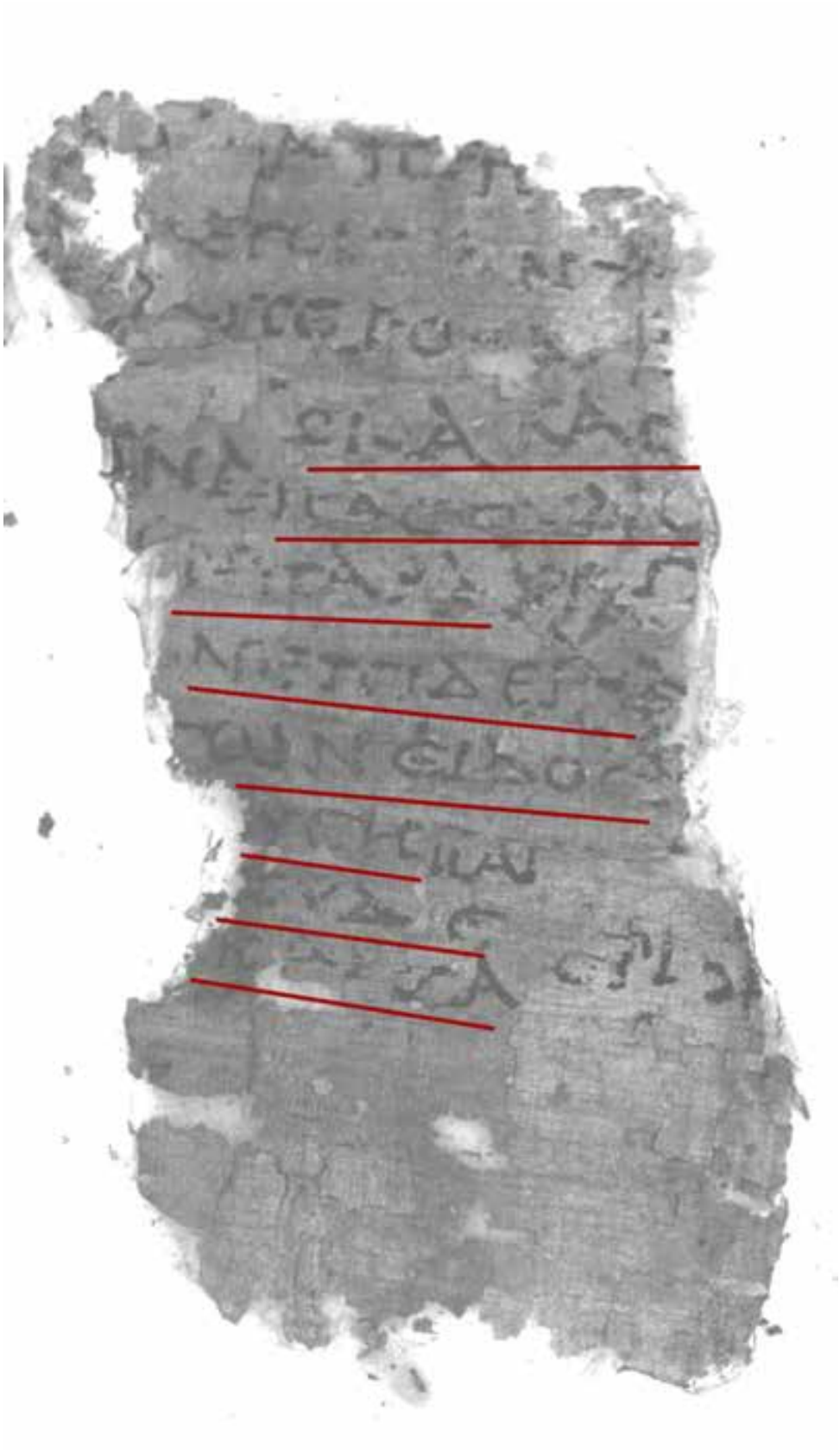


Fig. 3. P.Hercul. 1601, cr. 1 pz. 2. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.



Fig. 4. P.Hercul. 1111, fr. 36 N. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.

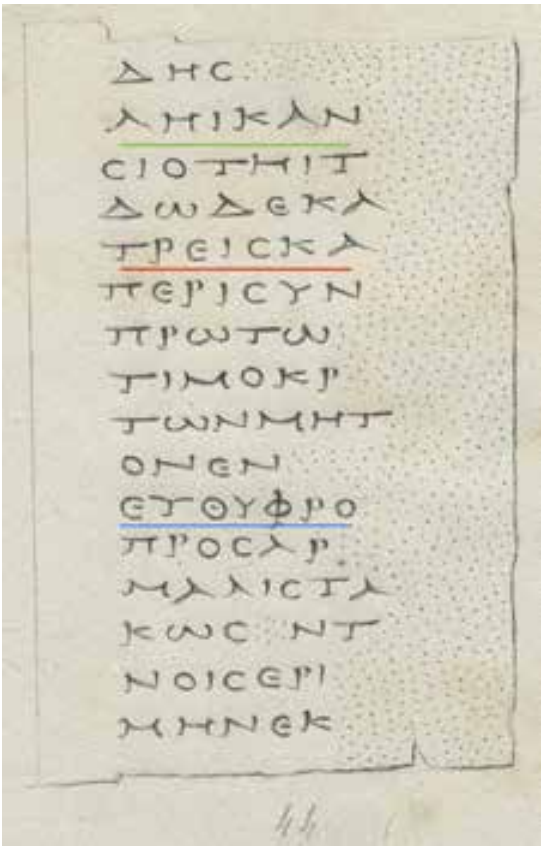


Fig. 5. P.Hercul. 1111, fr. 44 N. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.



Fig. 6. P.Hercul. 1110, fr. 22 N. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.

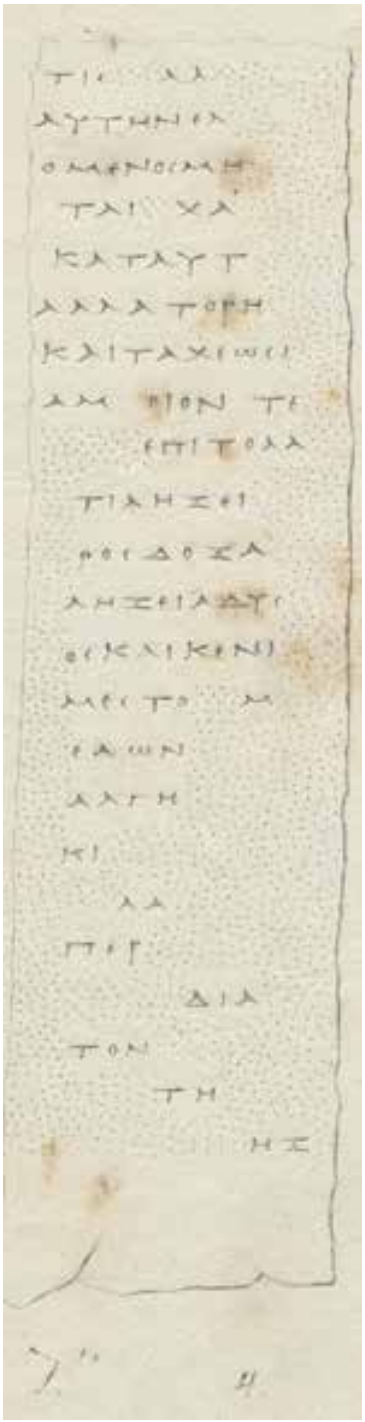


Fig. 7. P.Hercul. 1107, fr. 4 N. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.



Fig. 8. P.Hercul. 1108, fr. 18 N. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.



Fig 9. P.Hercul. 1115, fr. 21 N. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.



Fig. 10. P.Hercul. 1110, fr. 16 N. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.

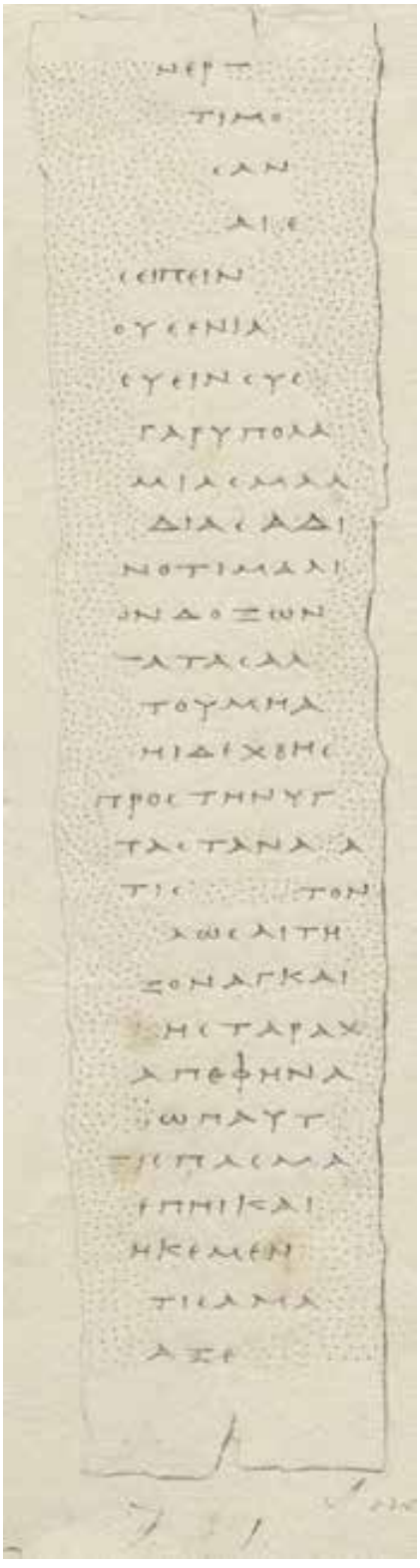


Fig. 11. P.Hercul. 1107, fr. 1 N. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.



Fig. 12. P.Hercul. 1108, fr. 12 N. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.

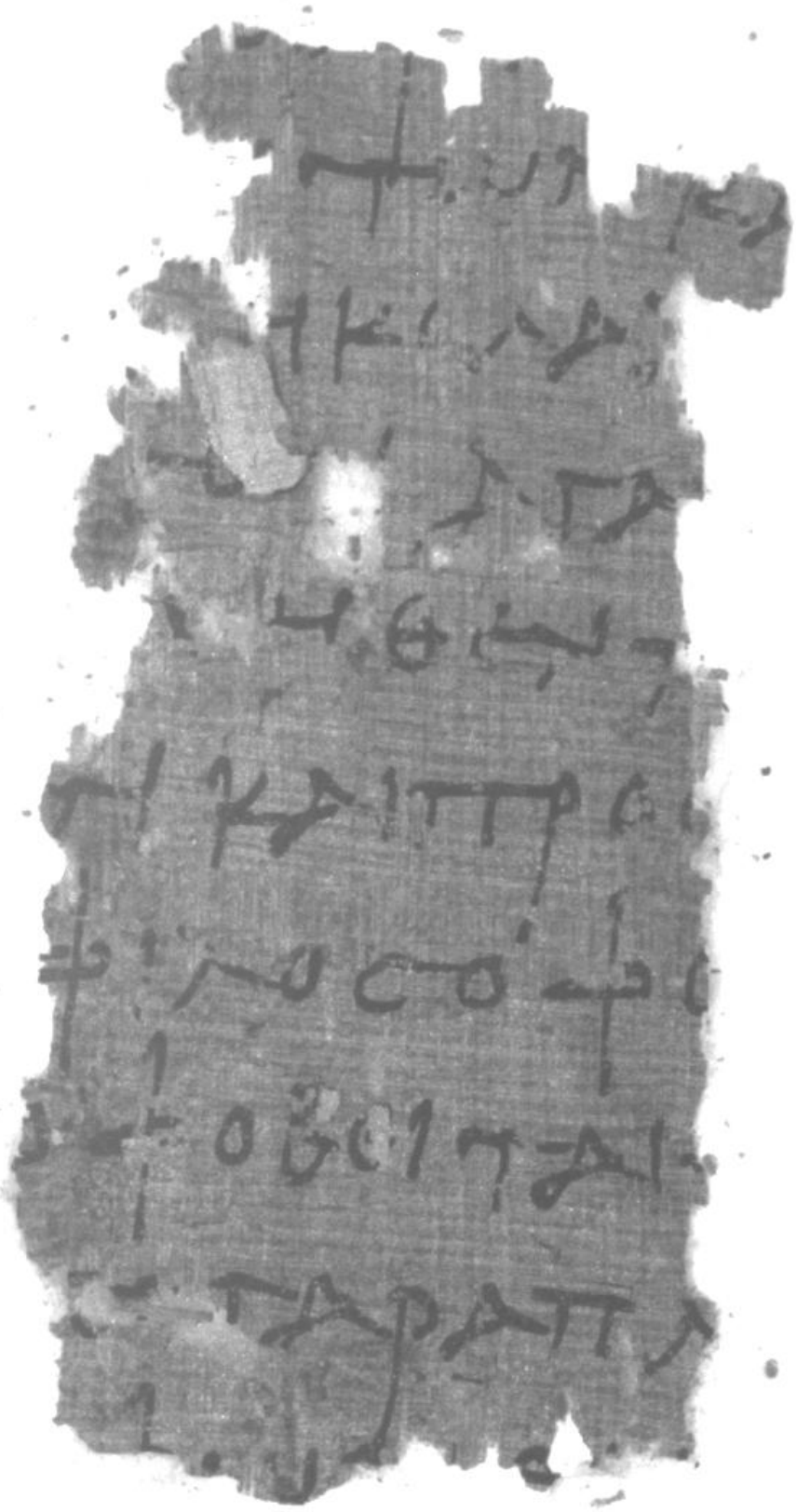


Fig. 13. P.Hercul. 1077, cr. 1 pz. 4. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.

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Osservazioni su alcuni disegni dei Papiri Ercolanesi*

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Dei P.Hercul. 458 e 459 mi sono occupata in un lavoro pubblicato nel quarantaseiesimo volume delle Cronache Ercolanesi,[1] in cui ho potuto dimostrare, sulla base dell'autopsia delle porzioni conservate, dei relativi disegni napoletani e della documentazione d'archivio, che le sequenze leggibili nell'attuale P.Hercul. 459 sono, di fatto, riprodotte nei disegni napoletani riferiti al P.Hercul. 458. Questo dato risulta palese, per esempio, dal confronto tra il frammento 5 dell'originale P.Hercul. 459, nel quale le sequenze di lettere si leggono con chiarezza, e il corrispondente disegno del P.Hercul. 458 (figg. 1 e 2).

Inoltre, la presenza di sequenze di lettere uguali che ricorrono frequentemente nei disegni riferiti ai P.Hercul. 458 e 459, e che per di più rimandano a serie di lettere prive di senso, mi ha indotta anche a pensare che i due dossier di disegni si riferiscano al medesimo *volumen* originario. Segnalo, infatti, che entrambi i dossier sono opera del disegnatore Francesco Casanova il quale, in non poche occasioni, ha dato prova della sua abilità falsificatoria.[2]

Quello che resta del P.Hercul. 458 è definito 'scorza';[3] a un esame autoptico, il pezzo risulta lungo ca. 4.5 cm e alto ca. 7 cm. Il rotolo fu svolto nel 1826 da Francesco Casanova, autore anche di 9 disegni napoletani dei 18 frammenti, realizzati nello stesso anno; le incisioni in rame furono pubblicate nel 1874.[4] Lo stato di conservazione è pessimo, il papiro risulta quasi illeggibile, se non per alcune lettere che, in particolar modo nella foto multispettrale, risaltano sullo sfondo. Un dato interessante, relativo alle lettere oggi leggibili nell'originale 458, si evince dalla lettura dell'Inventario del 1917-1919, conservato nell'Officina dei Papiri Marcello Gigante, nel quale si dice: «Scorza, ultimo foglio, informe: a destra in basso ολ sotto κατ sotto νκ sotto πω sotto κο»; le sequenze che oggi si leggono sulla scorza, in pessimo stato di conservazione, non corrispondono a quelle elencate nell'Inventario, e questo potrebbe

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* Le immagini multispettrali dei papiri ercolanesi e dei disegni napoletani (Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli Vittorio Emanuele III di Napoli) sono riprodotte su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali. Ne è vietata la duplicazione con qualsiasi mezzo.

[1] De Gianni / Napolitano (2016) 137-160.

[2] Il dossier riferito al P.Hercul. 458 comprende 9 disegni di 18 frammenti e quello del P.Hercul. 459 45 disegni di 90 frammenti. Molte sono le sequenze prive di senso che ricorrono nei disegni dei papiri summenzionati creando giochi di incastri tra frammenti, che in alcuni casi risultano composti da sole sequenze riprese in altri luoghi: τομα..αριο (P.Hercul. 458, X 9; P.Hercul. 459, XLII1 2, XLIII 8); μεναπαρε (P.Hercul. 458, VI 3, XIV 7, XV 9, XII 7; P.Hercul. 459, XLIX 9, LXXV 6); tutte le sequenze che rimandano a vocaboli connessi all'aggettivo θανάσιμος, per le quali Crönert (1898), 22-23 attribuisce i papiri 458, 459, 1110 insieme all'807 e al 1251, al Περὶ θανάτου di Filodemo: νασιμον (P.Hercul. 458, VI 9) ανασιμον (P.Hercul. 458, V 7), τονθανα (P.Hercul. 458, XIV 3), τωνταςι (P.Hercul. 458, XIV 10); καθάπερ (P.Hercul. 458, V 4, VI 4; P.Hercul. 459, XX 3, LXVI 5, LXVIII 3); τητεσακιν (P.Hercul. 458, VI 5), νοτετες (P.Hercul. 458, VI 7, XVII 8); le sequenze che rimandano all'aggettivo κοινός o a suoi composti (P.Hercul. 458, V 9, XIV 6, XV 8; P.Hercul. 459, XXI 3, XXXV 4, XXXVI 3, LIII 4 e LXXIX 4). Per una disamina più approfondita del problema della falsificazione nei papiri ercolanesi *vide* Crönert (1898) 15-25; Capasso (1982) 26-27 sp. n. 28; (1986) 149-153; (1991) 121-123; De Gianni-Napolitano (2016) 137-160; Napolitano (2019).

[3] Chartes. Si ricorda che Chartes, salvo diverse indicazioni nel campo Note, ripete i dati del Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi, sotto la direzione di Marcello Gigante (Napoli 1979).

[4] VH^2 IX, 133-141.

significare che nel 1917 la scorza 458 non era quella che oggi corrisponde a questa numerazione, e che proprio allora potrebbe essere avvenuto uno scambio (fig. 3).

Il P.Hercul. 458, tuttavia, ha subìto altri rimaneggiamenti. Nel Catalogo descrittivo dei papiri Ercolanesi la curatrice, Agnese Travaglione, registra una revisione avvenuta nel 1999, «sulla base delle informazioni fornite dal CatPErc e dal supporto originario», [5] in seguito a una registrazione della stessa scorza nel 1993 come pezzo sine numero. L'attuale P.Hercul. 458 potrebbe, quindi, aver subìto un ulteriore scambio; infatti, la scorza con questo numero non è riprodotta nei disegni del P.Hercul. 459 né è conforme alle misure date negli Inventari del P.Hercul. 459. Recentemente Federica Nicolardi, nel suo lavoro sulla ricostruzione del primo libro della Retorica di Filodemo, ha riconosciuto nella scorza 458 la stessa mano che ha vergato il P.Hercul. 1427 (Gruppo N, Anonimo XX, secondo Cavallo).[6]

La porzione oggi conservata del P.Hercul. 459 presenta, invece, un colore non omogeneo: nei punti in cui la superficie papiracea appare di un marrone più scuro, il papiro è più danneggiato e l'inchiostro risalta meno. Nel Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi del 1979 lo stato di conservazione è definito 'discreto': [7] poche, infatti, sono le lacune, e alcune lettere sono visibili anche a occhio nudo. Ogni lettera è alta in media 4-5 mm e lo spazio interlineare misura 2-3 mm; si contano 13 linee di scrittura. Purtroppo i molti sovrapposti e sottoposti rendono difficile la lettura del testo, perché le superfici sono a tal punto adese che risulta quasi impossibile ricostruire l'ordine stratigrafico e persino individuare lo strato di base. Nelle foto multispettrali del P.Hercul. 459 ho circoscritto i vari strati di papiro con colori differenti (in nero, il presunto strato di base; in azzurro, il primo strato sovrapposto; in verde, il secondo strato sovrapposto; in rosso, il terzo; non ho circoscritto gli strati di papiro di collocazione non definibile, figg. 4, 5 e 6).

Il disegno delle lettere appare calligrafico e formale per la presenza di evidenti apici ornamentali; il tratto mediano di *alpha* è orizzontale; *epsilon* si presenta con il tratto mediano staccato dal corpo della lettera. Secondo Cavallo, [8] queste caratteristiche accomunano, all'interno del Gruppo K, i papiri 296, 459, 1186 e 1735, attribuiti alla mano dell'Anonimo XVI, da lui datata al I secolo a.C. [9] Del Mastro ha recentemente riconosciuto la medesima mano che ha vergato il P.Hercul. 459 in un'altra scorza, il fr. 8 del P.Hercul. 1813.[10] Janko, invece, ha attribuito la mano di scrittura del P.Hercul. 459, all'interno dello stesso gruppo K, all'Anonimo XV, responsabile della copia del P.Hercul. 697, contenente un esemplare del XXV libro Sulla natura di Epicuro, ipotizzandone l'appartenenza a un unico rotolo originario. Inoltre, lo studioso ha riconosciuto la stessa mano di scrittura anche nel disegno oxoniense n. 1116, ritenendo che il frammento disegnato sia un piccolo pezzo ricavato mediante sollevamento dalla parte posteriore del P.Hercul. 459.[11]

Come ha osservato Leone,[12] se è vero che il pezzo conservato sotto il numero 459 ha la stessa altezza del P.Hercul. 697 (9-10 cm), tuttavia, all'esame autoptico, risulta essere la parte centrale di un rotolo, in quanto mancante dei margini superiore e inferiore, a differenza del P.Hercul. 697, di cui è superstite la parte superiore, con un margine di ca. 2 cm. Inoltre, la mise en page del P.Hercul. 459 è diversa da quella del P.Hercul. 697: il numero di linee

[5] Travaglione (2008) 102.
[6] Nicolardi (2015) 57. Per la mano di scrittura *vide* Cavallo (1983) 38-40-
[7] Gigante (1979) 152.
[8] Cavallo (1983) 37, 45, 53.
[9] Questo dato è interessante, tenendo presenti alcune considerazioni fatte da Comparetti (1883) 67, 78, 86-87, in relazione all'attribuzione del rotolo in questione all'opera Filista di Carneisco, sulla base di alcune ripetizioni.
[10] Del Mastro (2019).
[11] Janko (2008) 67-69.
[12] Leone (2016) 242-243.

comprese nello stesso spazio scrittorio, infatti, non è il medesimo (20 ca. nel 697 e 13 ca. nel 459). Infine, se dal Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi dati per svolgersi e restituiti, con la indicazione di quelli donati da S.M. a personaggi esteri (datato al 1807), il P.Hercul. 459 risulta essere stato svolto nel 1790, per il P.Hercul. 697, nello stesso Inventario, lo svolgimento è registrato come avvenuto nel 1805, e nessuno svolgimento parziale ne è indicato prima di questa data. Secondo Leone, [13] qualora si confermi l'identità di mano, potremmo pensare all'esistenza di un P.Hercul. '1116'*O*/459 come testimone di un altro libro del Περὶ φύσεως, vergato dallo stesso Anonimo XV che ha vergato il P.Hercul. 1634/419/697, e quindi, plausibilmente, facente parte della stessa edizione. È interessante notare che tra le pochissime sequenze di testo leggibili nel P.Hercul. 459 ve ne sia una, in particolare, che potrebbe avvalorare l'ipotesi dell'appartenenza del rotolo a un libro dell'opera capitale di Epicuro: alla l. 2 leggiamo ἄνθρωπος; alla l. 3 potremmo pensare a εἰδώς, da concordare con ἄνθρωπος, o comunque a una forma del participio dal perfetto οἶδα; alla l. 4 la sequenza cυμφω potrebbe rimandare al campo semantico di συμφωνία, un sostantivo molto ricorrente nei testi di Epicuro; alla l. 6 si legge τοῖς λόγοις, mentre alla l. 5 propongo di integrare un *theta* iniziale, così da poter leggere una forma participiale del verbo θηρεύω: questo verbo ricorre proprio nel XXV libro del Περὶ φύσεως con il significato di 'investigare', 'ricercare'.[14]

Come ho argomentato nel mio contributo nelle Cronache Ercolanesi, il confronto tra i disegni, oggi P.Hercul. 458, e gli originali, oggi P.Hercul. 459, mi ha portata anche a capire che il pezzo superstite denominato oggi P.Hercul. 459, lungo 28 cm e alto 10 cm, apparentemente unico e continuo, è in realtà il frutto di una giustapposizione di sette frammenti; si spiega, dunque, perché, nell'Inventario del 1853, del P.Hercul. 459 erano registrati proprio sette frammenti.

Ho notato, infatti, che gli apografi napoletani del P.Hercul. 458 che corrispondono a sequenze leggibili nell'originale, il P.Hercul. 459, si susseguono in un ordine numerico diverso da quello che oggi si riscontra nel papiro. I disegni, inoltre, in alcuni casi riportano più lettere di quelle che oggi si leggono sulla porzione conservata. Per esempio, si confrontino l'immagine multispettrale del frammento I del P.Hercul. 459 con il suo apografo, rintracciato nel fr. 11 del disegno napoletano del P.Hercul. 458: non solo le lettere riprodotte alla destra della linea verticale nell'apografo non sono visibili nell'originale, ma sembra anche mancare lo spazio scrittorio nel quale tali lettere potessero trovare posto (figg. 7 e 8). Lo stesso tipo di problema si riscontra nel fr. 12 N (figg. 9 e 10).

La situazione dei frr. 2 e 4 N è diversa: in questo caso i frr. 5, 6 e 7 dell'originale sono contigui e anche i rispettivi disegni (frr. 2, 4) riproducono questa continuità (figg. 11 e 12).

Dunque, se, come tutto lascia credere, dobbiamo prestare fede all'ordine dei disegni, è necessaria una risistemazione dei sette frammenti citati nell'Inventario del 1853, che, come si diceva, sono oggi giustapposti a formare un unico pezzo e verosimilmente possono essere stati tagliati e incollati l'uno accanto all'altro solo secondo un criterio estetico, e non secondo l'ordine originario di successione. [15] Il papiro può essere stato tagliato per metà nel senso dell'altezza e gli strati, invece di essere scarniti, possono essere stati presi mediante

[13] Leone (2016) 242-243.

[14] Masi (2006) 13; Laursen (1997) 46. Il numero di linee ricostruito è puramente congetturale non avendo potuto provvedere a un'edizione completa del papiro a causa della condizione in cui versano il pezzo originale e i disegni relativi a questa numerazione, *vide* supra.

[15] A un esame autoptico dell'originale, in alcuni punti la colla è ancora visibile e la lunghezza della porzione attuale (28 cm), congruente con la lunghezza media delle porzioni solitamente appese a parete, concorre a comprovare l'ipotesi dell'accostamento dei sette frammenti. Una situazione simile viene riscontrata anche da Leone (2012) 229 e 326-343, sp. 341, riguardo alla ricostruzione del P.Hercul. 1010.

sollevamento, così da creare una situazione di questo tipo: i frr. 3 e 5 nell'originale, che mostrano lo stesso andamento nel margine superiore, farebbero parte della stessa metà di rotolo, le cui scorze, sollevate di strato in strato, sarebbero state riprodotte nei disegni in ordine di sollevamento e, per tale motivo, i due frammenti summenzionati sarebbero stati disegnati di seguito (frr. 2-3 N); i frr. 6 e 7 nell'originale sono riprodotti nel fr. 4 N, e farebbero parte della stessa metà di rotolo dell'originale fr. 4. Di quest'ultimo manca il disegno, probabilmente per il precario stato di conservazione, testimoniato tuttora dai molti strati sovrapposti e sottoposti che ne rendono difficile la lettura. Anche in questo caso, l'andamento dei margini superiore e inferiore è simile. I frr. 1 e 2 nel papiro, riprodotti rispettivamente nei frr. 11 e 12 N, infine, non apparterrebbero a uno strato immediatamente precedente o successivo ai suddetti frammenti, ma il fr. 1 farebbe parte della stessa metà di rotolo dei frr. 3 e 5, mentre il fr. 2 apparterrebbe alla metà dei frr. 4, 6 e 7. Seguendo l'ordine degli apografi napoletani, quindi, i frammenti andrebbero così ordinati: fr. 5 = fr. 2 N; fr. 3 = fr. 3 N; fr. 4 = non disegnato; frr. 6 e 7 = fr. 4 N; fr. 1 = fr. 11 N; fr. 2 = fr. 12 N.

La giustapposizione di più frammenti, evidentemente per ragioni estetiche, trova giustificazione in una pratica diffusa nell'Officina nella metà dell'Ottocento, ben descritta da Holger Essler in un suo contributo pubblicato nel 2006 nelle Cronache Ercolanesi,[16] secondo cui le porzioni di papiro destinate a essere messe in cornice venivano staccate dai fogli bianchi, sui quali erano state collocate durante gli anni in cui Hayter operò nell'Officina, e attaccate su un cartoncino, bianco o azzurro. Prima di essere risistemati su tali supporti, i rotoli svolti erano tagliati in pezzi per una lunghezza di 30-40 cm ciascuno. Essler ci informa che il P.Hercul. 459 è stato esposto, nella stanza 2, nel 1865.[17] Ne consegue che il papiro a partire da quella data dovette essere predisposto come oggi lo vediamo, in un pezzo apparentemente unico lungo ca. 28 cm. In conclusione, dunque, con la mia indagine ho potuto ricostruire il legame tra gli apografi del 458 e l'originale 459, e ripristinare grazie ad essi l'ordine originario dei sette frammenti. Resta ancora aperta la ricerca di una scorza, catalogata sotto un numero diverso, a cui facciano capo i 90 frammenti dei 45 apografi napoletani oggi erroneamente riferiti al P.Hercul. 459.

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Tavole

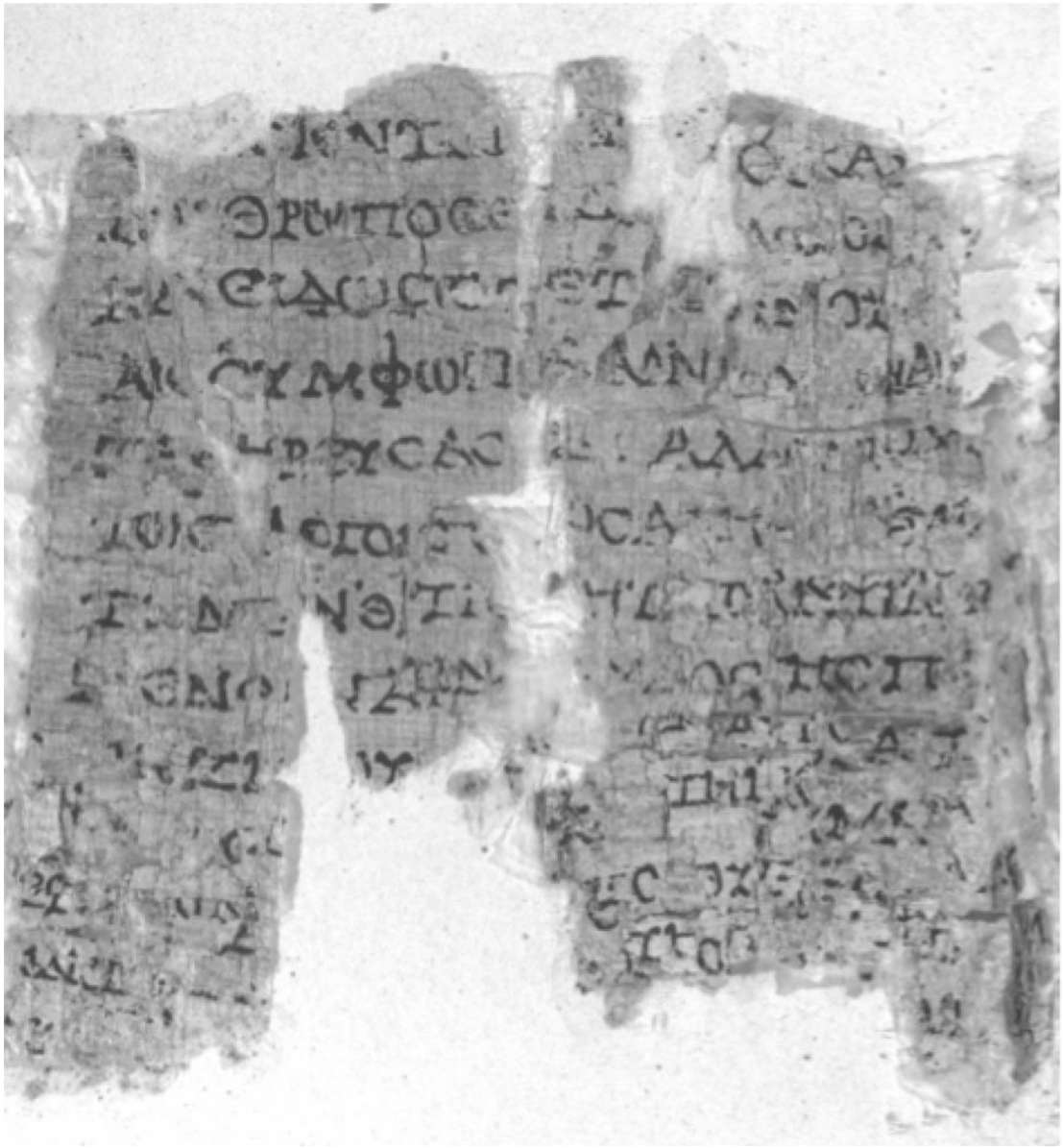


Fig. 1. P.Hercul. 459, fr. 5. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.

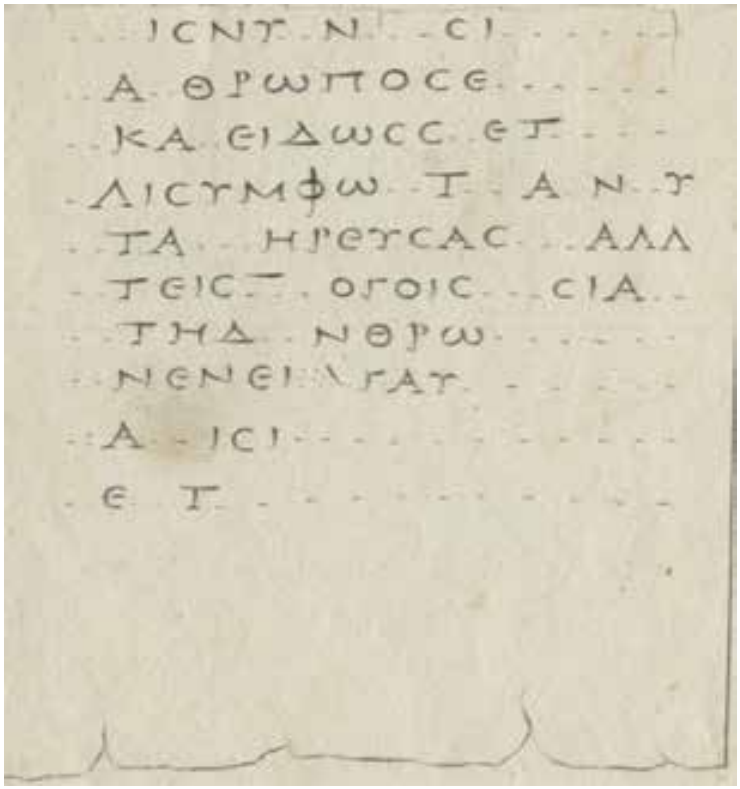


Fig. 2. P.Hercul. 458, fr. 2 N. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.



Fig. 3. P.Hercul. 458. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.

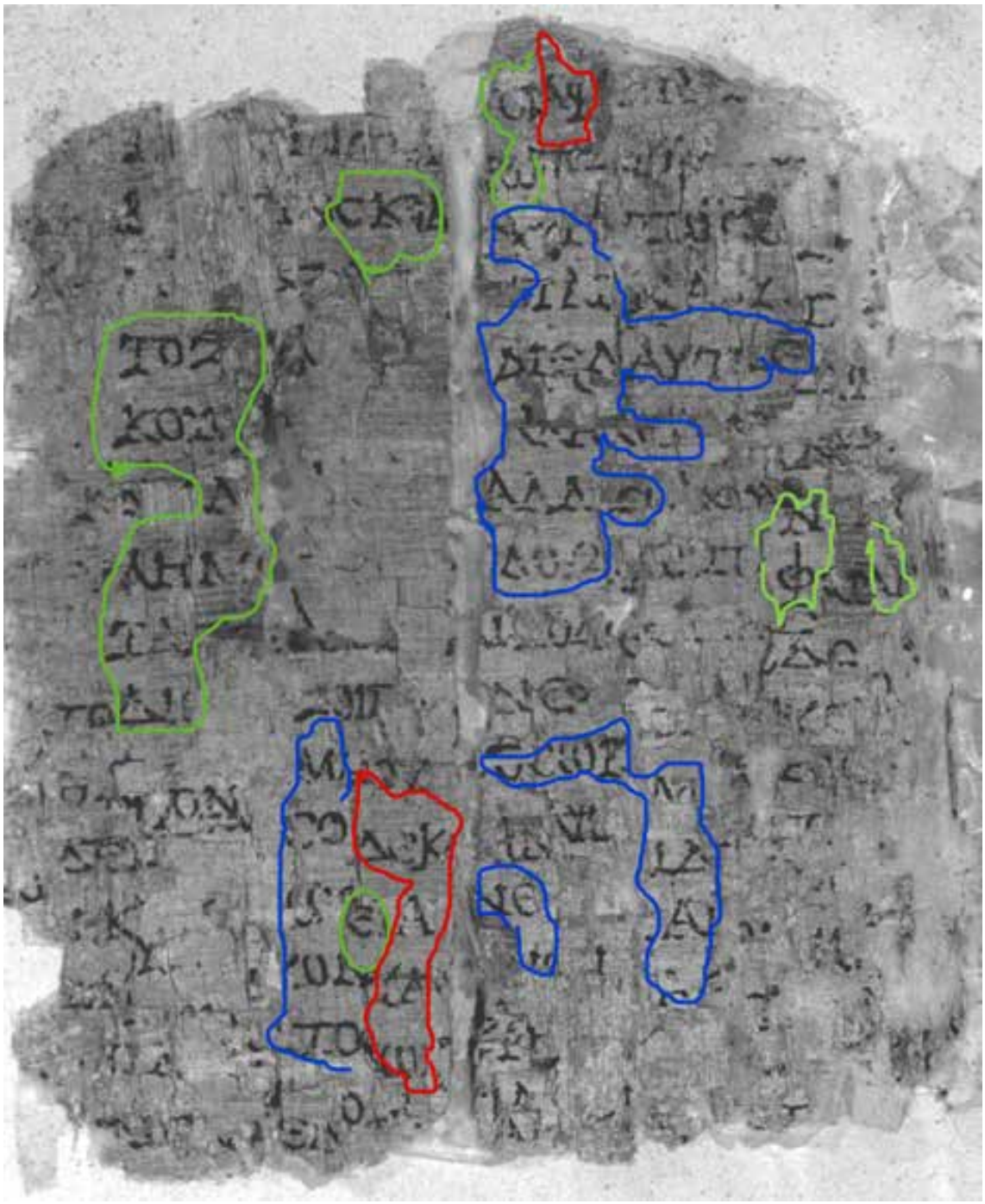


Fig. 4. P.Hercul. 459 frr. 1 e 2. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.

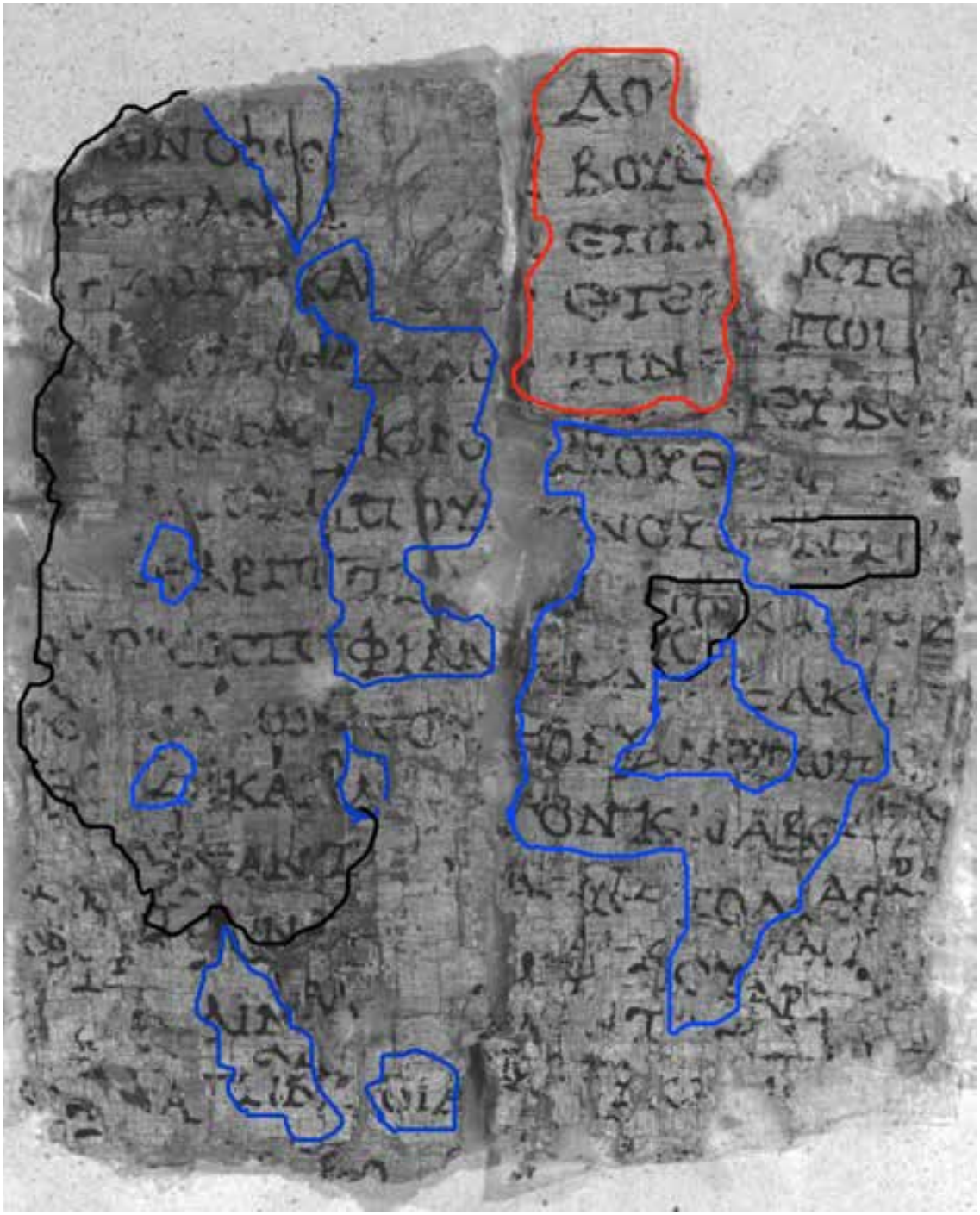


Fig. 5. P.Hercul. 459 frr. 3 e 4. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.



Fig. 6. P.Hercul. 459 frr. 5, 6 e 7. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.

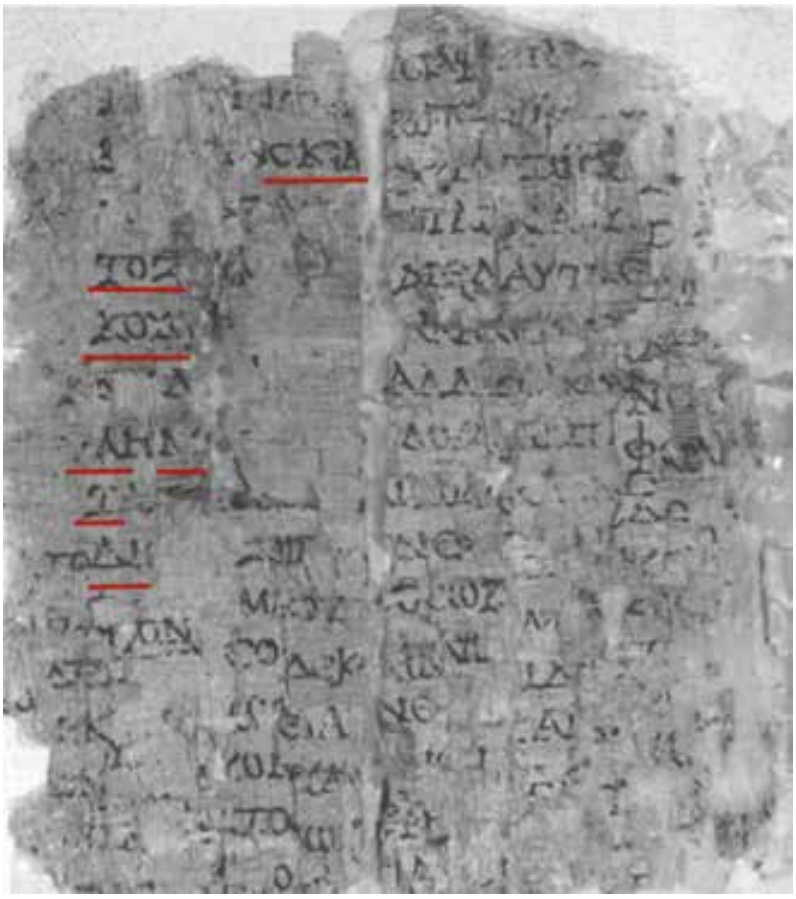


Fig. 7. P.Hercul. 459, frr. 1 e 2. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.

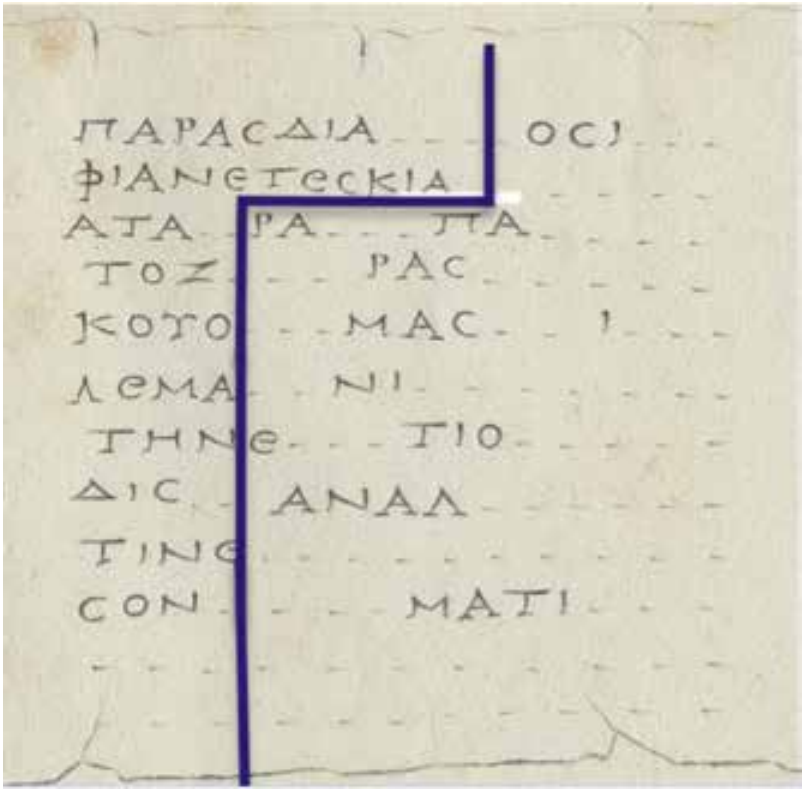


Fig. 8. P.Hercul. 458, fr. 11 N. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.

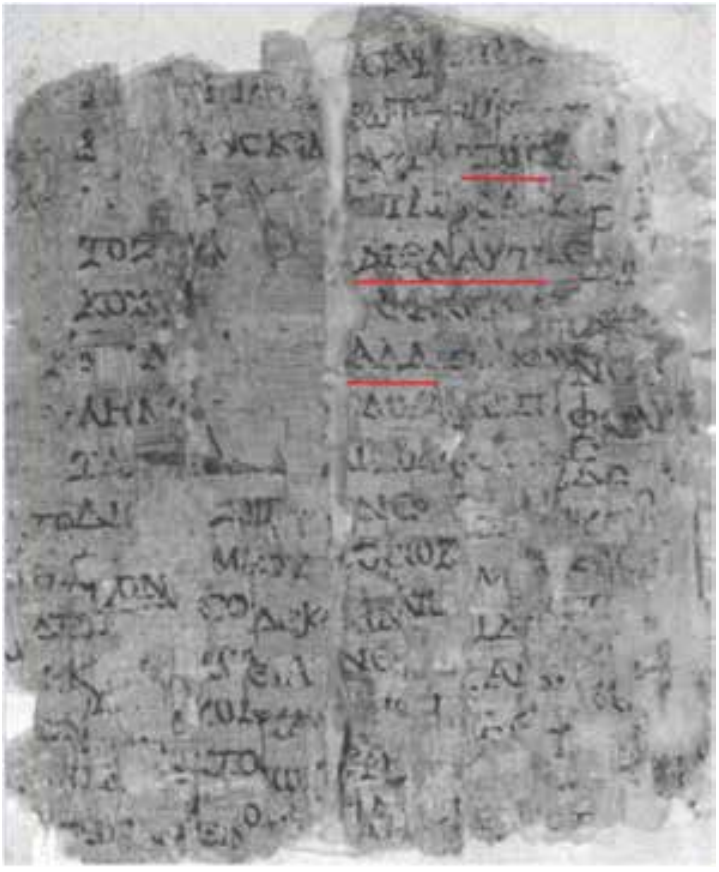


Fig. 9. P.Hercul. 459, frr. 1 e 2. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.

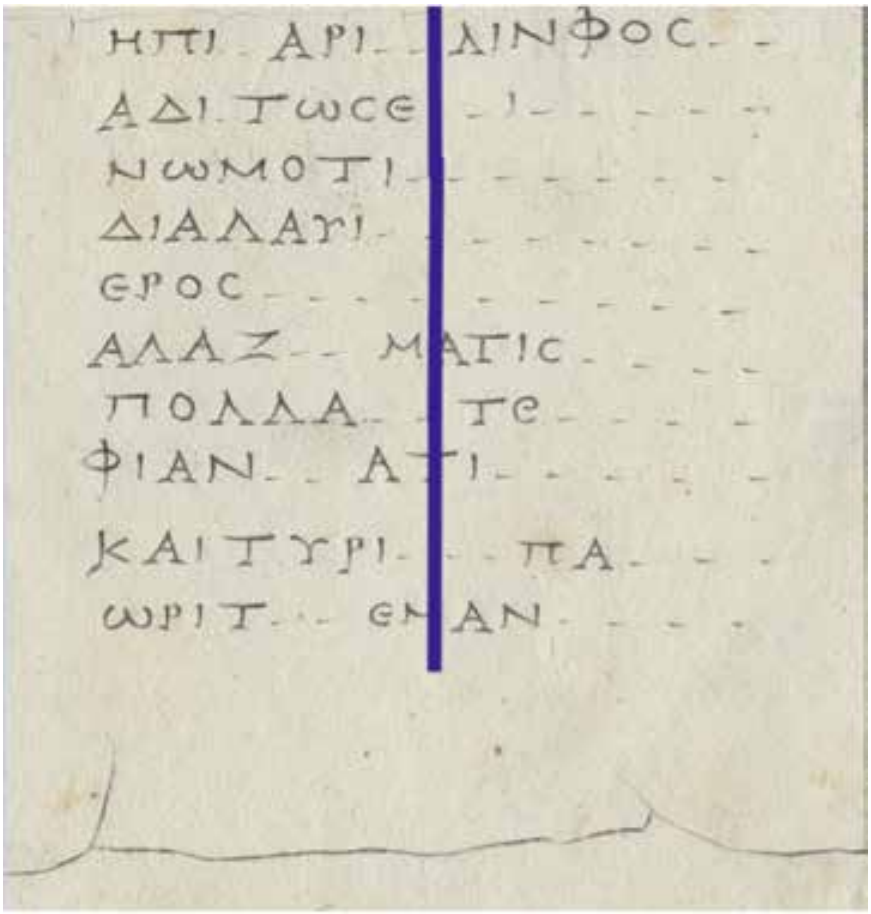


Fig. 10. P.Hercul. 458, fr. 12 N. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.



Fig. 11. P.Hercul. 459, frr. 5, 6 e 7 ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.

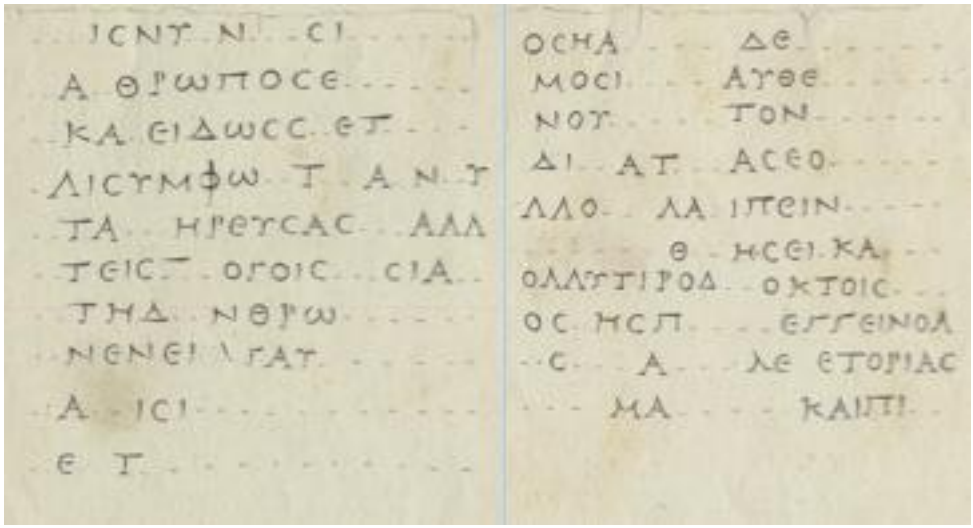


Fig. 12. P.Hercul. 458, frr. 2 e 4 N. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli – Brigham Young University, Provo.

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Studi preliminari sul P.Hercul. 1289

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Il P.Hercul. 1289 conserva il secondo libro dell'opera Περὶ Ἐπικούρου,[1] che, come è ben noto, si inserisce nella produzione storico-biografica di Filodemo dedicata al Κῆπος, di cui fanno parte anche le Πραγματεῖαι[2] e il Βίος di Filonide,[3] opere che con buona plausibilità trovano il loro antecedente nello scritto sul circolo epicureo di Lampsaco restituito dal P.Hercul. 176.[4] Il P.Hercul. 1289 appartiene al secondo nucleo di formazione della biblioteca (I secolo a.C.), come suggerisce la grafia, confrontabile con quella di P.Oxy. XXIII 2359 (Stesicoro), scelto da Cavallo come papiro-guida del cosiddetto 'stile 8', che fiorì appunto nel I sec. a.C.[5] Per le sue caratteristiche paleografiche il P.Hercul. 1289 fu inserito da Cavallo[6] nel gruppo D dei papiri ercolanesi, al quale appartengono rotoli vergati in scritture di modulo ampio e slanciato, con un chiaroscuro marcato.[7]

Il papiro è stato ampiamente studiato dalla critica moderna. Infatti, dopo la prima edizione, parziale, ad opera di Crönert,[8] del 1901, il papiro fu poi pubblicato per intero da Bassi nel 1910,[9] insieme al P.Hercul. 1232, contenente il primo libro dell'opera. Seguirono nel 1928 l'edizione di Vogliano,[10] e poi, nel 1930, gli studi di Philippson.[11] L'ultima edizione si deve ad Adele Tepedino Guerra, che nel 1994 ha ripubblicato per intero i due papiri,[12] prendendo in considerazione anche frammenti che fino ad allora non erano stati né disegnati né

[1] Il primo libro dell'opera è contenuto invece nel P.Hercul. 1232. Il numero del libro in P.Hercul. 1232 è stato di recente letto in quanto resta della *subscriptio* da Del Mastro (2008) 226, n. 50. Cf. Del Mastro (2014) 239. Già Tepedino Guerra (1994) 5-6 pensava che potesse trattarsi del primo libro dell'opera; in due studi precedenti ipotizzava invece che fosse l'ultimo, per il tono e lo stile. Cf. Tepedino Guerra (1987) 85, n. 11; (1992) 167, n. 2.

[2] L'opera, contenuta nei P.Hercul. 1418 e 310, si presenta come una raccolta di citazioni tratte dall'epistolario di Epicuro e dei membri del Κῆπος, volte a tracciare un quadro ben definito della vita del Giardino nella prima fase della sua vita. L'ultima edizione si deve a Militello (1997), la quale rintraccia nell'opera un forte intento divulgativo e propagandistico. A proposito della problematica interpretazione del titolo, conservato nel P.Hercul. 1418, cf. ora Del Mastro (2014) 273-275.

[3] Il βίος è contenuto in P.Hercul. 1044, 1746 e 1715: Del Mastro (2013) 125-129 ha riconosciuto nei P.Hercul. 1746 e 1715 la parte finale, rispettivamente superiore ed inferiore, di P.Hercul. 1044. Dalla critica più recente è attribuito a Filodemo: cf. Gallo (2002) 80-83 e Assante (2012b) 53-55. Cf. anche De Sanctis (2009) 107-118.

[4] Il P.Hercul. 176 è un rotolo anepigrafo generalmente non attribuito a Filodemo, che riporta una successione di βίοι di membri del Giardino. Cf. Angeli (1988) 27-51 e Del Mastro (2014) 390 e n. 14.

[5] Cavallo (2005) 119 riferisce allo stesso stile anche P.Oxy. 2318 (Archiloco, trimetri giambici) e P.Hercul. 994 (Filodemo, De poematis 2), midollo di un rotolo di cui fanno parte alcuni pezzi di P.Hercul. 1074, 1677, 1081, 1419 e 1676.

[6] Cavallo (1983) 32.

[7] In particolare i rotoli sono: P.Hercul. 327, 1508, 495 e 558, che contengono sezioni della Σύνταξις; il P.Hercul. 1780, che riporta le διαδοχαί dei καθηγεμόνες e degli scolarchi del Giardino e brani di almeno due διαθῆκαι e il P.Hercul. 155, Περὶ τῶν Στοικῶν.

[8] Crönert (1901) 615-616; (1906) 97.

[9] Bassi (1910) 513-529.

[10] Vogliano (1928) 57-73.

[11] Philippson (1930) 23-32.

[12] Tepedino Guerra (1994).

pubblicati. Una nuova ricognizione del P.Hercul. 1289, condotta alla luce delle ultime acquisizioni nel campo degli studi sull'anatomia dei rotoli,[13] mi ha permesso di proporre una prima ipotesi di ricostruzione del *volumen*.[14]

1. Svolgimento e stato di conservazione del rotolo

Il P.Hercul. 1289 fu svolto nel 1805[15] da Antonio Lentari ed è oggi conservato in tre cornici che contengono in totale nove pezzi, sistemati su cartoncini di colore azzurro. In nessuno dei pezzi è conservato il margine inferiore, mentre nella maggior parte è conservato quello superiore; anche nei casi in cui questo sia andato perduto, è possibile individuarne l'originaria posizione dal confronto con le altre colonne. Pertanto i pezzi conservati vanno considerati appartenenti alla parte superiore del rotolo.[16]

Il P.Hercul. 1289 risultava esposto nella stanza 3 nell'anno 1865, dunque prima di questa data i frammenti di P.Hercul. 1289 dovevano essere stati sistemati o risistemati in vista dell'esposizione.

Di seguito è riportata una descrizione del contenuto di ogni cornice di P.Hercul. 1289.

Cornice 1

- pz. 1: l 28.9 h ca 9 cm
- pz. 2: l 30.6 h ca 8 cm

I due pezzi sono contrassegnati dalla dicitura unica 'Fragm. a' (= *Fragmenta*). Il pz. 2, che si trova sul cartoncino esattamente sotto il pz. 1, è stato incollato alla rovescia, probabilmente a causa delle pessime condizioni del frammento, che rendono impossibile la lettura ad occhio nudo. Grazie alle immagini multispettrali, però, mi è stato possibile individuare il senso di scrittura, per cui il pezzo andrebbe ruotato esattamente di 180°.

Cornice 2

- pz. 1: l 26.6 h 7.4 cm
- pz. 2: l 5.3 h 8.3 cm
- pz. 3: l 3.2 h 6.3 cm
- pz. 4: l 10.1 h 8 cm
- pz. 5: l 7.5 h 8 cm

Anche su questa seconda cornice è leggibile la dicitura 'Fragm. a' (= *Fragmenta*). Tutti i pezzi tranne il pz. 2 sono stati numerati e divisi in colonne sul cartoncino con lo stesso inchiostro e dalla stessa mano che ha apposto i titoli e le altre numerazioni presenti nei cartoncini nel modo seguente:

pz. 1 = coll. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

[13] Cf. Essler (2008); Assante (2008); (2010); (2012a).
[14] Ho potuto inoltre effettuare nuove congetture e letture (cf. Barbieri 2017).
[15] Conosciamo anche la data precisa dello svolgimento: «dato per isvolgersi a' 14 Agosto 1805. Svolto a' 14 Settembre 1805: di Filodemo intorno a Epicuro» (Catalogo de' papiri ercolanesi dati per isvolgersi e restituiti, con la indicazione di quelli donati da S.M. a personaggi esteri, risalente al 1807). Cf. Blank / Longo Auricchio (2004) 139.
[16] Restano dei dubbi soltanto riguardo ai pzz. 2 e 3 della cr. 2, pezzi isolati e dalla stratigrafia molto complessa, nei quali il margine superiore non è rintracciabile con sicurezza.

pz. 2 = in corrispondenza di questo pezzo mancano indicazioni

pz. 3 = col. 6

pz. 4 = col. 7

pz. 5 = col. 8

I pzz. 2 e 3 sono incollati alla rovescia.[17]

Cornice 3

- pz. 1: l 27.6[18] h 7.7 cm

- pz. 2: l 9.9 h 8 cm

Il primo pezzo è diviso in colonne, segnalate dalla stessa scrittura che abbiamo visto nelle altre cornici:

pz. 1 = coll. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13

Dalla somma delle lunghezze dei pezzi superstiti si ricava che ad oggi rimangono 149.7 cm di papiro.

2. Ricostruzione del rotolo

Il criterio utilizzato per rintracciare le sezioni e, dunque, le volute, è consistito nell'individuazione di pieghe ricorrenti e danni solidali, grazie ai quali è stato possibile ricavare la dimensione delle volute nella maggior parte dei pezzi conservati.

Il P.Hercul. 1289 presenta, nella prima parte oggi conservata del rotolo, cioè cr. 1 pzz. 1 e 2, una voluta con due sezioni di ampiezza differente (A e B); la sez. B è costantemente più ampia della sez. A di circa 1 cm. È stato possibile individuare le due sezioni grazie a quattro pieghe del papiro che ricorrono uguali in due settori corrispondenti e grazie alle fratture verticali ricorrenti, sia nel pz. 1 che nel pz. 2 della prima cornice. Proprio la disposizione delle fratture e degli elementi ricorrenti permette di individuare e misurare l'ampiezza di voluta nei due pezzi conservati in cr. 1, e conferma la divisione della voluta in due sezioni asimmetriche.

In cr. 1 pz. 1 la sez. A misura 7 cm nella prima voluta ricostruibile e ca 6.9 cm nella successiva. La sez. B nella prima voluta misura invece ca 7.9 cm, per un'ampiezza di voluta di ca 14.9 cm (fig. 1).

Le stesse sezioni si individuano anche in cr. 1 pz. 2, dove la sez. A misura 6.6 cm e poi 6.5 cm; la prima sez. B misurabile è di 7.5 cm, la seconda sez. B misura invece 7 cm, ma è verisimile che alcuni millimetri siano andati persi (fig. 2).

Sommando la prima sez. A e la prima sez. B otteniamo un'ampiezza di voluta di 14.1 cm. Com'è noto, l'ampiezza delle volute diminuisce a mano a mano che si procede verso la fine del rotolo, dove le volute si presentano molto più strette rispetto alle parti iniziali. La differenza di misura tra una voluta e la successiva varia a seconda del papiro; nel caso del P.Hercul. 1289 è opportuno considerare un valore di decremento di 0.2 cm per voluta.[19]

[17] Che il pz. 3 fosse incollato alla rovescia era stato notato già da Tepedino Guerra (1994) 41.

[18] Un'intera sezione è caduta dopo la sistemazione nella cornice; Chartes, http://www.chartes.it/, riporta una lunghezza di 30 cm. Il testo di questa sezione è conservato dai disegni oxoniensi.

[19] Infatti, nel papiro si osserva un decremento di 0.2 cm, tranne che nelle volute finali (cr. 3 pzz. 1 e 2) dove invece si osserva un decremento di 1 mm a partire dalla vol. di 2.7 cm.

Confrontando dunque l'ampiezza delle volute possiamo affermare che la successione dei pezzi della prima cornice è pz. 1-pz. 2.

Verosimilmente tra i due pezzi è da ipotizzare la perdita di una intera voluta. Infatti, l'ultima parte di cr. 1 pz. 1 è una sezione B parziale di 5 cm: considerando che la sez. B precedente misura 7.9 cm, è possibile ipotizzare che questa sez. B parziale misurasse (in origine) ca 7.8 cm, a completare una voluta di 14.7 cm. Seguirebbero una voluta perduta di 14.5 cm (sez. A 6.8 cm + sez. B 7.7 cm), una sez. A caduta in lacuna di ca 6.7 cm e, infine, una sez. B di 7.6 cm, di cui sono superstiti 3 cm all'inizio del pz. 2 di cr. 1. In questo modo avremmo una prima voluta di 14.9 cm,[20] una seconda voluta parzialmente conservata di 14.7 cm, una terza, perduta, di 14.5 cm, una quarta parzialmente conservata di 14.3, una quinta, completa, di 14.1 cm ed una sesta voluta parzialmente conservata di 13.9 cm.

Per quanto riguarda la seconda cornice, il pz. 1 sembra presentare nuovamente una voluta divisa nelle sezioni A e B. Sembra che l'asimmetria tra le sezioni sia leggermente più accentuata: la sez. B è infatti più ampia della sez. A di ca 1.3-1.5 cm. Alcuni dei danni che si osservano corrispondono alle pieghe evidenziate nei pezzi della prima cornice. Inoltre in questo pezzo risulta particolarmente utile servirsi del criterio dei profili inferiori per individuare le sezioni[21] (fig. 3). Complessivamente tra il pz. 2 della cr. 1 e il pz. 1 della cr. 2 sarebbero andate perdute 8 volute intere[22] più 11.1 cm ca della voluta di 12.1 cm, di cui è superstite 1 cm della sez. B all'inizio del pz. 1 della cr. 2, e ca 4 mm della voluta di 13.9, di cui sono superstiti 13.5 cm nel pz. 2 della cr. 1.

Approssimativamente la parte di papiro perduta tra cr.1 pz. 2 e cr. 2 pz. 1 è di ca 115.5 cm.[23]

Nei restanti quattro pezzi di cr. 2 l'individuazione delle sezioni risulta ancora più ardua: infatti non siamo in grado di individuare sezioni e volute nei pzz. 2 e 3. Tuttavia, la voluta è rintracciabile ancora nel pz. 4 della seconda cornice (fig. 4).

Sembra probabile una divisione in sezioni leggermente asimmetriche, per cui convenzionalmente denomino 'A' le sezioni che presentano un'ampiezza minore, 'B' quelle di ampiezza maggiore.[24]

La voluta intera superstite nel pz. 4 misura solo 5.1 cm; considerando che l'ultima voluta del pz. 1 doveva misurare ben 11.5 cm, è evidente che tra i pzz. 1 e 4 è andata perduta una consistente porzione di papiro: ca 9.5 cm della voluta di 11.5 di cui sono oggi superstiti solo 2 cm (in cr. 1 pz. 1), 30 volute perdute completamente e ca 2.5 cm della voluta di 5.3 cm di cui sono oggi superstiti 2.8 cm (all'inizio di cr. 2 pz. 4).[25] Approssimativamente, la porzione

[20] Preceduta da una sez. B parziale di ca 2.1 cm, appartenente ad una voluta verosimilmente di ca 15.1 cm.

[21] Cf. Assante (2008) 118, sulla possibilità di considerare l'andamento della parte inferiore come elemento per determinare le sezioni in assenza di altri elementi.

[22] Corrispondenti a una lunghezza di 104 cm. La misura totale delle volute perdute è stata calcolata sommando di volta in volta la misura delle volute diminuite di 0.2 cm (13.7 + 13.5 + 13.3 + 13.1 + 12.9 + 12.7 + 12.5 + 12.3 = 104 cm).

[23] Parte perduta della voluta di 13.9 cm (1.4) + misura delle volute completamente perdute (104 cm) + parte perduta della voluta di 12.1 cm (11.1) = 1.4 + 104 + 11.1 = 115.5 cm. Approssimativamente, a questa parte del papiro sono da riferire ca 20 colonne.

[24] Come già sottolineato, nei pzz. 1 e 2 di cr. 1 e nel pz. 1 di cr. 2, la sez. B presenta un'ampiezza costantemente maggiore rispetto alla sez. A.

[25] Corrispondenti a una lunghezza di 252 cm. La misura totale delle volute perdute è stata calcolata sommando di volta in volta la misura delle volute diminuite di 0.2 cm (11.3 + 11.1 + 11.9 + 11.7 + 11.5 + 11.3 + 11.1 + 9.9 + 9.7 + 9.5 + 9.3 + 9.1 + 8.9 + 8.7 + 8.5 + 8.3 + 8.1 + 7.9 + 7.7 + 7.5 + 7.3 + 7.1 + 6.9 + 6.7 + 6.5 + 6.3 + 6.1 + 5.9 + 5.7 + 5.5 = 252 cm).

di papiro compresa tra l'ultima voluta di cr. 2 pz. 1 e la prima voluta di cr. 2 pz. 4 doveva misurare 264 cm.[26]

Va detto che il fatto che una così grande porzione sia andata perduta in questa parte del papiro potrebbe farci supporre che il rotolo sia stato inizialmente svolto (operazione che avrebbe dato come esito i pzz. 1 e 2 contenuti nella prima cornice e il pz. 1 della seconda cornice) e in seguito sia stato sottoposto ad una forte scorzatura, effettuata allo scopo di raggiungere il midollo, la parte più interna del rotolo.

Alla porzione di papiro compresa tra i pzz. 1 e 4 della seconda cornice appartengono forse anche i pzz. 2 e 3 della seconda cornice, i due pezzi isolati per i quali, come già detto, non è possibile suggerire alcuna indicazione ulteriore. Riguardo al pz. 5 della seconda cornice non siamo in grado di dare alcuna indicazione certa; tuttavia, è verosimile che il pezzo segua il pz. 4 di cr. 2, sebbene data l'esiguità del pezzo conservato non sia facile distinguere le sezioni.

Nei pezzi conservati nella cr. 3, appartenenti alla parte più interna del rotolo, conservatasi meglio, si individua una voluta divisa in due sezioni simmetriche o solo leggermente asimmetriche ben visibili, corrispondenti alle sezioni 'A' e 'B' individuate nel pz. 4 della seconda cornice (fig. 5, fig. 6). Le sezioni sono confermate non solo dalle fratture ricorrenti, ma anche e soprattutto dalla presenza di pieghe che si ripetono costantemente. Poiché l'ultima sezione del pz. 1 e la prima del pz. 2 sono entrambe due sez. A,[27] è verosimile che si sia verificata la perdita di una sez. B tra i due pezzi.

Questi dati di analisi materiale sono da mettere in relazione con i dati che ricaviamo dalla descrizione del papiro non ancora svolto, offertaci dall'Inventario dei papiri ercolanesi:[28] «Pezzo compresso per lungo, ed impastato, di lunghezza once 4. 3/5, di larghezza once 3». La descrizione ci consente di ricostruire la dimensione della circonferenza più esterna del rotolo: la 'larghezza', infatti, è da considerarsi equivalente, all'incirca, alla semivoluta del rotolo ancora chiuso. Dato che un'oncia equivale a ca 2.2046 cm,[29] il papiro non ancora svolto aveva un'altezza di 11.14 cm (4. 3/5 = 4. 6), misura non lontana dall'altezza di 8-9 cm dei pezzi conservati nella cr. 1, e aveva una larghezza di ca 6.61 cm (3 * 2.2046).

Conoscendo la larghezza possiamo calcolare la circonferenza che equivale alla voluta più esterna del rotolo, misura non lontana da quella della larghezza moltiplicata per due (13.22 cm).[30] Alla misura della larghezza raddoppiata va aggiunto ancora qualche cm, per dare conto della diversità della forma della circonferenza e dello spessore del rotolo avvolto.[31] Dando dunque, indicativamente, una misura di ca 16-16.1 cm per la prima voluta del rotolo, e considerato che la prima voluta intera superstite misura 14.9 cm, è possibile ipotizzare che solo una piccola parte iniziale del rotolo sia andata perduta nelle operazioni di svolgimento o ad esso preliminari. Infatti, sono andati perduti ca 13 cm della voluta di ca 15.1 cm di cui

[26] Parte perduta della voluta di 11.5 cm (9.5 cm) + misura delle volute completamente perdute (252 cm) + parte perduta della voluta di 5.3 cm (2.5 cm) = 9.5 + 252 + 2.5 = 264 cm. Approssimativamente, a questa parte del papiro sono da riferire ca 46 colonne.
[27] Entrambe di ampiezza 1.2 cm.
[28] Forse copia dell'inventario compilato da Francesco de la Vega, che succedette al Paderni nella direzione del museo di Portici nel 1781 (e risalente ai primi anni ottanta del XVIII secolo), pubblicato da Blank / Longo Auricchio (2004).
[29] Cf. Knight / Jorio (1980) 59, nn. 16, 65 e Leone (2012) 173, n. 18.
[30] Cf. Leone (2012) 174, n. 22.
[31] Ad es. partendo da una larghezza doppia di 11 cm, Leone ricostruisce una voluta di 14 cm, quindi nel nostro caso potremmo proporre una prima voluta di ca 16 cm.

sono oggi superstiti solo 2.1 cm (in cr. 1 pz. 1), e 5 volute intere.[32]Avremmo perduto, dunque, nella parte iniziale del rotolo, ca 91.5 cm.[33] Poiché conosciamo anche la misura della voluta più interna del rotolo (2 cm),[34] è possibile calcolare approssimativamente la lunghezza originaria del *volumen.*

Per la parte di rotolo misurata a partire dalla prima voluta conservata (14.9 cm) fino alla voluta di 2.7 cm (compresa) si è osservato un decremento di voluta di 0.2 cm. Pertanto è stata calcolata una lunghezza del papiro di 545.6 cm, sommando ogni volta una larghezza di voluta diminuita di 0.2 cm. Poiché a partire dalla voluta di 2.7 cm il papiro, conservato, presenta un decremento di 1 mm, si è cercato di rispettare la situazione reale del papiro applicando, da quel momento in poi, un decremento di voluta di 1 mm.

La misura del papiro calcolata dalla prima voluta interamente conservata (14.9 cm) a quella più interna parzialmente conservata (2 cm) è di 561.7 cm.[35]

Per ottenere la misura totale del papiro, è necessario aggiungere ancora 93.6 cm che corrispondono alla porzione iniziale del papiro (dalla prima voluta ricostruita di 16.1 cm alla prima conservata di 14.9 cm).[36]

La misura totale del rotolo dall'inizio all'ultima voluta parzialmente conservata dovrebbe essere dunque di ca 655.3 cm.[37] A questa misura bisogna aggiungere ancora almeno 1-2 cm, cioè la parte finale più interna andata perduta: la *subscriptio*, infatti, è mutila, e conservata, oggi, unicamente dagli apografi oxoniensi.

Sottraendo alla misura di 655.3 cm la somma dei pezzi superstiti (149.7 cm), calcoliamo che sono andati perduti, in totale, dunque, 505.6 cm, poco più di 5 metri.

Di seguito è riportata una tabella contenente le misure di tutte le volute, conservate per intero o parzialmente, e perdute.

Voluta in cm	**Semivoluta A in cm**	**Semivoluta B in cm**	**Posizione della voluta all'interno delle cornici se nota**	
16.1				Perduta
15.9				Perduta
15.7				Perduta
15.5				Perduta

[32] Corrispondenti a una lunghezza di 78.5 cm. La misura totale delle volute perdute è stata calcolata sommando di volta in volta la misura delle volute diminuite di 0.2 cm (16.1 + 15.9 + 15.7 + 15.5 + 15.3 = 78.5 cm).
[33] Parte perduta della voluta di 15.1 cm (13 cm) + misura delle volute completamente perdute (78.5 cm) = 13 + 78.5 = 91.5 cm.
[34] L'ultima voluta interamente conservata misura 2.1 cm. Della voluta di 2 cm rimangono oggi solo 1.9 cm, ma siamo sicuri del fatto che manchi almeno 1 cm perché una parte della *subscriptio* è andata perduta in questa lacuna.
[35] 14.9 + 14.7 + 14.5 + 14.3 + 14.1 + 13.9 + 13.7 + 13.5 + 13.3 + 13.1 + 12.9 + 12.7 + 12.5 + 12.3 + 12.1 + 11.9 + 11.7 + 11.5 + 11.3 + 11.1 + 11.9 + 11.7 + 11.5 + 11.3 + 11.1 + 9.9 + 9.7 + 9.5 + 9.3 + 9.1 + 8.9 + 8.7 + 8.5 + 8.3 + 8.1 + 7.9 + 7.7 + 7.5 + 7.3 + 7.1 + 6.9 + 6.7 + 6.5 + 6.3 + 6.1 + 5.9 + 5.7 + 5.5 + 5.3 + 5.1 + 4.9 + 4.7 + 4.5 + 4.3 + 4.1 + 3.9 + 3.7 + 3.5 + 3.3 + 3.1 + 2.9 + 2.7 + 2.6 + 2.5 + 2.4 + 2.3 + 2.2 + 2.1 + 2 cm = 561.7 cm.
[36] 16.1 + 15.9 + 15.7 +15.5 + 15.3 + 15.1 cm = 93.6 cm.
[37] Misura del papiro dalla prima voluta interamente conservata (14.9 cm) alla voluta più interna (2 cm) = 561.7 cm + misura del papiro dalla prima voluta ricostruita (16.1 cm) alla prima voluta interamente conservata (14.9) = 93.6 cm; 561.7 + 93.6 = 655.3 cm.

15.3				Perduta
15.1		2.1 (incompleta)	Cr. 1 Pz. 1	Incompleta
14.9	7	7.9	Cr.1 Pz. 1	Completa
14.7	6.9	5 (incompleta)	Cr. 1 Pz. 1	Incompleta
14.5				Perduta
14.3		3 (incompleta)	Cr. 1 Pz. 2	Incompleta
14.1	6.6	7.5	Cr. 1 Pz. 2	Completa
13.9	6.5	7 (incompleta)	Cr. 1 Pz. 2	Incompleta
13.7				Perduta
13.5				Perduta
13.3				Perduta
13.1				Perduta
12.9				Perduta
12.7				Perduta
12.5				Perduta
12.3				Perduta
12.1		1 (incompleta)	Cr. 2 Pz. 1	Incompleta
11.9	5.3	6.6	Cr. 2 Pz. 1	Completa
11.7	5.1	6.6	Cr. 2 Pz. 1	Completa
11.5	2 (incompleta)		Cr. 2 Pz. 1	Incompleta
11.3				Perduta
11.1				Perduta
11.9				Perduta
11.7				Perduta
11.5				Perduta
11.3				Perduta
11.1				Perduta
9.9				Perduta
9.7				Perduta
9.5				Perduta
9.3				Perduta
9.1				Perduta
8.9				Perduta
8.7				Perduta
8.5				Perduta
8.3				Perduta
8.1				Perduta

7.9				Perduta
7.7				Perduta
7.5				Perduta
7.3				Perduta
7.1				Perduta
6.9				Perduta
6.7				Perduta
6.5				Perduta
6.3				Perduta
6.1				Perduta
5.9				Perduta
5.7				Perduta
5.5				Perduta
5.3		2.8	Cr. 2 Pz. 4	Incompleta
5.1	2.5	2.6	Cr. 2 Pz. 4	Completa
4.9	2.2 (incompleta)		Cr. 2 Pz. 4	Incompleta
4.7				Perduta
4.5				Perduta
4.3				Perduta
4.1		2.1	Cr. 3 Pz. 1	Incompleta
3.9	1.9	2	Cr. 3 Pz. 1	Completa
3.7	1.8	1.9	Cr. 3 Pz. 1	Completa
3.5	1.7	1.8	Cr. 3 Pz. 1	Completa
3.3	1.6	1.7	Cr. 3 Pz. 1	Completa
3.1	1.5	1.6	Cr. 3 Pz. 1	Completa
2.9	1.4	1.5	Cr. 3 Pz. 1	Completa
2.7	1.3		Cr. 3 Pz. 1	Incompleta
2.6	1.3	1.3	Cr. 3 Pz. 1	Completa
2.5	1.2		Cr. 3 Pz. 1	Incompleta
2.4	1.2	1.2	Cr. 3 Pz. 2	Completa
2.3	1.1	1.2	Cr. 3 Pz. 2	Completa
2.2	1.1	1.1	Cr. 3 Pz. 2	Completa
2.1	1	1.1	Cr. 3 Pz. 2	Completa
2	1.9 (incompleta)		Cr. 3 Pz. 2	Incompleta

Papiro superstite in cm	Papiro ricostruito per intero (dalla prima voluta ricostruita all'ultima parzialmente conservata) in cm	Porzione di papiro perduta complessivamente in cm
149.7	655.3	505.6

Naturalmente la ricostruzione qui proposta va intesa come una ricostruzione approssimata, offerta per prospettare una ipotesi verosimile dell'originale collocazione delle colonne superstiti all'interno del volume. Questo studio preliminare di ricostruzione è stato, tuttavia, indispensabile per la corretta ricollocazione dei sovrapposti e dei sottoposti, un passaggio imprescindibile per progredire nella ricostruzione del testo conservato e nella sua comprensione. All'interno del nostro P.Hercul. 1289, infatti, il recupero di nuove porzioni di testo permette, in alcuni casi, di restituire significato a frammenti di difficile interpretazione, oppure consente di gettare luce su passi fondamentali per la comprensione delle relazioni tra i φίλοι e il maestro Epicuro.[38]

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[38] Cf. Barbieri (2017).

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Tavole

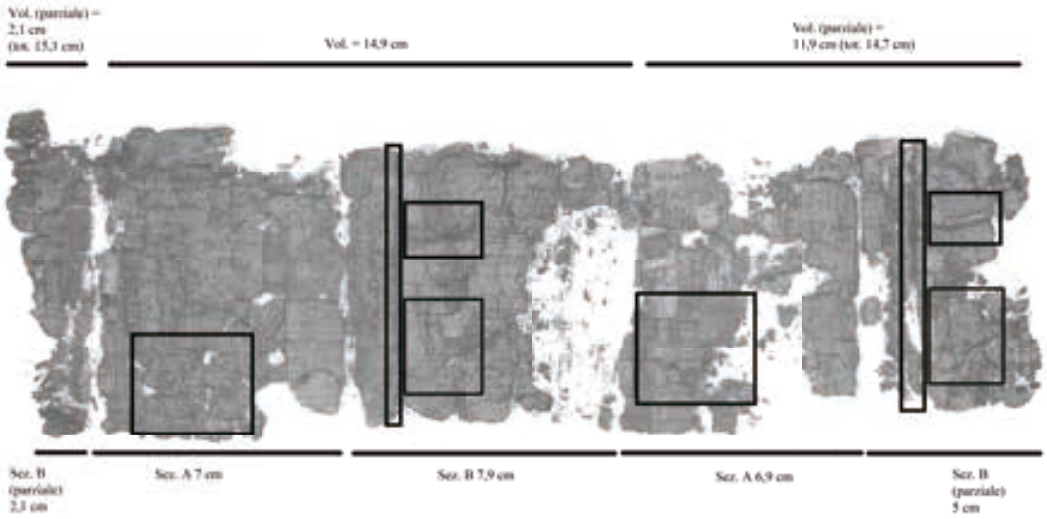


Fig. 1[39]

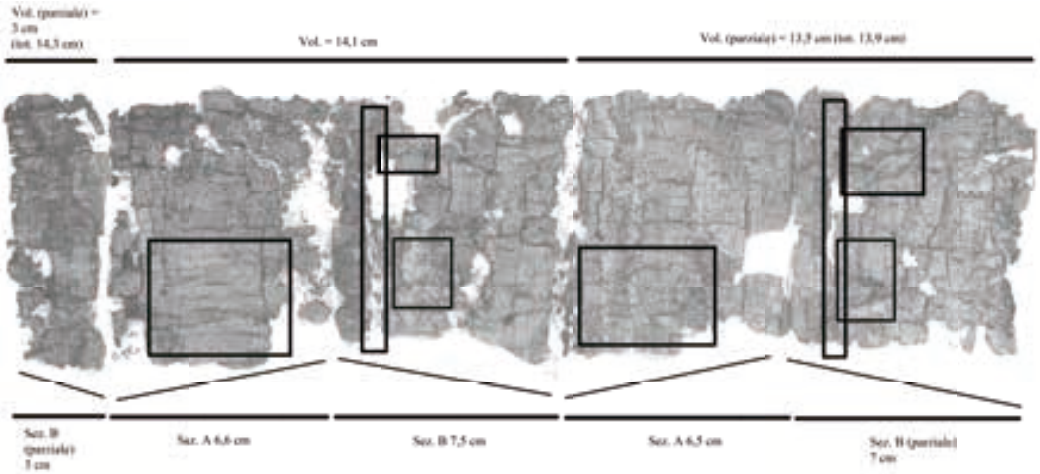


Fig. 2

[39] Le immagini multispettrali del P.Hercul. 1289 (Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli Vittorio Emanuele III) sono riprodotte su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività culturali e del Turismo. Foto di S.W. Booras © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli–Brigham Young University (Provo, Utah, USA). Tutti i diritti riservati. Ne è vietata la riproduzione e la duplicazione con qualsiasi mezzo.

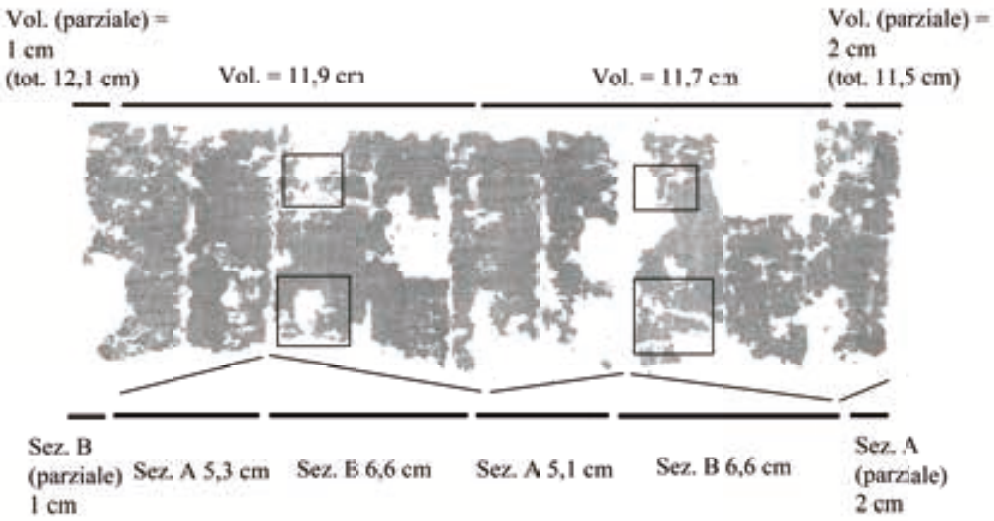

Vol. (parziale) = 1 cm (tot. 12,1 cm)
Vol. = 11,9 cm
Vol. = 11,7 cm
Vol. (parziale) = 2 cm (tot. 11,5 cm)
Sez. B (parziale) 1 cm
Sez. A 5,3 cm
Sez. B 6,6 cm
Sez. A 5,1 cm
Sez. B 6,6 cm
Sez. A (parziale) 2 cm

Fig. 3

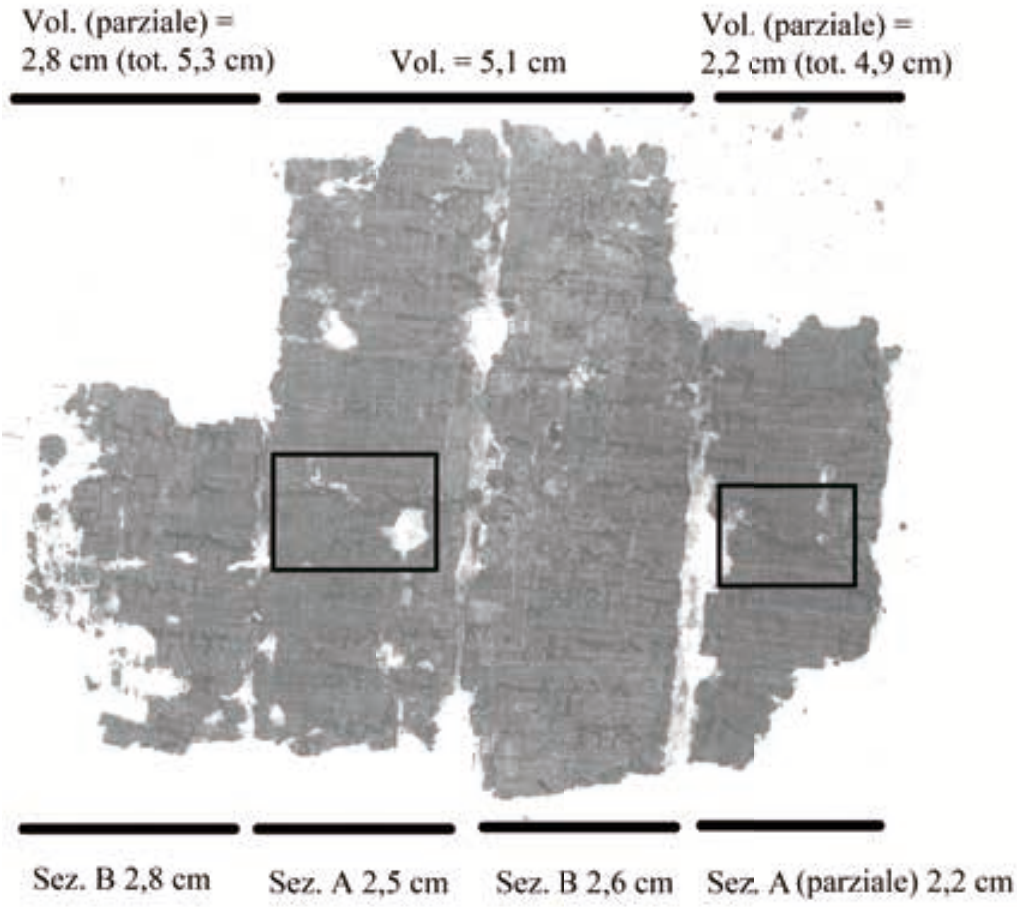

Vol. (parziale) = 2,8 cm (tot. 5,3 cm)
Vol. = 5,1 cm
Vol. (parziale) = 2,2 cm (tot. 4,9 cm)
Sez. B 2,8 cm
Sez. A 2,5 cm
Sez. B 2,6 cm
Sez. A (parziale) 2,2 cm

Fig. 4

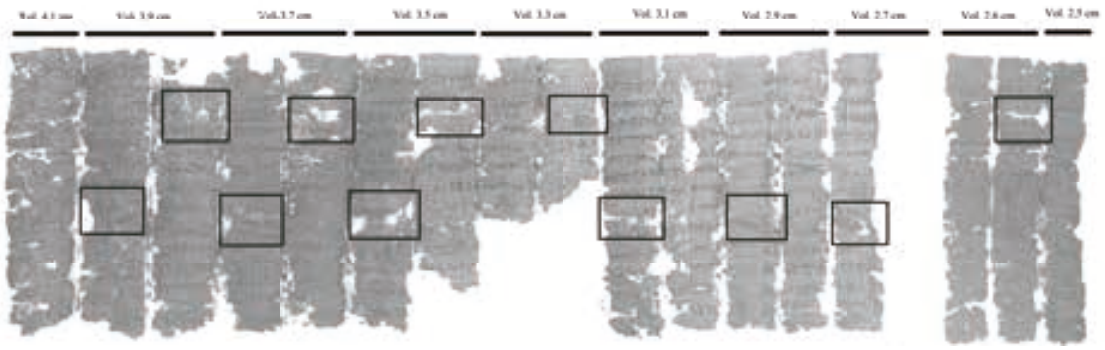


Fig. 5

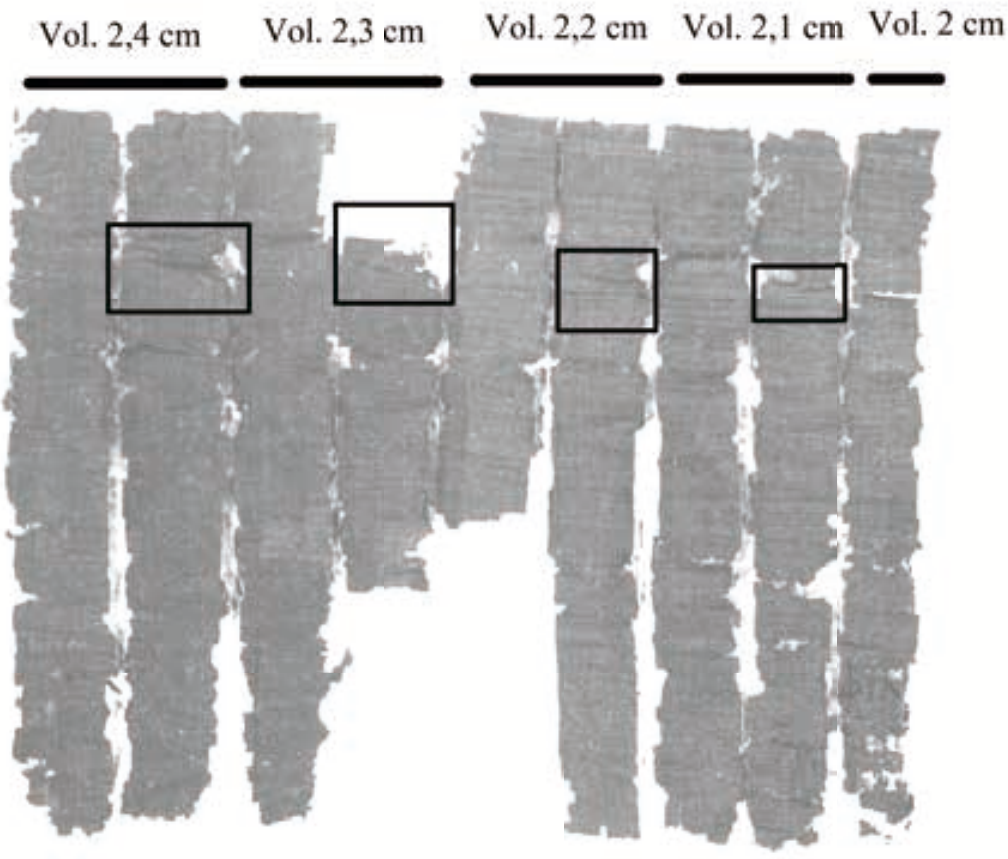


Fig. 6

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P.Hercul. 1067 Reconsidered: Latest Results and Prospective Researches*

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P.Hercul. 1067 is one of the most studied Latin papyri in the Herculaneum collection. A remarkable amount of scholarly inquiry has been devoted to its palaeographical peculiarities (cf. infra). Moreover, in an article published in 1984[1] Felice Costabile attempted at an overall interpretation of the text and, without producing a proper edition of the papyrus, understood the text as an *oratio in Senatu habita ante principem*, mostly relying on the textual evidence provided by the Neapolitans 'disegni'. A new comprehensive study of the papyrus argues against this interpretation and allows to construe the text as a literary work of historical nature, most probably composed by Seneca the Elder.

This paper presents some of the results obtained from the thorough re-assessment of P.Hercul. 1067, and will focus on three main aspects:[2]

1. The bibliological features of the roll as they were gathered from its virtual reconstruction.

2. The 'mise en page' of the text and the palaeographical features of the script.

3. An evaluation of the work contained in the papyrus in the light of significant new textual evidence.

1. The roll

P.Hercul. 1067 consists of 16 'pezzi' (henceforth 'pz.')[3] framed in 10 'cornici' (henceforth 'cr.'), which are numbered from 1 to 9.[4] A first portion of the papyrus was unrolled with the Piaggio machine in 1809 by Gennaro Casanova; Vincenzo Orsini completed the work in 1820. Francesco Celentano made ten out of the fourteen 'disegni' in 1820 (henceforth *N*); Raffaele Biondi made the remaining four in 1856 (henceforth N^2).

The old catalogues stored at the Officina dei Papiri in Naples[5] provide pieces of evidence that are mostly consistent with what can be deduced from the current arrangement of the 'pezzi' in their 'cornici'. Five of the ten 'cornici' (crr. 1-5) contain 6 'pezzi' of papyrus glued on blue 'cartoncino': they are the more legible ones and have been selected in order to be hung up

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[1] Costabile (1984).

[2] Piano (2017a) contains an exhaustive analysis of the papyrus in papyrological, bibliological and palaeographical terms, as well as the *editio princeps* of the text; the textual fragments of the papyrus are quoted according to the classification adopted in the ed. pr. as illustrated in Piano (2017a) 188-189.

[3] The relevant entry of the Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi, edited by Marcello Gigante in 1979, describes the papyrus as constituted by 15 'pezzi': Gigante (1979) 254. Despite the first impression, cr. 1 contains two pieces and not just one; cf. Piano (2017a) 168.

[4] Cr. 6 pz. I was kept in the same 'cornice' of cr. 6 pz. II until 2004, when it was mounted on a wooden support and framed in a new 'cornice'; the numbering of the 'cornici', however, has not been changed in order to avoid confusion in the classification of the pieces; see Travaglione / Del Mastro (2005).

[5] A detailed presentation of the information supplied by old catalogues is given in Piano (2017a) 165-170.

and displayed on the wall of the third room of the Officina in 1853.[6] By contrast, the remaining 5 'cornici' (crr. 6-9) contain 9 'pezzi' in total: they are all in very poor condition and glued on old white paper.[7]

On the basis of their shape and size, the 16 'pezzi' of P.Hercul. 1067 can be divided into two groups.

a. The first one consists of pieces the height of which is between 16 and 19.5 cm (cr. 1, pzz. I and II; cr. 2 pz. I; cr. 3 pz. I; cr. 4 pz. I; cr. 6 pzz. I and II; cr. 7 pz. I; cr. 8 pz. I; cr. 9 pzz. I and II).
b. The second group includes pieces that are 6-8 cm high (cr. 5 pzz. I and II; cr. 7 pz. II; cr. 8 pz. II; cr. 9 pz. III).

The measurement of the circumferences shows that the higher fragments (group 1) come from the outer portion of the roll, while the others (group 2) from an inner portion. Moreover, some of the 'pezzi' of group 2 have circumferences of the same length, which means that they constitute the upper or the bottom half of the same sections of papyrus, as the preservation of the bottom margin in a fragment (cr. 7 pz. II) also confirms. More precisely, cr. 7 pz. II represents the bottom half of cr. 5 pz I, and cr. 8 pz. II has to be placed below cr. 5 pz II.

These morphological features suggests that, after unrolling most of the roll (more than 11 m), the 'midollo' of P.Hercul. 1067 had broken into two smaller portions, which have been entirely unrolled after the crack. The upper part is better preserved than the bottom one. Indeed, only the upper part is extant in the final portion of the roll and, fortunately, it contains traces of the *subscriptio* (cr. 9 pz. III).

As it usually happens with Herculaneum papyri, the 'cornici' have been misnumbered: the order in which fragments have to be put into sequence does not correspond to the sequence in which the 'cornici' have been numbered.

The size of each circumference, which is what led me to establish the original order of the fragments, has been gained through the study of different kinds of material features and damages. Pieces that were part of the roll's outer portion show a fold at about half of their height, having the shape of a small triangle (about 2.5 cm high), with the basis parallel to the upper edge (fig. 1, blue triangle). The oblique legs of this small triangular fold are part of another triangular fold, much wider than the first and oriented upside down (fig. 1, red triangle). The two vertices at the basis of the second (and bigger) triangle coincide with the vertex of the smaller triangle that is oriented towards the bottom edge of the papyrus. In these fragments (= group 1), the distance between the two vertices at the basis of a big triangular fold determines the size of the circumference (fig. 1).

Judging from the morphology of the pieces in group 1, moreover, the small triangular fold must have constituted a very fragile area of the papyrus: the outer pieces show several material damages in coincidence with the vertices of the small triangle and the virtual reconstruction of the roll encourages to assume that the fold coincides with the point in which the 'midollo' broke into two smaller portions during the second phase of unrolling.

[6] On the different kinds of 'cartoncino' and on the information that can be drawn from this support, see Essler (2006); (2010).

[7] Among these 9 pieces (cr. 6 pzz. I and II; cr. 7 pzz. I and II; cr. 8 pzz. I and II; cr. 9 pzz. I-III) only cr. 6 pz. I is glued on a newer sheet of paper: indeed, it was placed on a paper support only in 2004, on the occasion of the most recent operation of re-arrangement of fragments without wooden support, on which cf. supra n. 4.

The anatomy of the roll and its virtual reconstruction led me to establish the following sequence of 'pezzi':

Cr., Pz.	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Circumferences
6, I	42 x 19.5	2 extant circumferences: 19.6-19.4 cm
8, I	37.5 x 15.7	2 extant circumferences: 18.2-18 cm
7, I	~ 49 [40.6 + 8 ca.][8] x 16	1 extant circumference in the part visible: 16.3 cm
1, I	24 x 17.5	1 extant circumference: 15 cm
9, I + 1, II	Cr. 9 pz. I: 10 x 17.5 Cr. 1 pz. II: 17.7 x 17.5	2 reconstructed circumferences; estimated length: ~ [14.7-14.5] cm
9, II	13 x 17	1 reconstructed circumference; estimated length: ~ [14.3] cm
6, II	38.3 x 17.5	3 extant circumferences: 12.7-12.5 cm
2, I	32.5 x 17.7	1 extant and 1 reconstructed circumferences; estimated length: 11.9 cm-[11.8] cm
3, I	40.5 x 17	1 reconstructed and 2 extant circumferences; estimated length: [10.7]-10.1 cm
4, I	40 x 16.6	3 extant and 1 reconstructed circumferences; estimated length: 8.8-[8.3] cm
5, I + 7, II	Cr. 5 pz. I: 38.8 x 8.5 Cr. 7 pz. II: 37.5 x 7.7	5 extant circumferences: 6.3-5.8 cm 5 extant circumferences: 6.5-5.9 cm
5, II + 8, II	Cr. 5 pz. II: 31.5 x 8 Cr. 8 pz. II: 37.5 x 7	5 extant circumferences: 5.3-4.9 cm 8 extant circumferences: 5-4.1 cm
9, III	27.5 x 8	8 circumferences, estimated length: 3.9-[2.4 ?] ca. cm

The outermost extant circumference of P.Hercul. 1067 is about 19.6 cm (cr. 6 pz. I), while the innermost one, which represents the very end of the roll, or a part that was very close to its end, is about 2.6/2.4 cm.

The average decline in circumference is about 1.7 mm. In light of that, the papyrus' extant fragments enable to reconstruct a roll of about 13 m in length. Given the maximum diameter of the unopened roll, which was about 3 'once' (= 6.6 cm ca.),[9] one may estimate the original length of the roll to be about 14.5 m at most, giving a total loss of 150 cm ca. from the beginning. However, since the measurement of the maximum diameter is to be referred to a scroll that was «compresso in varie guise» and no longer cylindrical in shape, the original total extension of the *volumen* was most probably shorter than 14.5 m, a figure which represents the ideal length of a roll with a diameter of 6.6 cm and perfectly cylindrical in shape.[10]

[8] A portion of the piece is folded back upon itself (ca. 8 cm, right half of the 'pezzo'); the lower and the upper part together must cover a surface of about 16 cm that is not legible nor covered in the multispectral image.

[9] The measurement is recorded in Blank / Longo Auricchio (2004) 85, the oldest catalogue of the Herculaneum papyri, dating back to the first months of 1782. It contains the physical description of the unopened rolls from P.Hercul. 312 up to P.Hercul. 1695.

[10] On the relation between the maximum diameter of a given papyrus, registered by the 1782 catalogue, and the length of its first circumference, see Assante (2010). It is worth noticing that the bibliological parameters that

The roll was lacking its upper part already at the end of the 18th century, which is when the oldest catalogue of the Herculaneum papyri dates back to. The original height of the entire *volumen* is thus unknown, but, if one takes into account (a) the sizes recorded in the 1782 catalogue, (b) the extension of the preserved portion of the bottom margin, (c) the height of the letters and of the interlinear space, one may estimate that the roll was at least 28-30 cm high. The minimum extension of the margins is supposed to be of 3 and 4 cm for the upper and the bottom one, respectively.

2. 'Mise en page' and palaeography

According to this reconstruction, the estimated height of the original column was about [22-23] cm, for [28-30] lines. Given the complex stratigraphy of the papyrus, which is almost entirely composed by multi-layered pieces, the beginning and the end of the same column cannot be detected in any of the preserved pieces. Nevertheless, the width of a column can be calculated on the basis of virtual reconstruction: thanks to a careful evaluation of the layers that constitute some 'pezzi' of the papyrus, it is possible to estimate that a column is about [16-20] cm wide. The scribe justifies only the left margin and he does not split words on two consecutive lines: thus, the *intercolumnium* varies from 1.5 to 3.5 cm. *Apices* and *interpuncta* are fairly regular.[11]

The scribe resorts to a number of graphic strategies in order to mark different textual sections. In cr. 2 pz. I, traces of a *paragraphos* can be spotted in the initial portion of a column.[12] Furthermore, a line written in *ekthesis* occurs in cr. 3 pz. I, close to the left edge of the 'pezzo', where the word *dixit* is shifted two letters to the left.[13] Most importantly, in one case signs that cannot be associated to a reliable sequence of letters are visible in the *intercolumnium* preserved in a layer of papyrus that also contains the beginning of a new column (5 pz. I, second *intercolumnium*, roughly at l. 9): the shape of each sign is similar to the letter *M*, but they are narrower and without 'empattements' at the end of the strokes (fig. 2). Since neither *]MAM* nor *]MVM* is possible, the signs might be understood as decorative elements aimed at marking a new textual section.[14]

Finally, cr. 2 contains an annotation written in the *intercoluminum*, which can be spotted at the centre of the piece, exactly 12 cm to the right from the left edge and 9 cm down from the upper edge.[15] This is supposed to be the first marginal annotation ever attested in a Latin papyrus. It was probably written by the same hand as the rest of the text, just after the end of the line, in significantly smaller letters and with a more rapid *ductus*. An *interpunctum* marks the separation from the main text, which seems to end with a verbal form ending with *]u̱p̱ṛat*, that must be associated with a simple or compounded form of the verb *stupro*. The annotation is not easy to read. Despite what appears from the multispectral image, which is not very reliable in this case, the original indicates *] · mu̱li̱e̱[r-* or *]a̱ · mu̱li̱e̱[r-* as most plausible readings.

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emerge from the present reconstruction of P.Hercul. 1067 are fully in line with those provided by Capasso (2007).

[11] *Pace* Townend (1969) 31.

[12] Cr. 2 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 5, col. II 5-6 (MSI [Multispectral Images] n° 1067-CR02-10953); cf. Piano (2017a) 185 and 209.

[13] Cr. 3 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 1 (MSI n° 1067-CR03-10960); cf. Piano (2017a) 185 and 213.

[14] MSI n° 1067-CR05-2-10977. For a more detailed description of these decorative elements, cf. Piano (2017a) 185-186; a possible parallel can be found in a much later item, the famous papyrus codex P.Monts.Roca I 1 p. 23 (IV^2), where similar decorative elements are employed in order to mark the passage from the first to the second Catilinaria; cf. Ammirati (2015) 57-60.

[15] Cr. 2 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 4 (MSI n° 1067-CR02-10954); cf. Piano (2017a) 186 and 206-209.

The script of P.Hercul. 1067 represents one of the finest examples of Capital Roman Script in existence.[16] The scribe's experienced hand shows a slightly more rapid *ductus* than the one of P.Hercul. 1475, resulting into a less rigid script endowed with a more delicate shading. *A* is the most typical letter: it is made in three stokes and not in two, as palaeographic descriptions usually assert, with the middle bar transformed in a small sloping dash attached to the basis of the second stroke. This is often attested in coeval ancient cursive and in papyri dating in the 1st century CE, though some of its occurrences also feature in the first half of the 2nd century.[17] In many cases –including the *subscriptio*– the *A*'s third stroke is very helpful in distinguishing that letter from *M*, which, otherwise, would look like a double *A*.

The script of P.Hercul. 1067 is similar to the one of P.Hercul. 1066. However, they were written by different hands,[18] as the shape of letters like *A* and *B* clearly shows. In P.Hercul. 1066 *A* seems in two and not three strokes, and *B* is narrower and taller than in P.Hercul. 1067. Moreover, in P.Hercul. 1066 the upper loop of the *B* is very small and completely closed,[19] while in P.Hercul. 1067 it is always open and never touches the vertical stroke.

3. New readings and *subscriptio*

The poor condition of P.Hercul. 1067 makes it very difficult to read most of the text preserved on the extant 16 'pezzi'. In some cases, what can be read confirms the readings previously advanced by Bassi and Costabile: for instance, the two occurrences of the word *Senatus* the scholars detected[20] are indeed legible on the papyrus,[21] which probably contains, in the same portion of the text, another occurrence of a term coming from the same root.[22] Similarly, the autopsy supports the presence of *ci]vica* in cr. 4 (~ fr. 9 *N*, l. 2), on a layer of papyrus containing another term connected with the same word (*civi[*, ~ fr. 9 *N*, l. 9), and the mention of a not better specified *vir prudens* (~ fr. 9 *N*, l. 7).[23]

By contrast, the original does not provide any evidence in support of those readings Costabile especially relied on to argue that the text was an oration actually delivered before the Senate. As the multispectral images also show (fig. 3), the phrases *s]oci e[t] ami[c]i p[opuli Romani* (cr. 3 pz. I fr. 4 *N*, ll. 20-22) and *nos creamus* (cr. 2 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 2 ~ fr. 1 *N*, l. 12) cannot be confirmed. The former phrase contrasts with the palaeographic evidence, which

[16] Nicolaj (1973) 11-16; Cavallo (1984) 28-29 and Cavallo (2015) 12; Costabile (1984) 591-593 (with previous bibliography); Radiciotti (1998) 357; Ammirati (2010) 32; Capasso (2011) 61-62; Fioretti (2014) spec. 42 and n. 48.

[17] Among the many examples, see e.g. P.Iand. V 90*recto* (= Cic. Ver. 2.2-3; 1st century CE) and *verso* (= Ch.L.A. XI 492; 1st century CE); P.Berol. inv. 8507*r* (*post* 41-54 CE); P.Mich. VII 456 + P.Yale inv. 1158*r* («pieno I secolo», Ammirati [2015] 28); PSI 1183*r* fr. b (mid. 1st century CE); P.Masada 727 fr. b (*ante* 73-74 BCE); P.Gen. inv. Lat. 1*r* , part I = Ch.L.A. I 7 a (81 or 83 BCE) and inv. n. Lat. 4 = Ch.L.A. I 9 (end of 1st century CE); P.Mich. III 167 + P.Mich. VII p. 1 n° 167 (103 CE); P.Mich. VII 433 (110 CE). It is worth noting that Mallon (1952) 178 (Planche XIII 2) considers the presence of the third stroke in P.Mich. VII 433 as 'tardive'.

[18] *Pace* Ammirati (2010) 32. Del Mastro (2005) 191 and n. 80 highlights the similarity of the two scripts, but excludes that fragments of P.Hercul. 1066 and 1067 were part of the same original roll on the basis of the length of the circumferences.

[19] Cf., e.g., MSI n° 1066-CR04-05436.

[20] Bassi (1926) 210-211; Costabile (1984) 594.

[21] Cr. 2 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 6, l. 9 (~ fr. 2 *N*, l. 13): *] ṣena[t-*; cr. 3 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 3, l. 8 (~ fr. 2 *N*, l. 8): *Seṇątu[*; Piano (2017a) 210 and 216-217.

[22] Cr. 2 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 6, l. 10 (~ fr. 2 *N*, l. 14): *] seṇą[* or *] seṇę[*; Piano (2017a) 210-211.

[23] Cr. 4 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 2 (MSI n° 1067-CR04-10970); Piano (2017a) 225-226. Costabile identifies the *vir prudens* with M. Antistius Labeo whose name was read by Costabile in cr. 3 (Costabile [1984] 594-595); unfortunately, the original does not confirm the mention of Labeo: the letters belong to different papyrus' layers; cf. Piano (2017) 213-214.

induces to read *] ḥóc · p[ ] ẹ̣l[*, while in the latter case, only the letters *]e̯ ˙ ra ˙ [* can be read.[24] The same can be said for another significant phrase, *nos viros esse* (cr. 4, strato 1, app. cr. l. 7 ~ fr. 8 *N*, l. 7), which, like the others, can be read only on the Neapolitans 'disegni'.[25] The 'disegni', however, are not reliable for P.Hercul. 1067, because of the many 'sovrapposti' that Celentano or Biondi did not correctly single out.

While some of the key phrases on which Costabile's interpretation relies on cannot be accepted, the fact remains that the work's distinctive trait is its strong political character. In particular, the prosopography that emerges from the papyrus provides the most useful hints to reconstruct the text's historical framework and to advance proposals for the nature of the work.

As Gianluca Del Mastro rightly pointed out in 2005, cr. 6 pz. II contains the mention of a Caesar (*Caés[a]re*).[26] When inspecting the original, I gathered other pieces of evidence that can help clarifying the context of such a mention. First, the indubitable presence of the word *] bell[* in the line after the one containing *Caés[a]re*, makes it plausible to think that the author is dealing with a warlike episode in which one of the 'Caesars' was involved. Moreover, in the circumference that follows the one containing *Caés[a]re* and *] bell[* one can clearly read the word *]o · Gall[*, which is written on a different papyrus layer but at the same height of *] bell[*. A careful evaluation of the papyrus' layers suggests that the two layers containing *Caés[a]re* and *] bell[*, and *]o · Gall[* have to be joined, so that *Caés[a]re* (l. 4) and *] bellọ · Gall[ico [* (l. 5) are to be placed in two consecutive lines[27] (fig. 4). In the light of that, it is plausible to suppose a reference to Julius Caesar and to his war in Gallia.

A new occurrence of the name Augustus, in addition to the one already recognised by Bassi (cf. infra), is probably contained in cr. 2 where, close to the left edge of the 'pezzo', one can read *A]u̯[g]usto* (cr. 2 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 2, l. 2, ~ fr. 1 *N*, l. 9). Finally, the last mention of a member of the *gens Iulia* occurs in cr. 5 pz. II, where the papyrus shows the name of Tiberius in the nominative case (*Ṭiberius*, fig. 5).[28] This mention is particularly relevant for reasons concerning the dating of P.Hercul. 1067, and it occurs some columns after the vocative *Auguste*.

The direct address to the Emperor (cr. 5 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 1, col. I 3: *Auguste*) is clearly legible on one of the best preserved papyrus' layers, featured also by prominent political vocabulary, phrases in the first person singular and plural (cr. 5 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 1, col. I 2-4, 7: *] nostr[*, *]ḍaṃ*, *ṛepetam*, *]nquar*) and the word *[a]ḍoptioṇ[* (cr. 5 pz. I, 'sovrapposto' 1, col. II 6). These elements, partially noticed also by Costabile, led the scholar to understand the text as an *oratio* delivered before the Senate, after that the *princeps* –i.e. Octavianus– assumed the name of *Augustus* (*post* 27 BC).[29] However, the newly established text and the analysis of the *subscriptio* are in contrast with this hypothesis.

The first line of the title provides crucial evidence in this respect.[30] It was Gianluca Del Mastro who first brought the recognition of the *subscriptio* in the last piece of P.Hercul. 1067 to scholarly attention. Noticing a precise correspondence between the letters legible in the

[24] Piano (2017a) 218-219 and 204-205.
[25] Piano (2017a) 224-225. On all the points discussed above, cf. Costabile (1984) 594-595.
[26] Del Mastro (2005) 191.
[27] For further details see Piano (2017a) 198-202.
[28] Cr. 5 pz. II, 'sovrapposto' 1, l. 8 (MSI n° 1067-CR05-10982); Piano (2017a) 235-237. Despite the damaged condition of the written surface, the reading is certain.
[29] Costabile (1984) 594-595. The vocative *Auguste* was read for the first time by D. Bassi (cf. Bassi [1926] 211); on all the new readings and for overall interpretation of the fragment see Piano (2017a) 229-233.
[30] On the first line of the title see Piano (2016).

first line of the title of P.Hercul. 1067 and the ones read and ascribed by Costabile to P.Hercul. 1475, Del Mastro rightly suggested that when Costabile studied the two papyri, their two last 'cornici' got mixed up.[31] The autopsy supports this hypothesis: the *subscriptio* Costabile described in his analysis of P.Hercul. 1475 is actually written on P.Hercul. 1067, but the letters constituting the first line are different from the ones the scholar recognised. Indeed, it was not Manlius Torquatus that composed the work contained in P.Hercul. 1067, as usually stated (i.e. *L. Mạ[nli Torqua]ṭ[i*), but a member of the Annean family, whose *praenomen* was Lucius.

As Robert Marichal had already partially understood in his unpublished researches on Latin papyri from Herculaneum,[32] the *nomen* of the author preserved in cr. 9 pz. III starts with *ANNAE[* and not with *MA[*, as previously read. The first triangular letter, having the third descending stroke attached to the basis of the second one, is definitely *A*; the same can be said of the fifth letter of the line. Moreover, after the first *A*, two *N* are clearly legible, despite the little 'sovrapposto' placed on the upper part of the first *N*, and the papyrus crack occurring in correspondence with the third stroke of the second *N*. Finally, after the second *A*, it is possible to see traces of ink belonging to a vertical stroke, slightly sloping to the left, and to a horizontal one, placed on the notional base-line: they are certainly part of *E* (fig. 6a).

Yet, the traces that provide decisive evidence for reconstructing the first line of the *subscriptio* are placed on a little 'sovrapposto', visible after a lacuna of two letters following the *E* of *Annae[i*. These traces belong to two letters. A little stroke descending to the left from the notional base-line and the curved end of an oblique stroke indicate that the first letter is surely *A*. What remains of the second one is compatible with *E*: despite the physical deformation and the cracks in the papyrus, it is possible to recognise a horizontal stroke placed on the notional base-line and a part of a vertical one. In the circumference that follows the one containing the 'sovrapposto', the papyrus shows a lacuna where the 'sovrapposto' has to be placed. Its virtual moving to the original place brings the letters *]ẠẸ* in a position which is compatible with the genitive ending of the author's name. What remains of the first line is:

L[·] Annaẹ[. . . . .]ạẹ,

which perfectly bears the following supplement (fig. 6b):

L [·] Annae[i · Senec]ạẹ.

In conclusion, the new inspection of cr. 9 pz. III of P.Hercul. 1067 shows that the work contained in that carefully produced book-roll is ascribable with certainty to one of the two Seneca. The historical tenor of the text, the proper names occurring in the papyrus, and the absence of philosophical expressions make Seneca the Elder the most likely candidate.

Unfortunately, the second line of the title is very fragmentary. Nevertheless, a careful inspection of the scanty palaeographic evidence shows that it is surprisingly compatible with the possible title of the historical work written by Seneca. Along with Controversiae and Suasoriae, Seneca the Elder composed a historical work, on which he had been working until the very end of his life. His son, the philosopher Seneca, presents it as a remarkable analysis of the history of Rome (*res Romanae*) «from the origin of the civil wars» (*ab initio bellorum civilium*).[33] The surviving traces of the ink in the second line of the *subscriptio* fit pretty well with the phrase *ab initio bellorum civilium* (*ạḅ [·] i̱ni̱ti̱ọ [· bello]ruṃ [· civilium*), while they

[31] Del Mastro (2005) 192 and Costabile (1984) 597-599.
[32] I devoted a specific paper to this topic: Piano (2017b).
[33] Sen. Vita patr. fr. 15 Haase = 74 T1 Cornell; in addition to this testimony scholars ascribe two fragments to Seneca's work, on which see Cornell (2013) vol. 1 n° 74, 505-508 (with a complete bibliography) and Canfora (2015) 138-213.

show a little compatibility with the alleged title of the rhetorical work, Oratorum et Rhetorum Sententiae Divisiones Colores.[34]

All these elements strongly suggest that P.Hercul. 1067 contained part of the historical work composed by Seneca the Elder, probably a book or a portion of a book that was dealing with the final part of Augustus' Empire or with the age of Tiberius. In any case, independently from the identification of the literary work, the authorship of Seneca the Elder and the prosopography emerging from the papyrus makes us sure that the text was composed about the end of the thirties and, thus, that the roll must be dated towards the middle of the first century CE.[35]

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[34] For a detailed discussion of the second line of the *subscriptio* see Piano (2017a) 242-246.

[35] For further details see Piano (2017a) 246-250.

Plates[*]

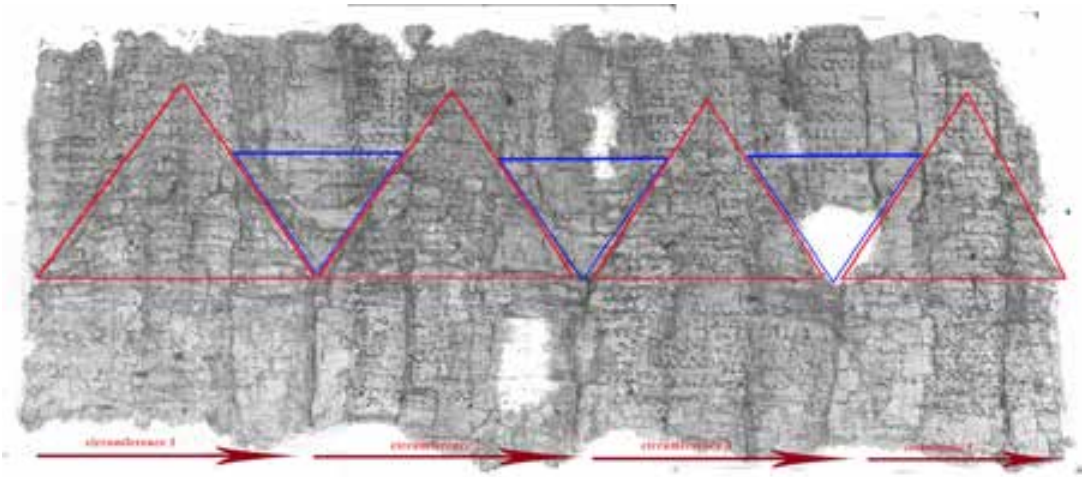


Fig. 1 P.Hercul. 1067, Cr. 3 pz. I, Pattern of folds
The image shows the pattern of the folds detected to measure the circumferences of the roll.



Fig. 2 P.Hercul. 1067, Cr. 5 pz. I, Decorative elements
The image shows the decorative elements probably employed in order to mark a new textual section.



Piano *] ḥóc · p[ ] ẹ̣l[*
Costabile *s]oci e[t] ami[c]i p[opuli Romani*

Fig. 3 P.Hercul. 1067, Cr. 3 pz. I, fr. 4 *N*, l. 22: *S]oci e[t] ami[c]i p[opuli Romani* ?
The image shows the new reading challenging the one proposed by Costabile.

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Fig. 4 P.Hercul. 1067, Cr. 6 pz. II, *] Caés[a]re* and *] bellọ · **Gall[ico*** ?
The image shows the virtual joining of the two different layers containing the words *] Caés[a]are,] bell[* and *]ọ · Gall[*, giving the possible sequence *] Caés[a]are,] bell**o** · **Gall**[ico.*



Fig. 5 P.Hercul. 1067, Cr. 5 pz. II, *] Ṭiberius [*
The image shows the mention of *Tiberius*.



Fig. 6a P.Hercul. 1067, Cr. 9 pz. III, *subscriptio* l. 1

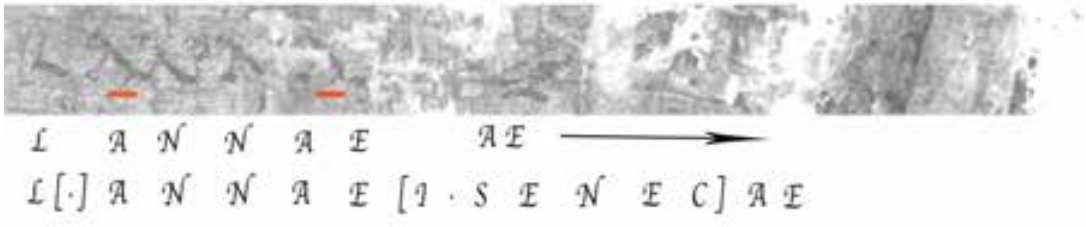


Fig. 6b P.Hercul. 1067, Cr. 9 pz. III, The author's name
The images show the new reading of the first line of the *subscriptio (L [·] Annae[i · Senec]ạẹ*) challenging the previous one, proposed by Costabile (*L. Mạ[nli Torqua]ṭ[i*).

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La Calomnie de Philodème (P.Herc.Paris.2, colonnes E-F-G). Une nouvelle référence à Hésiode

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Depuis le Congrès International de Papyrologie de Varsovie (2013), notre équipe franco-italienne[1] a poursuivi son travail de reconstruction du vaste puzzle dû à l'ouverture du P.Herc.Paris. 2 à Naples en 1986-1987. Aujourd'hui les 27 dernières colonnes du rouleau reviennent au jour, après un sommeil de deux mille ans. Nous présentons ici trois nouvelles colonnes inédites,[2] E, F et G.

Si le nom du poète Hésiode se lit entièrement après rapprochement de la dernière ligne de la partie droite du fr. 227 où se lit HCI, et la partie gauche du fr. 230, où se lit OΔOC, le contexte dans lequel il se rencontre est loin d'être clair, en raison des lacunes du bas de la col. G.

Le puzzle papyrologique constitué par la succession des colonnes E, F, et G s'est avéré délicat. Repositionner l'ensemble des fragments numérotés de 216 à 233 est rendu compliqué par la multitude de 'sovrapposti' et 'sottoposti', mais aussi du fait que certains numéros de fragments regroupent plusieurs petits morceaux distincts. Ainsi, le fr. 221 comporte six *frustula* provenant probablement d'une même zone du rouleau, dont deux présentent plusieurs strates. Tel est aussi le cas du fr. 228, dont les différents morceaux ont finalement trouvé leur place dans la partie centrale des coll. F, G et H (planche 1).[3] Malgré tout, trois blocs de texte conséquents ont été restitués.

Il n'est pas inutile de rappeler quelques points d'importance dans ce type de reconstruction. La régularité de l'écriture de ce papyrus fait que, pour repositionner un petit fragment par rapport aux fragments voisins plus étendus, on peut s'appuyer sur la place relative des lettres d'une ligne à l'autre. Sachant que, en moyenne, une ligne dans cette main compte entre 19 et 22 lettres, selon le nombre de lettres de la première ligne de la colonne il est possible de replacer un fragment isolé en alignant les lettres qui s'y lisent avec celles des lignes supérieures et/ou inférieures –la marge d'incertitude se limitant à une lettre large, en plus ou en moins.

D'autre part, la numérotation des fragments suit en général l'ordre dans lequel ils ont été détachés du rouleau, même si le fr. 230 a été vraisemblablement détaché du 'midollo' avant le fr. 229.

En outre, le positionnement sur la maquette des petits 'sovrapposti' ou 'sottoposti' se fait selon un repère orthogonal: horizontalement, en respectant la hauteur où ils figurent dans la

[1] Elle regroupe A. Antoni-Mottola, D. Buisset, L. Capron, P. Cauderlier, G. Del Mastro, D. et J. Delattre, A. Monet, A. Müller-Gatto et C. Soulès.

[2] Tous nos remerciements vont à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, en la personne de son Secrétaire perpétuel, M. Michel Zink, ainsi qu'à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France à Paris, en la personne de sa Directrice, Mme Françoise Bérard, qui nous ont généreusement autorisés à publier les présentes colonnes inédites ainsi qu'à reproduire l'image de notre reconstruction. Toute reproduction desdites images est interdite sans autorisation expresse de la Bibliothèque.

[3] La col. H est éditée dans Delattre *et alii* (2016) 480-482.

colonne de départ, et verticalement en nous aidant d'une règle arc-en-ciel destinée à matérialiser la largeur des spires, qui croît progressivement au fur et à mesure qu'on s'éloigne de la fin du rouleau.[4] À l'endroit qui nous occupe, la largeur des spires du *volumen* est supérieure à celle des colonnes. Ainsi, le 'sottoposto' du fr. 221, replacé au début des ll. 27-29 de la col. E grâce à la présence d'une *paragraphos,* correspond aux mêmes ll. 27-30 de la col. G: à cet endroit du rouleau, le décalage est donc de six lettres vers la gauche. Enfin, depuis la numérisation initiale du papyrus (effectuée à Naples en 2001 par les soins de l'équipe de la Brigham Young University de Provo, Utah, dirigée par S. Booras), deux nouvelles portions de texte ont été gagnées par suite du décollement spontané de 'sovrapposti': l'une, sur le fr. 220, a été photographiée par nous-mêmes, tandis qu'une autre appartenant au fr. 228 a été numérisée en 2010, lors de la nouvelle couverture photographique due à notre collègue A. Bülow-Jacobsen.

Des photos polaroid ont certes été prises lors de l' 'épluchage' de ce rouleau parisien (dont le quart inférieur est perdu), pour enregistrer la position relative des fragments à l'aide de cercles grossiers, accompagnés du numéro de fragment (planche 2). Mais ces clichés sont de petite taille et d'une définition fort médiocre; quant aux cercles, on les distingue mal lorsqu'ils traversent la partie foncée du rouleau. Dans quelques rares cas, ils nous apprennent que, par rapport à tel fragment comportant un reste de marge supérieure –confirmé par l'examen du papyrus–, tel autre se situe à l'extrémité opposée du rouleau, c'est-à-dire vers le milieu de la colonne, sinon plus bas. Encore doit-on s'assurer que le rouleau était orienté de la même façon sur tous les polaroid, ce dont il est parfois permis de douter, car l'opération d'ouverture du P.Herc.Paris. 2 a duré de longues semaines! De plus, l'unique information écrite sur les conditions mêmes du décollement se limite aux dates des polaroïd.

Les fr. 220 et 227, qui sont les plus étendus en hauteur et en largeur, ont été pris comme pivots afin de combiner tout autour les fragments plus petits, sinon minuscules. A force de multiples essais, la plupart des fragments ont pu être finalement combinés entre eux, y compris le fr. 222 en haut de colonne,[5] ou encore les 7 morceaux constituant le fr. 228 à mi-hauteur de colonne. Comme nous en avons pris l'habitude, nous effectuons le remontage virtuel d'abord sur une maquette photo, constituée à partir des images multispectrales de 2001, suturées, puis découpées et repositionnées, et/ou des photos infrarouges d'A. Bülow-Jacobsen. Nous n'en venons que bien plus tard à la reconstitution textuelle, qui va infirmer ou confirmer le bien-fondé de nos rapprochements entre fragments de numéros voisins. Parfois cependant, les numéros peuvent être fort éloignés les uns des autres quand il s'agit de 'sovrapposti' de niveau 2 (= sv2): ainsi a-t-on pu combiner en bas de la col. G un 'sottoposto' du fr. 233 avec un 'sovrapposto' du fr. 224.

Une animation vidéo de 2 mn 30, due à Frédéric Marchal,[6] a été présentée lors du Congrès de Barcelone. Elle illustre, en un raccourci saisissant, le patient cheminement qui nous a conduits, au cours des années 2011-2016, à la reconstruction papyrologique des trois présentes colonnes (planche 1 et Bibliographie).

Venons-en maintenant au texte et au contenu des col. E à G. Ce sont soixante lignes d'une vingtaine de lettres chacune, sur une étendue de trois colonnes, que nous avons réussi à restituer. Ces colonnes, aujourd'hui défigurées par deux longues lacunes, contenaient à l'origine entre 120 et 145 lignes (le format des colonnes devait osciller entre 40 et 44 lignes).

[4] Cf. Delattre (2009) 925-943.

[5] Cf. infra n. 11.

[6] Nous tenons à le remercier très chaleureusement pour ses précieuses compétences professionnelles en imagerie virtuelle et pour la grande patience dont il a fait preuve pour la réalisation de la vidéo.

De la col. E nous avons récupéré une large partie des 26 premières lignes, complétées à l'aide de conjectures d'extension limitée, et pour le moins plausibles.

Col. E

‖ ἐνίων τῶν [διαβόλων ἀναι]σ-
θησίαν, δι᾽ ἣν ἐκλαμβά[νο]ν-
τες ἔνι[ο]ι διαβάλλουσι, [κ]αὶ
τήν τινων καχυπόνοι[α]ν καὶ
5 [τὸ] π αντοδα[π]ὸν ὅλως τῆς
πονηρίας, καὶ τὸ πολλούς, κ[α]ί-
περ οὐδ᾽ ἄ ανπονηροὺς ὄντ[α]ς
ς δι᾽ ἑαυ[τ]ῶν αἱρετ[ῶ]ν ἀπο[δ]έ-
[χ]εσθαι τῶν ψευδολό[ω]ν, [κ]αὶ
10 [τ]ὸ καὶ πολλοὺς κα[ὶ ποικί]-
λους ἱνεσθαι τρό[πους ἀ]ν-
θ ρώπω[ν] διαβόλ[ων οὓς κατὰ]
ἀναλο [ι]σμὸν ἔ[στι δ]ιο[ρ]ίσ[θα]-
[σθ]α[ι]·vac ελ[οί]ω ς ἀρ κ[αὶ] ἄφνως
15 [αἰ]τιᾶσ[θαί] τ ιὲπ[ιχ]ειροῦσι
κ ακ[ο]π αθοῦντες [πα]ρ᾽ ὅπερ · ·
[ε]ἰς ὁμιλία νπροχ[ώρει.vac Τὸ] δὲ
[ἐ]ναντιώτατον τ[ῆι ἀνα]ν-
[κ]α ότητ ιψεκτέον [κατ᾽ ἰσ]χὺν
20 [ὀρ]θώ[σα]ντι περὶ ἄ[λλ]ων
[α]ἰτιά[σεις]·vac εὑρήσομ[ε]ν ἀρ
ς ἐπ[ὶ τὸ π]λεῖστον διαφω-
νοῦντ[ας] τὸν παρρησια-
[σ]τὴν εἰς κ[ο]λ ακείαν ἐν[ί]ων
25 διαβαλλ[όντω]ν κα[ὶ τ]ὸν ὑ-
ρὸν εἰς ἀ[νε]λευθερίαν κ ὰ
[ς ἐπιφ]ο ρ[ώτ]ατον· π[ρ]ὸς
[. . . . .]οιαν [. .]κλυ-
29 [. . . . .]ι[. . . . .]ιν
. . . .
(perierunt fere XIV-XV lineae)

Col. E

Fr. 220 + 216 suprapos. (l. 6-10) + 217/1 (l. 1-5) + frustulum nunc ablatum e 220 (l. 11 et 13-14) + 224 sin. (l. 15-31) + 223 suprapos. (l. 21-26) + 216 inf. (l. 22-27) + 225 (l. 13-16)

1 [τὴν] || ante ἐνίων coniecimus ||12 [οὓς κατὰ]| uide Demosthenes, De corona 106, l.10 ||14 post ἄφνως subpositum signum simile ac ῠ uidetur ||16 fin. asteriskos uidetur ||19 fin.]|χυν| potius quam]|κυν| P ||28-31 perpaucae litterae sparsae leguntur

De la col. F les treize premières lignes ont été presque entièrement récupérées; s'y ajoutent, aux ll. 14 à 29, de nombreux mots et des lignes partielles, au contenu textuel problématique.

Col. F

||ναι ἡμῖν ἀσφ[αλὲς τῶι ἀγρι]-
ᾶναι τοῦτο· κα[ὶ τοὺ]ς προσιέ̣ν-
τα̣ς δὲ δ̣εῖ σκορακ[ί]ζειν κα[ὶ]
μηδ᾽ ἀνέχεσθαι – κ[ἂ]ν̣ ἀκούσω
5 μέντ[οι] δ̣ὴ μᾶλλον ἀδίκου
τοῦ [πε]πονθότο[ς] ἐμοῦ καὶ
τἄλλ̣[α μ]ᾶλλον ἄ̣λλου γινώ-
σκω[ν] – ‘οἰμώξει᾽ κ̣[αὶ] τὰ τοιαῦ-
τ᾽ ἐπιφωνεῖν, ἀλ[λ]ὰ μὴ π̣αρα-
10 τι[θ]έναι ταῦ̣τ̣α̣ σω[φ]ρ[οσύ]-
ν[η]ι̣ καὶ [φ]ανερὸν [ὦ]ς εὐδ[ό]-
κ[η]τ̣α πρὸς παραδοχήν̣ [ἐσ]-
τ̣[ιν] κ̣αθιστάναι·[vac] τ̣ὸ δὲ [. .]-
[. . .]ω̣ναι μηδ᾽ [ἕ]τοιμον [. . .]

Col. F

Fr. 220 dext. (l. 1-13) + 222 (l. 1-3) + 227 sin. (l. 2-28) + 224 dext. (l. 16-29) + 226 (l. 3-15, deinde 28-29) + 228 post frustuli suprapositi solutionem (l. 15-16) + 227 post frustuli suprapositi solutionem (fin. l. 16) + 216 inf. bissuprapos. (l. 28-29) + 221/4 (l. 20-21) + 221/6 dext. (l. 23-25) + 221/1 (l. 24-27) + 221/3 dext. subpos. (l. 27-28)

1 [μὴ εἶ]||ναι ? ||4-5 ἀκούσω | μέντ̣[οι] potius quam ἀκούσω|μεν τ̣[..] propter l. 7-8 γινώ|σκω[ν]

15 [. .]ᾳ̣ϲου[. . . . .] κόλᾳ̣κας ϲ[. .]
λ̣[. . . . .]τ̣ου π̣ως κ[. .]
π[. . . . .]. οιδ̣[. . . .]-
μ̲ε̣[. . . . .]αν φ[ί]λ̣ω̣ν̣ [. .]
με[. . . . . . .]ν̣ᾳ̣σιν μ̣ή τι κ̣[αὶ]
20 συνγε[. .]ι τῶι̣[. . .]λ̣ιπρο̣. [. . . .]
. ᾳ̣ς π̣ολ[λ . . . · ἡ]ϲυ̣χῆι γὰ[ρ]
πο[ιο]ῦσιν [. . .] κ̣αθ̓ ἑαυτῷ̣ν̣
θε[. . .]θᾳ̣[. . . . . .] π̣αρακούειν
οφι[. .]ε̣ν̣[. .]ς ἐλπίσαντες
25 ϲι̣[. . .]ι̣ν, [τοὺ]ς δὲ φ̣ι̣λοῦντας
ὡσ[. . . . . .]ος κα[τὰ] τὰς κα-
θ̓ ἑ[αυτοὺς . . . ο]υ̣ π̣[ερ]πέρου
κο̣[λακείας . . .] φιλ̣ε̣ῖ̣ π̣||[ί]π̣τειν
29 δ[. . . . . .] εὐνοο[. . .]
. . . .
(perierunt fere XIV-XV lineae)

restituimus ||16 littera]η[ad stratum superpositum pertinens ante]του legitur ||17-18 λ̣οιδ̣[ορου]||με̣[ν-] uel -|με̣[θ-] ? ||19]ν̣ᾳ̣σιν uel].π̣ειν ? ||20 συνγε[λᾶ]ι uel συνγέ[νη]ι ? ||τῶι̣ an τῶν̣ ? ||[καλ]λ̣ιπροσ̣[όπωι]| uel]ᾳι πρε̣π̣[? ||22 ἑαυτ[ῶ]ν̣ potius quam ἑαυτ[ὸ]ν̣ ||22 πο[ιο]ῦσιν potius quam πο[νο]ῦσιν ? ||24-26 an pars dextra frustuli 221/2 ad stratum idem ac pars sinistra pertineat incertum est ||20-31 positio frustulorum ad fr. 221 pertinentium nondum certa est ||25 init. |ὄν̣[υξ]ιν ? ||26-28 κα[ὶ] τὰς κα|θ̓ ἑαυ̣[τοὺς φίλο]ῦ̣ (an -[τῶν) ἀπὸ aut ὑπὸ) το]ῦ̣ ?) π̣[ερ]πέρου | κο̣λᾳ̣[κείας] potius quam κο̣λᾴ̣[σεις] ? coniecerimus ||29 εὐνοο[υ-] ? ||30-31 perpaucae litterae sparsae leguntur

Enfin, en col. G les vingt premières lignes ont été reconstruites, avec des lacunes limitées, ce qui en assure la structure syntaxique et le sens.

Col. G

|||[. . . .]ι̣κη[ν] πρόφασιν ω[. . . . . .]
μ̲[. .]·vac κᾳ̣[λ]ῷ̣ς δ̓ ἔχει π̣ᾴ̣ρε[δρ]ο̣ν
φιλικῶι συνεδρίωι μ̣ετα[δ]ι-
δόνᾳ̣[ι γ̓], ἂν [ε]ὑ̣ρίσκηι [ψ]έ̣γον
5 καὶ νὴ Δί̓ ἐ̣πικρί̣νηι π[α]ραιτε̣ῖ̣-
σθαι ποι[ε]ῖν οὕτως· ̔ἀλλὰ μὴ
περὶ μὲν ἀ̣πεμπ̣ολήσεως
οἰκέτου [π]ᾶσι κοι̣[ν]οῦσθαι, πε-
ρὶ δ̓ ἀποσπ̣είσ̣εω[ς] φ̣ίλου μη-
10 δὲ τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτ̣άτοις ᾧ̣ν
[ἐν]ι̣ό̣τε τ̣ις, [κ]αὶ πέ̣πειρος
[ὢν] ἢ τὸ π̣ρᾶγμα πῶς σ̣υ̣νετε-
λέσθη [γι]νώσκ̣ων, πλανῆς
ἀπήλλ̣[α]ξεν ἡμᾶς̓·vac καὶ πρὸς
15 αὐτοὺ[ς δὲ] τὸν δ̣ι̣α̣β̣[β]λημέ-
νον εὐ[ηγο]ρεῖ σ̣[υ]μ̣[πεπο]ι̣θὼ̣[ς] Χ
τ̣ὴν ὑ̣π̣[οψ]ίαν ἐκλ[ε]αίνειν·
τὸ γὰρ ἀ[να]||π̣ολ[[η]]ογήτ̣ου κατα-
κ̣ρ̣ίνειν [οὐ]χ̣ οἷ̣ον ̔Ησίοδος
20 [.]ᾳ̣λου̣. [. . . . . .]ο̣ναι
[τ]ο̣ι̣ούτου̣[. . . . . .]σάξ̲ουσι
[. .]. ευτ̣[. . . . . .]ε̣ις ἄκρας
ἤλεγξε̣[. . . . . .]υ̣τ̣ο̣ μ̣νή-
μων οτ̣[. . . . . .]δ̣ιαδεί-
25 ξασ̣θα[ι . . . . . τ]ο̣ῦ̣τ̣ον ἐκ-
π̲τ̲[ερυττόμενον·vac ο]ὐδὲ καὶ
τοῖς δι̣[αβόλοις . . . .]. υτους
28 σ̣[. . . . . ἰ]δί̣[αν] οἴ̣ησιν
. . . . . .
(perierunt fere XV-XVI lineae)

Col. G

Fr. 227 + 220 pars sup. dext. suprap. (l. 5-10) + 230 sin. (l. 2-27) + 221/5 dext. (l. 21-22) + 233 subp. (l. 22-25) + 221/4 dext. (l. 23-24) + 228/1 (l. 16-17)

1-2 ὠ̣[φελοῦ]||μ̣[εν] potius quam ὠ̣[φελήσι]-|μ̣[ον] dub. ||2 κᾳ̣[λ]ῷ̣ς potius quam κᾳ̣[κ]ῷ̣ς ||4 [γ̓], ἂν potius quam [κ]ἂν ||fin. litterae alterius strati]οσ̣[subpositae ||11 [ἐν]ι̣ό̣τε τ̣ις potius quam [γέ] π̣οτέ τ̣ις ||18 η in o a scriba correctum ||19 [οὐ]χ̣ οἷ̣ον potius quam [οἰ]κ̣ε̣ῖ̣ον uel [ἀσ]τ̣ε̣ῖ̣ον ||20 init. |ᾳ̣λου̣. [uel |[.]ᾳ̣λου̣. P |[κ]ᾳ̣λούμ̣[ενος potius quam [ἀ]λλ̓ οὐδ̣[ὲ ? ||fin. [καταγν]ῶ̣ναι̣| potius quam [τὸν ἀηδ̣]όνα| ? ||22 |[ἀλ]λ̓ εὖ τ̣[ὰς αἰτιά]σεις (uide col. E, l. 21) potius quam δ̣εύτ̣[ερον] ? ||24] δ̣ια- potius quam [κ]ᾳ̣τα- ? ||25-26 ἐκ|π̣τ̣[ερυττόμενον an -ρύττεσθαι] ex Hesiodi Op. 203 sqq. potius quam ἐκ|π̣τ̣[ύοντα ? ||28 [ἰ]δί̣[αν] οἴ̣ησιν [? ||29-31 perpaucae litterae sparsae leguntur

Traduction des coll. E-F-G

[Col. E] … <le fait que> … [la stupidité] de quelques [calomniateurs] –qui amène quelques personnes à relayer la calomnie–, le soupçon malveillant de certains et, en un mot, la méchanceté sous toutes ses formes; le fait que beaucoup de gens, même sans être excessivement méchants, font bon accueil aux menteurs[7] comme s'ils étaient par eux-mêmes à choisir; et le fait que les types d'individus qui calomnient sont nombreux et offrent [une grande variété qu'] une étude comparative peut permettre de [distinguer]. C'est, en effet, de manière ridicule et tout soudain qu'ils entreprennent de [lancer] une accusation lorsqu'ils sont fort gênés [par] ce qui précisément vient dans la conversation. Or ce qu'il y a de plus contraire à la relation d'intimité, il faut le blâmer [avec vigueur] quand on redresse [des accusations] qui concernent d'autres personnes. Nous trouverons en effet la plupart du temps des gens en désaccord, lorsque quelques individus calomnient l'adepte du franc-parler et celui qui a l'échine souple précisément [au prétexte qu'] ils sont fort [enclins] pour le premier à flatter, et à s'avilir pour le second … (lacune de 17 lignes)

[Col. F] … <peut-être: ce genre de calomnie n'est pas> sûr pour nous [parce que] cela [provoque de la colère]. Et d'ailleurs les gens qui y sont sensibles, on doit les rabrouer et ne pas même tolérer –même si j'entends dire, assurément, que la victime <de la calomnie> est plus coupable d'injustice que moi, qui justement la connais au demeurant mieux qu'autrui– qu'ils disent bien haut «la peste l'emporte!» et ce genre d'injures; on doit au contraire s'abstenir [par prudence] de servir ces <injures> et de faire voir clairement qu'elles sont recevables et qu'on les approuve.

Quant au fait de ... et de ne pas être prêt à … flatteurs … en quelque façon … amis ... (lacune de 2 lignes) C'est avec calme en effet qu'ils font … contre eux-mêmes … refuser d'entendre … en espérant ... ceux qui aiment … en fonction des [flatteries d'un ami] malavisé à leur propre endroit … aime tomber … bienveillant … (lacune de 15 lignes)

[Col. G] … prétexte … D'ailleurs, il est beau pour qui participe à une réunion entre amis d'intervenir, [en vérité], si, les trouvant occupés à blâmer, il décide, pardi, de refuser d'agir de cette sorte: «Eh bien, si, au sujet du renvoi d'un domestique, nous en faisons part à tout le monde, à propos de la rupture avec un ami ne refusons pas d'en faire part surtout à nos plus intimes, parmi lesquels [en vérité], parfois <il est un qui>, du fait justement de sa longue expérience ou de sa connaissance de la manière dont la chose s'est accomplie, nous a évité de nous égarer». Et devant eux [d'ailleurs] il [fait l'éloge de] celui qui a été victime de la calomnie après les avoir [convaincus] d'abolir leur soupçon. En effet, prononcer un jugement contre un être sans défense, non seulement Hésiode … (lacune de 2 lignes), [mais] il a réfuté de belle façon les [accusations?] extrêmes … se souvenant que … bien faire voir … celui-là [en déployant ses ailes]. Et ce n'est pas non plus pour les [calomniateurs] justement que … la haute opinion qu'ils ont d'eux-mêmes ...

Les l. 9-14 de la col. E sont précieuses pour qui cherche à mieux saisir l'articulation de la fin de ce livre de la vaste somme de Philodème intitulée Les Vices et les vertus opposées. Elles viennent clore une suite d'explications fournies par notre Epicurien sous la forme d'infinitifs substantivés, et s'achèvent sur un vacat, marquant sans doute la transition avec une nouvelle section du livre : «... et le fait que les types d'individus qui calomnient sont nombreux et offrent [une grande variété qu'] une étude comparative peut permettre de [distinguer]». Toutefois, il est impossible de décider si la phrase commençant par γελ̣[οί]ῳς γάρ (l. 14) porte seulement sur ces trois dernières lignes ou sur la longue énumération d'infinitifs substantivés qui les précède. En effet, deux autres vacat ponctuent le texte jusqu'à la l. 21, où avec εὑρήσομ[ε]ν̣ γάρ débute une nouvelle explication, formulée cette fois à la première personne du pluriel. Ce «nous» renvoie probablement aux disciples d'Épicure, plutôt qu'au seul Philodème. Quant aux ἔνιοι des ll. 1 et 3, ils trouvent comme un écho dans un troisième ἐνίων, à la l. 24: ἐν[ί]ων | διαβαλλ[όντω]ν, même si l'on ignore qui sont ces «quelques-uns»; d'où notre conjecture, à la l. 1, ἐνίων τῶν̣ [διαβόλων].

[7] Phld. Po. 5.17.4 Mangoni.

Dans la même col. E, apparaît un autre thème épicurien important, celui de la παρρησία.[8] Philodème y prend en effet la défense de l'adepte du franc-parler (τὸν παρρησια|[σ]τ̣ήν, col. E, l. 23), taxé de flatterie par le calomniateur. Nous avons montré ailleurs[9] que Philodème tient à distinguer le franc-parler (pratiqué de façon positive et maîtrisée par le sage épicurien) d'une parole irrespectueuse, voire calomnieuse: un épicurien dit les choses sans détour, en s'interdisant des propos inutilement agressifs, qui sont incapables d'améliorer ou de corriger une façon d'être ou de faire.

La première ligne de la col. F, où figure une autre première personne du pluriel, mentionne un souci de «sûreté» ou d' «assurance»: ἡμῖν ἀσφ[αλές], à rapprocher des premières lignes de la col. H, elles aussi à la première personne du pluriel et suivies d'un vacat: «nous <ne> mentirons <pas> à propos de ce que [chacun sait bien], nous gagnerons en assurance (ἀσφα̣λεστέρ[ως] σ[χή]σομεν) et donnerons du poids à ce qui justement est manifeste».[10] Si notre restitution (l. 1) de [ἀγρι]ᾶνα̣ι, «provoquer la colère», est correcte,[11] elle montre que Philodème renvoie à des analyses qui lui sont chères. Songeons ici à son livre La Colère, où il rappelle que, si le sage épicurien se met naturellement en colère dans certaines situations, cela ne dure jamais ni ne se transforme en rage ou en désir de vengeance.[12] Quant au texte reconstitué jusqu'à la l. 14 de la col. F, il comporte un développement à la première personne du singulier (ll. 4-8), vivante intervention en aparté d'un épicurien: le comportement injurieux et agressif ne peut que «provoquer la colère» d'autrui, avec tous les dangers que cela entraîne. La «prudence» (l. 10) impose de s'abstenir de hurler avec les loups et même de donner l'impression qu'on approuve ces injures et calomnies (ll. 11-13). Dommage que la partie inférieure de la colonne offre encore des lacunes exaspérantes, malgré tous nos efforts pour replacer les *frustula* du fr. 221! On peut néanmoins être certain qu'il y était question de «flatteurs», d'«injures» et d'«ami», de «tranquillité», de «refus d'écouter», de «manque d'à-propos», et encore de «flatterie» et d'«amitié».

«La réunion entre amis», φιλικῶι συνεδρίωι, à la l. 3 de la col. G, prend tout son sens dans l'ensemble de nos trois colonnes. A la l. 2, après un vacat figure un mot bref incomplet (suivi de δέ élidé), probablement l'adverbe κα[λ]ῶ̣ς, qui porte sur le verbe ἔχει au sens impersonnel de «il est beau que»; suit une proposition infinitive dont le sujet (sans article) est π̣άρε[δρ]ο̣ν, «un participant». On nous présente ici l'attitude vertueuse d'un «participant à [cette] réunion entre amis». En effet, les ll. 6-14 ne se comprennent que si l'on suppose que les propos formulés à la première personne du discours direct sont tenus par quelqu'un qui s'oppose clairement au reste des présents. L'évocation de son comportement débute à la l. 2 (avec une *paragraphos*), tandis que son discours s'achève à la l. 14, avec un nouveau vacat. La manière dont il prend, seul contre tous, la défense d'une victime de la calomnie (une de ses bonnes connaissances), jusqu'à «dissiper totalement leur soupçon» à son égard avant de faire son éloge, faisait justement l'objet de l'explication qui suit, introduite par τὸ γὰρ (l. 18). Malheureusement, les dix dernières lignes conservées de cette colonne sont très ruinées, et ne permettent pas même de deviner quel «reproche» (ἤλεγξε, l. 23) formulait Hésiode à propos

[8] Cf. Konstan *et alii* (1998); Delattre (2015) 437-455; J. Delattre (2018).

[9] Pour le texte des coll. L et N, cf. Monet (2011) 91-94; (2013) 91-106.

[10] [διότι? ... οὐ] || [ψε]υσθησόμεθα̣ [πε]ρὶ ὧν ἕ[κασ|τος οἶ]δε καὶ ἀσφα̣λεστέρ[ως] | σ[χή]σομεν καὶ θησόμεθ[α] βα̣ρὺ | τ[οῦθ᾽] ὅπερ ἂν φανῇ.

[11] Le positionnement au début de la col. F du petit fr. 222, qui porte le début de trois lignes consécutives, reste fragile en raison de la *paragraphos* sous la première ligne, qui invite à interrompre le discours en l. 2 plutôt qu'en l. 1. Toutefois la photo polaroïd indique que les multiples morceaux constitutifs du fr. 221 sont à replacer vers le bas de la colonne, et le fr. 222 à l'opposé, donc en haut de colonne; aucun autre positionnement compatible avec son numéro d'ordre n'a pu être trouvé.

[12] Cf. Phld. Ir. coll. 36-45 Indelli; traduit dans Delattre / Pigeaud (2010) 586-591.

de la «condamnation d'un être sans défense» (ll. 18-19). Il paraît, néanmoins, probable que la présente mention du poète renvoie à son apologue du rossignol et de l'épervier dans Les Travaux et les Jours (203-212):[13] l'épervier, image des puissants, qui menace le petit volatile, fragile chanteur comme le poète, y abuse de sa supériorité –attitude que Hésiode déconseille vivement au gouvernant qui se prétend sage.

Force est de renoncer à comprendre le lien (perdu) entre le fait de s'en prendre à «un être sans défense» (l. 18) et l'exemple de l'intervenant (l. 2) qui résiste à ses amis réunis (φιλικῶι συνεδρίωι), pour leur éviter le risque de se laisser séduire par des calomnies. Néanmoins, il n'est pas sûr que, dans l'apologue de Hésiode, notre professeur d'épicurisme se soit intéressé réellement à la condamnation de la démesure du plus fort. En effet, inconscient du danger, le rossignol nargue de son chant mélodieux[14] le rapace, bien plus puissant que lui; or, comme le lui fait remarquer l'épervier, il est «insensé de vouloir se mesurer à plus fort que soi».[15]

L'enjeu pour l'Épicurien est peut-être moins de critiquer les calomniateurs et leur pouvoir destructeur que de chercher des moyens de protéger leurs victimes –parmi lesquelles les épicuriens figurent en première ligne depuis longtemps. Aussi s'efforce-t-il de procurer des armes défensives contre la calomnie, dont la col. L (éditée précédemment)[16] rappelle, aux ll. 11-16, qu'elle est une fâcheuse tendance du genre humain: «[De fait,] le genre humain est enclin à calomnier ou, si l'on veut, à dénigrer, quoique ce soit la haine qui engendre ce travers en vérité». Comme certaines attitudes ou propos d'apparence innocente peuvent, tel le chant du rossignol, provoquer la jalousie, voire la colère de ceux qui les observent ou entendent, les victimes potentielles de la calomnie doivent veiller à ne pas susciter l'envie des gens enclins à calomnier. La série des portraits de la suite du livre (coll. P-X) leur permettra de les identifier avec précision. Cette interprétation de la démarche de Philodème trouve d'ailleurs, selon nous, une confirmation dans la toute dernière colonne du livre, où il en appelle «à la réflexion, à la gravité et à l'inflexibilité [*sc.* de la philosophie] pour blâmer nombre de victimes d'injustices collectives».[17]

Toutefois, afin de résister à la haine qui donne naissance au pouvoir ravageur de la calomnie, le Jardin propose ici le puissant secours de l'amitié: c'est du moins ce que suggère la présence, au bas de la col. F et en col. G, de plusieurs termes appartenant au champ lexical de la φιλία.

Ce qui constitue, au bout du compte, l'unité de ces trois nouvelles colonnes de La Calomnie de Philodème, c'est la réaction des épicuriens et, plus largement, des «gens de bon sens» face aux calomniateurs et aux victimes de la calomnie, comme le révèlent les coll. F et G. Le ciment qui maintient en place la société est la confiance entre les hommes. Or la calomnie –redoutable expression de la méchanceté humaine (col. E, ll. 4-6)– brise cette confiance, indispensable à la vie heureuse. L'exercice de la véritable amitié apparaît alors comme le meilleur antidote à ce poison: l'épicurien qui pratique le franc-parler (col. E, ll. 23-26) sait qu'il ne doit pas dire n'importe quoi à ses amis ni jamais les calomnier, mais aussi qu'il convient d'avoir parfois «l'échine souple» en société, sans pour autant «s'avilir» par un excès de complaisance.

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[13] Nous remercions vivement P. Cauderlier pour sa suggestion.

[14] Cf. Hes. Op. 203, 208 (éd. Mazon): ἀηδόνα ποικιλόδειρον (...) καὶ ἀοιδὸν ἐοῦσαν, «le rossignol à la gorge tachetée (…) tout beau chanteur que tu sois».

[15] Hes. Op. 210: ἄφρων δ' ὅς κ' ἐθέλῃι πρὸς κρείσσονας ἀντιφερίζειν.

[16] Cf. Monet (2013) 96-97: [ἐπεὶ] τὸ γέ[νο]ς τῷ[ν] | ἀνθρ[ώπω]ν εὐεπ[ί]φορόν ἐσ|τ[ι]ν πρ[ὸς τὸ] διαβ[ολὸ]ν̣ ἤ τι | [βά]σκα[νο]|ν εἶ[ναι, κ]αίπερ | μ̣ίσου̣[ς το]ῦτό γ' [ἐκ]φύσαν|τος.

[17] Cf. col. Z, ll. 4-8: πολλού|[ς] τε τοὺς συναδικου|μένους | [ψ]ἐ̣ξομεν καὶ συν̣τ̣ρ̣ί̣|ψομεν α̣ὐ̣τοὺς β̣άθει καὶ [σε]|-μ̣νότη[τι] καὶ ἀ̣ν̣επιστρεψί̣|αι ...

Ces trois colonnes confirment que la fin du livre était structurée en chapitres traitant chacun d'un point de vue particulier sur la calomnie, les calomniateurs et leurs victimes. Avant l'étude des affections qui touchent ces derniers (τινα τῶν παθολογουμένων) dans les coll. L-O, puis le passage en revue de leurs vices spécifiques (τὰς τῶν κακιῶν ἰδιοτήτας) en col. P-W et, enfin la récapitulation, en col. X, des principaux types de calomniateur –typologie apparemment annoncée dès la col. E (ll. 10-14)–, Philodème présente dans les coll. E à G la seule attitude qui soit digne des «gens bien» en matière de calomnie, et privilégie avant tout l'amitié. De fait, quand un adepte du Jardin apprend que des calomnies circulent sur le compte de tel ou tel, il s'abstient d'y prêter foi d'emblée, malgré les encouragements d'autrui. Au contraire, en bon connaisseur de l'âme humaine, il part du principe qu'il pourrait s'agir là d'une manœuvre de la part de gens malveillants, résolus à nuire par intérêt personnel. Réagissant en être sensé, il s'efforce de ne pas se laisser prendre au terrible piège tendu par les calomniateurs, qui ne peut que détruire les liens sociaux. Car pour Épicure et ses disciples, jouir de la confiance mutuelle (et l'entretenir par son comportement) est fondamental pour qui cherche à mener une vie dépourvue de trouble à la recherche du bonheur.[18] On comprend, sans doute un peu mieux alors, pourquoi notre Épicurien a pu consacrer tout un livre à ce vice, si dommageable à la paix sociale.

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[18] Cf. Epicur. Sent.Vat. 40: «Tous ceux qui ont la capacité de se sentir le plus en confiance possible du côté de leur voisinage vivent ainsi ensemble très plaisamment, on le sait, parce qu'ils disposent de la plus ferme des assurances» (Delattre / Pigeaud [2010] 59) et D.L. 10.11: «Epicure n'appréciait pas la mise en commun des ressources (...), car un tel comportement caractérise des gens qui ne se font pas confiance; or si l'on n'a pas confiance, on n'est pas non plus amis.» (D.L. 10.6).

Planches

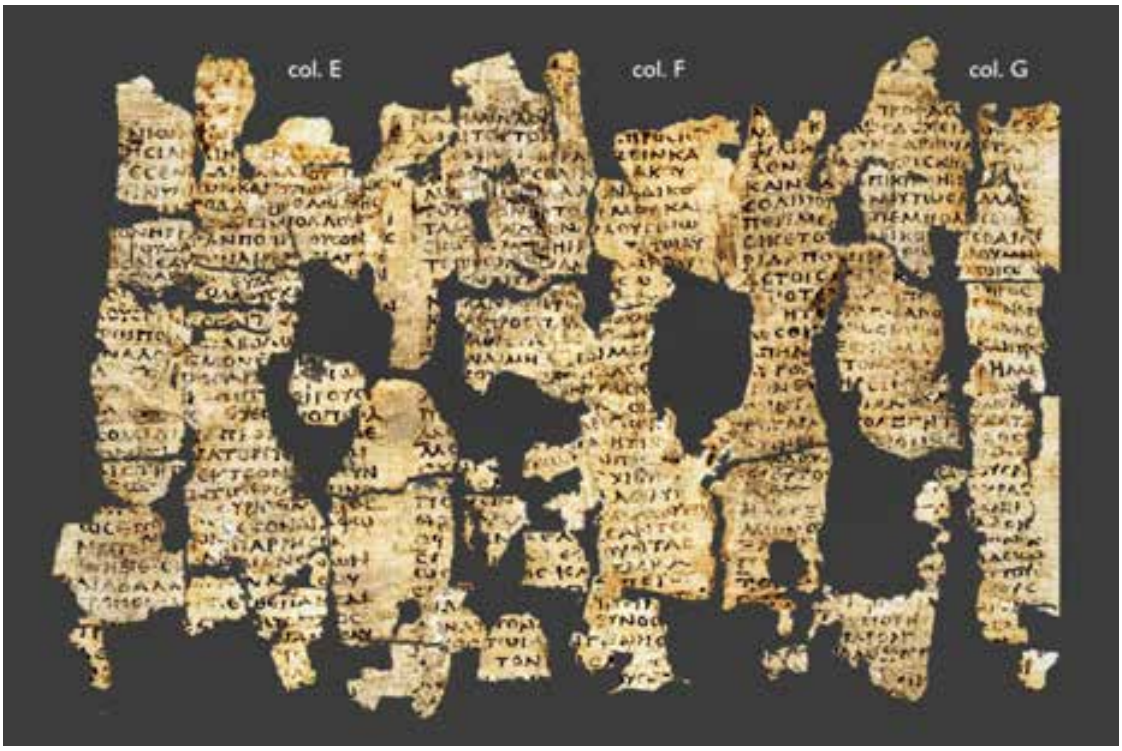


Planche 1. Reconstruction virtuelle des colonnes E-F-G du P.Herc.Paris. 2 à partir des images infrarouges (légèrement modifiées) réalisées par la Brigham Young University, Provo (Utah). © Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, et F. Marchal.



Planche 2. Photo polaroid prise au cours de l'ouverture du P.Herc.Paris. 2 indiquant la position des fr. 221 et 222. © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

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On Several Unpublished Fragments of Book 4 of the On Rhetoric of Philodemus of Gadara

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The aim in view of this paper is to recognize the fragments which should be attributed to P.Hercul. 1673/1007, which contains the first draft of Philodemus of Gadara's On Rhetoric, Book 4, while the definitive edition, divided into two *volumina* for an easier use, survives only in its first part, conserved in P.Hercul. 1423. The text of both papyri does not coincide because the text readable in P.Hercul. 1423 ought to have been found in the first part of P.Hercul. 1673/1007, which is lost. And yet, first Dorandi in 1990,[1] and then, more recently, myself in 2013,[2] have been able to identify several textual correspondences between P.Hercul. 1423 and different 'scorze' of P.Hercul. 1673/1007, as well as between external parts of both papyri.

To recognize the fragments, I have reflected on paleographic and bibliological factors, the shapes of the pieces and their contents. I have been able to add frs. 26, 27, 28 and D from P.Hercul. 1677 to the list of fragments attributed to P.Hercul. 1673/1007 by other scholars (P.Hercul. 224, 241, 244, 254, 418 fr. 1, 1104 *olim* 1114, 1118, 1491 frs. 9 and 12, 1077 frs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 1677 frs. 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 12b, 23).[3]

The style and the hand of the papyrus in question are easily recognizable as belonging to the scribe 'Anonimo XI' ranked among Group H by Guglielmo Cavallo, who dates this hand no earlier than the third quarter of the first century BC and describes it as:

> «scrittura dal tracciato sottile e ad andamento largo e fluente, eseguita con ductus piuttosto veloce. Si tratta di una tipologia scrittoria scarsamente attestata, la quale risulta quindi praticata da rare mani, peraltro non del tutto omogenee sotto l'aspetto di singoli elementi grafici».[4]

Cavallo, particularly describing the handwriting of P.Hercul. 1673/1007, observes that:

> «alpha mostra il primo tratto e la traversa fusi con legamento a laccio, epsilon presenta la barra mediana proiettata in avanti, zeta risulta tracciato con asta interna ad andamento obliquo e la linea di base ampia e convessa, lambda e soprattutto delta mostrano il tratto discendente da sinistra a destra assai sporgente in alto, my è di tipo corsivo, ypsilon ha le linee oblique fuse in una curva larga e quasi piatta».[5]

Furthermore, I add that the *omicron* has sometimes the shape of a drop and is smaller than the other letters, the second vertical of *eta* is often curved, the first vertical stroke of *pi* sometimes is also curved, the loop in *rho* is not always completely closed, *tau* often shows a serif at the far left of the horizontal, *xi* is written with a curved middle part, and the letters are sometimes joined together.

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[1] Dorandi (1990). Sudhaus (1896) VI-VII, 170, 172-174, 178-180 had already noticed some textual coincidences between several pieces that belong to both papyri, but without giving any explanation. For details, cf. Fimiani (2016) 403-404.
[2] Fimiani (2016) 403-404.
[3] Cf. Fimiani (2012) 129-131.
[4] Cavallo (1983) 34, 45, 63.
[5] Cavallo (1983) 34.

The 'mise en page' shows that not too much care went into the manufacture: justification is barely respected on both sides, right or left; the height of the columns is ca 15 cm; the ratio between the height of the column and that of the roll is 4:5; each column contains between 25 and 30 lines, having each from 15 to 19 letters; the variable *intercolumnium* is rather narrow; at last, the ratio between the height and width of the columns is a little more than 2:1.

In the present paper, I intend to display the papyrological characteristics of the unpublished parts of the roll, i.e.: P.Hercul. 241 (which consists of eight papyrus fragments and three fragments which are still extant thanks to Neapolitan 'disegni' only), P.Hercul. 244 (one papyrus fragment and one fragment which only survives through an Oxford 'disegno'), P.Hercul. 254 (two papyrus fragments and two other fragments on Neapolitan 'disegni'), P.Hercul. 418 fr. 1 (a single papyrus fragment without any 'disegno'), and P.Hercul. 1677 frs. 26, 27, 28 and D (none of which have been drawn).

1. P.Hercul. 241

The papyrus consists of eight fragments in one 'cornice'. It was unrolled by Humphry Davy with the help of Francesco Celentano in 1820.[6] We keep two Oxford 'disegni' of two extant fragments and four Neapolitan 'disegni' of five fragments, among which only two originals survive. All these 'disegni' were drawn by Francesco Celentano in 1820.[7] A second series of Neapolitan 'disegni' is preserved with the 'disegni' of P.Hercul. 495; this series contains two 'disegni' of three fragments which no longer exist as originals and are included in the first series of Neapolitan 'disegni' as well. The papyrus was never published. The text of this 'scorza' is rather extensive and shows all the paleographic and bibliological characteristics of P.Hercul. 1673/1007.

2. P.Hercul. 244

The papyrus consists of a single piece containing the central and lower parts of a column in an extremely poor condition. If the lower margin can be discerned, it is not the case of the *intercolumnia*.

The date of its unrolling cannot be determined from the old catalogues, nor that of the unique 'disegno' kept at Oxford,[8] which shows a different part of the text from that which the papyrus has. The 'disegno' presents the right part of the last twelve lines of a column with the right *intercolumnium* and the lower margin, and three lines which, as Janko has noticed, probably come from a 'sovrapposto' which was scraped off, which did not originally belong to that part of the text, but left stuck on it during the unrolling and then removed.[9]

The meagerness of the text reported by the 'disegno' caused it to remain unpublished in copperplate and it was not published at all until 2008, when Richard Janko included it in an article.[10] As for the 'scorza' it still remains unedited.[11] On the paleographic level, the few readable letters show same characteristics as the roll to which this piece is now connected:

[6] Cf. www.chartes.it, s.v.
[7] Cf. www.chartes.it, s.v.
[8] Cf. www.chartes.it, s.v.
[9] Janko (2008) 48.
[10] Janko (2008) 48.
[11] The 'scorza' is the outermost part of the papyrus, most compact and resistant, which was taken off during the process of unrolling to simplify the work on progress. In this case, it was given a different inventory number and stored separately.

both *lambda* and *delta* have the right descender with an upward curve at the end, *omicron* is noticeably smaller than the other letters.

3. P.Hercul. 254

Under this inventory number, two pieces of papyrus are kept in a single 'cornice', both showing some remains of the lower parts of two columns, as a piece of the lower margin and an *intercolumnium* indicate.

This 'scorza' was unrolled in 1752, perhaps by Camillo Paderni. The first phase of the unrolling was stopped in 1753, and taken back up (before 1835) by Francesco Casanova, who only drew the 'disegni' of both pieces.[12] The first fragment contains the remains of two columns, while the second fragment shows the right part of the last lines of a column (as the lower margin and the right *intercolumnium* indicate). On the cover sheet of the Neapolitan 'disegno', compiled by Domenico Bassi, we read «la scorza, unica, è in minima parte l'originale del frammento n. 1 a destra». In reality, if we exclude the coincidence of a few letters, due to chance I think, the two papyrus fragments report a different text from that of the Neapolitan 'disegno'. The text of the 'disegno', engraved on copperplate, was not published because of its meagerness and, as well as the 'scorza', remained unpublished until now. The *intercolumnium* as the handwriting are the same as of P.Hercul. 1673/1007. Distinctive are *alpha*, the median stroke in *epsilon*, the *omicron* smaller than the other letters and *rho* whose loop is not completely closed.

4. P.Hercul. 418

Fr. 1, the measures of which are 6.5 cm x 11 cm, is the only piece –of the nineteen that are catalogued under inventory number 418 in a single 'cornice'– which seems to belong to P.Hercul. 1673/1007.[13] It was not drawn nor published, although letters are legible, because it shows a juxtaposition of layers that renders impossible any textual reconstruction. The few letters that can be read securely confirm that it belongs to the 'midollo' of this copy of Philodemus' On Rhetoric, Book 4.

5. P.Hercul. 1677

As reading on Chartes that the papyrus was unrolled in 1806 by GiovanBattista Casanova, we do not know to what part that notice refers. In fact, under this inventory number, 33 pieces of papyrus, in five 'cornici', are conserved, from the smallest fragments to the most extensive columns, which come from different *volumina* and belong to Philodemus' treatises On Poetry and On Rhetoric, as well as others not yet identified. From P.Hercul. 1673/1007 there come frs. 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 12b, 23, 26, 27, 28 and D (the last four I identified in 2012).[14]

We know that nineteen Neapolitan 'disegni' of the papyrus, drawn in 1843-1844 by Carlo Malesci, did exist. They are currently missing (they were not located in the 1993 census of material), but they very probably reflected the same situation that the Collectio Altera does, namely, of the fragments On Rhetoric, Book 4: only frs. 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 12b, and 23 have been drawn, then published,[15] but not the other four that I identified in the last 'cornice', and still

[12] Cf. www.chartes.it, s.v.
[13] The others belong to a work by Metrodorus, as we read in Spinelli (1986).
[14] Fimiani (2012) 130-131.
[15] HV (1876).

unedited. Furthermore, frs. 8, 9 and 12, already present in the Collectio, were recently taken into account by Tiziano Dorandi,[16] who revealed textual coincidences with P.Hercul. 1423, which contains the other copy of Book 4 of Philodemus' On Rhetoric.

Well, in two of the four fragments of P.Hercul. 1677 which I identified in 2012, I was able to bring to the fore several new correspondences with P.Hercul. 1423: namely frs. 26 and 27 of P.Hercul. 1677 correspond, respectively, to P.Hercul. 1423 col. XX, ll. 21-22 and P.Hercul. 1423 col. XVIII, ll. 13-17.[17] I will discuss these sections of text in another article.

After reading the last two lines of a column in fr. 26 of P.Hercul. 1677 (shown to be such by the presence of the lower margin), and taking into account the average number of lines for column in this papyrus is between 25 and 30, I deduced that ca 23-28 lines were probably above the two legible ones.

As for the number of missing letters, notwithstanding the fact that the margins are not visible, I was able to determine that if the fragment has hardly lost something on the left side by means of comparison with the text in P.Hercul. 1423, the loss was much greater on the right side.

The hand is clearly that of Cavallo's 'Anonimo XI': characteristic are the curved *alpha*, the cursive *my*, the *delta* with its elongated right descender, the *pi* with curved first vertical and the *tau* with a serif on the left end of the horizontal stroke.

The number of letters that P.Hercul. 1677 has on one line or a bit more needs about two lines in P.Hercul. 1423: this is a clear sign of the format differences between both papyri. The first one, P.Hercul. 1677, is characterized by a particularly wide column which takes up as much space on the writing surface as possible, while the other (P.Hercul. 1423) shows a column narrower by a little less than half: that proves the second scribe wanted to produce a refined product, with a slim and airy column. This impression is confirmed by a most visible difference between the handwritings: the hand of the draft is much less careful and the letters are smaller in size.

Fr. 27 conserves the last three lines of a column in their whole length, as can be seen from the presence of the lower margin and the *intercolumnia*. On the basis of a comparison with the 'midollo', it is possible to calculate that about 22-27 lines are lost in the upper part. The curved *alpha*, the *delta* with its elongated right descender, the *tau* with a serif on the left end of the horizontal stroke, and the *eta* with the curved right vertical do connect that 'scorza' with P.Hercul. 1673/1007.

We can also notice that the text of three lines in P.Hercul. 1677 corresponds to about five lines in P.Hercul. 1423, which confirms that the final edition had narrower columns than the draft, and the different quality of the hands and 'mises en page' is evident here as well.

Frs. 28 and D are very damaged, especially because of a multilayered stratigraphy, but the few letters we can read on them ensure us that they do belong to P.Hercul. 1673/1007.

The present study, as well as a presentation of the fragments of P.Hercul. 1673/1007, offers new textual correspondences that help us to reconstruct the pieces' order, confirm the belonging of these to P.Hercul. 1673/1007 and one more time reaffirm that this one included the entire Book 4 of On Rhetoric, also the part corresponding to the whole P.Hercul. 1423 which was lost during the unrolling.

[16] Dorandi (1990).

[17] The numeration of the columns is mine, and larger than that of Sudhaus because of a column I first reconstructed. Cf. Fimiani (2012) 123-125.

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I papiri del libro 1 del De rhetorica di Filodemo. Dati generali e novità

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1. Il formato del rotolo del libro 1 del De rhetorica di Filodemo

Il libro 1 del De rhetorica di Filodemo doveva essere contenuto originariamente in un *volumen* di dimensioni piuttosto grandi. Secondo la più recente ricostruzione di Puglia, poi confermata dalla rilettura da parte di Del Mastro, la *subscriptio* del P.Hercul. 1427 informa che il rotolo conteneva 237 colonne.[1] Come già notato da Longo Auricchio, con questo numero di colonne, il rotolo sarebbe stato lungo circa 15 metri.[2]

I *kollemata* sono larghi circa 10 cm e dovevano essere alti almeno 20 cm, che è l'altezza massima dei pezzi nelle cornici 1 e 2 del P.Hercul. 1427.[3] Né il margine superiore né quello inferiore sono mai conservati nella loro interezza: il margine inferiore più alto visibile nei frammenti conservati del libro 1 misura 23 mm (P.Hercul. 1427 cr. 2); quello superiore 7 mm nel P.Hercul. 247. Il rotolo rientrerebbe, dunque, nella media dei *volumina* ercolanesi, che doveva oscillare tra i 19-20 e i 23-24 cm di altezza.[4]

Le colonne misurano ciascuna circa 17 cm di altezza e 5.5 di ampiezza, fatta eccezione per l'ultima, che termina dopo 29 linee, per un totale di 142 mm; le colonne sono separate tra loro da intercolumni larghi circa 1 cm (la misura che ricorre più spesso è 9 mm). Tra l'ultima colonna e il titolo si osserva un *agraphon* di 97 mm.[5]

2. Le fasi di svolgimento del *volumen* e le nuove scorze

Già al momento della compilazione dell'Inventario del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, il più antico in nostro possesso, compilato molto probabilmente sulla base di una descrizione dei papiri curata da Antonio Piaggio, il *volumen* del libro 1 era stato sottoposto alla scorzatura parziale.[6] Questa tecnica di apertura prevedeva che le parti esterne, più

[1] Puglia (1997) 123-125. La cifra C]ΛZ era stata già proposta da Ohly (1924) 196-197, mentre gli studiosi precedenti, a partire da Sudhaus (1892) XIX e Bassi (1909) 481-482, fino a Sbordone (1975) 121-122, Longo Auricchio (1977) XII-XIII, Dorandi (1990) 75, n. 90, e Delattre (1995) 40, hanno ritenuto generalmente che le colonne dovessero essere 137, integrando, dunque, P]ΛZ. La ricostruzione di Puglia è stata recentemente confermata da Del Mastro (2014) 295-296, che ha letto il *sigma* integrato da Puglia.

[2] Longo Auricchio (1977) XII-XIII calcolava l'estensione totale (15.80 m) tramite una proporzione, basata sul fatto che «per contenere sei colonne di scrittura si richiedono cm. 40 di papiro». Il calcolo è realizzabile anche assumendo come dati l'ampiezza media di colonna (55 mm) e intercolumnio (9 mm) e quella dell'*agraphon* finale (165 mm): (55 + 9 mm) x 237 colonne + 165 mm = 15333 mm.

[3] *Kolleseis* sono rintracciabili nei pezzi della cr. 1, a distanze comprese tra i 9.5 e i 10.5 cm. Questa misura rientra nella media ercolanese: *vide* Capasso (1994).

[4] Queste misure sono fornite da Cavallo (2005), sulla base di Capasso (2007) 77. Le altezze standard riportate da Cavallo sono leggermente maggiori, poiché, come ha sottolineato lo stesso Capasso, che ha misurato l'altezza di tutti i rotoli ercolanesi ancora chiusi, bisogna tenere presente che «i rotoli presentano diverse pieghe, segno evidente di una compressione che ha prodotto un accorciamento dell'altezza».

[5] Dalla fine dell'ultima colonna al bordo destro del pezzo si misurano 165 mm.

[6] L'Inventario (Archivio Storico del Museo Nazionale di Napoli, Serie Inventari Antichi No. 43) è edito in Blank / Longo Auricchio (2004) 45-124.

compatte, poi dette scorze, venissero separate dalla parte più interna del cilindro e che quest'ultima, detta midollo, meglio conservata, venisse sottoposta allo svolgimento con la macchina di Piaggio. Negli anni Ottanta del Settecento, dunque, il midollo del rotolo, il P.Hercul. 1427, risultava liberato dalle sue porzioni esterne e praticamente tutte le scorze oggi riconosciute come appartenenti al suo stesso rotolo erano già numerate e inventariate.[7]

Ad oggi numerose scorze sono state messe in relazione con il midollo del libro 1 del De rhetorica: si tratta dei P.Hercul. 232, 234, 250, 398, 426, 1601, 1612, 1619.[8] Nel corso di un lavoro sul libro 1 ho individuato anche nei P.Hercul. 247, 458 e 1115 la mano dello scriba che ha vergato questo testo, l''Anonimo XX' secondo la classificazione degli scribi ercolanesi realizzata da Cavallo.[9] Inoltre, recentemente, Del Mastro ha individuato 3 frammenti del libro 1 del De rhetorica tra i pezzi che compongono il P.Hercul. 1813 (pzz. 7, 15 e 22).[10]

Nel Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi del 1979 il P.Hercul. 247 è registrato come una scorza che misura 5.5 cm di lunghezza e circa 14 cm di altezza; tuttavia, dall'osservazione di questa scorza mi sono accorta che essa risulta composta in realtà da tre pezzi distinti, accostati e attaccati sullo stesso cartoncino. I tre pezzi originariamente non dovevano far parte tutti dello stesso *volumen*, poiché vi si possono notare due mani differenti: la prima, individuabile nella scrittura dei due pezzi in alto, mi è sembrata identificabile con quella dell''Anonimo XX'; la seconda, rintracciabile sul frammentino posto in basso, si distingue per il tratto più sottile e per il tratteggio influenzato dalla scrittura latina. A complicare ancora la situazione del papiro 247 è il fatto che i disegni napoletani con questa numerazione conservano frammenti appartenenti al De pietate di Filodemo; tuttavia, in nessuno dei tre pezzi è rintracciabile la scrittura in cui sono vergati i papiri di quest'opera; nessuno dei disegni, inoltre, rappresenta gli originali oggi visibili sotto questa numerazione.

Sotto il numero di inventario 458 troviamo una scorza, purtroppo in cattive condizioni, costituita da almeno quattro strati. Anche per il P.Hercul. 458 i disegni non sembrano offrire nessuna testimonianza, poiché quelli numerati 458 riproducono, in realtà, il P.Hercul. 459, com'è stato recentemente scoperto da De Gianni.[11]

Il P.Hercul. 1115 è oggi costituito da due pezzi, scritti, come notato già da Bassi, da due mani diverse. Lo stesso Bassi, inoltre, segnalava che nessuno dei 25 frammenti disegnati da Francesco Casanova nel 1828 corrisponde alle due scorze.[12] Un ventiseiesimo disegno, che riproduce il pezzo posto a sinistra, fu realizzato nel 1915 da Mario Arman. Nel pezzo di destra, che quindi non risulta disegnato, ho individuato la mano dell''Anonimo XX'.

3. Il riposizionamento dei pezzi nella cr. 1 del P.Hercul. 1427

Passando al midollo del *volumen*, che comprende il testo di quattro frammenti e delle sette colonne finali del libro, dalla lettura degli Inventari e dei Cataloghi risulta che, in seguito allo

[7] Poiché il testo dell'Inventario è acefalo e ha inizio da metà della descrizione del P.Hercul. 311, l'assenza delle scorze numerate 232, 234 e 250 non può essere assunta come dato significativo.
[8] Sulla base di considerazioni paleografiche ritengo che non appartengano al libro 1 i P.Hercul. 410 e 453: *vide* Nicolardi (2015) 56-57, con riferimenti alla bibliografia precedente.
[9] Cavallo (1983) 39, 45.
[10] Questo papiro miscellaneo è stato presentato da Del Mastro nell'ambito di questo stesso Congresso.
[11] De Gianni / Napolitano (2016) 145.
[12] Sulla copertina dei disegni napoletani, compilata da Bassi, leggiamo: «Due 'scorze', di due mani differenti tra loro; né l'una né l'altra 'scorza' contengono il testo dei frammenti disegnati»; sul foglio di guardia: «Le due (sono due) 'scorze' (di arm. II, tavol. LXXIX), a nessuna delle quali corrisponde nessuno dei framm. disegnati, sono di due mani differenti fra loro».

svolgimento del P.Hercul. 1427, ciascuna delle due cornici conteneva un unico pezzo, per un totale, quindi, di due pezzi soltanto. Infatti, sia nell'Inventario della reale Officina de' Papiri Ercolanesi del 1824 sia in quello del 1853 si parla di «Papiro intero. Svolto in pezzi due».[13] Anche nel Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi del 1979, sotto la voce 1427, si registrano solo due pezzi conservati in due cornici.[14] In realtà già Longo Auricchio, nell'edizione del 1977, segnalava per la prima volta che, nella prima cornice (fig. 1), la porzione di papiro posta in alto a sinistra, che corrisponde ai frammenti 1 e 2, e quella che nella cornice si trova subito al di sotto, contenente i frammenti 3 e 4, non potevano essere in origine verticalmente contigue.[15] Longo, inoltre, notava un'altra incongruenza nel fatto che, nonostante i frammenti 3 e 4 sembrino collegati alle colonne del pezzo di destra senza soluzione di continuità, la loro successione non rispetta la normale alternanza di colonna più intercolumnio e la spiegava con la presenza di strati diversi del papiro.[16] In realtà, dall'osservazione dell'originale al microscopio, si può notare che a destra del frammento numerato 4 una piccola porzione di papiro è leggermente sovrapposta alla colonna I e che la membrana di battiloro è interrotta nella stessa area. I pezzi conservati nella prima cornice del P.Hercul. 1427, dunque, sono tre: il primo, posto in alto a sinistra, contiene i frr. 1-2; il secondo, in basso a sinistra, i frr. 3-4; il terzo, il maggiore, posto a destra, le coll. i-iv.

Nei Philodemi volumina rhetorica e nel Supplementum del Sudhaus, che sono ancora l'edizione di riferimento per quasi tutti i libri De rhetorica, i frammenti sono disposti nell'ordine 4, 2, 3 e 1: infatti, il filologo notò certamente la consequenzialità logica del contenuto dei frammenti 4 e 2 in cui si parla delle tipologie di ἐπιστῆμαι. Tuttavia, probabilmente fuorviato dal fatto che nei disegni i quattro frammenti sono presentati singolarmente e indipendentemente l'uno dall'altro, Sudhaus non dovette rendersi conto che, essendo rispettivamente i frr. 1 e 2, da una parte, e i frr. 3 e 4, dall'altra, tra di loro contigui, non è possibile collocare il frammento 3 dopo il 4, né l'1 dopo il 2. Nella più recente edizione di Longo Auricchio, la disposizione dei frammenti segue l'ordine numerico crescente riportato nei disegni e sul cartoncino su cui è attaccato il papiro; tuttavia, come ho già ricordato, l'editrice segnala la necessità di collocare i frammenti 3 e 4 non immediatamente prima della colonna I, ma più indietro nel rotolo, in quanto sottopposti.

Nel corso della misurazione delle sezioni nella prima cornice del P.Hercul. 1427, mi sono accorta che l'ordine dei tre pezzi, come disposti dagli svolgitori, non seguiva il logico succedersi delle volute.[17] In base a queste considerazioni sul restringimento delle sezioni verso l'interno del rotolo, mi è sembrato di poter partire dall'idea che il pezzo che conserva i frr. 1 e 2 dovesse trovarsi tra il pezzo con i frr. 3 e 4 e quello con le colonne. Che il frammento 2 dovesse essere contiguo alla colonna I mi sembra supportato da un dato materiale: i bordi dei due pezzi (rispettivamente il bordo destro del pezzo con i frr. 1-2 e il bordo sinistro del pezzo più grande della cornice) sono, infatti, molto netti, forse perché risultanti da un taglio più che da una frattura. Dal punto di vista bibliologico, è possibile verificare, inoltre, che tra i due pezzi non è andato perduto nulla: infatti, l'intercolumnio, che inizia all'estrema destra del fr. 2, prosegue ancora sulla parte sinistra del pezzo più grande, a

[13] Rispettivamente "Inventario della reale Officina de' Papiri Ercolanesi", Archivio dell'Officina dei Papiri, B(usta) XVII 12, e "Reale Officina de' Papiri ercolanesi. Inventario Generale De' Papiri e di tutti gli altri oggetti ivi esistenti del 1853", Archivio dell'Officina dei Papiri, B(usta) XVII 20.
[14] Gigante (1979) s.v.
[15] Longo Auricchio (1977) IX.
[16] Longo Auricchio (1977) IX-X.
[17] Le volute in questa parte del papiro sono formate da due sezioni di dimensioni leggermente diverse: per convenzione ho considerato una voluta quella composta da una sezione più stretta a sinistra e una leggermente più ampia a destra. Ho cercato di prendere le misure sempre alla stessa altezza, posizionando il calibro digitale sempre nella parte inferiore dei pezzi (dove conservata).

sinistra della colonna I, con un'estensione totale compatibile con quella dell'intercolumnio medio del *volumen*.[18]

Per quanto riguarda la posizione dei frammenti 3 e 4, alle considerazioni materiali e bibliologiche vanno aggiunte alcune osservazioni contenutistiche, in particolare l'affinità dei frammenti 4 e 2, già notata da Sudhaus nell'*editio princeps* del papiro. La necessità logica di far succedere i due frammenti e le osservazioni sull'ampiezza delle volute mi hanno condotta a disporre i frammenti nel seguente ordine: prima il frammento 3, che presenta la parte inferiore di una colonna, poi i frammenti 1 e 4, che vanno accostati poiché restituiscono rispettivamente la parte superiore e la parte inferiore della stessa colonna, e infine il frammento 2, che restituisce la parte superiore della colonna successiva, della cui porzione inferiore vediamo le lettere iniziali di alcune linee in prossimità del bordo destro del pezzo contenente i frammenti 3 e 4 (fig. 2). Questa ricostruzione è confermata da dati sia materiali che testuali: si può immediatamente osservare, infatti, che l'andamento curvilineo dei bordi – inferiore per i frr. 1 e 2 e superiore per i frr. 3 e 4– fa combaciare i pezzi in maniera quasi obbligata, in modo tale che siano rispettate la successione regolare di colonne e intercolumni e la presenza delle linee di frattura che percorrono verticalmente i *kollemata*; inoltre, in seguito al riposizionamento, otteniamo una colonna completa di tutte le linee, divisa tra i frammenti 1 e 4, il cui punto di giunzione cade in una linea testimoniata parzialmente da ciascuno dei due frammenti. Il preciso innesto tra i due frammenti risulta particolarmente evidente se accostiamo virtualmente gli apografi dei due frammenti (fig. 3). Alla prima linea del fr. 4, Sudhaus integrava ἢ πρὸς τὰ[ς κατὰ μ]έρος; nell'ultima linea del fr. 1, omessa dall'*editor princeps* per la sua frammentarietà, si legge la sequenza ταμ, perfettamente compatibile con l'integrazione di Sudhaus e che completa quasi integralmente la linea.[19]

Richiederebbe troppo tempo, in questa sede, discutere il testo dei frammenti ricollocati, ma già dalla semplice osservazione dell'immagine della ricostruzione virtuale (fig. 2), si può notare che con il nuovo posizionamento dei pezzi nell'ordine 3, 1+4, 2 si ottiene una discreta quantità di testo continuo: in particolare, laddove nelle edizioni precedenti si leggevano 4 frammenti slegati, abbiamo adesso 3 colonne che, seppure non complete (fatta eccezione per la centrale), restituiscono linee consecutive, permettendo di integrare con un grado di sicurezza maggiore, grazie al contesto, anche i punti più lacunosi.

4. Alcuni elementi paratestuali nel P.Hercul. 1427

Il riesame del papiro mi ha permesso anche di individuare un'interessante notazione nel margine inferiore del fr. 4. Qui, infatti, ho letto il numerale]λ̄. Dal momento che, come ho già detto, le colonne erano in totale 237, bisognerà integrare c]λ̄. In realtà, numerando a ritroso le colonne dall'ultima della cornice 2, quella contenuta nei frammenti 1+4 risulterebbe essere la duecentoventinovesima, ma si potrebbe pensare che l'ultima colonna, poiché incompleta, non sia stata inclusa nel conteggio. Negli altri punti superstiti del margine

[18] Apparentemente potrebbe sembrare che ci sia un ostacolo materiale a questa ricostruzione, poiché un prolungamento verso sinistra del pezzo contenente le colonne non trova corrispondenza, come ci si aspetterebbe, in una piccola lacuna a destra del pezzo contenente i frammenti 1 e 2. Tuttavia, dall'osservazione dell'originale al microscopio, si può vedere come questo prolungamento sia costituito solo dalle fibre inferiori (verticali) del papiro e anche dall'immagine multispettrale si può apprezzare l'interruzione delle fibre orizzontali in questo punto. Bisognerà dunque pensare che, dall'altra parte, nei pressi dell'estremità destra del frammento 2, sul verso, non siano visibili le fibre verticali e che, quindi, i due strati di cui era composto il foglio di papiro si siano staccati in quel punto.

[19] Sudhaus (1892) 1.

inferiore conservati nel P.Hercul. 1427 non si leggono altre notazioni del genere ed è possibile che nel rotolo le colonne fossero numerate ogni 10.

Un altro elemento paratestuale presente nel *volumen* del libro 1 De rhetorica è la sticometria intercolonnare. Nella cr. 2 del P.Hercul. 1427, a sinistra della penultima colonna, si legge un *ny* sopralineato, che si trova a 50 linee dalla fine del testo.[20] Com'è noto, con la funzione di cifre sticometriche venivano generalmente apposte negli intercolumni, ogni 100 *stichoi*, lettere dell'alfabeto, nella maggior parte dei casi nella sua forma non ampliata; una volta terminate le 24 lettere, lo scriba ripartiva da *alpha*, in corrispondenza del 2500° *stichos*.[21] Il *ny* sticometrico della cr. 2 del P.Hercul. 1427, dunque, risulta indicare il 3700° *stichos* su un totale di 4000 registrati nella *subscriptio* finale. Il rapporto tra *stichos* e linea reale può variare da *volumen* a *volumen*, in ragione soprattutto della 'mise en page', motivo per cui, per comprendere con maggiore precisione il valore della nota sticometrica *ny*, è necessario stabilire a quante linee reali corrisponda uno *stichos* nel *volumen* cui apparteneva il P.Hercul. 1427. Dal rapporto tra numero totale di *stichoi* (4000) e numero totale di linee reali (9200 circa, come risulta dalla moltiplicazione di 237 colonne per una media di 38.8 linee per colonna), risulterebbe che uno *stichos* in questo rotolo dovesse corrispondere a circa 2.3 linee reali.[22] Tuttavia, un elemento paratestuale consente di stabilire con sicurezza che nel *volumen* del libro 1 De rhetorica uno *stichos* corrisponde precisamente a 2 linee reali: nel P.Hercul. 1427, infatti, ho rilevato ogni 20 linee, a sinistra delle colonne, la presenza di punti sticometrici, che venivano apposti ogni 10 *stichoi* per facilitare il conteggio finale.[23] In realtà si può osservare che, mentre nell'esametro omerico, usato come riferimento nei calcoli sticometrici, le sillabe dovevano essere 15-16, il numero di sillabe ogni due linee nel P.Hercul. 1427 oscilla tra 12 e 15. Tuttavia, la corrispondenza non precisa con lo *stichos* 'standard' è attestata anche in altri rotoli ercolanesi, come quello che conserva l'opera De pietate di Filodemo, in cui uno *stichos* contiene 12 sillabe.[24]

Il rapporto 1:2 tra *stichos* e linee reali nel *volumen* del libro 1 De rhetorica non sembra coerente, però, con la posizione del *ny* sticometrico (3700° *stichos*) a sole 50 linee, ossia a 25 *stichoi*, dalla coronide che marca la fine del testo, poiché a rigor di logica l'annotazione dovrebbe essere seguita ancora da 300 *stichoi*, ossia 600 linee reali, per raggiungere il totale di 4000 *stichoi* indicato nella *subscriptio*. Lo scriba potrebbe aver approssimato il totale, soprattutto tenendo presente che nel *volumen* non sono assolutamente rare le aggiunte al di fuori dello specchio di scrittura; se ammettiamo che queste aggiunte siano anteriori al conteggio sticometrico finale, è chiaro che esse sarebbero rimaste escluse da un calcolo preciso che includesse rigidamente solo le linee delle colonne.[25]

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[20] Si veda la fotografia della cr. 2 pubblicata in Longo Auricchio (1977) T. 1. Su questa nota sticometrica *vide* anche Del Mastro (2014) 34, n. 317 e, sulla sticometria di questo rotolo, 296-297.

[21] *Vide* Del Mastro (2011) 38; (2012) 41-43. In particolare, sull'importanza della sticometria per la ricostruzione dei rotoli ercolanesi, *vide* Essler (2008) 299-305. Sull'uso della serie alfabetica ampliata nella sticometria intercolonnare *vide* Ohly (1928) 80-81; Janko (2010) 200, n. 6; Del Mastro (2012) 41 n. 46.

[22] Così Del Mastro (2014) 297. È chiaro che la media delle linee per colonna va ritenuta approssimativa, poiché basata solo sulla parte finale del rotolo, nella quale è probabile che le colonne fossero più fitte che nella parte iniziale.

[23] I punti sono visibili con sicurezza in corrispondenza di fr. 3, 16, fr. 2, 21, col. ii 9, 29, col. iii 30, col. iv 13, 33 Longo Auricchio. Ricostruendo la posizione dei punti caduti in lacuna, anche il *ny* sticometrico risulta coerente con l'intervallo di 20 linee. Punti sticometrici ogni 10 *stichoi* si trovano anche in altri papiri ercolanesi: per alcuni esempi *vide* Bassi (1909) 70-71; Philippson (1920) 235 e 364-365; Ohly (1924) 191; Obbink (1996) 63-64, n. 3; e il più recente intervento di Del Mastro (2012) 41-42 e n. 49.

[24] Si tratta di un altro esempio di rotolo in cui si osservano punti sticometrici ogni 20 linee. *Vide* Ohly (1928) 56.

[25] Di arrotondamento della cifra al migliaio più vicino parlava già Ohly (1924) 197. Si tratta di un'approssimazione piuttosto elevata, di quasi 300 *stichoi*. Mi sembra significativo che il totale arrotondato

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ammonti proprio a 4000 *stichoi*, poiché questo numero potrebbe costituire un limite di estensione entro il quale l'opera poteva essere copiata in un solo rotolo (*vide* la testimonianza di Galeno nel De indolentia 28, commentata da Del Mastro [2012] 35-61). Mi sembrerebbe difficile pensare che in questo rotolo fosse utilizzata la serie numerica completa di *stigma*, *qoppa* e *sampi*, poiché in questo modo bisognerebbe ammettere un arrotondamento per difetto, difficilmente giustificabile. Bisognerebbe immaginare un ampliamento della serie solo con *stigma*, poiché in questo modo il N indicherebbe il 3900° *stichos* (7800ª linea reale), numero molto più vicino alla realtà. Tuttavia, non mi risultano attestati casi di numerazione sticometrica ampliata con il solo *stigma*.

Tavole[26]



Fig. 1. P.Hercul. 1427, cr. 1.

[26] Le immagini del P.Hercul. 1427 e dei disegni napoletani (Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III di Napoli) sono riprodotte su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Ne è vietata la duplicazione con qualsiasi mezzo. © Biblioteca Nazionale, Vittorio Emanuele III, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.

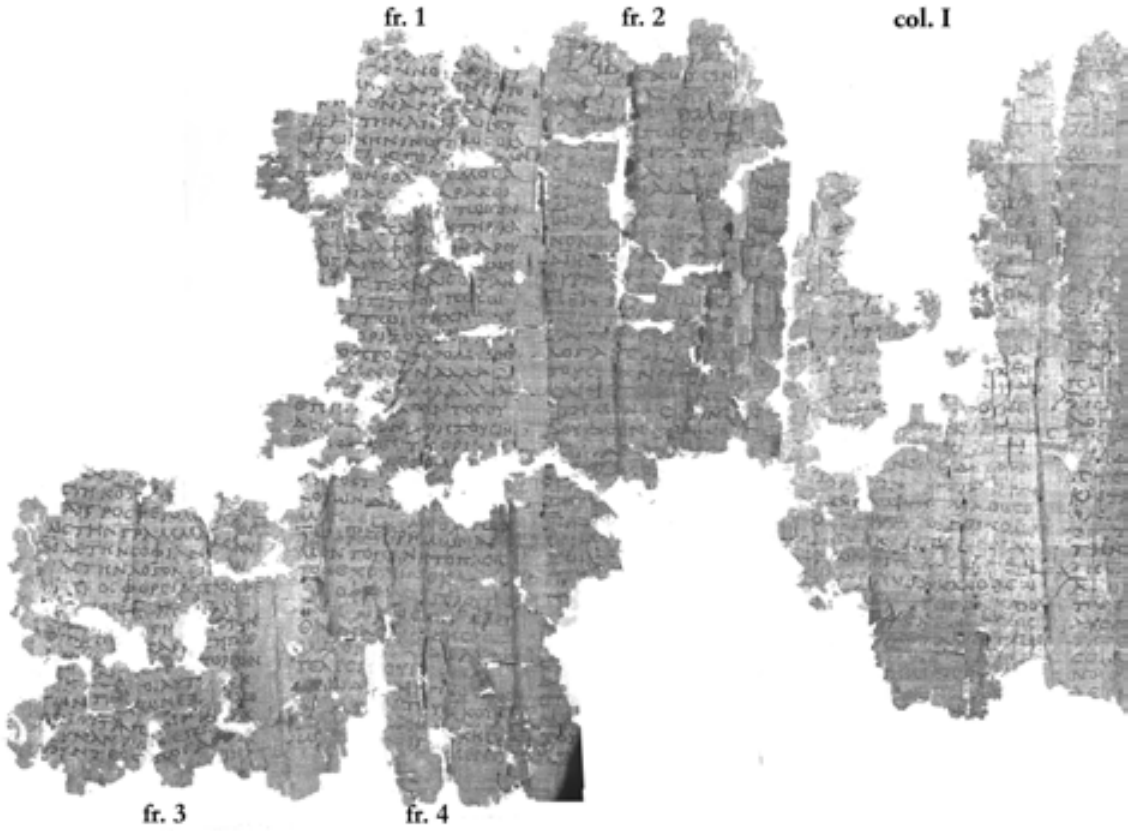


Fig. 2. Ricostruzione virtuale dei pezzi in P.Hercul. 1427, cr. 1.

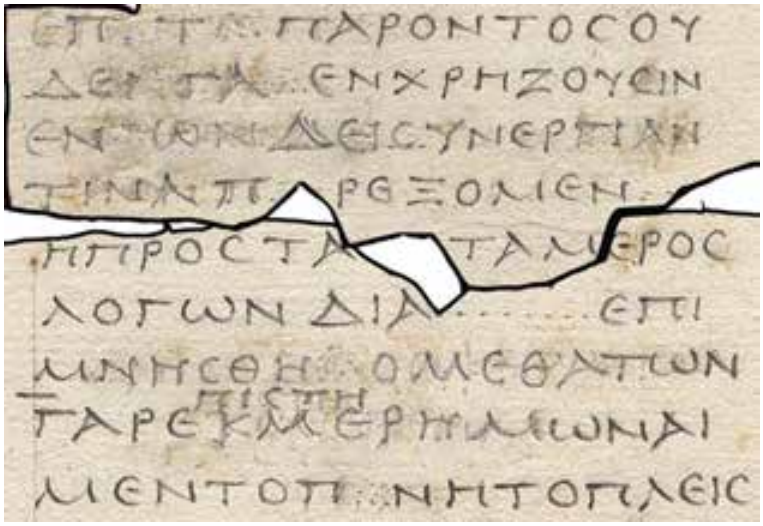


Fig. 3. Dettaglio del ricongiungimento dei frr. 1 e 4 (disegni napoletani).

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Analecta Xenophanea[*]

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Kürzlich bat sich mir die Gelegenheit, alle bisherigen bekannten Zeugnisse zu Xenophanes, die in den Herkulanensischen Papyri überliefert sind, zu sammeln und zu kommentieren.[1] Diese Testimonien tragen dazu bei, unsere Kenntnis der doxographischen Überlieferung der Theologie und Epistemologie dieses Vorsokratikers zu erweitern. In vorliegenden Artikel möchte ich diese Forschungen zur papyrologischen Überlieferung der Zeugnisse zu Xenophanes noch weiterführen. Zu diesem Zweck, werde ich einige graeco-ägyptische Testimonien unter philosophie-geschichtliche Perspektive betrachten. Es handelt sich um zwei Scholien zu Homer, die Nachrichten zu Leben und Lehre des Xenophanes übermitteln. Zu diesen Testimonien kommt jetzt noch eine Passage des Fr. 6 Schorn des Leben des Euripides von Satyros hinzu, d.h. P.Oxy. IX 1176, Fr. 37, Kol. III. Wie ich später zeigen werde, kann dort, obwohl diese Stelle sehr lückenhaft überliefert ist, der Name des Xenophanes ergänzt werden. Das Zeugnis bietet einen weiteren Beitrag zur Diskussion der Theologie des Xenophanes und insbesondere seiner Kritik der traditionellen Religion und ihres Einflusses auf Euripides.

Ich möchte mit dem Scholion zum 7. Buch der Ilias (P.Oxy. VIII 1087, Kol. II 40-41) beginnen:[2]

40 τὸ Ἔρυ-
__κος παρὰ Ξεν[ο]φάνει ἐν ε΄ Σίλλων, κτλ.

41 suppl. Hunt, sic et Erbse, qui etiam adnotat: „]..ιει pot. qu.]φανει, sed variae formae litt. ν inveniuntur“

«(…) Erykos [*scil.* Stadt oder Berg in Sizilien = Eryx][3] bei Xenophanes im fünften Buch der Sillen, usw.»[4]

Dieses Testimonium schließt an eines der herkulanensischen Zeugnisse zu Xenophanes an, nämlich an Fr. 1 des P.Hercul. 327.[5] W. Crönert wies als erster die Fragmente des P.Hercul. 327 der Syntaxis der Philosophen (Σύνταξις τῶν φιλοσόφων) Philodems zu und hielt sie für

[*] Dieser Beitrag wurde ermöglicht durch eine Finanzierung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG). Abkürzungen: CatPErc = Gigante (1979); DG = Diels (1965[4]); DK = Diels / Kranz (1952[6]); GG = Uhlig / Hilgard (1883-1910); IPPH = Index Praesocraticorum Philosophorum Herculanensis, in Vassallo (2016) 81-97; VH[2] = Herculanensium Voluminum quae supersunt. Collectio altera, voll. I-XI (Neapoli) 1862-1876; Xen = Nummerierung der Fragmente und Testimonien des Xenophanes der neuen Sammlung von Strobel / Wöhrle (2018). Mein herzlicher Dank gilt Georg Wöhrle für wertvolle Ratschläge und für die sprachliche Überarbeitung.

[1] Vassallo (2014); (2015).

[2] [TM 61125; LDAB 2264; MP[3] 1186] = Sch. in Il. 7.76, II, S. 224 Erbse (= DK 21 B 21a = Xen 339 = CPF 107 1T).

[3] Hunt (1911) 108 bemerkt: «Ἔρυκος is not a known form for Ἔρυξ, but the first letter is most probably ε and the occurrence of the name in the works of Xenophanes is eminently natural».

[4] Die folgenden Übersetzungen aus den Papyri sind eigene.

[5] [TM 62405; LDAB 3571; CatPErc 327 (cf. Chartes online); IPPH XXXVIII 179] = Tim. Sill. fr. 67 Di Marco (= *deest* DK = Xen 35).

Fragmente aus dem Buch über die eleatische und abderitische Schule.[6] Die mitunter sehr kühnen Ergänzungen von Crönert sind oftmals mit Recht kritisiert worden. Ungeachtet dessen können verschiedene paläographische Überlegungen die Zuschreibung dieses Papyrus zur Syntaxis Philodems bekräftigen.[7] Fr. 1 des P.Hercul. 327 erweist sich hier als aufschlussreich, weil es Aussagen enthält, die auf ein Werk des Xenophanes Bezug nehmen könnten.

desunt versus plures
- - - ἡγε]μονεύειν [. . . .(.)
- - -] .ης γεγονε[. . .(.)
- - -] Δημόκριτος [. . .(.)
- - -]ω ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις
- - -]αμιδημ[. . . .(.)
- - -]ς Λυδὸν `ὄν´τα .[. .(.)
- - -]ταις, ὃν καὶ [. . .(.)
- - -]ιλευ[. . .
desunt versus plures

Fontes: [P] = *O* 305 = *N* fr. 1 = *VH*^{2} VIII 197 1 *N*:]μονευ.ιν[(ε, σ) *O* ἡγε]μονεύειν suppl. Crönert 2]ησγεγονε[*N*:].ησγεγεν[dext. sup. vest. *O* γεγονέ[ναι suppleverim e.g. 3 *N*:] .ημοκριτο[dext. inf. vest. *O* 4 *O*:]ωεντοισ[.(.)]λλοισ *N* 5]αμιδημ[*O*:]αμιδην[*N* 6]σ.υδον`ον´τα.[ desc., inf. vert. *O*: ].υδον`ον´τα[*N* 7 *ON* 8 *N*:]λευ[*O* βασ]ιλεύ[ειν suppleverim e.g.: βασ]ιλευ- Crönert

«(mehrere Zeilen ausgefallen) beherrschen (einige Worte ausgefallen) war (?) (einige Worte ausgefallen) Demokrit (einige Worte ausgefallen) in den Silloi (einige Worte ausgefallen), [dass er] aus Lydien kam (einige Worte ausgefallen), da es auch [möglich war] (einige Worte ausgefallen) [regieren?] (mehrere Zeilen ausgefallen)»

In diesem Fragment ist es sehr schwer, den Namen von Demokrit, der in Zeile 3 erscheint,[8] mit den anderen wenigen Worten, die aufgrund der Oxforder (*O*) und Neapoletanischen (*N*) 'Disegni' rekonstruiert werden können, in Verbindung zu bringen.[9] Es könnte hier aber auch eine Anspielung auf Xenophanes vorliegen, wenn der Ausdruck ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις in Zeile 4 dieses Fragments Bezug auf sein gleichnamiges Werk nehmen sollte.[10] Ist dies der Fall, wäre diese herkulanensische Stelle ein älteres Zeugnis für die Silloi (als Titel des satirischen Werkes des Xenophanes) als jenes, das von P.Oxy. VIII 1087, Kol. II 40-41 überliefert wird.[11] Es existierten einige Quellen, die auf Xenophanes als Verfasser der Silloi hinweisen.[12] Ein anderes Zitat liest man in Sch. vet. in Ar. Eq. 408a Jones (S. 103 Koster = DK 21 B 17 = Xen 345):

βακχέβακχον ᾄσαι: εὐφημῆσαι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ ἀνυμνῆσαι. Βάκχον δὲ οὐ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐκάλουν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς τελοῦντας τὰ ὄργια βάκχους ἐκάλουν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ

[6] Crönert (1906) 127-133, insbes. 130.
[7] Dazu vgl. Cavallo (1983) 31; Cavalieri (2002) 21-23.
[8] Nach Cavalieri (2002) 30 können wir die Wiederholung dieses Namens in Zeile 5 nicht ausschließen. Aber die drei Buchstaben (AMI), die vor dem ersten Teil des Namens Demokrits (ΔΗΜ) zu lesen sind, lassen keine plausible Lesung eines Wortendes erkennen.
[9] Vgl. Crönert (1906) 129.
[10] Diese Hypothese wurde schon von Crönert (1906) geäußert.
[11] So Di Marco (1989) 269.
[12] DK 21 A 20 (= Xen 50); A 21 (= Xen 110); A 22 (= Xen 343); A 23 (= Xen 335); B 22 [?] (= Xen 312); B 41 (= Xen 298). Zur modernen Debatte der Echtheit dieses Werkes siehe Farina (1961) 13-14; G. Reale in Zeller / Mondolfo (1967) 68-69; Untersteiner (2008) CCXXXVII-CCLVI und 128-137; Di Marco (1989) 17-56. H. Diels schrieb diesem Werk 11 Fragmente zu (= DK 21 B 10-21a = Xen 72; 82; 87; 111; 123-124; 144-145; 206 & 222; 339; 344-345), den Παρῳδίαι, die dagegen schon E. Zeller als dasselbe Werk wie die Σίλλοι betrachtete, nur eins (DK 21 B 22 = Xen 312). Siehe auch infra, Anm. 23.

> τοὺς κλάδους οὓς οἱ μύσται φέρουσι. μέμνηται δὲ Ξενοφάνης ἐν Σίλλοις οὕτως· "ἑστᾶσιν δ' ἐλάτης ‹βάκχοι› πυκινὸν περὶ δῶμα." ἔστι δὲ καὶ στεφάνης εἶδος, ὡς Νίκανδρος ἐν τῷ περὶ γλωσσῶν ἱστορεῖ· φησὶ γὰρ οὕτως· "βάκχοισιν κεφαλὰς περιάνθεσιν ἐστέψαντο." VEΓΘM.
>
> «"Das Bakchoslied singen" Dionysos preisen und hymnisch ehren. 'Bakchos' nannten sie aber nicht nur den Dionysos, sondern sie nannten auch alle, die, die [seine] Riten vollzogen, 'Bakchen', indessen auch die Zweige, die die Mysten tragen. Das erinnert Xenophanes in den Sillen so: "Rings um das feste Haus stehen Fichtenbakchen (= -zweige)." Es ist aber auch eine Art Kranz, wie Nikander in Über Glossen erforscht; denn er sagt folgendermaßen: "Sie bekränzten die Häupter mit rings blühenden 'Bakchen'.»[13]

P.Oxy. VIII 1087 gibt uns noch weitere Informationen. Den Hinweis auf die Silloi des Xenophanes findet man, wie gesagt, in einem Kommentar zu einem Vers der Ilias.[14] Dieser Kommentar hat nur ein formales Ziel, nämlich eine sprachliche und grammatikalische Erklärung der Bildung einiger Nominative vom Genitiv des jeweiligen prototypischen Namens zu geben.[15] Gleichwohl haben einige Wissenschaftler dieses papyrologische Zeugnis zum Anlass genommen, daraus Elemente zur Rekonstruktion der Biographie des Xenophanes zu entnehmen, mit besonderem Bezug auf seinen Aufenthalt in Sizilien, der schon von Diogenes Laërtius erwähnt wird.[16] Abgesehen davon könnte, wenn das Zeugnis glaubwürdig wäre, daraus abgeleitet werden, dass die Silloi des Xenophanes mindestens fünf Büchern umfassten. Herodian zitiert ein zweifelhaftes Fragment aus Buch 4 der Silloi.[17] Hier spielt auch P.Hercul. 327, Fr. 1 eine wichtige Rolle. Denn auch dieses herkulanensische Zeugnis zitiert, wie oben gesehen, ein Werk, das Silloi heißt. Das Problem besteht darin, dass wir nicht wissen, ob hier wirklich ein Hinweis auf die Silloi des Xenophanes vorliegt. In diesem Fall ist es auch wegen der Erwähnung Demokrits möglich, dass Fr. 1 des P.Hercul. 327 zu dem Abschnitt des Syntaxis Philodems, der jenem über Xenophanes folgt, gehören könnte. Es ist aber viel wahrscheinlicher, dass die Silloi, die in dieser herkulanensischen Quelle genannt werden, das gleichnamige Werk des Timon von Phlius waren. Aber auch in diesem Fall wäre Xenophanes nicht aus dem Spiel. Diogenes Laërtius überliefert, dass die Silloi Timons aus drei Büchern bestanden. In diesen Büchern habe Timon, passend zu seiner skeptischen Neigung, alle 'dogmatischen' Philosophen parodiert. Das erste Buch erwiese sich als eine Erzählung in Ich-Form, während das zweite und dritte Buch in Form von Dialogen geschrieben seien. In einem solchen Dialog werde Xenophanes von Timon gefragt, welche Meinung er über einen jeden der Philosophen habe (über die älteren im 2. Buch, die neueren im 3. Buch, das auch als Epilog bezeichnet werde).[18] Nach Meinung von M. Di Marco ist die Laërtianische Stelle:

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[13] Übersetzung von B. Strobel und G. Wöhrle.

[14] Il. 7.76. Es handelt sich um einen Teil einer herausfordenden Rede Hektors gegen die Achäer, die zum Kampf zwischen ihm und dem Telamonier Aiax führt.

[15] Es handelt sich um eine ganze Liste von abgeleiteten Namen (siehe auch CPF I.1***, 95, 5T, 758-759 = P.Oxy. VIII 1087, Kol. I 29-30 Montanari). Vgl. Manetti / Montanari (1999) 877.

[16] D.L. 9.18.4-5 Dorandi. Nach Gigon (1968^2) 156 würde das Oxyrhynchus-Fragment beweisen, dass Xenophanes während seines Aufenthalts auf Sizilien bis zur Stadt Palermo gelangt sei. *Contra* Manetti / Montanari (1999) 877.

[17] Hdn. Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως 7.11, GG, III.2, S. 912, 4-5 Lentz (= DK 21 B 42 = Anm. vor Xen 72): καὶ παρὰ Ξενοφάνει ἐν $\overline{\delta}^{\omega\iota}$ Σίλλων· "καί ‹κ'› ἐπιθυμήσειε νέος νῆς ἀμφιπόλοιο". Die von Diels angenommene Konjektur Ξενοφάνει ἐν $\overline{\delta}^{\omega\iota}$ Σίλλων geht auf Seidler zurück und emendiert die Lesart δινσίλλωνι der Kodizes. Von Dindorf hingegen wurde diese Lesart in Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν Αἰολοσίκωνι emendiert. Danach wurde diese Emendation von Lentz übernommen (deswegen erscheint im lentzschen Text Herodians Xenophanes nicht). Zu Dindorf gehört die Ergänzung des Partikels ‹κ'› im Zitat. Vgl. Diels / Kranz (1952^6) I, 138, App.

[18] Tim. Sill. test. 1 Di Marco (= D.L. 9.111-112 Dorandi). Vgl. Nestle (1937) 1302; Dal Pra (1950) 56-59; Untersteiner (2008) 2-3 Anm.; Clayman (2009) 78-94.

> «una vera e propria *hypothesis* che con certezza risale al commento al poema scritto da Apollonide di Nicea. (…) il *résumé* di Apollonide autorizza a credere che nei Silli si descrivesse una catabasi all'Ade: è solo nel regno dei morti, infatti, che possiamo immaginare Timone a colloquio con Senofane, vissuto molte generazioni addietro».[19]

Ohne Zweifel, deutet die Struktur des Werkes darauf hin, dass Timon eine tiefe Bewunderung für Xenophanes hegte. Das kann durch den starken ideologischen Bruch mit der traditionellen griechischen Kultur, den der Vorsokratiker symbolisierte, erklärbar sein. Sowohl Diogenes Laërtius als auch Sextus Empiricus behaupten, dass Timon die harsche Kritik des Xenophanes bezüglich der Homerischen Lügen besonders gelobt habe.[20] Um diese Lobrede zu bestätigen, fügte Sextus hinzu, dass die Silloi ein ganz dem Xenophanes gewidmetes Werk gewesen seien. Auf diese Weise machte Sextus deutlich, dass Timon den vorsokratischen Philosophen als Vorläufer des antiken Skeptizismus betrachtete, auch wenn er ihn nicht für so weise wie Pyrrho hielt.[21] Nach einigen Wissenschaftlern würde die grundlegende Rolle des Xenophanes bei Timon beweisen, dass dieses Werk des Xenophanes schon im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. unter dem Titel Σίλλοι bekannt war.[22] Diese Hypothese beweist natürlich nicht die Echtheit der Xenophaneischen Silloi, aber wenigstens ihren großen Erfolg in der doxographischen Überlieferung. So kann man auch vermuten, dass Fr. 1 des P.Hercul. 327 einem Abschnitt des Werkes Timons entnommen war, in dem Xenophanes eine Rolle spielte, um bestimmte Aspekte der Gedanken Demokrits zu kritisieren.

Wie bereits gesagt, ist ein Hinweis auf Xenophanes auch in P.Oxy. IX 1176, Fr. 37, Kol. III[23] identifizierbar. Diese papyrologische Stelle überliefert einen in der Forschung umstrittenen Abschnitt aus dem Leben des Euripides von Satyros (fr. 6 Schorn). Ich rekonstruiere hier folgendermaßen:

desunt versus 4
. . . .(.)]. .[. . . . .
α[.(.) Ξε]νοφ[άν. .
κ[. . . .]. οις, [. . . .
λ.[. .]ς ἀμ[. . . . . ·
"σοι̣ὶ τ⸢ῶι πι̣άν⸣-
των μεδι̣έον⸣-
τι χλόην" π̣ι̣έ⸣-
λανόν τε φέρι̣ω⸣
Ζεὺς εἴ̣ι̣θ'⸢Ἄ‹ι›δης
ὀνομάζ̣ηι." Ἀ-
κριβῶς ὅλως
περιείληφεν̣
τὸν Ἀναξ[α-
γόρειον [διά-
κοσμον [. .]. .[.(.)

[19] Di Marco (1989) 22. Dazu vgl. Meineke (1843) 6.

[20] Tim. Sill. fr. 60 Di Marco (= S.E. P. 1.224 Mutschmann = DK 21 A 35 [III] = Xen 23 & 91; D.L. 9.18 Dorandi = DK 21 A 1 = Xen 152). Siehe Di Marco (1989) 255-259.

[21] Tim. Sill. fr. 59 Di Marco (= S.E. P. 1.223 Mutschmann = DK 21 A 35 [II] = Xen 91). Vgl. Dal Pra (1950) 62; Steinmetz (1966) 35-37; Di Marco (1989) 247-254.

[22] Vgl. Long (1978) 77; Pratesi (1985) 43-44; Di Marco (1989) 269. Nach Manetti / Montanari (1999) 878 würde diese Hypothese auch vom Sch. bT in Il. 2.212b, I, S. 228 Erbse (= DK 21 A 23 = Xen 335) unterstützt: ἤδη δὲ οὐ Ξενοφάνει, ἀλλ' Ὁμήρῳ πρώτῳ Σίλλοι πεποίηνται, ἐν οἷς αὐτός τε τὸν Θερσίτην σιλλαίνει καὶ ὁ Θερσίτης τοὺς ἀρίστους (vgl. Schmid / Stählin [1929] I, 310 Anm. 4). *Contra* Voghera (1903) 1-8, und Untersteiner (2008) CCXLI, die denken, dass nur aufgrund des Titels des Werkes Timons die Silloi Xenophanes zugeschrieben wurden.

[23] [TM 62717; LDAB 3905; MP^3 1456] = Satyr. fr. 6 Schorn (= DK 59 A 20c [II] = Xen 26 = CPF 10 2T [II]).

20 __τρισίν· περὶ [ὧν
καὶ ἄλληι γ[έ
πηι διαπορ[εῖ,
τί πότ' ἐστ̣ι
τὸ προεστη-
25 κὸς τῶν οὐρα-
νίων· "Ζεὺς
ι̣εἴ̣ι̣τ' ἀνάγκι̣η
φύσεω̣ι̣ς εἴτ̣ι̣ε
29 [νοῦς βροτῶν̣ι̣."

. . . . . .

6 Ξε]ν̣οφ[άνης vel Ξε]ν̣οφ[άνους vel Ξε]ν̣οφ[άνην suppleverim e.g. 7 κ[ἀν θε]ί̣οις, [καὶ κτλ. cogitaverim: κ[ἀν τ]οῖς [Κρησὶ] von Arnim: κ[ἀν τ]οῖς [ἑξῆς Cantarella 7-8 ἄλ]|λη[ι ὡ]ς ἀμ[ηχανῶν vel ἀμ[ηχάνως et sim. cogitaverim: ἀπο]|λο[γο]ύμε[νος suppl. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff ap. Hunt, cui tamen hoc supplementum vest. min. congr. videtur: δ[ιὰ το]ῦ μέ[λους von Arnim, vest. min. congr.: εὐ]|λ̣α̣[βο]υ̣μ̣ε̣[ν- Snell (λα̣[βο]υμε̣[ν- Schorn), mss. sec., vest. min. congr. 9-14 E. fr. 912 Kannicht, quod ad Cretenses Valckenaer et von Arnim referunt, ad Pirithoum autem Leo, Cantarella et alii 11 χλόην P, a Bergk e Mss. iam coniectum 13 εἴ̣ι̣θ'̣ι̣Ἄ‹ι›δης P (‹ι› add. Schorn): εἴτ' Ἀΐδης lectio a Clem.Al. tradita 14 ὀνομάζ̣η̣ι P (perp. ut Hunt [1912] 172 iam vid.): ὀνομαζόμενος στέργεις lectio a Clem.Al. tradita 18-19 [διά]|κοσμον suppl. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff ap. Hunt 19 fin. [ἔπ]ε̣σ̣[ι ([ἔπεσι iam Diels) vel [μέ]ρ̣ε̣[σι vel [λό]γο̣[ις vel [τό]π̣ο̣[ις vel [ῥή]σ̣ε̣[σι et sim. possis: [ἐν Hunt, deinde Leo et Kumaniecki, sed spat. long. u.v. cf. P.Oxy. IX 1176, fr. 38, col. I (= E. fr. 913 Kannicht = DK 59 A 20c [III]) 20 περὶ [ὧν Carlini, qui post τρισίν interpungit, ap. Funghi: περι[όδοις Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (acc. Kumaniecki) ap. Hunt, cui tamen hoc supplementum spat. long. videtur: περι[ιών Diels, deinde Arrighetti, sed supplementum vix prob. a Parsons putatur 21-22 suppl. Hunt 26-29 E. Tr. 886

«(5 Zeilen und etwa 1 Wort ausgefallen) Xenophanes (?) (2 Zeilen ausgefallen) [und anderswo, wie in Verlegenheit, schreibt er (*scil.* Euripides)]: "Dir, dem Allherrscher, bringe ich frisches Grün und Opferkuchen dar, heißt du nun Zeus oder Hades". Er faßte ganz genau die anaxagoreische Weltordnung [in/mit] drei [dichterischen Versen/Werken (?)] zusammen; [und] über diese Fragen (*scil.* die theologischen) auch anderswo zeigt er sich ratlos (*scil.* skeptisch?), was den Himmelserscheinungen vorsteht, [wie wenn er sagt]: "Zeus oder Notwendigkeit der Natur oder [Geist der Menschen]", usw.»[24]

In Zeile 6 möchte ich den Vorschlag machen, den Namen Ξε]ν̣οφ[άν- (Nominativ, Genitiv oder Akkusativ) zu lesen. Die Stelle befindet sich in einem Abschnitt des Werkes des Satyros (fr. 37), der dem Charakter des Euripides und, teilweise, seinen Beziehungen zu Anaxagoras gewidmet ist.[25] In Kol. I behauptet Satyros, dass Euripides besonders Anaxagoras schätzte. In Kol. II zitiert Satyros aus dem Peirithoos Euripides (fr. 593 Nauck) oder, wie viele behaupten, aus einem Drama Kritias (TrGF 43 F 4 Snell / Kannicht). Schließlich zitiert Satyros, in Kol. III, nach einem vermutlichen Hinweis auf die xenophaneische Kritik gegen den (religiös bestimmten) Mythos, ein weiteres Fragment des Euripides (fr. 912 Kannicht), das einige der Tragödie Peirithoos, andere den Kretern zuschreiben. In diesem Fragment geht es um die Natur von Zeus (i.e. der Herrscher aller Dinge) und seine Benennung (i.e. Zeus oder Hades). In Bezug auf diese Verse sagt Satyros, dass es Euripides gelang, mit seinem Gedicht[26] die ganze Kosmologie des Anaxagoras zusammenzufassen. Dann fügt er hinzu, dass sich Euripides hinsichtlich der traditionellen theologischen Deutung der Struktur der

[24] Übersetzung von S. Schorn (mit einigen Änderungen und Zusätzen).
[25] Vgl. Funghi (1989), mit einem *status quaestionis*; Schorn (2004) 197-220 und die dort zitierte Bibliographie. Zur doxographischen Überlieferung, die Euripides zu einem Schüler von Anaxagoras macht, siehe Arrighetti (1964) 105-108; Sider (2005[2]) 1, Anm. 2.
[26] Zu den verschiedenen Konjekturen, die am Ende der Zeile 19 der Kol. III vorgeschlagen wurden, vgl. den textkritischen Apparat meiner Edition.

Natur und der physikalischen Phänomene als Skeptiker erweise, wie der Vers 886 der Troerinnen bestätige. Vielleicht ist es ein wenig zu kurz gegriffen, diese Passage von Satyros nur als ein Testimonium dafür zu lesen, inwieweit Euripides Anaxagoras gegenüber verpflichtet ist. Mehr wahrscheinlich widmete Satyros diesen Abschnitt seines Bios ganz allgemein dem Einfluss einiger vorsokratischer Philosophen (nicht nur des Anaxagoras) auf die theologischen und physikalischen Auffassungen des Euripides. In einem solchen Kontext wäre ein Hinweis auf Xenophanes und seinen Einfluss auf die religiöse Auffassung der euripideischen Tragödien ganz verständlich.[27] Im Übrigen könnte diese Auffassung vom Fr. 23 Janko des 4. Buchs von Philodems Über die Gedichte bestätigt werden. Denn in diesem herkulanensischen Testimonium erscheint unmittelbar nach dem Namen des Euripides der des Xenophanes.[28] Außerdem erlauben sowohl meine Ergänzung e.g. ἀμ[ηχανῶν / ἀμ[ηχάνως (u.Ä.) in Zeile 8 des P.Oxy. IX 1176, Fr. 37, Kol. III als auch das Verb διαπορ[εῖ in Zeile 22, das Testimonium auf eine 'skeptische' Tradition zurückzuführen. Ein solcher Standpunkt, den wir heute als agnostisch kennzeichnen, wurde in der Antike als gotteslästerlich oder atheistisch angesehen. Abgesehen vom berühmten Fall des Protagoras,[29] galt in der doxographischen Überlieferung genau Xenophanes als der Urheber dieser skeptischen Tradition im theologischen (und epistemologischen) Bereich. In Fr. 34 DK behauptete Xenophanes bekanntlich, dass wir bezüglich der göttlichen und menschlichen Dinge keine Wahrheit erreichen können, sondern nur Vermutungen anstellen können.[30]

Die letzte graeco-ägyptische Quelle zu Xenophanes ist P.Oxy. II 221, Kol. IX 1-3.[31] Das schwierige Zeugnis lautet folgendermaßen:

σανται̣[. . .](.)κα̣[. .] . παρ̣[. . (.)][[.]]`ν´ κατέλεξα
"Ἀχελω[ΐου] ἀργυροδ[ί]νεω, / ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα
3 θάλασσα." κτλ.

1](.)κα̣[leg. Manetti / Montanari (](.)κ̣α̣[iam Erbse, Grenfell / Hunt, qui etiam](.)υ̣α̣[in The Oxyr. Pap. IV, p. 261 leg., sec.): [ἀφῆ]κα[suppl. Mueller] . παρ̣[leg. Manetti / Montanari (] . π̣α̣ρ̣[vel] . μ̣α̣ρ̣[iam Erbse:]ν̣α̣ρ̣[Grenfell / Hunt in The Oxyr. Pap. IV, p. 261): κ]ύμασ[ί τ' vel οἴ]δμασ[ί τ' suppl. Mueller: κ]ύμασ[ιν vel οἴ]δμασ[ιν prop. Erbse in app. [.]$^{\nu}$ κατέλεξα Grenfell / Hunt (sic et Erbse et Manetti / Montanari): ἐ]νκατέλεξα suppl. Mueller **2** suppl. Grenfell / Hunt

«(…) ich (*scil.* Ammonios?) zählte [erwähnend (Xenophanes?)] auf: "des Acheloïos mit versilberten Strudeln, / von dem alles Wasser [des Meeres] entspringt", usw.»

Es handelt sich um einen Kommentar zu den Versen 194-197 des 21. Buchs der Ilias, der vielleicht vom alexandrinischen Grammatiker Ammonios stammt. Die betreffende homerische Stelle fällt in die Beschreibung eines Zweikampfs zwischen Achilleus und Asteropeus beim Fluss Skamandros. Asteropeus war ein Verbündeter der Trojaner und ein

[27] Zu diesem Thema, verweise ich auf Egli (2003) 37-78 (über Anaxagoras) und 121-135 (über Xenophanes).
[28] Phld. Po. 4, P.Hercul. 207, fr. 23 Janko (= *deest* DK = Xen 34). Dazu vgl. Janko (2011) 258, Anm. 2; Vassallo (2014) 57-60.
[29] Cf. DK 80 B 4 (= Eus. PE 14.3.7 Mras; D.L. 9.51 Dorandi): περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι, οὔθ' ὡς εἰσὶν οὔθ' ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν οὔθ' ὁποῖοί τινες ἰδέαν· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ κωλύοντα εἰδέναι ἥ τ' ἀδηλότης καὶ βραχὺς ὢν ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
[30] S.E. M. 7.49 Mutschmann; 110; Plu. Aud. poet. 2.17E Paton / Wegehaupt (= DK 21 B 34 = Xen 84 & 66): καὶ τὸ μὲν οὖν σαφὲς οὔτις ἀνὴρ ἴδεν οὐδέ τις ἔσται / εἰδὼς ἀμφὶ θεῶν τε καὶ ἅσσα λέγω περὶ πάντων· / εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τύχοι τετελεσμένον εἰπών, / αὐτὸς ὅμως οὐκ οἶδε· δόκος δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τέτυκται. Zu den philologischen Fragen dieses Fragments, seinem doxographischen Kontext und seiner Interpretation, siehe Vassallo (2015).
[31] [TM 60508; LDAB 1631; MP^3 1205] = Sch. in Il. 21.195, V, S. 93 Erbse (= *deest* DK = Xen 340 = CPF 107 2T).

Nachkomme des Flusses Axios.[32] Während Achilleus Asteropeus tötet, erinnert dieser ihn daran, dass es unmöglich sei, mit Zeus und seinem Geschlecht zu kämpfen:

τῷ οὔτε κρείων Ἀχελώιος ἰσοφαρίζει
195 οὔτε βαθυρρείταο μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο,
ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
καὶ πᾶσαι κρῆναι καὶ φρείατα μακρὰ νάουσιν·

«Dem selbst der gebietende Acheloïos sich nicht gleichstellt
Noch des tiefströmenden große Gewalt, des Okeanos,
Aus dem doch alle Ströme und alles Meer
Und alle Quellen und großen Brunnen fließen.»[33]

Auf den eben erwähnten Kommentar des P.Oxy. II 221, Kol. IX 1-3 zu diesen Versen folgt unmittelbar ein Zitat des Werkes Über Homer des Grammatikers Megakleides (zweite Hälfte des 4. Jh. v.Chr.). Erneut wird dort der Fluss Acheloïos als Ursprung aller Flüsse bezeichnet.[34] Der scheinbare Widerspruch mit dem homerischen Text hängt mit einem philologischen Problem zusammen, das den alexandrinischen Grammatikern wohl bekannt war. Tatsächlich wissen wir, dass Zenodot den Vers 195 von Il. 21, wo Okeanos erwähnt wird, tilgte.[35] Diese Tilgung ließ auch den homerischen Text mit der These harmonieren, dass alle Flüsse aus dem Acheloïos stammten. Interessanterweise erscheint in unserem Fragment aus Oxyrhynchos der Name Acheloïos im Kontext des Zitats zweier anonymer (dichterischer) Verse. Nach T.W. Allen wären diese Verse ein Fragment des Xenophanes,[36] weil genau dieser Vorsokratiker in einem Scholion des Kodex Genavensis Graec. 44 zu derselben Stelle der Ilias (21.196-197) erwähnt wird.[37] Es handelt sich um Fr. 30 DK (= Xen 338), das zusätzlich zu diesem Scholion auch von Aëtius überliefert ist.[38] Im Folgenden gebe ich den Text dieses Fragments wieder, wie es H. Diels in den Vorsokratikern veröffentlichte:

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[32] In Il. 21.140-143, wird Asteropeus als Sohn des Pelagon und Enkel des Flusses Axios und der Periboeia erwähnt.

[33] Übersetzung von W. Schadewaldt. Über den Text und die Echtheit des Verses 195 siehe D'Alessio (2004). Anlässlich der Beschreibung des Schilds des Achilleus wird Okeanos von Homer in Il. 18.607 (ποταμοῖο μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο) als 'Fluss' bezeichnet. Vgl. Cerri (2013) 13-15.

[34] P.Oxy. II 221, Kol. IX 3-5 Montanari (= Sch. in Il. 21.195, V, S. 93 Erbse): κ]αὶ Μεγακλείδης δ' [ἐ]γ α′ Πε|ρὶ Ὁμή[ρο]υ γράφει· "ποῖον ῥεῖθρο[ν] μεῖζον |[5] Ἀχελῴου, 'ἐξ οὗπερ πάντες ποτ[α]μοί;' ". ὁ | μέντ[οι γ'] Ἀρίσταρχος κτλ.

[35] Sch. ex A Ge in Il. 21.195 a[1], V, S. 168 Erbse: οὐδὲ βαθυρρείταο ‹μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο›: ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγραφεν· γίνεται γὰρ ὁ Ἀχελῷος πηγὴ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων. ἔστι δὲ καθ' Ὅμηρον ὁ Ὠκεανὸς ὁ ἐπιδιδοὺς πᾶσι τὰ ῥεύματα· διὸ καὶ κατὰ τιμήν φησιν· "οὔτε τις οὖν ποταμῶν ἀπέην νόσῳ' Ὠκεανοῖο" (20.7). Die gegenteilige Meinung des Aristarch, der dagegen den V. 195 stehen ließ, war bewusst polemisch gegen Zenodotos gerichtet (vgl. P.Oxy. II 221, Kol. IX 5-8 = Sch. in Il. 21.195, V, S. 93 Erbse: ὁ | μέντ[οι γ'] Ἀρίσταρχος Ὁμηρικὸν αὐτ[ὸ]ν | ἀποφ[αίν]ει· τὰ γὰρ ῥεύματα ἐξ Ὠκεαν[ο]ῦ | εἶναι). Siehe Montanari (1992) 469-470; Manetti / Montanari (1999) 878.

[36] Allen (1900) 17. Vgl. auch Powell (1925) 79, der –woran Manetti / Montanari (1999) 879 erinnern– Acheloïos mit Okeanos verwechselt («*Oceanum flumen significat*»). Über die Homerstudien zur Zeit des Xenopahnes siehe Pozdnev (2016).

[37] Sch. ex Ge in Il. 21.196-197, V, SS. 169-170 Erbse (= DK 21 B 30 = Xen 338 = Crat. fr. 29 Broggiato, sub test.): ἐξ οὗπερ πάντες ‹ποταμοὶ — νάουσιν›: Ξενοφάνης ἐν τῷ Περὶ φύσεως· "πηγὴ δ' ἐστὶ θάλασσ' ὕδατος, πηγὴ δ' ἀνέμοιο· / οὔτε γὰρ ἐν νέφεσιν †ἔσωθεν ἄνευ πόντου μεγάλοιο / οὔτε ῥοαὶ ποταμῶν οὔτ' αἰ[θέρος] ὄμβριον ὕδωρ, / ἀλλὰ μέγας πόντος γενέτωρ νεφέων ἀνέμων τε / καὶ ποταμῶν", ὡς Ὅμηρος· ἐξ οὗπερ πάντες ποταμοί. In voller Überzeugung schreibt Schrader (1908) 63-66 das Zitat in diesem Scholion dem Krates zu; vorsichtiger zeigt sich Broggiato (2001) 193, die die Stelle in die *Testimonia* ihrer Krates-Edition einfügt.

[38] Aët. 3.4.4, DG, S. 371 (*ap.* Stob. 1.31.4 Wachsmuth / Hense = DK 21 A 46 = Xen 219), der alle Phänomene in der Physik des Xenophanes von der Wärme der Sonne abhängen lässt. Vgl. Mourelatos (2008) 139-156. Zum doxographischen Bericht über die Kosmologie des Xenophanes und seine Vorstellung der Sonne und des Monds im 2. Buch des Aëtius (1.3; 4.5; 13.13; 18.1; 20.2, 5; 24.5, 8; 25.3; 28.1; 29.6; 30.9 Mansfeld / Runia) siehe Runia (1992); (2010).

πηγὴ δ’ ἐστὶ θάλασσ‹α› ὕδατος, πηγὴ δ’ ἀνέμοιο·
οὔτε γὰρ ἐν νέφεσιν ‹γίνοιτό κε ἴς ἀνέμοιο
ἐκπνείοντος› ἔσωθεν ἄνευ πόντου μεγάλοιο
οὔτε ῥοαὶ ποταμῶν οὔτ’ αἰ‹θέρος› ὄμβριον ὕδωρ,
ἀλλὰ μέγας πόντος γενέτωρ νεφέων ἀνέμων τε
καὶ ποταμῶν.

«Das Meer ist Quell des Wassers, Quell des Windes.
Denn in den Wolken würde keine Kraft des Windes,
der von innen herausbläst, entstehen ohne den großen Pontos (*scil.* den Ozean?),
noch Fluten der Ströme, noch Regenwasser des Äthers;
der große Pontos (*scil.* der Ozean?) ist vielmehr der Erzeuger der Wolken, Winde
und Ströme.»[39]

Dieses Fragment hat Anlass zu verschiedenen Interpretationen gegeben. Wenn wir μέγας πόντος in Vers 5 als Synonym des Ozeans interpretieren, würde folgen, dass Xenophanes den Ozean, nicht den Acheloïos, als Ursprung der Flüsse ansah. In diesem Fall sollten wir die These Allens ablehnen und jede Beziehung dieser Stelle aus Xenophanes’ Περὶ φύσεως zu P.Oxy. II 221, Kol. IX 1-3 ausschließen.[40] Man kann auch erwägen Fr. 30 DK (= Xen 338) auf eine andere Weise zu lesen, wozu einige textuelle Anmerkungen vorausgeschickt werden sollen. Zunächst ist festzuhalten, dass in diesem Fragment der Ozean nicht explizit erwähnt wird. In Vers 1 wird das Meer (θάλασσα) als die Quelle des Wassers bezeichnet; aus Vers 5 geht hervor, dass das große Meer (μέγας πόντος) die Flussströme verursacht. Xenophanes spricht hier nicht über das Prinzip des Universums, sondern über kausale Zusammenhänge zwischen den verschiedenen physikalischen Phänomenen, nach denen das Wasser das ‘archetypische’ Element und das Meer einfach das Mittel seiner Naturkraft ist ([Wasser] → Meer → Wolken/Winde/Ströme). Mit anderen Worten: Das Meer als πηγή des Wassers (d.h. als eine Art von Becken, in dem das Wasser gesammelt wird) aufzufassen, schließt nicht aus, dass das Wasser wiederum das Prinzip des Meeres (auch des Ozeans) und gleichzeitig der Flüsse, der Winde und der Wolken sein kann. Es gibt drei Fragmente, aus denen die Rolle des Wassers in der Physik des Xenophanes klarer hervorgeht: Fr. 29 DK (= Xen 250), wo alle entstehenden und wachsenden Dinge mit der Erde und dem Wasser identifiziert werden;[41] Fr. 33 DK (= Xen 90), das die Erde und das Wasser zum Prinzip allen Seins (den Menschen inbegriffen) macht;[42] Fr. 37 DK (= Xen 73), wo beschrieben wird, wie das Wasser von den Gesteinen der Höhlen herabtropft.[43] Da Xenophanes in Fr. 27 DK (= Xen 90) behauptet, dass alles aus der Erde entstehe und alles in sie vergehe,[44] haben sich schon die antiken Autoren gefragt, ob Xenophanes seine ἀρχή nur mit der Erde oder mit Erde und Wasser zugleich identifizierte, zumal Aristoteles in der Metaphysik behauptet, dass kein Vorsokratiker die Erde als Prinzip betrachtet habe.[45] Unter den modernen Hypothesen scheinen jene

[39] Übersetzung von H. Diels (die Ergänzungen in Klammern sind von mir).

[40] Manetti / Montanari (1999) 879: «(…) i versi di Senofane sembrano sostenere la tesi secondo cui l’Oceano (v. 5 μέγας πόντος) sia l’origine dei fiumi, mentre la posizione della citazione nel commento omerico (appena prima di quella di Megaclide) pare suggerire, benché il contesto sia lacunoso, che il verso fosse citato in appoggio della posizione di Zenodoto (e di Megaclide), cioè che lo sia l’Acheloo. Su queste basi, sembra dunque difficile attribuire il verso qui citato a Senofane».

[41] Simp. in Ph. 188, 32 Diels (= DK 21 B 29 = Xen 250): γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ πάντ’ ἐσθ’ ὅσα γίνοντ‹αι› ἠδὲ φύονται.

[42] S.E. M. 10.314 Mutschmann (= DK 21 B 33 = Xen 90): πάντες γὰρ γαίης τε καὶ ὕδατος ἐκγενόμεσθα.

[43] Hdn. Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως 30.30, GG, III.2, S. 936, 19 Lentz (= DK 21 B 37 = Xen 73): καὶ μὲν ἐνὶ σπεάτεσσί τεοις καταλείβεται ὕδωρ.

[44] Aët. 1.3, DG, S. 284 Anm. (*ap.* Thdt. Affect. 4.5, S. 46 Canivert = DK 21 B 27 = Xen 90): ἐκ γαίης γὰρ πάντα καὶ εἰς γῆν πάντα τελευτᾷ.

[45] Arist. Metaph. A 8.989a5-6 Primavesi. Vgl. Schirren (2013) 358-359. Wie G. Reale bei Zeller / Mondolfo (1967) 134 Anm. bemerkt, sind Zeugnisse für die erste These (d.h. Erde als Prinzip) die Stromata des Ps.-Plutarch (*ap.* Eus. PE I 8, 4 Mras), Stobaios (1.294 Wachsmuth / Hense), Hippolytos (Haer. 1.14 Marcovich)

überzeugender zu sein, die die Existenz eines Ur-Prinzips Erde/Wasser (γῆ/ὕδωρ) bei Xenophanes voraussetzen, in dem die Erde das überwiegende und vorrangige Element ist.[46] Eine solche Hypothese kann von jenen doxographischen Quellen, die für andere Vorsokratiker ein doppeltes physikalisches Prinzip formulieren, bestätigt werden. So schreibt eine Tradition (die nach Diels von Theophrast stammt) Parmenides die These von zwei Elementen als Prinzipien des Alls zu: die Erde (γῆ) als Materie und das Feuer (πῦρ) als aktive Ursache der Dinge und der Phänomene.[47]

Wenn man diese Überlegung auch auf Xenophanes anwendete, ergäbe sich aus Fr. 30 DK (= Xen 338) kein Widerspruch zur Physik des Xenophanes und die Aufnahme von P.Oxy. II 221, Kol. IX 1-3 in das *Corpus* von Xenophanes' Fragmenten ließe sich rechtfertigen. Tatsächlich nennt diese Passage den Acheloïos als das Prinzip, aus dem das ganze Meer entspringt (ἐξ οὗ | πᾶσα θάλασσα). Man könnte überlegen, ob Xenophanes die mythologische Figur des Acheloïos benutzt hat, um das Ur-Prinzip Erde/Wasser in poetischer Weise darzustellen. Ein solches Prinzip wäre etwas anderes als das Meer (Ozean) und auch das Wasser, welches das Meer aufnimmt.[48] Folglich könnte man auch spekulieren, ob das Fragment aus Oxyrhynchus ein Vers (oder einer der Verse) war, welcher Fr. 30 DK (= Xen 338) unmittelbar vorausging. Natürlich ist dieser Vorschlag kein Beweis für die Einordnung des Fragments als direktes Zitat aus Xenophanes, aber er mag wenigstens einige Zweifel erwecken, ob eine solche Zuordnung *a priori* auszuschließen ist.

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und Theodoret (Affect. 2.10, S. 22; 4.5, S. 46 Canivert). Zu diesen Stellen siehe Karsten (1830) 45-49 und 145-152; Brandis (1813) 9-14 und 44-52; Mansfeld (1992) 27-39. Die Testimonien, welche die zweite These (d.h. Erde und Wasser als Prinzipien) bezeugen, sind etwas zahlreicher: Sextus Empiricus (M. 9.361 Mutschmann; P. 3.30 Mutschmann), Porphyrios (*ap.* Simp. in Ph. 188, 32 Diels; Phlp. in Ph. 125.27 Vitelli), Ps.-Plutarch (Vit. Hom. 93, DG, S. 93), Eustathius (in Il. 7.99 van der Valk), Ps.-Galen (Phil.Hist. 18, DG, S. 610) und Epiphanius (Haer. 3, S. 505, 25-26 Holl).

[46] So Deichgräber (1938) 5-16, dessen Ansicht, das Prinzipien-Paar γῆ/ὕδωρ sei ein Synonym für γῆ/θάλασσα, ich nicht teile; Guthrie (1962) 385-387. Von einer unentwickelten «naturphilosophische(n) Zweiprinzipienlehre» bei Xenophanes spricht Schäfer (1996) 131-143, insbes. 133, der die These Gigons (1968^2) 164-165, dass Xenophanes die empedokleische Theorie der vier Elemente vorweggenommen habe, kritisiert. Was die dualistische Perspektive angeht, vgl. auch Lumpe (1952) 41-42; Lesher (1992) 133. Eine religiöse Interpretation (mit Bezug auf den vorgriechischen Glauben an die Erde-Mutter und auf das Motiv Erde-Wasser in der indischen Religion) hat Untersteiner (2008) CXLII-CL versucht. Dagegen sprechen Wöhrle (1993) 11-14 und Gemelli Marciano (2007) 259-260 dem Xenophanes eine 'Prinzipienlehre' ab. Für einen lexikalischen Vergleich der zur Debatte stehenden xenophaneischen *Lemmata*, siehe Marinone (1972) 28, 39 und 63.

[47] Vgl. mindestens Hippol. Haer. 1.11 Marcovich (= DK 28 A 23); Arist. GC 2.3, 330b13; 2.9, 336a3 Rashed; Cic. Acad. 2.118 Plasberg (= DK 28 A 35).

[48] Es sei an Sch. ex Ge in Il. 21.195, I, S. 190 Nicole erinnert: [Ἀχελώϊος] Ἀχελῷος ποταμὸς μεταξὺ Αἰτωλίας καὶ Ἀκαρνανίας. κοινῶς δὲ πᾶν ὕδωρ Ἀχελῷος καλεῖται.

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Per l'edizione di Epicuro, Sulla natura, libro incerto (P.Hercul. 1811/335)

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Alcune recenti ricerche di archivio hanno attirato la nostra attenzione su un papiro ercolanese inedito, il P.Hercul. 335.[1] Nel 2008 Richard Janko[2] ha attribuito il papiro all'opera Sulla natura di Epicuro per avervi ravvisato la mano dell''Anonimo V',[3] responsabile della copia di altri libri della stessa opera presenti nella biblioteca della Villa dei Papiri,[4] databile, secondo lo studioso, al III o II secolo a.C. La conferma all'ipotesi di attribuzione di Janko è venuta nel 2014, quando Gianluca Del Mastro ha rintracciato i resti della *subscriptio*, riuscendo a leggervi il nome dell'autore, Epicuro, e il titolo della sua opera capitale, ma non il numero del libro.[5]

Dai principali inventari dei papiri ercolanesi[6] sappiamo che, al momento della prima catalogazione nel 1782, il P.Hercul. 335 era un papiro «compresso in varie guise e tortuoso, sfogliato in alcune parti», alto 15.4 cm circa, con un diametro maggiore di circa 7.5 cm. Si trattava, dunque, secondo il linguaggio degli addetti ai lavori dell'epoca, di un papiro «intero»,[7] e come tale, infatti, viene definito negli Inventari 1822/1823, 1824 e 1853. Secondo il Catalogo 1807, il papiro fu dato per lo svolgimento l'11 agosto del 1796 e restituito: dagli Inventari 1822/1823 e 1824 apprendiamo che da questo primo tentativo di svolgimento furono ricavati 6 pezzi. Nell'Inventario 1853 è registrata, da una mano più tarda, la ripresa dello svolgimento del midollo da parte di Carlo Malesci nel 1869,[8] che lo condusse

[1] Del presente lavoro gli autori condividono le linee di sviluppo, i risultati e la responsabilità: in particolare, il § 1 è stato curato da Sergio Carrelli, il § 2 da Giuliana Leone. Le immagini multispettrali dei papiri ercolanesi e dei disegni napoletani (Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III di Napoli) sono riprodotte su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo. Ne è vietata la duplicazione con qualsiasi mezzo.
[2] Janko (2008) 18 e 59.
[3] Secondo la classificazione di Cavallo (1983), che non ha considerato il P.Hercul. 335.
[4] P.Hercul. 1148 (libro 14), 1151 (libro 15), 1037 (libro incerto).
[5] Del Mastro (2014) 120-121.
[6] Sono citati in questo contributo l'Inventario dei papiri ercolanesi del 1782 (AMNN, Serie Inventari Antichi n° 43, da ora = Inventario 1782; la versione informatizzata –su cui cf. Leone / Carrelli [2015]– è consultabile presso il Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi) e il Catalogo dei Papiri ercolanesi dati per isvolgersi e restituiti, con la indicazione di quelli donati da S.M. a personaggi esteri, datato 1807 (AOP XVII 7; da ora = Catalogo 1807), pubblicati in Blank / Longo Auricchio (2004); gli Inventari della Reale Officina de' Papiri Ercolanesi del 1822/1823, del 1824 e del 1853 (AOP XVII 11, 12 e 20; da ora = Inventario 1822/1823, 1824, 1853); il Catalogo generale dei papiri ercolanesi, a c. di Emidio Martini (da ora = Martini 1883); il Catalogo generale dei papiri ercolanesi, stilato da Alfonso Cozzi e datato 26 agosto 1910 (AOP XIX 9; da ora = Catalogo 1910); l'Inventario topografico dei papiri in cornice, a opera di Domenico Bassi, datato 26 dicembre 1910 (AOP XIX 10; da ora = Inventario 1910); l'Inventario dei papiri ercolanesi, compilato dallo stesso Bassi nel 1912 (AOP Inventari e Cataloghi 1912; da ora = Inventario 1912); Chartes. Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi, a c. di G. Del Mastro (Napoli 2005, nella versione aggiornata on line http://chartes.it; da ora = Chartes); infine, il Catalogo descrittivo dei papiri ercolanesi, a c. di A. Travaglione (Napoli 2008; da ora = Catalogo descrittivo).
[7] Cf. Martini (1883) 92, n. 2: «Chiamano così nell'Officina il papiro, che presenti intatte le due estremità».
[8] L'anno di questo secondo e definitivo svolgimento si legge sul cartoncino di supporto del papiro nella cr. 1: «Midollo di papiro svolto da D. Carlo Malesci nell'anno 1869». Così nell'Inventario 1912, mentre in Martini (1883) 107 l'anno è erroneamente indicato come 1879.

a termine ricavandone altri 6 pezzi, per un totale di 12 pezzi;[9] 12 pezzi registravano ancora Emidio Martini nel 1883, il Catalogo 1910 e l'Inventario 1912.

La situazione attuale, registrata in Chartes e nel Catalogo descrittivo, vede la parte svolta del P.Hercul. 335 conservata in 2 cornici, ognuna delle quali contenente 3 pezzi, per un totale di 6 pezzi. Rispetto ai dati registrati nei principali inventari dopo il 1853, dunque, mancherebbero all'appello 6 pezzi; anche le misure dell'altezza dei pezzi, quali sono registrate nei cataloghi moderni, oscillanti da un minimo di 4.2 a un massimo di 8.5 cm, sono evidentemente ben diverse dalla misura del rotolo intero, di 15.4 cm circa, riportata nell'Inventario 1782. Queste incongruenze ci hanno suggerito l'opportunità di un approfondimento dell'assetto attuale del papiro.

Per quanto riguarda le misure,[10] abbiamo notato che la somma delle altezze dei 3 pezzi in ciascuna delle 2 cornici equivale a poco più di 17 cm, una misura di poco superiore alla misura dell'altezza del rotolo intero registrata nel 1782, pari, come si è detto, a circa 15.4 cm.[11] Abbiamo subito pensato che il rotolo potesse essere stato diviso, forse in modo volontario dallo svolgitore per agevolare il proprio compito, in tre parti, superiore (pzz. 1 e 4), centrale (pzz. 2 e 5) e inferiore (pzz. 3 e 6), svolte singolarmente e poi incollate sullo stesso foglio.[12] L'autopsia del papiro, come vedremo, ha confermato questa ipotesi, sia pure con un'anomalia nella cr. 1.

Quanto al numero dei pezzi, non è stato difficile appurare, grazie a una ricerca condotta sui documenti conservati nell'Archivio dell'Officina dei Papiri, che fu Domenico Bassi, nel settembre del 1910,[13] nella sua funzione di Direttore dell'Officina,[14] a disporre la separazione tra i 12 pezzi fino ad allora inventariati come P.Hercul. 335, assegnando a 6 di essi, suddivisi in 4 cornici, il numero di P.Hercul. 1811.[15] In seguito, nell'Inventario 1912, lo studioso apponeva, accanto al numero P.Hercul. 1811, la seguente nota: «Era stato designato erroneamente col N° 335; ma 335 e 1811 sono due papiri diversi». Nel 1913, nella Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica,[16] Bassi ribadiva di avere inventariato per la prima volta come P.Hercul. 1811 e 1814 alcune cornici fino ad allora numerate, rispettivamente, P.Hercul. 335 e 495, poiché «erano stati per errore designati, fin dal tempo del loro svolgimento, rispettivamente con i numeri 335 e 495: come 1811 non può in nessun modo

[9] Martini (1883) 107.

[10] Le misure dei pezzi sono state da noi rilevate con un calibro elettronico nei punti di massima estensione; talora rettificano per pochi millimetri le misure in Chartes.

[11] La somma delle altezze dei 3 pezzi della cr. 1 equivale a 17.2 cm circa, quella dei 3 pezzi nella cr. 2 a 17.1 cm circa, quindi rispettivamente 1.8 e 1.7 cm circa in più rispetto al dato del 1782: ciò si può giustificare perché i singoli pezzi sono stati misurati nella loro altezza massima, ma anche considerando che la tortuosità del papiro prima dello svolgimento, a cui allude l'Inventario 1782, potrebbe avere influito sulla misurazione della sua altezza.

[12] Un caso analogo si registra per il P.Hercul. 1010, contenente il libro 2 Sulla natura di Epicuro: cf. Leone (2012) 177-185.

[13] Leggiamo questo dato sulla copertina dei 6 disegni napoletani del P.Hercul. 335, realizzati da Alfonso Cozzi nel 1907, sulla quale Bassi ha annotato: «'Pezzi' sei messi in cornice nel settembre 1910». Non a caso, dunque, mentre ancora nel Catalogo 1910, stilato nel mese di agosto, il P.Hercul. 335 risultava diviso in 12 pezzi, già nell'Inventario 1910, stilato alla fine di dicembre, del P.Hercul. 335 sono registrate solo 2 cornici. In modo contraddittorio, nell'Inventario 1912 Bassi descrive il P.Hercul. 335 come svolto completamente in 12 pezzi, in 2 fogli.

[14] Cf. Capasso (2003).

[15] Autori della risistemazione voluta da Bassi furono gli impiegati dell'Officina Scognamiglio, la cui firma compare nella parte inferiore destra del cartoncino nella cr. 1 del P.Hercul. 335, e Conforti, che si firma nella parte inferiore destra del cartoncino nella cr. 2 dello stesso papiro. Questi nomi compaiono anche sui cartoncini delle cornici del P.Hercul. 1811 (crr. 1, 3 e 4 Scognamiglio; cr. 2 Conforti).

[16] Bassi (1913).

fare o aver fatto parte di 335, così non può 1814 di 495».[17] A quest'affermazione categorica Bassi non accompagnava alcuna spiegazione: in ogni caso, da quel momento fino a oggi i P.Hercul. 335 e 1811 non sono stati più messi in relazione tra loro.

A questo punto abbiamo deciso di effettuare una ricognizione autoptica dei due papiri per verificare la correttezza dell'intervento di Bassi. Come è stato già rilevato per diversi papiri ercolanesi messi in cornice dallo studioso, anche nel nostro caso l'operazione di Bassi è risultata, come cercheremo di dimostrare, inopportuna e fuorviante.

1. Il P.Hercul. 335

Nella cr. 1 del P.Hercul. 335 sono disposti 3 pezzi di papiro su tre strisce parallele, numerati sul cartoncino, dall'alto verso il basso, con i numeri 1, 2 e 3: al di sotto dei primi due numeri si intravedono, più sbiaditi, probabilmente cancellati, rispettivamente i numeri 7 e 8, a testimonianza di una più antica sistemazione (fig. 1).[18]

Il pz. 1 presenta un margine superiore che misura 1.7 cm nel punto più alto superstite. Si riconoscono 6 volute integre nella loro ampiezza, ognuna delle quali è formata da due semivolute, di cui la prima, A, risulta sempre leggermente meno ampia rispetto alla seconda, B; la prima voluta misura 6.1 cm, l'ultima 5.1 cm, con un decremento progressivo e costante di 2 mm tra una voluta e quella successiva.

Il pz. 2 presenta tracce di scrittura nelle estremità superiore e inferiore, ed è quindi da ritenersi una porzione centrale del rotolo. Si riscontrano 5 volute intere, la prima delle quali ampia 6.3 cm e le successive, secondo lo scarto di 2 mm, di 6.1/5.9/5.7/5.5 cm, seguite da una semivoluta A parziale di 2.3 cm. La superficie del papiro si presenta rotta da numerose fratture e lacune, con una forte concentrazione di pieghe nella parte superiore delle semivolute B.

Il pz. 3, incollato nella parte inferiore del cartoncino di supporto, si è rivelato appartenere, invece, alla parte superiore del rotolo: il pezzo, infatti, presenta il margine superiore, di circa 1.3 cm nel punto più alto superstite; inoltre, il suo profilo appare generalmente conforme a quello del pz. 1. Solo le ultime due semivolute mostrano un margine inferiore di circa 1.2 cm, e vengono a costituire una voluta intera inferiore, AB, ampia 6.7 cm; l'analisi al microscopio ha chiarito che questa voluta inferiore è stata artificialmente unita al pz. 3 superiore con un'operazione di incollatura della membrana di battiloro così accurata da rendere apparentemente continuo il pezzo.

Mentre, poi, le prime tre volute superiori del pz. 3 sono intere, nella corretta sequenza AB, e misurano rispettivamente 7.1/6.9/6.7 cm, all'analisi morfologica quella che apparentemente si presenta come la quarta voluta risulta, invece, essere costituita da una semivoluta B, di circa 3.2 cm, seguita da una semivoluta A, di 2.8 cm: vengono così a trovarsi in successione, contro ogni logica, due semivolute B. L'analisi al microscopio ha rivelato che è stato eseguito anche in quel punto un accorto intervento d'incollatura, invisibile a occhio nudo, dovuto probabilmente a ragioni estetiche, per ottenere un pezzo ancora più lungo e un effetto di

[17] Bassi (1913) 196. Per il P.Hercul. 495 si può ipotizzare che Bassi sia stato indotto alla separazione dei pezzi dalle considerazioni di Crönert (1902) = (1975) 135-154; cf. anche Baldassarri (1976) 77 e Capasso / Dorandi (1979) 38 n. 11. In Giuliano (2001) non c'è riferimento alla questione. Da una sommaria analisi paleografica dei P.Hercul. 495 e 1814 possiamo confermare che i due papiri sono stati vergati da due scribi differenti.

[18] Il numero 9 è probabilmente al di sotto del numero 3, ma risulta attualmente coperto dal pz. 3.

simmetria con i pezzi incollati nella parte superiore e centrale del cartoncino.[19] Le misure delle semivolute B e A lasciano pensare che esse possano costituire la parte superstite delle volute superiori di 6.5 e 6.3 cm, di cui sono perdute, rispettivamente, la semivoluta A e la semivoluta B.

In generale, le misure delle volute del pz. 3 superiore impongono di pensare che il pezzo doveva precedere nel rotolo l'attuale pz. 1 superiore, separato da questo da una lacuna pari all'ampiezza di una sola semivoluta B, di circa 3 cm, per un totale di 11 volute consecutive, di cui solo due parziali. Il dato è confermato dalla mise en page, in quanto il pz. 3 superiore termina con una colonna integra nella sua ampiezza seguita da un intercolumnio, laddove il pz. 1 superiore presenta la sola parte destra di quella che doveva essere la colonna successiva.

Questo, dunque, è lo schema ricostruttivo delle volute individuate nei pzz. 1, 2 e 3 nella cr. 1:

Pz. 3 sup.: v1 7.1 cm / v2 6.9 cm / v3 6.7 cm / v4 3.2 cm (B, parz. di 6.5) / v5 2.7 cm (A, parz. di 6.3)

Pz. 1 sup.: v6 6.1 cm / v7 5.9 cm / v8 5.7 cm / v9 5.5 cm / v10 5.3 cm / v11 5.1 cm

Pz. 2 centr.: v5 6.3 cm / v6 6.1 cm / v7 5.9 cm / v8 5.7 cm / v9 5.5 cm / v10 2.3 cm (A, parz. di 5.3)

Pz. 3 inf.: v3 6.7 cm

La fig. 2 illustra la ricostruzione virtuale della posizione originaria dei pezzi nella stessa cornice.

La cr. 2 presenta 3 pezzi di papiro disposti su tre strisce parallele, indicati sul cartoncino, dall'alto verso il basso, con i numeri 4, 5 e 6 (fig. 3); al di sotto di essi si intravedono, più sbiaditi, i numeri 10, 11 e 12, residuo della sistemazione precedente all'intervento di Bassi.

Il pz. 4 mostra il margine superiore, di 1.5 cm nel punto più alto. Si individuano 11 volute AB, con B sempre leggermente più ampia di A,[20] e con un decremento medio di 2 mm tra una voluta e quella successiva; una semivoluta A chiude il pezzo all'estremità destra. L'ampiezza della prima voluta è pari a 4.7 cm, di pari ampiezza è la seconda: ciò lascia intendere che possa essere andata perduta una minima porzione della prima semivoluta A, pari a 0.2 cm, così da ottenere un'ampiezza della prima voluta pari a 4.9 cm. In tal modo, il pz. 4 può essere ritenuto consecutivo al pz. 1 nella cr. 1, con una minima soluzione di continuità dovuta al taglio operato dallo svolgitore, per un numero complessivo di 23 volute consecutive superstiti della parte superiore del rotolo, sulle 105 complessive che è possibile calcolare sulla base della misura del diametro maggiore fornita nell'Inventario 1782.[21]

Il pz. 5 presenta tracce di scrittura in ambedue le estremità, superiore e inferiore, il che lo conferma come parte centrale del rotolo. La superficie del pezzo è percorsa da fratture e ampie lacune, con una forte concentrazione di pieghe nella parte superiore delle semivolute B. Vi si individuano 5 volute intere, AB, precedute, nell'estremità sinistra del pezzo, da una

[19] Questa operazione è da ritenersi anteriore alla sistemazione di Bassi nel 1910, dal momento che il disegno napoletano del «fr. 3, parte posteriore» (questa è la dicitura presente sul disegno), eseguito da A. Cozzi nell'ottobre del 1907, rispecchia la situazione attuale del pezzo.

[20] Questa differenza va a ridursi man mano che si procede verso la fine del rotolo.

[21] Dalla misura del diametro si ricava una voluta esterna massima di 23.6 cm circa (cm 7.49564 x 3.14159 π = cm 23.54822767). Considerando lo scarto costante a decrescere di 2 mm tra volute consecutive, si possono calcolare 105 volute circa nel rotolo al momento della catalogazione, per una lunghezza complessiva di circa 13.8 m. Tale risultato è stato ottenuto grazie all'utilizzo di un foglio di calcolo Excel, ideato e realizzato per questo scopo da Holger Essler, scaricabile sul sito www.epikur-wuerzburg.de, nella sezione download: cf. Essler (2008).

voluta parziale di 2.8 cm, e seguite, nell'estremità destra, da una semivoluta A di 1.2 cm e da una piccola parte del midollo avvolta su se stessa.[22] La prima voluta intera è ampia 4.1 cm, le volute intere successive misurano 3.9/3.6/3.4/3.2 cm. Queste misure impongono di pensare che 4 volute intere (5.1/4.9/4.7/4.4) siano andate perdute tra il pz. 2 e il pz. 5 nelle operazioni di svolgimento.

Il pz. 6 presenta un margine inferiore di 1.5 cm nel punto di massima estensione. Le volute appaiono più distese nella parte iniziale del pezzo, raggrinzite e incurvate verso l'alto, invece, nelle sue parti centrale e finale. Grazie all'andamento 'a onda' del bordo inferiore, caratterizzato dalla presenza di due pieghe ben marcate, si individuano, da sinistra verso destra, 9 volute intere, più un'ultima semivoluta A, di 1.5 cm. La prima voluta, ampia 6.5 cm, è da considerarsi consecutiva all'unica voluta inferiore individuata nella cr. 1, di 6.7 cm; la misura delle due volute che seguono, ampie 5.7 e 5.5 cm, impone, invece, di collocarle a una distanza di 3 volute (6.3/6.1/5.9, perdute) rispetto alla prima; e ancora a una distanza di 4 volute dalla voluta di 5.5 cm[23] vanno collocate le ultime sei volute intere consecutive, le cui ampiezze misurano da 4.5 a 3.2 cm. Ancora una volta, dunque, si deve rilevare l'ottimo lavoro da parte di chi ha incollato sul cartoncino di supporto tre pezzi inferiori diversi, così da presentarli, come nel caso del pz. 3 nella prima cornice, apparentemente come un unico pezzo.

Questo, dunque, è lo schema ricostruttivo delle volute individuate nei pzz. 4, 5 e 6 nella cr. 2:

Pz. 4 sup.: v12 4.7 cm (parz. di 4.9) / v13 4.7 cm / v14 4.5 cm / v15 4.3 cm / v16 4.1 cm / v17 3.9 cm / v18 3.6 cm / v19 3.4 cm / v20 3.2 cm / v21 2.8 cm / v22 2.5 cm / v23 1.2 (A, parz. di 2.2)

Pz. 5 centr.: v15 2.8 cm (parz. di 4.3) / v16 4.1 cm / v17 3.9 cm / v18 3.6 cm / v19 3.4 cm / v20 3.2 cm / v21 1.2 cm (A, parz. di 2.8)

Pz. 6 inf.: v4 6.5 cm / v8 5.7 cm / v9 5.5 cm / v14 4.5 cm / v15 4.1 cm / v16 3.9 cm / v17 3.6 cm / v18 3.4 cm / v19 3.2 cm / v20 1.5 cm (A, parz. di 3)

La fig. 4 illustra la ricostruzione virtuale della posizione originaria dei pezzi nella stessa cornice.

In conclusione, per il P.Hercul. 335 proponiamo una ricostruzione che può essere sintetizzata nello schema in fig. 5.[24]

2. Il P.Hercul. 1811

Il papiro è suddiviso in 4 cornici, per un totale di 6 pezzi il cui stato è definito in Chartes «illeggibile, pessimo»; in ognuna delle cornici si legge in basso, al centro, il numero originario di inventario, 335, barrato, con accanto la nuova numerazione, 1811.

Nella cr. 1 sono disposti uno a fianco all'altro 3 pezzi, numerati 1, 2 e 3, dalla superficie abrasa e dalla stratigrafia estremamente sconvolta (fig. 6).

[22] È in questo pezzo che Del Mastro ha rintracciato la *subscriptio*.

[23] Nella semivoluta A della voluta di 4.5 cm si rilevano numerosi strati sottoposti che potrebbero rappresentare proprio parti delle semivolute A delle 4 volute perdute di cm 5.3/5.1/4.9/4.7.

[24] Da notare, inoltre, che nel pz. 6 inf. le volute 15-20 sono caratterizzate da un'accentuata incurvatura al centro, il che porta a una lieve diminuzione delle misure rilevabili della loro ampiezza, riportate nello schema, che sono perciò da aumentare idealmente di circa 2 mm ciascuna affinché ne risulti rispettata la corrispondenza con i pezzi superiore e centrale: ciò spiega la posizione apparentemente anomala che tali volute occupano all'interno del nostro schema ricostruttivo.

Il pz. 1, alto 17.7 cm e lungo 7.5 cm, presenta un margine superiore di 1.5 cm e uno inferiore di 1.7 cm nei punti di massima estensione: come si osserverà anche nei pezzi successivi, le misure dell'altezza del pezzo, nonché quelle dei margini, sono del tutto coincidenti o compatibili con le corrispondenti misure rilevate nel P.Hercul. 335.

Il pz. 2 è incollato capovolto sul cartoncino, e quindi, per una corretta lettura, va idealmente ruotato di 180°: esso presenta un margine inferiore di 2 cm circa, e tracce di scrittura fino al limite superiore. L'assenza del margine superiore è giustificata da una forte piega nella parte alta del pezzo che ha determinato il ripiegamento del papiro su se stesso; si spiega, pertanto, anche l'altezza del pezzo, di ca 16 cm, minore rispetto agli altri due pezzi contigui, per una lunghezza di 13.8 cm.

Il pz. 3, alto 17.5 cm e lungo 6.7 cm, mostra un margine superiore di 1.1 cm; nella parte inferiore risulta incollato, in senso diverso rispetto al pezzo, un pezzetto di papiro, di 4.9 cm di lunghezza per 1.4 cm di altezza, con tracce di inchiostro in tutte le sue parti, che, per una corretta lettura, va idealmente ruotato di circa 70° in senso orario.

In assenza di continuità materiale e di chiari elementi di mise en page è possibile fare solo delle ipotesi sulla posizione reciproca dei tre pezzi nel rotolo originario. Il pz. 2 sembra essere costituito da una semivoluta A di 7.3 cm, affiancata da una semivoluta B parziale; partendo dall'ipotesi che la semivoluta B fosse un po' più ampia della semivoluta A, come si riscontra nei pezzi successivi e, come si è visto, anche nel P.Hercul. 335, il pz. 2 potrebbe essere parte di una voluta che poteva misurare circa 15 cm; il pz. 1, invece, sembra costituito da un'intera semivoluta A, di 7.5 cm, e potrebbe appartenere, pertanto, a una voluta di poco più ampia della precedente.[25]

La cr. 2 presenta un unico grande pezzo, contrassegnato sul cartoncino dal numero 4 (fig. 7).

Il pz. 4, alto 16.9 cm e lungo 28.4 cm, presenta un margine superiore di 1.7 cm e uno inferiore di 1.2 cm, ed è percorso al centro, per tutta la sua altezza, da una profonda frattura che lo divide in due volute, AB, dove B è leggermente più ampia di A, rispettivamente di 14.3 e 14.1 cm, come conferma anche la distanza tra alcune pieghe ricorrenti in entrambi i bordi: il pezzo, pertanto, è da considerarsi successivo ai pezzi nella prima cornice, pur se non a quelli consecutivo. Si possono notare nel corpo del pezzo due zone che presentano una forte concentrazione di pieghe orizzontali che potrebbero avere creato problemi nello svolgimento. Tali pieghe delimitano idealmente tre porzioni: A) parte superiore, meglio conservata, in cui più facilmente si individuano linee di scrittura; B) parte centrale, la più lacunosa, con molte abrasioni e una forte concentrazione di pieghe nella parte superiore delle semivolute B, come nei pezzi centrali del P.Hercul. 335; C) parte inferiore, con fitte pieghe e bordo inferiore 'a onda', simile a quello che si rileva nel pz. 6 del P.Hercul. 335. Le tre porzioni A, B e C sono alte rispettivamente 4.5/8.5/4.7 cm: queste altezze corrispondono perfettamente a quelle misurate nei pzz. 4, 5 e 6 del P.Hercul. 335, parti rispettivamente superiore, centrale e inferiore del rotolo.

La cr. 3 presenta un unico pezzo, contrassegnato sul cartoncino dal numero 5, dalla superficie particolarmente abrasa (fig. 8).

L'altezza del pezzo è pari a 16.5 cm, per una lunghezza di circa 30 cm; il margine superiore è di circa 1.3 cm e quello inferiore di 1.2 cm. Grazie alle pieghe più rilevanti presenti nei bordi e alla presenza di zone corrugate nel corpo del papiro, si possono individuare due volute AB, di 12.3 e 12.1 cm, precedute e seguite da piccole porzioni appartenenti alle volute precedente

[25] Questa misura è ben lontana da quella di 23.6 cm calcolata per la prima voluta del P.Hercul. 335 sulla base dei dati dell'Inventario 1782 (cf. supra): ciò significa che il papiro, «compresso in varie guise e tortuoso», dovette essere sottoposto a una profonda scorzatura preliminare al primo tentativo di svolgimento.

e successiva.[26] Il pz. 5, pertanto, è da ritenersi successivo al pz. 4, ma ad esso non consecutivo. Vi si individuano pieghe che delimitano idealmente, nel senso dell'altezza, porzioni A, B e C, caratterizzate dalla medesima morfologia e dalle stesse misure rilevate nel pz. 4.

Anche la cr. 4 contiene un unico pezzo, indicato sul cartoncino con il numero 6 (fig. 9).

Il pz. 6, lungo 28 cm e alto 16.5 cm, con il margine superiore di 1.5 cm e quello inferiore di 1.2 cm, mostra nel profilo inferiore un andamento 'a onda' che lascia individuare tre volute intere AB, di 9.1/8.9/8.7 cm, seguite da una piccola porzione appartenente alla voluta successiva. Il pz. 6, pertanto, è da ritenersi successivo al pz. 5, ma a quello non consecutivo. Inoltre, nel corpo del pezzo si evidenziano gli stessi danni solidali, già rilevati nei pzz. 4 e 5, che potrebbero avere determinato, nel 1869, l'opportunità di dividere il midollo superstite, e cioè l'attuale (e originario) P.Hercul. 335, in tre parti, superiore (A), centrale (B) e inferiore (C), per agevolarne lo svolgimento, che nella prima fase, nel 1796, aveva evidentemente prodotto risultati insoddisfacenti, come testimonia il pessimo stato dell'attuale P.Hercul. 1811. In quella fase era stato anche impossibile ottenere pezzi tra loro consecutivi, senza perdite cospicue di materiale tra un pezzo e l'altro; al contrario, al secondo tentativo nel 1869, dopo un'ulteriore scorzatura preliminare,[27] il midollo superstite fu svolto da Carlo Malesci con continuità, almeno nella sua parte superiore, per 23 volute (intere o parziali) consecutive.

I dati paleografici confermano inequivocabilmente, a nostro avviso, l'appartenenza allo stesso rotolo originario fin qui emersa dall'esame morfologico dei 12 pezzi. Nel modulo, nel tratteggio e nel *ductus* le lettere mostrano evidenti affinità, come mostra la fig. 10.

Si tratta di una scrittura ad alternanza di modulo, dal disegno semplice e privo di elementi decorativi, che può datarsi al III-II secolo a.C., come ha affermato Janko. Mi pare di potere escludere, tuttavia, che si tratti della stessa mano, più formale e rigida, dal *ductus* più controllato e con minore inclinazione, dell''Anonimo V', come dimostra il confronto con il P.Hercul. 1148 (fig. 11) e, in particolare, tra alcune lettere, *my*, *ny*, *pi*, *phi* (fig. 12).

Premettendo, poi, che la stratigrafia sconvolta rende impossibile l'individuazione nel P.Hercul. 1811 di colonne integre nella loro ampiezza, laddove l'ampiezza delle colonne del P.Hercul. 335 è di 5.5 cm circa (fig. 13), con un numero medio di 15-16 lettere per linea, è stato comunque possibile rilevare analogie tra i due papiri anche nella 'mise en page': delle misure dei margini superiori e inferiori si è detto; l'intercolumnio è in entrambi di circa 1.2/1.4 cm; in entrambi si contano o si calcolano circa 27 linee di scrittura per colonna; l'altezza linea + interlinea è pari a 0.6 cm.

In entrambi i papiri, almeno nelle parti superstiti, non si rinvengono *paragraphoi*; si rileva talora, con funzione pausante, la presenza dello *spatium*, che nel P.Hercul. 335 appare talvolta riempito da un segno assimilabile a un comma o anche a un'ἄνω στιγμή tracciata velocemente (fig. 14).

Infine, un rapidissimo cenno al contenuto del testo. Il lessico che si rinviene nel P.Hercul. 335, tecnico della fisica epicurea, rinvia senza dubbio alle sensazioni e ai movimenti, interni e esterni all'individuo, che le determinano. In particolare, si insiste su un tipo di colpo, πληγή, e sull'affezione riguardante la vista, πάθος τὸ περὶ τὴν ὄψιν. Questa tematica, nonché il lessico che la esprime, induce a credere che nel papiro possa essere identificato un libro

[26] Nella parte superiore del pezzo, nell'estrema sinistra, è incollato un pezzetto di papiro estraneo, le cui tracce di scrittura impongono una rotazione di 90°; vi si nota la presenza di un piccolo tratto di margine superiore.
[27] Ricordiamo che l'ultima voluta parziale nel pz. 6 del P.Hercul. 1811 è di 8.5 cm, la prima voluta misurabile nel pz. 3 del P.Hercul. 335 è di 7.1 cm.

Sulla natura che segua da vicino il 2, nella cui chiusa Epicuro dichiara che tratterà «nei libri seguenti» questioni connesse all'esistenza e alla cinetica degli εἴδωλα[28] e cioè, come si evince dai §§ 49-53 dell'Epistola a Erodoto e dai vv. 239-721 del libro 4 del De rerum natura di Lucrezio, i fenomeni particolari legati alla vista e agli altri sensi. Rinviamo all'edizione critica, in corso di preparazione, la discussione delle singole questioni: qui basti sottolineare che, tra i pochi termini significativi che si rintracciano nella stratigrafia sconvolta del P.Hercul. 1811, ricorre proprio il termine ὄψις (cr. 2, pz. 4), a ulteriore conferma dell'appartenenza dei pezzi oggi inventariati sotto questo numero all'originario P.Hercul. 335.

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[28] Cf. Epic. Nat. 2, col. 120, 5-8 Leone (2012).

Tavole

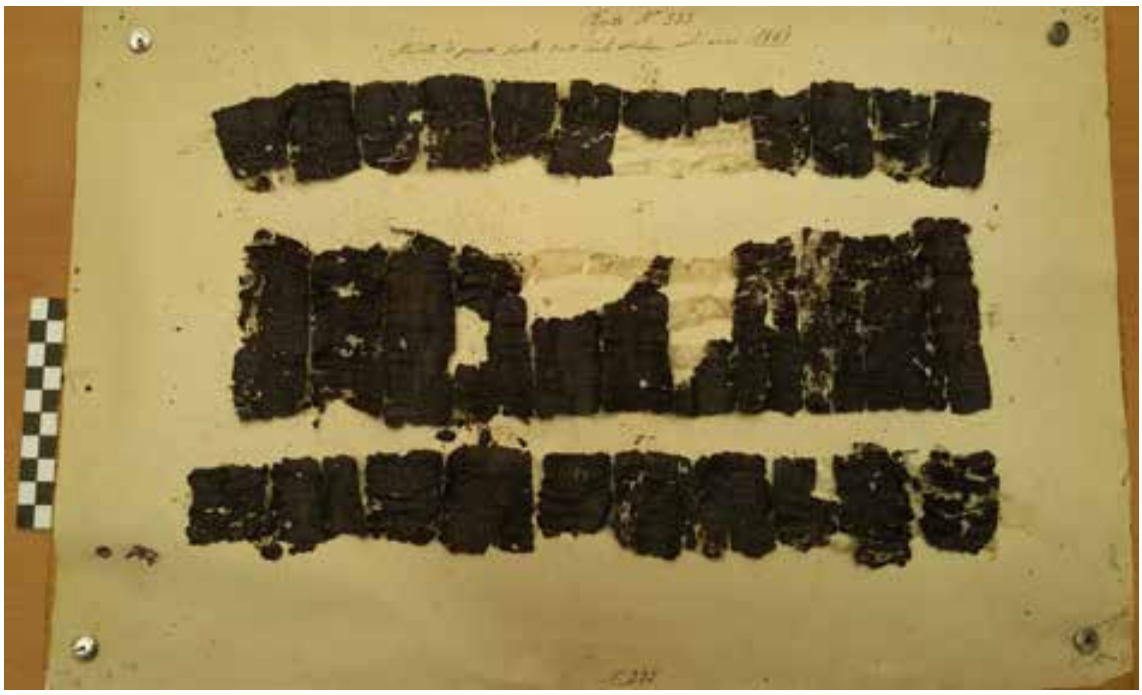


Fig. 1. P.Hercul. 335 cr. 1. © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.

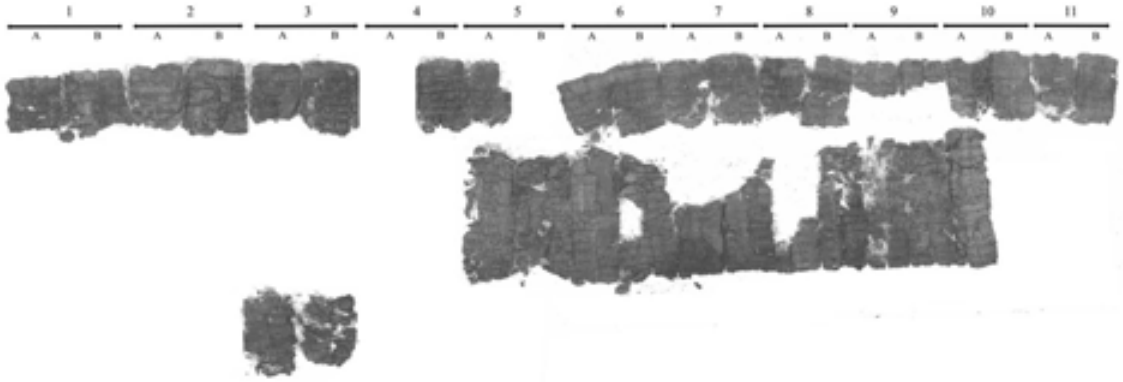


Fig. 2. Ricostruzione virtuale della cr. 1 del P.Hercul. 335. © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.

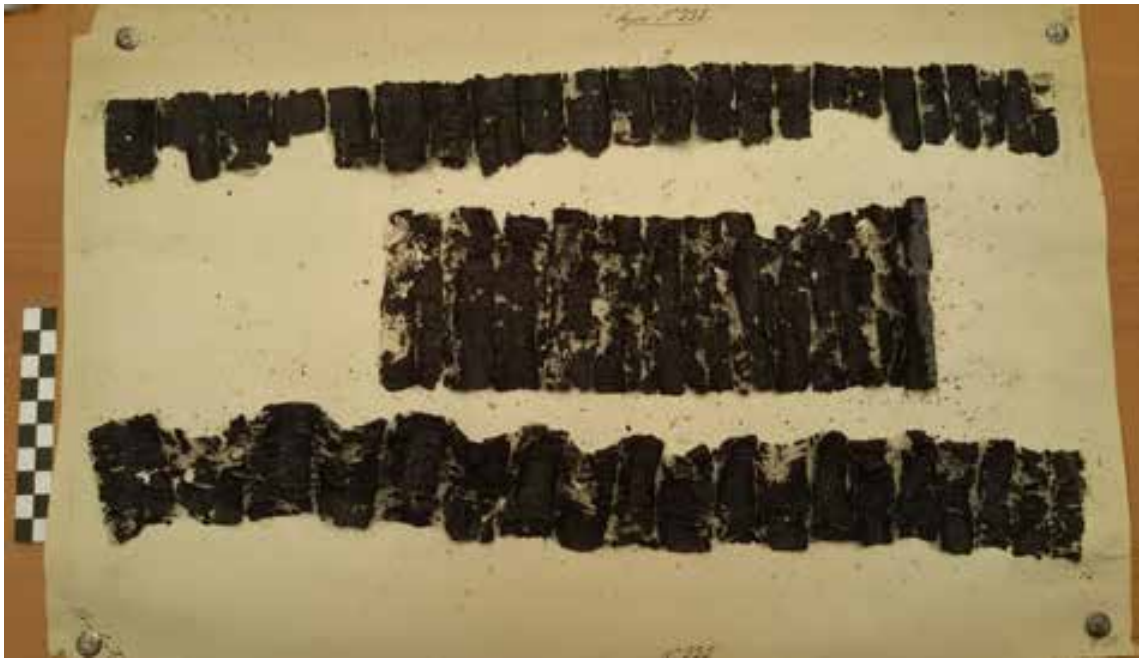


Fig. 3. P.Hercul. 335 cr. 2. © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.

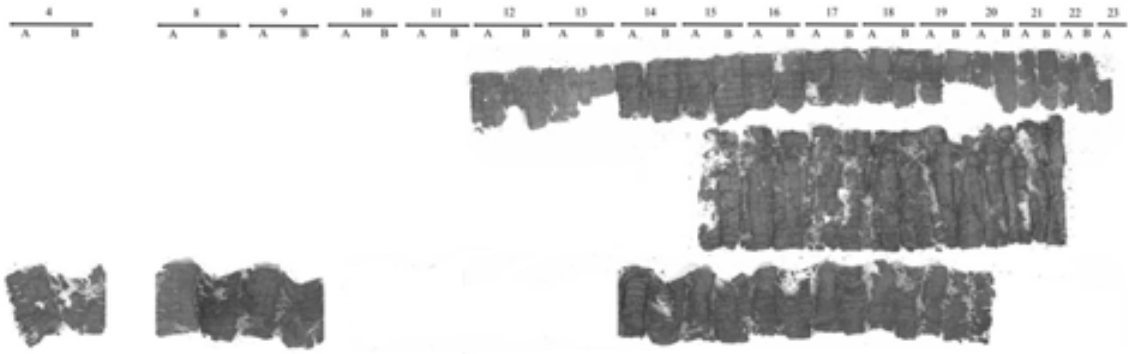


Fig. 4. Ricostruzione virtuale della cr. 2 del P.Hercul. 335. © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.

Ricostruzione delle volute del *PHerc.* 335 (in cm)

Vol.	1 (7,1)	2 (6,9)	3 (6,7)	4 (6,5)	5 (6,3)	6 (6,1)	7 (5,9)	8 (5,7)	9 (5,5)	10 (5,3)	11 (5,1)	12 (4,9)	13 (4,7)	14 (4,5)	15 (4,3)	16 (4,1)	17 (3,9)	18 (3,6)	19 (3,4)	20 (3,2)	21 (2,8)	22 (2,5)	23 (2,2)
	Cr1 – Pz3					Cr1 – Pz1						Cr2 – Pz1											
Pz. Sup.	7,1	6,9	6,7	(3,2)	(2,7)	6,1	5,9	5,7	5,5	5,3	5,1	(4,7)	4,7	4,5	4,3	4,1	3,9	3,6	3,4	3,2	2,8	2,5	(1,2)
					Cr1 – Pz2										Cr2 – Pz2								
Pz. Cen.					6,3	6,1	5,9	5,7	5,5	(2,3)					(2,8)	4,1	3,9	3,6	3,4	3,2	(1,2)		
			Cr1 – Pz3	Cr2 – Pz3																			
Pz. Inf.			6,7	6,5				5,7	5,5					4,5	4,1	3,9	3,6	3,4	3,2	(1,5)			
Vol.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23

Fig. 5. Schema della ricostruzione del P.Hercul. 335. © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.



Fig. 6. P.Hercul. 1811 cr. 1. © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.

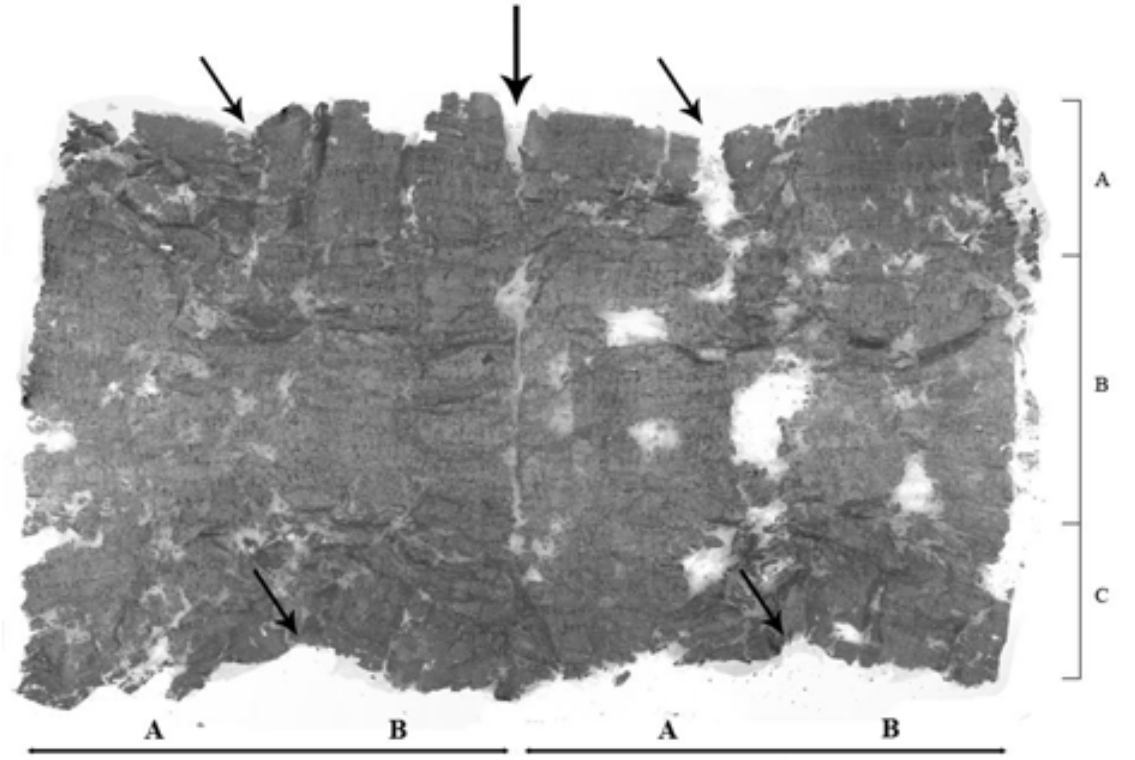


Fig. 7. P.Hercul. 1811 cr. 2. © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.

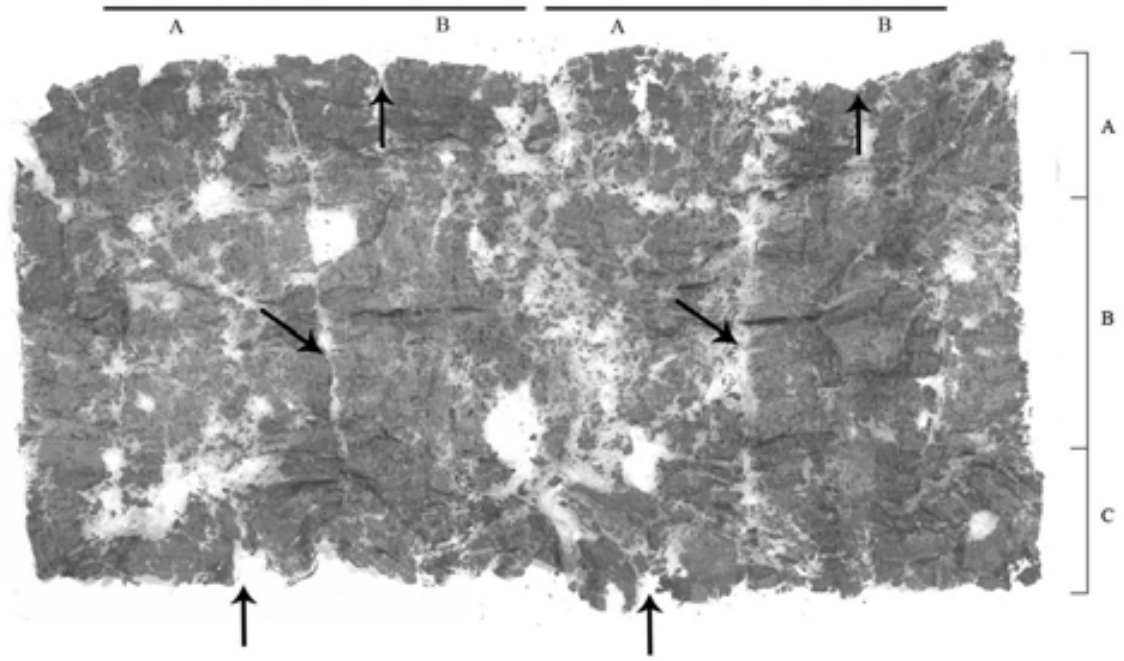


Fig. 8.
P.Hercul. 1811 cr. 3. © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.

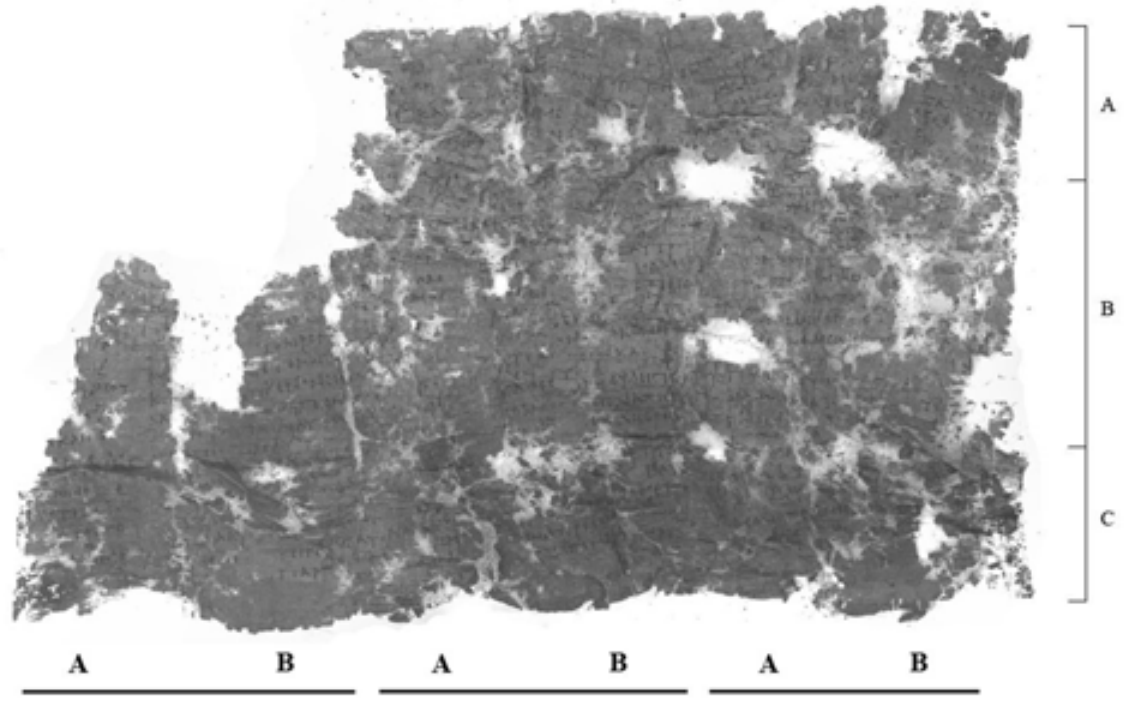


Fig. 9. P.Hercul. 1811 cr. 4. ©Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.

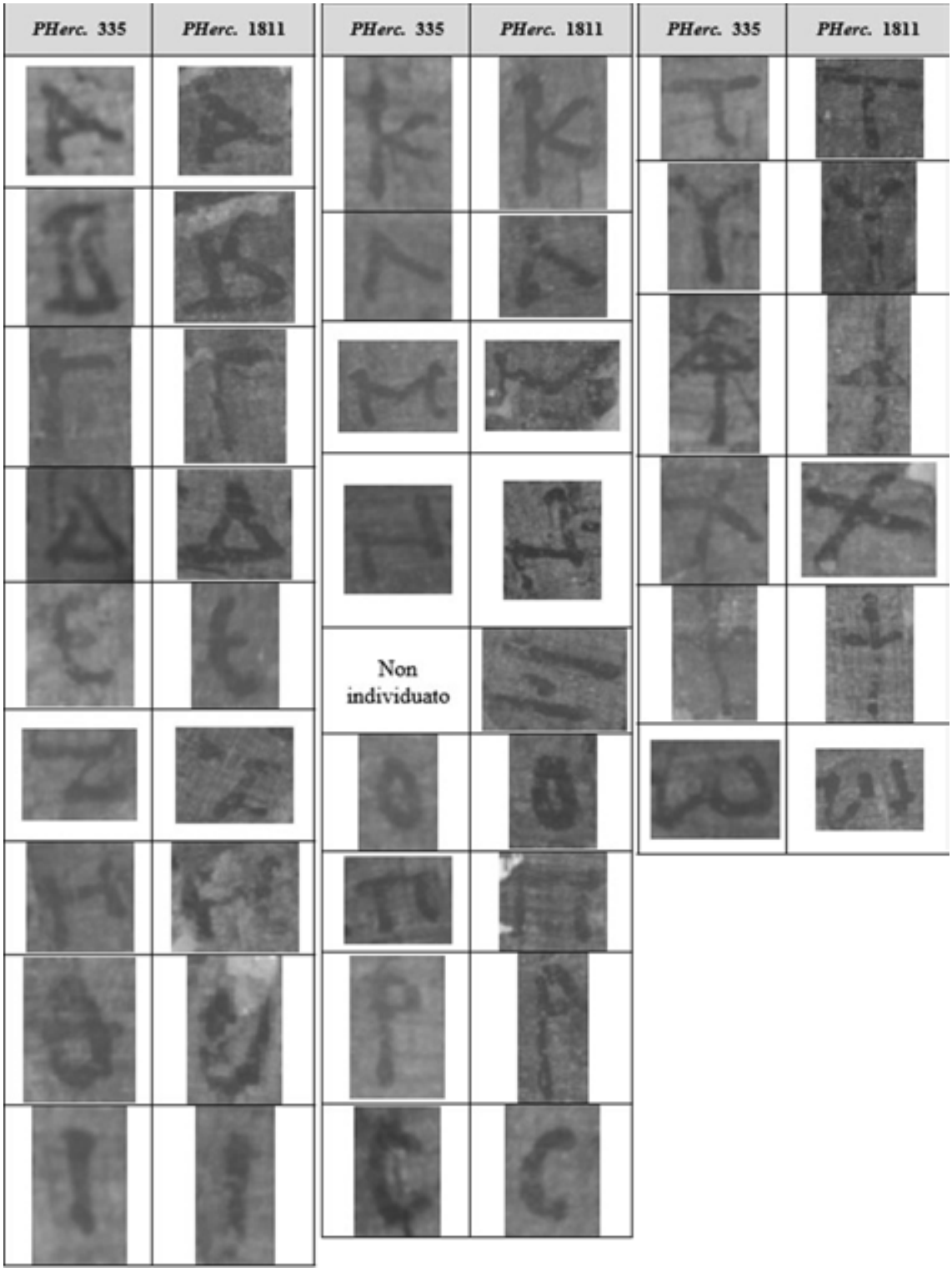


Fig. 10. Confronto paleografico tra i P.Hercul. 333 e 1811. © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.



Fig. 11. Confronto paleografico tra i P.Hercul. 1811/335 e 1148. © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.

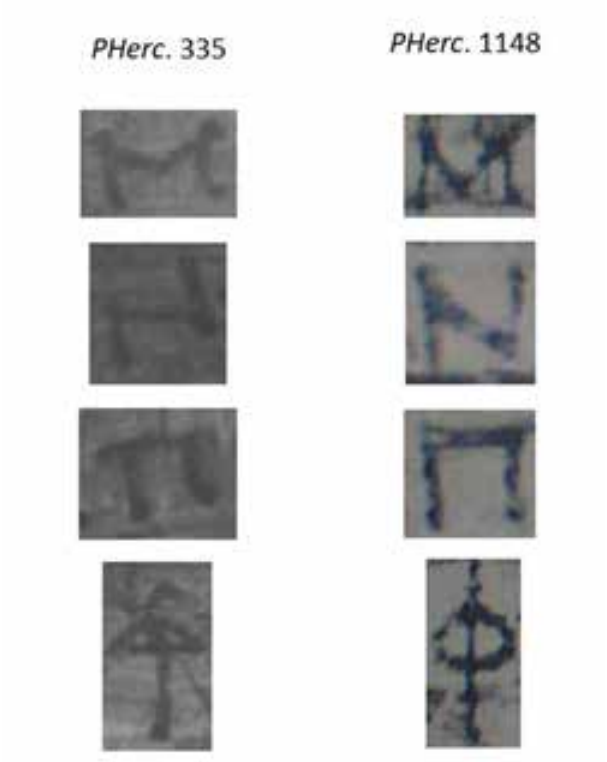


Fig. 12. Dettaglio. © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.

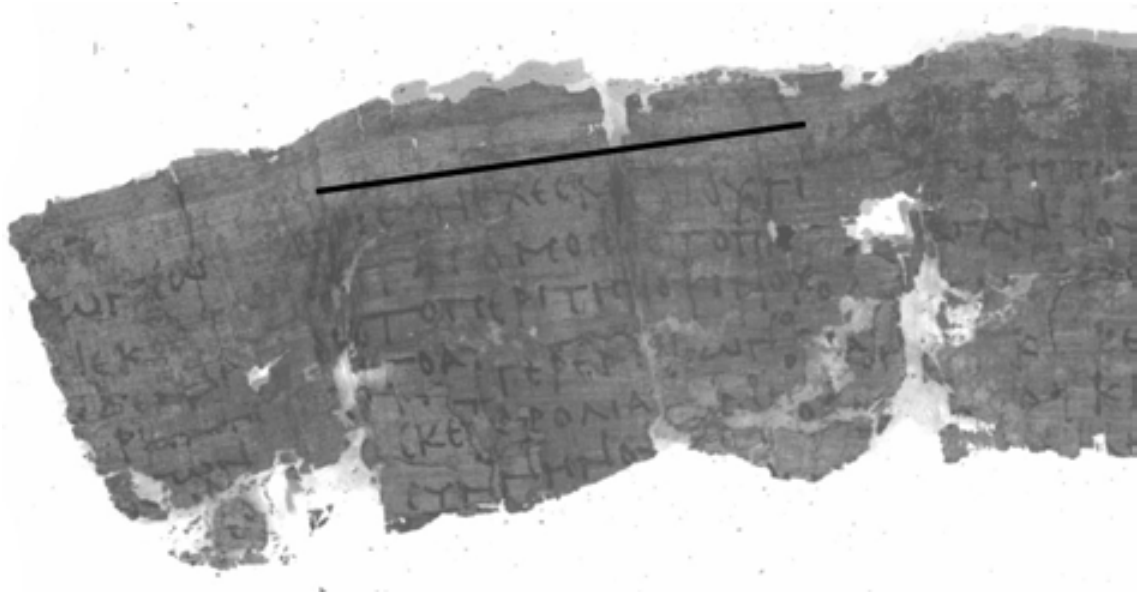


Fig. 13. Ampiezza della colonna del P.Hercul. 335. © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.

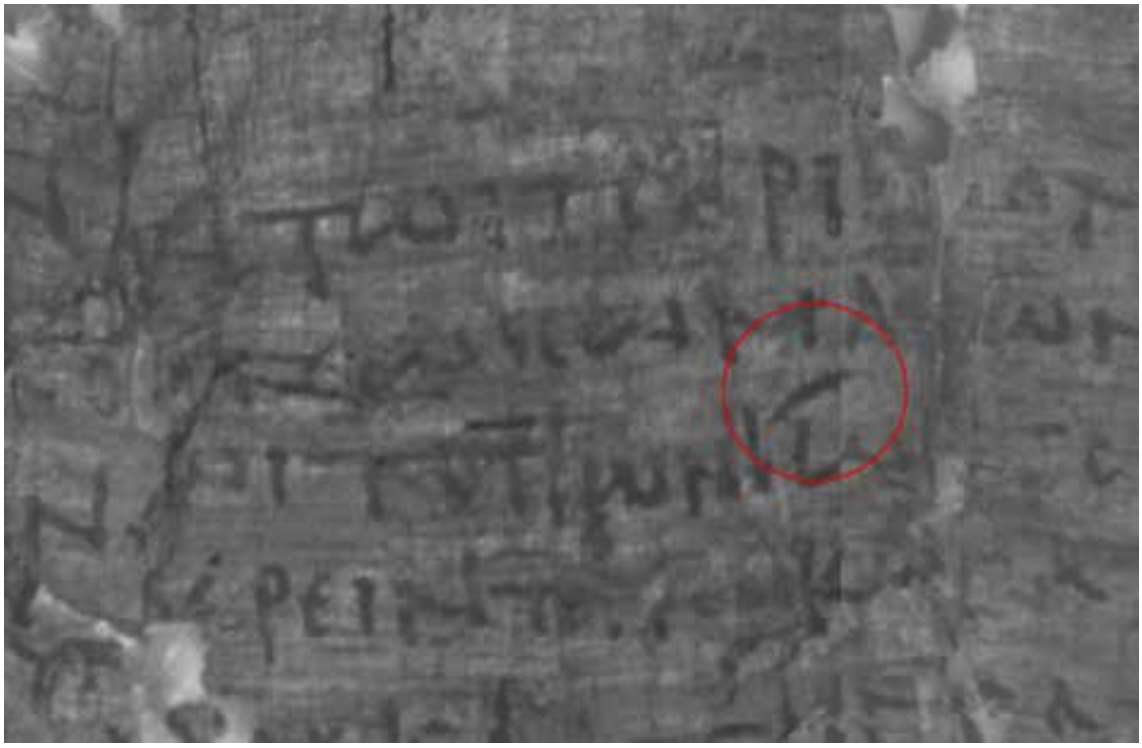
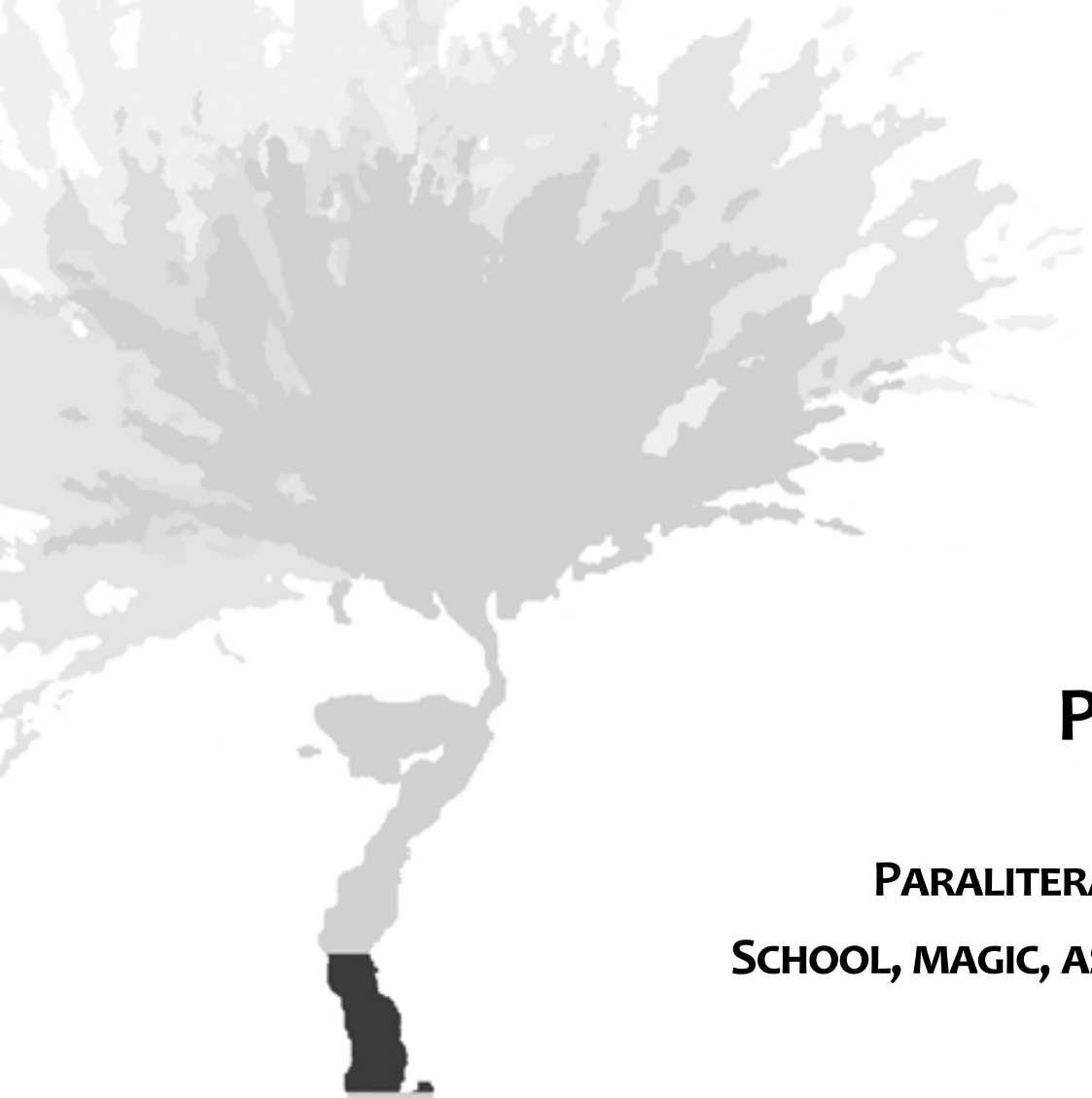


Fig. 14. Segni di interpunzione nel P.Hercul. 335. © Biblioteca Nazionale, Napoli-Brigham Young University, Provo.



PART IV

PARALITERARY TEXTS

SCHOOL, MAGIC, ASTROLOGY

Proceedings of the 28th International Congress of Papyrology, Barcelona 2016
Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona 2019) 291-297

Schools and School Exercises Again

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Twenty years ago in 1996, my book Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt was published and was followed in 2001 by Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt that took into account the corpus of school exercises that I had previously assembled and provided a more detailed view of Greek education in Egypt. It is time now to verify if the conclusions I had reached years ago are still largely valid and to ask questions that I did not ask at the time about what the exercises reveal (or do not reveal) on the actual presence of schools in Egypt. We should notice immediately that in these twenty years not many texts that I can surely identify as originating from education were published. Besides a few exercises among the Kölner papyri or from other collections, most of these have appeared in the volumes containing texts from Oxyrhynchus.[1] In 1996 exercises from Oxyrhynchus were only ten, a minimal number considering how great and cultivated the city was and the existing evidence of schools there. It is clear now that the paucity was due to editorial choices but it is also evident that it is not the publication of a few more exercises that warrants evaluating again the conclusions I had reached then.

In 1996 and in 2001 my aim was to collect and study all the possible school exercises found in Egypt. I was trying to understand how people learned to write, what was the curriculum of schools of various levels, and whether that corresponded to what was revealed by the literary sources from around the Mediterranean. In these two books I had used a terminology such as school, teacher, student, and scribe for sheer convenience and because of the lack of better terms even though I recognize now that more nuances were needed. In Gymnastics I tried to find some more evidence for learning centers and clarified that it is crucial to adopt «a broad definition of 'school' based on the educational activities of teaching and learning rather than on the identity of the person imparting the instruction, the teacher-student relationship, and the premises in which teaching took place».[2] It is worthy now emphasizing that, in monastic settings in particular, it is better to talk about educational texts found there rather than school texts, if by 'school' one usually refers to organized schooling with relatively young pupils and a formal teacher. While in Greek classical education some teachers did not devote themselves exclusively to teaching but wrote letters and petitions (the Or. 52 of the sophist Libanius in the fourth century is further evidence for that),[3] the multifunctionality of certain educated persons in Christian monasteries is especially evident, as Anastasia Maravela is indicating.[4] There, some people took different roles: they taught novices, preached, but also copied books and documents. It is better in my opinion to identify a 'will to learn' as the common link between all the exercises that are extant, as Harrauer and Sijpestijn did in 1985.[5]

[1] I am going to mention only some of the new school papyri, e.g., P.Köln. VIII 352, 353, 328 and perhaps 330. P.Oxy. XLII 3011; LVI 3829; LXI 4099; LXV 4460, and LXVIII 4647. See also Fournet (2009): P.Berol. inv. 16866, Homeric verses written in continuous lines.
[2] Cribiore (2001) 17.
[3] Cribiore (2015a) 199-200.
[4] Maravela (2018).
[5] Harrauer / Sijpesteijn (1985).

In 1996 I compiled a corpus of 412 exercises and examined the documentary sources for evidence of teachers and schools. Though in the introduction to the book I mentioned that «the random chances that determine which texts survive limit our knowledge»,[6] I was satisfied to study the evidence available without seriously asking whether part of it was lost and what were the reasons for its disappearance. I had followed a conservative methodology because I intended to produce a reliable corpus of exercises. When the handwriting, mistakes, and other factors did not point to an exercise beyond any shadow of a doubt, I refrained from including that item and I ended up discarding most of the texts at the higher level of education even if I had strong suspicions that they had originated from there.[7] With respect to teachers (called διδάσκαλοι), I included only those I was certain about without taking into account that more teachers of letters might have existed among them. In 1996 I had found little archeological evidence for schools and I referred only to the few individuals who were mentioned in documentary papyri. In 2001 I tried to go a bit further: I had noticed the very low number of tablets and found it surprising that school ostraca were not more numerous. Yet I did not attempt to go beyond the evidence and did not ask more questions. I will try to remedy that. Going beyond the evidence is an obligation for a historian of antiquity who wants to trace large-scale phenomena. Years ago, Tim Cornell titled an article, in which he responded to the well known book of William Harris on ancient literacy, "The Tyranny of the Evidence".[8] He claimed that relying strongly on the evidence is a positive trait in a historian which, however, becomes a liability when the evidence is biased, misleading, and incomplete. Let us consider now the relation of school exercises with archeology.

1. School exercises and archeology

A great interest in understanding the relationship of archeology and papyrology started in the 1990s. It can be traced first to an article from 1994 in which Peter van Minnen attempted to discuss the papyrological finds in the context of the archeology of the city.[9] The results of his study were later shown to be less secure than they had appeared at first because of problems deriving from the way old excavations were conducted and records were kept.[10] In spite of that, however, scholars enthusiastically tried to connect papyri with their context.[11] I myself was criticized for my lack of interest in this respect and for my inability to bring to life ancient schools. But was the provenance of exercises clear and secure? In the vast majority of cases papyri reached the Cairo Museum and European and American collections without any kind of precise context. A city or large village was specified in about half of them without any further details. The exercises lacked a precise provenance or were purchased illegally on the antiquarian market. Methods of excavation nowadays are more meticulous than in the past. Archeologists can make topographical surface surveys, can collect geographic and special information, and can use aerial photographs and make satellite images that allow to

[6] Cribiore (1996) 4.
[7] Though I had explained my method, this conservative choice caused some confusion: thus Morgan (1998), who had adopted my catalogue, wrongly affirmed that in Egypt rhetorical education was almost nonexistent.
[8] Harris (1989); Cornell (1991).
[9] Van Minnen (1994). More recently on the relationship of archeology and papyrology, van Minnen (2010).
[10] See Nevett (2011). Criticizing the approach taken with respect to Karanis, Nevett points to the more secure results achieved by modern excavations in Kellis (Dakhla Oasis). On the questionable record-keeping and labeling in Karanis, see Landvatter (2014).
[11] See Gagos (1998) and the special thematic section on papyri and context in BASP 42 (2005) 169-272.

examine large areas. The future may yield great results, as it appears from the findings in the Dakhla Oasis.[12]

Past archeological excavations, however, were generally conducted unsystematically and in a country where the antiquities patrimony was already depleted. At the end of the 19th century, the Hellenistic and Roman settlements in Egypt were in the process of destruction because the previous focus of attention had been almost exclusively on the dynastic sites. In addition, the archeological areas were greatly damaged by the building of new canals and the work of the fertilizer-diggers. At the beginning of the 20th century, Egyptian authorities declared that 'sebbakh' (dried organic matter used for fertilizer) was public property and could be collected for a fee. Sebbakhin became veritable treasure hunters making discoveries that sometimes reached the Egyptian Museum in Cairo but often ended in the hands of antiquities dealers. All these papyri and objects, school exercises included, were completely deprived of context.[13]

Well aware of the previous destruction of sites, Grenfell and Hunt, the Dioscuri of papyrology who found, studied, and deciphered so many texts, were concerned with digging up the greatest number of papyri in the shortest time possible. Though the two British papyrologists are very commendable in so many respects, their excavation methods left a lot to be desired. They declared that «the methods of digging for papyri in a town site present some parallels to that of gold-mining».[14] They concentrated on the remains of buildings from which they could get the most texts. They could not distinguish public from private buildings except in the case of temples because they were not interested in excavating and identifying them. They did not keep a stratigraphic record. Papyri were ordered according to type and not provenance so that sub-literary items, school exercises for example, were put under the rubric 'miscellaneous' with no information about context. In the Fayum and in Oxyrhynchus, Grenfell and Hunt excavated with approximately 200 workmen who had no experience in archeological excavations and were told to concentrate exclusively on finding papyri. Photographs from the Egypt Exploration Fund reveal the furious digging of those workmen and the blinding dust that surrounded them.[15]

As a consequence, I feel that school exercises were overlooked. Not only do many exercises occupy small scraps but students rarely used good quality papyrus and reused material that they found at home so that those papyri were already fragile when they were discarded and had less chances to survive. As I said above, very few wooden tablets from Egypt have been preserved. In the past, I thought that their low number depended exclusively on their relatively high cost and thus posited that they were not used much in education and that papyrus was by far the most privileged writing material. I was wrong. Lately Taco Terpstra has provided new evidence showing convincingly that there is a notable discrepancy between preserved styli and wax tablets in Karanis.[16] Styli, which were used to write on tablets and then to erase writing, are considerably more numerous than tablets. Terpstra does not inquire about the reasons for the apparent disappearance of many tablets but the problem is easy to solve. No doubt, styli were of more durable material but it is also important to reflect on the fact that survival of something in Egypt depended on its being thrown away, while tablets could be used by several generations in a family and ended up broken in small pieces.

[12] Right now, however, the areas of the Fayum are seriously threatened by Egyptians in search of antiquities and ancient coins. They go over the sites with metal detectors and sometimes bulldozers.
[13] In order to earn more money, the sebbakhin divided lots of papyri found together and cut some in small pieces.
[14] Grenfell / Hunt / Hogarth (1900) 24.
[15] The destruction continued so that, for example, the layout of the ancient city of Bakchias that was excavated briefly in 1896 appeared completely different in 1993, cf. Pernigotti (2010).
[16] Terpstra (2014). Cf. also Terpstra (2017).

Sebbakhin, moreover, burned as firewood the wood they found on excavation sites including for instance the surviving frames of doors, as they sometimes do today.

The situation in monastic settings in the sixth and seventh centuries was not better. In the Theban necropolis they occupied dynastic tombs and temples. Egyptologists wanted access to the earlier stages of sites so that Christian remains were cleared away. Thus the context and specific provenance of texts could not be recovered. I am now working with Jennifer Cromwell on the Coptic educational ostraca of Columbia University from western Thebes. Most of them come from Deir el Bahri (the monastery of Apa Phoibammon) and in general they are decontextualized. The situation is quite different with regard to the Monastery of Epiphanius that was excavated and documented properly but which represents an exception. Current scholars who are working on educational texts and settings in Western Thebes are making important progress by trying to bring into the discussion reports of excavations and unprovenanced texts found in museums and collections. The title of a paper of Lillian Larsen "Excavating the excavations" shows the direction in which these studies are going.[17] Most of the time the evidence of the school exercises in Egypt that resurfaced from past excavations is so incomplete that a precise evaluation of literacy there is impossible.

2. Where can we find schools in Egypt?

I mentioned previously the important book of William Harris in which he argued that a pervasive system of schools was a *condicio sine qua non* for majority literacy.[18] We all agree that there was no mass literacy in the ancient world,[19] and yet the paucity of the evidence concerning schools in Egypt and elsewhere needs to be explained. An important factor is that in the vast majority of cases, teaching in antiquity did not take place in buildings designed for this specific purpose.[20] While elementary education could take place in the open air, teachers of higher education often used private rooms, either their own or spaces that they rented from others. When a teacher moved, his school generally ceased to exist because a teacher *was* his school. Students might follow him or might change teachers. I have shown in my book The School of Libanius that there are many examples of the fact that schools often were not permanent institutions.[21] The evidence of Athens in the fourth century CE, of Alexandria in the fourth and fifth, and of Constantinople in the fifth century shows that teaching at home was a practical and common solution. As a rule, therefore, schools could not be distinguished from private habitations. In Egypt, moreover, the lack of information regarding the context of papyri, ostraca, and tablets prevents us from identifying specific schools because we do not know if and when a consistent number of exercises was found in a particular location. Even in cases where it might be hypothesized that a building originally presented some distinguishing characteristics such as benches or walls plastered with gypsum and prepared for writing, this information was lost because of the way past excavations were conducted. One wonders, therefore, if some schools in Egypt might have been located in public buildings and yet almost no public buildings from Greek and Roman Egypt have been identified.[22] In 1905 the well-known archeologist Otto Rubensohn excavated houses in the Fayum.[23] His aim, however, was to find papyri, and like all other archeologists of the time, he was not interested in conducting a systematic excavation. After he had entered entering a building and

[17] Larsen (2018).
[18] Harris (1989) e.g. 15 and 233.
[19] One of the great merits of Harris 1989 was to make scholars confront the issue.
[20] Cribiore (2007b).
[21] Cribiore (2007a) 42-82.
[22] I owe this information to Paola Davoli.
[23] Rubensohn (1905).

searched for papyri in one or two rooms, the building was abandoned without attempting to draw a plan. The result was that he did not identify any public building in the Fayum. As the archeologists have now found in Trimithis (modern Amheida), it takes a very long time to identify the nature of a building.[24] In 1929 M. Rostowzew reviewing for Gnomon a book on papyri in the Fayum condemned the hasty excavations in which important information was lost in order to search for papyri in the shortest and most economical way.[25] In 1986 Adam Lukaszewicz listed and studied all the public buildings known from the papyri, but the vast majority of them had disappeared from archeological inquiries.[26] In the Nile valley, therefore, the search for a school in or adjacent to a public building has been so far unsuccessful.

In Alexandria a massive school complex composed of many halls was found in Kom el-Dikka.[27] It supposedly could offer a whole course of higher education with grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, and even medicine. No writing, however, was left on the walls of these rooms, and no papyrus that referred unquestionably to them has been preserved from there.[28] But many texts have emerged from excavations conducted in two locations of the Oasis of Dakhla in Upper Egypt, specifically in Trimithis and Kellis. In Trimithis adjacent to a private residence built around 340, there was a building with at least three rooms that turned out to be a school.[29] Several factors contributed to the unmistakable identification of the nature of the building that was excavated with great care. Benches were built along the walls of the rooms[30] and the walls were plastered with gypsum so that writing could be washed off. Literary texts, moreover, were written on the walls of two rooms, 15 and 19. The text in room 15 consisted of five columns of poetry, hexameters and elegiac distichs. The walls in the other room 19 showed a passage from the Odyssey (4. 221-223) and the paraphrase of an anecdote from Plutarch.[31] Anecdotes of this kind are known to have figured in education at all levels. This school in Trimithis could serve about twelve students, presumably the sons of Serenos and other elite youths from the Oasis. The level of literacy of the place also appears from a line in chalk scribbled on a wall of another room (13) that does not belong to the school. It is uncertain who the writer was but he might have been the teacher of the school or one of Serenos' cultivated guests. The line is part of a verse from Euripides' tragedy Hypsipyle which was little known before the papyri revealed some fundamental fragments.[32] Another piece of plaster with an encomium in verse containing the story of Busiris and Herakles has now come to light from another building in Dakhla. Was this budding poet connected to the school? Did he obtain his education there? It is impossible to know but further excavation may reveal it.

At a distance of forty kilometers from Trimithis, there was the large village of Kellis that has yielded many literary and documentary pieces in both Greek and Coptic.[33] Besides the fact that three papyri (P.Kellis 53, 54, and 69) mentioning teachers were found here, in Kellis the

[24] A building there, B6, appeared to be public, a town council (or even a Christian church). After a couple of years, it became clear that it was the largest bath ever found in the Oasis.
[25] Rostowzew (1929).
[26] Lukaszewicz (1986).
[27] T. Derda et al. (2007).
[28] The condition of the soil was too wet for the preservation of papyri. Some late antique figures such as Zacharias Scholasticus in Ammonios allude to the Kom el Dikka halls.
[29] Cribiore / Davoli / Ratzan (2008).
[30] Benches, however, also appear in town halls and churches so that something else is needed to identify a building as a school.
[31] See Cribiore / Davoli (2013). See also Cribiore (2015b).
[32] See P.Oxy. VI 852, that includes fragment 60, col. ii, c. 916, 86. This line completes an unknown part of a verse vindicating the opinion of the scholar D.L. Page.
[33] P. Kellis. Kellis was a chief village of a toparchy and was occupied from the late Ptolemaic period until the fourth century CE. The papyri and tablets that I will mention all belong to the fourth century.

evidence of education is quite rich though I will not go through it in detail: lists of Greek verbs, Isocrates, Homer, and mythological stories. The editors of all these texts refrained from positing that a school was located in one of the shrines but there is no doubt about it. The variety of the textual material, compounded with the diversity of the hands and of the levels of education strongly suggests the existence of a school but it is important to keep in mind once again that when in antiquity we call a place of learning 'school', we must be open to all scenarios.

I have referred a few times to the 1989 book of William Harris. It was published a few years before my first book. Writing, Teachers, and Students could have been considered some kind of response to the bold quantitative approach of Harris. Though I could not show actual evidence of schools, the exercises testified that Greek education in Egypt was widespread. In a recent article, however, William Harris returned to literacy and considered in passing the discoveries in Trimithis that seemed to him so unusual to the point of not being especially significant. He attributed the evidence to «the intensity of the passion for *paideia*» felt by those Greeks of Egypt who lived at the edges of the Hellenic world.[34] This appears to imply that the findings in the Oasis cannot tell us much about the spread of literacy in the rest of the Greek and Roman world because they are somewhat anomalous. Isn't this the old claim that Egypt was unique? I thought that I had dispelled that notion with my previous work. In addition, studies of the economy of Roman Egypt have pointed out that the evidence was broadly applicable to other Mediterranean societies. How are we going to use this evidence now? We could try to see how it conforms to what we know about the rest of the Mediterranean. But I prefer another way. We can use these remains of ancient education to help us reconstruct the larger picture in the Great Oasis, in the rest of Egypt, and around the Mediterranean, looking for what is not visible right now but may appear in the future.

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Literary Ostraka: Choice of Material and Interpretation of Text*

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In Greco-Roman Egypt, pottery sherds were always –or almost always– used as a writing support along with other materials, such as papyrus or wood, even if the distribution of these supports could vary or some types have disappeared from the archaeological record. The decision to write on sherds could be influenced by their relative availability compared to other supports.[1] Another factor potentially influencing the choice of ostraka could be their size and ease of handling, which render them particularly suitable for relatively small texts meant for easy transport and exchange, such as receipts, orders for delivery, or road-passes. Some, though not all, of these types of texts would have a very short lifespan.[2]

In the case of literary texts inscribed on ostraka, certain properties of the sherds, such as their small size and apparent low value (both monetary and social) seem to make them most suitable as school texts. And indeed there are ostraka whose association with an educational environment is beyond doubt. To take just one example, when J.G. Milne published a group of ostraka acquired at the beginning of the 20th century around Luxor and Karnak, he imagined that «the finder of these ostraka had chanced on a spot where a schoolmaster of Thebes had taught his classes in the open air near a rubbish heap, on which material for writing exercises might be obtained in plenty, to be thrown away again as soon as used» or that «we may have here the contents of the waste-ostrakon-basket which were deposited on the dust-tip after a day's work».[3] Whatever this school may have looked like, the ostraka in the group display various features of texts used in education. There are syllabaries, lists of names or other words in alphabetic order, repeated numerals, moralizing maxims, mythological compositions, and anecdotes involving famous men; the hands are said to be either shaky and slow, presumably of a student, or clear and firm, thus likely of a teacher; and there are spelling mistakes and corrections. The question, however, is whether the presence of these ostraka in Thebes in the second century CE is indicative of how ostraka inscribed with non-documentary texts were used elsewhere in Egypt from the Hellenistic through the late antique period, and this question has been traditionally answered in the positive.[4] Consequently, discussion of non-documentary ostraka tends to be concentrated in compendia devoted to education, an arrangement that perpetuates an association of the material with didactic purposes. In the only existing comprehensive overview of Greek literary ostraka,

* This article stems from work on material aspects of ostraka in the context of my project "Writing on Ostraka in the Inner and Outer Mediterranean – Schreiben auf Ostraka im inneren und äußeren Mittelmeerraum (TP A09)" within the University of Heidelberg's "Sonderforschungsbereich 933, Materiale Textkulturen. Materialität und Präsenz des Geschriebenen in non-typographischen Gesellschaften," which is funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

[1] Skeat (1995) 78 (=Elliot [2004] 90-91), Bülow-Jacobsen (2009) 15. In several letters on ostraka the writer apologizes for resorting to this material for lack of papyrus, cf. Cuvigny (2003) 266.

[2] «Ostraca thus occupied a part of the field of everyday writing where brevity of text and brevity of lifespan overlap», writes Roger Bagnall (2011) 133, although he admits that the only type of ostraka that could not be discarded immediately were tax-receipts, which form the biggest group of documents on ostraka.

[3] Milne (1908) 121.

[4] Cf., for example, a comment in a recent discussion of the geometric ostraka from Elephantine (TM 65672 = LDAB 6925) that «ostraca of literary texts arise apparently only in an educational context», Netz (2015) 301.

Paul Mertens also follows the principle that a literary ostrakon is school unless there is a strong obstacle to this identification.[5]

It was only with Raffaella Cribiore's invaluable survey of evidence for education in Greco-Roman Egypt that the need for a more nuanced approach to the relationship between writing materials and their texts became clear.[6] Calling into question the seemingly natural connection between school exercises at the most elementary level and cheap material such as reused papyrus scraps or ceramic sherds, she demonstrates that this presumption is not borne out by the evidence. She concludes that habit rather than cost was «the salient reason» for using ostraka «by all students at a certain level and for particular types of exercises» and that «although most of the ostraca originated in contexts of organized education, a good number must have come from different milieus».[7] Let us pursue further Cribiore's observations regarding the types of texts for which ostraka were used, as well as the types of school-texts that in certain periods fail to be attested on ostraka.

Cribiore points out that ostraka overall form the largest group in the category of 'short' texts, that is, texts corresponding to approximately 8 hexameters and including «maxims, sayings, and limited amount of verse» (66%), and a large group in the category of «long passages: copies or dictations» (32%).[8] Conversely, evidence for elementary education is remarkably meagre and uneven in chronological distribution. Syllabaries present a case in point: of all types of school-related texts, they are the most characteristic and uncontroversial.[9] Written on a variety of supports depending on the period, they are consistently attested from classical antiquity into the Byzantine period. They hardly appear, however, on ostraka before the Roman period and they remain sparse until the late Roman and Byzantine periods. The same is observable for lists of words, either divided into syllables or arranged in groups by a certain number of syllables.[10] It could perhaps be argued that students at a lower level would not use ostraka because it is in fact more difficult to write on a sherd than on a papyrus or tablet, but this would not explain why teachers would refrain from using the material for writing models, as seems to have been the case in the Byzantine period.[11]

Besides syllabaries, there is another type of text that is oddly underrepresented in school ostraka: Homer. Cribiore comments that «although poetic verses in general do not appear very frequently in ostraca, Homer was certainly the least represented among poets».[12] This is surprising because Homer is the favorite author in the short-passages category, while ostraka is the preferred material in this very category.[13] The anomaly is especially pronounced in the Ptolemaic period, when poetic quotations or passages are not that rare: in Mertens' chronological list of literary ostraka, 17 of 34 pieces dated from the III BCE through I BCE/I

[5] In a list of 143 ostraka, Mertens (1975/1976) indicates those that were deemed school texts by Zalateo (1961), and then surveys the remaining pieces in order to determine which can be further included with school texts. Among the remaining few that resist association with a school environment, he discerns two types of texts, medical prescriptions and possible drafts for inscriptions.
[6] Cribiore (1996).
[7] Cribiore (1996) 63.
[8] The calculations are based on the data in Table 2, Cribiore (1996) 65. This tendency would be even more pronounced in the Ptolemaic period: for the first three centuries of the surveyed evidence, the share of ostraka in the category of 'short passages' would be 75%, and in the 'long passages' it would be 57%.
[9] The syllabary is «a central component in elementary education in the West from early archaic Greece to the nineteenth century», Johnson (2011); cf. also Johnson (2015) esp. 139-142.
[10] The earliest example, O.Edfu II 307 (= Cribiore [1996] no. 101 = LDAB 4290 = TM 63087), is dated to the first century CE.
[11] Cribiore (1996) 64.
[12] Cribiore (1996) 64.
[13] Cribiore (1996) 46 and 71 respectively.

CE contain verses. One has to postulate then that, at least until the Roman period, ostraka were used in school, but not for types of texts otherwise associated with education, such as syllabaries, lists of words, and quotations or passages of Homer.

As chance would have it, the only Ptolemaic period ostrakon on which a passage of Homer appears –at seven verses in length it would have fit perfectly the category of 'short passages'– is usually not considered a school text: it is not included in Cribiore's catalogue, nor is it labelled a school text in LDAB (2387=TM 61247).[14] The ostrakon (P.Berol. inv. 12565) comes from Elephantine and is dated to shortly before 190 BCE. Its outer convex side is unpublished and is said to contain a list of names; the inside concave side (BGU VI 1470) starts with what appears to be a petition or complaint (a type of text most unusual for Greek ostraka), but then, after five lines of the petition and the word μάρτυροι[15] in the sixth line, the scribe begins quoting the Odyssey. He writes the first seven and a half verses, cancels some of the words in the last line, and then writes a list of names in two columns. The hand, which looks neither like a teacher's nor a pupil's, shows no change throughout.[16] This concoction of texts has no parallel and appears to be neither school, nor scholarly; one can perhaps imagine a situation in which the writer was jotting down the opening words of a petition to use as a blue-print for a future composition, and then turned to citing Homer. Could there even be some irony in the scribe's citing the woes of Odysseus at the point where the content of the complaint would conventionally stand?

The person who inscribed the Elephantine ostrakon must have been educated and was an experienced writer, but the sherd was probably produced not in a school environment. Why would the verses of Homer be written? Could it be simply because the writer liked them? That a larger work written on a papyrus roll was meant for a reader's enjoyment is taken for granted, but it is presumed that a shorter passage written on an ostrakon needs to be the means to an end, and preferably an educational one. The sherd from Elephantine, however, challenges this presumption. Looking through non-documentary ostraka of the Ptolemaic period one notes more pieces that do not easily fit the evidence we have for schools. There are six ostraka from Elephantine inscribed with geometric explications at a very advanced scholarly level (TM 65672 = LDAB 6925); there is a poem of Sappho, not a poet normally associated with education, inscribed in a practiced but far-from-clear hand (TM 62716 = LDAB 3904); we have a large ostrakon from Philadelphia inscribed on both sides in very cursive script with passages of a mythological or historical nature (TM 68653 = LDAB 9925); and there is a piece with glosses to Homer, Hipponax, and Antimachus (TM 61222 = LDAB 2362) in a fluent but not particularly neat hand. None of these texts would probably be considered school had it survived on papyrus, yet each is routinely classified as such.

The same would probably obtain for four Hellenistic ostraka deemed school texts that were discovered together in Philadelphia in the Fayum. I would like to zoom in on these for two reasons. First, the ostraka have a secure provenance, and second, assigning them to a school context has had an impact on both the overall statistics and our assessment of literary and school ostraka. Consequently, if these four pieces are to be disassociated from education, there remains little ground to connect the practice of writing on ostraka with schooling in the Ptolemaic period.

[14] Zalateo (1961) includes it in his catalogue under no. 363 in the category of 'Documenti di uso non definito', but Janine Debut (1986) leaves it out from her list of school texts.

[15] The form is not attested in documents from Greco-Roman Egypt; outside epic, it seems to be confined to Hellenistic manumission inscriptions in Delphi.

[16] The text and a link to an image are available at http://www.papyri.info/ddbdp/bgu;6;1470.

The ostraka in question come from a stash that was found in a cellar of a house in Philadelphia during excavations conducted by Friedrich Zucker in January 1909. Now in Berlin and sometimes erroneously referred to as the Kleitorios archive,[17] the group contains five literary and 63 documentary ostraka. The latter are mostly notes jotted down possibly by the same writer and apparently for himself; they pertain to various transactions around a large estate.[18] Of the five literary ostraka, one (P.Berol. inv. 12309) is inscribed with an obscene pseudo-epitaph; three contain anthologies (P. Berol. inv. 12310, 12311, 12319); and one is a continuous composition or an excerpt (P.Berol. inv. 12318). Understandably, nobody has ever suggested that the vulgar epigram is a school text, but as far as the other four ostraka are concerned, only Peter van Minnen has been reluctant to identify them as educational, explaining that they «have generally been assigned to a school because of the content (anthologies), but the context seems to point in another direction».[19] Although a collection of literary excerpts may seem fitting material for teaching, in a recent corpus of Hellenistic anthologies only five of 38 are classified as school texts. Of these five, three are the Philadelphia ostraka, and the reason they are classified as school is actually because of their archaeological context.[20] The argument is thus circular, and to move forward I suggest to consider literary ostraka from Philadelphia according to the criteria for identifying school exercises outlined by Cribiore, namely 1) the type of text contained; 2) writing materials and their use; 3) special distinguishing characteristics of exercises; 4) mistakes; 5) evaluation of the hand.[21]

1. Text Types

Three ostraka from Philadelphia contain anthologies of passages drawn from both prose and verse. Although the length of passages varies, each tends to be short, with the longest poetry excerpt amounting to 5 verses of Theognis (on P.Berol. inv. 12310) and the longest prose a bit over 30 words (on P.Berol. inv. 12311), which is shorter than passages in school anthologies tend to be.[22] On the other hand, most citations are longer than a maxim.[23]

The passage of Theognis 434-438, quoted on P.Berol. inv. 12310, is noteworthy. First, the poet is not attested in school exercises outside the Philadelphia ostraka.[24] Further, the order in which the verses are cited corresponds not to the manuscript tradition of Theognis but to a passage in Plato's Meno, 95e-96a.[25] In Theognis, the verse πολλοὺς ἂν μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἔφερον (434) concludes the observation that, had doctors been able to cure badness and mental blindness, «they would have commanded truly high salaries». In Plato's dialogue,

[17] Kleitorios is the subject of the epigram inscribed on P.Berol. inv. 12309, while a Kleitorios and Kleitorios the younger are referred to in some documentary pieces; it is possible that one of the documents' Kleitorioi is that of the epigram, but he is clearly not the writer of the ostraka nor is he central to the transactions and communications found in them. Trismegistos designates the archive as 'Ostraca from a cellar in Philadelpheia', ArchID 160.

[18] Viereck and Zucker, albeit with some hesitation, distinguish two hands, one that wrote BGU VII 1500-1548 and the other BGU VII 1549-1562, whereas the five literary pieces have been assigned also to a single hand. There are variations throughout these three groups, but it is not impossible that the entire stash was the product of the same writer with the differences resulting from changes in the surface, pen, ink, as well as types of texts.

[19] Van Minnen (1998) 144.

[20] Pordomingo (2013) 40-41, 181.

[21] Cribiore (1996) 30.

[22] Cf. Cribiore (1996) nos. 379, 381, 382.

[23] Only one anthology (P. Berol. inv. 12319) contains what can perhaps be considered maxims: a one-liner from Hesiod and short citations from Theognis and Euripides.

[24] For a convenient compendium of authors and works attested in school exercises, cf. Cribiore (1997).

[25] That is, the verses run 435, 434, 436-438.

however, it is incorporated in a dialectical argument that reveals the impossibility of teaching virtue.[26] It is plausible that the writer of the ostrakon excerpted the Theognidean passage from Plato's text since it is unlikely that there would have been a version of Theognis in which the same verses would be moved around in exactly the same way as in Plato where they form an irregular metrical sequence.[27] Like Theognis, Plato is not an author one encounters in school texts, and the theme of the cited verses, that is, the impossibility of making men good by teaching, does not seem to be particularly fitting for a school environment.

The most extensive prose passage in the Philadelphia anthologies is an excerpt from a narrative or dialogue (P.Berol. inv. 12311, ll. 4-9):

> καὶ γὰρ ὁρᾶις ἔφη ἄν τις μὴ ὥσπερ οἱ πολ|λοὶ ζῶσιν ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἐσθίειν ἀλλ' ἐσθίηι | καὶ πίνηι ἕνεκεν τοῦ ζῆν οὐ χαλεπὸν | τά γε τοιαῦτα πορίζεσθαι τῶι τυχόντι | μὴ ὅτι νοῦν ἔχοντι,
>
> «For you see, he said, if one is not like the many who live for the sake of eating, but eats and drinks for the sake of living, it would not be hard for anyone to procure himself with such things, let alone for a sensible person».

The passage immediately reminds one of a *sententia*, often ascribed to Socrates, found, for example, in Plutarch, Mor. 21e:

> ὑπομνηστέον ὅτι Σωκράτης τοὐναντίον ἔλεγε, τοὺς
> μὲν φαύλους ζῆν τοῦ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν ἕνεκα, τοὺς
> δ' ἀγαθοὺς ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν ἕνεκα τοῦ ζῆν.
>
> «It should be remembered that Socrates said the opposite [sc. to what Alexis says in the fragment quoted just before], namely, that base men live to eat and drink, whereas good men eat and drink to live».

The passage on the ostrakon has therefore been interpreted as a paraphrase of Socrates' *sententia*.[28] The excerpt, however, does not take the form of a paraphrase or anecdote, but, as Italo Gallo argues, likely derives from a longer work.[29] In that work, the passage presumably served to argue that procuring means of substance is easy for anyone who needs food simply to sustain himself. While frugality of life was characteristic of Socrates, the idea that it is easy to procure what is necessary is also an Epicurean motif. Curiously, Stobaeus cites the anecdote about Socrates[30] immediately before quoting a passage attributed to Epicurus:

> (21) Σωκράτους
> Σωκράτης ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων διαφέρει, εἶπε 'καθόσον οἱ μὲν λοιποὶ ζῶσιν, ἵν' ἐσθίωσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐσθίω, ἵνα ζῶ'
> (22) Ἐπικούρου
> Χάρις τῇ μακαρίᾳ Φύσει, ὅτι τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐποίησεν
> εὐπόριστα, τὰ δὲ δυσπόριστα οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα. (Stob. Flor. 17. 21-22)

[26] Aristotle seems to follow Plato's placement of verse 434, too, when he cites it in the Nicomachean Ethics, 1179b, to characterize teachable arguments, εἰ μὲν οὖν ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι αὐτάρκεις πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι ἐπιεικεῖς, πολλοὺς ἂν μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους δικαίως ἔφερον κατὰ τὸν Θέογνιν, «if arguments were enough to make people good, they would have justly carried huge rewards, as Theognis says».

[27] Metathesis of ll. 434 and 435 results in the sequence hexameter, pentameter, pentameter, hexameter, pentameter.

[28] So Viereck (1925) 256 and Cribiore (1996) 228, no. 236.

[29] Gallo, (1980) 223-225, suggests that the passage may have come from a fourth-century logos Sokratikos of an unknown author; this is followed by Bastianini in CPF I 1*** 95.9T, 767-768.

[30] Elsewhere Stobaeus attributes it to Diogenes: Διογένης τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔφησε ζῆν, ἵνα ἐσθίωσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐσθίειν, ἵνα ζῇ, «Diogenes said that while others live to eat, he eats to live», 3. 6.41.

> «(21) Of Socrates.
> When asked in what respect he differs from all other people, Socrates said: "In that the rest live in order to eat, while I myself eat in order to live."
> (22) Of Epicurus.
> Thanks be to blessed Nature, because what is necessary she made easy to procure, and what is hard to procure she made not necessary».

As for what kind of work the ostrakon passage may have derived from, perhaps it was a collection of stories associated with a philosophical character such as Socrates or even Diogenes. That such collections were in circulation is illustrated by a papyrus roll that preserves anecdotes about Diogenes, which dates to the third or early second century BCE and likely comes from the Fayum, too (P.Vindob. G 29946 = LDAB 786 = TM 59682).[31] Some of the anecdotes on this roll are known from later sources, in particular Diogenes Laertius and Plutarch, but, as Guido Bastianini demonstrates, the versions on the papyrus display better understanding of Diogenes and do not reduce his character to low level comedy, as later sources are wont to do. Upon discussing the lexical, syntactic, and general literary qualities of the papyrus text, Bastianini concludes that it was probably the ultimate source of later anecdotes, whose authors were prone to oversimplification and clumsy expansion.[32] It seems plausible that the passage cited on the ostrakon would have come from a similar loose collection of stories associated with a philosopher, perhaps Socrates, though Diogenes cannot be ruled out.

Although minor, there are other similarities between the two texts: the ostrakon passage does not name the speaker, an uncharacteristic feature of an anecdotal tradition as reflected in Diogenes Laertius and Plutarch, but found in the Vienna papyrus where Diogenes is always referred to in the third person without name.[33] Further, paragraphoi are used in the papyrus collection of stories about Diogenes to mark divisions into syntactic units, which are smaller than an anecdote but often larger than a clause. A similar principle of text division may be behind the excerpt on the ostrakon, with the passage forming a syntactic unit within a story.

As for the genre of the text preserved on the Vienna papyrus, Bastianini is wary to call it a biography because of the avoidance of naming Diogenes as well as the apparent lack of organizing principle, either chronological or geographic; it could perhaps be a collection of *chreiai*, though not in the strict sense of later grammarians such as Aelius Theon.[34] It may rather reflect some stage in the development of the *apomnemoneuma,* or reminiscence. A specimen of this genre is preserved for us by Xenophon's work, which may not have been yet clearly distinct from *chreia* at the time the Vienna papyrus was composed.[35] It is also possible that the passage on the ostrakon came from a similar kind of work of a perhaps ethical and

[31] The best edition of the papyrus, with detailed introduction and commentary, is that of Bastianini in CFP 1** 48.8T, 99-143.
[32] Cf. commentary to col. ii. ll. 1-6 (CFP 1** 48.8T, 128-130).
[33] Diogenes' name appears only once in the papyrus, almost *per accidens,* as Bastianini says (CFP 1** 48.8T, 105), because it occurs in the vocative in the response addressed to him by the tyrant Dionysius (col. v. l. 6).
[34] In On the Chreia, Theon defines chreia as «a brief saying or action making a point, attributed to some specified person or something corresponding to a person» (χρεία ἐστὶ σύντομος ἀπόφασις ἢ πρᾶξις μετ' εὐστοχίας ἀναφερομένη εἴς τι ὡρισμένον πρόσωπον ἢ ἀναλογοῦν προσώπῳ), text after Hock / O'Neil (1986) 83, translation Kennedy (2003) 15.
[35] According to Aelius Theon, «reminiscence is distinguished from chreia in two ways: the chreia is brief, the reminiscence is sometimes extended, and the chreia is attributed to particular persons, while the reminiscence is also remembered for its own sake» (τὸ δὲ ἀπομνημόνευμα δυσὶ τοῖσδε κεχώρισται τῆς χρείας· ἡ μὲν γὰρ σύντομος, τὸ δὲ ἀπομνημόνευμα ἔσθ' ὅτε ἐπεκτείνεται, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀναφέρεται εἴς τινα πρόσωπα, τὸ δὲ ἀπομνημόνευμα καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ μνημονεύεται), text after Hock / O'Neil (1986) 83, translation after Kennedy (2003) 15. Other rhetoricians distinguish *chreia* from *apomnemoneuma* mostly by length, cf. Kennedy (2003) 77 for Hermogenes, 143 for Nicolaus the Sophist.

moralizing nature, from which the *apophthegm*, as we know it from later sources, was drawn. The earliest evidence for it is found in the Rhetorica ad Herennium, where it is formulated as *esse oportet ut vivas, non vivere ut edas*.[36] The author of this rhetorical handbook adduces it as an example of *commutatio*, a rhetorical figure known in Greek as ἀντιμεταβολή, and does not associate it with any particular historical figure.[37] Eventually, it became part of an anecdote told mostly about Socrates, but also about Plato, Diogenes, and Zeno.[38]

Ethical concerns also transpire in the passage inscribed on P.Berol. inv. 12318, the content of which Roger Pack aptly describes as «precepts addressed to men in high places»:

Πρῶτον ὅτι τὸμ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὑπερ[ο]-
χαῖς, ὅσωι ἂν ᾖι μείζων, τοσούτωι
χρὴ κοινότερον εἶναι καὶ ἐπιμελέστε-
ρον τῶν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων, *vac* κἂμ πά-
νυ τινὲς ὦσιν ἄδοξοι καὶ εὐτελεῖς, ν
ὑπολαμβάνοντα τοῦτο καλὸν
εἶναι καὶ ζηλωτόν, εἰ δι' αὐτὸν ἐνδοξό-
τεροι γίνονται καὶ γονεῖς καὶ ἀδελφοὶ
__καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οἰκεῖοι καὶ συνήθεις.
λαθεῖμ μὲγ γὰρ οὐδ' ὥς ἐστιν οὔτε ἐκ τίνων
πέφυκεν οὔθ' ὅπως βεβίωκεν οὔτε ποίοις
__τισὶν χρῆται· πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ ψητοῦντες.
καὶ ἅμα φιλεῖ `πως' συναύξεσθαι τἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ
__ταῖς εὐημερίαις, *vac* ὥστ' ἐκφανῆ γίνεσθαι πᾶσιν.
ἐν τιμῇ δ' ἄγων αὐτοὺς τῆι δικαίαι, περιποιήσαι-
τ' ἂν εὐλόγως δόξαν ἀρετῆς. vac ἔτι δὲ καὶ μικρόψυ-
__χον ἔμοιγε ἀεὶ φαίνεται θάτερον, ὅπερ ἔνιοι
δρῶσιν ἀποκρυπτόμενοι καὶ ἀποποιούμενοι
__τοὺς φύσει γονεῖς ὡς ἀναξίους, ὅταν εὐτυχήσωσιν.
αὐτὸγ γὰρ ἡγεμόνα χρὴ τῆς εὐγενείας εἶναι
καὶ τοῦτο τρόπον τινὰ κάλλιον ἢ προυπάρχου-
__σαν παρ' ἑτέρων λαβεῖν· *vac* εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν ὀφειλομέ-
νην εὔνοιαν ἐκ τῆς φύσεως μὴ ἀποστερεῖν.

1 l. τὸν μὲν 4 l. κἂν 10 l. λαθεῖν μὲν 12 l. τισὶ, l. ζητοῦντες 20 l. αὐτὸν

«First of all, concerning someone in privileged circumstances, the more superior one is, the more approachable and caring he should be to his relatives and friends, even if some of them are utterly without standing and worthless, because he understands that it is a good and desirable thing if, as a result of him, his parents, and brothers, and all other relatives and friends are held in higher esteem. // For it is impossible to conceal parentage, manner of life, and what sort of people he associates with, since many are examining them. // And the good and bad [in a man] tend somehow to increase together with prosperity, so that they become manifest to all. // Holding them [sc. the relatives] in the proper esteem, he would justly and with good reason secure a reputation for virtue. // Besides, it is always evident to me as a sign of *micropsychon* how some people behave once they become prosperous, namely, by concealing and denying

[36] Rhet. ad Her. 4. 39. The work is usually dated to ca. 50 BCE.
[37] Cf. also Quint. Inst. 9. 3. 85, *fit etiam adsumpta illa figura qua verba declinata repetuntur, quod antimetabole dicitur: 'non ut edam vivo, sed ut vivam edo'*, «[contrast] can also be expressed by employing that figure, which is called ἀντιμεταβολή, in which the same words are repeated but with different inflections, as for example, *non ut edam, vivo, sed ut vivam, edo*».
[38] For detailed references, see Gallo (1980) 223 and CPF 1*** 95.9T, 767-768.

> their natural parents as unworthy. // For it is necessary that he take the lead in his nobility, and this is in a certain sense better than simply taking what has been handed down from others; // and if not, he should not withhold the goodwill that is owed by nature».

Although it is often described as a composition on the subject of honor your parents, the passage does not conform to the long and well-attested tradition of this theme. The focus of our author is not on the behavior towards parents in general, but on how behavior affects the perception of an important person and makes his character manifest.[39] The composition lacks references to reciprocal gratitude or the emotional attachment of a child towards his parents, which are characteristic of the topic, and it groups together parents and other relatives and friends, which is also unusual.[40] The idea of social mobility that underlies the precepts is far from trivial: the imagined situation is that in which a man of lower background rises to a position of power and wealth and finds himself ashamed of admitting his origin. Yet, the unknown author of the passage argues that he should rather take pride in his achievements, for, on the one hand, his relatives would be seen as elevated because of him, and, on the other, it makes him only more esteemed if he reaches his high position by his own efforts as opposed to having it handed down to him.[41]

The subject of the composition –behavior of a man in a position of power– places it in the orbit of political protreptic, to which such works as Isocrates' To Nicocles or Philodemus' On the Good King according to Homer would have belonged. This kind of leadership literature[42] would not necessarily be meant for a royal readership, but rather for men in prominent positions, as evidenced, for example, by Philodemus' addressing of his treatise to Calpurnius Piso. It has been argued convincingly that Philodemus' work is rooted in earlier Hellenistic tradition and that the genre of political protreptic was prominent among Hellenistic philosophers, even though little of it survives.[43] The composition from Philadelphia might well come from, or be a summary of, a lost specimen of the genre.[44]

To sum up observations on the content of literary ostraka from Philadelphia, they present a selection of authors or passages not associated elsewhere with school exercises. The format of most citations, which are neither self-standing maxims nor anecdotes, and their lack of authorial ascription do not suggest an educational environment. If anything, some penchant for the practical application of philosophy to everyday life, as well as some interest in manifestations of human character, might be detected in the selections inscribed on ostraka.

2. Writing Materials and Their Use

The selection of sherds does not seem random. They are chosen for their shapes and, presumably, size; in one case, P.Berol. inv. 12311, earlier writing was washed off. Careful selection and reuse of ostraka are characteristic of the entire stash –almost 25 % of sherds bear evidence of being reused– and speak against the presumed ephemerality of ostraka.[45] It

[39] Bastianini (2009) 18.

[40] For an overview of the subject with multiple examples, see, for example, Meyer (1970); cf. also Morgan (2007) esp. 108-109, for instances of the theme preserved in papyri.

[41] I am grateful to Kai Trampedach for discussing the passage with me.

[42] According to a passage preserved in ps.-Plutarch Apophthegm. 189d, Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρήνει τὰ περὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας βιβλία κτᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν, «Demetrius of Phaleron advised king Ptolemy to acquire and read books about kingship and leadership».

[43] For concise discussion and further references, see Schofield (1999) esp. 742-744.

[44] Bastianini (2009) 17 with n. 14, makes the interesting observation that introducing a passage with the conjunction ὅτι is characteristic of epitomes.

[45] 16 out of 68 ostraka are reused. For the study of ceramic fragments, including surface treatment, cf. Caputo / Cowey (2108).

is possible, on the other hand, that the texts that had been washed off had a short lifespan, but we have no means of knowing what those were.

3. Special Distinguishing Characteristics of an Exercise

Under this rubric, Cribiore lists numerous features, from decorative lines to lectional signs, which might be characteristic of school exercises.[46] Among them, continuous inscribing of verses is given, which seems to apply to the passage of Theognis (P.Berol. inv. 12310) where the verses are not written line by line.[47] They are not, however, inscribed continuously, but are separated by vacats, a device for indicating colometry well attested in Hellenistic inscriptions and papyri.

4. Mistakes

The most serious error in the Philadelphia literary ostraka seems to have derived from a mistake on the part of a modern editor. In the quotation from Theognis on P.Berol. inv. 12310, Viereck read πάλιν at the end of line 3, and consequently postulated the omission of πολλούς in the beginning of the next verse. The writing at the end of line 3 is smeared, but *upsilon* is well discernible and all together the traces favor πολλούς rather than for πάλιν.[48]

Other irregularities are mostly minor. In the "Precepts for Men in High Positions" (P.Berol. inv. 12318), in line 12, ψητοῦντες is written in place of ζητοῦντες, doubtlessly a slip of the pen.[49] This text and the longest of the anthologies, P.Berol. inv. 12319, have a few other mistakes mostly due to *lapsus manus*.[50] There are also corrections: in line 13 of P.Berol. inv. 12318, πως was inserted *supra lineam,* while on P.Berol. inv. 12319 the word κάτω was written at the end of line 21 to indicate that one should look below for the omitted part of the text, which was added at the bottom of the ostrakon.[51] It seems that the writer went over the anthology and checked the citations against the original (or originals) from which he was copying. There is no reason, however, to postulate that an interest in accuracy should be associated with a school environment, and it rather speaks against a suggestion that the ostraka in Philadelphia preserve «die kalligraphische Übung eines Schülers».[52]

[46] Cribiore (1999) 75-91.
[47] Cribiore (1996) 228, no. 235.
[48] For the corrected text, consult http://litpap.info/dclp/62823.
[49] Starting with the original editor, Ernst Kühn (1920/1921) 102, who followed Wilhelm Schubart's suggestion, the mistake has been interpreted as the result of dictation, but with no explanation as to why this would be the case. What Fernández-Delgado / Pordomingo (2010) 234, call errors «of the phonetic type although less indicative of a dictation, such as certain assimilations at the point of articulation between contiguous phonemes» such as τὸμ μέν in l. 1, κἂμ πάνυ in l. 4, etc., are common assimilations and not mistakes. Upon reviewing the passage, Bastianini (2009) 16, argues strongly against the dictation hypothesis.
[50] Thus, *iota subscriptum* is omitted in ἐν τιμῇ in l. 15 and movable *nu* is wrongly added in τισὶν χρῆται in l. 12 of P.Berol. inv. 12318; in P.Berol. inv. 12319, l. 5, αρην is written for ἀνήρ, in l. 14 βραχιον for βραχίων; and in l. 18, ιλλαδον for ἰλαδόν.
[51] There are other omissions and corrections on this ostrakon which were done *ad lineam*, cf. ll. 15 and 16.
[52] This is the proposition of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1918) 4. 'Sentenzensammlung', 742-743, regarding P.Berol. inv. 12319; it might reflect better the school system of 19th-century Germany than a Hellenistic educational environment.

5. Evaluation of the Hand

Cribiore identifies the hand of the Philadelphia ostraka as of «a teacher or an older student».[53] That is, it shows neither the uncertainty that could betray lack of experience, nor excessive clearness that would be suggestive of a teacher's model. In other words, the qualities of the hand do not point to a school environment. All in all, no feature of the four literary ostraka from Philadelphia can be called characteristic of school texts. While it might be difficult to ascertain the purpose served by these ostraka, nothing indicates that they would present felicitous school material. In his survey of literary ostraka, Mertens suggests that an ostrakon may be used for a draft, 'brouillon', meant for further inscribing in a more lasting medium such as stone.[54] While the texts from Philadelphia would of course not be meant for further inscribing on stone, they could perhaps serve as a collection of notes compiled for possible future use, whether in writing or speaking, or even for pure enjoyment.[55]

It might be of some significance that documentary ostraka in the archive contain few, if any, formal documents. Quite frequently, they are written in the first person, but they are never signed nor does the person introduce himself; sometimes he returns to an earlier record to correct or amend it.[56] In a few cases, the source of information is introduced by the verb λέγει, possibly indicating that the writer was recording what was orally reported to him, perhaps for entering it eventually elsewhere. If ostraka, both documentary and literary, served as notes, it does not necessarily entail that they were meant to be quickly disposed of. In fact, the care with which the sherds were chosen and the deposition of all 68 pieces together might indicate their deliberate preservation over an extended period of time. After all, the stash features documents that span six years. The choice of material may have been dictated by its ease of handling smaller entities of texts; for example, one can imagine the advantages that ostraka provide for storing, organizing, and consulting. It suffices to compare the modern practice of using index cards for notes or quotations.

With the four Philadelphia ostraka disassociated from an educational setting, the bulk of Hellenistic literary ostraka becomes yet more significant and impossible to ignore as a bunch of exceptional cases. The answer to the question of why sherds were used to inscribe literary excerpts is perhaps to be sought in better understanding literary practices of excerpting and anthologizing, as attested across various media starting already in the later classical but especially in the Hellenistic period. This is not to say that ostraka were never used for school exercises or models: in certain periods and places they clearly were, but a more hair-splitting approach is needed to assess and understand the usage of sherds for writing.[57] Otherwise, the default assumption that a literary passage on a sherd ought to come from a school leads to simplification of the text to make it fit presumed didactic banalities, on the one hand, and to a

[53] Cribiore (1996) 228.
[54] Mertens (1975/1976) 408-409.
[55] The latter is one of the possibilities suggested by van Minnen (1998) 144: «all written in the same experienced hand, [they] were clearly written by an administrator, perhaps for use as teaching material for administrative clerks in training or for his private enjoyment». One remembers that the ostrakon inscribed with an obscene epigram, P.Berol. inv. 12309, was part of the same stash. On the topic of enjoyment as consumption of a text outside cultural institutions, cf. Luiselli (2016) esp. 304-306.
[56] Cf., for example, P.Berol. inv. 12413 = BGU VII 1502, on which an account for transportation of hay was recorded; ll. 3 and 4 seem to be corrected, as one can see traces of washed off writing there. Below and after a gap, information about the bundling of hay was added. For a discussion of this ostrakon, see Lougovaya (2018) 58-59.
[57] Cf. Latour (2014) 12, «Splitting what is often as thin as a hair is the only way to make sure that behind the concepts and entities –the substance– there remain the long series of properties that make them subsist; and not the other way around».

skewed picture of ancient education, on the other. A corpus of literary ostraka featuring extensive information concerning both the textual and archaeological aspects, such as transcriptions with full apparatus and literary parallels, an analysis of format, layout, and script, as well as ceramological parameters and excavation information, when available, could serve as a tool to understand better writing practices and consumption of literature in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean.

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Key episodes of the Osirian myth in Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride and in Greek and Demotic Magical Papyri: How do the sources complement each other?*

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The Osirian myth is believed to entail one of the most popular tales of love, envy and revenge in ancient Egyptian mythology. Surprisingly, however, although the basic form of the myth had already been established by or even before the 24th century BCE, no ancient Egyptian source provides us with a complete and coherent account of it. Parts of the myth –which have survived in some form for over 4000 years– can be found in a rich variety of Egyptian and Greek texts[1] that include different, and occasionally contradictory, versions of events.

As religious metaphors appear to have been far more significant in Egyptian tradition than a cogent narrative, many of the Egyptian hymns, mortuary, and ritual texts that relate of Osiris' betrayal and murder by his brother Seth provide us with an unusual amount of scattered details that create a shifting and confusing sequence of scenes. In fact, the evidence resembles a puzzle whose pieces should be rearranged to form a cohesive and continuous story. Egyptologists and classicists alike, unanimously accept that the most complete ancient exposition of the Osirian myth is to be found in Plutarch's religio-philosophical treatise On Isis and Osiris dating from the first quarter of the second century CE.[2] Unlike the popular

* My warmest thanks is due to Ágnes T. Mihálykó and Franziska Naether for their valuable comments and kind suggestions regarding the use of ancient or later Egyptian sources for interpreting Plutarch's narrative of the Osiris legend. Of course, within the limited space of an article, it is very difficult to pay adequate attention to the wealth of evidence available. Thus, the present paper does not go through the whole narrative of Plutarch, but only focuses on a series of key episodes of the Osirian myth, which are not inclusive but substantially representative of the interweaving of sources. A much more thorough attempt to wed the traditional interpretation of Plutarch's treatise On Isis and Osiris with the comparative study of Egyptian literary and semi-literary sources, and especially the Greek and Demotic magical papyri, is presented in Sarischouli (2020).

[1] The following list, though not complete, embraces the most significant ancient sources for the Osiris legend (set in roughly chronological order):

i. The Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts
ii. The Middle Kingdom Coffin texts (esp. Spell 148)
iii. The New Kingdom spells of the Book of the Dead
iv. The Great Hymn to Osiris (recorded on the Stela of Amenmose dating from the first half of the 18th Dynasty)
v. The 20th Dynasty Contendings of Horus and Seth (recorded on the Papyrus Chester Beatty I)
vi. The 25th Dynasty Shabako Stone
vii. Herodotus' Histories (esp. book 2)
viii. The 30th Dynasty Metternich Stela (and other cippi)
ix. The Songs of Isis and Nephthys (recorded on Pap. Bremner-Rhind cols. 1-17 dating from the 4th cent. BCE)
x. The Ptolemaic Triumph of Horus (inscribed on the walls of the Temple of Horus at Edfu)
xi. Diodorus Siculus' The Library of History (esp. book 1.13-27)
xii. Plutarch's On Isis and Osiris (esp. chapters 12.355 D to 19.358 D)
xiii. Greek and Demotic magical papyri.

[2] Unless otherwise indicated, the translation of Plutarch's text is mine; see Sarischouli (2020) chapter 2.3.

Egyptian narrative mode, the Greek Plutarch (and, to a lesser extent, Diodorus Siculus) put all his efforts into composing a single, meaningful story.

As is demonstrated in the above source list (see n. 1), the influence of the myths surrounding the sacred trinity Osiris-Isis-Horus is reflected, among others, in the corpus of Greco-Egyptian magical papyri, which are believed to be our latest sources of information on the Osirian myth. Modern scholarship holds that Greek and Demotic magical papyri share many common features regarding both their mythological themes and motifs as well as the ritual methodology to be followed; generally, the magical background of both Greek and Demotic spells and rituals is believed to have been emphatically Egyptian.[3] Nonetheless, although specific phrases or other material in the Demotic magical texts may date back as far as the 18th to 20th dynasties, the language of the texts indicates that the original composition of most of them dates to the first three centuries CE. Similarly, the production, copy and circulation (which naturally resulted in the interpolation of the original manuscripts) of the vast bulk of the Greek magical texts are also believed to have occurred during the same period of time.[4] The physical texts, however, are mostly dated a bit later. Thus, apart from a few earlier exceptions,[5] the majority of both Greek and Demotic magical papyri that have survived into modern times date from the third to the fourth/fifth centuries CE, while sporadic examples of Greek magical papyri date even as late as the sixth to seventh centuries.

The present paper focuses on a series of veiled allusions not only to well known, but also to forgotten or vague details of the myth's plot, which are recorded in both Greek and Demotic magical papyri unearthed from the sands of Egypt. These allusions usually form part of the so-called *historiolae*, i.e. short narratives used by the authors of magical recipes who aimed at reminding the invoked gods of a situation in their own past similar to the one in which the principal was at present in order to acquire ritual power while performing magical acts.[6] In what follows, I will employ some of these narratives to enrich or even to elucidate the context of certain key episodes in Plutarch's account of the myth.[7]

Let us first turn to Plutarch's narrative: Plutarch does not convey the Hellenized version of the Egyptian myth, in the form it had acquired by the second century CE, when he wrote his treatise, but a much older picture of the Osiris and Isis cult that goes back to the period

[3] For example, by editing the justly famous Demotic magical papyrus of London and Leiden (pBM EA 10070 + P.Leiden I 383), Griffith and Thompson (1904) 12 were able to deduce that «even where there are reasons for believing that the demotic is a translation from the Greek, the original source, in relation to magic at any rate, was probably Egyptian».

[4] Cf. Brashear (1995) 3414.

[5] Although the list is not exhaustive or definitive, the following Greek magical papyri are generally thought to date prior to the turn of the second to third centuries CE: PGM XL, dated to the late 4th cent. BCE; PGM CXI (= Suppl.Mag. II 70), dated to the 2nd/1st cent. BCE; XX and CXVII (= Suppl.Mag. II 71), dated to the 1st cent. BCE; CXXII (= Suppl.Mag. II 72), dated from the 1st cent. BCE to the 1st cent. CE; XVI and CIII, dated to the 1st cent. CE; LVII, LXXII and LXXXV, dated to the 1st/2nd cent. CE; XII, XVIIb, XXXII, LXIX, and LXXVII, dated to the 2nd cent. CE; cf. also VI, XIc, XXI, XXXIV, LIX, LXVIII, LXXI, CX dated to the 2nd/3rd cent. CE. Note that the dates of the texts differ slightly from those proposed by Betz (1992[2]), as a thorough re-edition (including re-dating and re-translation) of the Greco-Egyptian magical formularies is under preparation through an international project funded by the Neubauer Collegium for Culture and Society (see the project website at http://neubauercollegium.uchicago.edu/faculty/magical_knowledge/ [last accession 26/10/2018]).

[6] On the use of *historiolae* in Greco-Egyptian magical texts, see e.g. Frankfurter (1995); Brashear (1995) 3438-3440; Faraone (1995) 299 n. 6.

[7] Greek (PGM) and Demotic (PDM) magical texts are cited according to the numeration followed by Betz (1992[2]). Quotations from the PGM and PDM follow the translations of H.-D. Betz's international team of scholars, who rendered the Greek and Egyptian texts into an easy-to-read English. For the upcoming re-edition and re-translation of the PGM and PDM, see n. 5 above.

between the fifth and second centuries BCE.[8] The Greek writer begins his narration of the myth[9] with the birth of the five gods of the complete Osirian cycle (i.e. including the birth of Horus) on the five epagomenal days. When Osiris became the earthly King of the Egyptians, Plutarch says, one of his brothers named Seth –whom the Greeks called Typhon– set a vicious plot in motion while trying to steal the King's throne: having secured the assistance of seventy-two conspirators and the Queen of Ethiopia, Seth invited the unsuspecting Osiris to a banquet; during the course of an intentionally evil game shut his brother in a chest, which the conspirators threw into the Nile, thus causing the good King to drown soon afterwards. The chest ended up flowing into the sea through the Tanitic mouth of the Nile and the waves washed it up on the shore of Phoenicia near the city of Byblos where Isis, who had been continually searching for her brother-consort, was finally able to spot it. Without revealing her divine identity, the goddess assumed the role of wet-nurse for the youngest son of the King of Byblos and would have made the young prince immortal, had its mother not broken the spell by crying out when she saw the goddess bathing the child in purifying flames in order to burn away its mortality. Isis then revealed who she really was to the King and Queen of Byblos and returned the chest with Osiris' body to Egypt, where she decided to hide it in the swamps of Buto in order to protect it from Typhon's hatred. Typhon, however, aided by chance, found the corpse and cut it up into fourteen pieces, which he scattered in different places throughout Egypt so that Typhonic animals[10] or the forces of nature might eventually erase every trace of Osiris' body. Far from being discouraged, Isis began to search for the precious remains by scouring the swamps in a papyrus boat. Indeed, she found them all, except for the phallus, which had been devoured by some fish species of the Nile. The goddess erected a tomb for each member of her lover that she found; she thus sought to protect her dead lover's body from Typhon's malevolent designs. As for the lost phallus, she made an effigy of it and established a festival in its honour. According to Plutarch's account, Isis had by this time already given birth to her son Horus-Harpocrates,[11] but according to the Egyptian Great Hymn to Osiris she conceived Horus by the revivified corpse of her brother-consort (see also the discussion below). By concluding his narrative, Plutarch relates of Osiris' return from the Other World to prepare the Elder Horus (a different manifestation of the same divine persona) to take revenge on Typhon for his father's murder and to claim the throne of Egypt. Indeed, Horus prevailed in the final battle against his evil uncle or brother.[12] Typhon-Seth, however, dragged him before a tribunal making charges against the legitimacy of Horus' succession in the office of Osiris. Through the intervention of Hermes-Thoth, the

[8] The diversity and early date of the sources Plutarch used in composing his narrative of the Osiris legend are discussed in detail in Sarischouli (2020) chapter I.3. As it is demonstrated in the relevant chapter, Plutarch's sources can be divided into three main chronological groups: (i) authors of the 5th and 4th centuries BCE; among them, most notably being Eudoxus of Cnidus (mentioned by name more than any other author) as well as Hecateus of Abdera, followed by Hellanicus of Lesbos and Heraclides Ponticus; (ii) authors of the Ptolemaic era, most notably the Egyptian historian and archpriest Manetho of Sebennytos (Plutarch's most important source) and Timotheus, the Athenian «expositor of sacred law»; (iii) although the references to authors of the early Roman period are few in number or importance, we may name Ariston of Alexandria (fl. in the late 1st cent. BCE) and Hermaios of Hermopolis (probably fl. in the 1st cent. CE).

[9] See Plu. De Is. et Os. 355 D-358 D.

[10] Both in Greek and Demotic magical papyri, many animal species (especially, potentially harmful ones like the boar or the scorpion, but also some harmless species like the ass, the pig, the antelope or the aardvark) are thought to be associated with Typhon-Seth; these species are known as Typhonic animals or beasts.

[11] See Plu. De Is. et Os. 357 F. By contrast, Plutarch's later reference to Harpocrates (358 D-E) creates confusion to the reader.

[12] Horus and Seth are sometimes thought to be nephew and uncle, and sometimes brothers (see the discussion below).

gods finally recognized Horus as the legitimate son and thus rightful heir of Osiris and he was able to assume the rule of Egypt.[13]

The next step in our analysis is to take a closer look at the occurrence of certain key episodes of the myth in the Greek and Demotic magical papyri. The discussion will be structured around the following major topics:[14]

1. The erotic passion that Isis and Osiris felt for each other.
2. The adultery that Osiris committed with Nephthys.
3. The enmity between Seth and Osiris and between Seth and Isis.
4. Isis' anguished search for her lover's dead body.
5. The magical rituals that Isis performed on her brother-consort in order to restore him to life.
6. The posthumous impregnation of Isis by Osiris.
7. The Byblos episode.
8. The love of Isis for her son Horus resulting in the association of both divinities with healing powers.
9. Osiris' murder and dismemberment by his brother Seth.
10. Osiris' death by drowning.
11. Fish and crocodiles attacks on Osiris' dead body.
12. The loss of Osiris' male member.

The erotic love between Osiris and Isis represents one of the basic themes of the Osirian myth. Already in the ancient Egyptian texts, Isis and Osiris were said to experience a timeless sexual attraction for each other. Plutarch, however, was until relatively recently the only –Greek or Egyptian– source to mention that Osiris and Isis had already had sexual intercourse in their mother's womb; that is, even before being born.[15] Although the Greek magical papyri remain silent about this miraculous incident, Quack (2004) identified an Egyptian mortuary papyrus text dating from the Ptolemaic period,[16] which confirms Plutarch's sayings. However, there seems to be contradicting evidence in a Greek magical rite to acquire an assistant demon;[17] in line 16, Isis is referred to as a 'holy maiden' (ἁγνὴ Κούρα). If the expression were to be understood in its ordinary, literal sense, the reference would be at variance with Plutarch's statement regarding the goddess's prenatal sexual activity. However, this attribute seems to be better linked to Isis' well-known identification with Korē-Persephone[18] rather than to her virginity. In the Greek and Demotic amatory rituals, the

[13] On the subject, see Sarischouli (2020) commentary on 358 D.

[14] There are also a few more scenes of rather minor importance, in which Plutarch's narrative differs from the traditional –Greek or Egyptian– sources; on these scenes and their occasional parallels in Greco-Egyptian magical papyri, see the comments section in Sarischouli (2020).

[15] See Plu. De Is. et Os. 356 A: Ἶσιν δὲ καὶ Ὄσιριν ἐρῶντας ἀλλήλων καὶ πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι κατὰ γαστρὸς ὑπὸ σκότῳ συνεῖναι, «Isis and Osiris, enamoured of each other even before they were born, consorted together in the darkness of the womb».

[16] Pap. New York MMA 35.9.21, col. xvi. 3: «Oh (du), mit dem zusammen ich das erste Mal gemacht habe im Leib seiner Mutter»; for the translation, see Quack (2004) 329-330. The same papyrus text confirms (col. xiii.14-15), in accordance with Plu. De Is. et Os. 356 D, that Osiris was 28 years old at the time of his death; see Quack (2004) 330-332.

[17] PGM LVII 1-37.

[18] Persephone was also called Korē, meaning 'girl' or, with reference to virginity, 'maiden'. It is well known, on the one hand, that Demeter had already come to be identified with Isis by Herodotus' time (see Hdt. 2.59.6 and 2.156.21; cf. also D.S. 1.25.96; 5.69.1; Apollod. 2.9). In the Greek mythic tradition, on the other hand, Demeter and her daughter Persephone were usually seen as one deity. Actually, Persephone was her mother's youthful double; in this sense, the daughter was believed to be a personification of the young corn, while the mother

sexual attraction between Isis and Osiris is regularly compared to the erotic desire that the male agent of a fetching charm or love spell aimed at arousing to his female victim; numerous magical rituals exist, in which the practitioners invoke Isis to inflame a woman's heart with such passion for the spell's agent as she herself loved Osiris, her brother and bedfellow.[19]

Although they were gods, the Osirian divinities were believed to have the same passions and needs as mortal beings. Evidently, Osiris and Isis' relationship also had its problems as any human relationship does. Plutarch refers four times to the adultery that Osiris committed with Nephthys.[20] In fact, the Greek writer goes so far as to explain to the reader that Osiris had consorted with his other sister Nephthys out of ignorance, i.e. confusing her with Isis, probably because the two of them, being twins, must have borne an amazing resemblance to each other.[21] By contrast, in the ancient Egyptian sources Osiris is commonly seen as the sexual consort of both Isis and Nephthys. To name but one famous example, the Songs of Isis and Nephthys demonstrate at best that both Isis and Nephthys had feelings of sexual attraction towards their common brother, and not the slightest intention of hiding them.[22] This means that, in Egyptian mythical tradition, a sexual encounter between Osiris and Nephthys was not seen as adultery, which would have to be justified to his legitimate wife. Interestingly enough, Osiris' adultery with Nephthys is differently narrated in a Coptic love spell of attraction dated as late as the 4th century CE.[23] Unlike the rest of Egyptian sources, this text presents Isis to have been emotionally rocked and heartbroken by her husband's infidelity; the goddess –much like any human would do– addresses her complaints to her father Thoth[24] bringing forth feelings of sadness, despair and resentment combined with sexual jealousy and rage.[25] A similarly negative, even though dubious, reference to Osiris' adultery with

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embodied a personification of the corn of last year, which enabled next year's planting; on the subject, see Frazer (1925) 397-398; Burkert (1985) 160.

[19] See PGM IV 1390-1495; VII 385-389; VII 862-918; XXXVI 283-294; LXII 1-24; CXXII 15-25 (= Suppl.Mag. II 72, col. i. 15-27); CXXII 26-50 (= Suppl.Mag. II 72 col. ii. 1-25); Suppl.Mag. I 38 and 51; PDM xiv 428-450; lxi 112-127.

[20] See Plu. De Is. et Os. 356 E, 366 B-C, 368 E, 375 B.

[21] See Plu. De Is. et Os. 356 E: αἰσθομένην δὲ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἐρῶντα συγγεγονέναι δι' ἄγνοιαν ὡς ἑαυτῇ τὸν Ὄσιριν etc. «when Isis found that Osiris had loved and consorted with her sister out of ignorance, in the belief that she was Isis herself...».

[22] See Pap. Bremner-Rhind 2.6-9; for the translation of the text, see Faulkner (1936) 123. Griffiths (1970) 316 n. 2 cites further references to Egyptian love songs.

[23] PGM IV 94-153; the love spell is mostly written in Old Coptic (Sahidic and Bohairic), while only a small part of it is written in Greek. Essential reading for the love spell of PGM IV 94-153 is LiDonnici (2003) 151-152; Love (2016) 150-189, esp. 151-158 (for the *historiola* of Isis, Thoth, and Osiris' adultery). Brashear (1995) 3497 considers this spell to have been part of the larger divination included in lines 88-153 of PGM IV.

[24] Similarly to the information found in PGM IV 94-153, Plutarch also attributes Isis' parentage to Hermes (the Greek equivalent of the Egyptian Thoth); see Plu. De Is. et Os. 352 A-B and 355 F to 356 A. Although in Egyptian religious belief Geb is known to have been the father of Isis, PGM IV 2241-2358 (an apotropaic prayer to Selene dated to the 4th cent. CE) also attests to Hermes-Thoth being the father of Isis (see ll. 2289-2290).

[25] The magical text reads as follows (ll. 95-105): «Her father, Thoth the Great, came in unto her and asked her, "O my daughter Isis, dusty maiden, why are your eyes full of tears, your heart full of sighs, and [the …] of your garment soiled? [Away with] the tears of your eyes!". She said [to him], "He is not with me, O my father, Ape Thoth, Ape [Thoth], my father. I have been betrayed by my female companion. I have discovered [a] secret: yes, Nephthys is having intercourse with Osiris ... my brother, my own mother's son". He said to her, "Behold, this adultery against you, O my daughter Isis". She [said] to him, "It is adultery against you, O my father, [Ape] Thoth, Ape Thoth, my father; it is pregnancy proper for me myself".».

Nephthys is also found in a Greek seductive spell of separation[26] dated to the fifth century CE.[27]

The Greek magical papyri add a further, interesting dimension to the erotic role played by Isis and Nephthys since we can trace at least three cases, in which the two sisters are merged into a single figure named Senephthys or similarly.[28] This fusion seems to confirm that Nephthys was viewed as an opposite reflection of her twin sister,[29] which is probably what Plutarch meant when he referred to Osiris' ignorance.

Apart from the close connection between Isis and Nephthys, the, usually tumultuous, relations between the other siblings of the Osirian cycle is only rarely illustrated in the Greco-Egyptian magical papyri. Thus, even though we find numerous references to Osiris' murder and dismemberment by Seth, there are only two explicit references to the enmity between Osiris and Typhon-Seth and merely one to the enmity between Isis and Typhon-Seth, whereas there are no references at all to Horus' feelings against his sworn enemy Seth.[30] To be more precise, in two Greek seductive spells of separation, we find allusions to the well-known enmity between the two brothers.[31] One of these texts (PGM XII 365-375) recalls not only the enmity between Typhon and Osiris, but also (with a variant formula) the –debatable by many– enmity between Typhon and Isis in order to either effect a breach between two men's friendship or even love for each other, or (by applying the variant formula) to cause separation between husband and wife.[32]

Interestingly enough, Plutarch's narrative completely tallies with the information recorded in later Egyptian sources that relate of Isis' forgiving stance towards her defeated brother;[33] thus, according to Plutarch, the goddess did not put Typhon to death when he was handed

[26] The so-called διάκοπος was a type of spell used for separating a desirable woman or (more rarely) man from their partners.

[27] PGM CXXVIa-b (= Suppl.Mag. II 95).

[28] See PGM XII 201-269 (preparation of a magical ring dated to the mid to late 2nd cent. CE): the practitioner is to impersonate Osiris, Isis and Ēsenephys in order to strengthen the magical powers of the ring; PGM LXII 1-24 (love spell of attraction dated to the 3rd cent. CE): the practitioner is to recall the love of Osiris for his sister Senephthys in order to attract the target; PGM CXXII 51-55 (= Suppl.Mag. II 72 col. ii 26-30, migraine spell dated to the turn of the 1st centuries BCE and CE): the practitioner is to threaten Osiris, Amun and Ēsenephys with headaches in order to acquire their help for the sufferer.

[29] Apart from their joint sexual relationship with Osiris, the two sisters shared their affection for Horus; thus, Isis and Nephthys were also often merged into a two-in-one mother-figure for the child-god Horus. See, for example, The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys 5.5: «your young son Horus, the Sisters' child, is before you». The text is recorded on Pap. Berlin inv. no. 3008 (TM 57089), a papyrus written in Hieratic script and dated to the Ptolemaic period; for the translation of the text, see Lichtheim (1980) vol. III, 119. On the merging of Isis and Nephthys, cf. also Griffiths (1970) 316 n. 1.

[30] Griffiths (1960) 17 argues that the references to the conflict between Horus and Seth, in which Osiris is absent, are more common in the surviving texts of the earlier pyramids compared to the references in the texts of the later pyramids, while the references to the conflict between Osiris and Seth, including those in which Horus is also involved, are generally more frequent. Regarding the conflict between Osiris and Seth, the contribution by Budge (1911) vol. II, 77, although dated, still remains valuable. The struggle of Horus against Seth is described in detail in two Egyptian papyri dating from the Ramesside period: Pap. Chester Beatty I, and Pap. Sallier IV recto.

[31] See PGM XII 365-375, dated to the mid to late 2nd cent. CE, and CXXVIa-b (= Suppl.Mag. II 95), dated to the 5th cent. CE.

[32] The Greek text reads (ll. 372-374): δότε τῷ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα μάχην, πόλεμον, καὶ τῷ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα ἀηδίαν, ἔχθραν, ὡς εἶχον Τυφῶν καὶ Ὄσιρις. (εἰ δὲ ἀνήρ ἐστιν καὶ γυνή· 'ὡς εἶχον Τυφῶν καὶ Ἶσις'). For the translation, see Betz (1992[2]) 166: «Give to him, NN, the son of her, NN, strife, war; and to him, NN, the son of her, NN, odiousness, enmity, just as Typhon and Osiris had (but if it is a husband and wife, "just as Typhon and Isis had")».

[33] Cf. Pap. Sallier IV 2.6-3.5.

over to her restrained in manacles but set him free to go where he pleased.[34] Although subtly, a Greek magical rite to acquire an assistant demon[35] seems to confirm that Isis took a conciliatory attitude towards the dispute between her brothers; thus, addressing the invoked spirit, the practitioner declares that he, quite obviously unlike Isis, «will not break [the] bonds with which you bound Typhon».[36] We may also note that Diodorus Siculus' account differs at this point from that of Plutarch; according to him (1.21.3), Isis avenged Osiris' murder with the aid of her son Horus, and «after slaying Typhon and his accomplices became queen over Egypt».

Plutarch's assertion (356 E) that Isis learned which direction Osiris' chest had taken from a group of children playing in the precinct of a temple is not confirmed by other sources.[37] Nonetheless, in the Greek and Demotic magical papyri we often find references to Isis' anguished search for her lover's dead body; in the Greek texts, it is usually Hermes –and not the playing children– that comes to Isis' assistance in her search for Osiris. The texts recall a series of *ad hoc* invented stories (*historiolae*), mostly to ensure the principal of the divination's efficacy, without offering further details about the actual search process.[38]

For ancient Egyptians, Osiris was the god of the Resurrection and the Afterlife. In the Pyramid Texts, Osiris is said to have been restored to life by his mother Nut assisted by the sun god Ra.[39] By contrast, later Egyptian mortuary texts relate that Osiris was brought back to life through the magical rituals performed on him by his sister-consort aided by Nephthys, Anubis and Thoth. Isis –after fitting the pieces together and reconstituting Osiris' body– performed the first-ever rite of embalming, which gave the murdered god eternal life;[40] thus, the image of Isis and Nephthys mourning on either side of Osiris' sarcophagus is reproduced in numerous objects belonging to Egyptian funerary furniture. Probably Plutarch's well-known commitment to rationalism in religious matters makes him reluctant to include any reference to the procedure of resurrection after death.[41] Surprisingly enough, however, the Greco-Egyptian magical papyri are also extremely ungenerous in their portrayal of the recomposition of Osiris' body. To the best of my knowledge, only one Greek spell,[42] being in itself very fragmentary and missing its title (and therefore its exact purpose), recalls Isis'

[34] See Plu. De Is. et Os. 358 D: τὸν Τυφῶνα δὲ τὴν Ἶσιν δεδεμένον παραλαβοῦσαν οὐκ ἀνελεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λῦσαι καὶ μεθεῖναι, «Isis, however, did not put Typhon to death, when he was delivered to her in chains, but released him and let him go». Later on, Plutarch provides a cosmic explanation for Isis' attitude; see Plu. De Is. et Os. 367 A.

[35] PGM LVII 1-37.

[36] The Greek text reads (ll. 4-5): οὐ διαρρήξω [τὰ] δεσμά, οἷς ἔδησας Τυφῶνα.

[37] Although debated by many, Stadler (2004) sees a parallel between Plutarch's narrative about the divinatory powers of the children and the situation described in Pap.Wien D. inv. no. 12006 recto (dated to the 1st cent. CE); see especially Quack's review (2005) of Stadler's edition of the text, but also Stadler's reply (2006) to Quack's review. On the character of the text, see Naether (2010) 333-336; cf. also Sarischouli (2020) commentary on 356 E.

[38] See PGM IV 2373-2440 (4th cent. CE), a charm to increase business efficiency, which claims that Hermes himself made the same charm to help the wandering Isis; PGM XXIVa 1-25 (3rd cent. CE), an oracle divination, which claims that the suggested method for acquiring an oracle is the same one that Hermes and Isis used when Isis was seeking Osiris; PDM xiv 1-92 (2nd/3rd cent. CE), a bowl divination in which the practitioner is to claim that the vessel divination he is using is that of Isis when she was searching for Osiris; PDM xiv 851-855, a vessel inquiry in which the practitioner is to identify the vessel used in a bowl divination with that of Isis while she was seeking Osiris.

[39] Isis and Nephthys appear only rarely in this role in the Pyramid Texts (cf. PT 592a, 616, 631, and 1981b-c).

[40] Egyptian sources contain numerous references to Osiris' resurrection, which show that there are many different versions to this part of the story; on the subject, cf. e.g. Sarischouli (2020) chapter 3.1.

[41] On Plutarch's approach to the resurrection of Osiris, see e.g. Brenk (2002).

[42] PGM VII 993-1009, dated to the 3rd/4th cent. CE.

miraculous intervention in her consort's rebirth from the dead. Applying a method well-known in magical literature, the text alludes to an impressive –even though self-created– episode of the Osirian myth in order to ensure the spell-operator of the ritual's efficacy: Isis herself used the same spell when she fitted Osiris' separated members together in order to bring him back to life. To make the spell's efficacy appear even more persuasive, the text includes a further, *ad hoc* invented, short story: allegedly, the Greek demigod of medicine Asclepius[43] admitted, upon seeing Osiris being restored to life through the magical power of the spell, that he himself could not have put together someone who had already been dead, not even with the help of Hebe, the Greek goddess of eternal youth.[44]

According to the Egyptian accounts of the myth, when Isis revivifies Osiris' dead body, she couples with him and miraculously conceives Horus. The Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts refer to Osiris as the one who initiates the conception of his son.[45] By the time of the New Kingdom, however, we find Isis adopting the primary role in the copulation and acting first as a male; although the goddess is not said to have produced the semen initiating the birth process, she is believed to have done all the rest on her own.[46] This rather unusual change of sexual roles takes an even more clear shape in an Egyptian religious papyrus text dated to the Ptolemaic period (304-180 BCE),[47] in which Isis boasts of her masculine abilities: «I am your sister Isis. There is no other god or goddess who has done what I have done. I have played the part of a man though I am a woman, in order to make your name live on earth, since your divine seed was in my body».[48] There is perhaps an echo of the scene in a Greek love charm dated around the turn of the first century BCE and CE;[49] the principal is instructed to anoint his or her face with a facial ointment, recalling (ll. 4-6) the love of Isis who impregnated herself with the dead Osiris' semen with the following words: «You are the perfume with which Isis anointed herself when she went to the bosom of Osiris, her husband and brother, and you gave charm to her on that day». Another Greek love spell of attraction[50] informs us as to what happened when Isis finally found the dead body of her beloved (ll. 1471-1476): «Isis came, holding on her shoulders her brother who is her bedfellow, and Zeus came down from Olympus and stood awaiting the phantoms of the dead»; though not explicitly stated in

[43] Eitrem (see Preisendanz, PGM app. crit. ad loc.) suggests that Asclepius here is presented to act in place of Anubis who is known to have introduced the practice of mummification by helping Isis to embalm Osiris' body. However, it also seems plausible that Asclepius is simply referred to as a personification of the miracle-working physician.

[44] The reference to Hebe is another interesting feature of this spell; in the Greek mythical tradition, Hebe, the daughter of Hera and Zeus, was believed to have had the ability to restore eternal youth. Thus, she is said to have granted Iolaus' wish to become young again for one day, when he was about to fight against Eurystheus as Heracle's charioteer; see E. Heracl. 847 and Ov. Met. 9.400.

[45] See, for example, PT 632a-c: «your sister comes to you, rejoicing for love of you. You (i.e. Osiris) have placed her (i.e. Isis) on your phallus and your seed goes into her».

[46] See, for example, the description provided by The Great Hymn to Osiris (Stela Paris Louvre C 286 dating from the first half of the 18th Dynasty): «Mighty Isis who protected her brother, who sought him without wearying, who roamed the land lamenting, not resting till she found him, who made a shade with her plumage, created breath with her wings, who jubilated, joined her brother, raised the weary one's inertness, received the seed, bore the heir, raised the child in solitude». The English quotation follows the translation of Lichtheim (1976) vol. II, 83. As a picture speaks a thousand words, the interested reader might also consult the scene depicted in a famous relief from the temple of Seti I at Abydos (built between 1290 and 1213 BCE), which portrays Isis in the form of a falcon with outstretched wings copulating with the supine Osiris; the image is reproduced in Otto / Hirmer (1966) pl. 17; cf. also pl. 20 for a similar relief from the Hathor temple at Dendera.

[47] Pap. Louvre 3079 I col. cx. 9-10.

[48] See, for example, Bergman (1968) 132 n. 1 and 274-275 n. 6; Goyon (1967).

[49] PGM CXXII 26-50 (= Suppl.Mag. II 72, col. ii. 1-25).

[50] PGM IV 1390-1495, dated to the 4th cent. CE.

the text, the reference to Osiris as Isis' bedfellow insinuates the miraculous postmortem conception of Horus.

Turning to Plutarch's text, we find that the Greek writer tersely confirms that Isis had consorted with Osiris after his death. We are, however, confronted with confusing and contradictory information regarding the time of Horus' conception. To be more precise, in (modern) chapter 18 of his treatise Plutarch refers to Isis proceeding from Byblos (where she found Osiris' dead body enclosed in the trunk of an erica-tree) to the Delta swamps around Buto, where her son Horus was –by this time already– being reared (see 357 F: τῆς δ' Ἴσιδος πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν Ὧρον ἐν Βούτῳ τρεφόμενον πορευθείσης)[51] by Leto (cf. 366 A: ὃν ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι τοῖς περὶ Βοῦτον ὑπὸ Λητοῦς τραφῆναι λέγουσιν).[52] Surprisingly enough, however, at the end of the following chapter, Plutarch explicitly states that Isis gave birth to Harpocrates[53] who was «prematurely delivered and weak in his lower limbs»[54] having had consorted with Osiris «after his death».[55] One may suggest that Osiris suffered two deaths: one when he actually died by drowning (being locked alive in the chest that was thrown in the Nile River), while his second death occurred when his body was posthumously dismembered by his brother Seth. Osiris' members were once again thrown into the Nile to be swept away by the currents or to be eaten by crocodiles and fish. Isis, however, collected the members of her beloved, and was then able to fit the pieces together and reconstitute his body. Although most of the ancient sources relate of the posthumous conception of Horus, it is difficult to infer from the context whether his conception took place after the first (the real one) or the second death of the god, which corresponds to the desecration of his corpse.[56] It appears that the same confusion is reflected on Plutarch's narrative.[57]

The famous episode that Plutarch sets in the Phoenician city of Byblos is missing from the early Egyptian myth.[58] Although most likely not Plutarch's invention,[59] Isis' sojourn in

[51] A reference in PDM lxi 79-94 (dated to the 3rd cent. CE) confirms Isis and Horus' stay in the swamps: the spell, which aims at tracing a thief, alludes to Isis and Horus' concealment from their enemies in the papyrus swamps of Buto. Horus' stay in the swamps earned him the epithet *pa-Hr-m-athu*, meaning 'Horus-in-the-swamps'; a Greek transliteration of this epithet (Παarμιαθ) is found in a dream-sending procedure written in Greek (PGM XII 107-121, at 111).

[52] The Egyptian texts confirm that the child-god was nursed by a cobra goddess named Wadjet (also known as Uto or Buto), whom the Greeks identified with Leto.

[53] The name Harpocrates is the Hellenized form of the Egyptian *Hor-pa-Khered*, meaning 'Horus-the-Child'. Admittedly, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish Harpocrates from Harsiese or Harsiēsis (in Egyptian *Hor-sa-Iset*, 'Horus, son of Isis [and Osiris]').

[54] Cf. also the narrative in Pap. Chester Beatty I, 3.7-8, which seems to be in agreement with Plutarch's account, as it describes Horus as a young infant with bad breath. Plutarch's description of Harpocrates' weak limbs is probably connected to the assimilation of the *Pataicos*-figures with Horus in his form as a young sun god; see Sarischouli (2020) commentary on 358 D-E; cf. also Griffiths (1960) 106; (1970) 354 n. 1. To make things even more complicated, Plutarch later (373 B-C) states that it was Horus the Elder who had been born maimed in the darkness as his procreation by Isis and Osiris occurred when the gods were still in the womb of Nut-Rhea.

[55] See Plu. De Is. et Os. 358 D-E: τὴν δ' Ἶσιν ἐξ Ὀσίριδος μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν συγγενομένου τεκεῖν ἠλιτόμηνον καὶ ἀσθενῆ τοῖς κάτωθεν γυίοις τὸν Ἁρποκράτην. On Horus' posthumous conception, see also Sarischouli (2020) commentary on 358 D-E.

[56] On the two deaths of Osiris, cf. also Guilhou (1998).

[57] The form of Horus that avenges his father's death and takes over the throne of Egypt (as described in Plut. De Is. et Os. 358 B-D) has been conceived and born before Osiris' death. This aspect of Horus is usually called Harwer/Haroeris (Arouēris by Plutarch), meaning 'Horus the Elder' or, more precisely, 'Horus the Great'; he was born after the intrauterine union of Isis and Osiris, who had fallen in love with each other when they were still only embryos in their mother's womb (see Plu. De Is. et Os. 356 A). By contrast, in the Heliopolitan family tree, Horus the Elder is the son of Geb and Nut, like the rest of his siblings, which means that he is an uncle to the young Horus.

[58] See Griffiths (1980) 28-34.

Byblos should probably be ascribed to a Greek source that was familiar not only with the Osirian myth, but also with both Phoenician and Greek mythological lore. The so-called Byblos episode (as described in De Is. et Os. 357 A-D) relates a series of miraculous events that took place when the chest containing Osiris' dead body reached the homonymous city. Plutarch's narrative begins with the heather that rapidly grew around the chest, and concealed it within its trunk, while the trunk was later set up as a pillar to support the roof of the palace in Byblos; it also includes a fascinating scene with magical elements, during which Isis attempts to bestow immortality on the youngest son of the Byblite queen through a nightly ritual wherein the goddess holds the baby over the hearth fire.[60] A symbolic reminder of the Byblos-episode probably occurs in a Greek papyrus text[61] dating back to the late first century BCE and thus indicating the existence of a (probably Greek) source prior to Plutarch;[62] despite the papyrus' fragmentary state, both its form and content have been exhaustively discussed in several papers.[63] While not unanimously, most experts seem to agree that the text is a healing incantation intended to becalm either the fire of fever burning within the patient or his burning skin-condition. Koenen (1962) is probably right in identifying the restored [παῖς μ]υστοδόκος in l. 3 of the papyrus text as Horus-the-Child to whom Isis is known to have afforded protection from various afflictions, and thus the text seems to remind the sufferer that «the most majestic goddess' child» who «was set aflame as an initiate» had also triumphed over fire. Indeed, the maternal affection that Isis cast upon her son Horus is often referred to in Egyptian religious and magical literature;[64] the most impressive accounts are recorded in the Metternich Stela, which belongs to a group of magico-medical *stelae* known as the Cippi of Horus or Stelae of Horus on the crocodiles. In Egyptian tradition, Isis was especially venerated as a protector of children, and her name was often invoked in Demotic iatromagical spells to cure childhood or other afflictions, and save humans (young or old) from various misfortunes that were, in large part, believed to be caused by the wrath of Seth.[65] Whereas invocations to Isis are surprisingly missing from iatromagical spells

[59] Most modern commentators of Plutarch's treatise ascribe the episode of Isis' sojourn in Byblos to Plutarch's source rather than himself; see Griffiths (1970) 320-321 and Froidefond (1988) 266 n. 4. Morenz (1954) 278 also expresses the same opinion.

[60] The scene strongly resembles that of the Greek myth relating of Demeter's attempt to burn away Demophoon's mortal elements that is described in the h.Hom. H.Cer. 148-255. On the subject, see Sarischouli (2020) commentary on 357 A-B.

[61] PGM XX 4-12.

[62] There are two more sources (somehow later than Plutarch), which connect Osiris' last journey to Byblos: our first source is Lucian of Samosata writing in the middle and second half of the 2nd cent. CE; Lucian conveys information about an annual religious rite, in which a religious delegation set out from the center of Osiris' cult in Abydos to bring likenesses of the god's relics to Byblos as a reminder of the god's last journey to the city (Luc. Syr.D. 7.454-455). The second source is PDM xiv 150-231, a Demotic lamp divination dated to the 2nd/3rd cent. CE, which includes a reference (l. 179) to «the great sea, the sea of Syria, the sea of Osiris».

[63] See Maas (1942); Merkelbach (1958) 85-86, no. 1046; Koenen (1962); Henrichs (1970) 204-209; Daniel (1988); Dickie (1994); Ritner (1998); Faraone (1995); (2000); Lehnus (2007) and Collins (2008); cf. also the forthcoming re-edition of the text by Zellmann-Rohrer (2020).

[64] Actually, there is a whole series of myths known as "myths of the Delta regions", in which Isis – or other goddesses syncretized with her – protect their young son. Interestingly enough, the child involved in the myths of the Delta regions is not always Horus himself; sometimes he is Apis, at others Anubis. On the subject, see Morenz / Schubert (1954) 31-35.

[65] To name but a few examples: PDM xiv 1097-1103 is a spell to heal an eye disease, in which the practitioner identifies himself with Isis claiming that the same spell was used to heal Horus, the son of Isis; PDM xiv 594-620 is a spell to cure a (scorpion?) sting, in which the sufferer identifies himself with Isis and calls the oil to heal the paralyzed limb and act as a remedy, for the goddess shall employ the same oil for the sting of her foster-son Anubis; PDM xiv 554-562 is a remedy spell for a dog bite, in which the practitioner threatens the dog with the magical powers of Isis, unless it extracts its venom and removes its saliva from the bite.

written in Greek,[66] Horus is often being invoked in both Greek and Demotic healing spells and rituals.[67]

The usually well-informed Plutarch remains silent in regard to both Isis and Horus' connection to healing powers, even though the epithet Λοχία attributed to Isis[68] occurs in a series of late Ptolemaic and Roman inscriptions[69] reflecting the wide-spread belief in the goddess's protection of mothers and newborns,[70] while the second Hymn to Isis by the mid-second century CE Cretan poet Mesomedes also refers to Isis' role as birth helper. The most interesting explanation as to how Horus became associated with medicine comes from Diodorus Siculus, writing in the first century BCE. Diodorus explains[71] that Horus was believed to have become a benefactor of the race of men through his healings and his oracular responses,[72] «having been instructed by his mother Isis in both medicine and divination».[73]

The present paper comes to an end with a brief discussion on Osiris' murder and dismemberment by his envious brother Seth as well as the events that preceded and followed this heinous act. As one might have expected, we often find repulsive references to Osiris' murder and dismemberment in the magical rituals,[74] usually in the form of threats,[75] which

[66] It should be noted, however, that the overwhelming majority of healing spells or other types of iatromagical papyri that have survived up to the present day are anyhow written in Demotic; this fact probably reflects the interweaving of medicine and curative magic that dates back to the most ancient Egyptian traditions. On the relation between magic and ancient Egyptian medicine, see e.g. Györy (2011) and Jacq (1985) 106-127. For an investigation of the phenomenon in Roman Egypt, cf. Draycott (2011). Nonetheless, in various Greco-Egyptian rites associated with initiation and/or interaction with the spirit world, we often find references to the so-called Isis band, a black linen cloth, that was used as a ritual blindfold (PGM I 42-195; IV 154-285) or was wrapped around the practitioner's neck or hand (PGM VII 222-249; VIII 64-69; CII 1-17 frs. E, D, C). The Isis band (also known as black of Isis) was hoped to afford divine protection to those coming into physical contact with gods, demons and spirits.

[67] For example, the practitioner invokes Horus to act against the venom of the scorpion sting in PGM XXVIIIa, b, and c, and against the dog bite in PDM xiv 585-593. Horus is being invoked to calm fever in Suppl.Mag. I 34, and to remove fever in PDM xiv 1219-1227. The practitioner impersonates Horus to empower a prayer for a revelation of a remedy in PDM xii 21-49, and to strengthen a spell for removal of poison in PDM xiv 563-574.

[68] The attribution of this particular epithet to Isis is probably due to her association with the Greek Artemis as the Egyptian goddess had absorbed the qualities and attributes of many other (Greek or Near Eastern) goddesses. Both Xenophon of Ephesus (fl. sometime in the late 1st or the 2nd cent. CE) and Achilles Tatius (fl. in the early 2nd cent. CE) relate of Isis' assimilation with Artemis in their novels.

[69] See IG X, 2 1 97; SEG 34 622, 626/627; EKM 1. Beroia 36.

[70] For Mesomedes, see Whitmarsh (2013) 154-175.

[71] See D.S. 1.25.7: τὸν δὲ Ὧρον […] τήν τε ἰατρικὴν καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἴσιδος διδαχθέντα διὰ τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ τῶν θεραπειῶν εὐεργετεῖν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος.

[72] For Horus' presence in Greek and Demotic oracular divinations, the interested reader might consult the following texts: the practitioner invokes Horus to assist him in lamp divinations (PGM XXIIb 27-31), in bowl divinations (PDM xiv 1-92 and 528-553), in requests for dream oracles (PGM VII 250-254; 359-369), in a charm for divine alliance and direct vision (PGM IV 930-1114) as well as in a *praxis* for acquiring foreknowledge and memory (PGM III 424-466).

[73] In the course of his narrative, D.S. 1.25.6 also relates the story of Isis having discovered the drug that gives immortality in order to save her young son Horus who had been found dead under the water; the child had been the object of plots fashioned against him by the Titans who were also said to have collaborated with Typhon-Seth in the murder of Osiris (see D.S. 4.6.3).

[74] The practitioner in the magical papyrus of Turin alludes to another method of annihilating the dead body of Osiris; unless his will prevails, he will «cast fire into Busiris (the city mostly associated with the god's grave) and burn up Osiris»; on the text, see Gardiner (1935) 12 n. 17, 16-17, 39. Also of interest is DT 188, a curse tablet found in Rome, in which the practitioner, trying to escalate the anger of the gods, charges his victim (ll. 10-12) with the imaginary accusation of being «the one who burned the papyrus boat of Osiris and who ate the sacred fish»; a parallel text is found in PGM LVIII 1-14, esp. 5-14, a Greek spell to inflict harm dated to the 4th cent. CE. Moreover, a subtle allusion to Osiris' dismemberment occurs in a Demotic vessel divination (PDM

were intended to intimidate the invoked deities and spirits so that they would comply with the practitioner's commands.[76] A characteristic example of this type of mythical reminder occurs in a Greek restraining charm,[77] which is expected to effectuate every demand (εἰς πάντα ποιῶν, «works on everything»). It should be noted, however, that the sophisticated plan with the chest, which –according to Plutarch– Typhon-Seth had devised and successfully employed to murder his brother, is not recorded in any of the Egyptian sources; there are also no direct references to it in the Greek or Demotic magical papyri.[78] From Plutarch's account, we may conclude that Osiris was alive, at least until Seth's fellow-conspirators cast the tightly sealed chest into the river. This means that the god's death occurred by drowning. Indeed, there exist numerous Egyptian texts that attest to Osiris' death by drowning, although they differ as to the exact place where the drowning occurred.[79] Greek and Demotic magical papyri refer to the same episode adding interesting details to Plutarch's narrative. Thus, in a Greek revelatory charm known as "Hermes' ring",[80] the practitioner threatens Anubis, Osiris and Horus (ll. 271-278) that, unless they carry out his orders, he will shout the following in the port of Busiris, revealing that Osiris «remained in the river 3 days and 3 nights, Hesiēs,[81] that he was carried by the current of the river into the sea, that he was surrounded by the waves of the sea and by the mist of the air».[82] Hence, the papyrus text brings forth a hitherto unknown piece of information, namely that the god's body was flowing in the river for three days and three nights before it ended up in the sea, which washed it up on the shore of Phoenicia. While the god's belly is said to have already been eaten by fish (ll. 278-282), the practitioner threatens Osiris that, unless he is obeyed, he will let the fish devour his whole body, and even threatens to take Horus («the fatherless boy») away from his mother.

As far as the fish attack on the corpse is concerned, several Egyptian sources confirm the fact that, while the god's body was in the river, it was attacked by both fish and crocodiles.[83] Plutarch (358 B) explicitly states that the only part of Osiris' body that was never recovered

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xiv 627-635, dated to the 2nd/3rd cent. CE), while a partial parallel passage written in Old Coptic is found in PGM IV 1-25, esp. ll. 10-15, a revelatory spell dated to the 4th cent. CE.

[75] On the use of threats against the gods in Egyptian magical practice, see Altenmüller (1977); cf. also Sauneron (1966) 40-42; Olsson (1939); Cumont (1930) 244-245, esp. nn. 71, 80; Hopfner (1928) 315, 339-340, 344-346; Grundz.Wilck. 124-125.

[76] References to Osiris' murder can be found in PGM I 247-262; IV 154-285; V 213-303; VII 940-968; XII 14-95, 121-143; XXXVI 1-34; LVII 1-37; LXXVIII 1-14.

[77] PGM XXXVI 1-34.

[78] Though the Egyptian texts often refer to Seth's confederates as *sm3yt*, the specific reference to his seventy-two fellow-conspirators and Asô, the queen of the Ethiopians, is found only in Plutarch's account (356 B-C). D.S. 4.6.3 names the Titans as Typhon-Seth's confederates in the murder of Osiris, while in a magical rite aimed at acquiring an assistant demon (PGM LVII 1-37) it is the Giants who are mentioned as being Typhon's fellow-conspirators (ll. 7-8).

[79] See, for example, incantation 5, Metternich Stela: «Do not raise your faces, you who are in the water, at the passing of Osiris by you. Let him by to Djedet (i.e. Busiris), with (your) mouths covered, your gullets blocked. Back, rebel! Do not raise your faces against the one who is on the water. It is Osiris».

[80] PGM V 213-303 dating from the 4th cent. CE.

[81] The word Ἐσιῆς represents the Greek transliteration of the Demotic epithet *ḥsy* meaning 'praised', which was regularly applied to Osiris, the Drowned One, but was also used of the sacred dead. See, for example, PGM IV 850-929, a future-revelation rite dated to the 4th cent. CE, in which Osiris Hesiēs is referred to (ll. 875-876) as having been 'carried away by a river' (Gk. ποταμοφόρητος); PGM XII 14-95, a magical ritual with manifold use dated to the mid to late 2nd cent. CE, in which the practitioner invokes (ll. 80-81) Ousiris Hesiēs to force the spell's victim «to do such-and-such a matter». Cf. also PGM III 1-164, esp. 1; V 213-303, esp. l. 270, where the epithet Hesiēs is applied to the sacred dead in general (and not specifically to Osiris).

[82] For the translation, see Betz (1992[2]) 105.

[83] See e.g. CT VII, 201k [991]: «I am that crocodile whose tongue was cut out because of the mutilation of Osiris».

was his male member,[84] although he himself subsequently admits that this was a later addition to the myth's plot.[85] According to Plutarch, it was the fish that were responsible for the loss of Osiris' phallus,[86] as Typhon-Seth was believed to have exercised his control over the so-called Typhonic animals (see n. 10 above). The loss of Osiris' male member is missing from the most ancient Egyptian versions of the Osiris legend,[87] while later versions (including Plutarch but not the magical papyri) relate that Isis fashioned a replacement phallus out of gold. Probably based on the story of Osiris, the embalmers have also sometimes amputated the phallus of the deceased and replaced it by a gilded wooden obelisk. The loss of Osiris' phallus has been, among others, interpreted as an act of Typhonic retribution for the adultery Osiris committed with Nephthys. However, the loss of this particular member seems to affect the logical progression of the storyline since, as we have already seen, Isis' activities with regard to the corpse of Osiris culminated in the posthumous conception of Horus.

By comparing Plutarch's account to the Egyptian references to the myth, we observe that certain scenes of his narrative are unparalleled in the most ancient Egyptian records. By contrast, Greek and Demotic magical texts –especially those dating from the last years of Ptolemaic rule or the first two centuries of the Roman period– seem to almost always bear out Plutarch's exposition of the myth; this is neither coincidental nor arbitrary since Plutarch's treatise On Isis and Osiris is believed to have been mostly based on Late Period and Ptolemaic sources (see n. 8 above). Plutarch's narrative of the Osirian myth is also, in large part, confirmed by later magical texts, meaning texts, which are dated between the third and the fourth/fifth centuries CE. This fact indirectly indicates that the original form of the magical texts hardly changed by time. Thus, a focused analysis of Greco-Egyptian magical papyri can provide significant potential for our existing knowledge of the Isis and Osiris cult. Of course, the magical texts *per se* cannot replace the literary sources as they cannot be relied on to reconstruct a comprehensive narrative of the Osirian myth. However, even though their references to the myth are almost always hidden among the twists and turns of magical literature, there are ways of pulling the relevant information up from the sources in order to bring the pieces of the puzzle together. The study of the Greco-Egyptian magical papyri along with the comparative investigation of ancient Egyptian and Greek or Latin literary

[84] See 358 B: μόνον δὲ τῶν μερῶν τοῦ Ὀσίριδος τὴν Ἶσιν οὐχ εὑρεῖν τὸ αἰδοῖον· εὐθὺς γὰρ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ῥιφῆναι καὶ γεύσασθαι τόν τε λεπιδωτὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν φάγρον καὶ τὸν ὀξύρυγχον, [ὡς] οὓς μάλιστα τῶν ἰχθύων ἀφοσιοῦσθαι· τὴν δ' Ἶσιν ἀντ' ἐκείνου μίμημα ποιησαμένην καθιερῶσαι τὸν φαλλόν, ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἑορτάζειν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, «they say that the only part of Osiris' body, which Isis did not find, was his male member; for as soon as it was thrown into the river Nile, the lepidotus, the phagrus and the oxyrhynchus had fed upon it; fish that the Egyptians loathe most. But in its place Isis made a likeness of the member and consecrated the phallus, in honour of which the Egyptians even at the present day celebrate a festival». Diodorus Siculus also confirms (1.21.5) that Isis recovered all the pieces of Osiris' body except the privates; cf. also 1.22.6.

[85] See Plu. De Is. et Os. 365 C: καὶ γὰρ ὁ προστιθέμενος τῷ μύθῳ λόγος, ὡς τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ὁ Τυφὼν τὸ αἰδοῖον ἔρριψεν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, ἡ δ' Ἶσις οὐχ εὗρεν, ἀλλ' ἐμφερὲς ἄγαλμα θεμένη καὶ κατασκευάσασα τιμᾶν καὶ φαλληφορεῖν ἔταξεν. For the translation of the text, see Griffiths (1970) 175: «further, the story which is added to the myth tells us how Typhon threw the male member of Osiris into the river and how Isis failed to find it, but after producing and preparing an identical image instructed that it should be honoured and carried in phallic processions».

[86] The attack on Osiris' phallus probably explains the Egyptians' abstinence from certain species of fish, unless this particular detail in Plutarch's narrative was, conversely, fashioned because of the Egyptians' repugnance for fish.

[87] Since the Egyptian tradition relates that Isis managed to revive the god's member with her witchcraft, one may suggest that the ancient Egyptian sources might have recorded only the temporary loss of Osiris' phallus. Indeed, some Egyptian texts report that the god's phallus was actually found, along with all the other parts of his body, and was preserved as a relic at Mendes or Dendera; see, for example, Pap. Jumilhac IV 16. 21-23.

works (among which Plutarch's treatise holds a prominent place) can help classicists, Greek papyrologists and Egyptologists fill in information from one source to the other and thus provide modern scholarship with an even more complete picture of the Osirian myth.

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The authorship of PGM VI (P.Lond. I 47) + II (P.Berol. inv. 5026)*

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The materiality of the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri has traditionally been neglected in favor of their religious content.[1] Recently, however, scholars have come to realize that the material aspect of these documents can also make a significant contribution to their contextualization and interpretation. The present paper is a contribution to the study of material aspects of PGM II, kept in Berlin, and PGM VI, which is one of the magical texts in London.[2]

Two days after the Papyrological Congress during a workshop in the frame of the project "Transmission of Magical Knowledge in Antiquity: The Papyrus Magical Handbooks in Context"[3] following a paleographical study of the two papyri, it was discovered that PGM VI is a missing part of PGM II. They are parts of the same roll and the column of PGM VI should be read as a column preceding PGM II. The identification of PGM VI as part of the same roll was based on the following observations: a) the *ductus* of the letters, which is identical; b) both papyri feature a marginal note with a missing part at their upper part and when they are put together fit perfectly and form the phrase ποίη|[σ]ις αὕτ|η; c) In the lower part of PGM II, there are some surviving letters at the same height as the two incomplete lines of PGM VI, lines 45 and 56.[4]

My original oral presentation was focused exclusively on PGM II. However, this discovery on one hand forced me to reconsider some points and apply the corresponding changes or additions to the oral presentation during the congress –including the title–, on the other hand it shed more light on some problematic points.

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[1] Given that both terms, magic and materiality, tend to be multi-faceted, with multiple meanings and purposes, it is simplest to cite Jan Bremmer's remarks in Boschung / Bremmer (2015) 7: «The term "materiality" encompasses all the artifacts and ingredients used in magic, usually during the performance of a magical recipe but the papyri are a kind of material used in the framework of magic. As they are written by magicians and they transmitted magical spells, symbols and drawings, their paleographical study could provide us with invaluable information about the identity and the status of the scribes-magicians and about the particular context of their creation».

[2] PGM VI was bought by G. Anastasi in Memphis, as it is written on the containing sleeve of the papyrus (Preisendanz / Henrichs [1974] 198-199). The place of acquisition of PGM II is less clear. It is believed to have been bought in Thebes. The overall width of the two papyri in their current state is 116 cm about and the overall height 34 cm.

[3] This project augments and extends the re-edition and re-translation of magical handbooks from the Greco-Roman Egypt, previously edited by Preisendanz (1928-1931), and comprises their first large-scale study as material objects and media of cultural transmission: https://papyrusmagicalhandbook.wordpress.com (last accession 24/10/2018).

[4] See Chronopoulou (2017). In what follows, I use the term roll to refer to PGM II + VI as a unitary document.

The roll, containing five columns of text and six marginal notes, describes a preliminary ritual aiming at inducing a revelatory dream. The structure of the ritual is complicated because the scribe proposes alternatives in case the main ritual is unsuccessful and the main ritual is interwoven with these alternatives in a way that is confusing.

1. The formal aspects of the roll

The first point regards the particularity of the magical writing. The magical texts are classified as paraliterary texts, and for that reason, in combination with their content, have been largely ignored by mainstream papyrology, so that the handwriting and scribal habits of this genre of text have not yet been as closely compared, analyzed and discussed as the handwriting of the documentary and literary papyri.[5] Consequently, it is unsafe to apply conclusions derived from the study of literary hands directly to magical documents. Moreover, the problem of the lack of bibliography is exacerbated because so little is known of the provenience and 'Sitz im Leben' of these papyri. It is hard enough to reconstruct the contents of Anastasi's various collections let alone the circumstances of the creation of individual items within them.

a. The use of different inks

The first impression given by PGM II and PGM VI is that the roll was written by two or even three different hands, using two different kinds of ink.[6] The traditional ink in Egypt was made from carbon (lamp-black or soot) mixed with thin gum to hold it from suspension and provide adhesion.[7] From the third century BCE we find a so-called 'iron-gall ink' being used as well: this was usually made from an infusion of oak-galls mixed with green vitriol (iron sulphate). This type of ink is unstable, liable to fade and tends to damage the papyrus beneath it.[8] The majority of our roll seems to be written in iron-gall ink, but until this can be confirmed by analysis, it remains a hypothesis.[9] The remainder of the text seems to have been written in carbon ink. The odd thing is that these two inks alternate throughout the roll. Thus, in the text in columns we note four changes of ink:

a) PGM VI 1 - PGM II 38 in iron-gall ink b) PGM II 39-48 in carbon ink c) PGM II 48-162 in iron-gall ink d) PGM II 162-174 in carbon ink. (See fig. 1).

The marginal notes are written in carbon ink, i.e. the same ink as is used at the end of the roll (see figs. 2a, b, c, d, e, f).[10]

[5] There are only two studies. See Nodar / Torallas (2015) and Nodar (2017).
[6] See Preisendanz (1928) 29; Monte (2015) 36-37.
[7] Lampe (1969) 61. On the inks in Late Antiquity, I refer to the contribution by Ira Rabin in this volume. Each type of ink, as Rabin explains, has distinctive physical and optical properties. Consequently, in our case, the repeated change of ink has created the impression of the intervention of a different hand for some scholars. As I have been informed, the museum will soon proceed with an analysis of the inks in collaboration with Dr. Rabin.
[8] See Bülow-Jacobsen (2011) 18.
[9] The papyrus is glued to a paper and that makes ink analysis a very difficult task to undertake. However, I am going to use the terms iron-gall ink and carbon ink in order to distinguish the two different qualities of it.
[10] The left part of the marginal note 2a is in PGM VI. For a complete image of the note see Chronopoulou (2017). It must be stressed that the letters that survive at the bottom of the left margin of PGM II and which in reality are the ends of the lines 45-46 of PGM VI (see fig. 3), before the matching of the two papyri, seemed previously to belong to a marginal note, with the anomaly of being the only one written in iron-gall ink (all the other notes were written in carbon ink). After the matching of the papyri, it becomes clear that it was written in iron-gall ink because it was never a marginal note, but belongs to the text of the first column, which is also written in iron-gall ink.

This fact allows the following hypothesis: the scribe, having completed writing out the *praxis*, read the whole text through again and added some notes in order to help the reader/s not to get lost in this complicated ritual. The handwriting is clumsy and hastily written but the *ductus* of the letters does not differ.

Moreover, there is no clear syntactical justification for the changes of ink. In other words, the change of ink does not correlate with the beginning of different sections or even sentences in the text. On the contrary, the changes of ink may occur, apparently randomly, in the middle of sentences.

b) One or two hands?

The main argument in favour of thinking that only one scribe copied out our text, however, rests upon the analysis of letter-forms and 'mise en page'. I have employed four criteria for my analysis of these features, all of them in standard use.[11] They are:

1. The *ductus* of the letters: the way in which the letters are drawn. 2. The presence or absence of some optional elements (i.e. breathings, accents, lectional marks, punctuation, spelling conventions, etc.) 3. The holistic impression of the handwriting. 4. The format and the layout of the papyrus.

Close inspection of the *ductus* of the letters makes it evident that some letters, notably epsilon, are written in different ways even where the ink is the same (see figs. 5a, b and 9a, b). Conversely, however, a number of letters are formed in closely similar ways in the two different ink blocks (see figs. 5a, b and 9a, b). I will try to show the most eloquent examples with regard to my hypothesis. I have chosen letters from different parts of PGM II, both in iron-gall and carbon ink.

Kappa is formed without lifting the pen (see figs. 6a, b, c, d). The case of *beta* that sometimes features a particular ending in its formation –its upper loop is not closed and its conclusion takes a turn to the right towards the inside of the circle and sometimes even touches its right part– is particularly telling (see figs. 7a, b). Letter *xi* is alike in both types of ink (see figs. 8a, b, c). In both papyri *epsilon* is often formed in two movements: first a semi-circle is drawn (in the form of a big c) and then a smaller one is drawn inside it, joining it at its upper end (see figs. 9a, b). In figures 9a, b we can discern a triangular *delta* but a rounded *delta* appears also in both iron-gall and carbon ink (see figs. 10a, b).

This formalistic comparison could be the basis for reconsideration regarding the two hands. From these details, it seems quite clear that the letter-forms are the same in both metallic and carbon sections.[12] In view of these arguments, the hypothesis that the roll was written by two scribes is surely to be rejected. We must conclude that one scribe alone copied out the entire roll.

2. Why change inks?

The question that at once arises is why the scribe changed inks like this. I can suggest two possible scenarios. The first is that the text was written over a relatively extended period of time and that the scribe had different kinds of ink at his disposal at these times. Quite apart from other duties, it is clear from the expression ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ οὕτως εὗρον (l. 50), «in another version of this praxis I found an alternative procedure» that he was comparing his 'Vorlage'

[11] Konstantinidou (2010) 355.

[12] The readers can find a photo of this papyrus in the site of the museum and compare more letters http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/record/?result=0&Alle=5026 (last accession 5/09/2018).

against at least one other. The main objection to this scenario is that the word τετριμμένα (l. 38) (See figs. 11a, b) is written partly in iron-gall ink and partly in carbon, for it would be very odd to leave a word incomplete between writing sessions.

The second hypothesis is that the writer of our roll was also a professional scribe, or someone who had various qualities of ink at his disposal, and worked without paying attention to which ink was used each time. I imagine that the appearance of the different inks was not so evident at the time of writing. The iron-gall ink was not faded, neither did it leave marks around the letters, so the two inks would not have given a different visual impression when they were fresh.

There might also be a third scenario. A study of the chemical composition of inks has been undertaken to ascertain the type of ink used on Demotic and Greek texts dating from 252-298 BCE in the collection of the Louvre. The PIXE analysis method was employed.[13] The analysis showed that all the Demotic texts were written in carbon ink whereas all but one of the Greek texts were written in iron-gall ink.[14] Perhaps our scribe was aware of this tradition and he tried to follow it: however, it seems probable that either he lacked sufficient supplies of iron-gall ink, or, perhaps more likely, he simply became distracted from time to time and used other quality of ink.

3. The date

I have left the most difficult issue till last. This is the dating of the papyrus. We have to bear in mind that sometimes the handwriting of magical texts is more or less stylized. It appears that the scribes deliberately avoided personalizing their handwriting. Their writing tends to be neutral because most of the magical scrolls or codices were used as manuals addressed to other persons and kept in magical libraries.[15] This is something making the dating of these papyri a difficult task. Our roll is an excellent case in point, since PGM II was dated to the fourth or fifth century[16] while Kenyon dated PGM VI to the second[17] and Wessely to the third century CE,[18] yet the hand is identical in both.

I believe that the fifth century can be rejected because the handwriting is not so late in my opinion and the papyrus should be dated between the second and the third century. A careful paleographical study demonstrates that the *ductus* of the majority of the letters –such as *eta*, *epsilon*, *pi*, *kappa*, and *delta* appear in both centuries. Although I must stress that the general impression of the papyrus, at least to my eyes, would indicate the second century, the third century cannot be ruled out.[19]

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[13] Proton Induced X-ray Emission (PIXE) is an X-ray spectrographic technique, which can be used for the non-destructive, simultaneous elemental analysis of solid, liquid or aerosol filter samples. Although the method is not sensitive to carbon, carbon ink could be deduced by its lack of metallic elements compared to iron-gall ink.

[14] Nicholson / Shaw (2000) 238. See also Clarysse (1993) 189; Delange et al. (1990) gives examples of demotic papyri written in carbon ink while in the same document, the Greek subscription is written in iron-gall ink.

[15] See Suárez (2012).

[16] The first editor, Parthey (1865), although he did a very good job in reading the papyrus, did not attempt to give a date of production. Shubart (1925) 68 made the first attempt, dating the papyrus to the 4th century. Preisendanz was not sure either and proposed three different centuries, the 5th century (1927) 107, the 4th century (1928) 18, and the 3rd century (1933) 93. Bagnall (2009) 83-85 proposed 3rd century as the century of their creation. The most recent study, as far as I know, that of Monte (2011) 55, follows Preisendanz, dating the papyrus to the 4th century.

[17] Kenyon (1893) 81-83.

[18] Wessely (1988) 125.

[19] The unknown circumstances surrounding the discovery of PGM I and II have provoked a long and continuing debate about their incorporation or not into the so-called Theban Cache. The majority of scholars include it in

Regarding the possibility of the 4th century dating, although some elements, such as the form of *epsilon* in some rare instances (see fig. 5a) belong to this century, the *ductus* of the other letters and especially the general impression of the roll, does not correspond to the fourth century.

Although the match of the two papyri gives us a fuller text it seems that PGM VI is not the beginning of the papyrus. The beginning of PGM VI is fragmentary but the part that has survived reveals an invocation to Apollo and consequently it is not likely to be the beginning of the ritual. It is also remarkable that if indeed the left margin of PGM VI –as the surviving fragments are now arranged– is placed in the right position[20] then the marginal space is significantly wider than the margins that separate the columns in PGM II, thus we can assume there was no other column in this roll. This assumption allows us to think that the beginning of the magical practice was written on another roll.

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the Theban Library and there are few that remain unconvinced, among them Brasher and Dieleman. About the Theban library see Dosoo's article (2016) 251-274. Indisputably, these two papyri seem quite different from the rest of the papyri of the Theban Library and they present some common particularities. They also seem to have the same history because they appear suddenly together at the same time. I am not going to propose another model about the Theban Library here, but I want to stress that it is highly likely that among other things, the similarities they share reveal the same period of production. The hands are not the same but similar. A fundamental difference is that the letters are generally formed separately and not linked together. Furthermore, in my opinion PGM I belongs to the 3rd century and there are some *comparanda* that support this dating such as P.Oxy. XIV 1697.

[20] There is a piece of unwritten papyrus separated from the rest of the roll. During the restoration it is placed in the bottom left part of the column of PGM VI. It seems to me that the fibers fit and that it is placed correctly.

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Plates[21]



Fig. 1. PGM II

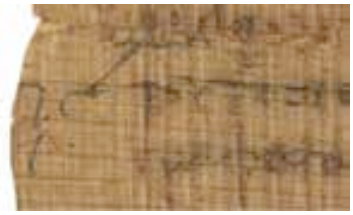


Fig. 2a



Fig. 2b



Fig. 2c

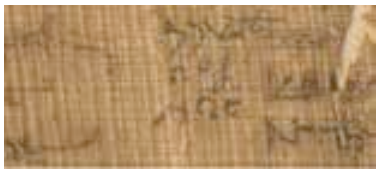


Fig. 2d



Fig. 2e



Fig. 2f

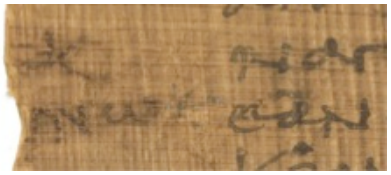


Fig. 3

[21] All the images belong to Berlin, Staatliche Museen P.5026. © Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

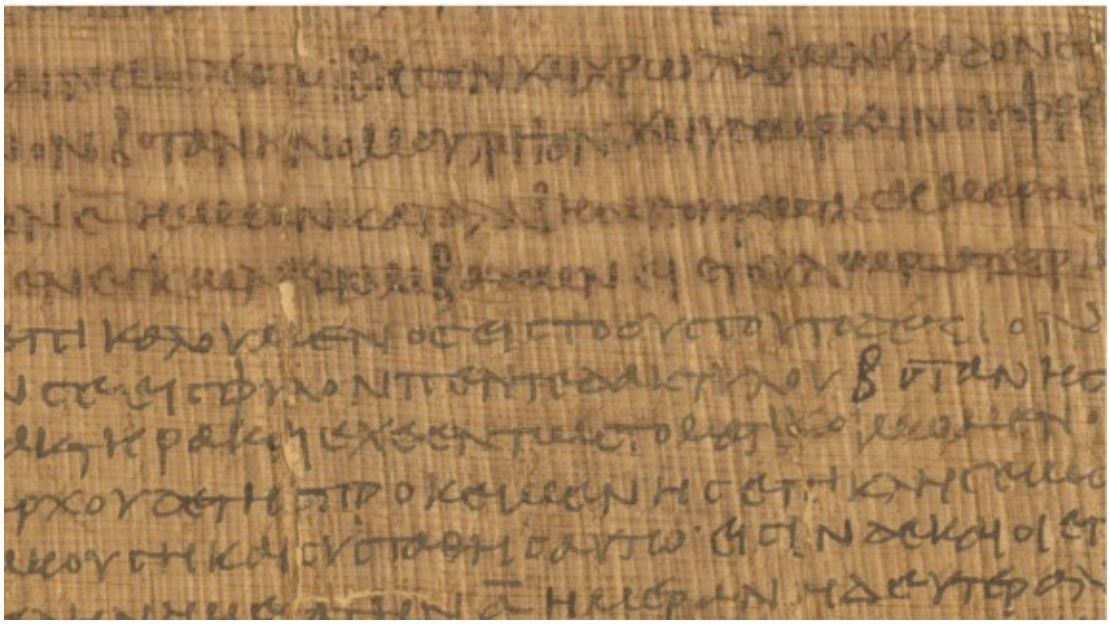


Fig. 4

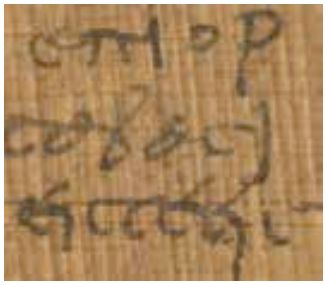


Fig. 5a

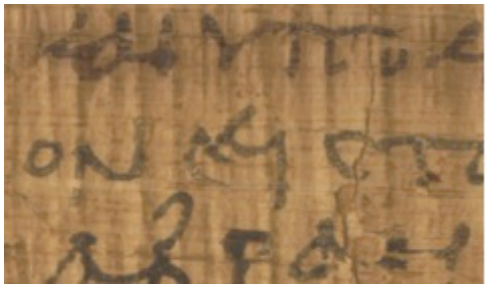


Fig. 5b



Fig. 6a



Fig. 6b



Fig. 6c



Fig. 6d



Fig. 7a



Fig. 7b

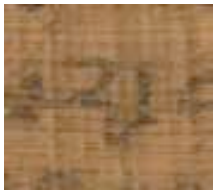


Fig. 8a



Fig. 8b

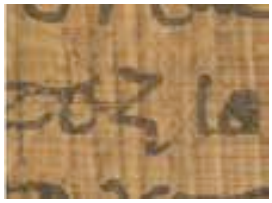


Fig. 8c

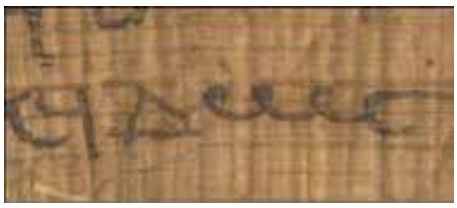


Fig. 9a



Fig. 9b



Fig. 10a

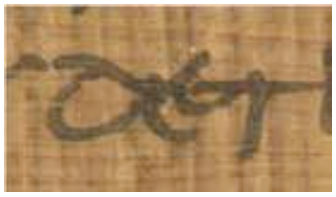


Fig. 10b

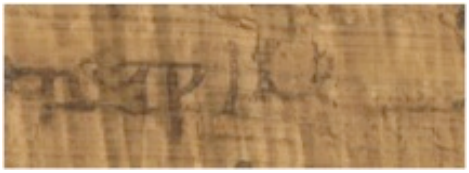


Fig. 11a



Fig. 11b

Proceedings of the 28th International Congress of Papyrology, Barcelona 2016
Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona 2019) 333-341

The flight of passion. Remarks on a formulaic motif of erotic spells*

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Love spells are among the commonest magic texts known to date from ancient and modern times and I will not dedicate any time here to explaining why. Magical papyri and lead tablets (Greek and Latin) contain a considerable number of these incantations.[1] However, the differences among them are very few. In other words, there is a clear typology, with some exceptions, of course, maintained down the centuries and reaching far beyond the Ancient World. The commonest pattern of erotic spells can be illustrated by the one established by Martinez in his well-known study of P.Michigan XVI (1991), a model that covers the vast majority of love spells known to date. Moreover, the main features of those spells have been analysed in detail by several scholars,[2] not only from a typological standpoint, but also in their connections with literary texts and as representative of social and cultural trends. In this paper I will focus on one motif found in several love spells, in order to analyse its relation to other usual motifs of love charms. Thus, I hope to contribute to a more accurate interpretation of its meaning and to a reasonable explanation of the reasons for its occurrence in these contexts.

The motif I am dealing with is included among the actions that the petitioner requires to be exerted by the gods or dæmons on the desired individual and is expressed by different forms of the verbs ἀεροπετέομαι/ἀεροποτέομαι (three participles, one infinitive, and one imperative).[3] It is usually translated as 'to fly through the air', 'die Luft durchfliegen', 'volar por los aires' (in the Spanish LMPG we find the alternative 'caminar por los aires', 'to walk through the air'). As far as I know, the exception is Winkler's translation as 'to feel flighty'.[4] I venture to say that, in my opinion, it is not the best option, although I understand that it is an attempt to resolve the problem I want to discuss in this paper.

The five examples of this motif that we have so far appear, in more or less chronological order, in a lead tablet of the 2nd century (Suppl.Mag. I 38, now in Geneva), in the Papyrus Osloensis no. 1 (PGM XXXVI, with three examples in three different spells), and in a papyrus of the Cologne collection (P.Köln inv. 5514).[5] The first and the last belong to so-called applied (or real) magic: «Ammonion desires Theodotis and Dioscuros Leontia». The other three are part of a very interesting and well known papyrus,[6] a peculiar grimoire, for

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[1] 136 to date, according to Pachoumi (2013).

[2] See, for instance, Moke (1975); Petropoulos (1988); Winkler (1990); Martínez (1991); Gager (1992); Brooten (1996); Montserrat (1996); Faraone (1999); Pachoumi (2013).

[3] See infra n. 5 and the full texts infra §2.

[4] Winkler (1990) 87.

[5] (T1) Suppl.Mag. I 38 (T.Genav. inv. 269. II CE; ed. pr. III-IV); PGM XXXVI (P.Oslo 1 III/IV CE): (T2) ll. 109-113; (T3) ll. 125-132; (T4) ll. 144-150; (T5) Suppl.Mag. I 43.6-7 (P.Col. inv. 5514, IV CE).

[6] P.Oslo. 1; first edition, Eitrem (1925). I should like to thank Anastasia Maravela and Federico Aurora for allowing me to work directly on this papyrus.

several reasons, that I suspect was an *ad hoc* copy ordered by a client with a very specific profile (and peremptory erotic needs).

First of all, some linguistic remarks. This verbal compound, with ἀερο- as the first element, is not attested outside these magical texts. The linguistic creativity of the magicians, and their knowledge of different traditions, whether poetic, medical, or philosophical, is beyond any doubt, but perhaps in this case they were not very subtle, because the result, at first sight, is a redundant term (it is difficult to fly out of the air). However, in their defence we can argue that this verb is a logical verbal derivation from the adjective ἀεροπετής, which, depending on the texts, is related either to πίπτω or to πέτομαι (the same root, but in Greek they have been specialised from the very beginning). In fact we find the meaning 'fallen from the sky' (in Ph.Bybl. ap. Eus. PE 1.10, cf. Plb. 36.10.2), and also 'flying through the air' (said of a σφήξ in Horap. 2.24, and, in the magical papyri, of a πνεῦμα in PGM VII 559). As for the attested (simple) verbal forms, they are πέτομαι and ποτάομαι (poet.) / ποτέομαι (epic), but not πετέομαι, an innovation influenced by the epic ποτάομαι. Thus, the form ἀεροποτουμένη (Suppl.Mag. I 38) could be a 'poetism' (as proposed by Daniel-Maltomini [1990] 121), but it could also be a mere scribal error due to the proximity of the two nearby omicrons. There are, however, more novelties. In Suppl.Mag. I 43 we find an imperative (ἀεροπέτησον) of a previously non-existent active form, ἀεροπετέω. Finally, note the different syntax of the examples cited infra (§2-3): in the first three (T1, T2, T3) we have a participle connected with the subject/object of the magical action, whereas in T4 we have an infinitive subordinated to a causative verb, and in T5 we find the active form mentioned above.

That a spirit or a demonic entity, and, of course, a deity, can fly is not a novelty and is not surprising. We have seen that a πνεῦμα can be qualified as ἀεροπετής, but also as ἀέριον,[7] or described as ἐν ἀέρι φοιτώμενον (PGM XIII 278). Consequently, when the petition is introduced by the verb ἄγω we imagine that the invoked god or dæmon should bring the woman flying: this would be the case in the two first examples of P.Oslo 1 (T2 and T3). However, in two other examples the woman is described as acquiring the ability to fly by herself (T1, T4), and in one of them it is her soul and heart that fly (T5). It is a good illustration of the possibilities of variation that the authors of the spells had at their disposal, or perhaps we should say at the disposal of their imagination, but it is also more than that.

What I want to propose now is a reconsideration of the exact meaning of this verb. In order to attain a satisfactory result, I consider it very important (a) to discern clearly the place and function of this term in the context of each formula, and (b) to compare and contrast it with other terms that are in total or partial agreement with it. To begin with, we must have clear concept of the usual structure (I am tempted to say the narrative scheme) of these charms, and analyse how the term is inserted into that structure. I am not suggesting that there was an actual archetype of these spells (i.e. a written model, although perhaps there were several).[8] What I will now attempt is to (re)construct a logical sequence of the actions required in these formulas. Of course, I am well aware that each of these texts has a complex history behind it, full of alterations, new combinations, at times absolutely inconsistent, and reworkings. The logical parts of the *logoi* (without implying that this was the narrative order) would be:

a. Awakening and/or invocation of the dæmons (ἐγείρεσθε). Sometimes, reasons for this (positive or menacing – cf. διαβολαί).

b. They must go (ὕπαγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον κτλ.) and catch the woman (sometimes, a man).

[7] PGM I 50, 97; PGM IV 178, 1116, cf. PGM IV 1117, 1124.
[8] This is a similar problem to the hypothetical archetypes of the texts of the Orphic *lamellae*.

c. Very important: the dæmons must prevent her from any sexual contact (sometimes there is a short catalogue of sexual practices).

d. She must be subjected to all manner of limitations and physical harm (the well-known series μὴ πιεῖν, μὲ φαγεῖν, μὴ εὐσταθεῖν, μὲ ὕπνου τυχεῖν and so on).

e. She must suffer a terrible and burning passion, be tortured, enslaved, almost annihilated: καιομένη, πυρουμένη (cf. πύρωσον, φλέξον) δεδουλαγωγημένη, ὑποτεταγμένη, βασανιζωμένη, κτλ.

f. The effect must be that she comes immediately to the presence of the petitioner, carried by the dæmons or as an irresistible effect of the precedent actions. I will return to this point in the next paragraph.

g. Finally, the petitioner asks for the accomplishment of the sexual union (often by means of what I will label as the *kollesis*-motif) and its long-lasting term (till the end of time or Hades, and so on).

In these spells it is usually specified that she/he is brought directly by the dæmon or dæmons, although it seems sometimes that this is an automatic effect of the violence exerted by them. The simplest petition is: 'bring her' (ἄξον, ἔνεγκον, and so on), but violence appears too: ἕλκε τὴν δεῖνα τῶν τριχῶν, τῶν σπλάγχνων, τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, «drag her, NN, by the hair, by the heart, by her soul, to me, NN» (PGM IV 376-378). The question is: if the verb ἀεροπετοῦμαι is properly a verb of movement, then it is here that the motif of the flight should be included. We would then have three verbs of movement used in the description of this part: ἐκπηδάω, 'rush off' (from her house), ἀεροπετοῦμαι, ἔρχομαι (ἔλθῃ). The last one does not merit any special commentary: there is no doubt that it signals the arrival of the 'beloved'.[9]

Let us see then if the first two verbs indicate two different moments of the transfer action or if they denote two different things.

1. ἐκπηδάω

This verb is used to mark a decisive moment in the process of wish-fulfilment of the practitioner: it is essential that she/he abandon her familiar or usual environment. This is concisely expressed in one ἀγωγή of PGM XXXVI (69-101): καὶ παρθένους ἐκπηδᾶν οἴκοθεν ποιεῖ (70). This effect is presented as a consequence of the actions described previously in d (symptoms of illness) and e (burning), that is, as a result of the total submission caused by the dæmons. We find it in Suppl.Mag. I 48, 40 and 42, PGM XXXVI 70 and 360, PGM XIXa, and Suppl.Mag. I 45. The process is completed by his/her arrival at the practitioner's house. This is described with a subordinate clause with ἕως οὗ (Suppl.Mag. I 48, 10-11) or ἄχρις + subjunctive, as in PGM XIXa, where we read ἄχρις ἂν ἐκπηδήσασα [ἔλ]θῃ (l. 51), and also ἕως ἐκπεδήσασα ἔλθῃ (XXXVI 360) without the particle. Sometimes the place to be abandoned by the woman or man is not their dwelling place, but the formula includes every possible place: ἕως οὗ ἐκπηδήσῃ {ἐκπηδήσῃ} ἐκ παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας (Suppl.Mag. I 48, 10-11); or it can be intensified by emphasizing the effect of complete abandonment not only of the physical abodes, but also of parents and siblings, as in Suppl.Mag. I 45, 46-47: ἀλλὰ ποιήσατε αὐτὴν ἐκπηδῆσαι ἀπὸ παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας

[9] The sequence ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ is frequent. There is an interesting case in PGM XIc col. 2. ll. 3-4, where the petition specifies [ὑπ' ἐμὸν] /ὄροφ[ον ἐλθέτω].

καὶ καταλῖψε πατέρα, μητέρα, ἀδελφούς, ἀδελφάς, ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ etc. One exception can be found in Suppl.Mag. I 42, 17-38, a spell meant to work at the bathhouse. The particularities are (a) that the verb ἐκπηδάω is constructed with consecutive function immediately after the imperative δαμάσαται (-ε): δαμάσαται αὐτὴν ἐκπηδῆση ἐκ παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας φιλοῦσα<ν> Σοφία (16, 38), and (b) that the point of arrival is not the practitioner's house, but rather the bathing place, into which she must be thrown by the dæmons: βληθῆναι εἰς τὸ βαλανῖον (14, 34, 44, 51).[10]

2. ἀεροπετοῦμαι

T1 Suppl.Mag. I 38, 8-12 (T. Genav. inv. 269. II CE; ed. pr. III-IV CE):

> τελείωσον τὸ τοῦ φιλτροκαταδέσμου / –τοῦτο ἐχρήσατο ἡ Ἶσις– ἵνα ἡ Θεόδοτις Εὖς μηκέτι λάβῃ πεῖραν ἑταίρου / ἀνδρὸς ἢ ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ Ἀμμωνίωνος, δεδουλαγωγημένη, ὐ/στρωμένη{ν}, ζητοῦσα ἀεροποτουμένη τὸν Ἀμμωνίωνα Ἑρμιταρὶς καὶ / μηρὸν μηρῷ πελάσῃ καὶ φύσε[ι]ν φύσει πρὸς συνουσίαν ἀεὶ εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρό/νον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς.
>
> «Fulfill the content of this binding love-spell –this is the one that Isis used– so that Theodotis, daughter of Eus, may no longer have experience of another man than me alone, Ammonion, she being enslaved, driven mad, flying through the air in search of Ammonion, son of Hermitaris, and so that she bring thigh to thigh and sexual organ to sexual organ for intercourse always, for the entire time of her life».[11]

At first sight, it seems that the logical process is accomplished: the victim is 'enslaved' and 'excited' (οἶστρος), and then she flies in search of the petitioner and accomplishes the sexual union. At a syntactic level we have an imperative (τελείωσον) followed by a final sentence (ἵνα μηκέτι λάβῃ… καὶ πελάσῃ). The participle ἀεροποτουμένη, connected to the subject, has a modal value, specifying the semantic value of the precedent participle ζητοῦσα. Here the action focuses on the intermediate and final phases of the process.

T2 PGM XXXVI 110-113 (P.Oslo 1, III-IV CE):

> ἄξον ἐμοὶ τῷ δεῖνα τὴν δεῖνα κεομένην, πυρουμένην, ἀεροπετουμένην, πεινῶσαν/διψῶσαν, ὕπνου μὴ τυγχάνουσαν, φιλοῦσαν ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα, ὃν ἔτοκεν ἡ δεῖνα,/ ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ καὶ τὴν θηλυκὴν ἑαυτῆς/ φύσιν τῇ ἀρσενικῇ μου κολλήσῃ.
>
> «Attract to me NN, her, NN, aflame, on fire, flying through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep, loving me, NN whom NN bore, until she come and glue her female pudenda to my male one».

Here, things have begun to change. The difference lies in the insertion of ἀεροπετουμένην between the participles indicating actions that should come before the flight, unless we assume that this flight happens simultaneously with the other symptoms, which seems rather forced. However, in this case, some suspicions begin to arise concerning the real semantic value of the verb. As for the syntactic construction, we again have an imperative (ἄξον) followed by a series of participles concerted with the direct object and then the final/consecutive sentence ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ + κολλήσῃ.

T3 PGM XXVI 125-130:

> ἄξετέ μοι… κεομένην, πυρου/μένην, ἀεροπετου/μένην, φιλοῦσαν ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα.
>
> «Attract to me..., aflame, on fire, flying through the air, loving me, NN».

[10] To this aim, the dæmon/es must become the woman who runs the bathhouse.
[11] All translations are taken either from Daniel / Maltomini (1990) or from Betz (1996).

This order of actions is more logical here than in the former example: the woman is subjected to torture, and then is brought flying and loving. It is clearly an abridged or synthetic formula, without any syntactic deployment (the last participle in a way replaces the subordinate phrases of the other examples), with only the imperative and the participles connected to the direct object.

T4 PGM XXVI 147-150:

> καὶ ποιήσατε τὴν δεῖνα, ἣν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα, ἀγροιπνῖν, ἀεροπε/τῖσθαι, πινῶσαν, διψῶσαν, ὕπνου μὴ τυγχάνουσαν, ἐρᾶσθαι / ἐμοῦ τοῦ δεῖνα ἔρωτι σπλαγχνικῷ ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ καὶ τὴν θηλυκὴν ἑαυτῆς φύσιν τῇ ἀρσενικῇ μου κολλήσῃ.
>
> «And cause her, NN, whom NN bore to be sleepless, to fly through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep, to love me, NN, whom NN bore, passionately with passion in her guts, until she comes and glues her female pudenda to my male one».

This is more in line with T2 (the subordinate phrase with the subjunctives reappears), but it goes a step further in the alteration of the 'normal' sequence: the gods and dæmons must «cause her to fly through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep, to love me». What is more, a sign that there is something wrong in this construction is the reiterative use of the synonyms ἀγροιπνῖν and ὕπνου μὴ τυγχάνουσαν before and after the other participles. It seems that, for the sake of expressiveness, the magician has accumulated the verbal forms and thus the last infinitive ἐρᾶσθαι has been left too detached from the main verb ποιήσατε. But, syntax apart, are we sure that there is no other reason for this sequence? I suspect that, perhaps since its original use, this verb, ἀεροπετέομαι, was not always used as a full verb of movement, so to speak. In other words, are we sure that in T2 the sequence ἄξον ἐμοὶ τῷ δεῖνα τὴν δεῖνα κεομένην, πυρουμένην, ἀεροπετουμένην, πεινῶσαν, (110) διψῶσαν, ὕπνου μὴ τυγχάνουσαν, φιλοῦσαν ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα implies a mistaken alteration of the order, due to careless accumulation of participles, or must we look for a more nuanced semantic analysis of the term? Must we accept that the victim is flying during the time of the physical limitations? And, if it is so, what kind of flight is it? What I am suggesting is that perhaps ἀεροπετέομαι should be interpreted, at least in T 2, 3, 4, as indicating a flight that does not always imply a movement from A to B, with change of place, but something closer to the meaning either 'to feel as if she/he were flying', as a kind of 'dizziness', or even 'to levitate'. I am speaking of a psychological, and metaphorical, use of the verb. Its insertion among the participles describing the physical symptoms awakens the suspicion that it is considered more a symptom than a consequence or effect of the symptoms. Must we then presume that we are dealing here with a chronological semantic development, or conversely that there was no development and the semantic nuance mentioned above was always present in these spells? To obtain a possible answer, or, perhaps, to complicate matters, we must now take into account text number 5.

3. The soul in erotic magical texts

T5 Suppl.Mag. I 43, 6-11 (P.Köln. inv. 5514. IV CE ed. pr.).

> ἀεροπέτησον τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν /καρδίαν Λεοντίας, ἣν ἔτεκεν μήτρᾳ/ Εὔα, καὶ μὴ ἐάσῃς αὐτὴν φαγῖν /μήτε πῖν μήτε ὕπνου τυχῖν/ ἕως δὰν ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμὲ Διός/κ[ο]υρον.
>
> «Make fly through the air [in fact: excite] the soul and the heart of Leontia, whom the womb of Eva bore, and do not let her eat or drink or get sleep until she comes to me, Dioskouros».

This is an isolated example of this verb in the active voice and with causative meaning, but a very interesting one. Its direct object is now specified as the soul and the heart, and this effect

is separated from the other physical consequences of the magical operation. In fact, it is presented almost as a prior step preceding the other physical damages, as a loss of control with the specified consequences. At this point we have been led (but not ἀεροπετοῦντες!) to an interesting issue, that of the conception of the soul, at least in the magical papyri. Allow me then in the last part of my paper to address this question, albeit succinctly.

The soul appears in 28 examples of erotic spells (either on papyrus or lead tablets).[12] If we add to these examples those that pertain to non-erotic spells, we can see that the soul, i.e. the soul of the living, is considered the centre of the main vital functions and frequently appears together with the heart.[13] The distribution of the processes affecting the soul in the erotic charms is as follows (the numbers refer to those of footnote 12):

a. The soul can be 'burned' (8, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, even 'tortured' 13).

b. The soul can be 'driven'/ 'carried' (4, 14, 15) or even 'dragged' (ἕλκω: 1, 27).

c. In T. 5 the verb used for the action affecting the soul is ἐπιστρέφω + εἰς ('to turn the soul to'). A similar action is described in PGM XIc, although this time the object is the heart (στρέψον… πρός).

d. It is also the object of the process or submission or domination (6 –ὑποταγή–, 7 – δάμναμαι).

e. In two examples the process is described as the 'inclination', or 'surrendering', of the soul (gr. κλίνω, 4, 21).

f. In no. 22 (Suppl.Mag. I 39), along with the inclination, we find two more effects on the soul: the actions asked of the dæmon are «let her soul be roused [ἀγριανθήτω]/ so that her soul be deranged [παραλλαγῆναι] and incline [κλιθῆναι] towards my soul».[14]

g. In other two cases the dæmon is asked «to penetrate through the soul» of the victim (3, εἰσέλθης) or 'enter into' her and 'to settle' on the soul (9, εἵσβηθι). In both examples the heart is mentioned together with the soul: in the first case because it is the place where the dæmon must remain, and in the second as the initial subject of the burning action.

h. Finally, the soul is mentioned in three examples of a different nature. In 2 the meaning of the phrase κατὰ ψυχήν is 'silently'. In 9 the dæmon is asked to bring the woman, after having been whipped, «with generous soul» (μετὰ μεγαλοδώρου ψυχής), surrendered to the man. In 10 a πιττάκιον must be put «on her soul» (ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς) to force the woman to speak while sleeping (a νυκτολάλημα).

In my opinion, and without entering now into a broad analysis of the concept of the soul in the PGM, in these texts *psychē* (ψυχή) is a part of the human being, functioning not only, as

[12] 1 PGM IV 376-380; 2 PGM IV 1265-1274 (Aphrodite's name); 3 PGM IV 1522-1531 (Ἀγωγὴ ἐπὶ ζμύρνης ἐπιθυομένης); 4 PGM IV 1715-1720 (Ξίφος Δαρδάνου) ; 5 PGM IV 1803-1809; 6 PGM IV 1818-1820; 7 PGM IV 2738-2741; 8 PGM IV 2764; 9 PGM VII 989-991; 10 PGM VII 411-415; 11 PGM XII 474-475; 12 PGM XVII 16-19 (applied); 13 PGM XIXa 49-51; 14 PGM XXXII 9-11 (applied); 15 PGM XXII 14-16;16 PGM XXIIa 7-8 (applied); 17 PGM XXXVI 79-81; 18 PGM LXIII 8-12; 19 PGM LXVIII 2-8; 20 PGM LXVIII 14-17; 21 PGM LXXVIII 5-7; 22 Suppl.Mag. I 39.1-7; 23 Suppl.Mag. I 40, 17; 24 Suppl.Mag. I 42, 15, 36, 46, 54, 59; 25 Suppl.Mag. I 43, 6-7; 26 Suppl.Mag. I 48, 10-11; 27 Suppl.Mag. I 50, 64; 28 Suppl.Mag. I 72, 17.

[13] See the frequent examples of καταδῶ (sometimes κατέχω) τὴν ψυχήν + other parts of the body + the name of the person in many *katadesmoi.* See, for instance: IG III App. 49, 50, 51, 56, 66, 79, 84, 86, 87, 89, 93, 96, 97, 107, 120, 159, 197; DT 47, 49, 50, 51, 241.

[14] Tr. Daniel / Maltomini (1990). I should propose 'inclined'.

mentioned earlier, as the centre of the vital functions, but also as that of the emotions.[15] The mention of the soul in many texts, and not only those of an erotic nature, in parallel with the heart leads us to accept that it could even be considered an organ, although with a particular status, and also allows us to think that it is located in person's breast. This is not surprising, if we bear in mind that the location of the soul within the human body is an issue with a long history, in both the philosophical and medical Greek traditions. Of these theories I will limit myself here to recalling the description found in Plato's Timaeus (69d-72d), in which the spirit-infused portion (τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν) of the soul is located «between the diaphragm and the neck» (70d).[16]

The particular status of the soul in these texts reinforces the suspicion that the verb we are dealing with has not always been understood in the literal sense of 'fly', but approaches the description of a psychological-emotional effect that implies a strong excitation and even loss of consciousness. The factors that might have influenced this semantic development are varied in nature. On the one hand, the magicians tried to enlarge the range of effects, and this lead to an increase in the imaginative creation of 'technical' terms. There are not only the crude terms for burning, torturing, and terms of enslavement, but also others such as the use of σκότωσον (PGM XIXa 50, PGM LXI 14-16, here with the specification μὴ γνώτω, ποῦ ἐστιν); or the participles φοβουμένη, φανταζομένη (very interesting), ἀγρυπνοῦσα (PGM VII 788); or the accumulation of physical, almost medical, effects such as λεπτή, χλωρά (remember Sappho!),[17] ἀσθενή, ἄτονα, ἀδύναμος (PGM XXXVI 357-358); or even the possibility of forgetting husband and son (Sappho again!),[18] parents, friends, as well as eating and drinking (PGM XIXa 51-52 μὴ [ἰδίῳ] ἀνδρὶ μνημονεύειν, μὴ τέκνου, μὴ ποτοῦ, μὴ βρωτοῦ; PGM LXI 28-30 [καὶ] ἐπιλάθηται πατρὸς καὶ μητ[ρό]ς, ἀδελφῶν, ἀνδρός, φίλου, π[λ]ὴν ἐμοῦ μόνου τούτων πάν[τ]ων ἐπιλάθηται). In addition, we must not lose sight of the fact that in Phaedrus (251a-b) Plato had made a paradigmatic description of the effect of contemplating τὸ κάλλος and falling in love, in terms involving the process of recovering the wings of the soul,[19] so to speak. It is superfluous to remember that the Platonic description of love will have an enormous influence, which can be traced in different directions. Allow me now to add some references to three very diverse texts that are witnesses of this Platonic influence.

The first is the spell included in PGM IV 1715-1867, entitled «The Sword of Dardanus».[20] This wonderful text illustrates the nature of these spells as witnesses of the contemporary visions of the erotic process, in a double perspective that synthesizes the 'sublime' conceptions found in philosophical trends with the elementary notions on the efficacy of the most drastic magical procedures. Both aspects are reflected as much in the indications for the *praxis* and the instructions for molding or engraving images (Eros burning Psyche and Eros embracing her), as in the different *logoi* (the requests to Eros to burn and to pressure the soul, side by side with a sublime prayer to the god). In some way the motif analyzed in this paper

[15] At this point I should like to make it clear that, after some hesitation concerning PGM IV, I fully side with Smith (2004) in rejecting that ψυχή can mean 'women's sex', as has been traditionally accepted.
[16] See Smith (2004) 206-207. Plato's theories will have a strong influence on Galen, who gives a very concise description of the location of the three parts (also called by him εἴδη and δυνάμεις) of the soul (Gal. De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis 9, 9, 7-10. See Schiefsky (2012).
[17] Fr. 31, 14-15 V. See infra, with n. 21.
[18] Fr. 16, 10-11 V.
[19] See the whole description of 251 a-b-c, with interesting coincidences with the expressions used in the love charms and the traditional erotic vocabulary.
[20] See Pachoumi (2011) and Suárez de la Torre (2012/2013).

reflects a kind of trivialization of the philosophical and poetic love visions and, at the same time, may be justified by the ambiguous status of the soul.

The second is a Plotinian quotation (6.7.22): a sublime version of the process under discussion:

> Καὶ τοίνυν ψυχὴ, λαβοῦσα εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπορροὴν, κινεῖται καὶ ἀναβακχεύεται καὶ οἴστρων πίμπλαται καὶ ἔρως γίγνεται (…). Ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἥκῃ εἰς αὐτὴν ὥσπερ θερμασία ἐκεῖθεν, ῥώννυταί τε καὶ ἐγείρεται καὶ ὄντως πτεροῦται…
>
> «Then the soul, receiving into itself an outflow from thence, is moved and dances wildly and is all stung with longing and becomes love (…). But when a kind of warmth from thence comes upon it, it gains strength and wakes and is truly winged ...» (transl. A.H. Armstrong, Loeb).

Finally, I will refer to the descriptions of the effects of passion and love we find in the Greek novel, and more concretely in Heliodoros' Aithiopika, where we find, for instance, a detailed description of the effect of falling in love at first sight in Platonic terms (3.5.4), mixed with a clear evocation of Sappho's fr. 31 V.[21]

4. Conclusion

My proposal is that the meaning of the verb ἀεροπετοῦμαι oscillates between actual flight and loss of control and conscience (compare the use of ἀεροβατῶ in modern Greek), with a flexible adaptation to the different needs and contexts: an additional effect of the ἐρωτικὴ μανία (Plato again),[22] with which the authors of these charms seem very familiar, as can be seen in the expression ἔρως μανιώδης of Suppl.Mag. I 45, 7.

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[21] ὅτε, φίλε Κνήμων, καὶ ὅτι θεῖον ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ συγγενὴς ἄνωθεν τοῖς ἔργοις ἠπιστούμεθα· ζομοῦ τε γὰρ ἀλληλους ἐώρων οἱ νέοι καὶ ἤρων, ὥσπερ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκ πρώτης ἐντεύξεως τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπιγνούσης καὶ πρὸς τὸ κατ 'ἀξίαν οἰλεῖον προσδραμούσης. «...when, dear Chemon, we knew that the soul is something divine and related from the beginning to the actions. For, as the young people saw each other, they loved each other, as if the soul recognized its fellow from the first encounter and ran towards its proper mate». See also Ach. Tat. 5.13.4, with the description of the κάλλους ἀπορροή and many other mentions of the effects of emotions on the soul.

[22] Pl. Phd. 265b.

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From *katarchai* to *ikhtiyārāt*: The Emergence of a New Arabic Document Type Combining Ephemerides and Almanacs

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1. Ancient Hemerology, Greek *katarchai*, and Indian *muhūrta*

Hemerology looks back upon a long tradition in the Eastern Mediterranean region. Lists of lucky and unlucky days exist from the second millennium BCE onwards. A Hieratic papyrus found in Lahun is the earliest such list.[1] It is a calendar in which each day is either labelled as good (*nefer*) in black, or as bad (*dju*) in red, and three days are labelled as both good and bad. Hemerology was widespread. A Linear B document is the first example in the Greek language.[2] In the Greek and Roman world, hemerology was already well-established at an early date. But these practices were based on cultic or civil calendars.[3] In Hellenistic Egypt, a new system of astrological interpretation of planetary constellations arose, first in the form of horoscopic astrology, based on the moment of birth of an individual, later, in the 1st century BCE, in a new continuous form of astrology, the καταρχαί. The first Greek author known to have written on the subject was Dorotheos of Sidon (50-100 CE).[4] The Greek text is lost, but an Arabic translation survived.[5] The καταρχαί, literally the 'beginnings', were used to determine the best time to start a particular action. In the system of Dorotheos, the future planetary position was compared with the birth horoscope of the customer.

Astrologers used astronomical year-books, called ephemerides, which listed each day of a year, grouped by month, in different calendars, the positions of Sun, Moon, planets, lunar node, and eventually daylength and altitude of the sun at noon. Twenty fragmentary ephemerides on papyrus survived.

At first these were products of mathematical astronomy and chronology without any reference to astrological concepts. This changed in the 5th century CE. In three ephemerides of this time, we find an additional column with astrological content. In P.Oxy.Astr. 4180 (465 CE), the astrological nature of the zodiacal sign of the moon is mentioned as solid, bicorporal and tropical. The quality of the day is described as bad, mean, unlucky, and in the lost part probably good.[6]

P.Vind. inv. 29370 (489 CE) lists the qualities 'good', 'bad', 'without entourage' and 'ecliptical',[7] P.Mich. inv. 1454 (467 CE) 'good', 'bad', 'mean' and 'ecliptical'.

Hellenistic astrologers were successful missionaries of their discipline, noticeable as far as India. In the *Yavanajātaka* («Nativity of the Greek»), Greek and Indian astrology were merged.[8] Two chapters are devoted to the καταρχαί, which were called *muhūrta*, literally

[1] UC 32192; Szpakowska (2010) 523; Collier / Quirke (2004) 26-27.
[2] Tn316; Ventris / Chadwick (1973) 284-286.
[3] Salzman (1990) 1-16.
[4] Jones (2008).
[5] Pingree (1976).
[6] Jones (1999) i 190-191, ii 192-199.
[7] Gerstinger / Neugebauer (1962); Jones (1994); Kreuzsaler (2015).
[8] Pingree (1978); Mak (2014) 1104.

'moment, short space of time'.[9] A similar topic was military astrology, called *yātrā* 'expedition', also contained in the *Yavanajātaka*.[10] This branch of astrology had no Greek prototype but was based on earlier Indian literature on *omina*. In the same work, a new technique of interrogations, *praśnajñāna*, 'science of question', was developed: the question of a customer was to be answered based on a horoscope cast for the time of asking.[11]

2. The *katarchai/muhūrta/ikhtiyārāt* in Arabic Astrological literature

Sanskrit works on astronomy and astrology were among the first scientific texts which were translated into Arabic in mid 8th century.[12] Another line of transmission were translations from Pahlavī into Arabic.[13] Besides the work of Dorotheos of Sidon, for example, the Anthologiae of Vettius Valens (120-184 CE) were translated from a Pahlavī version into Arabic. From the latter, a quotation concerning the καταρχαί is found in the *Kitāb al-Bāriʾ* of Ibn Abī l-Rijāl.[14] In the first half of the 9th century CE, Greek astrological works were translated into Arabic. The Tetrabiblos of Ptolemy had the greatest impact on Arabic astrology, but it only remarks occasionally on the καταρχαί. An early Arabic work on the *ikhtiyārāt* was written by Sahl Ibn Bish (c. 786-845 CE).[15] It is arranged by astrological houses, which was not the case in book five of Dorotheos of Sidon, which was organised by human activities like building a house or buying a slave. Sahl's example was influential, and the arrangement by astrological houses is found in the *Madkhal* of Kūshyār Ibn Labbān and the *Kitāb al-Bāriʾ* of Ibn Abī Rijāl.[16] The *ikhtiyārāt* were highly relevant in ordinary life, possibly higher than birth astrology. Historical accounts refer to events in which leading political figures coordinated their actions according to those astrological prognoses.[17] Most prominent was choosing the right time for the founding of Baghdad in 762 CE.[18]

3. Arabic Documentary Evidence for the *ikhtiyārāt*

The earliest documentary evidence of the *ikhtiyārāt*, as the καταρχαί were called in Arabic, is an almanac (fig. 1), P.Berol. inv. 12793 (910 CE).[19] The fragment was part of a bifolium. The type of page layout has no resemblance with any Greek astronomical document. A single page covered the data for five days. The first of the three columns shows the zodiacal signs of the sun and the planets. The middle column lists the date, the moon's position in degrees, the aspects of the moon and the astrological interpretation. In the last column the position of the moon in the lunar mansions, the time of dusk and the dates in the Persian, Roman, and Coptic calendar.

[9] Pingree (1978) ii 183-186, 402-405; Pingree (1981) 101-107.
[10] Pingree (1978) ii 174-183, 388-402; Pingree (1981) 107-108.
[11] Pingree (1978) ii 132-174, 370-388; Pingree (1981) 110-114.
[12] Thomann (2014b) 505-509.
[13] Pingree (1997) 39-62.
[14] Nallino (1922) 353.
[15] Crofts (1985).
[16] Kūshyār (1997) 236-261; Aly Aben Ragel (2005) 87-190; Albohazen (1551) 269-351.
[17] Nallino (1939-1948) 5: 38-40; Fahd (1966) 483-488.
[18] Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī (1996) 291; al-Bīrūnī (1879) 262.
[19] Thomann (2017).



Fig. 1 P.ThomannAlmanac (910 CE) Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, SPK. Photo: Sandra Steiß.

The astrological indications are more specific than those found in the Greek ephemerides. They touch on medical treatment, or the choice of important people to be addressed, topics which are common in astrological manuals. Obviously, these interpretations are based on the aspects of the moon with the sun and the planets. The aspects, σχήματα in Greek, *munāẓarāt* in Arabic, are opposition, trine, quadrature, sextile and –not counted among the aspects– conjunction. Opposition was associated with enmity, trine with compatibility, quartile with antagonism, sextile with friendship, while conjunction was considered neutral.[20] In Indian astrology, the course of the moon through the lunar mansions was used in military astrology to determine a favorable time for a military expedition. It may well be that the indications in the third column of the moon's position in the lunar mansions served the same purpose. The unusual zig-zag ornament which divides the columns is a style element in Sassanid pottery. As it seems, this document is a surviving example for an almanac in the Indo-Iranian tradition.

There is another similar example of an almanac P.Stras. inv. Ar. 419 (934/935 CE).[21] Within it, the right column corresponds to the middle column in the previous document. It contains the date, the zodiacal sign of the moon, its aspects and astrological interpretations. Additionally, the time for the particular events is recorded in hours.

In contrast to these two almanacs, the earliest Arabic ephemeris is very similar in layout to the ancient Greek ephemerides (fig. 2): P.ThomannEphemeris 931 (931/932 CE).[22] Calendrical columns, followed by columns for sun, moon, planets, lunar node, solar altitude at noon and daylength. However, there is no column for astrological indications. This seems to have been the standard, as four later ephemerides indicate (fig. 3-6): P.ThomannEphemeris 954 (954/955 CE), P.Vind. inv. A.Ch. 13577 (994 CE), P.Vind. inv. A.Ch. 32363 (1002 CE) and P.ThomannEphemeris 1026 (1026/1027 CE).[23]

[20] Abū Ma'shar *Abbreviation* III.10, Burnett / Yamamoto / Yano (1994) 41.
[21] Thomann (forthcoming).
[22] Thomann (2015a).
[23] Thomann (2013); Thomann (2014a); Thomann (2015c); Thomann (2015d); Thomann (2015e); Thomann (2015f); Thomann (forthcoming).

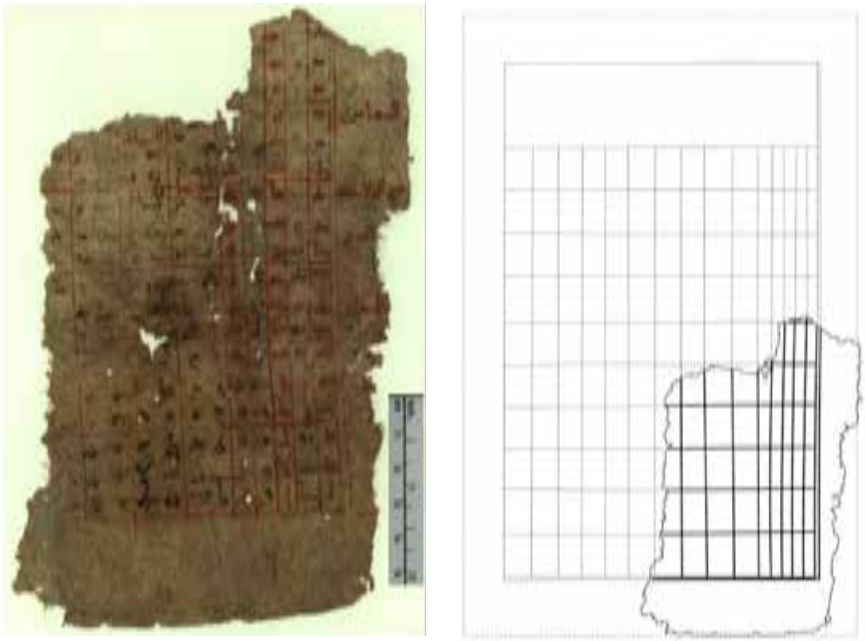


Fig. 2 P.ThomannEphemeris 931 (931 CE)

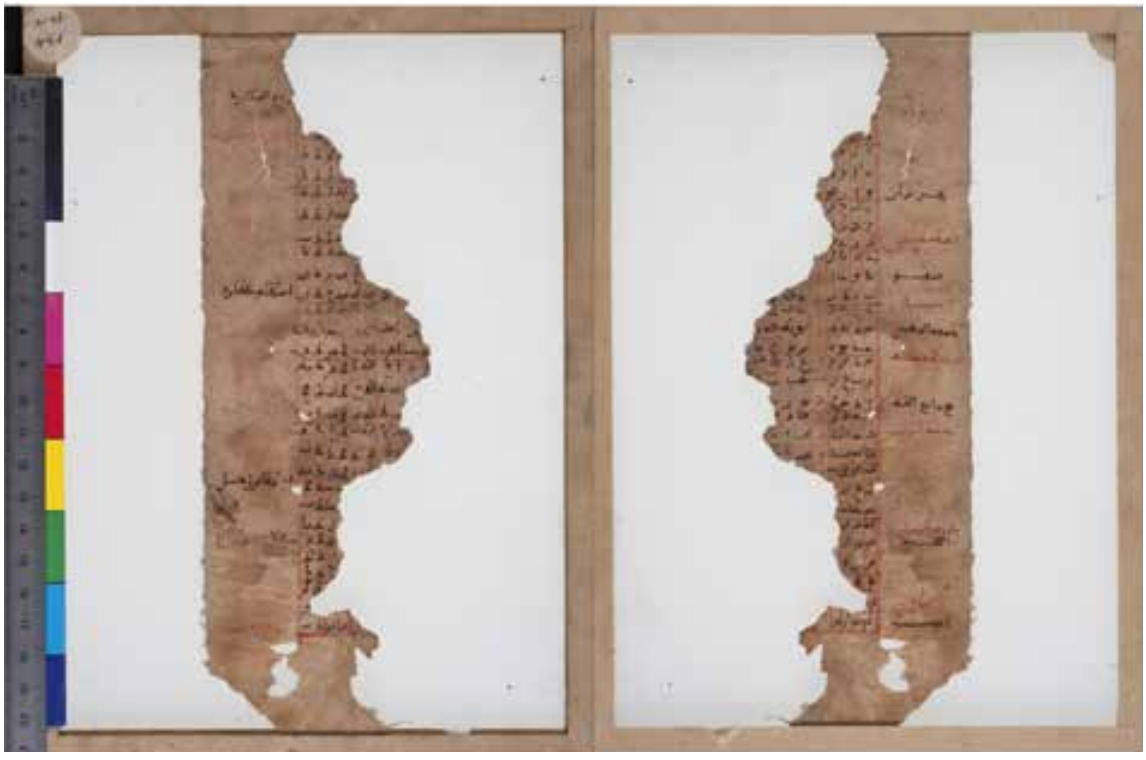


Fig. 3 P.ThomannEphemeris 954 (954 CE)

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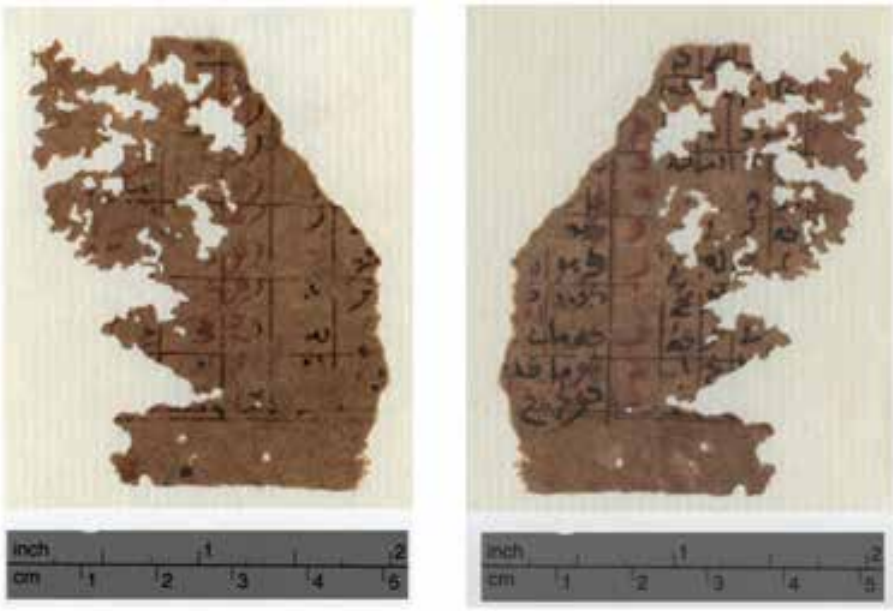


Fig. 4 P.Vind. inv.A.Ch. 13577 (994 CE)



Fig. 5 P.Vind. inv. A.Ch.32363 (1002 CE)



Fig. 6 P.ThomannEphemeris 1026 (1026 CE)

4. The Underlying Theory of the *ikhtiyārat* in Documents

The procedures which led to the astrological interpretations in the Arabic ephemerides and almanacs are not described in the standard manuals on astrology, but there is a very short treatise attributed to al-Kindī which describes in brief terms the method how to compile such daily recommendations of actions.[24] Depending on the aspects of the moon with the sun and the planets, actions which correspond with the planets' character are recommended. No warnings are given, since only the harmonious aspects trine and sextile are taken into consideration.

The actions which are recommended by al-Kindī appear very similar in the almanacs and ephemerides. In the almanac for 1149/1150 CE for instance (fig. 7), the moon in sextile to the sun is said to be favorable for speaking to the king, and the same is found in al-Kindī. Moon in sextile to Mercury is said to be favorable for speaking to the secretaries, a statement also found in al-Kindī. In the case of Mercury, the harmonious aspect of sextile is crucial. If the moon is in opposition to Mercury, it is said to be unfavorable for speaking to the secretaries. In contrast, when the moon is in opposition to benevolent Jupiter, the recommendation is favorable for drinking medicine. The same is found in al-Kindī, but restricted to sextile and trine. The underlying implications of the almanacs' and ephemerides' interpretations seem to be the following: Aspects to benevolent planets are always good. Harmonious aspects to the other planets are also good. Only inharmonious aspects to the non-benevolent planets are bad. The entire system is a straightforward combination of standard elements in astrology.

A Greek text "On ephemerides" of unknown origin has been found, transmitted together with Theon's Commentary on Ptolemy's Handy tables, which contains a passage on how to derive the general καταρχαί (καθολικαὶ καταρχαί) from the moon's aspects with the planets.[25] The text was probably written in the 5th century CE.[26] The rules differ from the rules of al-Kindī. But the judgments ἀγαθή and φαύλη correspond to those found in the ephemerides. It remains to be seen if the rules apply to the data in detail. There is another similar Greek text in a Paris MS.[27]

5. The Social Context of the *ikhtiyārāt*

None of the documents mentioned so far were found during a regular excavation. Documents from the Geniza were displaced from where they were used. All the more important is a note in the final report of the al-Fustat excavation in 1980. A document described as astrological responses was found in room IV-6B.[28] The house to which this room belongs is part of the worker's quarter. These houses are characterized by a lack of ornaments and highly unstable construction. Their inhabitants must have belonged to an underprivileged class of people in comparison to inhabitants of other quarters in al-Fustat. The fact that an astrological document was found at such a place indicates that astrology was not restricted to the elite or a bourgeois milieu but found its way to the houses of the proletarians.[29]

[24] MS Leiden UB, Or. 199; German translation: Wiedemann (1912).
[25] Delambre (1817) 635-637; Halma (1825) 38-42; Curtis / Robbins (1934) 83; Tihon (1978) 359.
[26] Personal communication by Alexander Jones.
[27] MS BnF gr. 2425 (unpublished); I owe this information to Alexander Jones.
[28] Richards (1989) 68.
[29] Scanlon (1997) 367.



Fig. 7 P.ThomannEphemeris 1149 (1149 CE) © Cambridge University Library

6. The Emergence of a New Type of Document Containing *ikhtiyārāt*

A new type is presented in the ephemeris (fig. 8) P.Vind. inv. A.Ch.1252 + P.Vind. inv. A.Ch.14324 (1044/1045 CE).[30] The astrological part occupies an entire page facing the page with the astronomical data. For each month, a double page features the astronomical data on the right and the astrological data on the left. The left page has a title with the word *ikhtiyārāt*, written in eastern Kufi. One can assume that there was at least an additional column to the right for the identification of the day.

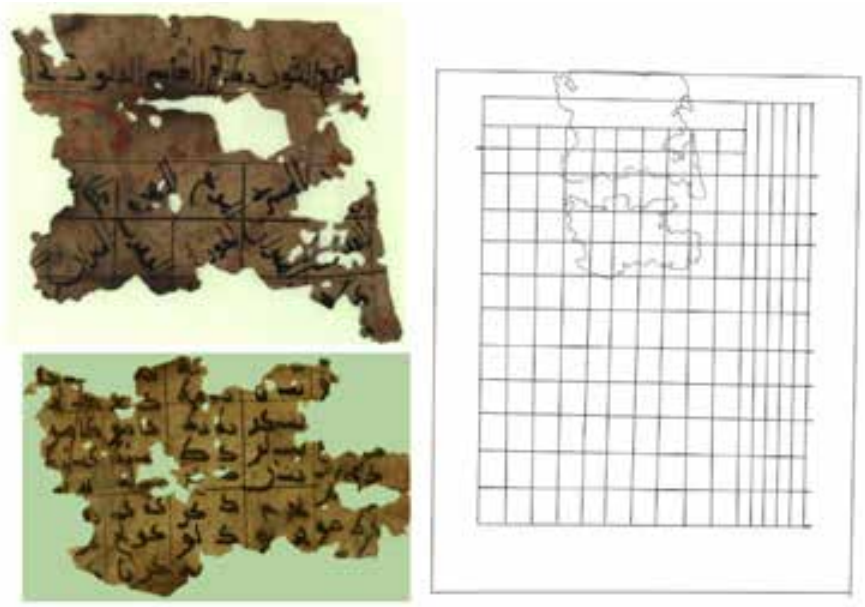


Fig. 8 P.Vind. inv. A.Ch.1252 + P.Vind. inv. A.Ch.14324 (1044 CE)

An entire folio of an ephemeris (fig. 7) P.Cambridge UL inv. Michael. Chartae D 58 (1149/1150 CE) allows us to reconstruct the layout of a double page of this type.[31] The main title is The elections of the days (*ikhtiyārāt al-ayyām*). Above it, two lines indicate the Arabic calendar, the lunar mansion and the lunar latitude. The two columns to the right contain the names of the weekdays and the moon as the subject of the phrases in the third column. This wide column contains the astrological data, the zodiacal sign of the moon, the aspects, their time and the astrological interpretation. Some interpretations are general, like auspicious, inauspicious or mixed. Others are more specific, like inauspicious for speaking to the secretaries, auspicious for acquiring and dressing in new clothing, or [auspicious] for addressing women and eunuchs. If no aspects correspond, the standard phrase is «a day of rest, quietness, and comfort». This means ‘don’t do or begin anything important’.

All documents shown so far were found in Egypt, but there are two unpublished fragments of an ephemeris for 1182/1183 CE, which was produced for a geographical latitude far north of Egypt. The fragments were found in a bookbinding, but no information of their origin is available. They are kept in the Islamisches Museum in Berlin (no inventory number). The layout of its astrological part is more complex. The first column contains the lunar mansions, the second the time when the moon enters a new zodiacal sign, and the third the zodiacal sign. The fourth column is filled with single letters and a few words like ‘before’, ‘morning’, and ‘dawn’, which seem to indicate the time during the day. The single letters are

[30] Thomann (2015g); Thomann (forthcoming).
[31] Thomann (2015b).

abbreviations for the planets and the aspects, using the last letter respectively. The same holds true for the fourth column, which contains data for nighttime. No astrological interpretation is given. A similar system of abbreviations is found in the almanac NJS ENA 2982.14 (1233/1234) from the Cairo Geniza (unpublished). In that case, the zodiacal signs and the times of the aspects are indicated by Indian numerals.

In contrast to ephemerides, almanacs do not contain the daily positions of the Sun and the planets, but rather give the zodiacal sign of the moon for each day. The almanac (fig. 9) P.Vind. inv. A.Ch. 1488 (990/991 CE) is a predecessor for the later almanacs in the Geniza.[32] The layout of its pages is as follows: the first 16 days of a Coptic month in a two-column table on the right, and the remaining 14 days in another two-column table on the left. The first column contains the name of the weekday, and the second the zodiacal sign of the moon, the planetary aspects and astrological judgments.

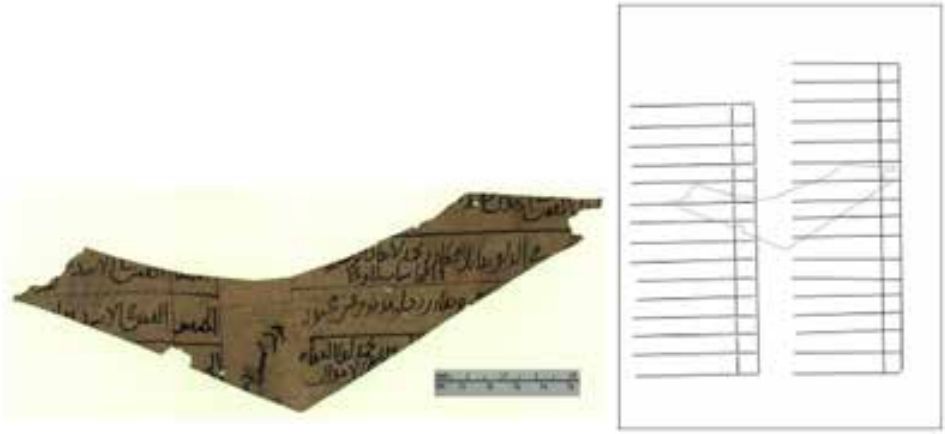


Fig. 9 P.Vind. inv. A.Ch. 1488 (990 CE)

In the almanac PSI. inv. Arab. ins. 5-325a (1128/1129 CE) the layout has changed to one table with thirty rows for the days of a month (unpublished). One column contains the days of the week, the second the word moon, as the subject of the phrases following in column three, which features the zodiacal sign, the aspects with their times of the day and the astrological interpretation. It resembles the oldest almanac from the Geniza T-S Ar. 41:103 (1131/1132 CE).[33] This underlines the cross-cultural character of astrology.

7. The Later History of the New Document Type and its Transmission to the West

This new type became the standard format in the Islamic world, as can be seen in the earliest completely preserved astronomical yearbook of 1329 CE, produced in Yemen.[34] In the Ottoman Empire, it remained standard format with minor alterations until the 19th century.[35] The format was used in a Byzantine Almanac for Trebizond in the year 1336 (fig. 10), again with one page for the astronomical data of one month, and the facing page with the καταρχαί.[36] The same format was also adopted in medieval Western Europe. A Latin ephemeris of the 13th century CE (fig. 11) has exactly this style (MS Paris, BnF lat. 16210) (unpublished).

[32] Thomann (2015h).
[33] Goldstein / Pingree (1979) 155-161.
[34] King (2004) 421.
[35] Kurz (2007); Kut (2007) 199-279; (2012) 517-536; Orthmann (2013) 46.
[36] Mercier (1994).

The same layout also continued to be used in the age of printing. It is still found in the Ephemerides of Johannes Kepler (fig. 12).[37]

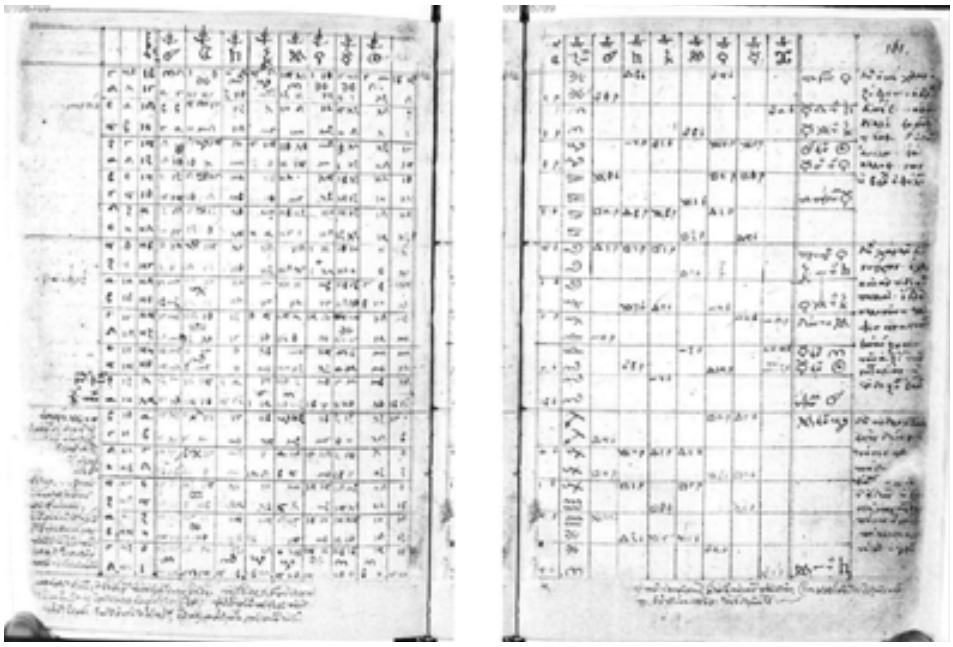


Fig. 10 MS Munich BVB cod. graec. 525. Source: www.digitale-sammlungen.de

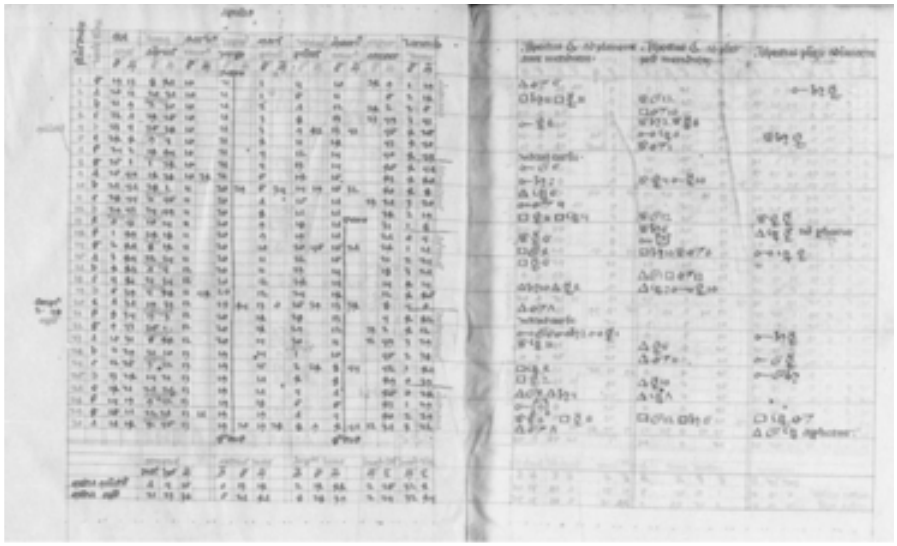


Fig. 11 MS Paris, BnF lat. 16210. Source: gallica.bnf.fr/BnF

8. Conclusion

The Arabic revival of Greek astronomy and astrology was both an act of tradition and an act of innovation. Greek type ephemerides reappeared after a break of five centuries in Islamic Egypt. At about the same time, almanacs of the Indo-Persian tradition were in use. In the 11th century a new document type combining the layout typical to ephemerides with that to almanacs with the *ikhtiyārāt* on a double-page was created. This new type became the standard format in the Islamic world until the end of the Ottoman Empire. The same type was also adopted in medieval Western Europe, and continued to be the standard format in the age of printing up to the 17th century. The double-page layout with ephemerides on the left side

[37] Kepler (1617).

and the astrological aspect on the right side illustrates that modern European science was only in part based on Greek scientific tradition. It was in equal parts based on Arabic tradition.

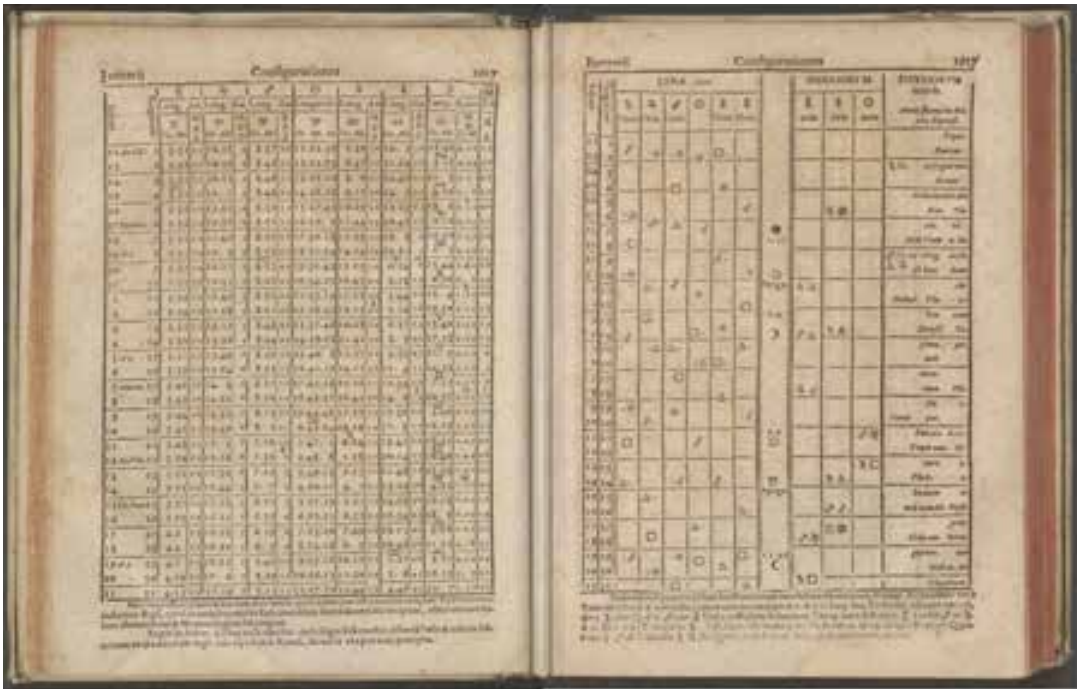


Fig. 12 Johannes Kepler, Ephemerides 1617

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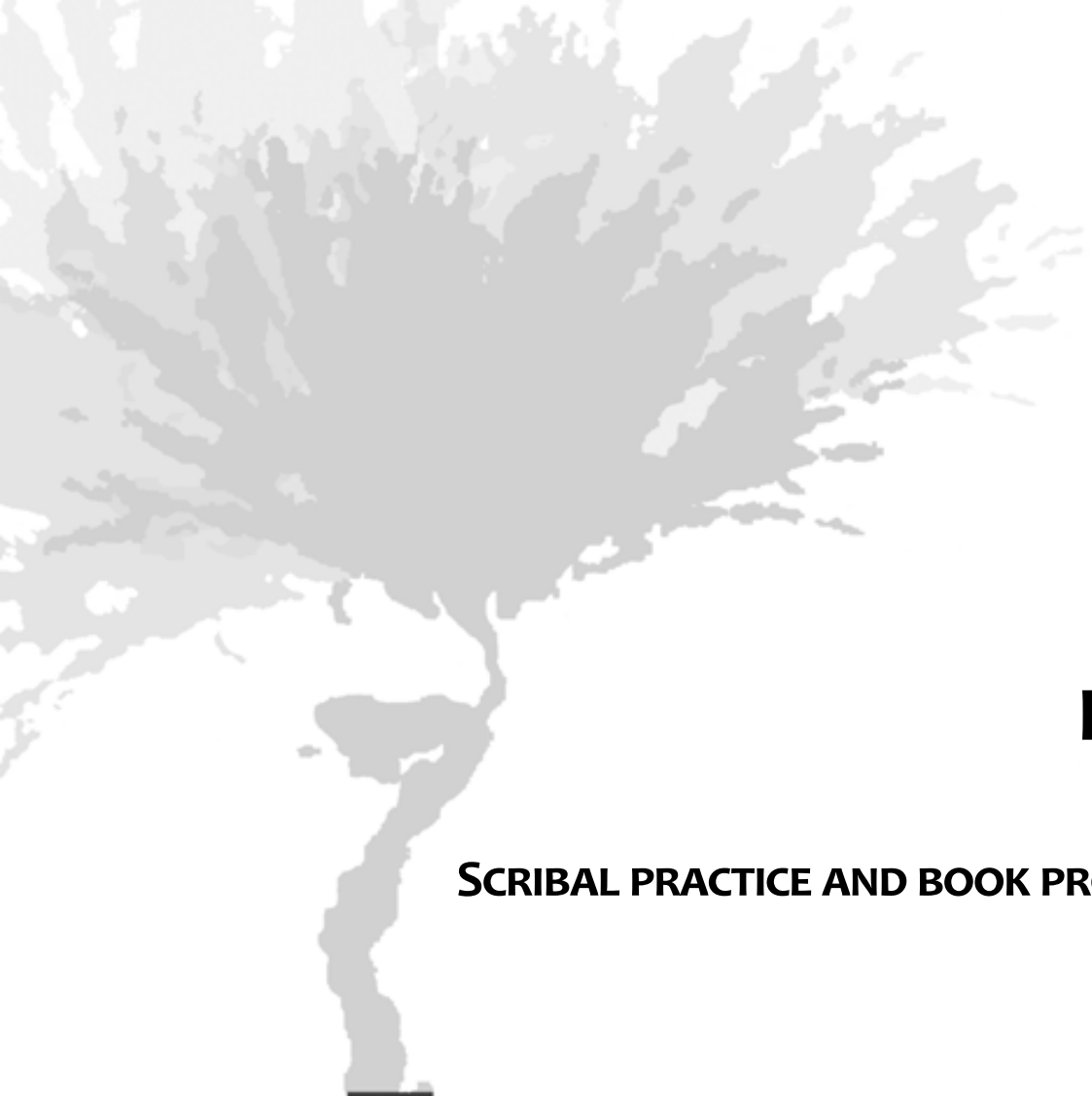
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PART V

SCRIBAL PRACTICE AND BOOK PRODUCTION

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Les rouleaux composites répertoriés dans le Catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins du CEDOPAL

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Les rouleaux littéraires composites préfigurent-ils les codices miscellanei? Il y a trente ans, A. Petrucci répondait par la négative.[1] Pour lui, le livre antique sous forme de rouleau est un livre unitaire. Il n'existe pas de rouleaux de papyrus miscellanés. Ainsi faut-il exclure du monde des livres le papyrus Didot du Louvre du II^e^ siècle av. J.-C. (P.Louvre inv. 7171 + 7172 = MP^3 31 = LDAB 1048 = TM 59936) contenant des textes divers d'Eschyle, d'Euripide, de Ménandre et de Posidippe de Pella écrits au recto et au verso à des moments différents et avec une telle maladresse que l'on peut les considérer comme des exercices scolaires. Il en va de même du P.Lond. inv. 133-134 (MP^3 337 + 1234), daté des II^e^/I^er^ siècles av. J.-C., qui contient de l'Hypéride et du Démosthène, mais où le texte de la Lettre 3 de ce dernier a été ajouté après quelque temps par une autre main dans l'espace laissé vide par le premier texte. C'est encore le cas, écrit-il, du fameux rouleau contenant la Constitution d'Athènes d'Aristote et quelques autres textes de nature scolaire (P.Lond. inv. 131 = MP^3 197 + 307 + 163 = LDAB 462 + 611 + 391 = TM 59363 + 59294 + 59510) car, comme l'a expliqué E.G. Turner,[2] il s'agit d'un rouleau réutilisé, dans lequel les différents textes littéraires ont été transcrits dans des temps, modes et espaces différents, par plus d'une main. De même, d'après E. Crisci,[3] qui se situe dans la ligne d'A. Petrucci, des facteurs d'ordre technique, mais surtout des habitudes culturelles consolidées, ont pour des siècles lié le rouleau de papyrus à une rigoureuse homogénéité de contenu, qu'il s'agisse d'un seul auteur, d'une seule oeuvre ou d'une section d'une oeuvre plus importante ou de plusieurs oeuvres d'un même auteur lorsque leur taille le permet. C'est beaucoup plus rarement que sont transcrits dans un seul et même rouleau des textes d'auteurs ou de contenu littéraire différents, souvent dans un but scolaire. En revanche, à la différence du rouleau, la structure même du codex lui permet de réunir des textes hétérogènes, d'auteurs, de genre littéraire et de typologie différents.

L'expression 'rouleau composite' appliquée à un papyrus littéraire apparaît pourtant dès les débuts de la papyrologie, en 1898, sous la plume de F.G. Kenyon, dans le volume 2 du catalogue des papyrus grecs du British Museum.[4] On lit en effet dans la description du P.Lond. inv. 256: «Recto. A composite roll, made out of several pieces of papyrus, originally distinct, and containing the following distinct documents (...)». Suit la description des textes écrits au recto, dans le sens des fibres (→), par différentes mains. Ils comprennent non seulement quatre documents relatifs à la fourniture du blé pour semence aux δημόσιοι

[1] Petrucci (1986) 175: «Il libro antico era dunque, come si è detto, un libro unitario; il che è naturale, trattandosi di un libro costituito da rotoli di papiro. Il primo quesito da porsi era, comunque, proprio questo: esistono rotoli papiracei miscellanei? La risposta, allo stato attuale della documentazione da me raccolta, è sicuramente negativa».
[2] Turner (1977) 82.
[3] Crisci (2004).
[4] Kenyon (1898) XXIV et 95-99. L'expression 'composite roll' est reproduite dans la notice du P.Lond.Lit. 62 par Milne (1927) 47.

γεωργοί du nome arsinoïte, écrits par des mains différentes et datés entre 5 et 15 ap. J.-C., dont l'un se présente tête-bêche, mais aussi une épigramme de 14 lignes en l'honneur d'Auguste, vainqueur de la bataille d'Actium, écrite par une autre main appartenant à la première moitié du I^er^ siècle (P.Lond. Lit. 62 = MP^3^ 1853.1 = LDAB 4324 = TM 63120).[5] D'après H. Lloyd-Jones et P. Parsons,[6] suivis par T. Dorandi,[7] le poème pourrait même être autographe si l'on prend en compte ce qui ressemble à une correction d'auteur, à savoir la substitution d'un adjectif (Κ̣ρ̣ο̣ν̣ί̣δαο) à un autre (μεγάλοιο) à la ligne 13. Quant au verso, écrit dans le sens contraire aux fibres (↓), il est entièrement occupé par les restes de plusieurs discours, –au moins trois, très endommagés–, qui doivent être des exercices de rhétorique, car ils ne contiennent aucun nom de personne (P.Lond.Lit. 138 = MP^3^ 2515 = LDAB 4325 = TM 63121). La main, semi-cursive, paraît dater du I^er^ siècle. Dans la description du papyrus, Kenyon évoque encore «the very miscellaneous nature of its contents»,[8] qui, selon lui, s'explique par le fait que chacune des pièces existait originellement séparément avant qu'elles soient assemblées en vue de recevoir les textes de rhétorique sur l'autre face. Pour S. Barbantani, qui a réédité l'épigramme encomiastique en l'honneur d'Auguste en 1998, le rouleau, qui mesure environ 28 cm de haut sur 127 cm de long (et peut-être même 158 cm si les fragments sont comptabilisés), est un τόμος συγκολλήσιμος, dont on ne sait cependant s'il a été assemblé expressément pour recevoir les discours sur l'autre face ou s'il a été acquis, déjà formé, par un aspirant rhéteur.[9] Pour notre part, nous doutons qu'il s'agisse d'un τόμος συγκολλήσιμος au sens restreint,[10] puisque les documents du recto, s'ils proviennent effectivement de la même archive, ne sont pas classés dans l'ordre chronologique, ni numérotés, et que l'un d'eux, dont une partie porte un texte littéraire (P.Lond.Lit. 62 = MP^3^ 1853.1), peut-être autographe, écrit tête-bêche par rapport au texte documentaire, a été collé tête en bas par rapport aux autres documents, sans doute parce que la disposition du poème a conditionné la présentation et le sens de la feuille de papyrus au moment de l'assemblage en rouleau de l'ensemble des pièces, en vue de son utilisation à des fins littéraires sur l'autre face pour des exercices de rhétorique.

L'adjectif 'composite' est une dénomination neutre, qui peut rendre compte, soit d'un support composite, par assemblage de coupons de papyrus ou de sections de rouleaux de papyrus, soit d'un contenu composite, par assemblage de textes divers, soit documentaires, soit documentaires et littéraires, soit littéraires de natures diverses (auteurs et/ou oeuvres différents, textes en poésie et en prose, oeuvres transmises par la tradition et compositions autographes, etc.). C'est cette dernière catégorie qui est examinée ici à partir des quelques

[5] L'*editio princeps* du P.Lond.Lit. 62 a également pour auteur Kenyon (1895) 177-179. Elle est suivie de remarques sur le contenu par Weil (1895).
[6] Lloyd-Jones / Parsons (1983) 496-497 (no. 982).
[7] Dorandi (2007) 49 et n. 18, 59. Le P.Lond.Lit. 62 ne fait pas partie de la liste des autographes répertoriés dans l'édition française antérieure de l'ouvrage de Dorandi (2000) 53-60.
[8] Kenyon (1898) 95.
[9] Barbantani (1998). La même hypothèse selon laquelle le rouleau serait un τόμος συγκολλήσιμος, est évoquée par Russo (2013); voir aussi Stramaglia (2010) 146-147 n. 97; Puglia (2013) 41-43. Le P.Lond. inv. 256 semble bien appartenir à la même archive que le P.Vindob. inv. G 39966 (MP^3^ 1089.1 = LDAB 4408 = TM 63203), qui contient notamment une liste d'oeuvres d'auteurs classiques, écrite au verso (↓) de doc. (→), sur laquelle voir Otranto (2000) 9-15 et pl. II (no. 3).
[10] À propos du P.Lond. inv. 256, Puglia (2013) 41, parle d'ailleurs d'«una sorta di τόμος συγκολλήσιμος». Sur ce type de rouleau, voir surtout Clarysse (2003), pour qui les τόμοι συγκολλήσιμοι stricto sensu (II^e^ siècle av. J.-C. - IV^e^ siècle ap. J.-C.) présentent généralement les caractéristiques suivantes: 1) documents originaux (et non copies); 2) doc. présentant un facteur commun comme la nature du doc., doc. reçus ou effectués par un seul office, ou doc. relatifs à un seul cas; 3) doc. officiels et non privés (généralement non collés ensemble); 4) le type le plus commun est celui des déclarations; 5) doc. généralement agencés selon un ordre logique (chronologique, alphabétique, topographique); 6) numérotation fréquente des feuilles individuelles après collage afin de faciliter le repérage.

exemplaires de ce type répertoriés dans le Catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins du CEDOPAL. Comme dans la plupart des bases de données, les informations fournies dans les notices MP^3, en ce compris la dénomination 'rouleau composite', proviennent généralement des éditions des papyrus ou des commentaires qui leur ont été consacrés. Si, dans le module de requêtes de la base de données Mertens-Pack^3 des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins du CEDOPAL,[11] on sélectionne le champ «commentaire codicologique» et le mot «composite», on trouvera 19 notices, dont 15 concernent des rouleaux littéraires (MP^3 31, 168.02, 170, 197, 401, 426, 1319, 1320, 1349, 1435, 1592, 1698, 1735, 1853.1, 2515), 3, des codices (MP^3 494, 1599 et 1801), tandis que la dernière est relative au P.Lips. inv. 249 (MP^3 2555, provenance inconnue, II^e siècle, 14 x 26 cm),[12] qui contient un texte relevant de l'art oratoire (d'une école de rhétorique?) écrit au verso (↓) d'un fragment de rouleau composite où un document et un horoscope sont notés dans le sens des fibres (→).[13] À notre connaissance, c'est le seul rouleau composite répertorié par la Leuven Database of Ancient Books,[14] sous le no. 4470 (TM 63265).[15] Néanmoins, pour le type de recherche entreprise ici, ce papyrus ne peut être pris en compte, puisqu'il ne contient qu'un seul texte littéraire *stricto sensu*, sur la face aux fibres verticales. La liste des 15 notices relatives à des rouleaux littéraires composites comprend donc 1) P.Didot 18-24 (P.Louvre inv. 7171 + 7172 = MP^3 31 = LDAB 1048 = TM 59936), Aeschylus, Kares vel Europa (?) (ex. scol.), 2) P.Artemid. (MP^3 168.02 = LDAB 7132 = TM 65868), Artemidorus (< Ephesus), Geographia 2, avec une carte, ainsi que d'autres dessins, 3) P.Strassb. inv. WG 304-307 (MP^3 170 = LDAB 1051 = TM 59939), Astydamas (?), Hector (?), 4) P.Lond.Lit. 181 (Brit. Libr. inv. 131, 2r, Scholia Londiniensia = MP^3 197 = LDAB 462 = TM 59363), Scholies à Callimachus, Aetia 1, 5) P.Didot 16-18 (P.Louvre inv. 7171 + 7172 = MP^3 401 = LDAB 1048 = TM 59936), Euripides, Medea 5-12 (ex. scol.), 6) P.Strassb. inv. WG 304-307 (MP^3 426 = LDAB 1051 = TM 59939), Euripides, Phoenissae 1500-1527, 1529-1542, 1544-1569, 1572-1581, 1710-1712, 1715-1716, 1718-1719, 1721-1723, 1725-1734 (om. 1732), 1736; Medea 844-865, 977-981, 1087-1115, 1251-1292, 1389-1419 (nombreuses lacunae; desunt 1277-8, 1288-9, 1396, 1406-14), Melanippa Desmotis (?) ou Ino (?) (anthologie de parties lyriques provenant de trois pièces), 7) P.Didot 2-15 (P.Louvre inv. 7172 = MP^3 1319 = LDAB 1048 = TM 59936), Menander (?), Adelphoe I? (44 vers), 8) P.Didot 25-28 (P.Louvre inv. 7172 = MP^3 1320 = LDAB 1048 = TM 59936), Menander (?), (Hypobolimaeus?) (c. 15 vers), 9) P.Strassb. inv. WG 307v (MP^3 1349 = LDAB 1051 = TM 59939), Phoenix (< Colophon) (?), Vers choliambiques, 10) P.Didot 28-34 (P.Louvre inv. 7172 = MP^3 1435 = LDAB 1048 = TM 59936), Posidippus (< Pella), Épigrammes sur le Phare d'Alexandrie et sur le temple d'Arsinoé-Aphrodite Zephyritis (avec un titre ajouté plus tard), 11) P.Strassb. inv. WG 306-307v (MP^3 1592 = LDAB 1051 = TM 59939), Anthologie de poésie, 12) P.Strassb. inv. WG 307v (col. i. 30-ii. 3, MP^3 1698 = LDAB 1051 = TM 59939), Comédie hellénistique (?) (enkômion d'un officier) ou épigramme, 13) P.Strassb. inv. WG 304 (MP^3 1735 = LDAB 1051 = TM 59939), Tragédie?, 14) P.Lond.Lit. 62 (Brit. Libr. inv. 256 = MP^3 1853.1 [antea 1762] = LDAB 4324 = TM 63120), Épigramme encomiastique en l'honneur d'Auguste à Actium, 15) P.Lond.Lit. 138 (Brit. Libr. inv. 256 = MP^3 2515 = LDAB 4325 = TM 63121), Trois déclamations et trois progymnasmata.

[11] http://cipl93.philo.ulg.ac.be/Cedopal/MP3/dbsearch.aspx.
[12] Le P.Lips. inv. 249 (MP^3 2555) a été édité par Blass (1904).
[13] Voir http://papyri.uni-leipzig.de/receive/UBLPapyri_schrift_00002600,
http://papyri.uni-leipzig.de/receive/UBLPapyri_text_00002601.
et http://papyri.uni-leipzig.de/receive/UBLPapyri_text_00002602.
[14] http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/index.php.
[15] http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?quick=4470.

Comme, pour l'élaboration des notices et leur classement, la base de données Mertens-Pack[3] du CEDOPAL se fonde, non sur le critère bibliologique, mais sur celui du contenu, à savoir l'auteur et l'œuvre, s'ils sont connus, sinon, le sous-genre auquel appartient le texte littéraire écrit sur le papyrus, ces 15 notices correspondent en fait aux 5 entités bibliologiques suivantes.

1. Le P.Louvre inv. 7171 + 7172 (P.Didot = MP^3 31 + 401 + 1319 + 1320 + 1435 = LDAB 1048 = TM 59936) mesure 1.08 m de long sur 16.5 cm de haut. Daté de c.160 av. J.-C., il appartient à l'archive des reclus du Sérapéum de Memphis,[16] à savoir Ptolémaios (né vers 200 et reclus entre 170 et 150) et Apollonios (né en 175 et reclus entre 164 et 158), fils de Glaukias. Il se présente comme un rouleau de papyrus composite et opisthographe écrit en plusieurs phases par trois mains différentes: celle d'un scripteur anonyme et celles des deux frères. Au recto (→), il porte 7 colonnes, dont les 6 premières (i-vi) sont littéraires et la dernière (vii), documentaire. Écrites par une main anonyme, les col. i-iii (P.Didot 2-15 = P.Louvre inv. 7172 = MP^3 1319) contiennent 44 vers (voir l'indication stichométrique στίχοι μδ notée sous la col. iii) qui, bien qu'attribués à Euripide dans le papyrus (titre précédant la col. i et ligne écrite par Apollonios au bas de la col. iii), semblent plutôt provenir d'une comédie, peut-être les Frères (Adelphoe) I de Ménandre. De la main d'Apollonios, les col. iv-vi conservent trois extraits d'auteurs différents: 8 vers du début (5-12) de la Médée d'Euripide (P.Didot 16-18 = P.Louvre inv. 7171 + 7172 = MP^3 401), 23 vers des Cariens ou Europe d'Eschyle (P.Didot 18-24 = P.Louvre inv. 7171 + 7172 = MP^3 31) et 15 vers d'une pièce de la nouvelle comédie (P.Didot 25-28 = P.Louvre inv. 7172 = MP^3 1320), – peut-être l'Hypobolimaeus de Ménandre –, suivis de trois mots énigmatiques se succédant sur trois lignes, «Aristôn philosophe, leçons» (Ἀρίστων | φιλόσοφος | μαθήματα). La col. vii, documentaire, contient un compte de livraison de pain en faveur des jumelles Thagès et Thaous écrit par Ptolémaios, l'aîné des deux frères (UPZ I 56). C'est ce document qui a permis la datation du rouleau et son rattachement à l'archive des reclus du Sérapéum de Memphis. Exclusivement littéraire, le verso (↓) porte 4 colonnes de la main de Ptolémaios, écrites tête-bêche par rapport au recto, au revers des col. ii à vi. L'espace au dos des col. i et vii du recto a été laissé blanc. Les col. i-iii contiennent une copie très fautive du premier extrait du recto, tandis que la col. iv conserve deux épigrammes de Posidippe de Pella (P.Didot 28-34 = P.Louvre inv. 7172 = MP^3 1435), sur le Phare d'Alexandrie et sur le temple d'Arsinoé-Aphrodite Zephyritis (avec un titre ajouté plus tard). Après analyse du contenu littéraire et de la mise en page du P.Didot, F. Pordomingo l'a caractérisé comme une anthologie comprenant non seulement des passages de comédie, mais aussi des extraits d'Euripide et d'Eschyle et deux épigrammes de Posidippe, dont le but n'est pas scolaire au sens restreint, mais plutôt éducationnel au sens large.[17] Quant au caractère composite du rouleau, à notre avis, il se justifie pleinement, sinon dans le support qui, à la différence du P.Lond. inv. 256, ne résulte pas d'un assemblage de pièces, du moins dans l'utilisation de celui-ci, sur les deux faces, dont l'une, tête-bêche, par trois mains différentes, dans le caractère du contenu, à la fois documentaire et littéraire, et, pour ce qui est du contenu littéraire, dans la variété des textes qui, s'ils relèvent tous de poésie, sont d'auteurs (Ménandre?, Euripide, Eschyle, Posidippe), de genres (comédie, tragédie, poésie lyrique) et d'époques (classique et hellénistique) différents.

2. Le P.Artemid. (MP^3 168.02 = LDAB 7132 = TM 65868),[18] dont l'authenticité est controversée,[19] a été extrait d'un cartonnage. Tel qu'il a été restauré, il mesure 2.50 m de long

[16] Legras (2011) 193-214.
[17] Pordomingo (2013) 209, 258-276 et pl. IX A-B (no. 38).
[18] Gallazzi / Kramer / Settis (2008).
[19] Voir not. Canfora (2011).

sur 32.5 cm de haut et pourrait provenir d'Antaioupolis en Haute-Égypte. Contenant non seulement le début du livre 2 de la Géographie d'Artémidore d'Éphèse (activité vers 100 av. J.-C.), consacré à la péninsule ibérique (y compris le fr. 21 Stiehle), mais aussi une carte géographique, ainsi que des dessins de têtes humaines, de mains, de pieds et d'animaux, dont certains fabuleux, ce rouleau composite et opisthographe semble avoir été utilisé par des mains différentes, en plusieurs phases successives échelonnées entre le I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. et le I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C., d'abord, au recto (→), pour un traité de géographie illustré d'une carte, puis, au verso (↓), comme livre de modèles avec des dessins d'animaux, et enfin, sur les parties laissées blanches au recto (→), comme album pour des études de têtes humaines et de parties du corps.[20]

3. Le P.Strassb. inv. WG 304-307 (MP^3 170 + 426 + 1349 + 1592 +1698 + 1735 = LDAB 1051 = TM 59939) est composé d'un ensemble de fragments extraits d'un cartonnage. Son contenu intrigue les chercheurs[21] depuis sa première publication, il y a près de cent ans. Provenant d'Hibeh[22] et daté de 250 à 150 av. J.-C., il se présente comme un rouleau composite et opisthographe utilisé en plusieurs phases par deux ou peut-être même trois mains différentes.[23] Si le recto (→), qui porte au moins 4 colonnes de 24 cm de haut pour une largeur équivalente (les vers y sont notés comme de la prose), contient une anthologie de passages lyriques provenant de tragédies d'Euripide (MP^3 426) et d'un autre auteur qui pourrait être Astydamas (MP^3 170), –c'est le no. 5, classé parmi les anthologies théâtrales, du corpus de F. Pordomingo–,[24] le verso (↓), écrit par une autre main, conserve des extraits en vers surtout iambiques et choliambiques (MP^3 1349 + 1592 + 1698 + 1735), dont l'attribution est incertaine, –c'est le no. 32, classé parmi les anthologies miscellanées, du corpus de F. Pordomingo.[25] Etant donné qu'il a été écrit en plusieurs phases, à la fois au recto et au verso, par deux ou peut-être même trois mains différentes, et qu'il porte des textes poétiques de nature différente sur les deux faces, le rouleau mérite son épithète de 'composite'.

4. Le cas du Brit.Libr. inv. 131 (MP^3 197 + 307 + 163 = LDAB 462 + 611 + 391 = TM 59363 + 59294 + 59510)[26] est quelque peu différent, puisqu'il concerne un ensemble de quatre morceaux de rouleau originellement documentaires totalisant une longueur d'environ 5.7 m. C'est le célèbre papyrus de la Constitution d'Athènes d'Aristote (P.Lond.Lit. 108 = MP^3 163 = LDAB 391 = TM 59510), qui a été écrite, par quatre mains différentes, au verso (↓) de quatre morceaux de rouleau portant, au recto (→), les comptes d'une propriété foncière de la région d'Hermopolis pour les années 78 et 79 ap. J.-C. Comme l'a récemment relevé R. Otranto,[27] le premier d'entre eux, qui mesure 2.2 m de long sur 28 cm de haut, est un rouleau composite et opisthographe, puisqu'il porte, au verso du registre de comptes, non

[20] Voir la mise au point de Marcotte (2010).
[21] Voir not. Parsons (1996); une reconstruction du P.Strassb. inv. WG 304-307 a été proposée par Fassino (1999).
[22] Sur cette provenance, voir Falivene (2010), selon qui deux autres anthologies proviendraient de la même archive: P.Hamb. II 118-119 (MP^3 452.1 = Pordomingo (2013) no. 6, III/II^a, ↓ [→ doc.]), contenant des prologues de tragédies d'Euripide, et P.Hamb. II 121 (MP^3 1621 = Pordomingo (2013) no. 36, II^a, ↓ [→ doc.]), contenant des extraits de poésie.
[23] Fassino (1999) 3: «Una menzione a parte merita il fr. 304 B (Pack^2 170), sul cui recto una mano diversa da quella che ha vergato i brani euripidei ha trascritto alcuni trimetri tragici, attribuiti in genere all'Ettore di Astidamante. L'assegnazione di questo frammento allo stesso rotolo dell'antologia lirica, messa in dubbio da Lewis, si basa sull'identità delle scritture del verso: essa è affermata da Snell, ma la scarsa porzione di testo leggibile sul verso e l'assenza di lettere caratteristiche devono indurre alla cautela».
[24] Pordomingo (2013) 80-93 (no. 5).
[25] Pordomingo (2013) 217-224 (no. 32).
[26] Image digitale et notice descriptive du Brit.Libr. inv. 131: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_131.
[27] Otranto (2012).

seulement le début de la Constitution d'Athènes précédé d'un agraphon, mais aussi, à partir du milieu de la colonne x du texte aristotélicien, et avant la colonne xi de celui-ci, une colonne et demie, écrite tête-bêche par rapport à lui, contenant un bref résumé et quelques notes au Contre Midias de Démosthène (P.Lond.Lit. 179 = MP^3 307 = LDAB 611 = TM 59294). D'autre part, au dos de cette même colonne xi, il porte trois colonnes étroites, écrites, tête-bêche, par une autre main, qui contiennent quelques scholies au début du livre I des Aetia de Callimaque (P.Lond.Lit. 181 = MP^3 197 = LDAB 462 = TM 59363). La papyrologue italienne remarque en outre que tous les textes littéraires conservés dans ce premier rouleau sont incomplets et que ceux concernant le Contre Midias et les Aetia se présentent à un stade provisoire.

5. Quant au Brit.Libr. inv. 256 (MP^3 1853.1 + 2515 = LDAB 4324 + 4325 = TM 63120 + 63265), qui est un rouleau composite et opisthographe, en partie peut-être autographe, contenant originellement des documents au recto (→), et utilisé en plusieurs phases par des mains différentes pour des textes littéraires, à la fois en poésie, au recto, et en prose, au verso, il a été évoqué plus haut.

Le petit nombre des rouleaux composites n'est pas étonnant. Comme l'a remarqué E. Crisci dans son étude paléographique et bibliologique sur les plus anciens livres grecs (IV^e/III^e siècles av. J.-C.),[28] –observation que, *mutatis mutandis*, on peut généraliser à l'ensemble des restes de rouleaux–, peu nombreux en effet sont les exemplaires conservés dans leur intégralité ou, du moins, dont la partie conservée est suffisamment ample pour être identifiée comme une partie de rouleau plutôt que comme un coupon de papyrus. L'examen comparatif des cinq entités bibliologiques répertoriées révèle que, datées du milieu du III^e siècle av. J.-C. au I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C., elles ont toutes été écrites par plusieurs mains, en plusieurs phases, dont la première correspond à la mise par écrit de documents dans deux cas (no. 4 et 5) et à celle de textes littéraires dans trois cas (no. 1 [probablement], 2 et 3). L'écriture des textes littéraires n'est jamais calligraphique. Quatre entités présentent des textes littéraires sur les deux faces (no. 1, 3, 4 et 5) et une, un texte littéraire sur une face et des illustrations sur les deux faces (no. 2). Deux contiennent exclusivement de la poésie (no. 1 et 3), deux, de la poésie et de la prose (no. 4 et 5), et une, de la prose et des illustrations (no. 2). Un poème pourrait être autographe, sur le no. 5, tandis que plusieurs pièces pourraient relever de la paideia au sens large (no. 1 et no. 5). Dans une contribution parue récemment, G. Cavallo observe que «questione più complessa è quella inerente alla presenza di più mani all'interno di un medesimo rotolo o codice. Non pare, infatti, che nel mondo antico si trattasse di una pratica abituale o ricorrente. Gli scandagli che sono stati fatti in tal senso hanno certamente rilevato un buon numero di casi, ma questi, soprattutto quando si tratta di rotoli, documentano circostanze irregolari, particolari o ambigue di produzione libraria».[29] En fait, l'examen des cinq entités bibliologiques réunies ici montre qu'elles ne relèvent pas de la production libraire *stricto sensu*, ou, si l'on préfère, du monde des livres et des bibliothèques, mais bien de l'archivage, à des fins personnelles, de textes, qu'ils soient documentaires ou littéraires, ou de dessins, sur un support aisément transportable, tels qu'un rouleau ou une section de rouleau de papyrus, parfois de réemploi. Dans la description de la méthode de travail de son oncle Pline l'Ancien, Pline le Jeune (Lettres 3.5.17) évoque cette pratique à propos des collections d'extraits couvrant les deux faces de nombreux rouleaux de papyrus réunies à l'initiative du Naturaliste:

> *Hac intentione tot ista uolumina peregit electorumque commentarios centum sexaginta mihi reliquit, opisthographos quidem et minutissimis scriptos; qua ratione multiplicatur hic*

[28] Crisci (1999) 287-288.
[29] Cavallo (2013) 303.

> *numerus. Referebat ipse potuisse se, cum procuraret in Hispania, uendere hos commentarios Larcio Licinio quadringentis milibus nummum; et tunc aliquanto pauciores erant.*
>
> «C'est grâce à cette tension constante qu'il a achevé tous ces volumes que je t'ai cités et qu'il ma laissé cent soixante cahiers d'extraits, couverts recto verso d'une écriture minuscule, procédé qui en multiplie le nombre. Il racontait lui-même qu'il aurait pu, pendant sa procuratèle en Espagne, vendre ces cahiers à Larcius Licinius[30] pour quatre cent mille sesterces, et ils étaient un peu moins nombreux à l'époque».[31]

Comme les *commentarii* ou *hypomnemata* opisthographes de Pline l'Ancien, les rouleaux littéraires composites répertoriés ici ne sont pas des produits libraires, mais des copies personnelles, fût-ce pour plusieurs personnes différentes, destinées à une utilisation pratique. Loin de viser à la préservation du texte intégral d'un auteur ou d'une oeuvre, ils résultent de techniques de sélection et d'agrégation d'extraits,[32] à la manière des carnets de recettes pharmaceutiques.[33] Quoique n'étant pas de beaux exemplaires de bibliothèque, ils peuvent cependant avoir une certaine valeur (voir Pline) et en ont certainement une pour leurs concepteurs/utilisateurs. En conclusion, les rouleaux littéraires composites ne préfigurent pas les codices miscellanei considérés en tant que livres de bibliothèque, mais bien les carnets de notes ou bloc-notes ('note-books') qui se présentent aussi sous forme de tablettes de bois, et, plus tard, sous forme de cahiers de papyrus ou de parchemin. Il a été démontré qu'à l'origine, le codex était un brouillon à bon marché pour les notes et les commentaires.[34] Au fond, son modèle en tant que bloc-notes serait peut-être à rechercher dans le rouleau de papyrus, souvent de réemploi, utilisé en tous les cas recto-verso. Des auteurs latins comme Pline l'Ancien, Martial et Juvénal, ne disent pas autre chose.[35] Après tout, au départ, le rouleau de papyrus n'est jamais qu'une unité commerciale de vente d'un matériau qui peut être utilisé, soit, le plus souvent, comme support d'écriture, soit, parfois, comme papier d'emballage[36] et même comme pansement.[37] On le voit, la frontière entre les documents et les textes littéraires, qu'ils se présentent écrits sur des rouleaux ou sur des codices, est perméable et, pour reprendre une expression du même G. Cavallo s'exprimant sur les débuts du codex,[38] le complexe de produits écrits antiques est beaucoup plus diversifié que ce que l'on croit communément.[39]

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[30] Sur Larcius Licinius, qui fut avocat sous Claude et légat propréteur en Espagne, où il mourut vers 70, voir Diehl / Fluss (1924). Ce personnage est mentionné par Plin. HN 19.35 et 31.24.
[31] Traduction, légèrement modifiée, de Zehnaker (2009) 78.
[32] Crisci (2004a) 111.
[33] Marganne (2018).
[34] Cavallo (1992) 83: «considerato in questa luce il codice, in origine niente altro che brogliaccio a buon mercato per minute e annotazioni, significava la rottura con la tradizione del rotolo, con la cultura ufficiale ch'esso rappresentava e di cui era depositaria una determinata classe».
[35] À propos de l'utilisation recto/verso des rouleaux de papyrus, comparer, dans les sources latines, Plin. HN 13.79; Mart. 4.86.11 et 8.62.1; Iuu. 1.6, ainsi que les commentaires de Turner (1978) 9 et Dorandi (2016).
[36] Plin. HN 13.74-82.
[37] CHG I 236.5, II 281.11 et 309.12.
[38] Cavallo (1989) 169.
[39] C'est aux mêmes conclusions qu'aboutit Fournet (2016) 73.

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Les rouleaux littéraires grecs composites profanes et chrétiens (début du III^e^ – troisième quart du VI^e^ siècle)*

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En 2006, M. Choat,[1] puis, en 2008, A. Luijendijk,[2] établissaient une typologie des papyrus documentaires chrétiens, où ils identifiaient plusieurs types d'indices d'appartenance au christianisme, à savoir 1) les symboles chrétiens, comme la croix (☩), le staurogramme (⳨) ou le chrisme (☧), 2), les abréviations chrétiennes, comme celles des *nomina sacra*, les isopséphismes, ainsi que les trois lettres χμγ, et, enfin, 3) les citations de textes chrétiens.

C'est en nous inspirant de cette typologie que nous avons repéré les papyrus littéraires de contenu profane, c'est-à-dire relevant de la *paideia*, donc non chrétiens, qui portaient ces indices matériels d'appartenance au christianisme de leur auteur, copiste ou lecteur.[3] Les papyrus ainsi identifiés présentent un ou plusieurs indices d'appartenance au christianisme accompagnant un ou plusieurs indices profanes. Cinquante-quatre papyrus correspondent à cette définition. Ils sont datés du début du III^e^ siècle au VII^e^/VIII^e^ siècle et appartiennent à une ou à plusieurs des quatre catégories suivantes:

a. papyrus contenant un texte profane et portant un symbole chrétien, comme la croix, le staurogramme, le chrisme, ou une abréviation chrétienne, comme χμγ;

b. papyrus contenant un texte lié, par son contenu ou sa forme, tant à la *paideia* qu'au christianisme, comme les poèmes du Codex des Visions[4] ou les poèmes de Dioscore d'Aphrodité;[5]

c. papyrus portant à la fois un texte lié à la *paideia* et un texte chrétien;

d. papyrus portant un texte lié à la *paideia* et dont le contexte archéologique de découverte est clairement chrétien, comme un établissement monastique.

Parmi ces cinquante-quatre papyrus, cinq adoptent la forme du livre antique par excellence, le rouleau, alors qu'il est bien connu que, d'emblée, les chrétiens ont préféré la forme du codex pour leurs écrits.[6] Ils sont datés entre le début du III^e^ siècle et l'an 568. Nous fondant sur la description de chaque pièce, ainsi que sur sa reconstruction bibliologique, nous identifierons la/les catégorie(s) de papyrus composites profanes et chrétiens à laquelle/auxquelles appartiennent ces rouleaux, leurs éventuelles spécificités par rapport aux rouleaux de contenu exclusivement profane, ainsi que leur contexte de production et d'utilisation, en vue d'identifier, autant que faire se peut, les raisons de l'utilisation de cette forme de livre par les chrétiens.

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[1] Choat (2006).
[2] Luijendijk (2008).
[3] Carlig (2016a); (2016b).
[4] P.Bodm. XXIX-XXXVIII (Haute-Égypte, IV^e^ siècle; LDAB 1106).
[5] P.Aphrod.Lit. IV.
[6] Voir, en dernier lieu, Bagnall (2009) 75-95.

1. P.Oxy. inv. 102/168(b) r° (MP³ 2859.02) + P.Oxy. LXIX 4705 (MP³ 9429.3 = LDAB 10574)

Ce fragment de forme carrée de 8 cm de côté provient d'un rouleau découvert à Oxyrhynque. Il est écrit au recto (→) et au verso (↓). Actuellement en cours d'édition par nos soins, le recto (P.Oxy. inv. 102/168(b) r°) porte les restes de deux colonnes écrites dans une majuscule ronde formelle non canonisée, datable du début du II^e^ siècle ap. J.-C.[7] Son contenu pourrait appartenir au genre historique.

Au verso (P.Oxy. LXIX 4705), le papyrus porte un passage du début de la première Vision du Pasteur d'Hermas,[8] écrit tête-bêche par rapport au texte du recto, dans une majuscule informelle datée du III^e^ siècle ap. J.-C. Sur base de la reconstruction textuelle, on peut estimer que la colonne d'écriture mesurait environ 10 à 11 cm de large. La portion de texte entre le début de la première Vision (1.1) et le fragment conservé (1.8) couvrait environ soixante-huit lignes, que l'on peut répartir en deux ou trois colonnes, selon les standards de hauteur des rouleaux d'époque romaine établis par W.A. Johnson.[9] En conséquence, on peut estimer que le fragment se trouvait à la fin de la deuxième colonne ou au début de la troisième et que la hauteur de la zone d'écriture mesurait originellement entre 21 et 29 cm. La longueur totale du rouleau n'est pas estimable, car on ne sait s'il contenait tout le Pasteur ou seulement les Visions.

2. P.Jena inv. 18 + 21 (MP³ 2482 + 9445 = LDAB 5522 + 2460)

Le papyrus comprend 47 fragments d'étendue variable provenant d'un rouleau. Écrit sur les deux faces, celui-ci contient le début du livre 5 du traité Contre les hérésies d'Irénée de Lyon (MP³ 9445), où il est question de la résurrection de la chair, et un texte mythologique non identifié (MP³ 2482) relatant la recherche et la reconstitution par Isis du corps dépecé d'Osiris et la vengeance d'Horus, leur fils. La relation entre les deux textes, qui évoquent ce qui advient après la mort, est évidente.[10] Le papyrus provient d'Edfou, où un culte important était rendu à Horus.[11] Édité pour la première fois en 1912, par H. Lietzmann,[12] le papyrus a été republié avec des modifications en 1958.[13] Le texte d'Irénée, seul, a été réédité par F. Uebel,[14] en 1964, et par A. Rousseau,[15] en 1969, tandis que, sous le nom de P.Eirene I 2, le texte mythologique a fait l'objet d'une réédition, par M.S. Funghi et E. Giannarelli, en 1998.

Le recto du papyrus est palimpseste. L'écriture sous-jacente, illisible, est recouverte par le texte d'Irénée, dont il reste sept colonnes. La *scriptio superior* est une majuscule rapide et de module irrégulier, peu calligraphique, datée du IV^e^ siècle. Si le scripteur a commencé à écrire le texte d'Irénée à partir du début du livre 5, qui concerne précisément la résurrection de la chair, on peut estimer qu'il manque les trois premières colonnes, ainsi que l'avant-dernière.[16] Le recto contenait donc originellement onze colonnes. Le schéma ci-dessous représente le

[7] La description de l'écriture a été effectuée sur base d'une reproduction fournie par N. Gonis, que nous remercions vivement. Voir aussi P.Oxy. LXIX, p. 2.
[8] Herm. Vis. 1.1.8-9.
[9] Johnson (2004) 141-143.
[10] Voir P.Eirene I, p. 21-23.
[11] Sur le temple d'Horus à Edfou, voir notamment Alliot (1949). Sur la réception du culte d'Horus par les chrétiens, voir du Bourguet (1991), Brashear (1994) et Dunand (2008) 277-293.
[12] Lietzmann (1912).
[13] Lietzmann (1958).
[14] Uebel (1964).
[15] Rousseau (1969).
[16] Voir aussi la reconstruction bibliologique proposée par Uebel (1964) 56-66, qui est approfondie par Rousseau (1969) 135-140.

recto du rouleau d'après cette reconstruction. Les parties grisées et pointillées signalent les parties perdues du support.

P.Jena inv. 18 + 21 (→)

Col. i-iii	Col. iv-ix	Col. x	Col. xi
Iren.Lugd. Haer. 5.1.1-3.2	Iren.Lugd. Haer. 5.3.2-10.1	Iren.Lugd. Haer. 10.1-11	Iren.Lugd. Haer. 12.1-2

Au verso (↓), après un espace blanc, correspondant au dos de la col. xi du recto, la première colonne du texte mythologique est perdue. Les fragments conservent ensuite les restes des colonnes ii et iii du texte mythologique. Différente de celle qui écrit le texte d'Irénée, la main trace une majuscule de module plus grand, qui comporte de nombreuses ligatures. Elle est datée du III^e^ siècle, donc, antérieure à la copie du Contre les Hérésies. Après un espace blanc, le texte d'Irénée poursuit celui de la col. xi, probablement jusqu'à la fin de la section sur la résurrection de la chair (5.14), qui devait occuper en tout quatre colonnes (cols. xii à xv), dont seules, les cols. xii et xiii ont été conservées. Le schéma ci-dessous représente la reconstruction du verso du rouleau. Les parties grisées délimitées par des pointillés signalent les parties du support perdues.

P.Jena inv. 18 + 21 (↓)

Espace blanc	Texte mythologique (col. i)	Texte mythologique (col. ii et iii)	Espace blanc	Cols. xii-xiii Iren.Lugd. Haer. 12.3-13.1	Cols. xiv-xv Iren.Lugd. Haer. 13.1-14

Si l'on se fonde sur la reconstruction du texte d'Irénée, les colonnes ont une largeur de 13 cm à 17.5 cm et une hauteur de 19 cm. Là où ils sont conservés, les entrecolonnements sont très réduits (entre 0.5 et 1 cm), de même que les marges supérieures (max. 1.5 cm) et inférieures (2.25 cm). Assez court, le rouleau devait mesurer 23 à 24 cm de haut sur environ 2 m de long, ce qui suggère une recoupe du rouleau originel, consacré à la copie du premier texte au recto (*scriptio inferior*), puis à celle du texte mythologique au verso. Dans un troisième temps, le texte du recto a été effacé, en vue de copier le texte irénéen à des fins d'étude, voire homilétiques ou polémiques.

3. P.Lond.Lit. 207 (MP³ 2751.434 = LDAB 3473) + 255 (MP³ 1245 = LDAB 3473)

Ce fragment de papyrus de 24.5 cm de large et de 25.7 cm de haut est mutilé sur ses quatre côtés. Des restes des marges supérieure et inférieure sont visibles. Le recto (→), désigné comme P.Lond.Lit. 207, conserve, sur deux colonnes, Ps. 11 (12), 7 à 14 (15), 4, écrit, par une première main, dans une majuscule fortement influencée par l'écriture de chancellerie et datable du III^e^ siècle. Chaque psaume est précédé d'un titre, écrit au milieu de la colonne, et du numéro du psaume. Les *nomina sacra* sont abrégés. La largeur de l'entrecolonnement peut varier de 3.5 cm dans la partie supérieure du papyrus, à moins d'1 cm dans la partie inférieure. On évalue la largeur des colonnes d'écriture à environ 13 cm.

Édité comme P.Lond.Lit. 255, le verso (↓) porte deux colonnes dont la seconde s'interrompt après six lignes. Le texte, identifié au discours À Démonicos 26-28, attribué à Isocrate est écrit sans doute de mémoire étant donné les nombreuses divergences avec le texte transmis

par la tradition manuscrite.[17] La copie est l'œuvre d'une seconde main également influencée par l'écriture de chancellerie, mais moins que la première main. Postérieure à cette dernière, elle est datée du IV^e^ siècle. L'encre, qui est grise, est assez abrasée par endroits. Le texte n'étant pas aligné à droite, l'entrecolonnement mesure de 3 à 3.5 cm. Les colonnes mesuraient environ 13 cm de large. Les syllabes sont séparées par des points à mi-hauteur (μέσαι στιγμαί), en vue d'un exercice de lecture. Signe de la réutilisation du papyrus à des fins scolaires, c'est la main du verso qui a ajouté les points au-dessus des syllabes des psaumes du recto, afin d'en séparer les syllabes pour un exercice de lecture: l'encre des points au-dessus du texte des psaumes est de la même couleur grise que celle du recto et a tendance à s'effacer.[18]

Le texte des psaumes est continu, de Ps. 11 (12), 7 à 14 (15), 4, ce qui suggère que le rouleau entier contenait, sinon tout le psautier, du moins, une partie de celui-ci, qui commençait au Ps. 1. Sur base du texte grec de l'édition de référence,[19] on peut estimer que les dix premières colonnes du rouleau, perdues, devaient couvrir environ 140 cm de support, auquel il faut certainement ajouter un *prôtokollon*, qui serait resté blanc. Il est peu probable cependant que le rouleau ait pu contenir tous les psaumes, car, dans ce cas il aurait dû mesurer 30 m. On sait par ailleurs que le psautier était divisé en cinq ensembles, à savoir 1) Ps. 1 à 40 (41), 2) Ps. 41 (42) à 71 (72), 3) Ps. 72 (73) à 88 (89), 4) Ps. 89 (90) à 105 (106), 5) Ps. 106 (107) à 151. Notre rouleau aurait pu contenir les deux premiers groupes de psaumes, du Ps. 1 au Ps. 71 (72), comme le rouleau de Qumrân 4QPs^a^.[20] Dans ce cas, il aurait mesuré environ 13 m.

Écrivant sans doute de mémoire, la seconde main n'a pas copié l'intégralité de l'À Démonicos d'Isocrate. Si elle l'a copié en commençant par le début (1.1), le texte perdu aurait occupé treize ou quatorze colonnes couvrant donc entre 2.14 m et 2.27 m de rouleau, ce qui correspond à l'espace disponible sur la portion de rouleau qui contenait, au recto, la suite des psaumes. Les deux schémas ci-dessous représentent successivement la reconstruction bibliologique du recto et du verso du rouleau. Les parties grisées et délimitées en pointillés représentent les parties de support qui n'ont pas été conservées.

Recto (→)

Portion 1	Portion 2	Portion 3
Prôtokollon Ps. 1 – 11 (12), 6 = c. 1.40 m ↔	P.Lond.Lit. 207: Ps. 11 (12), 7 – 14 (15), 4 24.5 cm ↔	Ps. 14 (15), 5 jusqu'à 72 (73)? = c. 11 m. ↔

Verso (↓)

Portion 3	Portion 2	Portion 1
Ps.-Isocr. À Dém., 1-25? = entre 2.14 et 2.17 m ↔	P.Lond.Lit. 255: Ps.-Isocr. À Dém., 26-28	blanc, car le texte d'Isocrate s'interrompt à la seconde col. de P.Lond.Lit. 255

[17] Cribiore (1996) 245 (no. 198).
[18] Sur base de photographies d'excellente qualité, nous avons montré ailleurs (Carlig [à paraître]) que l'hypothèse défendue par Jourdan-Hemmerdinger (1979) selon laquelle les points notés au-dessus du texte des psaumes étaient des notations musicales, n'était pas fondée.
[19] Rahlfs (1935).
[20] Lipiński (2002).

4. P.Oxy. IV 668 + PSI XII 1291 (MP³ 2927 = LDAB 2574) + P.Oxy. IV 657 + PSI XII 1292 (MP³ 9502 = LDAB 2574)

Ce papyrus d'Oxyrhynque est constitué de sept fragments de rouleau de largeur inégale, et d'une hauteur de 25 à 26 cm, ainsi que de cinq fragments plus petits. Écrit sur les deux faces, le rouleau porte, au recto (→), les restes de huit colonnes d'écriture latine identifiées comme un Épitomé des Ab urbe condita libri de Tite-Live (P.Oxy. IV 668 + PSI XII 1291 = MP³ 2927). Le texte a été réédité en 2011 par R. Funari, qui fournit également une description détaillée du papyrus.[21] De format carré, les colonnes mesurent entre 16.3 et 18 cm de large et 17 et 18 cm de haut. Les marges supérieures (entre 3.6 et 4.5 cm de haut) et inférieures (entre 3.3 et 4.5 cm de haut) sont amples, de même que l'entrecolonnement (jusqu'à 6 cm de large). L'Épitomé est écrit dans une minuscule primitive latine, datée du III^e^ siècle.[22]

Écrit tête-bêche par rapport au texte du recto, le verso (↓) contient les restes de douze colonnes écrites en grec, numérotées de 47 à 50, puis, de 61 à 65 et de 67 à 69, dans la marge supérieure, au centre de chaque colonne. Le texte est identifié à l'Épître aux Hébreux du Nouveau Testament (P.Oxy. IV 657 + PSI XII 1292 = MP³ 9502). La mise en page du texte chrétien est plus dense que celle du texte latin. Les colonnes mesurent de 13 à 17 cm de large sur 19 à 20 cm de haut. Les marges supérieures et inférieures sont dès lors plus réduites qu'au recto. Les entrecolonnements mesurent 2.5 cm de large. Inspirée du style sévère, l'écriture de l'Épître, anguleuse, est exécutée rapidement. Inclinée à droite dans les premières colonnes conservées, elle se redresse ensuite et adopte un axe droit. Elle est datée du IV^e^ siècle.

Si cet Épitomé de l'œuvre de Tite-Live n'est pas connu dans la tradition médiévale, une reconstruction du rouleau est néanmoins possible grâce à la copie, au verso, du texte bien connu de l'Épître aux Hébreux, qui possède, de surcroît, des colonnes numérotées: on peut en déduire qu'il manque les quarante-six premières colonnes du papyrus. D'une part, si celles-ci mesuraient toutes environ 13 cm de large et que l'entrecolonnement était d'environ 2.5 cm, on peut estimer qu'elles occupaient environ 7.13 m de papyrus. D'autre part, on peut facilement établir que l'Épître aux Hébreux commençait à la col. xliv. Les quarante-trois premières colonnes avaient précisément la capacité de contenir l'Épître aux Romains. Cet ordre, qui fait se succéder l'Épître aux Romains et l'Épître aux Hébreux n'est attesté que dans P.Chester Beatty II (provenance inconnue, III^e^ siècle; van Haelst 497).[23]

Après les col. xlvii à l, que l'on a conservées, la lacune de onze colonnes (col. li à lxi) correspond à une longueur d'environ 1.76 m de papyrus. La section couvrant les col. lxii à lxix est préservée et l'Épître aux Hébreux devait couvrir encore trois colonnes après la col. lxix. Plus larges, ces dernières devaient couvrir une portion de support de 58.5 cm de long. Le schéma ci-dessous présente la reconstruction bibliologique du verso du rouleau. Les sections grisées et délimitées en pointillés signalent les portions de support non conservées.

Verso (↓): P.Oxy. IV 657 + PSI XII 1292

7.13 m	62 cm	1.76 m	1.29 m	58.5 cm
Col. i-xlvi perdues	Col. xlvii-l (fr. 1 à 3 de P.Oxy.)	Col. li à lxi perdues	Col. lxii à lxix (PSI + fr. 4 à 6 de P.Oxy.)	Col. lxx à lxxii perdues

[21] Funari (2011) 49-228.
[22] Voir, en dernier lieu, l'analyse paléographique très approfondie de Funari (2011) 54-62.
[23] Sur la place de l'Épître aux Hébreux dans le corpus paulinien, voir Hatch (1936) et Mason (1968).

5. P.Cair.Masp. III 67317 + BKT V 1.117-123 = P.Aphrod.Lit. IV 11 (MP³ 348.08 = LDAB 813)

Le rouleau de papyrus P.Aphrod.Lit. IV 11 est constitué de deux fragments presque jointifs et contient, sur trois colonnes, l'Enkômion de pétition adressé au duc de Thébaïde Iôannès par Dioscore d'Aphrodité. Il est daté du printemps 568. À la hauteur de la première ligne d'écriture de la première colonne, l'Enkômion est précédé d'un staurogramme (☩). Le papyrus est écrit parallèlement aux fibres (→) et sa partie inférieure est très abîmée. En joignant les deux fragments, on obtient un rouleau qui mesure 78 cm de large et 29 cm de haut. Les colonnes sont larges de 20 cm environ. La marge de gauche de la première colonne mesure 1.5 cm. La marge supérieure des col. i et ii est haute d'environ 2 cm, tandis qu'elle mesure moins d'1 cm à la col. iii. L'entrecolonnement entre les col. i et ii mesure 2.5 cm, mais il est plus étroit entre les cols. ii et iii. Sur l'autre face (↓), un titre est écrit parallèlement aux fibres, donc *transversa charta*: [ἐ]γκώμια, 'éloges'. Dépourvu de corrections et d'additions interlinéaires, le texte semble être une version définitive de l'Enkômion, et non un brouillon. L'usage de la *corônis* aux vers 23-24, 53 et à la fin du poème renforce cette hypothèse.[24]

6. Conclusions

Ces descriptions montrent que les rouleaux n^{os} 1, 2, 3 et 4 sont des pièces de remploi. Dans les n^{os} 1, 2 et 4, le texte chrétien a été écrit après le texte profane, soit au verso du support, sur la face aux fibres verticales (↓), comme les n^{os} 1 et 4, soit au recto (→), après effacement du texte écrit précédemment, ainsi qu'au verso (↓), comme dans le no. 2. Dans le no. 3, c'est le texte chrétien, les Psaumes, qui a précédé, au recto (→), la copie de l'Ad Demonicum, sans doute de mémoire, au verso (↓). Le second texte est écrit tête-bêche par rapport au premier dans les rouleaux n^{os} 1 et 4, c'est-à-dire dans les papyrus où les textes n'entretiennent pas, *a priori*, de lien entre eux. On notera toutefois que ces deux rouleaux portent, au recto (→), un texte de nature historiographique. L'utilisation du rouleau no. 5 par Dioscore, plus d'un siècle et demi après les n^{os} 1, 2, 3 et 4, est très rare à son époque: seule, la chancellerie patriarcale d'Alexandrie utilise encore cette forme de livre pour les lettres festales, envoyées chaque année par le patriarche aux églises d'Égypte pour annoncer la date de Pâques. Tant dans le cas de Dioscore, que pour les lettres festales, la forme du rouleau revêtait un caractère archaïque et tel était l'effet recherché.

Publiée en 2004,[25] l'étude de W.A. Johnson sur les rouleaux littéraires, fournit un outil de premier ordre pour l'examen de cette forme de livre. L'auteur examine les caractéristiques formelles du rouleau, à savoir, les dimensions des colonnes, celles des marges et celles du rouleau entier. Bien qu'en nombre impressionnant, les pièces prises en compte se limitent aux rouleaux provenant d'Oxyrhynque, de contenu exclusivement profane, en langue grecque, et datés de l'époque romaine. En conséquence, aucun des cinq rouleaux examinés ici n'apparaît dans son étude.

Si la hauteur de nos cinq rouleaux, comprise entre 25 et 33 cm, et si la longueur des rouleaux no. 3 et 4, évaluée respectivement à environ 13 m et 11.37 m, correspondent aux évaluations de W.A. Johnson, en revanche, la longueur des rouleaux no. 2 et 5, –respectivement 2 m et 78 cm–, est nettement inférieure à la moyenne, en raison d'une recoupe du support.

[24] P.Aphrod.Lit., p. 525-526.
[25] Johnson (2004).

La hauteur des colonnes et l'entrecolonnement sont plus ou moins amples en fonction du type de copie. Si leur largeur ne peut être estimée pour le texte du recto du no. 1 (texte historique *adespoton*), l'écriture formelle suggère toutefois une copie soignée, tandis que l'écriture informelle et la présence de ponctuation du texte du verso (Hermas, Pasteur) évoquent une copie personnelle. Les marges amples, l'écriture soignée et la mise en page recherchée sont caractéristiques du recto du no. 3 (Psaumes), du no. 4 (Épitomé de Tite-Live) et du no. 5 (Enkômion de Dioscore d'Aphrodité), tandis que la mise en page aérée, la présence de points séparant les syllabes et l'écriture bien lisible du verso du no. 3 (Ps.-Isocrate, À Démonicos) dénotent des copies à usage scolaire. En revanche, les mains rapides, informelles, et la mise en page plus serrée du no. 2 (texte mythologique et Irénée, Contre les hérésies) et du verso du no. 4 (Épître aux Hébreux) indiquent une copie personnelle.

La largeur des colonnes mérite que l'on s'y intéresse. Si elle ne peut être évaluée pour le texte historique du recto du no. 1 et pour le texte mythologique du verso du no. 2, en revanche, les colonnes des autres textes mesurent toutes entre 10-11 cm (verso de no. 1 = Hermas, Pasteur) et environ 20 cm (no. 5: Enkômion de Dioscore d'Aphrodité).

À propos de la largeur des colonnes, W.A. Johnson distingue une mise en page différente dans les rouleaux de poésie et dans ceux de prose. Si la plus grande partie des rouleaux à contenu poétique ont des colonnes larges de 8 à 14 cm, celles où la largeur dépasse 18 ou 19 cm, bien que rares, sont néanmoins attestées, principalement dans les copies les plus formelles.[26] Seul rouleau composite profane et chrétien contenant un texte en vers, le no. 5, avec ses colonnes de 20 cm de large, fait partie de la catégorie des copies formelles de W.A. Johnson.

Quant aux rouleaux de prose, la largeur de leurs colonnes excède rarement 10 cm.[27] D'après nos estimations, les colonnes du Pasteur d'Hermas, copié au début du III^e^ siècle sur le verso du no. 1, seraient larges de 10 à 11 cm. Les colonnes du texte d'Irénée, copiées sur le rouleau no. 2, mesurent entre 13 et 17,5 cm, celles du Psautier (→) et du texte d'Isocrate (↓) du no. 3, sont larges de 13 cm environ. Les colonnes de l'Épitomé de Tite-Live et de l'Épître aux Hébreux du rouleau no. 4 mesurent de 13 à 17 cm.

Ces dimensions hors-norme, selon la typologie de W.A. Johnson, peuvent être comparées non seulement à celles de certains rouleaux littéraires de poésie profane, mais également à celles des rouleaux de papyrus contenant les lettres festales des patriarches d'Alexandrie, dont sont conservés sept exemplaires grecs sur papyrus datés entre le début du V^e^ siècle et le début du VIII^e^ siècle.[28] Tous proviennent de rouleaux de papyrus, à l'exception d'une copie sur rotulus.[29] Dans le plus ancien exemplaire, PSI XVI 1576, daté de 421, la colonne conservée mesure 24 cm de large, et dans le plus récent, BKT VI 5, de 38 à 40 cm. Par ailleurs, des colonnes très larges sont attestées dans d'autres rouleaux à contenu chrétien. Ainsi, la colonne conservée intégralement de BKT VI 6.1, un rouleau contenant des prières (provenance inconnue, III^e^ siècle; van Haelst 722 = LDAB 5201), mesure plus de 15 cm, celle de P.Oxy. XV 1786, contenant une hymne chrétienne munie de notations musicales (Oxyrhynque, III^e^ siècle; van Haelst 962 = LDAB 5403) mesure sans doute plus de 30 cm et celle de P.Oxy. XIII 1603 (Oxyrhynque, V^e^/VI^e^ siècle; van Haelst 634 = LDAB 3858), plus

[26] Johnson (2004) 115-119, spéc. 116 (Chart 3.2.4a) et 117 (Chart 3.2.4c).
[27] Voir notamment Johnson (2004) 153 (Chart 3.8a).
[28] 1) PSI XVI 1576 (Antinoé?, 421 = LDAB 131510), 2) P.Grenf. II 112 (provenance inconnue, 577; van Haelst 675 = LDAB 6291), 3) P.Köln V 215 (provenance inconnue, 663 ou 674; LDAB 458), 4) P.Oxy. LXXVI 5074 (Oxyrhynque, fin du VII^e^ ou début du VIII^e^ siècle; LDAB 140278), 5) P.Heid. IV 295 (provenance inconnue, début du VIII^e^ siècle; van Haelst 676 = LDAB 6664), 6) P.Horak 3 (provenance inconnue, 711 ou 722; LDAB 10250) et 7) BKT VI 5 (Monastère Blanc, 713, 719 ou 724; van Haelst 621 = LDAB 194).
[29] P.Grenf. II 112.

de 20 cm. Sans prétendre à l'exhaustivité, ces observations pourraient suggérer que la proportion de rouleaux portant des textes chrétiens en prose agencés en colonnes plus larges est sensiblement plus élevée que celle des rouleaux de prose à contenu profane. En outre, si les colonnes entre 10 et 15 cm de large pourraient éventuellement imiter la mise en page d'un codex écrit à pleine page, les colonnes les plus larges évoquent également celles que l'on trouve dans certains rouleaux documentaires.

L'examen des cinq rouleaux composites profanes et chrétiens illustre que, si les chrétiens ont choisi presque exclusivement le codex pour leurs écrits, ils ont également utilisé le rouleau, notamment dans les cas de remploi (n^{os} 1, 2, 4), comme le soulignait déjà R.S. Bagnall,[30] pour écrire des textes à usage personnel. Leur mise en page diffère peu de celle des rouleaux de textes profanes, à ceci près qu'une mise en page où la largeur des colonnes excède 10 cm pour les textes de prose semble plus fréquente que dans les rouleaux de prose profane. Dans l'Antiquité tardive, le rouleau possède également le prestige de l'ancienneté, ce qui motive son choix par le patriarche d'Alexandrie, pour ses lettres festales, mais aussi par Dioscore, pour l'Enkômion qu'il envoie au duc de Thébaïde (no. 5).

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[30] Bagnall (2009) 79-80.

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Organizzazione dello spazio negli *scholia minora* a Omero e nuove letture in P.Dura 3

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Gli *scholia minora* a Omero su papiro, pergamena e tavolette si presentano sia in forma di glossari che in forma di glosse interlineari o marginali; nel caso dei glossari, com'è stato osservato da Lucia Raffaelli oltre trent'anni fa,[1] i tipi di disposizione del testo sono essenzialmente due: in quella meno frequente le coppie di lemmi e *interpretamenta* si susseguono in un testo continuo, separate soltanto da segni d'interpunzione, senza ritorno a capo ad ogni lemma; in quella più comune, invece, ciascun lemma è posto a rigo nuovo e la relativa interpretazione segue a fianco, dopo uno spazio di larghezza variabile, e può proseguire al rigo successivo se troppo lunga; in questo caso il rigo inizia con una *eisthesis* di alcune lettere.

Il numero di testimoni antichi contenenti glossari omerici è aumentato enormemente negli ultimi decenni, ma non si rilevano novità relative all'organizzazione dello spazio. Una messa a punto è stata fatta nel 2012 da John Lundon,[2] il quale, prendendo in considerazione la documentazione successiva al lavoro della Raffaelli, ha trovato conferma dei due schemi di base, quello più comune, con ciascuna voce a rigo nuovo, e quello molto più raro, con le voci che si succedono sullo stesso rigo.

La presenza on line di elenchi di testimoni ne agevola la consultazione e permette di quantificare in percentuale le possibili 'mise en page' degli *scholia minora* a Omero;[3] questo passo è preliminare alla considerazione di alcuni aspetti dell'organizzazione dello spazio in un frammento di rotolo pergamenaceo del II secolo d.C., P.Dura 3, per il quale sono stati ipotizzati titoli o intestazioni premessi a gruppi di lemmi;[4] nuove letture e integrazioni contribuiranno a far luce sull'esistenza o meno di questi titoli.

La disposizione del testo nei papiri, nelle pergamene e nelle tavolette che riportano *scholia minora* a Omero si può così sintetizzare:

– il 73% dei testimoni riporta lemmi incolonnati e seguiti dalla glossa;

– il 5% presenta un testo continuo, dove i lemmi si succedono nel rigo senza ritorno a capo, separati da barrette oblique o punti;

– il 10% presenta glosse marginali;

– il 2% glosse interlineari;

[1] Raffaelli (1984) 172-175.
[2] Lundon (2012a) 199.
[3] L'elenco dei testimoni di *scholia minora* in Montanari / Ascheri / Muratore (2000-2017) dà accesso alle relative schede con testo in pdf e/o immagini. Un altro elenco on line, sia per l'Iliade che per l'Odissea, è nella bibliografia contenuta in Lundon (2012b) 241-245, annessa alla preziosissima lista alfabetica di tutte le *lexeis* degli *scholia minora* a Omero, in Lundon (2012b) 9-240.
[4] Bellucci (2013) 43, 46, 48. Un nuovo articolo di Bellucci su P.Dura 3 è uscito alla fine del 2018 in SEP 15, non ancora disponibile al momento della correzione finale delle bozze del mio lavoro.

– il 10% dei testimoni è in uno stato di edizione o conservazione tale da non consentire una valutazione.

Se consideriamo solo gli esemplari con lemmi incolonnati (73%), vediamo che alcuni *interpretamenta* possono stare su un solo rigo, mentre altri, più lunghi, proseguono nel rigo o nei righi successivi; in tutti questi casi si verifica un'*eisthesis*, che può essere un rientro di poche lettere o, in due soli esemplari, un rientro molto più pronunciato, fino ad arrivare in fine rigo.

Le *eistheseis* del secondo rigo (ma anche del terzo o del quarto se la spiegazione è molto lunga) si trovano sia nel caso, più frequente, che le spiegazioni non costituiscano una colonna ben allineata, sia nel caso che siano incolonnate. Quando le spiegazioni non sono incolonnate, l'*eisthesis* è di poche lettere (da 2 a 6 circa); quando invece le spiegazioni sono in colonna, la continuazione al rigo successivo può avere inizio nell'intercolunnio o addirittura essere allineata alla colonna delle spiegazioni. Quindi, anche in mancanza di un contesto ampio o nel caso di frammenti di glossari molto malridotti, se troviamo un'*eisthesis*, possiamo esser certi che si tratta di un rientro dovuto al fatto che la spiegazione era su due o più righi. L'espediente, ovviamente, serviva a favorire la leggibilità e il reperimento dei lemmi.

A fronte di questa situazione, sorprende l'ipotesi recentemente avanzata riguardo a P.Dura 3, secondo cui questa pergamena conterrebbe titoli posti al centro del rigo, che esprimerebbero «il concetto, il senso generale attorno a cui ruota il passo e sotto cui sono compresi i lemmi successivi».[5] L'ipotesi era già stata ventilata nell'ed. pr. da C. Bradford Welles, il quale aveva notato la presenza di qualche rigo più breve e con rientro, ma non aveva riconosciuto i lemmi omerici, avendo trascritto solo poche lettere; soltanto nel 1981 Michael Gronewald riuscì a leggere in una decina di righi della col. iii *scholia minora* ai vv. 302-316 del IV libro dell'Iliade, con parole in *eisthesis* nel caso di spiegazione troppo lunga per entrare tutta in un solo rigo, smentendo così l'ipotesi di Welles.[6] Gronewald giustamente parla di tre colonne, mentre Welles e Bellucci ritengono che siano cinque o sei, perché evidentemente considerano gli *interpretamenta* dei lemmi come colonne a sé stanti, anche se questi non sono affatto incolonnati.[7]

Si consideri che la lettura di P.Dura 3 è resa molto difficile dallo stato di conservazione. La pergamena fu rinvenuta accartocciata nel 1932/1933 durante la sesta campagna di scavi a Dura Europos;[8] anche dopo il restauro la superficie rimase annerita, come si può vedere nella tavola dell'edizione (Pl. I), che fra l'altro riproduce P.Dura 3 con il frammento inferiore distaccato e molto spostato in basso; tuttavia la qualità della riproduzione, frutto di una fotografia a infrarossi, è migliore di quella on line, dove il frammento è collocato nella posizione corretta, ma non si riesce a leggere neppure una lettera.[9]

I progressi fatti da Gronewald (1981) sono notevoli; credo che ce ne saranno ancora, se mai sarà possibile far emergere la scrittura dal fondo con tecniche appropriate. Per ora una

[5] Bellucci (2013) 48.
[6] Gronewald (1981) 177.
[7] Bellucci (2013) 43.
[8] Quanto alla provenienza, è possibile che il manoscritto sia stato confezionato in loco, come è stato sostenuto da Crisci (1996) 149, sulla base delle caratteristiche della scrittura e dei confronti paleografici con altre scritture di Dura.
[9] Identica la situazione nella foto in b/n che è conservata al CEDOPAL di Liège, per la quale ringrazio M.-H. Marganne. Ho ricevuto recentemente (aprile 2017) alcune immagini TIFF da parte della Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, sia l'originale della scansione visibile on line, sia nuove scansioni della pergamena fatte appositamente su mia richiesta, tuttavia l'alta risoluzione non migliora la visibilità della scrittura, che non emerge abbastanza dalla superficie quasi annerita. Ringrazio Anne Marie Menta per l'estrema pazienza e gentilezza mostrata nel soddisfare le mie richieste di riproduzioni di P.Dura 3.

scansione della Pl. I nell'ed. pr., con ingrandimento e ottimizzazione dell'immagine, mi ha consentito di compiere qualche passo avanti nella trascrizione e di escludere l'esistenza di titoletti che sarebbero premessi a sezioni di lemmi.[10] Infatti nella col. iii, rr. 3 e 7 (numerazione Gronewald) le parole che sembrano al centro dei righi non sono intestazioni ma fanno parte degli *interpretamenta*.

P.Dura 3, col. iii (fig. 1)

Trascrizione Gronewald (1981)

– – –

Ad Hom. Δ

κλονεεσθαι (?) ταραττεσθαι (?) 302
ιπποσυνη ιππικη 303
εμπειρια
ηνορεη ανδρεια
5 αλαπαδνοτεροι α 305
] τοτεροι
. . . . . χρηστ[?
. . . . .
εμπεδος (?) ακινητος (?) 314
10 τειρει καταπονει 315
ομοιιον (?) κακον (oder κοινον)(?) 315
κουροτεροισι νεωτεροις 316
μετειναι συνειναι

Nuova trascrizione

– – –

Tracce di un rigo

Ad Hom. Δ

. . . . . ντος παρ . . . [294
κλονεεσθαι ταραττεσθαι 302
ιπποσυνη ιππικη 303
εμπειρια
5 ηνορεη ανδρεια 303
αλαπαδνοτεροι α . . .[? 305
?] . . στεροι
. ιδ . . χρησα . [310
. . . πειρ . .
10 εμπεδος (?) ακινητος (?) 314
τειρει καταπονει 315
ομοιιον (?) κοινον 315
κουροτεροισι νεωτεροις 316
μετειναι συναγασ[τ] . . 316
15 . . . . . .
κατ[ε]κτα[ν] απεκτεινα 319

Tracce di tre righi

I numeri delle note che seguono si riferiscono ai righi della nuova trascrizione. Non riporto sistematicamente tutti i confronti con *scholia* e *lexica* già suggeriti da Gronewald, ma mi limito a commentare le mie nuove letture, riservandomi di preparare una riedizione completa, se mai sarà disponibile un'immagine migliore.

1. Al di sopra del primo rigo letto da Gronewald, si possono individuare con sicurezza la fine di un lemma, -ντος, e l'inizio della spiegazione, παρ-; nei versi che precedono il 302, abbastanza vicini a questo verso, non c'è nessuna parola omerica che possa adattarsi. C'è però ὀτρύνοντα al v. 294, che qui potrebbe essere stato scritto per errore ὀτρύνοντος; imprecisioni nella lemmatizzazione compaiono talvolta nei glossari omerici, dando luogo a cambiamenti di caso, di persona o di tempo.[11] Le forme di ὀτρύνω negli scolii omerici sono glossate con forme di κελεύω (non nei papiri), παροξύνω (cfr. P.Oxy. 4631. fr. 2. l. 6) e παρορμάω (cfr. P.Aphrod.Lit. II F° 5 →. 15; P.Köln inv. no. 53. l. 4 [LDAB 1948]; P.Hamb. inv. no. 736 v. 1. l. 10 [LDAB 1593]). Qui, sulla base delle tracce, è difficile decidere fra παροριμ[ωντος e παροξυ[νοντος.

3-4. ιπποσυνη ιππικη εμπειρια, con l'ultima parola a rigo nuovo, in *eisthesis*. Gronewald suggerisce il confronto con Hsch. ι 853 ἱπποσύνῃσι· ταῖς ἱππικαῖς ἐμπειρίαις, ma si può

[10] Alle fig. 1 e 2 riproduco soltanto le parti meglio leggibili, di cui qui mi occupo, rispettivamente la col. iii e i primi righi della col. ii.
[11] Cfr. P.Aphrod.Lit. II introd. 101.

aggiungere lo Schol. D proprio a questo verso, Δ 303: ἱπποσύνῃ· τῇ ἱππικῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ. Non ci sono dubbi, dunque, che in P.Dura 3 εμπειρια (dat. ἐμπειρίᾳ) faccia parte della spiegazione di ἱπποσύνῃ; non è necessario immaginare che εμπειρια sia un titoletto anteposto ai rr. 5-7 (ἐμπειρία) allo scopo di «rimarcare il 'concetto' dell' esperienza, che pare presente nel passo», passo in cui Nestore dà consigli ai soldati.[12] Se così fosse, la parola dovrebbe essere collocata prima ἱπποσύνῃ, perché l'inizio del discorso di Nestore è nei vv. 303-305: μηδέ τις ἱπποσύνῃ τε καὶ ἠνορέηφι πεποιθὼς / οἷος πρόσθ' ἄλλων μεμάτω Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι, / μηδ' ἀναχωρείτω· ἀλαπαδνότεροι γὰρ ἔσεσθε.

6-7. Dopo α̣λ̣α̣π̣α̣δ̣νοτεροι e l'α iniziale di parola, è possibile leggere tracce di tre lettere che potrebbero essere σ̣θ̣ε̣. Non è sicuro che di seguito vi siano altri segni sulla superficie della pergamena, perciò la spiegazione ἀσθενέστεροι (come in Schol. D ad Δ 305, cfr. Hsch. α 2766 ἀλαπαδνότερον· ἀσθενέστερον, già citato da Gronewald) potrebbe continuare a capo in *eisthesis* (α̣σ̣θ̣ε̣-/ν̣ε̣σ̣τεροι); qui (r. 7) non è certo che vi siano lettere completamente svanite prima di . .σ̣τεροι, dove il σ mi sembra molto più probabile dell'o letto da Gronewald, il quale rimanda ad Ap. Soph. 23.11 ἀλαπαδνότεροι· εὐεκπορθητότεροι, parola che mi sento di escludere per il r. 7 perché non c'è spazio prima di τεροι per contenerla tutta, per giunta in *eisthesis*. Non ritengo soddisfacente la proposta πρότεροι di Bellucci (2013) 46 (dal v. 308), perché sarebbe scritto, come si vede, in mezzo al rigo invece che allineato a sinistra come tutti i lemmi e sarebbe anche privo di *interpretamentum*.

8-9. L'altro titoletto segnalativo secondo Bellucci sarebbe χρησ̣τ̣[, da integrare con χρηστοεπής, «discorso gentile»;[13] sarebbe premesso ai lemmi tratti dai vv. 313-314, contenenti il discorso di Agamennone a Nestore, contrassegnato da questo carattere di gentilezza: ὦ γέρον εἴθ' ὡς θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν / ὥς τοι γούναθ' ἕποιτο, βίη δέ τοι ἔμπεδος εἴη. Mi chiedo se sia veramente necessario scomodare un *hapax* (Cyril. De ador. 68.801.55 Migne, PG) per ipotizzare un titolo, invece che cercare di capire quale potrebbe essere un lemma glossato con una parola che inizi per χρησ̣τ̣[. La parola, qualunque essa sia, non è comunque allineata con l'altro presunto titoletto, ἐμπειρία, ma spostata più avanti nel rigo, ed è sicuramente preceduta da un lemma all'inizio del rigo, da cui è separata con spazio bianco, come giustamente è trascritto anche in Gronewald (1981) 177. Inoltre, se vogliamo *primum legere*, ciò che io leggo come quinta lettera non è parte di un τ, ma di α, cioè due linee oblique convergenti in alto ad angolo; segue traccia verticale di un'altra lettera. Dunque χρησα̣ .[e, a capo, una parola in *eisthesis*, che contiene sicuramente la sequenza πειρ. Quale può essere il lemma di una glossa del genere? Fra ἀλαπαδνότεροι (v. 305) ed ἔμπεδος (v. 314), l'unica parola che può adattarsi alle tracce di cinque lettere è εἰδώς (v. 310). Lo Schol. D in questo punto annota: πάλαι πολέμων ἐὺ εἰδώς: ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἠσκηκὼς τὸ πολεμεῖν. τουτέστιν πολλάκις πολεμήσας καὶ τούτου πεῖραν ἱκανὴν ἔχων. L'*interpretamentum* χρησά̣μ̣[ενος . . .πειρ . (πείρα? ἐμπειρία? ἔμπειρος?) si può accostare all'espressione πεῖραν ἱκανὴν ἔχων. Mi sembra suggestivo anche il confronto con lo Schol. D che interpreta un analogo epiteto in Hom. Δ 47 ἐϋμμελίω. τοῦ εὖ ποτε τῇ μελίᾳ χρησαμένου. πολεμικοῦ. μελία δὲ εἶδος δένδρου εὐθέτου εἰς δόρατος κατασκευήν.

12. Gronewald trascrive ο̣μ̣ο̣ι̣μ̣ο̣ν̣ (?) κα̣κ̣ον (oder κο̣ι̣ν̣ον) (?); osservando la fig. 1, vediamo che κο̣ι̣ν̣ον è preferibile in base alle tracce superstiti e lo sarebbe anche solo per motivi di spazio. I due o sono chiarissimi; fra di essi, tracce delle aste verticali di ιν. È vero che la vecchiaia è un male, ma qui si vuole mettere in rilievo che è un male comune. Lo Schol. D così spiega: τὸ ὁμοίως πᾶσι χαλεπόν.

[12] Bellucci (2013) 46, cf. 48.
[13] Bellucci (2013) 48.

14-15. Gronewald trascrive μ̣ε̣τ̣ε̣ι̣ναι συνε̣ι̣ν̣α̣ι̣, ma le tracce dopo συν non si adattano a questa lettura; inoltre è probabile che la glossa continui a capo per un intero rigo con un'*eisthesis*. Quanto a συν e α non ci sono dubbi, invece non si riesce a individuare ειν; anzi, συν è seguito da un altro α. È possibile leggere συνα̣ι̣ναϲ̣[τ]ρ̣ε̣ che può esser parte di συναναστρέφεσθαι ('vivere insieme'), glossa dello Schol. D. Quanto al seguito di συνα̣ι̣ναϲ̣[τ]ρ̣ε, non si riesce a capire se vi siano tracce alla fine del rigo o se il resto della parola sia nelle tracce del secondo rigo.

16-19. Nessuno di questi righi è stato letto in precedenza. Un ingrandimento della Pl. I dell'ed. pr. consente tuttavia di identificare con sufficiente sicurezza al r. 16 il lemma κατ̣[ε]κ̣τ̣α̣[ν], che viene spiegato con ἀπέκτεινα, ἐφόνευσα nello Schol. D. È possibile, seppure con molta difficoltà, intravedere α̣π̣ε̣κ̣τ̣ε̣ι̣ν̣α̣.

Si può notare che i lemmi sono tratti da versi che distano tra loro da un massimo di 8 versi a un minimo di 0, nel senso che in tre casi due lemmi consecutivi sono tratti dallo stesso verso (303, 315 e 316); la scelta dei lemmi sembra privilegiare le parole più interessanti per motivi grammaticali o semantici. Possiamo fare un tentativo di lettura nei primi righi della colonna precedente, che, fra tutti, sono i meno danneggiati (fig. 2), per avere un'idea di quanto testo omerico coprissero i lemmi di una colonna.

Nella col. ii, alla stessa altezza di col. iii, r. 2 (κ̣λ̣ο̣ν̣ε̣ε̣ϲ̣θ̣α̣ι̣ τ̣α̣ρ̣α̣τ̣τ̣ε̣ϲ̣θ̣α̣ι̣, ad Δ 302), l'ingrandimento consente di leggere con sicurezza almeno tre lettere, πιθ, precedute e seguite da altre tre lettere. Se andiamo a vedere il testo del IV libro, procedendo a ritroso dal v. 319, che contiene l'ultimo lemma letto nella col. iii, la prima parola che incontriamo con questa sequenza di lettere è al v. 159, ἐπέπιθμεν, che in effetti potrebbe adattarsi bene alle tracce, se supponiamo che la parte destra del μ sia in parte scomparsa dentro una piega della pergamena. La parola viene glossata con ἐπεπιστεύκειμεν in Schol. D a questo verso ed anche con ἐπεπίθειμεν in Schol. D ad Ξ 55. Almeno fino a επεπ le tracce dell'*interpretamentum* corrispondono. Considerando che questo rigo è all'altezza di col. ii 2, dove la glossa è al v. 302, si ottiene che nello spazio di una colonna i lemmi dovevano coprire 136 versi.

Al rigo 3 le tracce suggeriscono il lemma ἐλέγχιστος dal v. 171 (con parte del σ e del τ finiti dentro la piega della pergamena come il μ al rigo precedente), il che porterebbe a un salto di ben 12 versi. Impossibile leggere nelle tracce seguenti le spiegazioni date dagli Schol. D ἐπονείδιστος, ἐφύβριστος o da Hsch. ε 1958, αἴσχιστος; qui la glossa sembra iniziare con υπ-. Al rigo successivo, in *eisthesis*, si legge μενο̣ (non è μενος, come avevo letto in un primo momento, ma molto probabilmente μενον, come mi ha suggerito Daniel Delattre).

Il lemma successivo (r. 4) è molto breve, 5 lettere al massimo, abbastanza chiare: si può leggere agevolmente πύσει, che è al v. 174, e che viene glossato con σήψει negli Schol. D, in Esichio (π 4479) e nella Suda (π 3253). Nella pergamena la traccia di uno ψ non è da escludere.

È suggestivo che il lemma seguente inizi per υπ, anzi forse υπερη- e termini in -εοντων; è sufficiente integrare -νορ- per ottenere un lemma tratto dal v. 176, ὑπερηνορεόντων. Qui la glossa esichiana è ὑπερηφάνων (υ 391), mentre negli Schol. D si trovano anche altri termini, Ἤτοι, ὑπερεχόντων τῇ ἠνορέῃ. τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἀνδρείων. Νῦν δέ, τῶν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν φρονούντων, ὑπερηφάνων. Difficile decidere quale termine possa adattarsi alle tracce superstiti; sicuramente ce n'era più d'uno perché a capo si vede un'*eisthesis*.

La mia revisione, per ora, si ferma qui. Si può constatare che le nuove letture denotano sia l'uso di uno spazio variabile fra lemmi e glosse, sia la presenza di *eistheseis* (nel caso di glosse che continuano a capo); è esclusa la presenza di titoli secondari. Credo che valga la

pena riesaminare completamente questa pergamena, visto che costituisce l'unico esemplare di glossario omerico non proveniente dall'Egitto; sarebbe interessante averne una trascrizione non dico completa, ma almeno più ampia, per farsi un'idea di quale sia il rapporto con i glossari di provenienza egiziana, di quanta parte delle interpretazioni omeriche sia comune e di quali siano le divergenze. Il fatto che la pergamena sia stata scritta quasi sicuramente a Dura, in ambiente non propriamente scolastico, ma più elevato, forse militare, mi sembra un ottimo motivo per ulteriori indagini, che potrebbero illuminarci sulla fortuna di Omero e l'esegesi omerica in un centro commerciale e 'industriale' come Dura Europos, ai confini dell'impero romano, dove, in mezzo a una popolazione mista greco-semitica, emergeva un'aristocrazia cittadina orgogliosa di discendere dai coloni macedoni, fiera delle sue origini, parlante greco, educata alla maniera greca, in una parola Εὐρωπαῖοι.

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Tavole

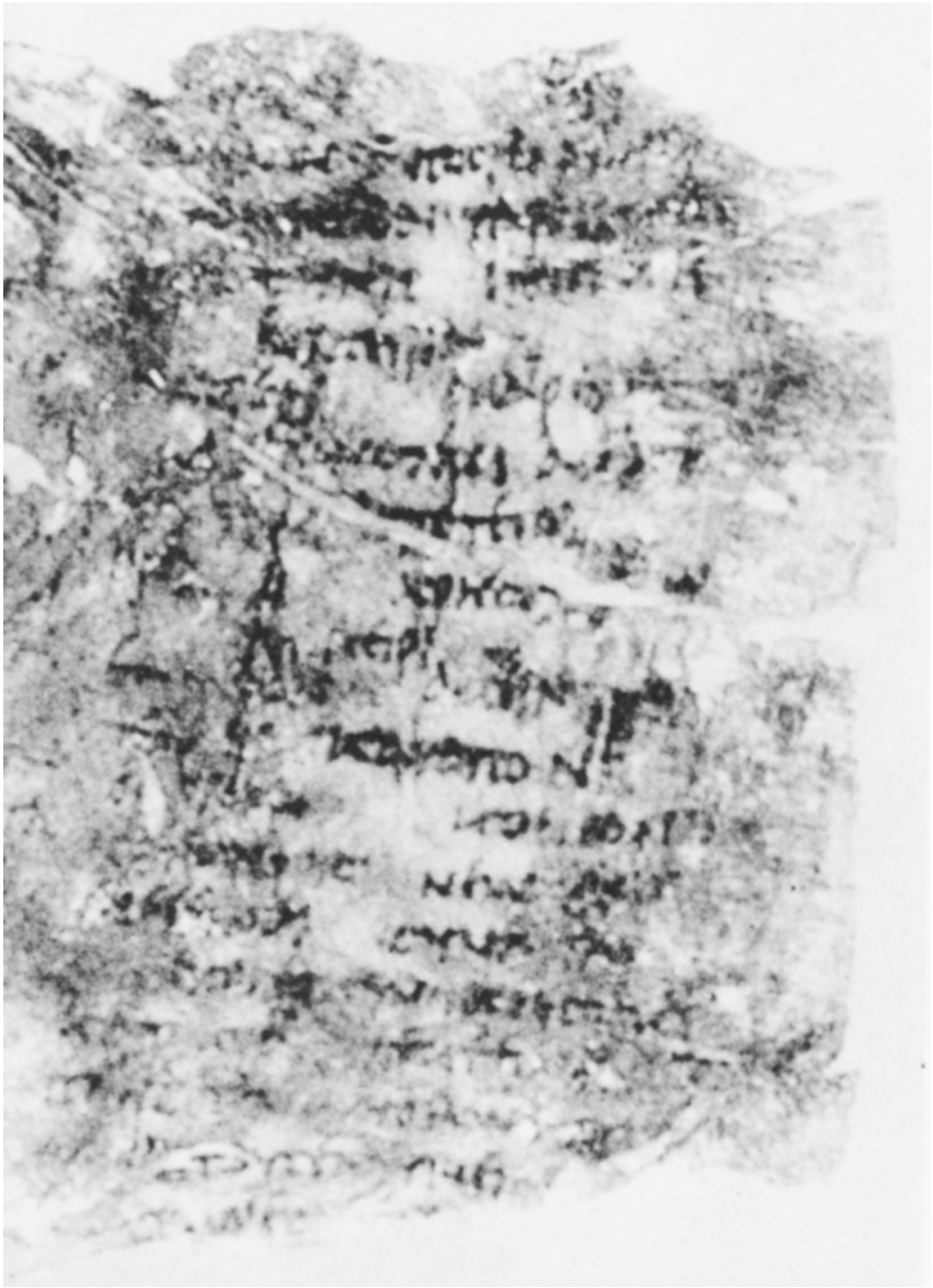


Fig. 1. P.Dura 3, col. iii. Particolare della Pl. I in C.B. Welles / R.O. Fink / J.F. Gilliam, The Parchments and Papyri (New Haven, 1959). Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

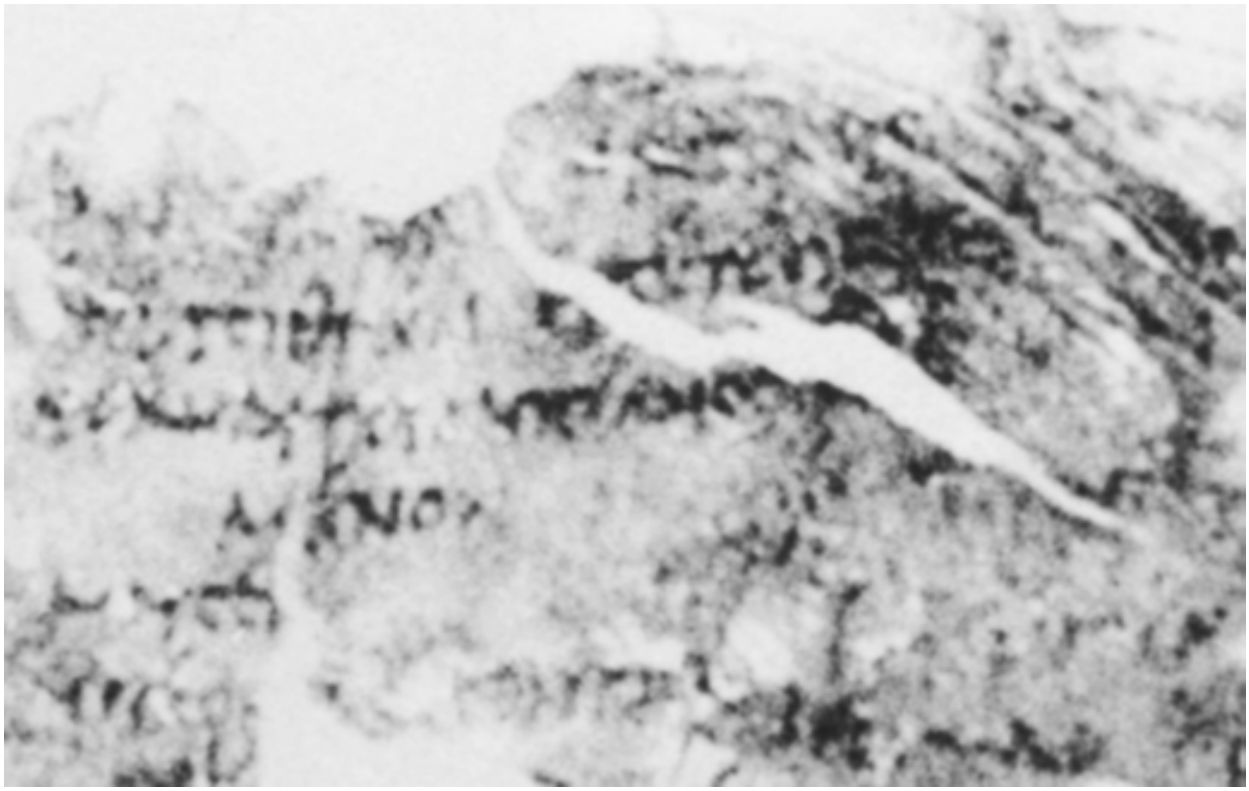


Fig. 2. P.Dura 3, dettaglio della col. ii. Particolare della Pl. I in C.B. Welles / R.O. Fink / J.F. Gilliam, The Parchments and Papyri (New Haven, 1959). Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

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Le grec tracé avec un pinceau comme méthode d'identification des scripteurs bilettrés: généalogie, limites, redéfinition du critère*

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Il y a 30 ans déjà, lors du congrès de papyrologie qui eut lieu à Athènes, W. J. Tait prononça une allocution intitulée: "Rush and Reed: the Pens of Egyptian and Greek Scribes". Dans l'article publié dans les actes de ce congrès,[1] il mit en avant qu'il existait deux traditions scripturales distinctes, avec des outils propres à chaque écriture et confectionnés avec des espèces végétales différentes.

Les scribes démotiques écrivaient à l'encre avec un pinceau réalisé à partir d'une des deux espèces de jonc suivantes: *Juncus acutus* L. ou *Juncus rigidus* Desf.[2] Il est communément admis, au moins depuis 1909, que les scribes égyptiens effilochaient une tige de jonc qu'ils avaient préalablement coupée en mâchouillant une de ses extrémités.[3] Or, ce qui semble constituer une sorte de *doxa* dans les ouvrages égyptologiques apparaît être fondé sur des représentations modernes –même si elles ne sont pas totalement improbables– de la façon dont ces pinceaux de jonc auraient pu être réalisés, peut-être par analogie avec des pratiques à l'œuvre dans une autre civilisation ancienne ou moderne.

Dans le monde grec, l'écriture à l'encre se faisait à l'aide d'un calame réalisé à partir du roseau commun (*Phragmites australis* (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud.), les mentions d'autres espèces botaniques dans la littérature secondaire étant soit erronées soit des synonymes de celle-ci.[4]

La préhension des outils scripturaux, les gestes mêmes des scripteurs égyptiens et grecs, le type d'encre utilisé différaient d'une tradition à l'autre. Du fait d'un fossé existant entre ces deux traditions scripturales et de la différence technique voire cognitive présente, W. Clarysse montre brillamment qu'un texte tracé avec un pinceau de jonc a très certainement été produit par un scribe qu'il caractérise comme égyptien.[5] Le grec tracé avec un pinceau de jonc traduisait matériellement des habitudes scripturales et culturelles de son scripteur qui avait

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[1] Tait (1988).

[2] Cette espèce a correctement été désignée comme *Juncus rigidus* par Täckholm (1974[2]) 664. Néanmoins, le nom d'auteur qui l'accompagnait, C. A. Mey., y était erroné et a été repris à sa suite dans un grand nombre de publications égyptologiques et de travaux botaniques réalisés en Égypte et dans la péninsule Arabique. Nous savons gré à Andreas Franzke du jardin botanique de l'Université de Heidelberg de nous avoir confirmé cette erreur. L'idée de la présence de deux espèces de joncs différentes utilisées pour réaliser les outils scripturaux égyptiens est déjà présente chez Täckholm / Drar (1950) 469.

[3] Möller (1909-1912) vol. I, 4 le considère comme vraisemblable «wohl durch Kauen», puis l'affirme sans réserve dans Möller (1909-1912) vol. III, 2. Auparavant, Budge (1893) 352 écrivait simplement que cette extrémité n'était pas coupée mais écrasée («bruised») pour rendre les fibres flexibles, sans évoquer une hypothétique mastication de cette tige végétale. Tait (1988) 479 utilise également ce même terme 'bruised'.

[4] Cf. infra n. 22.

[5] Clarysse (1993).

vraisemblablement été conditionné dès le plus jeune âge dans les Maisons du Vivant (*pr-ʿnḫ.w*)[6] à recourir au pinceau de jonc pour écrire à l'encre.

À partir de l'article de W. Clarysse, nous avons exprimé, dans le cadre de nos recherches doctorales, un critère d'identification de scripteurs bilettrés,[7] c'est-à-dire d'individus capables d'écrire à la fois en grec et en démotique, de la façon suivante: si un texte grec ou gréco-démotique a sa partie grecque tracée au pinceau, alors cette dernière a été rédigée par un scripteur bilettré.

Or, avant ces articles fondateurs de W. J. Tait et de W. Clarysse, certains papyrologues et démotisants qui avaient dû se confronter à des textes grecs tracés au moyen d'un pinceau, avaient parfois pressenti ce qui deviendrait une méthode possible d'identification.

Nous procéderons donc dans un premier temps à une généalogie de ce critère, puis verrons quelles sont les limites de cette méthode, pour, enfin, la redéfinir.

1. Généalogie du critère

Cette archéologie du critère d'identification des scripteurs bilettrés ne prétend pas à l'exhaustivité, mais permet de montrer le chemin parcouru et les évolutions à l'œuvre: nous montrerons ici des jalons importants pour en arriver au critère tel que l'a formulé W. Clarysse ou tel que nous le reformulerons.

Cette généalogie du critère se déploiera à son tour en deux axes: il sera tout d'abord question de la façon dont les instruments scripturaux et les traces qu'ils laissaient ont été désignés par les éditeurs publiant des textes tracés à l'aide d'un pinceau de jonc; nous verrons ensuite la façon dont les scripteurs de ces textes tracés au pinceau ont été qualifiés par leurs éditeurs. Dès la fin du XIX^{e} siècle, Mahaffy constata que le P.Petr. II 4. fr. 6 (TM 7646) avait été tracé d'une écriture très négligée.[8] Concernant un autre papyrus publié dans le même volume, P.Petr. II 15. fr. 3 (TM 7443), il confessa que l'écriture n'était pas facile à déchiffrer.[9] Un tel constat a été partagé à de nombreuses reprises tout au long du XX^{e} siècle par différents éditeurs qui se confrontaient à ces textes tracés au moyen d'un pinceau et qui n'avaient pas l'habitude des traces qu'il laissait. Le caractère considéré comme négligé par leurs éditeurs les a parfois conduits à estimer qu'il s'agissait de brouillons, ce qui n'est pas nécessairement le cas.

En 1929, Norsa pensa qu'une lettre des archives de Zénon, le PSI V 512 (TM 2134 ; fig. 1), texte de fait tracé à l'aide d'un pinceau de jonc, avait été tracé avec un calame à pointe large et donnant l'impression d'avoir été tracé au pinceau.[10] Deux ans plus tard, Edgar tut le type d'outil scriptural employé pour une pétition, P.Cair.Zen. IV 59629 (TM 1260; fig. 2),[11] en rédigeant qu'elle avait été tracée d'une main épaisse. La même année, lors de l'édition du P.Mich. I 29 (TM 1929; fig. 3), il pensa pareillement que ce papyrus avait été tracé au moyen

[6] Pour cette traduction de *pr-ʿnḫ*, voir Quack (2016/2017 [2018/2019]) 227. Nous remercions J. F. Quack pour cette référence.
[7] Sur la bilittératie, voir e.g. Hornberger / Skilton-Sylvester (2000).
[8] Mahaffy (1893) 10.
[9] Mahaffy (1893) 53.
[10] Norsa (1929) 6.
[11] Une image de ce papyrus fut et est toujours disponible grâce à la photographie présente dans les Archives photographiques internationales de papyrologie.

d'un instrument d'écriture épais sans se prononcer davantage sur le type d'instrument d'écriture.[12]

Dès l'année suivante, dans une des deux recensions qu'il fit du P.Mich. I 29, Collart caractérisa son écriture comme «sembl[ant] tracée au pinceau».[13] Il s'agirait vraisemblablement de la première mention, dans les études concernant l'Égypte gréco-romaine, de grec tracé au pinceau sur papyrus et non plus d'un calame à pointe large. Si Collart put exprimer cet avis, c'est qu'il avait participé à la publication des trois derniers fascicules constituant les P.Lille I. Or, les P.Lille I 1 (TM 2490; figs. 4 et 5) et 9 (TM 3216; fig. 6) édités dans le premier fascicule en 1907, mais dont les images ne parurent qu'avec la livraison du quatrième fascicule en 1928,[14] avaient été tracés de toute évidence avec un jonc. Collart avait peut-être déjà en tête un de ces papyrus lorsqu'il lui sembla que cet *hypomnēma* avait été tracé avec un pinceau.[15]

En 1933, Collart déduisit de l'épaisseur des lettres des P.Mich. I 29 et P.Oslo II 16 (TM 2894; fig. 7), rédigés en effet à l'aide d'un jonc, qu'ils «sembl[aient] presque trac[és] au pinceau».[16] Pour cette même raison, Westermann et Hasenoehrl conclurent un an plus tard que le P.Col. III 52 (TM 1768; fig. 8) avait été écrit au moyen d'un pinceau plutôt qu'avec un calame à pointe large.[17] Leur jugement a peut-être été appuyé par le caractère démotique saisissant de l'écriture, comme l'écrivit Pestman en 1980.[18]

En 1952, lors de la publication de sa leçon inaugurale prononcée l'année précédente, Turner fut apparemment le premier à parler correctement de grec tracé à l'aide d'un jonc souple qu'on trouvait dans les lettres des archives de Zénon.[19] Cet apport de Turner est certainement en partie dû aux recherches du chimiste Lucas qui, 18 ans plus tôt,[20] fut un des premiers[21] à chercher à établir scientifiquement, malgré des dénominations botaniques impropres,[22] que les joncs étaient habituellement utilisés pour les écritures égyptiennes à l'encre tandis que les

[12] P.Mich. I, p. 91, no. 29, référencé par Clarysse (1993) 191, no. 38 comme tracé au pinceau.
[13] Collart (1932b) 353. Dans son autre compte rendu, Collart (1932a) 412 ne fit pas de remarque paléographique concernant ce même document.
[14] Cf. P.Lille I, pls. I, II et V. Dès 1906, le P.Lille I 1 avait été publié par Jouguet et Lesquier (1906) ; une image du recto de celui-ci apparaissait déjà dans Rostovtzeff (1922), pl. 1.
[15] Il établit en tout cas un parallèle entre le P.Lille I 9 et le P.Mich. I 29 du fait «de leur ressemblance frappante» dans Collart (1935) 590-591.
[16] Collart (1933) 329.
[17] Westermann / Hasenoehrl (1934) 130, no. 52.
[18] Pestman (1980) 8: «Chi guarda, ad esempio, la riproduzione del P. Col. Zen. I 52 viene subito colpito dall'aspetto demotico della scrittura greca, che sembra decisamente scritta dalla mano di uno scriba demotico».
[19] Turner (1952) 10-11.
[20] Lucas (1934²) 133.
[21] Il s'inscrivait néanmoins dans une longue lignée de travaux égyptologiques. En effet, aux débuts de l'égyptologie et de la papyrologie, Letronne (1826) 274 distinguait les 'jonc[s] fibreux', avec lesquels les écritures égyptiennes étaient consignées, du calame taillé. Il ajouta également que des joncs n'auraient pas pu être les outils d'écriture du papyrus qu'il éditait (TM 3560, republié dans UPZ II 159) du fait de la présence de 'pleins et [de] déliés'.
[22] Lucas (1934²) 133 considéra le *Juncus maritimus* et le *Phragmites aegyptiaca* comme les plantes à partir desquelles les instruments traditionnels d'écriture respectivement égyptien et grec étaient réalisés. Ces deux noms d'espèces furent ensuite repris par Černý (1952) 12. La dénomination *Juncus maritimus* fut alors maintes fois réemployée dans la littérature égyptologique et papyrologique malgré les avertissements de Täckholm / Drar (1950) 470 –même si ces derniers la caractérisaient alors par une appellation synonyme de *Juncus rigidus,* à savoir *Juncus arabicus* (Asch. & Buchenau) Adamson– et de R. Germer dans Helck (1982) 657 n. 3. L'appellation de *Phragmites aegyptiaca* fut abandonnée assez rapidement au profit de celle de *Phragmites communis* Trin., ancienne dénomination –désormais obsolète mais que l'on trouve encore dans des ouvrages récents– de *Phragmites australis*.

roseaux étaient employés pour écrire en grec.

En 1981, dans son introduction à l'ébauche d'une *enteuxis*, G. Bastianini pensa que le texte qu'il éditait avait été tracé avec un pinceau de jonc, et qu'on trouvait ce phénomène parfois dans les textes grecs.[23] Même si nous ne souscrivons pas à son jugement sur l'instrument scriptural utilisé dans cette pétition, une écriture au moyen d'un calame de roseau mal taillé étant plus probable, il nous apparaît que son constat constitue la première attestation de cette expression ('pennello di giunco') pour désigner l'outil d'écriture d'un texte grec.

Concernant les traces laissées par les pinceaux de jonc, Norsa remarqua déjà en 1929 à propos de la lettre PSI V 512 (fig. 1), qu'elle pensait avoir été écrite au moyen d'un calame à pointe large, que les traits horizontaux étaient plus épais que les traits verticaux et que l'épaisseur des traits obliques variait.[24] C'est un constat qui s'applique très souvent aux textes tracés au moyen d'un pinceau de jonc et qui donne parfois un indice supplémentaire permettant de déterminer si le texte a été tracé avec un calame de roseau épais ou un pinceau de jonc. C'est effectivement une caractéristique de l'écriture au moyen d'un pinceau de jonc comme W. J. Tait le notait plus d'un demi-siècle plus tard.[25] Grâce à ses observations, Norsa pouvait établir des parallèles paléographiques avec trois autres lettres et un *hypomnēma*. Ces quatre textes proviennent tous des archives de Zénon, ont tous été tracés à l'aide d'un pinceau de jonc et ont ainsi été recensés par W. Clarysse.[26] S'agissant toujours de ce qui est propre à l'écriture au pinceau, Collart énonça que «l'écriture [du P.Mich. I 29 était] *si pâteuse*[27] qu'elle sembl[ait] tracée au pinceau».[28] Il est certainement vain et hasardeux d'interpréter ce que Collart entendait par pâteux: voulait-il mettre l'accent sur le manque de netteté de cette écriture, sur les empâtements résultant de l'écriture avec un instrument produisant plus fréquemment des traits épais que le calame, ou songeait-il encore à la consistance pâteuse, c'est-à-dire entre liquide et solide, de l'encre? On observe en effet que les documents tracés au moyen d'un pinceau de jonc apparaissent souvent comme étant d'un noir plus profond, comme étant plus concentré en encre et moins dilué que les traces généralement laissées par un calame.[29] Cela est probablement dû à l'utilisation, avec le pinceau de jonc, de pains de couleur présentant les pigments noir et rouge et semblables à la peinture à l'eau qu'utilisent de nos jours les enfants,[30] plutôt que d'encre diluée,[31] stockée dans une sorte d'encrier dans lequel les scripteurs hellénographes plongeaient leur calame.[32] Turner distingua utilement les

[23] Bastianini (1981) 147.
[24] Norsa (1929) 6: «dà l'impressione di scritto tracciato a pennello. I tratti orizzontali sono sempre molto grossi, quelli verticali di solito molto sottili, variano di larghezza invece i tratti obliqui». Ce phénomène s'observe particulièrement à la l. 25 de ce papyrus.
[25] Tait (1988).
[26] Il s'agit des lettres suivantes (P.Cair.Zen. II 59186 = TM 832, II 59243 = TM 888 [figs. 9 et 10] et III 59519 = TM 1156) et de l'*hypomnēma* P.Cair.Zen. III 59475 (= TM 1113).
[27] Nous qui soulignons.
[28] Collart (1932b) 353.
[29] Néanmoins, on peut d'autant moins en faire une vérité générale, que l'encre se ternissait à mesure de l'écriture à l'aide d'un pinceau, jusqu'à ce que l'on recharge son jonc en encre, cf. Tait (1988) 478. Comme un des examinateurs anonymes nous l'a fait remarquer, la souscription grecque écrite au calame du P.Sorb. III 81 (TM 118706) apparaît en effet avec une encre se présentant aujourd'hui comme plus sombre que celle avec laquelle le reçu démotique avait été écrit. Toutefois, comme le note W. Clarysse dans Cadell / Clarysse / Robic (2011) 64, l'encre de la partie démotique «a pâli et s'est diffusée». Il faut donc certainement distinguer l'apparence actuelle de l'encre de celle au moment de sa rédaction.
[30] Une fois le pinceau de jonc humecté, les scribes le frottaient contre ces pains de pigment noir ou rouge pour qu'il s'imprègne d'encre.
[31] Clarysse (1993) 189 et Bülow-Jacobsen (2009) 18.
[32] Dans le même sens, Clarysse (1993) 189. S'agissant de la composition chimique des encres employées dans les traditions grecques et égyptiennes, voir dorénavant T. Christiansen (2017) 170 et 185-187 qui doute de

traces laissées par un calame de celles laissées par un pinceau: le pinceau produisait une bande assez épaisse d'encre et laissait des traînées fourchues aux extrémités où le scripteur levait son pinceau, tandis qu'avec le calame, les lignes étaient plus fines et il n'y avait pas d'irrégularités lorsqu'on le levait, mais si la main restait immobile quelques secondes, que ce soit au début ou à la fin d'un trait, cela formait un petit pâté rond.[33]

Voyons désormais comment les scripteurs de ces textes ont été désignés. En 1893, Mahaffy considéra que le P.Petr. II 4. fr. 6 avait été rédigé par un homme ignorant, du fait des nombreuses erreurs linguistiques et du caractère de l'écriture qu'il jugea brouillonne. En 1927, en raison, entre autres, de *diremptiones vocum* irrégulières dans le P.Cair.Zen. II 59243 (TM 888; figs. 9 et 10) et du nom égyptien de l'expéditeur de la lettre, Wilcken qualifia son scripteur d'Égyptien non instruit.[34] Quatre ans plus tard, Edgar estima que le P.Cair.Zen. IV 59629 (fig. 2) avait été écrit par un indigène ('native'), cette qualification étant à replacer dans son contexte colonial.

La même année, Edgar se prononça sur le scripteur du P.Mich. I 29 (fig. 3) en décrétant qu'il était un homme de peu d'éducation mais connaissant plus ou moins deux langues. Edgar voulait probablement signifier par là que son grec n'était pas très bon et qu'il devait être bilingue.

Dès 1934, Westermann et Hasenoehrl écrivirent au sujet du P.Col. III 52 (fig. 8) que l'écriture au pinceau semblait être caractéristique des scribes égyptiens habitués à écrire en démotique plutôt qu'en grec.[35] Cette formulation met en avant les capacités scripturales en démotique du scripteur, en ne parlant plus seulement de ses capacités linguistiques orales et désigne les scripteurs de ces textes de façon quasi identique aux termes qu'on peut trouver dans l'article de W. Clarysse presque 60 ans plus tard.

Turner exprima en 1952 un avis très proche de celui de Westermann et d'Hasenoehrl, en remarquant que, parmi les lettres des archives de Zénon, celles écrites avec un jonc étaient rédigées par des Égyptiens ayant l'habitude des caractères démotiques.[36] Si Turner exprima cet avis, c'est qu'il put rapprocher les lettres P.Cair.Zen. II 59186 et P.Col. III 52 dont les images étaient disponibles,[37] alors que des reçus tracés au pinceau de jonc sur des ostraca avaient déjà été publiés en bien plus grand nombre mais sans reproduction.[38]

Pour résumer, on est donc passé, au fil des publications des textes tracés à l'aide d'un pinceau, d'hommes ignorants ou de peu d'éducation ou définis comme indigènes, à des individus familiarisés avec deux langues, puis à des scribes égyptiens plus habitués à écrire en démotique qu'en grec.

Afin d'éviter d'attribuer une identité ethnique fixe à un scripteur d'un point de vue étique, c'est-à-dire du point de vue de l'observateur en anthropologie, la notion de scripteur bilettré en grec et démotique nous semble plus à propos. Nous reconnaissons bien entendu que celui-ci avait été formé dans une école égyptienne et imprégné des traditions scripturales

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l'utilisation d'encre métallogallique dans les souscriptions grecques de documents démotiques du Louvre et pense qu'il était plutôt question d' «encre mixte».

[33] Turner (1952) 10-11, partiellement repris par Tait (1988) 479.

[34] Wilcken (1927) 283.

[35] Westermann / Hasenoehrl (1934) 130, no. 52.

[36] Turner (1952) 11.

[37] Turner (1952) 11 n. 1.

[38] Parmi ces reçus, les reçus fiscaux, et particulièrement ceux de la taxe du sel, furent souvent tracés à l'aide d'un pinceau de jonc, cf. Vleeming (1994) 36-38. C'est le cas par exemple des O.Wilck. II 336 (= O.Taxes II 13; TM 50761), BGU VI 1416 (TM 4715) et O.Stras. I 8 (TM 43473).

égyptiennes, du fait de l'utilisation du pinceau de jonc ou de la tenue du rouleau de papyrus dans le sens adapté à l'écriture de droite à gauche du démotique, c'est-à-dire de telle sorte que le *kollēma* supérieur se trouvait à droite du *kollēma* inférieur suivant, même pour rédiger en grec.[39]

Il est étonnant de voir à quelle vitesse cette idée a pu se développer dans les années 1930 à la suite de la publication des papyrus des archives de Zénon puis de noter un certain ralentissement des avis exprimés sur la question après la Seconde Guerre Mondiale. Quelques garde-fous doivent être apportés à cette méthode telle que nous l'avons exprimée en introduction.

2. Limites de la méthode d'identification des scripteurs bilettrés

Peut-on dire de tout texte tracé au pinceau de jonc qu'il a été rédigé par un scripteur bilettré? Prenons l'exemple de l'ordre de Peukestas (SB XIV 11942 = TM 4274; fig. 11). Comme l'écrivit Turner dans son *editio princeps,* puis comme ce dernier et Seider l'évoquèrent dans leurs ouvrages paléographiques respectifs, cette pancarte avait été tracée à l'aide d'un pinceau.[40] De plus, comme le remarquait justement Turner, la première ligne avait été écrite avec des caractères plus grands que ceux présents dans les autres lignes, de sorte que cette affichette, puisse être vue, remarquée et lisible de loin, et afin de lui conférer une autorité supplémentaire. L'utilisation du pinceau avait ici une fonction donnée et ne reflétait certainement pas des habitudes scripturales et culturelles de tradition égyptienne, même si nous ne pouvons pas affirmer avec certitude que c'est réellement un jonc qui avait été utilisé.

Malgré le caractère exceptionnel de ce texte dans la documentation papyrologique, l'ordre de Peukestas permet de mettre en avant la nécessité de questionner la possible fonction de l'écriture au pinceau pour chaque texte grec ou gréco-démotique avant de pouvoir conclure à la bilittératie de son scripteur.

Cette méthode d'identification est-elle valable pour tous les supports de l'écriture? Pour les papyrus oui, étudions dorénavant le cas des céramiques. Sur les 818 *tituli picti* de Tebtynis publiés dans l'ouvrage récent de N. Litinas,[41] si l'on agrège les documents que l'éditeur considère comme ayant été tracés à l'aide d'un pinceau à ceux rédigés selon lui avec un jonc,[42] on observe que 94 % de ces *dipinti* de l'époque ptolémaïque et romaine étaient tracés au pinceau. Ici, l'utilisation d'un pinceau ou d'un jonc semble liée à la nature de ces documents ainsi qu'au support utilisé. Le traçage au pinceau sur céramique permettait sûrement non seulement d'écrire plus gros à moindres frais et ainsi d'être lu plus facilement de plus loin, mais aussi de glisser plus aisément sur des poteries poreuses. Dès lors que nous sommes en présence d'un texte tracé avec un pinceau de jonc sur céramique, il faut donc se poser la question de la nature du texte et chercher à déterminer si le tesson de poterie face auquel nous nous trouvons fut écrit alors que la céramique était encore complète ou sur une

[39] Messeri Savorelli / Pintaudi (1994) 195-198 et Clarysse (1993) 195.
[40] Turner, GMAW^2 136. Ce constat est partagé par des spécialistes de paléographie, cf. Seider, Pal.Gr. III.1, 133 ou Cavallo / Maehler (2008) 28. Dans sa paléographie, H. Harrauer (2010) vol. I, 173-174, no. 1 ne s'exprime pas quant à l'instrument d'écriture employé pour ce papyrus.
[41] Litinas (2008).
[42] Treize documents tracés à l'aide d'un calame ('pen'), huit à l'aide d'un pinceau ('brush') et 797 à l'aide d'un jonc ('rush'). Toutefois, N. Litinas ne semble pas véritablement établir de distinction entre jonc ('rush') et pinceau ('brush'), puisqu'il emploie les deux termes pour qualifier apparemment le même instrument scriptural, dans Litinas (2008) 254, no. 587 –à moins qu'il ne s'agisse du seul cas, où ces deux catégories-ci se recoupent.

céramique déjà brisée, c'est-à-dire un tesson.[43] Autrement dit, il faut faire la distinction entre les ostraca[44] et les *dipinti*, les premiers étant à inclure dans cette méthode, les seconds à exclure.

Quant aux textes écrits sur du lin, ils paraissent avoir très fréquemment été tracés au moyen d'instruments épais permettant de pallier la rigidité et l'âpreté de ce support qui ne convenait pas, selon toute apparence, à l'écriture à l'aide d'un calame de roseau bien taillé qui aurait en quelque sorte achoppé sur les fibres du lin. Dans d'autres aires spatio-temporelles, on écrivait également sur du lin avec un pinceau: c'est le cas du *Liber linteus Zagrabiensis* écrit en étrusque durant la première moitié du II^e^ siècle av. J.-C.[45]

Les quelques inscriptions à l'encre tracées sur les murs ou *dipinti* retrouvés en Égypte ayant très fréquemment été tracés à l'aide d'un instrument épais, probablement au pinceau, un texte grec tracé au pinceau sur un mur ne peut être attribué nécessairement à un scripteur bilettré. Ils sont donc à exclure de notre méthode d'identification.

Du fait du transfert culturel consistant à l'adoption progressive de l'écriture avec un calame pour rédiger les textes démotiques, reflet matériel d'une certaine hellénisation, l'écriture du grec au moyen d'un pinceau de jonc ne traduit plus nécessairement la bilittératie de son scripteur. Les premiers textes démotiques tracés au calame datant du II^e^ siècle av. J.-C. et l'écriture du démotique avec un calame de roseau se généralisant à l'époque romaine, notre méthode d'identification est valide durant l'époque hellénistique mais perd peu à peu de sa force de conviction à la fin du I^er^ siècle av. J.-C. Les quelques textes d'époque romaine tracés avec un pinceau ne peuvent donc pas être considérés comme ayant été nécessairement tracés par des bilettrés. L'essentiel des textes grecs tracés à l'aide d'un pinceau se situent au III^e^ siècle av. J.-C. et peuvent donc être assurément la production de bilettrés.

3. Conclusion

Dès que les moyens techniques et financiers furent réunis pour que des planches de bonne qualité soient réalisées et qu'ainsi les standards scientifiques purent peu à peu exiger qu'une image soit publiée parallèlement au texte –non pas tant pour étudier la matérialité de l'écrit, mais afin de vérifier les lectures, l'intérêt se portant alors avant tout sur le contenu du texte– le contact des savants et des papyrologues avec l'écriture du grec tracé au moyen d'un pinceau de jonc ne se limita plus aux seuls éditeurs de ces textes, mais à toute la communauté scientifique de l'époque.

S'agissant de notre méthode d'identification des scripteurs bilettrés, toutes les limites évoquées ci-avant nous permettent de la redéfinir. Avant de conclure à la bilittératie de son scripteur, chaque texte tracé à l'aide d'un pinceau de jonc devra être questionné suivant sa nature, la fonction que pourrait revêtir l'écriture au pinceau, le support sur lequel il était tracé et l'époque durant laquelle il a été tracé, cette méthode devant être bornée à l'époque hellénistique.

[43] Dans les études démotiques, la catégorie d'ostracon regroupe ce que l'on caractérise en papyrologie grecque comme ostracon et comme *dipinto* amphorique, appelé également *titulus pictus* ou étiquette de jarre, cf. Ray (2013) 6 exposant aussi des cas limites entre ces deux catégories. Les 'ostraca géants', écrits sur une céramique complète ou presque (cf. Vittmann [2018] 82 n. 13-16 et Caputo / Cowey [2018] 75 n. 38 –merci à Clementina Caputo pour cette référence), peuvent également être inclus dans notre méthode d'identification. Néanmoins, les ostraca géants grecs connus jusqu'à présent paraissent principalement dater de l'époque romaine.

[44] Sous forme de tessons de poterie ou de matériels lithiques (e.g. O.Cair. 24 = TM 73373), des ostraca ont été tracés au pinceau par des scripteurs bilettrés.

[45] Ce document fut tracé à l'aide d'un pinceau d'après Fioretti (2012) 410.

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Plates



Fig. 1. PSI V 512 recto. © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, PSI 512.

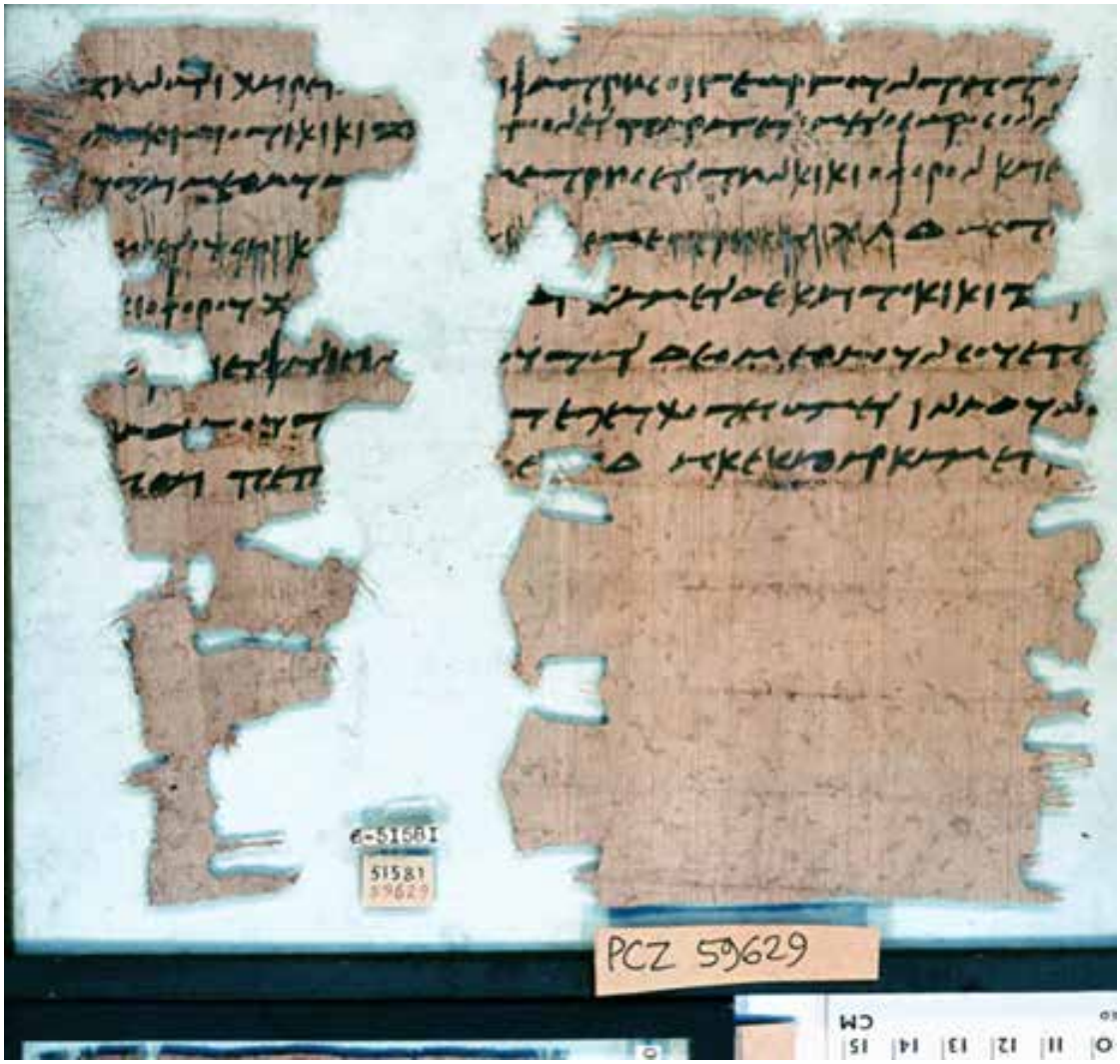


Fig. 2. P.Cair.Zen. IV 59629, Musée Égyptien (Le Caire), CG 59629 © Archives photographiques internationales de papyrologie.

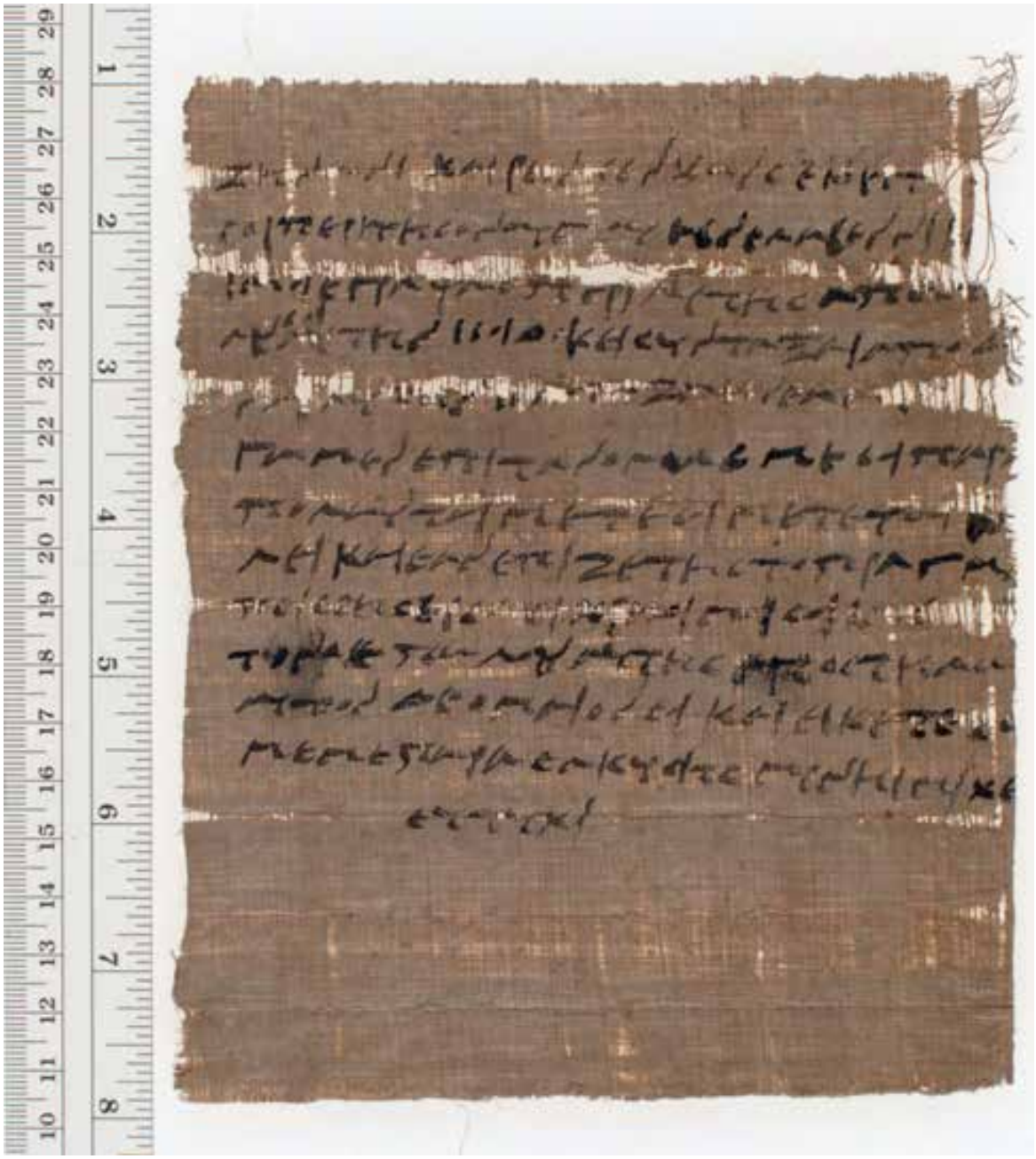


Fig. 3. P.Mich. I 29 recto © University of Michigan, inv. 3198.



Fig. 4. P.Lille I 1 recto = P.Zen.Pestm. Suppl. A recto (inv. Sorb. 1) © Université Paris-Sorbonne – Institut de Papyrologie.

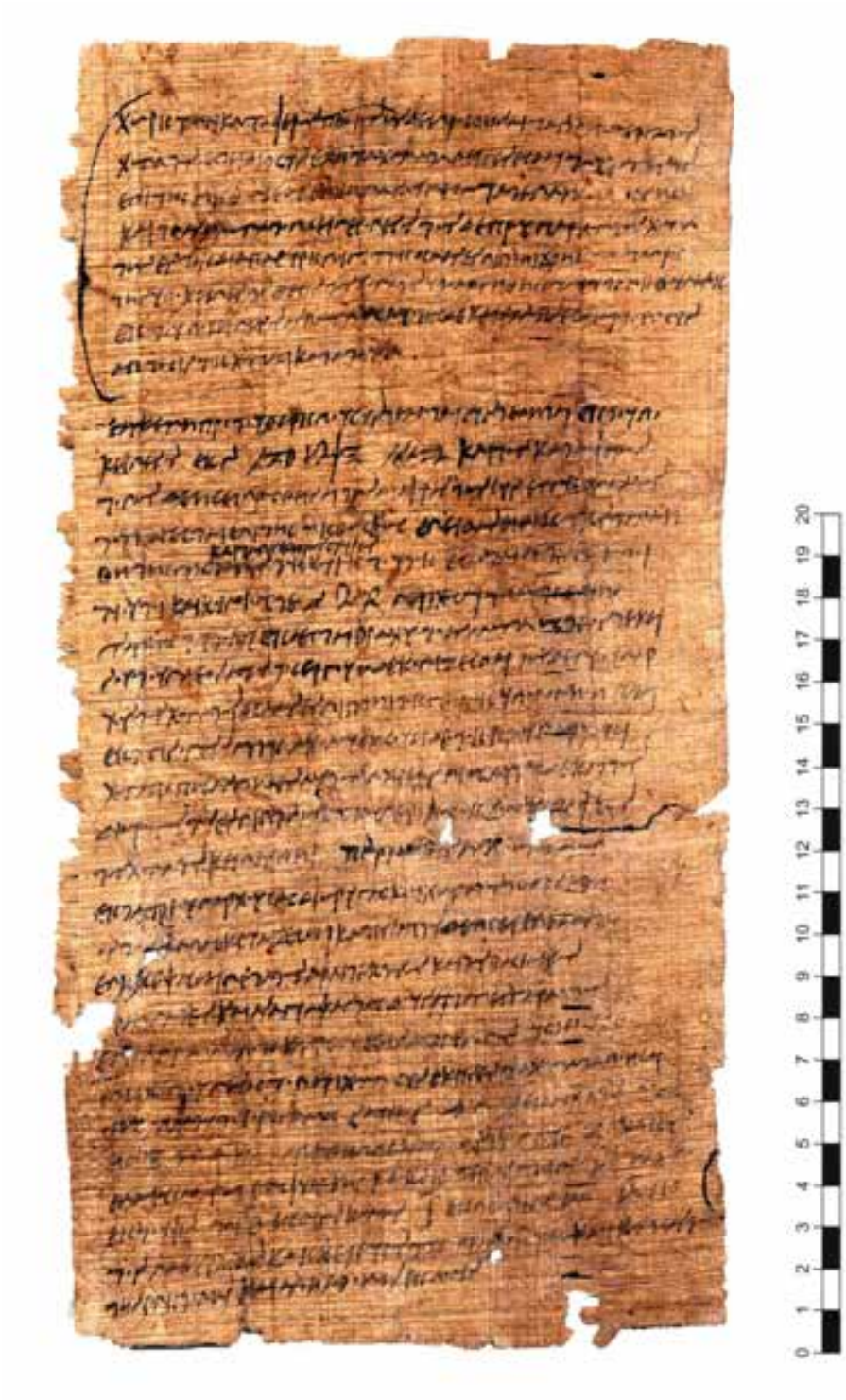


Fig. 5. P.Lille I 1 verso = P.Zen.Pestm. Suppl. A verso (inv. Sorb. 1) © Université Paris-Sorbonne – Institut de Papyrologie.

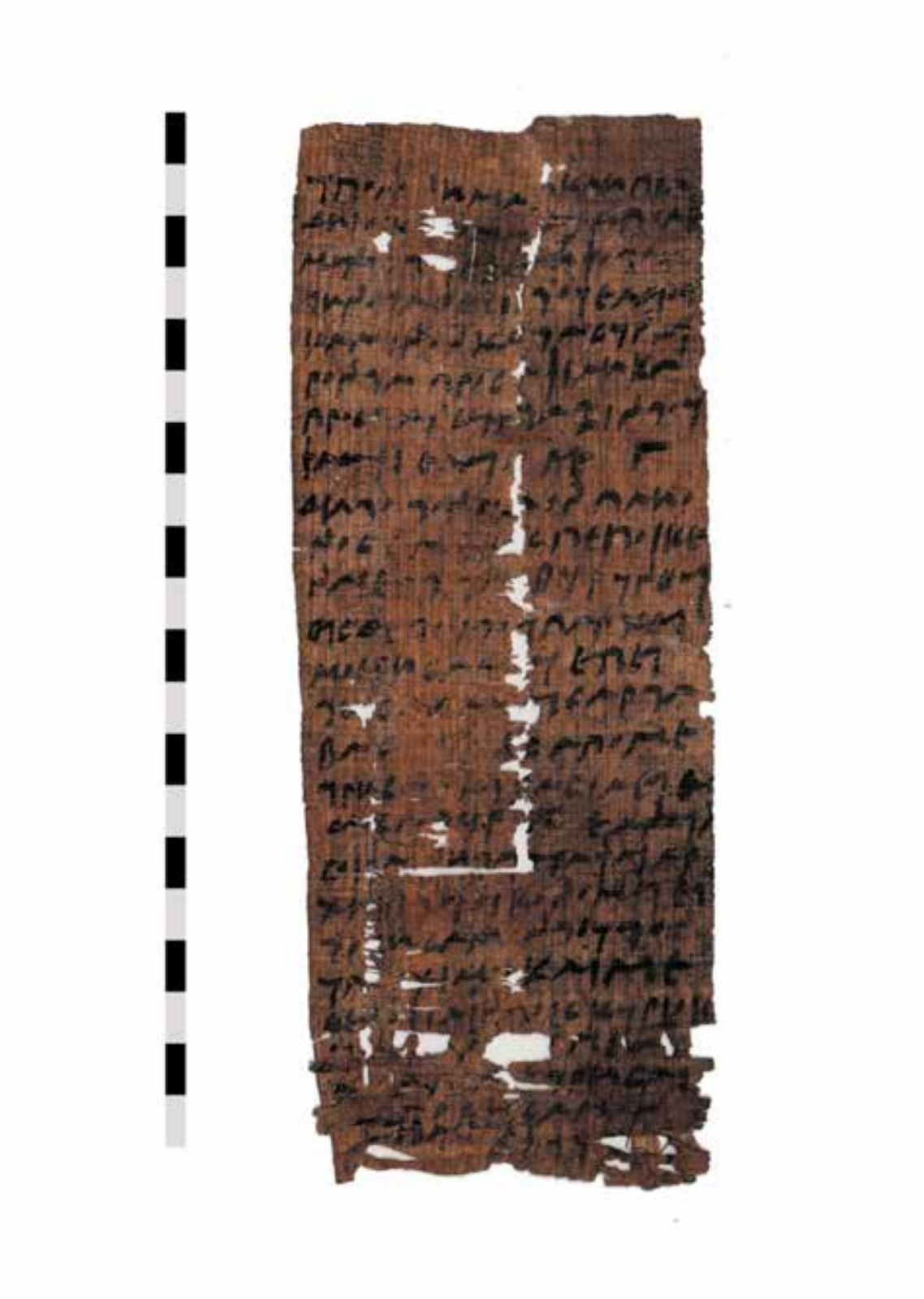


Fig. 6. P.Lille I 9 recto (inv. Sorb. 9) © Université Paris-Sorbonne – Institut de Papyrologie.

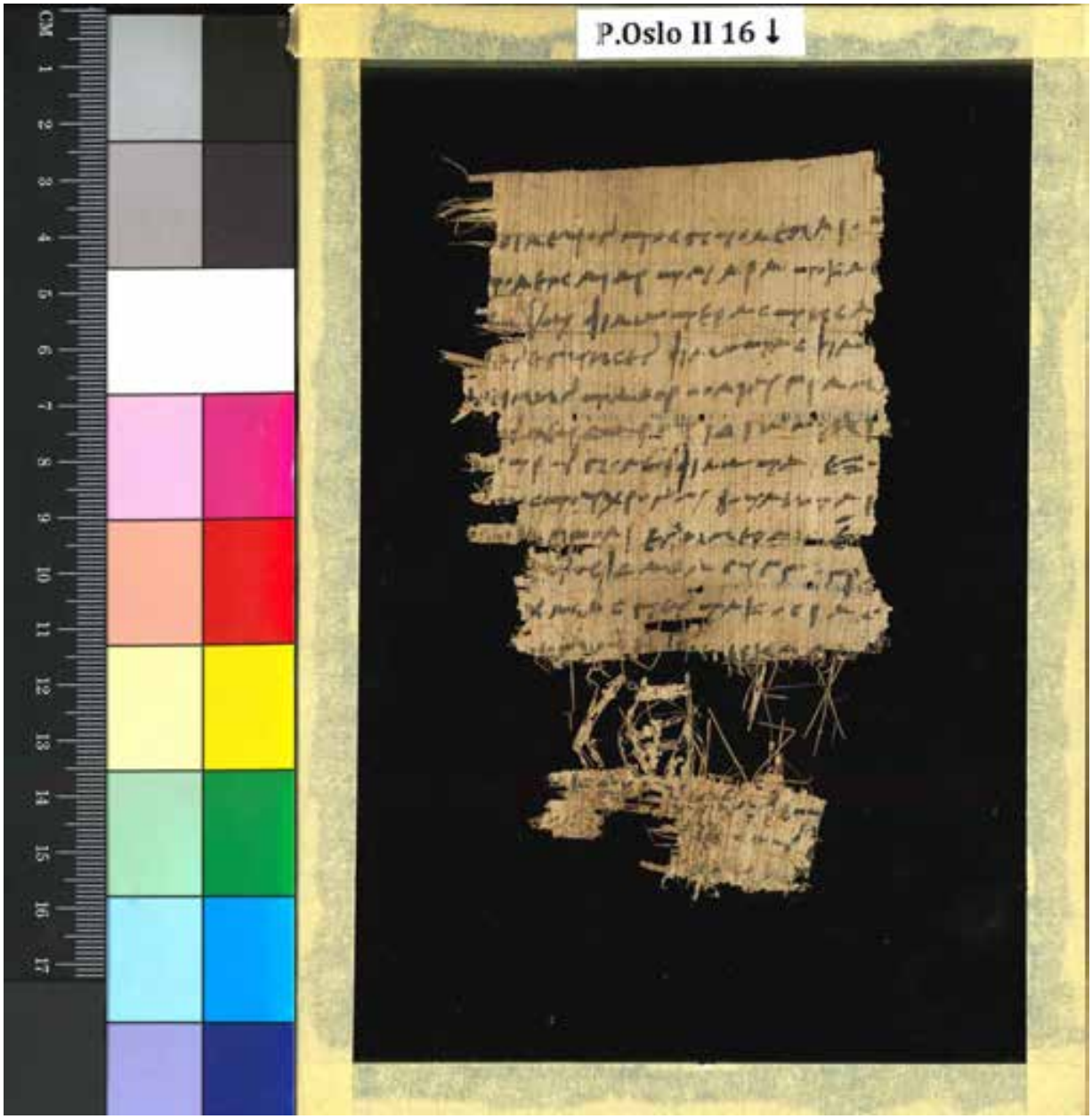


Fig. 7. P.Oslo II 16, avec l'aimable autorisation de la Collection papyrologique de la Bibliothèque universitaire d'Oslo.



Fig. 8. P.Col. III 52, Rare Book & Manuscript, Columbia University in the City of New York.

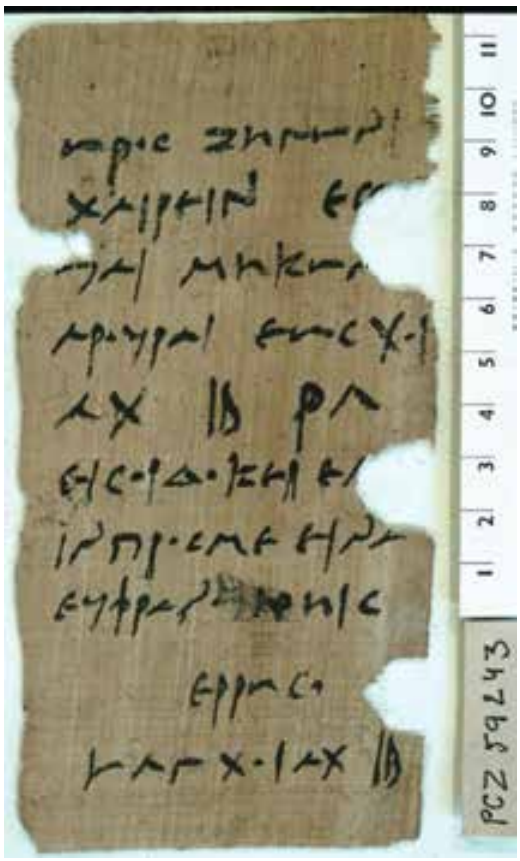


Fig. 9. P.Cair.Zen. II 59243 recto Musée Égyptien (Le Caire), CG 59243 © Archives photographiques internationales de papyrologie.

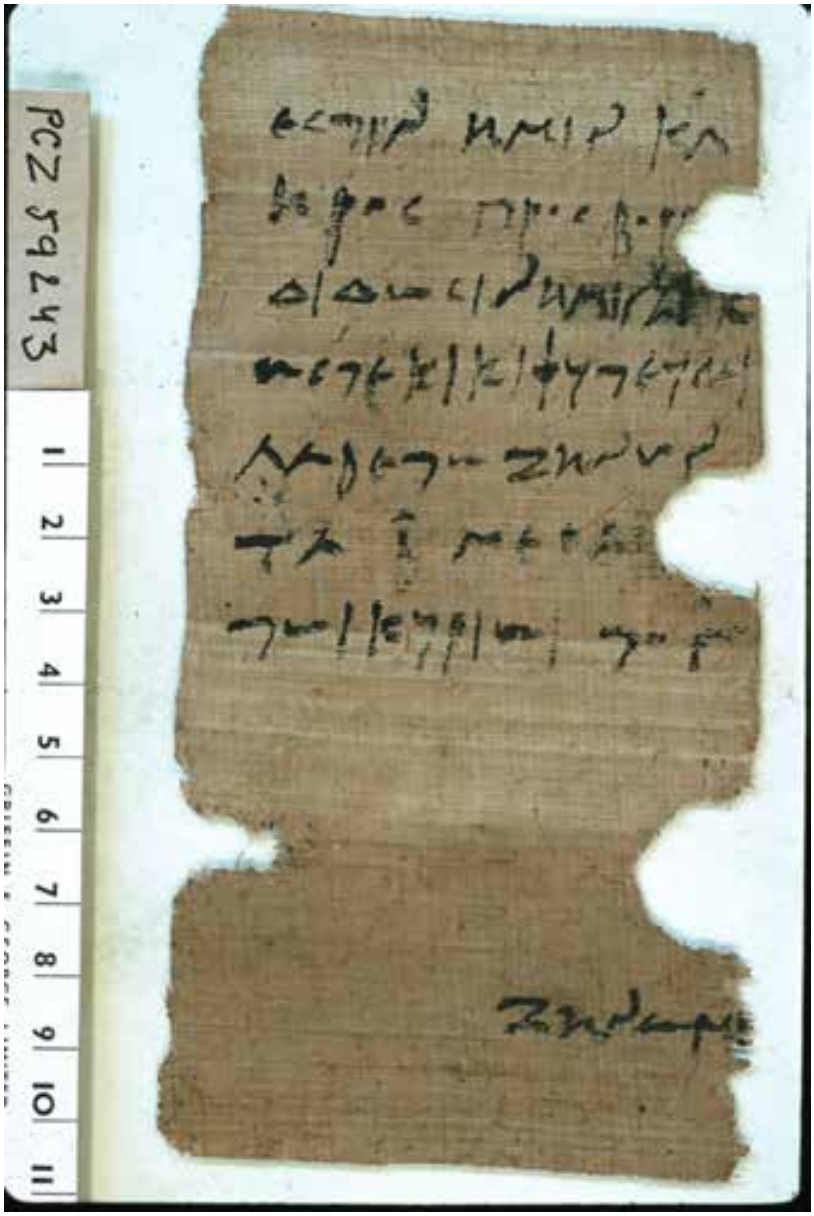


Fig. 10. P.Cair.Zen. II 59243 verso Musée Égyptien (Le Caire), CG 59243 © Archives photographiques internationales de papyrologie.



Fig. 11. SB XIV 11942 recto, avec l'aimable autorisation de l'Egypt Exploration Society.

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Citazioni e meccanismi di citazione nei papiri di Demetrio Lacone

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Negli ultimi anni la critica ha mostrato un crescente interesse per la presenza di citazioni letterarie nei papiri epicurei di Ercolano, offrendo puntuali raccolte ed osservando, secondo le necessità, la coerenza con la tradizione manoscritta, le possibili fonti, alle quali i filosofi hanno potuto attingere, la coesione tra la riflessione condotta e il testo citato. L'esame della presenza di citazioni ben si presta, infatti, ad una ricca gamma di interessi, che riguarda la critica testuale, qualora si lavori su brani noti anche dalla tradizione manoscritta medievale, la storia della letteratura e del pensiero antico, laddove, come spesso accade, il testo riporti estratti di opere a noi non pervenute. Tuttavia il ricorrere di una citazione in un testo non è mai un dato neutro, esso va considerato, piuttosto, un elemento di attenzione, un segnale che l'autore sta fornendo al suo lettore. Pertanto sarà opportuno osservare ugualmente il nuovo contesto in cui esse si trovano, ovvero la funzione che esse si trovano ad assolvere nel testo filosofico, valutandone adattamenti e difformità.[1]

Le notevoli varietà di utilizzo, insieme alle differenti modalità attraverso le quali le citazioni vengono proposte al lettore, sia in termini di coesione testuale che di espedienti grafici, che ne individuino l'estensione e la pertinenza, non ha, tuttavia, sempre permesso di fornire un quadro omogeneo e complessivo di questa modalità, che risulta oltretutto essere una cifra compositiva propria della letteratura classica. Esse sono, infatti, un prezioso punto di riferimento nel procedere dell'argomentazione, costituendone talvolta le premesse, sino a divenire agile supporto per la sostenibilità della tesi discussa.[2]

La citazione, in quanto sostegno al ragionamento del filosofo, sia essa utilizzata per confutare l'opinione di un avversario, per avvalorare quanto egli sta esprimendo o semplicemente per rendere retoricamente più efficace, e in definitiva più intellegibile, l'impianto ideologico proposto, manifesta, dunque, una funzione che può essere definita comunque esemplificativa.

Con il presente contributo vorrei proporre i risultati di una prima indagine sulle occorrenze, gli strumenti e la funzione delle citazioni letterarie nella produzione del filosofo Demetrio Lacone, al fine di ricostruire un primo, seppur parziale, quadro di riferimento.

Lo stato frammentario delle opere di Demetrio, a differenza di quanto si verifica per quelle di Filodemo, spesso non consente di ricostruire a pieno la loro articolazione. Se infatti spesso il Gadareno costruisce la propria argomentazione a partire dalla confutazione della dottrina di un avversario, le cui opere sono ampiamente citate e discusse,[3] Demetrio, per quanto ci è possibile ricostruire, procede in maniera più asciutta e stringata, servendosi delle proprie fonti in modo originale, rifunzionalizzandole secondo le proprie esigenze.

Prendendo in considerazione esclusivamente i testi per i quali è possibile offrire un quadro di insieme più compiuto, trascurando quindi papiri più compromessi, che pure avrebbero potuto fornire importanti elementi di confronto, si può comprendere come il filosofo attingesse a

[1] Per una sintesi dei principali contributi sull'argomento, cf. Parisi (2011) 40 n. 23; (2013) 117 n. 1.
[2] Per questo uso nella letteratura epicurea mi permetto di rinviare a Parisi (2015) 19-22.
[3] A titolo esemplificativo si può osservare la struttura del De musica di Filodemo, cf. Delattre (2007).

materiale di diversa provenienza: poesia lirica e tragica, trattatistica scientifica, opere filosofiche di scuola epicurea e/o di tradizione peripatetica, stoica e scettica.[4]

Anche solo ad un primo sguardo si può osservare che il tessuto argomentativo delle opere dell'epicureo è pervaso dal ricorso ad ipotesti di vario genere in forma di citazione estesa, di sintetica parafrasi o di semplice menzione del titolo di un'opera o del nome di un autore.

Ho già in altra sede discusso la possibilità di inquadrare questi materiali, sia nella forma più estesa di citazioni sia in quella di più sintetica parafrasi, in relazione alla precisione dei dati bibliografici indicati da Demetrio e alla connessione con il contenuto principale dell'opera in cui sono preservate.[5]

Un primo esame dei dati raccolti sulla presenza di testi poetici nell'opera di Demetrio, e come già riscontrato in precedenza nel caso di Filodemo,[6] mi ha permesso di distinguere una funzione polemica, ovvero il testo citato si presenta ben distinto dal ragionamento del filosofo e la sua presenza è funzionale a discutere la pertinenza e la correttezza di un'affermazione in relazione ad una specifica questione: 1) tecnica, se ci riferiamo alla Poetica, nella quale si argomentano la correttezza formale, le scelte di lessico e/o sintassi; 2) contenutistica, laddove il filosofo voglia, invece, osservare l'inadeguatezza di quanto affermato da altri per confutarlo.

A questa prima modalità, che prevede quindi l'utilizzo di citazioni poetiche e in prosa coerenti con il tessuto argomentativo costruito dall'autore, si affianca una seconda strategia compositiva, riservata quasi esclusivamente ad estratti delle opere di Epicuro e degli altri maestri epicurei. Il solo nome di Epicuro ricorre ben 15 volte nei soli P.Hercul. 831, 1012 e 1013, oltre a considerare l'impostazione stessa delle Aporie, interamente costruite sull'opera di Polieno (frr. 31-38 Tepedino).[7]

In queste circostanze il ricorso alla citazione presenta ugualmente una duplice natura. Anzitutto rifarsi all'opera e al dettato del Maestro serve ad avvalorare la propria posizione, dandole legittimità e inserendola nel tessuto speculativo dell'ortodossia epicurea. Altrettanto interessante è, poi, la necessità che Demetrio sente di restituire veridicità alle parole dei Maestri, restituendo la correttezza di quanto affermavano in una prospettiva che è stata giustamente definita filologica ma,[8] ugualmente, ristabilendo la fondatezza del ragionamento, laddove esso fosse stato malamente compreso e interpretato. In questa prospettiva si può, allora, affermare che attraverso il recupero delle opere di Epicuro e dei καθηγεμόνες Demetrio si ponga come obiettivo la risoluzione delle aporie riscontrate da avversari di altre scuole filosofiche intorno a problemi focali della dottrina epicurea.[9]

Un'ultima categoria riscontrabile è, infine, legata all'uso della citazione come παράδειγμα di un atteggiamento, un modo di essere che il lettore deve seguire o evitare; la citazione, dunque, in quanto tale, può essere assimilata ad un'espressione proverbiale, perde il suo specifico significato per assumere, invece, un valore universale. Nel procedere dell'argomentazione questo genere di ipotesti, pertanto, non supportano il suo sviluppo adducendo nuovi elementi, ma rinforzandone l'efficacia, rendendo più evidente e chiaro quanto il filosofo vuole dimostrare. La specificità di questa funzione è espressa anche sul piano sintattico; se, infatti, Demetrio altrove indica precisamente l'autore, e talvolta anche

[4] In tale prospettiva sarà, quindi, necessario riferirsi ai P.Hercul. 831, 1012, 1013, 1014.
[5] Cf. Parisi (2011).
[6] Cf. Parisi (2013).
[7] Tepedino Guerra (1991).
[8] Cf. Puglia (1988) 77-80.
[9] Cf. Puglia (1988) 78-79.

l'opera, da cui trae le sue citazioni, in questa circostanza spesso il testo è introdotto semplicemente da una breve e generica perifrasi.[10]

Di seguito vorrei proporre l'analisi di due colonne del P.Hercul. 831, nelle quali compaiono due citazioni, diverse per contenuti, estensione e genere, al fine di verificare l'applicabilità dello schema fin qui proposto.

P.Hercul. 831, col. ii. 1-8 Parisi[11]

καὶ διὰ τα[ύτ]ην τὴν αἰτίαν
καὶ ὁ ἰατρὸς Ἱπποκράτης τοὺς
ὀφ**θα**λμούς φησὶν ἀποκατι-
δ**ε**[ῖ]**ν** δεῖν ἐπί τινων, ἢν
γὰρ αἱ] ὄψεις πυκνὰ κεινέων-
ται, [μανῆ]ναι τού⟦σ⟧τους ἐλπὶς
κατ᾽α[ὐτὰ τὰ πα]ράκοπα κεινή-
ματα [τῆς δια]νοίας. λυπ᾽ω΄⟦ο⟧.

2-6 Hipp. Prog. II 7

«e per questa ragione anche il medico Ippocrate sostiene che "è necessario osservare intensamente negli occhi di taluni; infatti allorquando le pupille si muovono intensamente, allora vi è la possibilità che questi siano pazzi" proprio secondo i movimenti folli della mente...»

La colonna è ben conservata ed integra nella porzione superiore; la lacuna che interessa il testo dalla linea 6, infatti, compromette la comprensione soltanto della sezione finale della colonna (ll. 9-11). Il margine sinistro è, inoltre, interessato da alcune difficoltà stratigrafiche, con l'individuazione di un ampio sottoposto all'altezza delle ll. 4-6.

Il testo di questa colonna è stato più volte riesaminato per la presenza della citazione di Hipp. Prog. 7 Alexanderson (= II 126 L.), di cui, probabilmente, Demetrio si serviva per istituire un'analogia «tra la follia di alcuni ammalati sottoposti a disturbi ipocondriaci e quella di chi non affidandosi alla sensazione traligna in pensieri mostruosi».[12] È evidente, quindi, che nella colonna prosegue il ragionamento del filosofo sulla validità della conoscenza acquisita sulle solide basi della sensazione, e attraverso essa verificata.

La citazione ippocratica, infatti, concerne la possibilità di considerare l'osservazione del movimento delle pupille come sintomo di un eccesso di follia. La presenza di questa citazione è stata letta, inoltre, come un'ulteriore conferma della paternità demetriaca del trattato conservato in P.Hercul. 831, poiché le uniche altre attestazioni dell'opera di Ippocrate nei papiri di Ercolano ricorrono in P.Hercul. 1012 coll. xviii-xxiii,[13] comunemente attribuito al Lacone.[14] A differenza degli altri due testi, il cui contesto di riferimento è di più difficile

[10] Parisi (2011) 47-50.

[11] Il testo della colonna è stato riedito da ultimo nel 1999 da Sanders (1999) 22-23; la presenza della citazione ippocratica, tuttavia, aveva già indotto altri studiosi a riesaminare questa colonna: cf. Roselli (1998) 55; Dorandi (1989) 52; Gigante (1990b). Ho fornito una prima rilettura di questa colonna in Parisi (2016a) 44-45, segnalando in grassetto le porzioni di testo sovrapposte e ricollocate.

[12] Gigante (1990b) 2. Del medesimo passo Gigante (1990a) 74, discute polemicamente a proposito del fraintendimento di traduzione della Isnardi Parente (1983^2) 600-601.

[13] Dorandi (1989) 52; così anche Roselli (1988) 55 n. 14; Gigante (1990b) 1.

[14] Gli interessi di Demetrio Lacone per il testo ippocratico sono testimoniati, inoltre, da Erotiano (Erot. 47, 24 N = fr. 5 Gigante in Puglia [1988] 19), che gli attribuisce la corretta interpretazione del sostantivo κλαγγώδη. Allo stesso modo Fozio attribuisce a un Demetrio la spiegazione della glossa ὑπέρινος; la redazione di questa nota si legge anche in Erotiano (Erot. 88, 9 N) e nel Glossario di Galeno (XIX 148, 15 Kühn) in riferimento al testo di

ricostruzione, a causa dello stato di conservazione del rotolo, in questa circostanza si comprende bene l'estensione della citazione, la cui conclusione è segnalata da un *vacuum*, e le modalità attraverso le quali essa è introdotta. Demetrio, infatti, non solo fa esplicita menzione del nome di Ippocrate, ma lo caratterizza con l'interessante apposizione ὁ ἰατρὸς. Il testo ippocratico è, poi, introdotto da un verbo di dire (φησίν), come nello stesso trattato si legge a proposito di Epicuro.[15] Questo dato, apparentemente trascurabile, risulta tuttavia importante se si osserva che per le due citazioni conservate da P.Hercul. 1012, e per molte di quelle poetiche di P.Hercul. 1014, il filosofo propende per forme di γράφω e suoi composti. Mi sembra plausibile credere che, mentre per i due testi di Epidemie e Prorretico di P.Hercul. 1012 il riferimento vada al dato testuale e, perciò, si ponga l'attenzione sulla scrittura, per questa citazione Demetrio preferisca φηcιν in virtù del fatto che il *focus* sia rivolto al contenuto men che alla forma di quanto riportato. L'ipotesto di Ippocrate, infatti, è funzionale al ragionamento condotto dal filosofo nelle colonne successive a proposito dell'attendibilità delle sensazioni di un folle.[16] Pertanto, gli risulta necessario ricordare come è possibile riconoscere e diagnosticare la follia, ricorrendo ad una voce autorevole e non controvertibile. Mi sembra, dunque, che il testo di Ippocrate, che pur presenta qualche difformità rispetto alla tradizione manoscritta medievale,[17] sia qui usato da Demetrio come premessa della sua argomentazione, come confermato dalla perfetta coerenza tra il dettato della citazione e le parole del filosofo che anticipano la sezione successiva (τὰ πα]ράκοπα κεινήματα [τῆς δια]νοίας), che sono oggetto di discussione della colonna seguente, creando una perfetta coesione sul piano testuale e argomentativo tra i due testi.

P.Hercul. 831, col. xviii Körte, 1-7

1 τοῖς θεοῖς μέλει τι τῶν ἐμῶν
κακῶν [α]ὐτοί τε μοι [σ]ώσο[υ]-
σι τὴν ἐρωμένην. πρόδηλον
δ'ὡς καὶ ἔργων τινῶν ἀπέ-
5 χεσθαι δεῖ τὸν μὴ μετεωρισ-
θησό[μ]ενο[ν], ὧν ἐστι καὶ μέ-
θη.

«"… agli dei sta a cuore qualcosa dei miei mali, essi salveranno la mia amata". È chiaro, dunque, che colui che non voglia sollevarsi dal *meteorismos* deve tenersi lontano da alcune azioni, tra le quali il bere».

Il testo della colonna, in parte compromesso, è noto esclusivamente attraverso l'apografo realizzato da G.B. Malesci entro il 1810, in quanto l'originale, donato secondo le notizie di archivio al re di Olanda, attualmente risulta perduto.[18] Già von Arnim riconobbe nelle prime tre linee la presenza di due senari giambici, ascrivibili plausibilmente ad un testo drammatico, probabilmente comico.[19] La citazione, per la quale non è possibile ricostruire il contesto, è

Hipp. Epid. VI 5.15, che è citato in P.Hercul. 1012, XXI Puglia. Cf. Roselli (1988) 56; Puglia (1988) 215-217; così anche Renna (1992) 163-164.

[15] P.Hercul. 831, col. vi.

[16] P.Hercul. 831, col. iii.

[17] Cf. Roselli (1988).

[18] Cf. Van Heel (1989); Dorandi (1995).

[19] Il testo non è presente però nella raccolta di Kassel-Austin, né nella precedente di Kaibel. Unico confronto che mi è stato possibile reperire è un verso delle Fenicie (v. 1198) di Euripide in cui si legge l'espressione τοῖς θεοῖς μέλει, nella parte conclusiva dell'annuncio del messagero a Giocasta e al coro; si tratta di una *gnome* proverbiale circa l'affidarsi al destino secondo la volontà degli dei.

tuttavia individuabile per la presenza nell'interlinea di un segno obliquo, leggermente curvo, che precede l'aggettivo πρόδηλον. L'attenzione con cui il disegnatore ha riprodotto le altre colonne, per le quali possiamo giovarci del confronto con l'originale, ci inducono a credere che il segno fosse presente nell'originale e non si trattasse di un'ombra o di una macchia di inchiostro. Oltretutto un segno simile è presente in P.Hercul. 124, fr. viii 5 De Falco;[20] esso però si legge in un contesto estremamente lacunoso, per cui è impossibile verificarne la funzione.

Il testo sembrerebbe rappresentare il lamento di un giovane innamorato, afflitto per la malattia della sua amata, nei confronti degli dei tristemente insensibili alla sua sofferenza. Körte giustificava la presenza di questi versi come esempio della sconsideratezza delle opinioni popolari rispetto all'indifferenza degli dei per le vicende umane. La ricostruzione di Körte è plausibile e ben si adatta al contenuto dei versi, pur essendo del tutto estranea al contesto generale della colonna nello specifico e del trattato, almeno per quanto ci è restituito dal P.Hercul. 831, nel quale non compaiono riferimenti alla dottrina teologica epicurea.

Pertanto, anche in relazione a quanto si può ricostruire nelle linee successive, mi sembra ugualmente plausibile ritenere che l'immagine del giovane disperato per amore vada comunque interpretata come ulteriore esempio degli effetti nefasti di una mente pervasa dalla conoscenza imperfetta prodotta dagli effetti dei *meteorismoi*. In tal senso, dunque, il filosofo ricorrerebbe ad un testo poetico, ammettiamo pur comico, per rendere più chiaro ed efficace al lettore quanto sta cercando di dimostrare con un'immagine di immediata comprensibilità e di sicuro effetto.

Anche in questa circostanza, dunque, mi sembra di poter dire che l'esame delle citazioni e dei loro meccanismi di utilizzo permetta di restituire per Demetrio un'immagine complessa di filosofo e uomo di cultura, epicureo ortodosso ma profondamente legato alla tradizione letteraria che egli padroneggia e manipola piegandola ai nuovi scopi che contraddistinguono la sua scrittura.

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[20] Parisi (2016b) 521.

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Comparaison entre le système d'abréviations de l'Anonyme de Londres et ceux de la Constitution d'Athènes et des autres textes littéraires du Brit.Libr. inv. 131

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Les recherches menées depuis vingt-cinq ans sur le lot exceptionnel de papyrus acquis par le British Museum en 1889, qui comprenait non seulement la Constitution d'Athènes d'Aristote (P.Lond.Lit. 108, Brit.Libr. inv. 131^{v} = MP^3 163), mais aussi les Mimes d'Hérondas (P.Lond.Lit. 96, Brit.Libr. inv. 135 = MP^3 485), un texte médical traditionnellement dénommé Anonyme de Londres (P.Lond.Lit. 165, Brit.Libr. inv. 137 = MP^3 2339), ainsi que des écrits d'orateurs grecs (P.Lond.Lit. 134, Brit.Libr. inv. 134 = MP^3 1234; P.Lond.Lit. 130, Brit.Libr. inv. 133 = MP^3 337; P.Lond.Lit. 131, Brit.Libr. inv. 132 = MP^3 1272), ont été notamment relatives à la provenance et au contexte de production et d'utilisation des rouleaux qui le composent.[1] Ceux-ci pourraient avoir été retrouvés ensemble dans les ruines d'une maison, probablement à Hermopolis, en Moyenne-Égypte, où ils constituaient une collection privée de livres, voire une 'bibliothèque' au sens papyrologique du mot.[2] Datés pour la plupart de la fin du I^{er} et du début du II^{e} siècle de notre ère, ces rouleaux présentent de nombreuses affinités bibliologiques: le plus souvent de facture informelle, ils correspondent à des copies de travail ou à des textes autographes écrits sur des supports de qualité médiocre ou au verso de documents.[3] Le profil social des individus qui ont produit et utilisé ces rouleaux a également commencé à se dessiner: L. Del Corso les identifie à des fonctionnaires ou à des notables locaux liés par des intérêts analogues, –on relèvera la proportion élevée d'œuvres rhétoriques et philosophiques dans le lot–, qui avaient l'habitude de transcrire eux-mêmes les textes dont ils avaient besoin, et qui, dans le cas de la Constitution d'Athènes, coopéraient au travail de copie. Ils appartenaient à la catégorie des 'lecteurs-consommateurs', qui a été récemment étudiée par G. Cavallo pour le genre romanesque.[4]

Le fait que les rouleaux aient été retrouvés ensemble, qu'ils proviennent du même environnement et qu'ils présentent de nombreuses caractéristiques formelles communes, offre la possibilité d'étudier et de mieux comprendre les pratiques scribales de ceux qui les ont produits et utilisés. Parmi celles-ci, on s'attachera plus particulièrement ici à analyser les systèmes abréviatifs de deux pièces informelles du lot,[5] l'Anonyme de Londres et le papyrus de la British Library inv. 131. D'une longueur de 336.5 cm, le premier est le plus long rouleau conservé à ce jour, parmi

[1] Manfredi (1992); Mélèze Modrzejewski (1993); Bastianini (1996); Manetti (1997) 141-143; Messeri (2003); Del Corso (2008); (2011) 25-27; (2013) 159-160; Otranto (2012 [2015]); Kaltsas (2015). Les opinions divergent sur le nombre de rouleaux que comptait le lot; pour une mise au point, cf. Ricciardetto (2016^2) X n. 4.
[2] Sur cette définition de la 'bibliothèque', cf. McNamee (2007).
[3] Seuls, les P.Lond.Lit. 134 et 130, contenant des textes d'Hypéride et de Démosthène, copiés à quelques années d'intervalle par deux mains différentes, sont plus anciens: selon Cavallo (2008) 48-49, ils remontent au II^{e} s. av. J.-C. Ils étaient écrits à l'origine sur un rouleau unique. Pour la présentation du texte sur le support, les Mimes d'Hérondas font exception, puisque leur mise en page est soignée, ce qui n'est pas le cas, loin s'en faut, de l'orthographe de la copie. On notera en outre que les Mimes constituent le seul texte poétique du lot.
[4] Cavallo (1996); Del Corso (2008) 48-50.
[5] La présence d'abréviations est l'une des caractéristiques qui permettent d'identifier un texte informel ou une copie personnelle: McNamee (1981) XI.

les papyrus littéraires grecs médicaux.[6] Comme en témoignent l'écriture, personnelle et informelle, dénotant une main experte et désinvolte, la présence de nombreuses abréviations, corrections et additions, non seulement interlinéaires et marginales, mais aussi au dos du papyrus, ainsi que les fréquents changements de construction grammaticale, le texte qu'il contient au recto est autographe, reflétant la réflexion d'un intellectuel sur un texte qu'il est en train d'écrire.[7] Quant au papyrus de la British Library inv. 131, il se compose de quatre rouleaux contenant au recto la comptabilité d'un domaine agricole du nome hermopolite pour les années 77-79 de notre ère (P.Lond. I 131 [p. 166] et 131* [p. 189]).[8] Ceux-ci ont été réutilisés au verso pour copier le texte de la Constitution d'Athènes;[9] en outre, composite et opisthographe, le premier des quatre rouleaux avait déjà été utilisé pour noter le début d'un commentaire anonyme au Contre Midias de Démosthène (P.Lond.Lit. 179 = MP^3 307),[10] ainsi que des notes informelles au premier livre des Aitia de Callimaque (P.Lond.Lit. 181 = MP^3 197).[11] Le texte aristotélicien a été copié par quatre mains qui ont employé des graphies cursives et semi-cursives. La m^1, qui a recopié les colonnes i à xii (§ 1-30), est une cursive de petit module, aux traits arrondis, riche en ligatures et similaire à l'écriture documentaire du recto. La deuxième main débute à la colonne xiii et s'interrompt *ex abrupto* à la ligne 28 de la colonne xx (§ 31-41.2). L'écriture est irrégulière, informelle et rigide, de taille plus grande que celle de la m^1, et de module carré. Peu familière avec les écritures formalisées, celle-ci commet de nombreuses fautes d'orthographe, en bonne partie corrigées par la m^4. La m^3 complète la colonne xx et copie les colonnes xxi à xxiv (§ 41.2-46.1), ainsi que les six dernières colonnes du texte (xxxi-xxxvi = § 64-69). Cette *manus variabilis*, qui utilise deux types d'écriture différents, ne corrige presque pas le texte qu'elle copie. Enfin, la m^4 a copié les colonnes xxv à xxx (§ 46.1-63). Son écriture est une cursive fluide, présentant des affinités avec la m^1, dont elle se distingue toutefois par des traits plus allongés et anguleux et par une plus grande prudence dans la formation des ligatures, ainsi qu'avec la main du scripteur de l'Anonyme de Londres. C'est à ce quatrième copiste qu'on doit la majorité des corrections du papyrus.[12]

L'Anonyme de Londres et les rouleaux de la Constitution sont parsemés d'abréviations, puisque le premier compte un peu moins de 1800 mots abrégés, dont 3 noms propres, tandis que, pour les

[6] À ce jour, le papyrus a fait l'objet de trois éditions: celles de Diels (1893) et de Manetti (2011) ne fournissent que le texte grec; la plus récente, celle de Ricciardetto (2016^2), fournit aussi une traduction française. Pour les références aux reproductions du rouleau, cf. Ricciardetto (2016^2) CLXII-CLXIII.

[7] Avancée pour la première fois par D. Manetti, l'hypothèse de l'autographe est aujourd'hui largement acceptée; pour un *status quaestionis*, cf. Ricciardetto (2016^2) XLI-XLIII. L'interprétation de la nature de l'écrit demeure en revanche discutée; plutôt qu'un brouillon de livre, le texte pourrait correspondre à un exercice personnel: Ricciardetto (2016^2) CXXX-CXXXVIII.

[8] Le lecteur trouvera un facsimilé du recto et du verso des quatre rouleaux dans Scott (1891). Des reproductions d'excellente qualité sont également disponibles sur le site Internet de la British Library: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_131.

[9] La Constitution d'Athènes a fait l'objet de multiples éditions, traductions et commentaires, dont on trouvera la liste complète (arrêtée à 1981) dans Rhodes (1993) 739-747. Dans la suite de la présente contribution, on citera uniquement les éditions de Kenyon (1891^1 et 1903^4), van Herwerden / van Leeuwen (1891), Blass (1903^4) et Chambers (1994^2). Pour leurs références complètes, cf. les pages de l'ouvrage de Rhodes susmentionné. Sur les témoignages papyrologiques de ce traité aristotélicien, cf. Manfredi (1992) et CPF I* (1989) 280-282.

[10] Sur ce commentaire à Démosthène, voir, parmi les travaux les plus récents, Maehler (2014) 69-71; Otranto (2012 [2015]); l'éd. CUF de Caecilius de Calè Actè, T36, par F. Woerther (2015).

[11] Sur ces notes, cf. Otranto (2012 [2015]) 161-162 et 165-168, avec une liste des éditions dont elles ont fait l'objet à la n. 33. Pour les abréviations présentes dans ces notes, cf. Bell (1953) 429. Sur la genèse, complexe, des rouleaux du Brit.Libr. inv. 131, cf. Bastianini (1995) 33-36, fig. 7-8 et Del Corso (2008). Sur les rouleaux composites, voir la contribution de M.-H. Marganne dans le présent volume.

[12] Cette brève description paléographique des quatre mains se fonde sur l'analyse détaillée de Del Corso (2008) 19-24, qui consacre aussi quelques pages (16-18) aux travaux antérieurs sur la question.

seconds, leur nombre avoisine 3400 mots.[13] L'utilisation des abréviations par les quatre mains qui ont copié la Constitution d'Athènes varie considérablement. La m^1 abrège abondamment (près de 2100 mots abrégés, c'est-à-dire 30 % des mots copiés par m^1), tandis que la m^2 ne le fait jamais; situées dans les interlignes, les seules abréviations visibles dans la partie qu'elle a recopiée sont dues à la m^4. La m^3 abrège extrêmement peu, une trentaine de mots seulement; enfin, la m^4 privilégie la lisibilité à la rapidité d'exécution, comme le montrent le nombre d'abréviations, qui, bien qu'élevé (ca 1030 mots abrégés, soit environ 25 % des mots abrégés par cette main), est cependant inférieur à celui de la section recopiée par la m^1, ainsi que les procédés abréviatifs utilisés.

En ce qui concerne la typologie des abréviations, leur examen permet de les classer en deux catégories, selon qu'elles appartiennent à la pratique des écritures cursives grecques, donc à un contexte documentaire, ou qu'elles aient été créées pour mettre par écrit des œuvres littéraires, en particulier des commentaires.[14]

Parmi les abréviations liées à la pratique documentaire, il faut distinguer deux sous-catégories, dont l'une correspond à l'omission de la fin d'un mot et l'autre, au fait de tracer plus rapidement une séquence de lettres.

Les abréviations de la première sous-catégorie peuvent être exécutées de deux façons: par la suspension d'une lettre ou par la combinaison de deux lettres. Dans les abréviations par suspension, le scripteur omet la ou les lettres finales d'un mot, tandis que la dernière lettre qu'il retient de ce mot est surélevée et se trouve, soit au-dessus de la lettre qui la précède, soit à côté d'elle. Ce procédé doit être distingué des 'pseudo-abréviations', à savoir des mots écrits en entier, dont la dernière lettre est surélevée par rapport aux autres, généralement pour respecter la justification des lignes à droite. Ce phénomène est bien attesté dans les deux papyrus. Il arrive

[13] Pour une liste mise à jour des abréviations de l'Anonyme, cf. Ricciardetto (2016^2) XXVI-XXXIII. Les abréviations du papyrus d'Aristote sont répertoriées par van Herwerden / van Leeuwen (1891) 167-179 et longuement étudiées par Giltbauer (1903) 29-102 ("Tachygraphische Spuren im Papyrus des aristotelischen Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία"); pour un tableau synthétique commode, cf. notamment Turner (1987^2) no. 60, Chambers (1994^2) IX.

[14] On applique ici, en l'adaptant, la typologie proposée par Bastianini / Long (1992) dans leur édition du BKT 4 (P.Berol. inv. 978 = MP^3 536; Hiéroclès, Elementa moralia; Hermopolis, fin du II^e s.). Il manque à ce jour une étude approfondie des abréviations dans les papyrus grecs, en particulier littéraires, qui tienne compte des pratiques à la fois littéraires et documentaires. Sur les abréviations dans les papyrus littéraires, outre les commentaires qui accompagnent quelques éditions (en particulier ceux de P.J. Parsons au P.Coll.Youtie II 66 b, p. 411-412, une lettre dans laquelle le scripteur utilise le système abréviatif typique des commentaires et des textes informels), signalons Crönert (1902) (= [1975] 130), qui les répartit en cinq groupes (écriture s'interrompant dans le corps du mot; superposition d'une lettre; combinaison de deux lettres; lettres accompagnées de signes diacritiques; sigles), Bilabel (1923) 2293-2298, qui en fournit une liste, et, surtout, le répertoire d'abréviations attestées dans les papyrus et ostraca littéraires grecs, par McNamee (1981), avec un supplément paru en 1985. Non seulement la chercheuse américaine donne une liste alphabétique des mots abrégés, mais elle présente aussi brièvement les systèmes abréviatifs utilisés par les scripteurs des papyrus (pp. XI-XIV). Sa typologie, que j'ai appliquée à l'Anonyme de Londres dans mon édition de ce texte (cf. Ricciardetto [2016^2] XXIII-XXVI), diffère sensiblement de celle de G. Bastianini et A.A. Long. Dans une contribution s'insérant dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche plus vaste sur les abréviations dans les papyrus grecs, malheureusement resté sans suite, Degni (1999) 72 a également proposé une typologie des abréviations dans les papyrus littéraires légèrement différente de celle des éditeurs du traité d'Hiéroclès. Elle les classe en trois catégories: symboles, signes graphiques non alphabétiques dont la résolution est univoque et abréviations par brachygraphie. La paléographe italienne retrace aussi un bref historique des études sur les systèmes abréviatifs grecs dans les papyrus, en soulignant l'apport, surtout pour le versant documentaire, des travaux de U. Wilcken, F. Bilabel, H.I. Bell et A. Blanchard; on y ajoutera désormais Gonis (2009).

aussi que, pour un mot écrit sur deux lignes, ce soit la dernière lettre de la ligne, et non du mot, qui est surélevée.[15]

La suspension d'une lettre est employée 244 fois dans l'Anonyme (14 % des attestations de mots abrégés), où il convient de distinguer deux procédés. Dans le premier, qui concerne à peu près les deux-tiers des abréviations par suspension, le mot abrégé est toujours le dernier mot de la ligne (que celle-ci appartienne à une colonne ou fasse partie d'une addition interlinéaire ou marginale). Le nombre de lettres omises est variable, mais souvent réduit, afin d'éviter toute équivoque dans la résolution du mot. Il peut toutefois atteindre huit lettres.[16] W. Crönert estimait que le scripteur du papyrus médical ne surélevait que trois voyelles seulement (α, ο et ω), et qu'une consonne appartenant à la terminaison d'un mot n'était jamais surélevée, sauf pour le θ de -θα ou -θαι.[17] En réalité, cette règle souffre de nombreuses exceptions.[18] La lettre surélevée peut être remplacée par un trait horizontal ajouté au-dessus de la dernière lettre retenue du mot.[19] On peut hésiter sur le sens à donner à ce trait: il pourrait correspondre, soit à une simple marque d'abréviation, ce qui paraît plus probable, soit à la version simplifiée d'une lettre écrite en suspension.

Le second procédé, qui concerne le tiers restant des abréviations par suspension de l'Anonyme, n'est utilisé que pour cinq mots: un nom commun, δύναμις, un nom propre, Ἐμπειρικοί, un verbe, ὑπάρχειν, un adverbe, μόνον, et une conjonction, ἀλλά.[20] À la différence des autres mots abrégés par suspension, ceux-ci apparaissent partout sur la ligne. Le scripteur les abrège de manière beaucoup plus franche, puisqu'il ne retient que les deux premières lettres du mot, la seconde étant tracée au-dessus de la première;[21] dans le nom Ἐμπειρικοί, attesté dans la col. xxxi. 26, il conserve les trois premières, et, cas exceptionnel dans le papyrus, trace la troisième au-dessus des deux précédentes. Pour ces mots, dont deux relèvent du lexique médical, le scripteur, qui se déclare médecin (Anon. Lond. xxi. 13-18), utilisait probablement un répertoire d'abréviations qui lui était propre. À mon avis, l'apparition, unique dans le papyrus, du nom Ἐμπειρικοί dans ce passage, renforce cette hypothèse.

Alors que, dans l'Anonyme, la lettre en suspension correspond aussi bien à une voyelle qu'à une consonne, dans la section recopiée par la m^1 de la Constitution d'Athènes, c'est généralement à une voyelle, surtout ο et ω, exceptionnellement η, dans des noms propres (par exemple, xi. 7 = § 25.4: θεμιστοκλ^{η}). Lorsque la lettre surélevée est une consonne, c'est le plus souvent θ, pour la terminaison de l'infinitif présent -σθ(αι). Le nombre de lettres omises est également réduit (une seule lettre, qui correspond alors à c ou ν, moins fréquemment à ι et υ, rarement deux). Dans des cas exceptionnels (on en relève moins de dix exemples), le copiste omet trois lettres; la lettre surélevée est alors presque toujours une consonne. La m^1 se montre donc plus conservatrice que le scripteur de l'Anonyme. En outre, à la différence de ce dernier, elle trace la lettre le plus

[15] Sur les pseudo-abréviations en général, voir McNamee (1981) XII-XIII et 120 ("Appendix II"); dans l'Anonyme de Londres, Ricciardetto (2016^2) XXVI et n. 65; dans la Constitution d'Athènes, voir, par exemple, le dernier mot de col. i. 13 et 15-16 (§ 3.1-2 [m^1]): ταυτ^{α}; επικατεστ^{η}; μετ^{ε}|πέμψατο.

[16] Cf. Anon. Lond. vi. 32: αναθυμ pour ἀναθυμ(ιαθεῖσαι).

[17] Crönert (1902) (= [1975] 131).

[18] Pour la surélévation d'autres voyelles que les trois mentionnées par Crönert, signalons, par exemple, Anon. Lond., xii. 30, λεγομενη pour λεγομένη(ν); xii. 31, επιμειχθε pour ἐπιμειχθέ(ντος), etc.; pour les consonnes, Anon. Lond., vi. 14, xxiii. 36, xxvii. 14, xxviii. 7, 34, 36, 38, xxxii. 1, 22, 24, πνευμ pour πνεῦμ(α) ou πνεύμ(ατος); xxiv. 36, τυγχ pour τυγχ(άνειν); xxxi. 43, μιζ pour μείζ(ων); etc.

[19] E.g. Anon. Lond. v. 4: λεπτ̄ pour λεπτ(ήν).

[20] À la différence du BKT IV (Bastianini / Long [1992] 277), l'auteur de l'Anonyme abrège aussi la conjonction ἀλλά, lorsque le mot qui la suit commence par une voyelle qui devrait normalement conduire à l'élision de l'α final d'ἀλλά.

[21] En revanche, si la pratique de surélever une seule lettre, qui est aussi la première du mot, est bien attestée dans le BKT IV (cf. Bastianini / Long [1992] 277) pour le substantif ζῷον ainsi que pour certaines formes de l'article commençant par τ, elle est absente de l'Anonyme et du papyrus aristotélicien.

souvent à droite de celle qui la précède, voire au-dessus de la première lettre du mot suivant.[22] La position du mot sur la ligne n'a aucune incidence sur l'emploi du procédé. La m^3 l'utilise aussi à trois reprises; comme dans l'Anonyme, la lettre suspendue peut être remplacée par un trait non alphabétique.[23] La suspension d'une lettre apparaît rarement dans la section copiée par la m^4, où, pourtant, les abréviations ne manquent pas. La lettre en exposant correspond, tantôt à une voyelle (ο et ω, exceptionnellement υ), tantôt à une consonne. En règle générale, les mots abrégés par suspension dans la Constitution sont des substantifs et des adjectifs, qui, pour les m^3 et m^4, font tous partie du vocabulaire courant dans les papyrus documentaires: sont ainsi abrégés βουλή, νόμος, ὀβολός, γυνή, γυμνικός, etc.

La seconde manière d'abréger, dans la première sous-catégorie, est la combinaison de deux lettres.[24] Bien attestée dans les textes documentaires, elle apparaît plutôt rarement dans nos deux papyrus, où elle se présente de la manière suivante: les deux premières lettres d'un mot sont croisées, –éventuellement, la seconde est incluse dans la première, si son module le permet –, tandis que toutes les autres lettres du mot sont omises. La position du mot dans la ligne d'écriture n'a pas d'incidence. Dans l'Anonyme, la combinaison se retrouve dans deux mots d'emploi fréquent (ⲁ pour αἰ(τία), αἴ(τιον), etc., et Ⲏ pour γί(νομαι) et autres formes conjuguées), ainsi que dans un nom propre: HP pour 'Hρ(όφιλος). L'emploi d'une abréviation aussi tronquée pour le médecin Hérophile, dont le nom abrégé n'apparaît qu'une fois dans le papyrus (xxxvi. 47),[25] s'explique probablement parce que l'on a affaire à l'une de ces abréviations 'standard', propres au scripteur-médecin.[26] L'inclusion d'une lettre à l'intérieur d'une autre lettre n'est attestée que pour le substantif λόγος (abrégé ⲗ). Dans la Constitution, seul, le premier copiste a eu recours à la combinaison, pour le mot χρόνος (attesté 16 fois sous la forme abrégée ⲭ). Dans tous les cas, le contexte permet de déterminer sans ambiguïté la terminaison du mot.

On signalera enfin la présence, dans l'Anonyme, d'un cas où la combinaison et la suspension sont employées simultanément: l'infinitif présent γί(νεσ)θ(αι), –mais pas l'infinitif futur, comme on a pu le penser autrefois–,[27] est abrégé par la combinaison des deux premières lettres, Ⲏ, auxquelles le scripteur a ajouté, en la surélevant, une consonne de la désinence, θ, afin d'éviter toute équivoque dans la résolution du mot.

Dans l'autre sous-catégorie abréviative liée à la pratique documentaire, le scripteur trace de manière plus rapide une séquence de lettres. Absent de l'Anonyme de Londres, ce phénomène est bien attesté dans le papyrus de la Constitution, surtout dans les sections copiées par les m^3 et m^4 (mais aussi, parfois, dans celle copiée par m^1). Il ne concerne que le trait sinusoïdal (ʃ) qui sert à noter la diphtongue αι, quand celle-ci coïncide avec la terminaison du mot (-αι), ou moins fréquemment, lorsqu'elle se trouve à l'intérieur du mot (-αι-).[28] Il est aussi utilisé par les deux

[22] E.g. Ath. pol. ix. 54 (§ 23.4), αριστειηδ pour Ἀριστείδ(ης); ix. 55 (§ 23.5), calανμαυμαᵡ pour Σαλαμ(ῖνι) ναυμαχ(ίαν).

[23] Ath. pol. xxii. 2 (§ 42.4): τⁿ πoᵡ = τῆ(ς) πόλ(εως) et χωρ\ = χώρ(αν); xxii. 11 (§ 43.1): τροᵖ = τρόπ(ον); xxii. 35 (§ 43.4): ἀπογραφ\ = ἀπογραφ(άς).

[24] Crönert (1902) (= [1975] 131-132); Cavallo (1983) 25; Bastianini / Long (1992); Ricciardetto (2016^2) XXV.

[25] L'abréviation du nom d'Hérophile n'a été identifiée que récemment: Manetti (2011) 86. Diels (1893) 68 déchiffrait ⲏⲙ, combinaison qu'il résolvait par πρ(ότερον).

[26] L'auteur de l'Anonyme, dont les théories physiologiques se situent dans la continuité de celles d'Hérophile (c. 330/320-260/250 av. J.-C.), mentionne le nom écrit en entier du médecin de Chalcédoine à deux autres reprises: xxi. 21 et xxviii. 46.

[27] Dans l'Anon. Lond. v. 20, l'infinitif futur γενήσε(σθαι) n'est abrégé que par la suspension de la lettre ε (γενηcε, cf. Ricciardetto [2016^2] 7), et non par l'emploi simultané de la combinaison et de la suspension, à savoir γενηcθ, pour γενήσ(εσ)θ(αι), cf. Ricciardetto (2014^1) 4. Il n'est pas non plus nécessaire de supposer, comme le font Diels (1893) 7 et Manetti (2011) 10, l'haplographie d'une syllabe: γενηcθ, pour γενήσ<εσ>θ(αι).

[28] Voir, parmi de nombreux autres exemples, pour m^1, Ath. pol. ix. 39 (§ 22.7), χρηcετʃ; m^3, xxiii. 19, κʃ; m^4, xxvii. 2, δυνωντʃ (§ 53.2). On pourrait hésiter à classer ce trait sinusoïdal dans le système abréviatif, puisqu'en réalité, il correspond à la ligature alpha-iota tracée d'une manière si cursive qu'on n'en distingue plus les éléments

derniers copistes pour noter les lettres αι de la conjonction καί et de la syllabe homonyme; ce procédé est alors employé en alternance avec un autre, plus courant, la brachygraphie (cf. infra).[29] Une même main pouvait donc employer deux procédés alternatifs pour abréger un même mot.

Les abréviations typiques des textes littéraires peuvent, elles aussi, être classées en deux sous-catégories: les symboles, dont l'origine est très vraisemblablement tachygraphique, et les abréviations par brachygraphie.

Dans l'Anonyme, comme dans la Constitution, l'emploi des symboles se limite au trait oblique, attesté pour trois formes du verbe εἶναι: / = ἐστιν; \\ = εἰσιν; \ = εἶναι.[30] Les symboles sont fréquents dans les papyrus documentaires, mais ils présentent une différence importante par rapport à ceux de nos rouleaux, puisque, dans les documents, ils équivalent au mot lui-même, sans qu'intervienne sa connotation morphologique.[31] Des symboles 'documentaires' figurent néanmoins aussi dans nos deux textes pour désigner des unités métrologiques: ainsi, à côté de δραχμή abrégé par suspension d'une lettre (e.g. xxvii. 1 = § 53.2 [m^4], δραχμ^{ω} pour δραχμῶ(ν)), la m^4 de la Constitution se sert du signe de la drachme (ʃ),[32] –le même que celui qui est attesté maintes fois dans les comptes du recto–, tandis que la recette médicinale écrite au verso de l'Anonyme de Londres contient peut-être un symbole de poids, équivalant à trois ou quatre oboles (ʃ ou ʃ).[33]

La brachygraphie est le procédé le plus répandu dans nos deux papyrus, puisqu'il concerne jusqu'à 95 % des mots abrégés par la m^4 de la Constitution. Ce n'est qu'exceptionnellement, là où, pourtant, il aurait été possible d'abréger, que ce copiste ne l'a pas fait (en particulier lorsque le mot se trouve en début de ligne). Le scripteur ne conserve que la première lettre du mot, qu'il surmonte d'un signe non alphabétique, dont la forme et la position par rapport à la lettre servent à l'identification du mot. Ce dernier peut être un article, une préposition, une particule, un verbe ou un adverbe. Dans l'Anonyme, l'article au génitif pluriel τῶν, les prépositions κατά et πρός, les particules γάρ et μέν ainsi que l'adverbe οὕτως, sont abrégés par brachygraphie, de même que φημί: pour ce verbe, un petit trait oblique ascendant traverse la haste horizontale de la lettre φ dans sa moitié inférieure. La brachygraphie s'étend aux terminaisons de formes du génitif pluriel, aux préverbes κατα- et προσ-, ainsi qu'à la syllabe -μεν-, située au milieu ou à la fin d'un mot.[34]

originaux: McNamee (1981) XVI et 117. Il est d'ailleurs significatif que, tout en incluant la sinusoïde dans leur typologie des abréviations, Bastianini / Long (1992) n'insèrent pas entre parenthèses les lettres αι, lorsqu'elles correspondent à la résolution de ce trait, alors que ces signes critiques servent à indiquer la résolution d'une abréviation dans les éditions papyrologiques en général, dont la leur. Sur cette sinusoïde, cf. aussi Gonis (2009) 174.

[29] Contrairement à ce que l'on observe dans le BKT IV (cf. col. i. 44: ʃcθανετʃ, pour αἰσθάνεται), dans le papyrus d'Aristote, le trait sinusoïdal n'apparaît pas au début d'un mot. La sinusoïde n'est en revanche jamais utilisée dans le papyrus berlinois pour noter καί ou -και-: la conjonction et la syllabe homonyme y sont toujours abrégées par brachygraphie (Bastianini / Long [1992] 278).

[30] Sur ces symboles, cf. notamment Bilabel (1923) 2296; Del Fabbro (1979) 90, qui parle de 'segni convenzionali'; Bastianini / Long (1992) 278; pour les papyrus d'Herculanum, voir Cavallo (1976) 25.

[31] Bastianini / Long (1992) 278-279.

[32] E.g. Ath. pol. col. xxvi. 54 = § 52.3 (m^4).

[33] Ricciardetto (2016^2) 66 et 186. Tout en considérant cette interprétation comme plausible, Andorlini (2010) 39-40 n. 5 suggère de déchiffrer plutôt .ῥ., peut-être pour le verbe χρῶ. Quant à Manetti (2011) 96, elle distingue peut-être ῥυ[, mais elle n'explique pas à quoi cela pourrait correspondre. Le symbole n'est pas édité par Diels (1893) 76, dans sa transcription de la recette.

[34] Les abréviations par brachygraphie dans l'Anonyme sont les suivantes: γ́ pour γ(άρ); κ̂ pour κ(ατά), κ(ατα)-; μ́ pour μ(έν), -μ(εν)-, -μ(εν); ν́ pour -ν(ων); ō pour οὕ(τως); π́ pour π(ρός), π(ροσ)-; τ́ pour τ(ῶν), -τ(ων); φ pour φ(ησί), φ(ασί).

Tous les mots abrégés par brachygraphie dans le papyrus médical se retrouvent dans celui de la Constitution, à l'exception de la préposition πρός,[35] ainsi que du verbe φημί et de l'adverbe οὕτως. En effet, dans ce papyrus, la brachygraphie ne sert pas à abréger un verbe ou un adverbe. La forme des signes non alphabétiques employés peut également différer, non seulement de celle du scripteur de l'Anonyme, mais aussi entre m^1 et m^4. Surtout, le répertoire de mots abrégés par ce procédé est bien plus étoffé. En effet, la m^1 abrège aussi les articles τὴν et τῆς, les prépositions διά, μετά, παρά, περί et σύν, la particule δέ et les conjonctions καί et οὖν; la brachygraphie englobe aussi les préverbes, ainsi que les syllabes homonymes aux particules μέν (abrégée dans des proportions nettement supérieures à celles de l'Anonyme de Londres) et δέ, aux conjonctions καί et οὖν, ainsi qu'à l'article. À la liste des mots abrégés par brachygraphie par m^1, la m^4 ajoute ὑπό/ὑπο- et ἀνα-, ainsi que la terminaison -μων.[36] Elle élargit également l'emploi de l'abréviation de la particule δέ, qu'elle fusionne au mot suivant, lorsqu'il débute par un ε.[37]

C'est à la catégorie de la brachygraphie qu'il faut rattacher la seule occurrence de l'abréviation sinusoïdale pour αὐτός (e.g. ix. 18 = § 21.5 [m^1]), dont l'origine remonte à l'α aigu ptolémaïque (Hakenalpha). Rarissime dans les papyrus littéraires, elle est toutefois bien attestée dans les comptes du recto, ainsi que dans le commentaire à Démosthène.[38] En revanche, contrairement aux précédents éditeurs de la Constitution, il ne me semble pas que la préposition ἀπό, attestée en xxvii. 23 (§ 53.4 [m^4]), soit abrégée; en effet, après l'α, on distingue plutôt un π, certes cursif, suivi d'un o de petit module. On ajoutera à ces arguments d'ordre paléographique le fait qu'ἀπό n'est jamais abrégé ailleurs dans le texte aristotélicien, et que les prépositions le sont toutes par brachygraphie.[39]

Les mots abrégés n'apparaissent pas avec la même régularité dans l'Anonyme: en effet, ils sont rares dans la première section du texte, et l'auteur/scripteur utilise presque toujours un seul

[35] Il faut toutefois signaler un cas où le préverbe προσ- est abrégé: dans Ath. pol. col. xxvi. 39 = § 51.4 (m^4), on lit en effet ⟦π̊ι⟧π$^{\rho}$τετακτ≀ pour πρ(οσ)τέτακτ(αι). La correction est surprenante, dans la mesure où la préposition πρός et le préverbe correspondant ne sont jamais abrégés dans les rouleaux de la Constitution, et que les autres prépositions et préverbes qui y sont abrégés le sont toujours par brachygraphie (il en va de même dans l'Anonyme). Le préverbe était peut-être déjà abrégé dans le modèle, sous la forme π̊ι (cf. les P.Hercul. 152/157, ainsi que le BKT IV, où πρός/προσ- est précisément abrégé de cette manière), une combinaison que notre copiste n'utilise pas, ou à laquelle il donne une autre signification: cf. à ce propos McNamee (1981) 86. Le choix de corriger au moyen d'une abréviation par suspension, plutôt que par la brachygraphie, s'explique sans doute pour des raisons de clarté, puisque la lettre π surmontée d'un trait non alphabétique sert déjà à abréger παρά/παρα- et περί/περι-. En effet, l'emploi d'un répertoire étoffé (cf. la note suivante) ne va pas sans entraîner des confusions: par exemple, dans Ath. pol. xxvii. 15 = § 53.4 (m^4), π— semble plutôt correspondre à π´ pour π(ερί), qu'à π` pour π(αρά), qui est pourtant la préposition attendue. Quant à la raison pour laquelle m^4 décide d'écrire sa correction sous une forme abrégée (qui, si l'on en croit le répertoire de McNamee, n'a pas de parallèle dans les papyrus littéraires), plutôt qu'en entier, elle nous échappe: peut-être s'explique-t-elle par la rapidité avec laquelle m^4 exécute sa copie, ou simplement par l'influence de la combinaison fautive.

[36] Les abréviations par brachygraphie dans le papyrus aristotélicien sont les suivantes: α` pour ἀ(νά), ἀ(να)- ($m^4$ seulement); γ´ pour γ(άρ); δ´ pour δ(έ), -δ(ε)-; δ` pour δ(ιά) (m^1 seul.), δ(ια)-; κ´ pour κ(αί), -κ(αι)- (aussi m^3); κ` pour κ(ατά), κ(ατα)-; μ´ pour μ(έν), -μ(εν)-, -μ(εν), mais aussi μ´ = -μ(ῶν) ($m^4$ seul.); ο´ pour ο(ὖν), -ο(υν)-; π` pour π(αρά), π(αρα)-; π´ pour π(ερί), π(ερι)-, -π(ερ)- (m^1 seul.); c´ pour σ(ύν), σ(υν)-; τ` pour τ(ὴν), -τ(ην); τ᾽ pour τ(ῆς), -τ(ης); τ´ pour τ(ῶν), -τ(ων); υ` pour ὑ(πό), ὑ(πο)- (m^4 seul.), mais υ` pour ὑ(πέρ), m^3 seul.

[37] E.g. Ath. pol. xxvi. 38 = § 51.4, δ´πιμελη|τας, pour δ᾽ἐπιμελη|τάς; xxviii. 54 = § 57.1, δ´κ pour δ᾽ἐκ; xxix. 59 = § 60.2, δ´πωλει pour δ᾽ἐπώλει.

[38] Sur cette abréviation similaire au symbole de la drachme, cf. Del Corso (2008) 19 et n. 29; Otranto (2012 [2015]) 163 n. 12, fournit en outre une liste des occurrences dans les rouleaux du Brit.Libr. inv. 131.

[39] Tout en éditant ἀπό, Kenyon (1891[1]) reconnaît que l'α est assez confusément suivi de la sinusoïde qui sert à noter la diphtongue αι (cf. supra); Blass (1903[4]) 83, puis Chambers (1994[2]) 48, déchiffrent plutôt α<·, qu'ils interprètent comme une abréviation (singulière) d'ἀπό; pour une autre tentative d'explication de l'abréviation d'ἀπό, voir Giltbauer (1903) 39. Quant à van Herwerden / van Leeuwen (1891)130, ils éditent α{ («*absurda haec sed certa*»), et donnent à l'ensemble le sens de δραχμὴν μίαν. Notons que ce passage de la Constitution n'est pas répertorié dans McNamee (1981) 8, s. v. ἀπό.

procédé (la brachygraphie); les autres procédés n'apparaissent que de façon exceptionnelle. En revanche, plus on avance dans la deuxième et surtout la troisième section, plus le nombre de mots abrégés s'accroît. Ce phénomène s'inscrit dans la tendance qu'a le scripteur, visiblement pressé, d'écrire toujours plus vite et de manière plus serrée.[40] Il conserve néanmoins un souci esthétique dans la présentation des colonnes, puisque la suspension d'une lettre en fin de ligne lui permet d'éviter des coupures inélégantes et d'obtenir la justification des lignes à leur extrémité droite, ce que confirme en outre l'emploi régulier de pseudo-abréviations. Si le nombre de mots abrégés par la m^4 de la Constitution demeure relativement stable, celui de la m^1 augmente au fur et à mesure que l'on progresse dans la copie. Seule, la colonne iv déroge à cette règle: elle contient un nombre remarquablement réduit d'abréviations, en raison des citations d'extraits des poésies politiques de Solon qu'elle contient. Les rares mots abrégés dans les citations le sont tous par brachygraphie, tandis que le procédé de suspension d'une lettre, qui pourrait apporter une ambiguïté dans la résolution du mot, surtout dans un texte poétique, disparaît.[41]

Qu'en est-il des systèmes abréviatifs des deux autres textes littéraires du premier rouleau du papyrus de la British Library inv. 131? Noté sur une colonne et demie au verso du rouleau, entre les colonnes x et xi de la copie du texte aristotélicien, le commentaire anonyme au Contre Midias de Démosthène, inachevé et radié pour des raisons inconnues, est écrit par une main semi-cursive, de module moyen, similaire aux m^1 et m^4 de la Constitution. Il est divisé en deux parties: la première expose l'hypothèse, c'est-à-dire la cause, du Contre Midias, tandis que la seconde présente des notes explicatives aux onze premières sections du discours. À partir de l'examen du système abréviatif, on constate que ce dernier est en tous points identique à celui du papyrus de la Constitution, en particulier dans les passages recopiés par la m^1: on retrouve notamment la suspension des voyelles o et ω, accompagnée de l'omission d'une à deux lettres tout au plus, la suspension du θ pour l'infinitif présent, l'emploi de la rarissime abréviation sinusoïdale pour αὐτός, etc. La proportion des abréviations est de l'ordre d'un mot sur quatre (légèrement moindre que pour la m^1), et l'on observe aussi une augmentation du nombre d'abréviations au fur et à mesure que l'on progresse dans le texte. Un simple coup d'œil aux comptes du recto permet en outre de constater que le système abréviatif qui y est employé présente de grandes affinités avec ceux des textes d'Aristote et de Démosthène, du moins pour les abréviations relevant de la pratique documentaire.

Le dernier texte littéraire du premier rouleau, qui est aussi le dernier à avoir été édité, en 1927, est écrit sur trois colonnes étroites et de hauteur inégale. Il contient des notes informelles au début du premier livre des Aitia de Callimaque. L'écriture est une semi-cursive de petit module, proche de la m^1 et de celle qui a noté le commentaire à Démosthène. Si la colonne i ne comporte pas de mots abrégés, la proportion des abréviations est en revanche élevée pour les deux autres colonnes (plus de 40 % des mots sont abrégés). Quant au système abréviatif utilisé, il est similaire à celui des autres textes du papyrus, dont il se distingue toutefois par un plus grand usage des abréviations par surélévation d'une, et même de deux lettres (cf. l. 10 = col. ii. 4: μα$^{\kappa\rho}$, pour μακρ(ήν)). La lettre surélevée peut en outre jouer un double rôle; par exemple, le τ de αν$^{\tau}$, pour ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ), à la ligne 61, correspond non seulement à la dernière lettre écrite par le scripteur pour ἀντί, mais il annonce aussi l'article τοῦ qui est omis. La troncature est en général plus franche que dans les autres textes littéraires examinés ci-dessus, ce qui rapproche le texte de Callimaque de l'Anonyme, mais, à la différence de ce dernier, celle-ci peut advenir à n'importe quel endroit

[40] On observe un phénomène similaire dans le P.Lond.Lit. 131, qui fait partie du même lot que l'Anonyme: Messeri (2003) 37.

[41] Par exemple, dans l'une des citations poétiques de Solon de la colonne iv (fr. 34 West = col. iv. l. 22-27 = § 12.3), pourtant copiée par la m^1, qui abrège abondamment, seulement 5 mots sur 64 sont abrégés. À titre de comparaison, la phrase d'Aristote qui suit (iv. 27-28 = § 12.4) compte 12 mots abrégés, pour un total de 18.

d'une ligne,[42] et même dans des citations (cf. col. iii. 62, la citation d'Hom., Il., XIII, 64). Elle est parfois si drastique que le contexte peut ne pas suffire à résoudre de manière assurée certaines abréviations, à tel point que le système s'apparente à de la tachygraphie. Plusieurs mots abrégés ne deviennent complètement compréhensibles que si le lecteur a aussi sous les yeux le poème qui fait l'objet du commentaire; c'est que, pour reprendre l'expression d'E.G. Turner, les mots d'un commentaire ne nécessitent pas la même considération que ceux d'un auteur.[43]

Au terme de cette enquête, on peut, à partir de l'examen des systèmes abréviatifs employés dans l'Anonyme de Londres et dans le Brit.Libr. inv. 131, formuler les observations suivantes.

Les deux papyrus utilisent un système développé et cohérent, dérivé de la pratique documentaire, mais contenant aussi des éléments propres à la rédaction ou à la copie de catégories bien déterminées de textes littéraires, tels que les commentaires. Ce système est d'ailleurs tout à fait comparable à celui des commentaires et des textes informels des trois premiers siècles de notre ère.[44] Malgré des différences personnelles dans l'emploi des abréviations, on distingue un tronc commun, dont l'origine doit vraisemblablement se situer dans l'apprentissage des abréviations, à propos duquel nous sommes encore mal renseignés.[45] En observant les mêmes normes conventionnelles, le système abréviatif acquiert ainsi un statut de 'code communicatif' entre le scripteur ou copiste et son éventuel lecteur.[46]

Si l'Anonyme de Londres utilise proportionnellement moins d'abréviations que les textes littéraires du Brit.Libr. inv. 131, parce que l'échantillon de mots abrégés par brachygraphie y est moins étoffé, –on notera en particulier l'absence d'abréviations pour la conjonction καί et la particule δέ–, son système se révèle plus complexe, avec un plus grand nombre de mots abrégés par suspension et par combinaison, des règles strictes concernant les lettres surélevées qui figurent toujours en fin de ligne, un nombre souvent plus grand de lettres omises, et surtout avec l'emploi d'un répertoire d'abréviations qui lui sont propres. Lorsqu'elles abrègent, les mains qui copient la Constitution d'Athènes privilégient plutôt les procédés conservateurs (avec un nombre réduit de lettres omises), ou 'mécaniques', tels que la brachygraphie: c'est là une différence fondamentale avec l'Anonyme, qui s'explique par la nature de l'écrit (d'une part, un autographe, de l'autre, une copie), et permet de rapprocher les usages des copistes de la Constitution de ceux de nombreux scribes dans les papyrus littéraires grecs. Il s'y manifeste une volonté de lisibilité et de communicabilité, comme en témoignent les passages poétiques de Solon, qui ne comportent que peu d'abréviations et aucune par suspension, et le fait que les m^3 et m^4 ne font qu'un usage réduit de ces dernières. La nature de l'écrit intervient probablement encore dans le choix des abréviations: si l'on pense que l'auteur de l'Anonyme rédige le texte qu'il est en train d'écrire, les

[42] Le fait que les trois colonnes ont une largeur très réduite, et que, par conséquent, chaque ligne ne peut contenir que peu de mots, pourrait aussi expliquer la proportion élevée de mots abrégés. Si la proposition de Bastianini (1995) 35-36, qui suggère, «sbrigliando un po' la fantasia», que les notes ont été écrites quand le *volumen* était enroulé, après la copie du texte aristotélicien, est séduisante pour justifier le nombre d'abréviations, elle paraît toutefois peu probable, dans la mesure où les notes ont été vraisemblablement mises par écrit avant la copie de la Constitution: Del Corso (2008) 29.

[43] Turner (1980^2) 95-96.

[44] Del Fabbro (1979) 90-91; Turner (1980) 95-96; Bastianini / Long (1992) 276. Voir, par exemple, le commentaire de Didyme aux Philippiques de Démosthène (BKT I = MP^3 339; Hermopolis, daté du II^e s. par T. Dorandi) ou les Elementa moralia d'Hiéroclès (cf. supra), qui ont été copiés au verso du même rouleau. Voir également Turner (1987^2) no. 58, "Hypomnema on Homer, Iliad II" et 61, "Hypomnema of Theon on Pindar, Pythians", dont les systèmes abréviatifs sont comparés à ceux du Brit.Libr. inv. 131.

[45] Pour un tel constat, cf. Degni (1999) 74. Prenant en compte les témoignages relatifs à l'enseignement élémentaire, l'enquête de Cribiore (1996) exclut de ce fait l'apprentissage des abréviations, qui concerne plutôt l'enseignement moyen à élevé. Elle ne fournit qu'un seul témoignage à ce propos: voir p. 86 et le no. 362 de son catalogue (P.Oslo II 13 = MP^3 2148, fragment d'un cours fondé sur un traité grammatical, avec définition du son et de la lettre).

[46] Degni (1999) 64.

abréviations doivent lui faciliter la tâche pendant sa réflexion; or, à côté du répertoire d'abréviations mécaniques ou de ses propres abréviations, 'médicales', il n'utilise celles par suspension qu'en fin de ligne, là où il est plus facile d'abréger sans interrompre le cours de sa pensée. Quant aux copistes-abréviateurs de la Constitution, qui n'ont pas ce travail de réflexion et de rédaction, ils utilisent un système moins complexe, mais, en même temps, un répertoire plus étoffé, avec des abréviations pouvant couvrir deux mots, car le but est aussi de gagner du temps et de l'espace. On pourrait encore ajouter cette réflexion de Turner, concernant un autre aspect pratique des abréviations, peut-être moins obvie: celles-ci donnent l'impression de division des mots.[47] Une telle division s'impose d'autant plus que l'écriture des m^1 et m^4 est petite, serrée et cursive, et que les colonnes qu'elles ont recopiées sont larges et denses.

Le profil social des utilisateurs de ces abréviations est également intéressant. Dans l'Anonyme, on a affaire à un médecin; dans le cas des copistes de la Constitution, seules deux mains sur les quatre, celles qui appartiennent aux profils les plus cultivés, en particulier la m^4, qui fait en outre office de réviseur général, utilisent régulièrement des abréviations. Cette observation suggère que les abréviations sont dues aux copistes, et non au modèle sur lequel ils se sont fondés. La similitude avec le système du scripteur de l'Anonyme, qui est contemporain, et le fait que la proportion d'abréviations augmente au fur et à mesure que l'on progresse dans la copie, confirment cette hypothèse. Les recherches récentes de L. Del Corso ont d'ailleurs montré que ce modèle, daté de la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque, était vraisemblablement écrit dans une cursive que seule, la m^4 parvenait à déchiffrer facilement.[48] En revanche, les m^2 et m^3 ont eu des difficultés à la lire correctement; ce n'est donc probablement pas un hasard si, précisément, la m^2 n'abrège pas, tandis que la m^3 ne le fait que ponctuellement, sans cohérence, peut-être quand la pratique documentaire, –rappelons que ces copistes étaient probablement des fonctionnaires–,[49] reprenait mécaniquement le dessus sur la copie.

L'analyse des systèmes abréviatifs du commentaire anonyme au Contre Midias de Démosthène et des comptes vient renforcer les nombreux points de contact formels, paléographiques, textuels et contextuels qui existent entre ces textes et la Constitution d'Athènes. Comme l'ont bien montré M. Manfredi et R. Otranto, la présence simultanée des deux écrits littéraires n'est pas due au hasard, mais renvoie vraisemblablement au contexte studieux, en particulier l'étude de la rhétorique, dans lequel ils ont été produits.[50] Les notes au poème de Callimaque, dont le caractère informel est particulièrement souligné par le nombre et la complexité des abréviations, peuvent aussi rentrer dans ce cadre.

Ainsi, l'étude des caractéristiques bibliologiques, paléographiques et textuelles de l'Anonyme et du Brit.Libr. inv. 131, en particulier celle des abréviations, permet de mieux préciser les contours et le profil socio-culturel du petit groupe de fonctionnaires ou de notables, qui comprenait aussi un médecin, actif à Hermopolis à la fin du I^{er} siècle de notre ère. Dans l'avenir, l'élargissement de l'enquête à d'autres aspects des pratiques scribales, comme les signes,[51] ainsi qu'aux autres pièces du lot, devrait permettre de compléter nos connaissances sur le travail de ces individus et sur leur bibliothèque, qui, publiée à partir de 1891, *annus mirabilis* de la papyrologie, ne contribua pas peu à faire de cette dernière une discipline autonome.

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[47] Turner (1987^2) 8.

[48] Del Corso (2008) 26-27. De même, Messeri (2003) 39 a suggéré que le modèle employé pour la copie du P.Lond.Lit. 131 était écrit dans une cursive que le copiste avait, semble-t-il, du mal à déchiffrer. La papyrologue italienne date ce modèle du I^{er} siècle de notre ère.

[49] Sur les affinités paléographiques des papyrus de l'Anonyme et de la Constitution, mais aussi du P.Lond.Lit. 131, avec les documents contemporains, cf. Messeri (2003) 37-38, Del Corso (2008), Ricciardetto (2016^2) XXI-XXII.

[50] Manfredi (1992) 458; Otranto (2012 [2015]) 171-172.

[51] Sur les signes attestés dans l'Anonyme de Londres, cf. Ricciardetto (2017).

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Considérations autour du π épistolaire : une contamination entre les ordres et la lettre antique tardive?*

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Il y a une vingtaine d'années, lors du vingt-deuxième Congrès International de Papyrologie qui eut lieu à Florence en 1998, Sergio Daris présentait une communication qui faisait le point sur un petit élément caractérisant l'en-tête de certains papyrus documentaires d'époque byzantine: une lettre π barrée par un trait d'abréviation en position centrale au début du texte.[1] La discussion autour de cet *incipit* particulier s'est prolongée dans des articles qui lui ont été dédiés et dans les commentaires d'éditions, lorsque les documents apportaient de nouveaux témoignages de cet usage, certains éditeurs restant hésitants devant cette abréviation dont la résolution est encore jugée douteuse.[2] Revenir sur ce sujet pourrait alors sembler purement stérile; néanmoins, les enjeux de la question sont beaucoup plus étendus que ce que l'on croit.

Quatre-vingts papyrus, environ, présentent cette abréviation isolée et ce sont tous des documents byzantins d'ordre administratif ou qui concernent directement des personnages liés au milieu administratif.[3] À l'exception de quelques cas, constitués de reçus, d'ordres de paiement, de commande et d'arrêt, l'essentiel est formé de lettres, qui, conformément à l'usage de l'époque, sont dépourvues de prescrit.

Dans l'édition de P.Oxy. VI 941, Grenfell et Hunt essayaient pour la première fois d'expliquer cet en-tête et rapprochaient le π barré de celui qui est utilisé pour abréger la préposition π(αρά), sans réussir à comprendre pourquoi des dizaines de textes auraient commencé par cette seule préposition. Ils attribuaient avec réserve cet usage à l'habitude de commencer certains documents par la formule π(αρὰ) τοῦ δεῖνος. Quelques années plus tard, dans leur commentaire au P.Oxy. XVI 1831, les éditeurs se montraient sûrs de leur interprétation et affirmaient que l'utilisation de la seule préposition devait être un reliquat de l'époque où le nom de l'expéditeur précédé par παρά apparaissait avant le corps de la lettre. Pourtant, ils renvoyaient à titre d'exemple non pas à des lettres, mais à des ordres de paiement.[4] Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est cette hypothèse qui a trouvé le plus grand crédit et qui a

* Cette communication rentre dans le cadre d'une thèse à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études sous la direction de Jean-Luc Fournet (Professeur au Collège de France) intitulée "Communiquer par écrit dans l'Égypte de l'Antiquité tardive: les lettres grecques des archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité (Égypte, VIe siècle apr. J.-C.)", et financée grâce à un contrat d'heSam Université. Je remercie les experts anonymes ainsi que les auteurs des divers retours que j'ai eus suite à cette communication, qui m'ont permis d'enrichir mes recherches. Cette étude était déjà rédigée lors de la parution de l'article de P. Schubert (2018) sur l'evolution du format des ordres d'arrêts. Je n'ai donc pas pu l'utiliser, mais il confirme certaines intuitions qui sont avancées ici.

[1] Voir Daris (2001), pour l'analyse détaillée des différentes hypothèses avancées jusqu'à cette date.

[2] Dans Daris (2012), l'auteur revient sur la question pour examiner les dernières interprétations proposées, ainsi que les choix préférés par les éditeurs dans les éditions de textes.

[3] Une liste complète des documents qui comportent ce π initial est dressée dans Daris (2001) 351-352 et mise à jour dans Daris (2012) 73-75. On y ajoutera les lettres P.Cair.Masp. I 67070 (Aphrodité, VI), P.Got. 37 (?, VII), P.Merton I 46 (Gessias, fin V-début VI), PSI XVI 1652 (?, V-VI), P.Genova IV 173 (?, VI; réédition de P.Pintaudi 57), l'ordre d'arrêt P.Horak 11 (?, début IV) et la reconnaissance de dette SPP III 367 (Heracléopolite, V), après avoir corrigé, d'après l'analyse de l'image, la lecture d'origine α en π.

[4] Les ordres P.Lond. V 1800-1802, 1804, tous d'époque byzantine.

par la suite été généralement adoptée. S. Daris avait refusé l'hypothèse des papyrologues anglais parce qu'il ne comprenait pas la fonctionnalité d'un résidu du prescrit épistolaire qui ne nommait pas les correspondants du message, et il avait proposé de voir dans l'*incipit* en question un monogramme de π(λεῖστα) χ(αίρειν).[5] Cette hypothèse, que le papyrologue relance dans un article plus récent, présente l'avantage de se suffire à elle-même et de respecter les pratiques formelles de la correspondance.[6] On pourrait néanmoins objecter qu'elle ne prend en considération que les lettres.

Jusqu'ici, les études sur la question ont généralement considéré le π barré comme un élément indépendant du reste du document. Elles se sont ainsi développées autour du *ductus* de l'abréviation ou de sa relation avec un type de document spécifique. La nouvelle hypothèse formulée par G. Messeri et R. Pintaudi en 2005 en annexe à l'édition de la lettre PSI Com. 20 ne s'éloigne pas tant de cette tendance, puisque la résolution suggérée du π( ) en π(αράκειται), qu'il faudrait alors traduire par l'expression 'ci-joint', a été mise en avant parce qu'elle permettait de justifier l'absence de la date, du prescrit et, parfois, de l'adresse des lettres concernées.[7] Pour les papyrologues italiens, ces lettres auraient été jointes à un autre document principal qui aurait contenu les informations manquantes. Cette explication implique que les changements connus par la lettre à l'époque byzantine, c'est-à-dire la disparition de la formule d'introduction et de la salutation finale, se seraient mis en place à partir de quelques missives qui ne contenaient pas ces informations parce qu'elles étaient reliées à une autre pièce. Supposer que des circonstances peu courantes, comme celles d'envoyer deux documents joints l'un avec l'autre, seraient à la base de modifications marquantes d'une catégorie entière de documents me semble toutefois peu plausible.

Seulement à deux occasions a-t-on remarqué la ressemblance du π épistolaire avec le π qui apparaît dans l'en-tête des ordres, où le nom de l'ordonnant est quant à lui toujours mentionné.[8] Pour cette raison, le parallèle s'est toujours arrêté à une simple constatation.

Toutefois, l'analyse d'un texte qui avait jusque-là échappé à l'attention des papyrologues qui s'interrogeaient sur la question facilite une approche comparative et diachronique et peut éventuellement apporter de nouveaux éclairages. Il s'agit de P.Horak 11, un ordre d'arrêt, ou mandat d'amener, comme on préfère les appeler à présent, daté du IV^e^ siècle.[9]

Avant d'examiner ce document, il est utile de rappeler quelques caractéristiques propres à la diplomatique des ordres d'arrêt. Cette typologie de documents présente dans l'en-tête deux tendances principales: on trouve soit le nom du destinataire désigné au datif directement suivi de l'ordre, soit le nom de l'expéditeur sous la forme π(αρά) + génitif, suivi du nom du destinataire au datif dans la deuxième ligne. Gagos avait reconnu une prédilection pour la première formulation dans les premiers siècles de notre ère, alors que la deuxième tournure ne semble apparaître qu'à partir du troisième siècle.[10] Ce changement peut être observé dans le graphique (en annexe), que j'ai créé à partir de la liste d'ordres dressée par A. Bülow-Jacobsen, intégrée ensuite par Gagos et Sijpesteijn et, plus récemment, de manière indépendante, par N. Gonis et G. Azzarello. 106 textes y sont considérés.[11]

[5] Cf. Daris (2001) 347 et 350-351.
[6] Cf. Daris (2012) 77.
[7] Voir Messeri / Pintaudi (2005).
[8] La considération a été formulée dans le commentaire à P.Oxy. XVI 1831. l.1 et dans l'introduction au volume BGU XVII, p. XXXVII. Dans Harrauer / Diethart (1986) 14, on remarque l'affinité du π initial des lettres avec l'en-tête des reçus.
[9] Sur la discussion autour de l'appellation de ce type de document, voir Gagos / Sijpesteijn (1996) 77-78.
[10] Cf. P.Oxy. LXI, p. 90-91.
[11] Les données que j'ai utilisées pour le graphique proviennent de Bülow-Jacobsen (1986) 95-98, Gagos / Sijpesteijn (1996) 95-96, P.Oxy. LXXIV, p. 133-135 et P.Poethke, p. 210. Pour que la représentation du

Le graphique signale qu'un changement de formulaire survient au milieu du troisième siècle, moment de grandes réformes administratives concernant, entre autres, l'organisation policière.[12] Cela se voit dans la formulation utilisée dans le corps du document, mais aussi dans l'en-tête.[13] Si, auparavant, presque tous les ordres provenaient du stratège, qui scellait le document, il apparaît dès lors la nécessité de préciser l'expéditeur.[14] La première ligne lui est donc dédiée et l'on souligne visuellement son importance en la distinguant du reste: le nom du fonctionnaire y domine et y est souvent centré, précédé de παρά, qui est généralement abrégé en π.[15] Parfois, la fonction de l'expéditeur est aussi drastiquement réduite; c'est le cas des ordres issus de l'*hekatontarchês*, du *dekadarchês* ou du *benephikiarios*.[16] Cette formulation inversée de l'*hypomnêma* accentue la supériorité hiérarchique de l'expéditeur et est propre aux billets administratifs comme les mandats de comparutions, les ordres de paiement et les reçus.[17]

Or, dans P.Horak 11, ce qui me semble être irréfutablement un π barré apparaît en position centrale et isolée à la première ligne, alors que la deuxième ligne contient le nom du destinataire au datif.[18] La structure de ces deux lignes est conforme au formulaire habituel du prescrit de ces documents. R. Bagnall et F. Mithoff, éditeurs du texte, tout en se montrant sceptiques parce que le nom du destinataire n'était pas énoncé après, n'envisageaient d'autre solution que de résoudre l'abréviation par π(αρά).

Si maintenant nous considérons le début de P.Oxy. XVI 1831, lettre du cinquième siècle que j'ai déjà mentionnée à propos du commentaire et de l'interprétation proposée par ses éditeurs, on remarque qu'un π barré à la première ligne est suivi à la deuxième ligne d'un datif qui exprime le destinataire et qui ne se rattache pas au reste du document.[19]

Je propose de rapprocher cette lettre du prescrit de P.Horak 11, et de comprendre par conséquent le π barré comme abréviation de la préposition παρά. Quoique R. Pintaudi et G. Messeri aient souhaité avoir enfin mis un terme à la discussion qui avait duré pendant cent ans environ, je reviens donc à la première hypothèse avancée: ce π(αρά) épistolaire ferait véritablement partie du prescrit. La raison pour laquelle le nom de l'expéditeur n'a pas été écrit reste, en revanche, inconnue.

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graphique soit claire et compréhensible, je n'ai pas considéré les quelques papyrus dont l'en-tête était effacé ou s'éloignait des deux tendances principales soulignées précédemment.

[12] Sur ce sujet, je renvoie à la bibliographie suggérée par Gagos dans P.Oxy. LXI, p. 91.

[13] À ce sujet, voir Hagedorn (1979).

[14] P.Tebt. II 290 (Ptolemaïs, I) offre un exemple d'ordre d'arrêt scellé par le stratège. Dans l'introduction à P.Oxy. LXXIV 5002, on répertorie les ordres envoyés par le stratège.

[15] Voir, à titre d'exemple, P.Oxy. I 65 (III-début IV), SB XXIV 16006 (Karanis, IV) et BGU XIX 2774 (Hermopolis, fin V-début VI). Les *hypomnêmata*, dont la disposition du prescrit est inversé par rapport à l'en-tête des ordres d'arrêt, sont également caractérisés par une mise en page particulière (voir Martin [2007] 666-674).

[16] En offrent respectivement des exemples P.Cair.Isid. 129. l. 1 (Arsinoïte, 308-309?): π(αρὰ) τοῦ (ἑκατοντάρ)χ(ου), P.Oxy. LXXIV 5008. l.1 (II-IV): π(αρὰ) τοῦ (δεκαδάρ)χ(ου), et P.Oxy. LXXIV 5011. l. 1 (III-IV): π(αρὰ) τοῦ β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίου).

[17] L'éditeur de P.Gen. IV 179 (nome hermopolite, fin VI), un ordre concernant un arbitrage, souligne l'aspect hiérarchique de la forme de cet en-tête et dresse une liste des documents (mandats d'amener, ordres de paiement et reçus) datant du III^e^ au VII^e^ s. qui se présentent de la même manière.

[18] Je transcris les deux premières lignes de P.Horak 11 sans résoudre l'abréviation: π [| ἀρχεφόδῳ καὶ νομιανῷ κώμης Ἀ̣[.

[19] Ainsi, P.Oxy. XVI 1831. l. 1-2: π(αρὰ) | ⸗ μίζονι (l. μείζονι) κώμης Τακόνα. L'endossement confirme qu'il s'agit bien du destinataire (l. 14-15: ·ι· ἐπίδ(ος) ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣[̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣] Παπᾶ μίζον⟨ι⟩ (l. μείζονι) κώμης Τακόνα | π(αρὰ) ἄπα Νακίο[υ] μίζ(ονος) (l. μείζ(ονος)) Θόλθ̣ε̣(ως)). Les premières lignes de SB XXIV 15898 (?, V-VI) et de P.Vind.Worp. 23 (?, VI-VII) semblent être pareillement disposées, mais, si dans le premier cas le texte est trop fragmentaire pour vérifier l'hypothèse, la correction de Thomas (= BL VII 281) invalide la possibilité de considérer le deuxième document dans l'analyse.

On pourrait néanmoins facilement contester cette hypothèse en avançant que, même si le prescrit d'une lettre peut avoir différentes tournures, il est inhabituel qu'elle commence par le nom de l'expéditeur sous la forme de παρά + génitif. Cela n'apparaît que dans les archives d'Appianos, au milieu du troisième siècle, et seulement dans les lettres envoyées par l'administration centrale, qui est représentée par Ischyriôn, Alypios et Appianos lui-même.[20] Dans ces lettres, la première ligne est consacrée au nom de l'expéditeur, qui est mis en *ekthesis* ou en *eisthesis* par rapport au texte. Lorsque le papyrus s'éloigne du format habituel de la lettre à cette époque, une bande verticale, le nom se trouve au milieu du texte.[21]

Cet en-tête ressemble, dans sa structure et dans sa mise en page, au prescrit des ordres d'arrêts. Or ces lettres sont contemporaines du moment où advient le changement du prescrit de ce type d'ordre; elles proviennent d'un milieu administratif et sont envoyées d'une instance supérieure à une instance inférieure. Tout comme les ordres, elles ont probablement été affectées par les changements historiques survenus au troisième siècle, ainsi que par les mutations formelles successives qui touchent la diplomatique des textes.

D'ailleurs, si l'on considère plus généralement l'ordre et la lettre administrative comme des consignes envoyées par un haut fonctionnaire à un subordonné, le prescrit des lettres des archives d'Appianos, que l'on avait toujours considéré comme un cas singulier par rapport à la diplomatique épistolaire classique, se réinsère dans les usages de la pratique commune. Englober l'ordre et la lettre officielle dans la catégorie plus générale de la correspondance officielle permet ainsi de prouver que notre π initial est le résidu d'un prescrit qui s'affirme à un moment spécifique, et de comprendre ainsi pourquoi il apparaît exclusivement dans des documents administratifs. Une telle conception pourrait peut-être aussi résoudre une certaine ambiguïté que l'on constate dans quelques cas.[22]

Réfléchir aux documents de manière plus générale, en sortant des catégories dans lesquelles nous les avons regroupés, peut éventuellement faciliter la compréhension de certains phénomènes qui restent énigmatiques lorsqu'on les considère de manière isolée. En raison des nombreuses transformations qu'elle subit au cours des siècles, la lettre est sans doute un des types de documents qui profiterait le plus d'une analyse comparée.

Certes, les textes qui apportent la preuve que le π(αρά) abrégé faisait partie du prescrit sont rares. Au cours des siècles suivants, on ne comprenait probablement plus l'origine de ce π en début du texte, mais il était désormais passé dans l'usage administratif et indiquait que le texte provenait d'un milieu officiel ou que son expéditeur était un fonctionnaire. Cela pourrait expliquer pourquoi le nom du destinataire à la deuxième ligne est pratiquement toujours absent, et également pourquoi quelques documents du sixième et septième siècle conservent, en plus du π initial, un prescrit complet.[23] Cela permettrait en outre de justifier l'absence de notre π dans les correspondances privées.

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[20] Cf. Rathbone (1991) 67-68 et Schubert (2007) 141, où l'auteur élargit la considération hors des archives d'Heroninos et remarque que les messages caractérisés par cet en-tête sont envoyés par des propriétaires terriens ou par des gérants de domaine à leurs agents.

[21] Voir par exemple P.Flor. II 118 (Théadelphie, 8 mars 260) et P.Flor. II 148 (Théadelphie, fin 265 - début 266). La correspondance d'Alypios avait été rapprochée des lettres byzantines qui commencent par π en note à P.Iand. II 23. l. 1 et dans Harrauer / Diethart (1986) 14.

[22] SB XX 15130 (?, I) a de fait été présenté dans les *descripta* de P.Tebt. II sous le numéro 535 comme «beginning of a letter […] probably ordering an arrest», quoiqu'il s'agisse d'un simple ordre d'arrêt: l'incertitude de l'affirmation doit être liée à la forme du prescrit du document (voir à ce propos Sijpesteijn (1991) 259, où une nouvelle édition du texte est aussi proposée). L'ordre d'arrêt SB XVIII 13109 (Oxyrhynchite, V-VI) contient le nom du destinataire au datif au recto et un endossement partiel au verso.

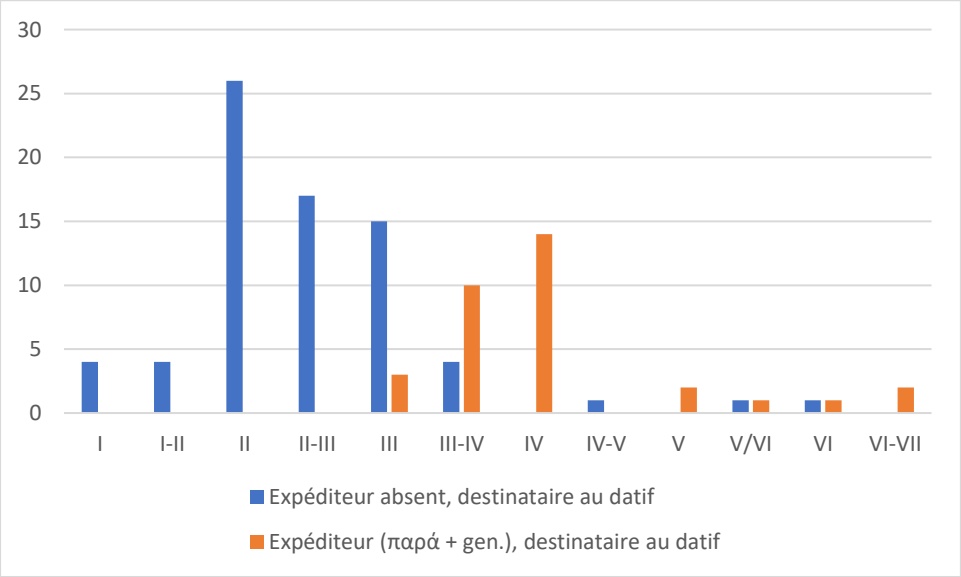
[23] Cf. la pétition P.Lond. V 1786 (Arsinoïte, ca. 610, d'après BL VIII 193 et Gonis [2008] 208, n. 31) et la lettre P.Flor. III 303 (Arsinoïte, VI), qui reporte à la première ligne le π et à la ligne suivante le nom des

Finalement, mon interprétation reprend la proposition 'classique' qui consiste à résoudre le π barré en π(αρά), solution qui s'avère intuitive et immédiate, étant donné que la préposition ainsi abrégée est largement répandue dans l'adresse des lettres ainsi que dans les annotations monétaires pour indiquer la soustraction de carats. Mais au lieu de privilégier les lettres comme dans les études précédentes, elle englobe aussi les ordres qui étaient jusqu'ici négligés, et propose que la diplomatique de cet ensemble soit analysée à la lumière des changements advenus au troisième siècle. Une partie des lettres des archives d'Appianos, dont le formulaire avait souvent été mentionné pour son anomalie, se rallie en réalité aux modalités de la correspondance officielle. L'étude d'un petit élément textuel à l'apparence secondaire a donc permis d'initier une discussion sur les pratiques documentaires administratives.

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Annexe : Les deux tendances principales de l'en-tête des ordres d'arrêts (I-VII s. apr. J.-C.).



correspondants épistolaires. On remarque que le même π est à nouveau employé à la deuxième ligne avant le nom de l'expéditeur au génitif, il s'agit évidemment de la préposition π(αρά).

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Sacred Signs in Human Script(ure)s: *Nomina Sacra* as Social Semiosis in Early Christian Material Culture

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Among the distinguishing features of early Christian manuscripts, the practice of abbreviating and supralineating certain words, known as *nomina sacra*, has constituted one of the principle foci of discussion. These abbreviations are generally made by contraction, using the first and last letters of the word and omitting the rest, with the occasional inclusion of one or more medial letters (κ̄ς̄ for κύριος, π̄ρ̄α̅ for πατέρα). A few words are commonly abbreviated by suspension, using only the first two letters of the word (ι̅η̅ for Ἰησοῦς). Occasionally, certain words are abbreviated by a combination of suspension and contraction, using only the first two letters and the final letter of the word (ι̅η̅ς̄ for Ἰησοῦς, χ̄ρ̄ς̄ for Χριστός). A supralinear line is then drawn across the top of the letters to mark the abbreviated form. The most common words to be treated in this way are the words for 'God', 'Lord', 'Jesus' and 'Christ' (θεός, κύριος, Ἰησοῦς and Χριστός), but there are about a dozen other words that appear in *nomen sacrum* form with some frequency, all of which are sacred names, titles, or place names.

Discussion about the *nomina sacra* has tended to revolve around questions about their origins and theological significance, but no consensus on these matters has been reached.[1] A few scholars have drawn attention to their social dimensions, beginning with Harry Gamble's tantalizing assertion over two decades ago that «the system of *nomina sacra* … stands out as an in-group convention that expressed a community consciousness and presumed a particular readership».[2] Larry Hurtado has since emphasized the material and visual characteristics of the *nomina sacra*, seeking to position them within an emerging visual culture in ancient Christianity.[3] More recently, he has argued that the *nomina sacra*, along with other material and scribal phenomena such as the preference for the codex, constitute material traces of early Christian identity formation.[4] AnneMarie Luijendijk, following the lead of Gamble and Hurtado, has described the practice as «a visual expression of in-group language» that «constitute[s] a Christian sociolect».[5] She further proposes that the presence of *nomina sacra* in non-literary texts indexes their authors' Christian education and a familiarity with Christian literature.[6]

These new readings offer a promising point of departure for a more sustained theoretical enquiry into the complex dynamics of these social dimensions in varying situational contexts. Drawing on social semiotic theory,[7] this paper explores an interpretive approach in which the *nomina sacra* are understood as traces of dynamic and creative lived material practices by

[1] See, in particular, Traube (1907); Paap (1959); Brown (1970); Roberts (1979); Hurtado (1998) and Barker (2007).
[2] Gamble (1995) 78.
[3] Hurtado (2000) 276-279; (2003) 4; (2006) 121-133; (2009) 75.
[4] Hurtado (2011) 179-192; (2012) 49-62.
[5] Luijendijk (2008) 61.
[6] Luijendijk (2008) 69.
[7] Social semiotics is a broad orientation that spans the fields of semiotics and sociolinguistics as well as a number of other fields of inquiry. Pioneering studies are Halliday (1978) and Hodge / Kress (1988).

social/semiotic agents. Social semiotics is concerned with how the users of language and other modes of communication construct, deconstruct, and reconstruct meaning through social processes.[8] Meaning-making is understood as a situated and socially embedded activity that reflects the histories, identities, and values of the individuals and groups involved. In what follows, I will offer brief analyses of some papyri containing *nomina sacra* within the framework of three foundational principles of social semiotic theory: namely, the principles of motivation, transformation, and multimodality. Necessarily, the limitations of the current presentation will prohibit anything approaching a comprehensive treatment;[9] however, I hope to offer here a preliminary methodological step towards thinking and speaking more clearly about how the *nomina sacra* may have functioned as markers of Christian group identity in various contexts of signification.

1. *Nomina Sacra* as Motivated Signs

Perhaps the centermost tenet of social semiotic theory is that, when making signs, sign-makers choose the available form that most aptly expresses their interest at a given moment. In other words, the relation of signifier to signified (form to meaning) is always motivated by the interests of agentive sign-makers.[10] For example, when a scribe wants to write a sacred epithet –whether it is encountered in his 'Vorlage', in dictation, or in memory– he is confronted with a choice: either he will write the word out in full spelling, or he will abbreviate it as a *nomen sacrum*. Consciously or unconsciously, the scribe will select the form that best represents his interest, that is, the form that is the best possible means of expressing the characteristics he regards as criterial to the thing he wants to represent.[11] In P.Beatty II (Gregory-Aland $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$), for example, the copyist has written out the plural forms 'gods' (θεοί) and 'lords' (κύριοι) in *scriptio plena* at 1 Cor 8.5. In the following verse, however, he records the singular 'God' and 'Lord' as *nomina sacra* ($\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ καὶ … $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$). The interest that motivated this copyist's selection of these forms becomes transparent when one considers the verbal content of the passage, in which the gods and lords of others are situated in contradistinction to the «one God … and one Lord, Jesus Christ» (1 Cor 8.6). Hence, the copyist has selected the forms most apt to express his interest in this difference, forms which are themselves visually and orthographically different from the surrounding lines of continuous letters.

A consequence of thinking about the *nomina sacra* as signs formed out of their makers' interests, as the foregoing example immediately reveals, is that they will necessarily reflect the ideological positions of their producers. Social semiotics takes into account that all semiotic resources, no matter how seemingly mundane or innocuous, code particular points of view and assert a social architecture.[12] Thus, the selection of *nomina sacra* forms by the copyist of P.Beatty II in 1 Cor 8.6, as opposed to the fully written out forms in the preceding clause, marks an identity distinction and asserts the superiority of Christian belief: «they with their many (false) gods» versus «us with our one (true) God».

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[8] Hodge / Kress (1988).

[9] For which, see my forthcoming thesis, entitled "What's in a Name? *Nomina Sacra* and Social Semiosis in Early Christian Textual Practice," undertaken in the Department of Ancient History at Macquarie University under the supervision of Malcolm Choat and Stephen Llewelyn.

[10] The issue of motivated versus arbitrary signification is the primary dividing line between social semiotics and traditional (Saussurian) semiotics. In social semiotic theory, all signification is viewed as resting on the agentive action of sign makers. See in particular Kress (1993).

[11] Kress (1993) 171-175.

[12] Hodge / Kress (1988) 2-5; (1993) 5-7; Kress (1993) 174-175.

However, interests are not always so easily recoverable. For instance, in manuscripts such as P.Egerton 2, P.Beatty VI, and P.Oxy. I 1, deviation from convention makes the copyists' interests more opaque. The copyist of P.Egerton 2, for instance, applies the *nomina sacra* form to the names 'Moses' (μ̄ω̄) and 'Isaiah' (η̄σα̅ς̅), the titles 'kings' (β̄α̅λ̄ε̅υ̅ς̅) and 'prophets' (π̄ρ̄ο̄φ̄α̅ς̅), and the verb 'prophesy' (ε̄π̄ρ̄ο̄φ̄σ̄ε̅ν̅). In addition to the uncommon attestation of these words as *nomina sacra*, their abbreviations are also formed unusually: 'Moses' is simply suspended to the first two letters (a form commonly used only with Ἰησοῦς), while 'Isaiah', 'prophets', 'kings' and 'prophesy' are abbreviated using a cumbersome hybrid of suspension and contraction, omitting only two or three medial letters. Similarly, the copyist of P.Beatty VI sometimes abbreviates the name for Joshua as if it were a reference to Jesus, and P.Oxy. I 1, a fragmentary portion of the Gospel of Thomas, treats the word for 'fatherland' (πατρίς) as a *nomen sacrum*, presumably because of its similarity to the word 'father' (πατήρ), which is often rendered as a *nomen sacrum*. Unlike the copyist of P.Beatty II, the interests of these copyists seem to be less in the referents of the forms than in the forms themselves. Their interests, in other words, seem to be affective.

The presence of *nomina sacra* in a manuscript makes it immediately visually identifiable as Christian. Conceivably, then, these copyists' novel employment of *nomina sacra* forms could have resulted from their perception of *nomina sacra* as a criterial feature of Christian manuscripts. In the same way that a young child might draw a series of circles to represent a car –since to him wheels are what endow a car with its 'car-ness'– so perhaps these copyists' unusual application and formation of *nomina sacra* result from what they view as criterial in creating a Christian manuscript. Cars have many wheels; Christian manuscripts have many *nomina sacra*. Thus, while they employ for certain words the same system of representation as the copyist of P.Beatty II (i.e. abbreviation with a supralinear stroke), their meanings are not interchangeable. In the example from P.Beatty II, *nomina sacra* forms are endowed with meanings of sacrality, distinction, and otherness. In P.Egerton 2, P.Beatty VI, and P.Oxy. I 1, *nomina sacra* forms conceivably embody meanings of 'Christian manuscript-ness'. While the irrecoverability of these copyists' interests makes this scenario admittedly speculative, it does serve to demonstrate the various interests that may be coded in each instance of production, which will always affect how the *nomina sacra* forms mean.

Further complicating the picture is the matter of copying. When a *nomen sacrum* is present in both the source text and the copy, the meaning that has been made of and with it may be difficult to recover from the copy alone. Yet, if we are to maintain the principle of motivated, agentive sign-making, then it must hold that meanings are also made through copying, both internally as the source text is viewed and interpreted by the copyist, and externally as the new text is produced.[13] Consider, for example, T.Louvre MND 552 L, K, I, H, a fourth century wax-wooden tablet notebook belonging to one Aurelios Papnouthion, in which Psalm 146 was copied as an educational exercise.[14] Papnouthion's rendering of the psalm is affected throughout by audible errors caused by his subvocalization of the 'Vorlage';[15] however, the *nomina sacra* are always reproduced accurately. In one instance, he writes τὸ κ̄ω̄, confusing long and short /o/ in the definite article but not in the contracted *nomen sacrum*.[16] This suggests that he viewed the *nomina sacra* as discrete graphic entities, distinct from the surrounding letters which could be sounded out and transcribed aurally. Thus, while the

[13] Mavers (2011) 12-31.
[14] See the editions by Boyaval (1975) and (1977). The psalm text survives on tablets I face 2 and H.
[15] Evidence that the psalm was copied rather than dictated or written from memory cannot be adduced here, but includes the presence of a likely visual error in combination with audible errors, which consequently must have been caused by subvocalization. See my forthcoming thesis for a fuller exposition.
[16] See the transcription in Boyaval (1977), tablet I face 2, line 79.

circumstantial details under which the copying of the psalm took place are lost to history, it is still possible to detect certain interests at stake in Papnouthion's copying of his model.

2. *Nomina Sacra* as Transformational Practice

Discussing how children learn to read and write, the pioneering social semiotician Gunther Kress contends: «Against notions of copying, imitation, acquiring, however implicitly they may be held, I would like to propose the idea that children, like adults, never copy».[17] Instead, we transform the stuff around us –words, symbols, artifacts, values, cultures– «usually in entirely minute and barely noticeable ways».[18] In other words, meaning-making is a constant process of re-designing, improvising, and innovating out of the semiotic resources available in one's environment –resources which have their own histories and associations and condensations of meanings from prior use, when they conveyed the interests of other sign-makers.[19] We have just witnessed in the previous examples how the use of the system of *nomina sacra* could be altered, adapted and expanded to fit the interests of their writers. Two letters from Oxyrhynchus will further demonstrate how the *nomina sacra* were subject to such transformative activity.

P.Oxy. XII 1592 consists of a late third-early fourth century letter from a woman to her spiritual father, in which the sender addresses the recipient as κ(ύρι)έ μου π(άτε)ρ, and later again as π(ατ)ήρ, using the *nomina sacra* forms for the words 'lord' and 'father'. Most commentators have recognized that the familial designation 'father' is most likely intended in a metaphorical rather than a biological sense.[20] As both πάτερ and κύριε commonly served in broader society as markers of deference when addressing elders and superiors, these appellatives are already value-laden insofar as they presume a certain underlying social structure.[21] Thus, the metaphor is a deferential one.

This metaphor is complexified by an additional metaphor embodied in the representation of the semantic content '(lord) father' as *nomina sacra*. The treatment of πατήρ as a *nomen sacrum*, although common in Christian literary manuscripts, is extremely uncommon in letters.[22] Furthermore, in her fawning praise of the recipient, the sender co-deploys with these *nomina sacra* the uncommon verbs 'exalt' (μεγαλύνω) and 'rejoice' (ἀγαλλιάω), echoing the beginning of the Magnificat (Luke 1.46-47). This use of *nomina sacra* together with biblical language constitutes a type of scriptural or liturgical register[23] and strongly suggests a familiarity with Christian literature, from which these forms were made available to the sender as apt signifiers for constructing her complex deferential metaphor. In other words, the sender of the letter employs semantic and semiotic resources that she perceives to be

[17] Kress (1997) 90.
[18] Kress (1997) 90.
[19] Hodge / Kress (1988) 30-36; (1993) 7-10; Kress (1997) 90.
[20] E.g. Naldini (1968) 159; Ghedini (1923) 131; Tibiletti (1979) 116; Luijendijk (2008) 76; cf. Wipszycka (1974) 213.
[21] See Dickey (1996) 78-81, 100-101 and 106-107. See specifically 79 (πάτερ) and 100-101 (κύριε) on their use as a means of flattery. Although κύριε, as a polite form of address, can function as a deferential term, it is almost always less deferential than δέσποτα which is sometimes so deferential as to convey servility, see Dickey (2001). On the use of these terms in documentary papyri, see Dickey (2002).
[22] In New Testament manuscripts assigned Nestle-Aland dates up to the third-fourth century, πατήρ is rendered as a *nomen sacrum* in 65.5% of sacral occurrences. On the other hand, a lemmatized search for πατήρ in the DDbDP yields only three other instances of 'father' treated as a *nomen sacrum* in non-literary papyri: P.Lond. VI 1927 (4th cent.), SB XII 10773 (5th cent.), and P.Naqlun II 34 (6th cent.).
[23] Halliday (1978) 110-111.

appropriate to the situation type,[24] namely forms and language that in their usual literary and liturgical contexts refer to the divine Father,[25] but are used here in reference to the sender's human, spiritual father to whom the letter is addressed. Thus, just as Mary exalts (μεγαλύνω) and rejoices (ἀγαλλιάω) upon receiving a message from God in Luke 1.46-47, so does the sender of this letter exalt and rejoice upon receiving an earlier message from her π(ατ)ήρ. The *nomina sacra* and this potently allusive language, used together, frame the relationship between the sender and her addressee in human-divine relational terms and suggest that the sender views the addressee as a surrogate for God. In searching for forms to express her degree of reverence for the recipient, the sender chooses existing forms –forms whose referents happen usually to be divine entities– as a vehicle for her new meanings of reverence for the human recipient, resulting in the creation of a new metaphor for their relationship, and therefore, new signs.

P.Oxy. LXIII 4365 presents another example of correspondents who had contact with literary manuscripts and used *nomina sacra* in their letters. This terse note of six short lines records a request for the exchange of scriptural books and uses *nomina sacra* in the greeting «in the Lord» (ἐν κ̿ῳ̿) and the farewell «in God» (ἐν θ̿ῳ̿). Unusually, neither the sender nor the recipient is identified by name: the letter is addressed simply «to my dearest lady sister in the Lord» (τῇ κυρίᾳ μου φιλτάτῃ ἀδελφῇ ἐν κ̿ῳ̿). As with the use of πατήρ in P.Oxy. XII 1592, the kinship terminology employed in the greeting is likely metaphorical, since in Christian contexts ἀδελφός/ἀδελφή is usually an expression of Christian fellowship.[26] Furthermore, the use of *nomina sacra* in a letter which concerns the exchange of Christian literature may connote a fellowship in Christian bookishness, that is, the correspondents are not only siblings 'in the Lord' but also siblings 'in the book(s)'. Thus, by combining markers of Christian literary provenance with a metaphor of siblingship in the opening of the letter, the sender immediately negotiates solidarity with the recipient.[27] The brevity of the letter signifies informality and intimacy, which contrasts significantly with P.Oxy. XII 1592, where the sender suppresses meanings of the self by magnifying the recipient with lengthy and elaborate compliments. In both cases *nomina sacra* are employed, but with starkly different effects: in P.Oxy. XII 1592, *nomina sacra* convey meanings of power and social distance, whereas in the present letter they signify in-group solidarity.

Like the woman who used *nomina sacra* to address her spiritual father, the writer of the letter requesting the exchange of scriptural books has selected *nomina sacra* as apt signifiers, made available through contact with Christian literature, and has transformed them to express her/his own meanings. In each case, the meanings are different ('formality' versus 'informality', 'distance' versus 'intimacy', etc.) even though their forms are drawn from the same set of semiotic resources. Neither is a copy or an imitation, but a transformation that is embedded in a particular lived context and that codes the interests of each writer at a particular moment in communication.

[24] Halliday (1978) 27-35.

[25] Cf., for example, the rendering of Luke 1.46-47 in Codex Vaticanus, where *nomina sacra* appear together with the verbs in question: Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχή μου τὸν κ̿ν̿, καὶ ἠγαλλίασε(ν) τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπὶ τῷ θ̿ῷ̿ τῷ σωτῆρί μου.

[26] Luijendijk (2008) 71. On the figurative use of sibling terminology in broader society, see Dickey (2002) 154-161.

[27] According to Brown / Levinson (1987) 107, kinship address forms often correspond to the T/V systems of address: «In many languages the use of a T (singular non-honorific pronoun) to a non-familiar alter can claim solidarity. Other address forms used to convey such in-group membership include generic names and terms of address like … brother, sister ....».

3. *Nomina Sacra* as Multimodal Representation

Finally, social semiotics theorizes that communication and representation always draw on a multiplicity of different semiotic modes, such as written language, visual images, layout, and elements of design –that is, all signs are multimodal.[28] Hurtado has long emphasized the visual potency of the *nomina sacra*, designating them as «hybrid phenomena that uniquely combine textual and visual features and functions».[29] This complex, mutually constitutive dialectic of the linguistic and the visual is, in social semiotic terms, an embodiment of multimodal representation. By combining the linguistic mode with para- and non-linguistic visual features –such as abbreviated orthography, supralineation, surrounding space, or the occasional inclusion of other visually oriented devices such as *staurogrammata*– the *nomina sacra* are imbued with greater meaning potential than may be afforded by the linguistic mode alone. In much the same way that modern scholars tend to associate the presence of *nomina sacra* with Christian provenance, their ancient observers could have identified the literature, letters, and public spaces visually marked by *nomina sacra* as texts and spaces associated with Christian identity and belief.

Multimodal social semiotics therefore takes into account the specialized interdependence that exists between word and image: the verbal mode codes semantic content; the visual mode codes conceptual content. As Kress contends, «[l]anguage is not the full carrier of all meaning, nor even all central or essential meaning».[30] This cooperation of linguistic and visual modes renders moot Christopher Tuckett's contention that the influence of the *nomina sacra* on ancient Christians would have been minimal «due to the fact that it can only have affected those who were literate».[31] As evidenced in Papnouthion's rendering of the psalm text, the salience afforded by the multimodal constitution of the *nomina sacra* allow them to be visually dislocated from the surrounding lines of written continuous letters and read as visual texts in their own right. This makes the dissemination and reception of certain meanings associated with Christian identity and belief possible regardless of a given recipient's literate competence in the written-linguistic mode. In other words, the communicative potential of the *nomen sacrum* form is realized not only in what is says linguistically, but also in how it looks visually.

4. Conclusion

These principles of social semiotic theory force us away from the notion that the *nomina sacra* have an established meaning that can be isolated by understanding their origins and the processes of their conventionalization. Rather, the approach outlined here provides a methodological underpinning that allows us to appreciate the *nomina sacra* as material traces of the various meanings, histories, identities and values of the ancient Christians who produced and read them. Furthermore, a social semiotic approach restores agency to the producers of *nomina sacra* by positing mistakes, irregularities, and deviations from conventionality as traces of the interests and creative activity of their producers rather than simply as the work of amateur or careless scribe(s).[32] From this perspective, each use of *nomina sacra* has the potential to act simultaneously and interrelationally both as part of a broader social and scribal system and as a particularized instantiation of that system created out of the unique interests and lived experiences of the producer.

[28] Kress (1993) 187-190; (2010); Kress / Van Leeuwen (2001).
[29] Hurtado (2006) 121.
[30] Kress (2001) 69.
[31] Tuckett (2003) 447.
[32] Roberts (1979) 27.

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PART VI

DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI

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Due ordini di comparizione di età tolemaica nella collezione dell'Università Cattolica di Milano

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I due papiri che intendo presentare appartengono entrambi al lotto entrato nella collezione dell'Università Cattolica di Milano nel 1983, proveniente da cartonnage.[1] Si tratta di P.Med. inv. 83.09, edito da Orsolina Montevecchi come P.Bingen 34, e di P.Med. inv. 83.15, che ho pubblicato nel vol. XLV della Papyrologica Florentina, omaggio di studiosi italiani a Guido Bastianini, dove compare con il numero 14.[2] Ambedue sono lettere d'ufficio frammentarie, collocabili paleograficamente tra la fine del III e l'inizio del II sec. a.C.

Il primo papiro, scritto solo nel recto, lungo le fibre, conserva tredici righe di scrittura, di cui tre nell'interlinea: la prima fra la riga 1 e la riga 2, la seconda fra la riga 7 e la riga 8 e la terza fra la riga 9 e la riga 10. Abbreviazioni e correzioni inducono a ritenere il documento una minuta. La lettera è lacunosa in più punti e mutila nella parte superiore per cui non si conoscono né il mittente né il destinatario. Il contenuto riguarda l'arresto e il trasferimento di una persona (uomo o donna)[3] convocata a comparire sotto scorta davanti al tribunale (rr. 4-5: καταστῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸ κριτήριον μετὰ φ[υλ]ακῆς). Si nominano anche i crematisti (r. 8) e la sottoscrizione di una sentenza (r. 10). Nell'interlinea fra le righe 1 e 2 si legge il nome Ἡρακλείδην seguito da un χ intersecato da un segno di abbreviazione (o due segni, uno in alto e l'altro in basso, forse due lettere, *epsilon* e *iota*): la Montevecchi definiva il segno 'sigla' e, pur senza scioglierla nella trascrizione, nella traduzione e nel commento suggeriva χειριστήν (agente o amministratore). Un segno simile sembra ripetersi alla r. 8: anche in questo punto la Montevecchi nella trascrizione non scioglieva la sigla, ma traduceva 'agente', anche se nella nota di commento alla r. 8 affermava che «Prima della sigla non pare si ripeta Ἡρακλείδης come in 1 bis». Mi sono chiesta se non sia possibile una diversa interpretazione della sigla di r. 8, dove il χ sembra attraversato da un ρ: forse l'inizio di r. 8 potrebbe essere ἐπὶ τοὺς χρ(ηματιστάς). Per quanto riguarda la sigla alla riga 1 bis, il segno che interseca χ sembra però riconducibile più a ει che a ρ. Inoltre, nella documentazione papiracea non ho trovato nessun χρηματιστὴς Ἡρακλείδης, mentre due *cheiristai* con questo nome compaiono in papiri del III sec. a.C.: uno da Philadelphia, datato 253/252 e appartenente all'archivio di Zenone (PSI VI 603) e l'altro da Magdola, datato 221 a.C. (P.Enteux. 38).

Alle righe 3-4 viene nominato un *epimeletes* di nome Ptolemaios: secondo la Montevecchi questo funzionario potrebbe essere identificato con Ptolemaios di W.Chr. 166 del 218 a.C., registrato nella Prosopographia Ptolemaica con il numero 951, che Paul Swarney propose di considerare *epimeletes* dell'Eracleopolite, non dell'Arsinoite.[4] Da qui l'ipotesi della Montevecchi di una provenienza eracleopolita per P.Bingen 34. Esistono però altri due *epimeletai* dello stesso nome nel III sec. a.C.: uno compare in una petizione del 204 da Bubastos nell'Eracleidou meris (P.Heid. VI 379) e l'altro in un documento da Gurob (P.Petr.

[1] Balconi (2007).
[2] Casanova / Messeri / Pintaudi (2016) 101-103.
[3] Alla r. 4 invece di Αὐ[ν]ήν si potrebbe integrare αὐ[τ]ήν, e alla r. 7 supporre un nome femminile con inizio Τε[invece di τὸ[ν Αὐνήν], e quindi alla r. 9 integrare αὐτῆ[ι invece di αὐτ[ῶι.
[4] Swarney (1985) 161-166.

III 36A), entrambi sicuramente di provenienza arsinoitica. D'altra parte il nome Ptolemaios era molto diffuso e quindi l'identificazione del personaggio è dubbia. Altrettanto si può dire per il *cheiristes* Herakleides. Perciò non è possibile stabilire, sulla base di questi soli elementi, la provenienza del documento da una regione piuttosto che da un'altra.

Il secondo papiro è scritto sia nel recto (quattro righe di scrittura perpendicolare alle fibre) sia nel verso (la scrittura sembra diversa da quella del recto). Il documento è mutilo a sinistra e a destra, però si sono conservati i margini superiore e inferiore. Non è possibile stabilire con certezza quanto sia andato perduto: si può supporre che a sinistra manchi circa la metà dello scritto. La scrittura è curata, le lettere sono tracciate in modo chiaro e quasi sempre soltanto accostate, talora compaiono piccoli tratti congiuntivi superiori: sembra una scrittura d'ufficio attribuibile alla fine del III o all'inizio del II secolo a.C. Non si conoscono né il mittente né il destinatario della lettera. In essa si parla di soldati inviati dal mittente, che scrive usando il plurale maiestatico ed evidentemente ha l'autorità di inviare soldati, probabilmente per accompagnare in un luogo a noi ignoto alcune persone, forse provenienti da un villaggio di nome Arsinoe. Ho supposto che queste persone siano indicate alla riga 1 con l'accusativo τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους e i loro nomi, ancora in accusativo, Κτήσιππον καὶ Εἰρήνην, siano stati aggiunti alla fine della lettera, dopo i saluti e la data, alla riga 4. Ignoriamo anche il motivo del viaggio sotto scorta militare: forse per comparire davanti a un funzionario (il mittente della lettera?) in veste di testimoni o di accusati. Se questa interpretazione ha colto nel segno ci troviamo di fronte a un altro ordine di comparizione, che però non presenta somiglianze con P.Bingen 34 né nell'aspetto né nel contenuto.

Nell'unica riga del verso si legge ancora il nome Ctesippos, ma la desinenza del nome è in lacuna. Ho supposto che questa riga, tracciata da una mano diversa da quella del recto, facesse parte di una nota di archiviazione sul contenuto della lettera.

A questo punto mi sono chiesta se fosse utile un confronto con gli altri ordini di comparizione di epoca tolemaica: un accurato elenco di questi documenti si trova nell'introduzione a P.Paramone 9 (edito nel 2004). A tale elenco va ora aggiunto P.Tebt.Pad. I 7, recentemente pubblicato. In totale i documenti di questo tipo per l'epoca tolemaica non sono molti: escludendo per ora i due papiri che sto presentando, sono ventidue in tutto. Provengono da vari νομοί: dall'Arsinoite (otto, uno dei quali riguarda anche il Menfite), dall'Eracleopolite (cinque sicuri editi nei BGU, e due incerti) e dall'Ossirinchite (sette in P.Hib. I). Alcuni sono scritti a righe corte su fogli lunghi e stretti, altri a righe lunghe *transversa charta*, come P.Bastianini 14. Questo modo diverso d'impaginazione risulta indipendente dalla provenienza.

Esaminando questi documenti si nota subito che non seguono un formulario fisso. Si presentano come lettere fra funzionari dei quali spesso compare solo il nome proprio, raramente affiancato dalla carica. Alcuni di questi documenti sono da mettere in relazione con l'attività dei crematisti, come P.Bingen 34. Il mittente usa sempre il plurale maiestatico come in P.Bastianini 14.

Di solito si chiede di far comparire un accusato, e a volte anche dei testimoni, davanti a uno o più funzionari, o davanti al tribunale, e di fare scortare l'accusato μετὰ φυλακῆς, come in P.Bingen 34. In nessuno però sono nominati soldati come in P.Bastianini 14. Il verbo più usato per questo scopo è καθίστημι come in P.Bingen 34 (e lo si trova adoperato in tutti e tre i νομοί succitati). Ricorrono anche i verbi ἀποστέλλω (nell'Arsinoite e nell'Ossirinchite) e πέμπω e ἀναπέμπω (solo nell'Ossirinchite). Nemmeno il verbo usato in P.Bingen 34 ci aiuta quindi a stabilirne la provenienza.

Alla fine degli ordini di comparizione esaminati si trovano i saluti e la datazione con anno (senza il nome del re), mese e giorno, esattamente come in P.Bastianini 14, ma questo modo di datare non è esclusivo di questi documenti, trovandosi adoperato anche in documenti di altro tipo.

Non sempre gli ordini di comparizione presentano scritte nel verso. D'altronde in alcuni casi, come P.Bingen 34, si tratta di minute. La scritta nel verso, quando è presente, di solito consiste nel nome del destinatario. In due lettere appartenenti all'archivio di Zenone, oltre al nome del destinatario, si trova una nota di archiviazione, com'era abitudine dell'oikonomos del dioiketes Apollonio: κατὰ Νεοπτολέμου (P.Mich. I 39.v r. 3) e περὶ τοῦ ζυτοποιοῦ (P.Cair.Zen. II 59202.v rr. 2-3). Nel verso di P.Bastianini 14 si legge κκτησιππ: possiamo supporre che si tratti di una nota di archiviazione da interpretare come κ(ατὰ) Κτήσιππον oppure [περὶ Εἰρήνης] κ(αὶ) Κτησίππου. Dopo il primo *kappa* non c'è segno di abbreviazione: tuttavia nel III sec. a.C. si trovano esempi di parole abbreviate senza alcun segno di abbreviazione.[5]

Di nessuno dei due papiri qui presentati è possibile dunque indicare con certezza la provenienza da una zona precisa dell'Egitto, nemmeno dopo l'esame degli altri ordini di comparizione dell'epoca tolemaica. Per P.Bingen 34 la Montevecchi proponeva dubitativamente l'Eracleopolite, per P.Bastianini 14 non ho avanzato proposte.

Forse a questo punto può essere utile un confronto con gli altri P.Med. appartenenti al medesimo lotto, acquistato sul mercato antiquario europeo nel 1983 e comprendente trentatré numeri d'inventario dei quali circa la metà sono editi. Sembra che essi siano stati ricavati da cartonnage, ma non sappiamo se da uno stesso cartonnage. Quelli finora pubblicati sono attribuibili paleograficamente alla fine del III o all'inizio del II sec. a.C. Si tratta di documenti di vario tipo: tre petizioni, una delle quali da Crocodilopoli databile fra il 197 e il 190, l'impegno di ricostruire una casa datato 223, una ricevuta bancaria da Crocodilopoli datata 204, un elenco di persone, la sottoscrizione di un contratto e quella di membri di una synodos, alcune lettere, una lista di villaggi dell'Arsinoite, un conto di grano. Le poche indicazioni geografiche presenti nei documenti rimandano dunque solo all'Arsinoite. Anche l'espressione ἐξ Ἀρσινόης di P.Bastianini 14 potrebbe ricondurre a uno dei villaggi così chiamati ubicati nell'Arsinoite, benché esistessero diversi villaggi con questo nome in altri νομοί e uno di essi si trovasse nel Delta, non lontano da Alessandria.

Non dobbiamo però dimenticare che in uno stesso cartonnage potevano confluire documenti provenienti da νομοί diversi come nel caso famosissimo dei cartoni di mummia ritrovati da Otto Rubensohn ad Abusir el Melek nei primi anni del secolo scorso, i quali contenevano documenti dell'Eracleopolite insieme con documenti provenienti da Alessandria. Perciò non possiamo escludere che anche fra i papiri del nostro lotto potessero esserci, oltre a documenti dell'Arsinoite, papiri provenienti da altri νομοί, tanto più se limitrofi come l'Eracleopolite.[6]

La questione della provenienza delle nostre due lettere rimane dunque irrisolta.

[5] Blanchard (1974) 3.

[6] Documenti amministrativi di provenienza eracleopolita ma ritrovati nell'Arsinoite sono conservati anche alla Sorbona: cf. Wackenier (2019).

P.Bingen 34[7] 24 x 10 cm III ex.-II in. a.C.



1]πόλις
1 bis] \ʿΗρακλείδην χει(ριστήν?)/
]περὶ βασ[ιλικ ἀν]αχωρήσας
] . . . . . περὶ οὗ ἔγρ[αψα] . . υ . . . . Πτολεμαίωι
τῶι ἐπιμελητῆι ἀνα[καλέσα]σθαι αὐ̣[τ]ὴν καὶ κατα-
5 στῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸ κριτήριον μετὰ φ[υλ]ακῆς· περὶ οὗ
ἐπιστολὴν ἔλαβον παρ᾽ α[ὐτοῦ] νῦν [ὅτι] παραγέγονεν.
7 [ἀξιῶ] οὖν σε συναποστεῖλαί μοι Τε̣[ ] ὅπως ἀναχθῆ
7 bis \ουσι/
ἐπὶ τ̣ο̣ὺ̣ς χρ(ηματιστὰς) μετὰ φυλακῆς καθ᾽ ὃ ἔ̣[γρά]ψαν οἱ χρηματισταί
ε̣ν̣ . .κ̣αι τ̣ὰ̣ς̣ ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῆ̣[ι κ]αὶ τῆι μητρὶ .[ ] . . .
9 bis \περὶ τ[ῆ]ς οἰκίας τῆς μητρ̣[ός]/
10 καρ̣ι̣α̣ς̣ . . . .ς καὶ ὑπογραφὰς συ[ν]τελεσθῶσιν [ ] . . .

7 bis: forse .[γρά]φουσι corretto da ἔ̣[γρά]ψαν

[7] Questa nuova trascrizione tiene conto dei suggerimenti di alcuni colleghi, che desidero ringraziare (rr. 4, 6, 7, 7 bis, 8, 9, 10). Per la lettura ἀνα[καλέσα]σθαι (r. 4), Cowey / Hagedorn (2001) 179. Fotografie con permesso della Direzione della Biblioteca di Ateneo dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano.

P.Bastianini 14 16.1 x 11.2 cm III ex.-II in. a.C.



recto

1 χ]αίρειν. Τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους τῶν ἐξ Ἀρσινόης κ̣[ώμης
τοῖ]ς̣ ἀπεσταλμένοις ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν στρατιώταις ὅπως τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς [
] Ἔρρωσο. (Ἔτους) [ ] Χο[ι]ὰχ ι̣ᾱ [
].ων Κτήσιππον καὶ Εἰρήνην τὴν̣ [



verso

(M2)]κ( ) Κτησιππ[ ]

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Proceedings of the 28th International Congress of Papyrology, Barcelona 2016
Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona 2019) 437-447

Quatre documents inédits des archives d'Haryôtês, basilicogrammate de l'Hérakléopolite

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Le Fonds Jouguet de l'Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne se compose de papyrus grecs et démotiques issus principalement de cartonnages de momie découverts par P. Jouguet et son équipe dans le Fayoum, à Ghôran et Magdôla au début du XX^e^ siècle.[1] Si la plupart des documents administratifs ayant servi à fabriquer les cartonnages de momie de Ghôran et Magdôla viennent de l'Arsinoïte, certains ont pour origine l'Hérakléopolite.[2] Grâce à Jean Gascou, alors directeur de l'Institut de Papyrologie, j'ai pu avoir accès, alors que je rédigeais ma thèse, à quatre documents inédits de ce fonds (Inv.Sorb. 103, 168, 332 et 386). [3] Il s'agit de missives internes à l'administration, comme l'indique l'absence de titre de fonction, adressées à un certain Haryôtês dont la fonction n'est pas précisée, comme en usage dans l'administration. Le rapprochement avec Haryôtês, destinataire de P.Sorb. I 34 (230 av. J.-C.) était aisé. L'éditrice, H. Cadell avait déjà supposé qu'Haryôtês pouvait être le basilicogrammate de l'Arsinoïte ou de l'Hérakléopolite et suggérait de l'identifier au basilicogrammate de l'Hérakléopolite, nommé Haryôtês (TM Per 6251), connu pour l'an 6 de Ptolémée III : P.Hib. I 72. l. 8-9 (242/1 av. J.-C.).[4] Cette hypothèse peut être appuyée par l'étude des quatre documents inédits du fonds Jouguet.[5] Après avoir replacé ces documents dans leur contexte, il s'agira de déterminer les fonctions d'Haryôtês, sa circonscription d'exercice pour aboutir à une proposition de reconstitution de la chronologie des basilicogrammates de l'Hérakléopolite durant le règne de Ptolémée III.

[1] Une autre partie du Fonds résulte d'achats effectués à El-Lahoun et à Ihnâsya el-Médina. Pour l'historique du Fonds: www.papyrologie.paris-sorbonne.fr/menu1/jouguet.htm
[2] P.Enteux. 61; SB III 7176-7179 proviennent du cartonnage Ghôran 288.
[3] Les papyrus inédits sont cités sous la forme Inv.Sorb. pour suivre les impératifs de la collection au détriment de l'uniformisation du présent volume, j'en assume l'entière responsabilité. Trois de ces documents avaient fait l'objet de transcriptions dans des mémoires inédits conservés à l'Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne: Bui 1997-1998 (Inv.Sorb. 103, 168, 386) et Millet 2005-2006 (Inv.Sorb. 168). L'étude proposée ici s'appuie sur mes propres transcriptions corrigeant ou précisant celles proposées dans ces mémoires de troisième cycle. Ces relectures ont été rendues possibles notamment grâce aux précieuses photographies en infrarouge réalisées par A. Bülow-Jacobsen que je tiens à remercier chaleureusement. Ces photographies sont consultables sur le site de l'Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne: www.papyrologie.paris-sorbonne.fr.
[4] P.Sorb. I 34: «il ne serait pas impossible cependant qu'Haryôthès soit le basilicogrammate de l'Hérakléopolite (= *Pros.ptol.* I 431), connu en 241 par *P.Hib* I 72».
[5] Le format des actes ne permettant pas une édition complète de chacun des quatre documents, je propose donc ici une transcription des deux documents les plus complets (Inv.Sorb. 103 et 168) avec un commentaire linéaire restreint et une description des deux autres documents. Je remercie Hélène Cuvigny, actuelle directrice de l'Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne, d'avoir bien voulu relire mes transcriptions et de m'avoir proposé de nouvelles lectures, les éventuelles erreurs devant m'être imputées.

1. Les archives d'Haryôtês

Document	Date	Provenance/ origine	Cartonnage	Expéditeur	Destinataire
P.Hib. I 72	242/241 av. J.-C. (an 6)	Fayoum/ Hérakléopolite	Momie A 7	Dôriôn (épistate)	Antiochos (stratège)
P.Sorb. I 34	230 av. J.-C. (an 18)	Fayoum/ Hérakléopolite?	Ghôran o	Apollonios	Haryôtês
Inv.Sorb. 332	230/229 av. J.-C. (an 18)	Fayoum/ Hérakléopolite?	Ghôran 61-2-3	Dôriôn	Haryôtês
Inv.Sorb. 168	229 av. J.-C. (an 18)	Fayoum/ Hérakléopolite	Magdôla E	Apollonios	Haryôtês
Inv.Sorb. 103	IIIème s. av. J.-C.	Fayoum/ Hérakléopolite?	Magdôla (sans numéro)	[…]	Haryôtês
Inv.Sorb. 386	IIIème s. av. J.-C.	Fayoum/ Hérakléopolite?	Magdôla 2	Dionysios	Haryôtês

Tableau 1. Documents mentionnant Haryôtês

Le Fonds Jouguet conserve les archives d'Haryôtês constituées d'au moins cinq documents.[6] Trois d'entre eux datent de l'an 6 de Ptolémée III, les deux autres ne comportent pas de date mais sont datables, par la paléographie, du III^e^ siècle avant notre ère.[7] Le fait que les documents proviennent à la fois de Ghôran et de Magdôla ne doit pas étonner, on trouve le même cas dans les archives d'Aristarchos (P.Sorb. III) publiées par W. Clarysse.[8]

La comparaison des écritures révèle que, si P.Sorb. I 34 et Inv.Sorb. 168 ont pour expéditeur Apollonios, il ne peut s'agir du même scribe, plusieurs lettres diffèrent fortement, en particulier les η et les ν, ce qui n'exclut pas que les deux documents émanent des bureaux d'Apollonios qui a eu recours à deux scribes différents. Deux documents peuvent par contre avoir la même main: Inv.Sorb. 103 et 168[9].

2. Description et édition des documents.

Les deux documents suivants sont trop lacunaires pour être transcrits:

Inv.Sorb. 332 (3 fragments). Seules les marges supérieure et gauche sont conservées, le papyrus présente une lacune centrale empêchant de donner une véritable cohérence au texte. On peut lire, outre l'adresse, la mention à deux reprises de Sadalas, fils de Théogénès.[10] On déchiffre également χωμα aux lignes 2 et 5 mais la suite est illisible, il peut donc s'agir de la

[6] Deux autres documents sont probablement assignables à ces archives: Inv.Sorb. 115 est un document relatif à une succession, Inv.Sorb. 333, issu du même cartonnage qu'Inv.Sorb. 332 pourrait être une lettre adressée à Haryôtês mais seule la dernière syllabe du nom du destinataire est lisible.

[7] Les verso comportent l'adresse en grand module, on voit des traces d'encre mais sans qu'il soit possible d'y lire la date, il peut s'agir de traces de dégorgement d'encre. Le travail mené par l'Équipe Fonds Jouguet Démotique (EFJD) sur les documents démotiques publiés de la collection montre qu'environ les trois-quarts d'entre eux sont datés du règne de Ptolémée III.

[8] Les études menées actuellement par l'EFJD devraient nous éclairer sur la manière dont les cartonnages étaient constitués ainsi que sur les lieux d'approvisionnement des choachytes. Il est possible qu'un seul atelier ait fabriqué les cartonnages des défunts inhumés dans les deux nécropoles.

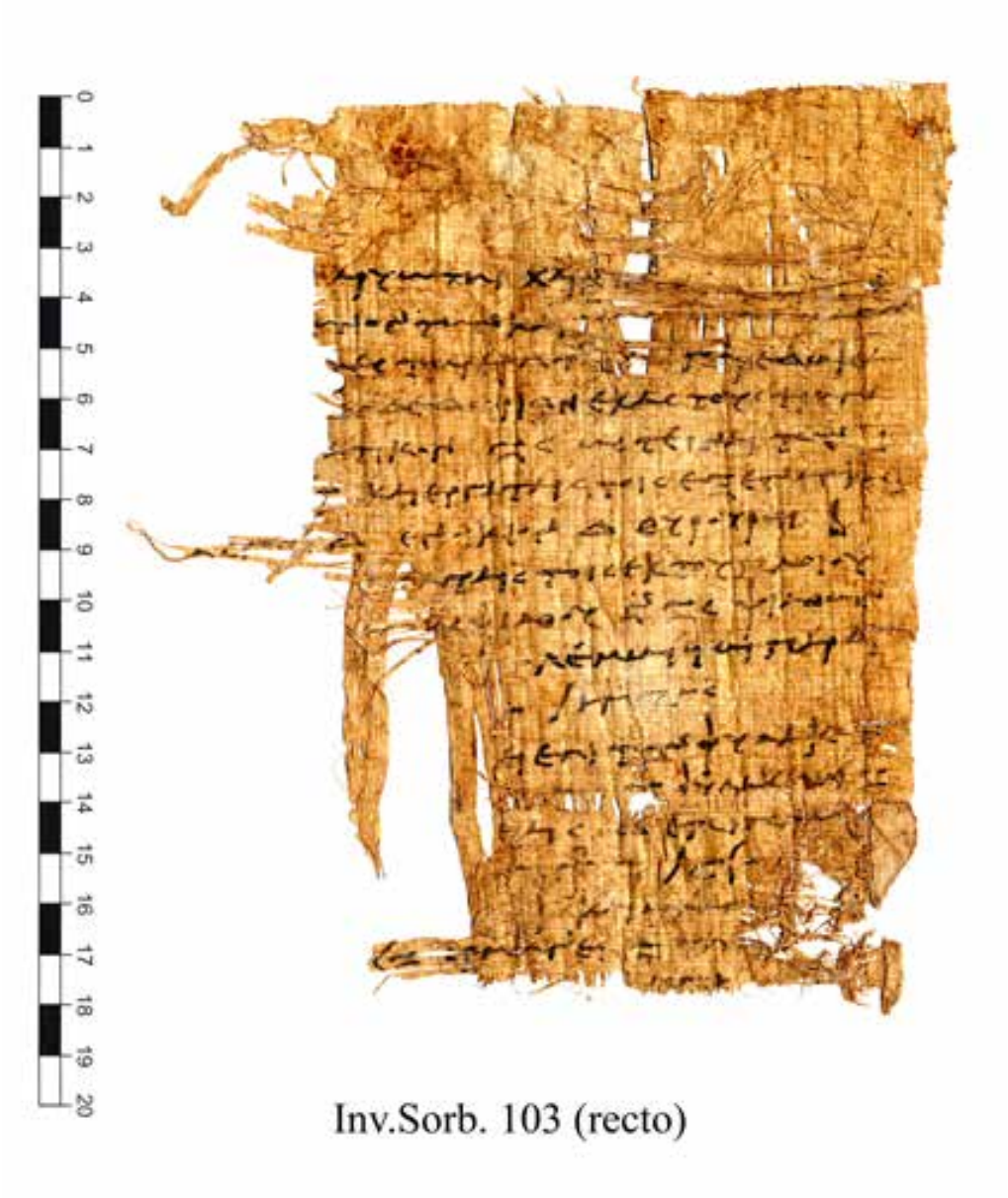
[9] Voir planches jointes, réalisées par Florent Jacques, qu'il en soit remercié.

[10] Pour une synthèse sur cet anthroponyme thrace, voir en dernier lieu Dana (2014) 298-301.

mention des digues ou de travaux des digues ou de la taxe sur les digues (χωματικόν). On peut lire l'endossement: (ἔτους) ιη Τυβι ι̣ε̣̣ Δωρίω̣ν̣.

Inv.Sorb. 386 (1 fragment). Seule manque la marge de droite, dix-sept lignes de texte sont préservées sur dix-huit, la ligne quatre est quasiment entièrement effacée on ne voit les traces que d'une ou deux lettres en fin de ligne. La salutation finale ἔρρωσο est préservée. L'encre a coulé en de nombreux endroits soit au moment de la constitution du cartonnage soit au moment du démembrement de celui-ci. On déchiffre seulement quelques mots qui nous renvoient à nouveau au contexte de travaux des digues. On lit, à la ligne 5: τῶν χωματικῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν . [. . .] .+/- 10 lettres. On lit également l'anthroponyme Eudôros aux lignes 3 et 7, respectivement à l'accusatif et au génitif.

Inv.Sorb. 103 H. 17.8 x L. 17.8 cm 2e moitié du IIIe s. av. J.-C.
Hérakléopolite Magdôla (sans numéro)



Inv.Sorb. 103 (recto)

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La marge supérieure et le bord droit sont conservés. A gauche, manquent quelques centimètres, suffisamment pour noter le nom de l'expéditeur. Si comme suggéré plus haut, la main est identique à celle d'Inv.Sorb. 168, l'expéditeur peut en être Apollonios, ce qui suppose que manquent au moins 4 cm sur la gauche du document car la séquence]π̣ολλώνιος couvre 3.7 cm à la première ligne d'Inv.Sorb. 168. L'écriture, sans être particulièrement soignée, est lisible. Le texte comporte dix-huit lignes dont la dernière ne porte que quelques traces. De la dixième à la seizième ligne, les fibres sont arrachées sur la gauche du document.[11]

L'adresse Ἁρυώτηι est écrite perfibralement en grand module au verso, subsistent quelques traces d'une longue marque d'enregistrement de la marque d'enregistrement de sept ou huit lignes. Il n'est possible d'identifier que quelques lettres. Des traces d'encre sur les parties gauche et droite du verso pourraient témoigner d'un réemploi du document, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse de décharges d'encre dues à la confection du cartonnage. Des restes de la peinture rouge du cartonnage sont également visibles en plusieurs endroits.[12]

Ce texte enregistre des dépenses liées à différents travaux exécutés sans doute sous les ordres d'Haryôtês. Il y est fait mention également de salaires de gardes, d'un phylacite, d'un loyer ainsi que de productions artisanales. Sont mentionnés des ouvriers déchargeant un navire, l'ensemble des biens énumérés doit s'inscrire dans ce contexte de déchargement. Ce texte est trop lacunaire pour faire l'objet d'une traduction suivie.

→

1]. Ἁρυώτηι χαίρειν· τ̣[.]..[.].. . [. .]
]ωνοντων καὶ τ̣ο̣ὺς . . . . φί̣λ̣ο̣υ̣ς
]τες τῶι Ἑρμογέ̣ν̣[ει] παρέδωκα
]εν δὲ Δωρίων ἑκάστου στρωμα|[
5]ατικὸν (διώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον) ὥστ' εἶναι τῶν (δύο ὀβολῶν)
] . καὶ ἐργάταις τοῖς ἐξενέ̣γκασι
]ᾳ̣στον δ ἐνοίκιον δ θυρουρῶι β
ἐρ]γαταῖς τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου
ἑκ]ά̣στης ψιάθου ἀν(ὰ) (δυώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον) ψιάθων
10]ολέμωι τῶι παρὰ .
]δ̣ (γίνονται) (δράχμαι) μζ (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον)
]αι ἐπὶ τῶν φυλάκων
] . [. .] . . . . .(δυώβολον) φυλακίτηι (δύο ὀβολοὶ)
]τ̣αις δ ἐπίπλω[ι]
15]ῶι (γραμματεῖ) (δύο ὀβολοὶ) (γίνονται) ϛ (τετρώβολον)
] . ι καὶ ἀλλαγή . . .
] . (δύο ὀβολοὶ) ἑρμηνεῖ (δυώβολον) ὑπηρ̣[έτηι ?]
] . ι̣γ (δραχμαί)[
– –

Verso
Ἁρυώτηι
. ...
ν

5 ═ ; ∠ ; ═ | 9 α ; ═ ; ∠ ; | 11 ∫ ; ⊦ ; – ; ∠ | 13 ═ ; ═ | 15 ⊦ᵖ ; ═ ; ∫ ; ⊦ | 17 = ; = | 18 ⊦

[11] À la ligne 7, une fibre a été redressée par Florent Jacques, que je remercie, ce qui permet de proposer la lecture]ᾳ̣στον.
[12] La pochette contient une transcription de G. Anagnostopoulos que mon édition complète et corrige.



Inv.Sorb. 103 (verso)

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Commentaires

2. Au début de la ligne, on lit la séquence ωνοντων, il peut s'agir de la fin d'un participe génitif pluriel ou de la fin d'un mot au nominatif neutre singulier ou à l'accusatif neutre ou masculin singulier suivi de l'article génitif pluriel τῶν, l'absence de contexte ne permettant pas de trancher, la séquence n'a pas été accentuée. L'arrachage des fibres rend particulièrement difficile la lecture de la seconde moitié de la ligne. La lecture καὶ τοὺς . . . . est incertaine. La restitution, très incertaine, de φίλους est donnée à titre d'hypothèse. Je remercie Hélène Cuvigny de m'avoir suggéré cette lecture.

3. On lit sur le document Ἑρμογέν[ce qui ne peut correspondre qu'à l'anthroponyme Ἑρμογένης, fréquent dans l'ensemble du monde grec. Il est connu dans l'Hérakléopolite à l'époque lagide par trois documents : P.Hels. I 29. iii. l. 42 (161/160 av. J.-C.) ; BGU XIV 2436. ii. l. 15 (I^{e} av. J.-C.); 2444. l. 10 (I^{e} av. J.-C.).

4. Dôriôn est un anthroponyme porté dans tout le monde grec et en particulier en Moyenne-Égypte durant l'époque ptolémaïque. [13] Ainsi, Dôriôn (TM Per 7535) est épistate de Phébichis (P.Hib. I 73, P.Hib. II 203).

[13] Fraser / Matthews (1987) 144-145; (2000) 128; (2005) 113.

Le terme στρῶμα ou son diminutif στρωματίον désignent une couverture, un tapis ou un matelas, toute pièce d'étoffe qui peut être étendue et servir de siège ou plus souvent de couche. Ce terme peut également désigner les couvertures des chevaux.[14] Le papyrus porte στρωμα mais comme il est précédé du génitif ἑκάστου, il faut suppléer -τος ou -τίου au début de la ligne suivante. Dans la mesure où il est impossible de trancher, la désinence n'a pas été restituée dans l'édition.

5. Il est tentant de suppléer χωμ]ατικόν au début de la ligne dans la mesure où les digues et travaux des digues apparaissent plusieurs fois dans notre corpus (Inv.Sorb. 168. l. 2 ; 332. l. 2 et 6, 336. l. 5).

7. Dans la lacune devait se trouver la mention de quelque chose coûtant quatre unités de valeur non spécifiées, sans doute des drachmes, un loyer ne saurait être de quatre oboles. Enfin, est mentionné au datif un θυρουρός. Ce terme désigne soit un bâtiment muni de portes, généralement un grenier, soit un gardien. Le fait que le mot soit ici au datif semble plutôt orienter vers la seconde solution, d'autant que sont listés ensuite les salaires de gardes.

8. La mention, à la ligne 6, de ἐργαταῖς τοῖς ἐξενέγκασι invite à restituer ἐρ]γάταις et à sous-entendre le participe ἐξενέγκασι. Il faut comprendre qu'il s'agit des ouvriers qui déchargent une embarcation. En l'absence de parallèle exact, il est possible de citer deux documents qui mentionnent des ouvriers chargeant un bateau, il s'agit des PSI V 545. l. 18-20 (III^{e} av. J.-C.) et P.Oxy XXXI 2580. l. 9-12 (début du III^{e} av. J.-C.). L'expression ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου se retrouve aussi dans P.Cair.Zen. IV 59566. l. 4-5 daté de 250 av. J.-C. et dans un document du VI^{e} siècle, P.Köln VI 281. l. 13.

9. Des paiements sont effectués pour des nattes de jonc. Le terme est courant dans la documentation papyrologique, il désigne une couverture ou une natte étendue par terre en guise de couchage.[15]

10. Le début de l'anthroponyme d'un agent est en lacune. En se limitant aux anthroponymes attestés à la même époque on peut restituer Εὐπ]όλεμωι (TM Nam 3111), Τληπ]όλεμωι (TM nam 6290), Νεοπτ]όλεμωι (TM nam 4258) ou Τριπτ]όλεμωι (TM nam 23606).

11. La ligne porte un total intermédiaire qui montre que les lacunes comportent une grande partie du compte puisque l'addition des sommes que nous lisons est bien inférieure à ce total.

12. Il est peut-être question du chef des gardes dont le nom est en lacune, au datif, comme l'indique le ι qui peut être la fin de l'anthroponyme ou de τῶι. Les navires chargés de transporter le grain royal vers Alexandrie étaient surveillés par des gardes (P.Erasm. II 24. l. 4).

13. Deux oboles sont données à un phylacite. Au milieu du III^{e} av. J.-C, le salaire du phylacite est de six drachmes par mois (P.Cair.Zen. II 59296. l. 11).[16] Les deux oboles représentent donc un salaire ponctuel versé au phylacite, dans le cadre peut-être de la surveillance du déchargement du bateau. D. Thompson est arrivée à la conclusion selon laquelle le salaire de base du phylacite est de cinq drachmes, alors que celui de l'épistate est de trente drachmes mensuelles.[17]

[14] Voir P.Heid. VII 406. n. 33/42 et la notice «Stragulum, stragula vestis» DAGR, 1563, col. a: «couverture, tenture, tapisserie, rideau et en général, tout ce qu'on étend sur le sol ou sur les lits et sur d'autres meubles, aussi bien que le long des murs et dans leurs intervalles».
[15] DAGR III 2, 1662a.
[16] Kool (1954) 25-26.
[17] Thompson (1995) vol. II, 961-966.

15.]ῶι (γραμματεῖ): s'agit-il d'un scribe chargé d'établir la liste des marchandises déchargées et touchant deux oboles ou du scribe royal? Il faudrait dans ce cas restituer [βασιλικ]ῶι γρ(αμματεῖ)

17. Un interprète touche également deux oboles. Un interprète a pu être nécessaire si les administrateurs dirigeant les opérations étaient Grecs et les ouvriers Égyptiens.[18] À la même époque, on connait le salaire de deux interprètes grâce aux archives de Zénon. Dans un *hypomnéma* adressé à Zénon, P.Cair.Zen. III 59394. l. 50, un interprète est payé 20 drachmes. Dans une liste de paiement de salaires, P.Cair.Zen. IV 63, Glaukias est payé 12 drachmes de bronze pour un achat de denrées. La faible fréquence de la mention des interprètes à l'époque ptolémaïque et la mention de salaires peu élevés pour des missions ponctuelles tendent à confirmer le fait que la fonction d'interprète n'était pas encore institutionnalisée à l'époque ptolémaïque comme elle le deviendra à l'époque romaine.[19]

La lecture du mot ὑπηρέτης est une conjecture fondée sur le fait que l'on voit une liste de personnes qui ont pu contribuer à la bonne tenue des opérations. Le terme apparaît une soixantaine de fois au troisième siècle, aussi bien dans les archives de Zénon que dans un contexte purement administratif.

Inv.Sorb. 168 228 av. J.-C.
Hérakléopolite Magdola E
Fragment (a): H: 6 x L: 19,6 cm
Fragment (b): H: 7, 1 x L: 9,1 cm
Fragment (c): H: 7 x L: 14,2 cm

Dans le sous-verre 167+168, se trouvaient quatre fragments non jointifs a, b, c et d endroits. Les fragments (a) et (b) conservent la marge supérieure du document et respectivement les marges gauche et droite. La lacune entre ces deux fragments est d'environ huit lettres. La largeur totale du document devait donc être d'environ 31 ou 32 cm.

Bien que les quatre fragments soient de la même main, ils ne peuvent appartenir au même document car les fragments (c) et (d) portent tous deux la salutation ἔρρωσο. Dans la mesure où le fragment (d) se raccorde aux fragments (a) et (b), et qu'ils portent le même numéro d'inventaire 168, le fragment appelé (c) a été retiré du sous-verre et l'ancien fragment (d) est désormais nommé (c).

Le fragment a comporte au verso l'adresse du destinataire du document en grand module. Le verso du fragment d comporte des traces illisibles.

On comprend qu'Apollonios mande auprès d'Haryôtês Pétosiris, chargé de quatre lettres concernant deux talents affectés aux travaux des digues de l'Hérakléopolite. Une des lettres est adressée à Haryôtês, une à Asklépiadès, une autre peut-être à un certain Pétosiris, qui n'est pas nécessairement la même personne que le messager. L'affaire semble difficile, il y est question d'un *prostagma* et un sitologue est également impliqué.

[18] P.Col.Zen. 63, 7 n.: «in Zenon's times it must have been necessary to use interpreters constantly in dealing with the native Egyptians». Sept documents d'époque ptolémaïque mentionnent des interprètes: CPR XIII 11. l. 38 (III^{e} av. J.-C.); P.Cair.Zen.. I 59065. l. 2 (257 av. J.-C.); P.Cair.Zen. III 59394. l. 50 (III^{e} av. J.-C.); P.Col. IV 63. l. 7 (ca 257 av. J.-C.); P.Ryl. IV 563. l. 7 (250 av. J.-C.); PSI IV 332. l. 6 (257/256 av. J.-C.); PSI IV 409. l. 15 (III^{e} av. J.-C.); UPZ II 227 l. 1 (II^{e}-I^{er} av. J.-C.); SB X 10743 col. ii. l. 8 (I^{er} av. J.-C.-I^{er} ap. J.-C.).
[19] Voir Rochette (1994) 313, 316. Pour l'époque romaine, voir Taubenschlag (1959) 167-170.

↓

1 Ἀ]π̣ολλώνιος Ἁρυ[ώ]τη[ι] χα̣[ί]ρειν· Ἐκκομισάμενος τὰ[ς ἐπιστο]λὰς τὰς περὶ τῶν β (ταλάντων)
τ]ῶν ἐπεσταλμ[ένων] δοῦναι εἰς τὰ χωματικὰ [ἔργα τοῦ Ἡρ]ακλεοπολίτου, ὁρῶν δὲ
τὴ]ν σπούδην κα[ὶ] ἐν̣ε̣στηκότα καιρὸν ὠιήθην [.... ἀποστ]εῖλαι πρός σε Πετοσῖριν
κο]μ̣ίζοντά σοι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπ̣[ιστολὰς] δ τούτων πρός σε μίαν
5 [καὶ πρὸς + nom] ἄλλην καὶ πρὸς Ἀσκληπιά[δην ἑτέρα]ν, ὡσαύτως δε καὶ πρός
Traces τ αὔτως δε κ[αὶ] περὶ τῶν
. .ὅπως χρ̣ήσηι̣ς̣θ̣ε τῶι πρ̣ό̣σταγματι
.]ν Πετοσ[ί]ρει ἑτέραν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ α̣ὐ̣τοῦ
.]α̣ι ἔδοξεν χαλεπὸν εἶναι εἰ ἐν τοῖς δυ[
10 .].ην διό[τ]ι λύει ἐνκρατεῖς ἡμᾶς εἶναι . .
.].ιερο . . . . τον εἶναι ὥστε τὸν σιτολόγ[ον
]ισθῆγ[α]ι . . . ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) ιη παῦνι ζ̄ . .

1. ⏜

Commentaires

1. La restitution τὰ[ς ἐπιστο]λὰς est assurée par le contexte et l'emploi, à la ligne suivante, de τῶν β (ταλάντων) τ]ῶν ἐπεσταλμ[ένων]. Apollônios a reçu un ordre épistolaire enjoignant de débloquer deux talents pour des travaux réalisés dans le nome. Il doit à son tour transmettre ces ordres par la voie épistolaire.

2. Les travaux pour lesquels deux talents doivent être payés sont ceux des digues de l'Hérakléopolite. La somme de deux talents est relativement élevée, elle peut se comprendre s'il s'agit de payer l'ensemble des travaux des digues ou s'il s'agit de travaux réalisés sur des canaux importants. Dans l'Égypte lagide, l'entretien des digues était financé par une taxe, τὸ χωματικόν, le paiement de la taxe remplaçait la corvée due pour cet entretien. Fr. Uebel a montré qu'elle était calculée annuellement en espèces, à raison de 1 ob. par aroure.[20] Cl. Préaux avait déjà noté que cette taxe se calculait au prorata du nombre d'aroures.[21]

3. L'anthroponyme Pétosiris est très courant à l'époque ptolémaïque (TM nam 893). Pétosiris a servi de messager entre Apollônios et Haryôtès, la mention du nom du messager dans le corps du document envoyé est une pratique qui s'observe dans d'autres documents, en particulier P.Heid. VIII 418. Il est à nouveau mentionné à la huitième ligne du document.

5. Un Asklépiadès est banquier du nome Hérakléopolite entre 230 et 228 av. J.-C.[22]

10. La mention du sitologue ne peut pas être éclairée par le contexte qui est lacunaire. Les lignes 10 à 12 sont difficiles à lire.

12. La date du 7 Pauni correspond au 22 juillet, or D. Bonneau a noté que dans le Fayoum, 63% des reçus de taxes du chômatikon sont datés de juin, juillet et août.[23]

[20] Uebel (1954) 18.
[21] Préaux (1939) 398-399.
[22] Wackenier (2013) 33.
[23] Bonneau (1964) 54.



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3. Haryôtês, basilicogrammate de l'Hérakléopolite ?

Haryôtês est informé des travaux des digues et de questions relatives à l'impôt sur les digues. On voit également qu'il est instruit de questions relatives à des paiements de salaires (P.Sorb.inv. 103). Dans P.Sorb. I 34, il est tenu au courant des difficultés liées au transport de résine de cèdre entre l'Arsinoïte et l'Hérakléopolite. Dans tous les cas, il s'agit de questions compatibles avec les fonctions dévolues au basilicogrammate à l'époque ptolémaïque: gestion des digues, réception de petits paiements, notamment de taxes.[24]

Il est donc possible de l'identifier avec le basilicogrammate mentionné dans P.Hib. I 72 qui exerce ses fonctions dans l'Hérakléopolite. Le fait que le nome Hérakléopolite soit mentionné deux fois dans les archives de Haryôtês (P.Sorb. I 34, Inv.Sorb.168) tend à faire de celui-ci un administrateur du nome. Par ailleurs, l'étude prosopographique des archives vient étayer cette hypothèse. Si l'onomastique ne peut être révélatrice d'une origine héracléopolitaine dans la mesure où les anthroponymes cités sont très courants et ne présentent pas de caractère épichorique deux cas peuvent retenir notre attention, il s'agit de Dôriôn (Inv.Sorb. 103, 332 et 336) et surtout Asklépiadès (Inv.Sorb. 168). Si l'anthroponyme Dôriôn est particulièrement courant, sa mention dans trois documents des mêmes archives doit tout de même être soulignée. Le cas d'Asklépiadès est plus pertinent dans la mesure où on connaît un homonyme (TM Per 387954), banquier de l'Hérakléopolite de 230 à 228 av. J.-C. Dans Inv.Sorb. 168, Asklépiadès reçoit une des quatre lettres concernant les deux talents affectés aux travaux des digues de l'Hérakléopolite, ce qui serait parfaitement compatible avec les fonctions d'un banquier.

[24] Oates (1995) 32-33; Kruse (2002) 20-22; Armoni (2012) 243-248.

Nome	Date	Nom	Fonction	Document
Arsinoïte	An 5	Inconnu	Βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς	P.Cair.Zen. 3 59361
Arsinoïte	An 12	Inconnu	Βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς	P.Ryl. IV 575
Arsinoïte	An 16	Φανῆσις *Pa-n-Ỉs.t*	Schreiber des Gaues	P.Cair.dem. 2 10262 (descr.) = UPZ I p. 603
Arsinoïte	An 18	*ʿnḫ-ḥw.t-ntrʾ*[25]	*sḫ-Pr-ꜥ*	P.dem.Lille 2 41B
Hérakléopolite	An 6	Ἁρυώτης	βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς	P.Hib. I 72
Hérakléopolite	An 18	Ἁρυώτης	Basilicogrammate ?	P.Sorb. I 34 Inv.Sorb. 168, 332
Hérakléopolite	An 19	*Dḥwtj-ỉrdj-s* Θοτορταίος	*sḫ-Pr-ꜥ*	Denkmäler III 50148

Tableau 2. Les basilicogrammates de l'Arsinoïte et de l'Hérakléopolite sous le règne de Ptolémée III

Nom	Document	Date
Patbeus	P.Hib. I 153 (descr.)	An 2 de Ptolémée III
Haryôtês	P.Hib. I 72, P.Sorb. I 34 Inv.Sorb. 168, 332	An 6 de Ptolémée III An 18 de Ptolémée III
Thotortaios	Denkmäler III 50 148	An 19 de Ptolémée III
Péteimouthès	P.Heid. VI 362 SB XII 10 869	An 21 de Ptolémée III An 4 de Ptolémée IV

Tableau 3. Nouvelle chronologie des basilicogrammates de l'Hérakléopolite sous le règne de Ptolémée III

Haryôtês s'insère parfaitement dans la chronologie des basilicogrammates de l'Hérakléopolite comme on peut le voir dans le tableau 3, alors qu'un basilicogrammate de l'Arsinoïte est déjà attesté pour l'an 18 ce qui suggèrerait une succession entre deux basilicogrammates cette même année. Considérer qu'Haryôtês est basilicogrammate de l'Hérakléopolite présuppose qu'il a exercé sa fonction durant au moins 12 ans, de l'an 6 à l'an 18 de Ptolémée III ce qui induit une grande stabilité pour cette fonction centrale du nome. De même, Péteimouthès aurait exercé la même fonction durant au moins neuf ans de l'an 21 de Ptolémée III à l'an 4 de Ptolémée IV. À titre de comparaison nous pouvons prendre l'exemple bien documenté de Menchès (TM Per 10273), comogrammate de Kerkéosiris dans l'Arsinoïte de 119 à 110 av. J.-C.[26] La nécessaire connaissance du grec et de l'égyptien par le basilicogrammate, le besoin de bien connaître la circonscription d'exercice et de suivre sur le long terme des dossiers liés à la perception fiscale, aux travaux des digues… induisent une permanence des individus dans la charge. Au premier siècle avant notre ère, Paniskos et Héliodoros deviennent stratèges après avoir été successivement basilicogrammates, il ne faut donc pas considérer qu'il s'agit d'une charge subalterne. Quelles sont les fonctions exercées par les expéditeurs des documents? Tout d'abord Apollonios, expéditeur de P.Sorb. I 34, Inv.Sorb. 168 et probablement de Inv.Sorb. 103 semble en position de supériorité hiérarchique vis-à-vis de Haryôtês, c'est lui qui détermine qui doit recevoir les lettres concernant les deux talents affectés aux travaux des digues. Il peut

[25] Cet anthroponyme, de lecture difficile, est un hapax, il n'est pas possible néanmoins de lire Horoudja. La mention de scribe royal au singulier indique qu'il s'agit d'un basilicogrammate. A été émise l'hypothèse selon laquelle l'expression de *sḫ-Pr-ꜥ* pouvait désigner non seulement le basilicogrammate en particulier mais tout scribe royal quelque soit son niveau d'exercice (P.Batav. 1, i n.). Cette hypothèse me paraît valable lorsque l'expression est employée au pluriel, désignant le basilicogrammate et ses subordonnés mais non lorsqu'elle est utilisée au singulier.

[26] Verhoogt (1998) 49.

s'agir soit du stratège du nome, soit d'un membre de la chancellerie alexandrine, le diœcète ou un de ses agents. Dans le second cas, on comprend que l'éloignement géographique nécessite un messager, dans le premier cas, on comprend que le messager remet Inv.Sorb. 168, une des quatre lettres citées à Haryôtês qui doit peut-être ajouter d'autres documents à destination des autres administrateurs cités. Les fonctions de Dionysos (Inv.Sorb. 386) et de Dôriôn (Inv.Sorb. 332) sont impossibles à déterminer.

L'étude de ces quatre inédits permet de confirmer l'hypothèse formulée par H. Cadell selon laquelle Haryôtês a pu être le basilicogrammate de l'Hérakléopolite plutôt que de l'Arsinoïte. Il aurait alors exercé sa charge au moins de l'an 6 à l'an 18 de Ptolémée III. Cette conclusion permet de préciser le rôle du basilicogrammate dans la surveillance des travaux des digues mais induit également de nouveaux questionnements sur la constitution des cartonnages et le devenir des archives antiques. Une analyse plus systématique de la constitution des cartonnages présents dans le fonds Jouguet permettrait de mieux cerner le travail de collecte des vieilles archives administratives et d'élaboration des cartonnages par les choachytes.

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Primi risultati di un rinnovato studio del secondo rotolo del P.Rev.Laws*

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Il cosiddetto P.Rev.Laws, conservato alla Bodleian Library di Oxford, fu acquistato, in più riprese, sul mercato antiquario egiziano: come per la maggior parte dei papiri d'acquisto, pertanto, non se ne conosce la provenienza.[1] Sebbene non vi siano elementi materiali cogenti per escludere che tutti i pezzi che ci sono pervenuti appartenessero a un unico rotolo, sulla base di dati contenutistici essi sono stati convincentemente attribuiti, sin dall'*editio princeps*, a due rotoli diversi: il primo fu acquistato al Cairo da W. Matthew Flinders Petrie nel dicembre del 1893, i frammenti che costituiscono il secondo, invece, furono comperati, in parte al Cairo e in parte nel Fayum, da Bernard P. Grenfell nell'inverno tra il 1894 e il 1895.[2] Al momento del ritrovamento, prima di essere separati per essere venduti, i due rotoli dovevano essere avvolti uno intorno all'altro: come osservato da Grenfell, infatti, «the distance between the folds in [73]-[107], so far as it can be ascertained, shows that these columns formed the outside of a roll, the core of which had been separated from it, and the distance between the outside folds of [1]-[72] is perfectly consistent with the view that [1]-[72] are the missing core of [73]-[107]».[3]

L'*editio princeps*, a cura dello stesso Grenfell, apparve a distanza di un solo anno dall'acquisto dei frammenti del secondo rotolo.[4] Il documento pubblicato suscitò un immediato interesse da parte di papirologi e storici dell'antichità: datato nelle sue parti più recenti al 259/258 a.C., esso si presenta come una raccolta di ordinanze emananti dall'autorità del re, Tolemeo II Filadelfo, volte a disciplinare l'assunzione da parte di privati dell'appalto di alcune tasse e di alcuni monopoli; ne è indubbia, dunque, l'importanza per la ricostruzione dell'economia dell'Egitto lagide.[5] Numerosi studi di impianto prevalentemente storico furono

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* La presente comunicazione nasce da alcune conclusioni cui sono giunta nel corso dell'elaborazione della mia tesi di Dottorato, discussa presso l'Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II nel dicembre 2017, che sarà a breve pubblicata come lavoro monografico. Lì saranno riprodotte tutte le immagini, a tutt'oggi inedite, dei frammenti del secondo rotolo del P.Rev.Laws; quelle qui riportate, pubblicate con l'autorizzazione di The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (*vide* http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/5809/epub02.pdf per le norme sul copyright), sono state scelte al solo scopo di dare un'idea delle condizioni in cui tale rotolo ci è pervenuto.

[1] Grenfell (1896) v'ipotizzava una provenienza dal Fayum. Dalle coll. xxiii e xxxviii, tuttavia, risulta che, in un dato momento della sua storia, il documento era passato per gli uffici del dieceta, ad Alessandria: in proposito, *vide* Bingen (1978) 19.

[2] Grenfell (1896) 173. La parte iniziale, dunque più esterna, del primo rotolo contiene un'ordinanza di carattere generale (*vide* infra, n. 10): se si avesse a che fare con un unico rotolo, essa seguirebbe, anziché precedere, le ordinanze di contenuto più specifico che costituiscono quello che viene invece riconosciuto come secondo rotolo e questo sarebbe difficilmente spiegabile.

[3] Grenfell (1896) 173. Dall'osservazione delle volute e dei danni solidali risulta che il primo rotolo era avvolto in posizione iniziale di lettura e così, intorno ad esso, anche il secondo.

[4] Grenfell (1896). Dopo l'*editio princeps*, alcune colonne furono ripubblicate in Chrest.Wilck. 181 (= coll. lxxiii-lxxviii), 249 (= coll. xxxvi-xxxvii), 258 (= coll. i-xxii), 299 (= coll. xxxviii-lviii) e in Sel.Pap. II 203 (= coll. xxxviii-lvi).

[5] Cfr. Préaux (1939) 65 e Rostovtzeff (1941) 256; *vide* già Rostovtzeff (1922) 166, che identificava il papiro con un «codice» di leggi finanziarie relative alle tasse appaltate.

seguiti, nel 1952, da una seconda edizione del papiro, a opera di Jean Bingen, che è tuttora considerata quella di riferimento.[6]

Oltre che da un punto di vista storico, però, il P.Rev.Laws risulta di estremo interesse anche sotto il profilo paleografico e bibliologico: gli editori sono concordi, infatti, nell'individuare al suo interno ben dodici mani diverse e nel ricostruire per il primo rotolo una lunghezza di circa 14,5 m, per il secondo, invece, di almeno 5 m.[7] Tali dimensioni rappresentano un *unicum* nel panorama dei papiri documentari di età tolemaica.

Mentre il primo rotolo, fatta eccezione per le prime colonne, è ben conservato, il secondo è gravemente frammentario: per questo motivo, esso è stato perlopiù trascurato già a partire dall'*editio princeps*; un rinnovato esame da me intrapreso mostra, tuttavia, come sia meritevole di maggiore attenzione.[8] In attesa di offrirne una nuova edizione commentata, mi propongo di fornire, in questa sede, una descrizione di insieme dei frammenti che lo costituiscono: partendo da un'analisi delle caratteristiche morfologiche, paleografiche e testuali dei pezzi, cercherò di dimostrare come si possa individuare una nuova successione negli argomenti trattati nel rotolo. A questo scopo, appare necessaria una preliminare precisazione di ordine paleografico: delle dodici mani individuate da Grenfell, nel secondo rotolo se ne riconoscono quattro; all'interno della stessa mano –in particolare della decima, che scrive la maggior parte del testo superstite– si riscontrano frequenti cambiamenti nel *ductus* e nel tracciato, che pure bisogna tenere in considerazione per il corretto riposizionamento dei frammenti.[9]

In entrambe le edizioni, le colonne del secondo rotolo sono numerate, progressivamente a partire dalla fine del primo, da lxxiii a cvii; i contenuti sono distribuiti come segue:

1. coll. lxxiii-lxxviii: *diagramma* relativo alle banche appaltate;
2. coll. lxxix-lxxxvi: *nomos* su un'imposta del 10% (*dekate*) non meglio identificabile;
3. coll. lxxxvii-cvii: regolamento relativo all'industria tessile (lino, lana e stoppa).[10]

Dei 91 pezzi di cui, allo stato attuale, appare costituito il secondo rotolo, 48 vanno a formare le suddette colonne: essi provengono tutti dalla metà superiore del rotolo e presentano una forma ad arco, che, tranne che in corrispondenza delle coll. lxxiii-lxxviii, risulta sempre diviso in due parti da una frattura che corre nel senso dell'altezza; talvolta, di queste due parti si conserva solo quella sinistra o solo quella destra. I frammenti restanti sono raggruppati, in base alla loro forma, in sei serie, denominate da Grenfell 'Fragments 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6': quelli delle prime tre serie presentano il margine superiore, quelli della sesta il margine inferiore,

[6] Bingen (1952), cui si deve una nuova interpretazione del documento: secondo l'editore, si tratterebbe di una «réunion de règlements périmés», alcuni dei quali rivisti «pour servir de minutes aux cahiers des charges présentés aux enchères du 1er mésorè 27 (259)» (p. 3). Riedizioni parziali successive in C.Ord.Ptol. 17-18 (= coll. xxxvi-xxxvii), C.Ptol.Sklav. I 7 (= coll. xiv-xv) e Rolandi (2005) 254-257 (= coll. xxxvi-xxxvii).

[7] Grenfell (1896) v-vi; Bingen (1952) 1-3.

[8] Solo quattro pagine dell'ampio commento di Grenfell (1896) 173-176 sono riservate al secondo rotolo. Indice di un minore interesse è anche il limitatissimo spazio che, nel suo saggio sul P.Rev.Laws, dopo un'estesa trattazione sul primo rotolo, Bingen (1978) 30-31 dedica al secondo, soffermandosi esclusivamente sulle colonne contenenti il διάγραμμα τραπεζῶν (coll. lxxiii-lxxviii); su queste ultime, si veda anche Bogaert (1984).

[9] Grenfell, seguito da Bingen, attribuisce a M10 le coll. lxxiii-lxxxvi, xcix-cvii e le serie dei frr. 1-6; a M4 (già presente nel primo rotolo) le coll. lxxxvii-xci; a M11 la col. xcii, che sembra, in realtà, da identificare con un'aggiunta intercolonnare; a M12, infine, le coll. xciii-xcviii e i rr. 11-12 della col. xcix.

[10] La tripartizione dei contenuti è di Bingen; Grenfell riferiva a un'unica sezione ('E') le coll. lxxix-cvii. Si noti che entrambe le edizioni numerano come col. lxxix un frustulo che contiene una sola parola, la cui collocazione è, in realtà, tutt'altro che sicura. Le coll. ciii-cvii della sezione sull'industria tessile sono vergate sul *verso* delle coll. xcv-c. Per completezza, elenco di seguito anche i contenuti del primo rotolo: 1) ordinanza di contenuto generale sugli appalti (coll. i-xxii); 2) ordinanza relativa all'appalto dell'*apomoira* (coll. xxiii-xxxvii); 3) *nomos* e *diorthoma* sul monopolio dell'olio (coll. xxxviii-lxxii).

quelli della quarta e della quinta nessuno dei due margini.[11] Secondo Grenfell, «that Fragments 1 and 2 do not belong to the parts of [73]-[102] written by the tenth hand is quite certain; Frag. 3 is more doubtful. Fragments 4, 5, and 6 might belong to [73]-[102], but so far as can be ascertained they belong to 1 and 2, for all of them seem to be concerned with the ενομιον (sic) or pasture-tax».[12] Come vedremo, alla luce della nuova indagine materiale condotta sul rotolo, questa affermazione va precisata.

L'analisi dei danni materiali conferma la sostanziale correttezza della sequenza proposta dagli editori per le coll. lxxxi-cii.[13] Quanto alla col. lxxx, essa sarebbe restituita, secondo gli editori, da due frammenti, i quali sono, in realtà, da riferire a due colonne distinte, probabilmente contigue, che possiamo numerare lxxx e lxxx(a): nei due pezzi, infatti, ricorrono danni solidali che dimostrano incontrovertibilmente che essi, pur provenendo da una stessa porzione del rotolo, appartenevano a due volute diverse (fig. 1); considerando l'ampiezza della circonferenza ricostruibile in questo punto del rotolo, infatti, se i due pezzi appartenessero a un'unica colonna, questa sarebbe molto più ampia rispetto alla misura media che si può calcolare per le colonne del secondo rotolo.[14]



Fig. 1: Ricostruzione virtuale delle coll. lxxx-lxxx(a) (© The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Gr. Class. A 4 (P)/36, recto)

[11] Questi frammenti sono in totale 43; ad essi si aggiungono 11 frustuli, uno dei quali contiene un riferimento al nomarca, non pubblicati né da Grenfell né da Bingen. La presenza o l'assenza dei margini nei frammenti sono ovviamente determinanti per quanto riguarda la loro posizione; i frammenti della quarta serie, tuttavia, pur non conservando il margine inferiore, possono essere collocati in una porzione molto bassa del rotolo (*vide* infra).

[12] Grenfell (1896) 176.

[13] Il frammento contenente la col. lxxxii(a) Bingen (= lxxxii Grenfell, frammento di sinistra) va riposizionato più in basso rispetto al punto in cui, evidentemente, gli editori ritenevano che andasse collocato: in entrambe le edizioni, il primo rigo conservato è considerato il secondo della colonna, ma mi sembra più probabile che esso fosse all'incirca il sesto. Sull'assetto delle coll. lxxxvii-xci, *vide* Borrelli (2016) 43-47.

[14] Sulla base dell'ipotesi formulata che i due rotoli fossero avvolti uno intorno all'altro, bisogna ritenere che tra la voluta più esterna del primo rotolo, contenente la col. i, e quella del secondo recante la col. lxxx intercorresse una distanza di almeno 20 volute, corrispondenti alle coll. lxxx-cii, se non di 26, qualora sia fondata l'ipotesi che propongo circa la collocazione delle colonne sulle banche (*vide* infra). Postulando un progressivo accrescimento di circa cm 0,2 per voluta, analogo a quello che si può calcolare, in media, per il primo rotolo (cfr. D'Alessio [2001] 32, 36-37 per una serie di esempi di rotoli con una progressione media di cm 0,2 per voluta), sulla base dell'ampiezza ricostruibile per la voluta più esterna di tale rotolo (22 cm), si può ipotizzare che, in corrispondenza della col. lxxx, il secondo rotolo avesse una circonferenza di almeno 26 o 27,2 cm: la colonna in questione, se a essa sola appartenessero i due pezzi, misurerebbe, di conseguenza, più di 28 cm, ma questo dato è incompatibile con l'ampiezza delle colonne del secondo rotolo, che, pur non essendo mai conservata per intero, si aggira intorno ai 17 cm nei casi in cui si possa ricostruire sulla base di integrazioni sicure o comunque plausibili.

Nei pezzi che contengono le coll. lxxx e lxxx(a) e nei 'Fragments 2' occorrono danni solidali molto evidenti, che consentono di riposizionare i frammenti della seconda serie subito prima delle coll. lxxx e lxxx(a), vale a dire in una porzione del rotolo più esterna; è verosimile che i soli frr. 2(a) e 2(b) seguissero la col. lxxx. Proprio in relazione a questi due frammenti, peraltro, l'affermazione di Grenfell, generalmente valida, che «the fragments grouped together under one number come at corresponding folds and therefore at corresponding intervals, most probably of about 8 inches, so that each one belongs to a different column», può essere ora corretta.[15] I frr. 2(a) e 2(b), corrispondenti alla metà superiore e alla metà inferiore degli altri pezzi della serie e considerati separatamente nelle edizioni, si uniscono, infatti, direttamente, con il fr. 2(a) posto al di sopra del fr. 2(b), a formare un pezzo più grande (fig. 2): il fr. 2(a), bianco, non è altro che il margine superiore di una colonna di cui sopravvivono solo le lettere finali di due righi (= fr. 2[b]).



Fig. 2: Ricongiunzione dei frr. 2(a) + 2(b) (© The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Gr. Class. A 4 (P)/40, recto)

Ugualmente, vanno ricongiunti i frr. 2(h) e 2(g) (fig. 3); riporto, di seguito, il testo risultante dalla riunificazione dei due pezzi:

]δ̣οις νέμουσ̣[ι]
τοῖ]ς ἰδίοις κλήρο[ι]ς̣
]̣ι̣ δὲ ἐξω
κα]θ̣ά̣π̣ερ καὶ
γέ]γραπται
] νέμοντες
καθ]ά̣π̣[ε]ρ̣ καὶ οἱ
] ⸌ἀπο⸍τελουν̣-

Si noti come, al r. 1, si ottenga un'altra forma dello stesso verbo νέμω che ricorre al r. 6 e come, al r. 4, venga confermata l'integrazione καθά]π̣ερ καί proposta da Bingen nella sua edizione del papiro.

A giudicare dai danni materiali, sembra che i frr. 2(c)-2(i) fossero preceduti dai frr. 3(a)-3(b): tutti questi pezzi vanno riferiti, sulla base di alcuni indizi contenutistici e della scrittura, alla sezione sull'*ennomion* di cui parlava Grenfell; il fr. 2(i), privo di scrittura, sarà stato parte dell'*agraphon* che separava tale sezione da un'altra, presumibilmente quella sulla decima, a cui vanno probabilmente attribuiti i frr. 2(a) + 2(b), vergati in una scrittura dal *ductus* meno veloce di quello degli altri frammenti della seconda serie e dal tracciato più simile a quello delle coll. 80-86.[16]

[15] Grenfell (1896) 176.

[16] I danni solidali che si susseguono nei frammenti della terza serie e in quelli della seconda non sono, in realtà, immediatamente percepibili; tuttavia, essi sono tali da indurre a ritenere con buona probabilità che i frr. 3 si trovassero nella stessa porzione di rotolo dei frr. 2, ancorché in volute diverse, più esterne. Il fr. 2(i), privo di scrittura, è largo circa 5 cm: sebbene gli intercolunni, come le colonne, siano irregolari (nel secondo rotolo, l'ampiezza di quelli interamente conservati si aggira tra 2 cm e 3 cm circa), appare improbabile che un intercolunnio fosse così ampio; è più plausibile che si tratti di un *agraphon*: dal confronto col primo rotolo, infatti, si ricava che le singole sezioni contenutistiche erano separate da un foglio bianco.



Fig. 3: Ricongiunzione dei frr. 2(h) + 2(g) (© The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Gr. Class. A 4 (P)/41, recto).



Fig. 4: Fr. 1(c) (© The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Gr. Class. A 4 (P)/40, recto)

Sia i frammenti della seconda serie sia quelli della terza, che vanno ascritti a un totale di 9 volute, rappresentano la parte sinistra di quella forma ad arco che, come si è detto, tutti i pezzi provenienti dalla porzione superiore del rotolo vanno a delineare; la parte destra è costituita dai sette frammenti della prima serie (fig. 4).[17] 'Mise en page', scrittura e il poco testo superstite inducono a riferire i frammenti 1(c)-1(g) alla sezione sull'*ennomion*; i frr. 1(a) e 1(b), che presentano un margine superiore più alto e una scrittura più posata, potrebbero provenire da un altro settore argomentativo: in via del tutto ipotetica, sulla base di affinità paleografiche, si può proporre di assegnarli alla legge sulla decima.[18]

[17] È ovvio che non necessariamente tutti i frammenti della prima serie andranno attribuiti alle medesime volute da cui provengono quelli della seconda e della terza serie: come già detto, talvolta, delle due parti dell'arco si conserva solo quella sinistra o solo quella destra.

[18] L'esiguità del testo conservato non solo da questi frammenti, ma, più in generale, da tutti quelli che restituiscono il νόμος δεκάτης (che riguarderebbe, secondo Préaux [1939] 302-303, un'imposta gravante sul patrimonio privato) impone cautela. In ogni caso, che il significato del termine γρυτοπ[ῶλαι, integrato da Bingen in fr. 1(b), 1, sia 'venditori di piccoli utensili' o 'venditori di indumenti usati', l'ipotesi di Bingen (1949) 121, secondo cui tali venditori erano nominati in relazione all'industria tessile, va esclusa sulla base di considerazioni materiali, dal momento che questo frammento certamente non è da collocare nella sezione pertinente ai tessuti.

Del regolamento relativo all'*ennomion* dovevano certamente far parte anche i quattro frammenti della quinta serie (fig. 5): mentre i frr. 5(b) e 5(c) conservano riferimenti contenutistici indicativi, il testo non è dirimente nel caso dei frr. 5(a) e 5(d), che, tuttavia, possono essere attribuiti alla medesima sezione sulla base della scrittura e della 'mise en page'.



Fr. 5(a) (© The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Gr. Class. A 4 (P)/42,



Fig. 6: Ricongiunzione dei frr. 6(c) + 4(l) (© The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Gr. Class. A 4 (P)/42, recto)

I frammenti della quarta e della sesta serie possono essere analizzati contestualmente: il ricongiungimento, che si deve a Bingen, dei frr. 6(c) e 6(d) rispettivamente con i frr. 4(l) e 4(b) dimostra, infatti, come i pezzi delle due serie provengano dalla stessa porzione del rotolo (fig. 6); il margine inferiore, conservato nei frammenti della sesta serie, è andato perduto in quelli della quarta. I frr. 4(a)-4(f) e 4(l)-4(m), così come i frr. 6(c)-6(g), sembrano tutti da riferire alla sezione sull'*ennomion*: tutti questi pezzi, infatti, sono caratterizzati dalla stessa scrittura e dalla stessa 'mise en page', sebbene il testo offra prove decisive solo per i frr. 4(a), 4(e) e 4(m). I frr. 4(k) e 4(n), come anche il fr. 6(b), sono bianchi. I frr. 4(g)-4(i) non contengono elementi testuali sufficienti a determinarne il contenuto, ma si distinguono dagli altri per la scrittura, che è più compatta e uguale a quella dei frr. 6(a) e 6(h). Nonostante che questi ultimi due pezzi restituiscano solo un'esigua porzione di testo, è possibile rinvenire, al loro interno, alcuni chiari riferimenti alla produzione o al mercato della birra: in fr. 6(a), col. i. 13-14, bisogna integrare οἱ ζυ|[τοποιοί ('i produttori di birra') o οἱ ζυ|[τοπῶλαι ('i venditori di birra'); in fr. 6(h), 3,

si legge ζυτοπ[, che andrà integrato in modo analogo.[19] Faccio notare, peraltro, che in fr. 4(g), 2, là dove gli editori leggevano οι[, sono visibili, prima della lacuna, tracce di una lettera compatibili con uno *zeta*, che autorizzano a integrare anche qui οἱ ζ[υτοποιοί o οἱ ζ[υτοπῶλαι. Per questo frammento, dunque, il dato testuale suffragherebbe l'ipotesi, formulabile su basi paleografiche e bibliologiche, dell'appartenenza alla stessa sezione di origine dei frr. 6(a) e 6(h), il cui oggetto era l'industria della birra. A giudicare dai danni solidali, questa sezione doveva precedere quella relativa all'*ennomion*; il passaggio da un regolamento all'altro era segnalato, anche in questo caso, da un *agraphon*, del quale sono superstiti due frammenti, il fr. 4(k) e il fr. 6(b).[20]

Mancano in questa panoramica i pezzi recanti le coll. lxxiii-lxxviii. Nelle edizioni, esse sono poste subito prima di quelle contenenti il νόμος δεκάτης, dunque all'inizio del secondo rotolo. Come ho cercato di dimostrare, però, la col. lxxx è immediatamente preceduta da un numero consistente di frammenti, che restituiscono, nell'ordine, un regolamento sull'industria della birra e uno sull'*ennomion*. L'osservazione dei danni solidali che occorrono in questi pezzi mi porta a escludere che il διάγραμμα τραπεζῶν delle coll. lxxiii-lxxviii potesse interrompere questa sequenza; tutt'al più bisognerebbe pensare che esso precedesse il regolamento sull'industria della birra. I frammenti che riportano le colonne relative alle banche, però, presentano alcuni danni in comune con quelli che conservano le ultime colonne della sezione sui tessuti (coll. xcix-cii); questo dato suggerirebbe una loro collocazione alla fine, non all'inizio, del secondo rotolo, cioè una provenienza non dalla sua porzione più esterna, ma da quella più interna: a supporto di questa ipotesi, va evidenziato il miglior stato di conservazione in cui versano questi pezzi (fig. 7).



Fig. 7: Col. lxxiii (© The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Gr. Class. A 4 (P)/35, recto)

[19] A questa integrazione pensava già Bingen, che trascriveva ζυ|[τοπ... nel fr. 6(a), col. i. 13-14 e proponeva, in apparato, per il fr. 6(h), 3, ζυτοπ[οιοί? o ζυτοπ[ῶλαι?.

[20] Sulla base di considerazioni di ordine materiale, il fr. 4(n) va collocato alla fine della serie, vale a dire in una porzione più interna del rotolo; è difficile stabilire se esso provenga dallo stesso *agraphon* di cui il fr. 2(i) restituisce un pezzo o se si tratti di un intercolunnio.

In conclusione, lo studio sin qui condotto delle caratteristiche morfologiche, paleografiche e testuali dei frammenti in cui ci è pervenuto il secondo rotolo del P.Rev.Laws stabilisce una nuova distribuzione degli argomenti al suo interno, in gran parte diversa da quella proposta dagli editori:

1. regolamento relativo all'industria della birra: frr. 4(g)-4(k), 6(a)-6(b), 6(h);
2. regolamento relativo all'*ennomion:* frr. 1(c)-1(g), 2(c)-2(i), 3(a)-3(b), 4(a)-4(f), 4(l)-4(n);
3. νόμος δεκάτης: coll. lxxix-lxxxvi Grenfell-Bingen, frr. 1(a)-1(b), 2(a)-2(b);
4. regolamento relativo all'industria tessile: coll. lxxxvii-cvii Grenfell-Bingen;
5. διάγραμμα τραπεζῶν: coll. lxxiii-lxxviii Grenfell-Bingen.

Ma c'è altro: dal reintegro delle sei serie di frammenti all'interno della parte conservata del secondo rotolo, si ricava che questo dovesse avere una lunghezza minima certamente superiore a quella ipotizzata da Grenfell e da Bingen; rimando ad altra sede studi più approfonditi sulla ricostruzione volumetrica del rotolo.

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Alcune considerazioni su due papiri con cessione e affitto di ἡμέραι ἀγνευτικαί

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Si vogliono qui riesaminare due papiri che provengono dall'archivio scoperto da Ernesto Schiaparelli nel 1905, all'interno di due giare di terracotta ancora sigillate rinvenute durante la demolizione di un'abitazione di epoca tolemaica nei pressi del tempio di Deir el-Medina. Si tratta dell'archivio privato di Totoes, «pastophoros di Amon di Djeme, profeta di Hathor signora dell'occidente», vissuto alla fine del II sec. a.C.; consta di 54 papiri, di cui 45 demotici, 9 greci e 3 redatti sia in demotico che in greco e copre un arco cronologico compreso tra il 194 a.C. e il 100 a.C.[1] In esso Totoes custodiva sia documenti propri e della sua famiglia sia quelli della moglie Tateathyris e della famiglia di lei, più alcuni papiri che concernono gli affari del tempio di Hathor. L'archivio testimonia la coesistenza di strumenti giuridici greci ed egizi nello stesso ambiente culturale e la diffusione degli atti in lingua greca a partire dalla seconda metà del II secolo a. C. Fino al 140 a.C., infatti, i testi sono esclusivamente in demotico, con al massimo la registrazione per il pagamento della tassa sottoscritta; dal 129 a.C. compaiono anche atti redatti in greco e in questa lingua sono scritti molti atti di vendita stipulati dopo il 118 a.C., anno in cui un decreto di Tolomeo VIII divide le competenze dei tribunali greci dei *chrematistai* e quelli indigeni dei *laokritai* in base alla lingua della documentazione presentata in giudizio dalle parti in causa.[2] La quasi totalità dei testi greci dell'archivio sono documenti agoranomici redatti per la maggior parte fra il 110 a.C. e il 105 a.C. da Apollonio, preposto all'agoranomia dei Memnonia e della Pathyrite.[3] Il fatto che già nel giugno del 104 sia stato siglato un contratto a Hermonthis, e a questo ne sia seguito un altro nel settembre del medesimo anno e nell'anno successivo un atto di vendita in demotico sia stato redatto dallo scriba Khonstefnakhte, figlio di Harsiesis, lascerebbe supporre che la scelta tra greco e demotico nella stessa tipologia di documenti dipendesse

[1] I primi ad essere pubblicati furono i papiri greci editi da Norsa e Vitelli nel 1929 nel volume IX dei PSI; i documenti greci editi comprendono le sottoscrizioni dei papiri demotici P.Tor.Botti 3 (PSI IX 1014), P.Tor.Botti 7 (PSI IX 1015) e P.Tor.Botti 12 (PSI IX 1017, con la sola omissione di due linee inserite da Botti nel documento 45). L'edizione dei documenti demotici ebbe, invece, una vicenda più tortuosa che si concluse con l'*editio princeps* di Botti nel 1967, volume che fu oggetto di una revisione accurata da parte di K.Th. Zauzich (1971-1972-1973) sui primi tre numeri della rivista Enchoria. Successivamente sono stati ristudiati in modo dettagliato solo sei documenti, tutti sostanzialmente ripubblicati da Pestman (1978a e 1985c) con un'accurata analisi paleografica e uno studio dei documenti strettamente connessi. Si tratta dei papiri relativi alla parcella di terra denominata 'la punta' (P.Tor.Botti 43 = Pap.Lugd.Bat. XIX doc. 1, P.Tor.Botti 28 = Pap.Lugd.Bat. XIX doc. 2, P. Tor.Botti 45 e PSI IX 1021 = Pap.Lugd.Bat. XIX doc. 3) e di quelli redatti dallo scriba privato Amenothes figlio di Panas (P. Tor.Botti 23= Pap.Lugd.Bat XXIII, doc. 1, P. Tor Botti 29 = Pap.Lugd.Bat.XXIII, doc. 2 e P.Tor.Botti 44 = Pap.Lugd.Bat.XXXIII, doc. 3).

[2] Pestman 1985d; L'aumento del numero di documenti greci rispetto a quelli demotici è verosimilmente attribuibile al fatto che, a partire dal 146 a.C., l'efficacia di questi ultimi venne subordinata alla registrazione (cfr P.Tor 1). Tale onere, come rileva Manning (2003) 238, ne determinò l'antieconomicità e, pertanto, il demotico venne impiegato sempre meno nei contratti. Sull'interpretazione del decreto del 118 a.C. vedi Pestman (1985 d) e Modrzejewski (2011).

[3] L'unico documento precedente è PSI 1016, redatto nel 129 a.C. a Diospolis Magna da Herakleides, agoranomo della Peritebaide. Sul preposto all'agoranomia dei Memnonia Apollonios Messeri Savorelli (1980) 238-241 e Pestman (1989) 150-151; sulla sua firma Pestman (1978a) 20; (1978b) 194 n. 1; (1978c) 204; sugli agoranomoi Pestman (1978c); (1985a) 9-44, Vierros (2012b); sugli scribi demotici Arlt (2011).

dalla facilità di raggiungere un ufficio agoranomico e che nei Memnonia questo non sia stato presente ad esclusione del periodo di Apollonio.[4]

Dei documenti ritrovati nell'archivio, ben 23 riguardano la cessione per eredità, la vendita o l'affitto di giorni liturgici, talvolta oggetto di un atto insieme ad altri beni immobili.[5] Proprio perciò questi papiri costituiscono una testimonianza sulla gestione economica delle rendite sacerdotali per le quali si hanno scarse attestazioni in greco e diverse in demotico; molte di esse, però sono relative all'ambito funerario dei coachiti e non a quello templare.[6]

Se si escludono le tre quietanze di tassa sottoscritte in greco a contratti demotici (PSI IX 1014, PSI IX 1015 e PSI IX 1017), i papiri greci riguardanti ἡμέραι ἀγνευτικαί sono sei (PSI IX 1016, PSI IX 1018, PSI IX 1019, PSI 1020, PSI IX 1022 e PSI IX 1024). Quattro di questi sono atti di vendita, mentre due sono di diversa natura e hanno caratteristiche particolari che li rendono differenti da altri redatti anche dal medesimo *agoranonomos*.[7] Si tratta di PSI IX 1019, contratto di cessione di 10 ἡμέραι ἀγνευτικαί, e PSI IX 1020, contratto di affitto di 10 ἡμέραι ἀγνευτικαί. Sono entrambi atti a firma del preposto all'*agoranomia* dei Memnonia e della Pathyrite Apollonio, sono stati redatti lo stesso giorno, il 16 Hathyr del 110 a.C. e hanno come parti in causa le stesse persone: da un lato Tateathyris e Pikos, futura moglie e cognato di Totoes, e dall'altro Imouthes figlio di Thotsytes. Nel primo testo Imouthes cede a Tateathyris e Pikos 10 giorni liturgici nel tempio di Hathor ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Μεμνονείων τάφοις e in PSI IX 1020 lo stesso Imouthes affitta da Pikos e Tateathyris 10 giorni nell'Afrodiseion ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρει Μεμνονείων ἐπὶ τοῦ ὅρο<υ> per i restanti dieci mesi dell'anno per cento dracme al mese. Uno degli aspetti che ha creato difficoltà nell'interpretazione di questi due testi e che ha portato a vederli come due contratti completamente separati è stato il fatto che Imouthes cede 10 giorni liturgici in un tempio e nel contempo ne affitta altrettanti in un altro; si pensava, infatti, che i templi di Hathor nell'area dei Memnonia fossero due.[8] In un recente articolo su Ancient Society Lanciers ha dimostrato come proprio le menzioni all'interno dei papiri dell'archivio di Totoes permettono di asserire con certezza che nell'area vi era un solo tempio di Hathor, quello di Deir el-Medina, talvolta denominato tempio sulla montagna, talvolta tempio nella necropoli, ma sovente anche solo tempio di Hathor.[9] Lanciers rileva come la differente localizzazione non

[4] Secondo Pestman l'incarico di Apollonio sarebbe stato temporaneo; anche Mairs e Martin (2008) rilevano come il fatto che un documento fosse scritto in demotico e non in greco possa essere una risposta pragmatica alla mancanza di un ufficio di registrazione greca a Djeme, e Yiftach Firanko (2008) 214 sostiene che l'atto agoranomico era la scelta effettuata da chi aveva un ufficio raggiungibile. Il documento redatto ad Hermonthis nel 104 è PSI IX 1024, scritto dall'*agoranomos* Hermodoros.

[5] L'eredità veniva divisa normalmente tra i figli, ma era abitudine che il fratello maggiore ricevesse qualcosa in più rispetto agli altri. Sull'eredità *vide* Pestman (1969), Clarysse (2014) 201-203 e Manning (2003) 221-224. Talvolta vi sono dei contratti di vendita (detti *mortis causa)* che vengono redatti con lo stesso uso di un testamento e che hanno effetto solo dopo la morte del venditore; per questi atti *vide* Pestman (1969) 59-60 e Clarysse (1995).

[6] Il termine ἡμέραι ἀγνευτικαί è attestato in maggioranza in documenti riferibili ai Memnonia e Pathyris (oltre ai papiri dell'archivio di Totoes vi sono solo UPZ II 180a, BGU III 993dupl. e SB III 7169) mentre ἡμέραι λειτουργικαί giorni liturgici da altre aree, ma, vista la scarsità dei dati, non si può affermare con certezza che sia una differenziazione legata all'uso locale come ipotizza Vandoni (1976) 107; sulle vendite delle rendite sacerdotali *vide* nota 19.

[7] Ad eccezione di PSI IX 1016 e PSI IX 1022, di cui abbiamo detto sopra (nota 3) sono tutti atti di Apollonio.

[8] La tesi che si tratti di due transazioni separate relative a giorni liturgici differenti perché afferenti a templi diversi è stata formulata da Wilcken (1930) 78 e da Grunert (1979) 72. Che si tratti di un'operazione di vendita e riaffitto è ipotesi di Taubenschlag (1955) 385, che non entra nel merito della questione dei due templi, e di Pestman (1978b) 194, n. 1.

[9] Lanciers (2014) 111; il primo ad ipotizzare che i documenti dell'archivio si riferiscano sempre al tempio di Hathor (di Deir el-Medina), pur chiamandolo in modi diversi, è stato Pestman (1981) 95 n. 1. Per una sintesi delle diverse interpretazioni *vide* Lanciers (2014) 105-111, in particolare 108 n. 20.

sia semplicemente un uso legato ad un particolare scriba o ad un'epoca, dal momento che nel II secolo a.C. oltre ad Apollonio, anche il notaio demotico Harsiesis usa in due documenti diversi le due localizzazioni differenti del tempio (P.Tor.Botti 4 e P.Tor.Botti 9).[10] Questo studio fa quindi cadere l'obiezione più forte all'ipotesi che si tratti degli stessi giorni venduti e riaffittati, data dalla stranezza che due documenti firmati dalla stessa persona nello stesso giorno possano fornire una localizzazione diversa per lo stesso edificio. Una giustificazione per questa doppia localizzazione in documenti pressoché simultanei può però essere trovata. Va, infatti, rilevato che tra i due papiri vi sono alcune differenze: la scrittura che nel caso di PSI IX 1020 sembra meno curata e il fatto che PSI 1019 è scritto su un rotolo, mentre PSI IX 1020 occupa una porzione di rotolo evidentemente tagliata e scritta *transversa charta.*[11] È quindi chiaro che i due atti sono stati redatti con una cura diversa, anche perché la loro importanza era differente: il primo è un documento da conservare a lungo e da trasmettere, il secondo un contratto temporaneo e potrebbero essere stati scritti a breve distanza temporale, ma non immediatamente. Non bisogna poi dimenticare che, come dimostrato da Pestman, questi sono stati scritti in greco da una persona di madre lingua egiziana, che quindi interloquiva direttamente con i contraenti e che probabilmente nello stendere il secondo documento, non avrà riletto ciò che aveva scritto in greco nel primo (tempio nella necropoli), ma avrà aggiunto un'altra precisazione geografica (sulla montagna) traducendo simultaneamente dall'egiziano al greco che non padroneggiava in modo molto sicuro.[12] L'interpretazione dei testi è, infatti, inficiata dal greco usato da Apollonios che come altri agoranomoi, nonostante il nome greco e la funzione di notaio in lingua greca era molto probabilmente un egiziano.[13]

Sulla scorta di questi due elementi si cercherà quindi di rivedere i due papiri in quello che può essere un loro legame, iniziando dal testo che pone meno problemi: il secondo.

PSI IX 1020 occupa una porzione di rotolo evidentemente tagliata e scritta *transversa charta* e reca, sul verso, l'indicazione del contenuto:

1 ἐμίσθω(σεν) Πικῶς καὶ Τατε-
2 αθὺρ πρὸς Ἰμού(θην) Θοτσύ(του)[14]

Nel recto lo scriba ha omesso oltre al nome del fittavolo anche altro, come già avevano rilevato Norsa e Vitelli, probabilmente aveva saltato un intero rigo, anche se gli editori sollevano il dubbio che si avesse una minuta di contratto.[15] È assai probabile che, anche se non vi è l'indicazione ἀντίγραφον (indicazione che ad esempio manca anche in P.Lond. III 879), questa sia la copia redatta per Tateathyris del contratto originale che deve essere

[10] Lanciers (2014) 111 afferma che non sia chiaro il motivo per cui il tempio abbia due designazioni differenti, ma ipotizza che questo possa essere dovuto alla particolare situazione geografica tebana e al collegamento che gli antichi egizi facevano tra i concetti di necropoli, deserto e montagna; in particolare il termine egiziano *ḫ3s.t* ha il doppio valore di montagna e necropoli.

[11] Sono differenti soprattutto le lettere come φ e ψ; la prima in PSI IX 1019 ha un tratto verticale molto lungo con un occhiello nella parte alta e una parte circolare abbastanza grande; in PSI IX 1020 l'occhiello scompare e la parte circolare diventa piccola. Anche per la seconda si può osservare il medesimo mutamento del tratto verticale, mentre il corpo della lettera risulta più curvilineo nel caso di PSI IX 1019 e quasi ad angolo in PSI IX 1020. Il rotolo è stato tagliato ed è evidente la *kollesis* poco sotto la firma di Apollonio.

[12] La commistione fra i concetti di montagna e necropoli e soprattutto il doppio valore del termine *ḫ3s.t* 'montagna / necropoli' nell'egiziano rende verosimile l'uso di due termini greci diversi da parte di Apollonio anche in documenti redatti a brevissima distanza l'uno dall'altro; *vide* supra p. 2. Sul greco di Apollonio e degli altri agoranomoi egiziani Vierros (2003, 2012a e 2012b).

[13] Pestman (1989) 150-151.

[14] L'annotazione sul verso è stata letta da Pestman (1978b) 194 n. 1.

[15] PSI IX 1020 nota a l. 3. È comunque molto probabile che Apollonio e gli altri agoranomoi di madrelingua egizia si servissero di un formulario; cfr. Vierros (2003) 22, Pestman (1978a) 28.

rimasto a Pikos.[16] É quindi verosimile che chi ha scritto il testo avesse davanti l'atto redatto per lui. Proprio l'assenza del nome del fittavolo fa propendere per tale ipotesi: per quanto poco esperto nella lingua greca difficilmente uno scriba avrebbe omesso il nome di una delle parti del contratto. Si tratta di un contratto d'affitto che si apre con la datazione, seguita dal corpo del contratto: il verbo ἐμίσθωσεν, l'indicazione dei contraenti e il bene affittato.[17] Il locatore non può affittare ad altri né il locatario lasciare il bene prima del termine del contratto. Segue una clausola poco chiara compresa da Pestman alla luce delle formule demotiche: παραδότωι δὲ τὰ τῶν ἡμερῶν δέκα καὶ οὗ ἐὰν αἱρῆται ἐγμισθοῦν che si ritrova molto simile in PSI IX 1021 e, secondo Pestman, si tratta «di un goffo tentativo di tradurre in greco la clausola demotica finale dei contratti d'affitto» di cui riporta un esempio: «Io lascerò libero per te (locatore) […] dopo il termine del periodo suddetto; tu la potrai affittare, non importa a chi la vorrai affittare».[18] Pestman conclude che Apollonio, nel redigere il contratto, aveva in mente la clausola demotica, ma non fu in grado di trasformarla correttamente in greco perché la sua conoscenza della lingua non era sufficiente.

L'affitto ha una durata dal 5 di Hathyr 5 fino al 30 di Mesora, cioè dalla stipula del contratto sino alla fine dell'anno, per un canone di 100 dracme al mese. Il contratto è interessante sia per la durata che per il valore del canone di locazione. Se si confronta, infatti, con gli altri documenti dello stesso archivio in cui si affittano giorni liturgici (P.Tor.Botti 21, P.Tor.Botti 24 e P.Tor.Botti 25), si nota come sia l'unico contratto in cui la locazione ha durata inferiore all'anno. Nei documenti egiziani coevi si hanno casi in cui chi cede un bene ne voglia rientrare in possesso affittandolo per continuare a goderne. In questo caso, però, la natura del bene mobile ceduto è tale per cui è difficile pensare che dopo la vendita si sia voluto recuperarlo affittandolo per usufruirne solo in quei mesi dell'anno: i giorni liturgici sono una rendita e, in effetti, in documenti bilingui all'espressione ἡμέραι ἀγνευτικαί corrisponde l'egiziano *e hrw s'nḫ* 'giorni di alimentazione (mantenimento)'; non sono sicuramente assimilabili a un bene immobile come un campo o un'abitazione che, dopo la cessione, può essere affittato per un certo tempo, in modo da poter beneficiare ad esempio del raccolto che si era seminato o per continuare a viverci; sono differenti anche da altri beni mobili come animali o schiavi, che si possono voler riaffittare per eseguire lavori.[19] Anche il raffronto tra il valore economico dei giorni affittati nei diversi documenti suscita qualche perplessità. Infatti, anche se è difficile confrontare i differenti canoni di affitto di giorni liturgici afferenti

[16] P.London III 879 è chiaramente una copia destinata ad uno degli acquirenti, come si comprende dall'appunto sul verso per indicare che il documento è destinato a Maithôtis. Cfr. Pestman (1985a) 41.

[17] Il testo è molto simile a PSI IX 1021, altro contratto di affitto redatto da Apollonio.

[18] Pestman (1989) 151. Data la scarsissima frequenza di documenti d'affitto agoranomici (*vide* n. 23) probabilmente nei formulari in possesso di Apollonio non vi erano modelli per alcune clausole e quindi l'*agoranomos* ha cercato di trasformare la clausola demotica in greco.

[19] I giorni di servizio svolti nel tempio e i servizi svolti vengono indicati nei documenti demotici e in quelli greci con diversi termini. Già El-Amir (1969) 117-118 sottolineava l'esigenza di uno studio comparativo di tutti questi vocaboli per chiarirne il significato in modo più preciso, studio che a tutt'oggi non esiste. Le vendite di giorni liturgici in documenti demotici sono state studiate da Jelinkova-Reymond (1953 e 1954); alcune considerazioni sono state fatte anche da Pestman (1993) 458-460, nel volume sull'archivio dei coachiti, perché la maggior parte dei documenti si riferisce all'ambito dei sacerdoti funerari e solitamente ad essere venduta era la tomba o le liturgie legate ad alcune tombe, non suddivise in giorni. Nei testi i giorni vengono designati in modo differente, talvolta all'interno dello stesso testo distinguendo fra *hrw šms* / ἡμέραι λειτουργικαί cioè 'giorni di servizio' e *hrw s'nḫ* / ἡμέραι ἁγνευτικαί, 'giorni di alimentazione (pensione) / purificazione'. Il termine *s'nḫ* non corrisponde a ἁγνευτικός, ma fa riferimento alla rendita, connessa, evidentemente, ad un dovere di purificazione; i giorni di alimenti mettono l'accento sull'aspetto economico-giuridico a differenza degli *hrw šms* che invece si riferiscono ad un incarico sacerdotale che è il presupposto per poter svolgere in modo pratico il lavoro di sacerdoti. Nelle attestazioni di vendite in cui l'oggetto della vendita siano giorni liturgici e non tombe con i relativi offici sacerdotali, solitamente il termine impiegato è *šms* e solo nei documenti di Totoes ritroviamo il termine *s'nḫ* .

allo stesso tempio testimoniati dai papiri dell'archivio, il valore di 50 deben all'anno per giorno liturgico, cioè la cifra riportata da PSI IX 1020, è più del doppio di quella testimoniata in P.Tor.Botti 25, un documento redatto soltanto due anni dopo, in cui il valore per giorno liturgico è inferiore a 1 deben l'anno.[20] Anche il raffronto fra le vendite di giorni liturgici nel tempio di Hathor effettuate a distanza di pochi anni (tra il 110 a.C. e il 106 a.C.) fa supporre che la transazione tra Imouthes e Pikos / Tateathyris, oggetto di PSI IX 1019 e 1020, non sia avvenuta a prezzo di mercato: in particolare il valore di 390 deben per un giorno di rendita, riportato in PSI IX 1019, sembra essere inferiore al reale. Infatti, due documenti di pochi anni successivi (PSI IX 1018 e 1022 rispettivamente del 107 e 106 a.C.) riportano un valore identico di 600 deben per giorno liturgico.[21] Un incremento del 54% in un arco di tempo di tre-quattro anni è difficilmente attribuibile all'inflazione e quindi è plausibile che le ἡμέραι ἀγνευτικαί oggetto di PSI IX 1018 siano state impegnate per poco più della metà del loro valore da Imouthes che, forse, aveva urgente necessità di denaro.[22] Va inoltre rilevata un'altra anomalia: è l'unico caso in cui Totoes e la sua famiglia per affittare dei giorni liturgici siano ricorsi ad un documento agoranomico; gli altri contratti di affitto di prebende sacerdotali, coeve agli atti di Apollonio e le ricevute di affitto sono, infatti, in demotico.[23]

Testo più particolare è sicuramente PSI IX 1019 per le caratteristiche cui ho in precedenza accennato: è scritto su una sola colonna in un rotolo di 61,7 x 15,6 cm di cui occupa poco meno della metà in larghezza; è un atto agoranomico in forma breve di omologia oggettiva e presenta inoltre un'annotazione εδα, abbreviazione di ἐδαίνεσεν, sul verso letta da Pestman.[24] Dopo la semplice datazione, il contratto in forma di omologia prosegue con la dichiarazione di Imouthes che riceve (ἀπέχειν) 13 talenti da Pikos e Tateathyris e cede ἐξίστασθαι – emendato dagli editori in ἀφίστασθαι–, 10 giorni di purificazione e tutto ciò che può aggiungersi o collegarsi a essi.[25] Segue poi la dichiarazione che nessuno avanzerà pretese

[20] Pur ammettendo che l'anomalia possa essere dovuta soprattutto a P.Tor.Botti 25 in cui il canone di locazione per 6 giorni e 2/3 nel tempio di Hathor e 12 giorni nel tempio di Iside ammonta a 12 deben l'anno, valore molto basso, per il quale Grunert (1979) 79 ipotizza un prezzo inferiore al mercato perché il locatore sarebbe la sorella minore dell'affittuario (che in sostanza la avrebbe imbrogliata), la differenza tra i canoni testimoniati dai due papiri è notevole; si tratta di 12 deben all'anno per 6 giorni e 2/3 nel tempio di Hathor più 12 giorni in quello di Iside (P.Tor.Botti 25) contro 50 deben all'anno per un giorno liturgico nel tempio di Hathor (PSI IX 1020). Si può quindi ipotizzare che anche il canone di PSI IX 1020 sia lontano dai valori di mercato e li superi in quanto rata di un prestito. Il numero esiguo di documenti che testimoniano affitti di giorni liturgici non permette di dirimere la questione, ma il valore piuttosto alto del prezzo di vendita di PSI IX 1019 fa pensare che il negozio tra Imouthes e Tateathyris e Pikos sia stato realizzato a prezzi di vendita e affitto diversi dal valore di mercato.

[21] In PSI IX 1018 Pikos vende a Totoes 5 giorni liturgici per 10 talenti di bronzo mentre in PSI IX 1022 3 giorni vengono venduti per 6 talenti di bronzo. Il venditore non è il cognato di Totoes, ma un suo omonimo, come già indicato da Pestman (1978b) 196 n. 2, perchè i documenti riportano età differenti e non gli attribuiscono titoli sacerdotali, che invece il fratello di Tateathyris possedeva.

[22] Un incremento simile è riconducibile ad un'inflazione del 35%.

[23] In greco è scritto anche uno dei contatti relativi alla parcella 'La punta'; secondo Pestman (1978a) 20 anche in questo caso il fatto è strano e inspiegabile. Come rileva Yiftach-Firanko (2008) 212 n. 30, gli affitti in greco come atti agoranomici sono rari. Nel caso di PSI IX 1019 non si può supporre che sia stato fatto per avere maggiori garanzie con un locatario esterno alla famiglia in quanto locatari non familiari sono presenti anche in affitti demotici.

[24] Pestman (1978b) 194, n. 1. Sul formato dei documenti agoranomici Vierros (2012b) 74-78.

[25] l. 5 καὶ ἐξίστασθαι (l. ἀφίστασθαι) ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν δέκα ἱερῶν ἁγνευτικῶν καὶ τας (l. τῶν) τούτων καρπειῶν καὶ λιτουργίας (l. λειτουργίας) καὶ τὰ συνκύροντα καὶ προσεσόμενα πάντα κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον καὶ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτοις (l. αὐτῷ) μέρος τῶν ἐπαγομένων καὶ τὰ προσκύροντα τούτοις πάντα ἐν ἱερει (l. ἱερῷ) Ἀφροδισίωι καλουμενη (l. καλουμένῳ) Ἀθὺρ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Μεμνονέων τάφοις καὶ μὴ ἐμποήσεσθαι (l. ἐμποιήσεσθαι) 10 μηδ' ἐπελευσασαι (l. ἐπελεύσεσθαι) μητ' (l. μηδ') αὐτὸν μηδ' ἄλλον μηδένα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Πικῶν καὶ Τατεαθυρει (l. Τατεαθύριν) μηδ' ἄλλον μηδένα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν δέκα. Nell'indicazione dell'oggetto della vendita si nota una confusione fra genitivo e accusativo dovuta all'influenza del demotico (Vierros [2012a] 50-51).

contro l'altro e l'indicazione di quale sia la multa nel caso in cui ciò dovesse verificarsi. La costruzione dell'intera frase che segue ἐξίστασθαι è scorretta e l'emendamento è stato fatto dagli editori sulla scorta dell'ἀπὸ presente dopo il verbo; in realtà si potrebbe mantenere quanto esistente e supporre che dopo l'ἀπὸ manchi τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος γέρως. Infatti, nei contratti di cessioni, vendite o affitti firmati da Apollonio, vi è sempre la precisazione che l'oggetto del contratto appartiene a chi lo cede/vende o affitta attraverso l'uso di questo verbo.[26]

Il documento non ha la struttura di nessuna delle vendite di atti liturgici presenti nel corpus né di quelli redatti da Apollonio né di quelli di Hermodoros e Herakleides.[27] La struttura del testo non ha confronti paralleli diretti: ad una semplice attestazione di aver ricevuto la somma di denaro segue la cessione, un'*apostasion* affine ad alcuni documenti di Pathyris: in tutti questi infatti si ritrovano le clausole di non procedere contro il beneficiario della cessione (μὴ ἐμποιήσεσθαι, μὴ ἐπελεύσεσθαι), di invalidità di ogni rivalsa intrapresa contro il beneficiario (εἰ δὲ μή, ἡ μὲν ἔφοδοςἄκυρος ἔστω) e di un'ammenda nel caso vengano avanzate pretese (ὁ ἐπιπορευόμενος ᾧι ἂν ἐπιπορεύηται περὶ τούτων ἐπίτιμον παραχρῆμα χαλκοῦ νομίσματος [τάλαντα] x καὶ τὸ βλάβος κατὰ τὸν νόμον).[28] Molte di queste apostasie si ricollegano alla prassi delle ὠναὶ ἐν πίστει, vendite a garanzia di prestiti in cui mancano alcuni elementi che vengono successivamente aggiunti solo se la vendita viene portata a termine.[29] Talvolta, a queste si accompagnano atti di rinuncia sia del creditore sia del debitore. È plausibile che il nostro documento sia un atto di questo tipo o meglio una copia fatta per una delle due parti creditrici di un atto completo che invece sarebbe rimasto nelle mani del solo Pikos, copia che però conterrebbe gli elementi essenziali per un passaggio di proprietà: la somma ricevuta e la rinuncia ad ogni diritto sul bene ceduto.[30] Questo spiegherebbe l'uso di una sola parte del foglio e collimerebbe con l'annotazione ἐδαίνεσε sul verso che è stata oggetto di controversie. Pestman, infatti, la ritiene pertinente al documento e sottolinea che in questa complicata transazione debba aver avuto qualche ruolo anche un prestito «in cui il debitore è Imouthes».[31] Messeri, invece, la ritiene estranea, perché, analogamente a PSI IX 1021, in cui, nel verso, sono citate delle persone estranee ai contraenti, si tratterebbe di un'annotazione del notaio che avrebbe poi diviso il foglio per scrivere un prestito, ma non lo fece.[32] In realtà in

[26] PSI IX 1020 l. 3 ἐμίσθωσεν […] 5 ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος αὐτοῖς ἐν τῶι ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρει Μεμ(νονέων) ἐπὶ τοῦ ὅρο Ἀφροδισιεί-ου <γέρως> ἡμερῶν ἀγνευτικῶν; PSI IX 1021 l. 5 ἐμίσθωσεν […] 9 τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῶι γῆν ἐμ Πεστενεμε- νώφει ἀρου(ρῶν); PSI IX 1018 l. 10 ἀπέδοτο […] ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος αὐτῶι <ἐν τῶι> ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρει Μεμνονέων ἐπὶ τοῦ ὅρου Ἀφροδισιείου <γέρως> ἡμέρας πέντε ἀγνευτικῶν ; UPZ II 181 l. 6 ἀπέδοτο […] 9 ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος αὐτοῖς ἐν τῶι ἀπὸ νοτωι μέρει Μεμνονέων Πάκεις ψιλοῦ τόπου; PSI IX 1022 l. 13 ἀπέδοτο […] 14 ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος αὐτῶι γερων ἡμερῶν τριῶν ἀγνευτικῶν. Sull'uso di ὑπάρχω vd Vierros (2012a) 50-51. I verbi ἐξίστασθαι e ἀφίστασθαι, come nota Vierros (2012b) 219 hanno un significato molto simile.

[27] Le vendite hanno infatti solitamente forma di documento agoranomico lungo con scriptura interior, formula di datazione completa, corpo del contratto, firma e alcuni sono ancora provvisti di sigillo. Il corpo del contratto si apre con la tradizionale formula di vendita ἀπέδοτο, il nome del venditore, la sua descrizione e l'oggetto del negozio seguita da ἐπρίατο più il nome dell'acquirente. In chiusura vi è la clausola di garanzia in cui il venditore si rende garante del bene venduto (προπωλητὴς καὶ βεβαιωτὴς τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν ταύτην X ὁ ἀποδόμενος, ὃν ἐδέξατο Y ὁ πριάμενος. Nonostante PSI IX 1019 sia privo di queste caratteristiche Pringsheim (1950) 103 lo colloca nell'elenco delle vendite con formula ἀπέδοτο X ἐπρίατο Y.

[28] Si tratta di P.Adl. 2, P.Adl. 14, BGU III 998, BGU VI 1260. In BGU III 998 si hanno sia la vendita che l'*apostasion* nello stesso papiro, mentre BGU VI 1260 è l'unico testo in cui vi sono contemporaneamente la cessione e la dichiarazione di aver ricevuto una somma che è indicata con il termine. A differenza di PSI IX 1019 il documento è definito nel verso 'ἐπίλυσις'.

[29] Questi documenti sono stati studiati da Pestman (1985b).

[30] Il documento fondamentale per il passaggio di proprietà nel diritto egiziano era, infatti, il *sḫ n wy,* documento di cessione; si vedano in proposito Depauw (2014) 56-57, Depauw / Manning (2014) 285-286.

[31] Pestman (1978) 194 n. 1.

[32] Messeri Savorelli (1980) 238-239 n. 88.

PSI IX 1021 le persone citate sono pertinenti al documento, in quanto titolari di un contratto di subaffitto che è seguito al regolare affitto documentato dal testo.[33] Il valore economico inferiore al mercato dei giorni ceduti e soprattutto la presenza di un documento in cui gli stessi vengono affittati a prezzo molto elevato, farebbe propendere per l'ipotesi di un prestito affiancato da un contratto di affitto che avrebbe una durata piuttosto breve (10 mesi) e ne nasconderebbe forse le rate; il denaro sarebbe stato prestato nel periodo della semina e avrebbe dovuto essere restituito dopo la stagione del raccolto (caratteristica di molti prestiti con vendite fittizie come garanzia). Lanciers cita esempi di affitti di giorni liturgici in demotico che in realtà mascherano un prestito, affermando che nessuno di essi può essere confrontabile con i due testi dell'archivio di Totoes.[34]

Altri indizi in questo senso si possono ricavare dall'esame dell'intero archivio; innanzitutto l'accordo testimoniato dai due papiri in questione è probabilmente ancora più complesso, per via del decesso del padre di Tateathyris e Pikos, Psemminis nell'autunno del 110 a.C. di cui Tateathyris eredita 1/3 dei beni e Pikos 2/3; P.Tor.Botti 43 è, secondo Pestman, la conferma da parte degli eredi ognuno per la propria parte di eredità, di un contratto di affitto di terreno stipulato da Psémminis.[35]

Nel momento in cui avviene la cessione testimoniata da PSI IX 1019, fratello e sorella stipulano un accordo in cui sono entrambi beneficiari in virtù del pagamento di 13 talenti, provenienti quindi dai beni paterni e gestiti insieme dai due. Mi chiedo se in realtà anche questi due papiri non possano essere la conferma di un contratto già stipulato dal padre e in qualche modo rifatto per gli eredi. Per verificare che cosa sia accaduto ai giorni liturgici oggetto del negozio, occorre ripercorrere i documenti dell'archivio cercando di rintracciarli attraverso gli atti di vendita reale o *mortis causa*.

Il documento chiave per la ricostruzione delle liturgie spettanti a Tateathyris e a Pikos è P.Tor.Botti 4 in cui Lobais, vende al proprio figlio Psemminis (padre di Pikos e Tateathyris) la metà dei beni che possedevano insieme. L'atto risale al 159 a.C., ma quello che è arrivato a noi è una copia fatta dallo scriba Harsiesis, probabilmente al momento della spartizione dell'eredità tra Pikos e Tateathyris, su richiesta di quest'ultima, come titolo provante il possesso dei beni ottenuti.[36]

Tra i beni menzionati nel testo ci sono 10 giorni all'anno nel tempio di Hathor. Si dice chiaramente che questa è la metà che la madre lascia al figlio e che questi è già in possesso dell'altra metà, forse perché l'ha già ereditata dal padre che li aveva ricevuti dal nonno; P.Tor.Botti 3 ne testimonia l'acquisto da parte di quest'ultimo.

Alla morte del loro padre Psemminis, avvenuta probabilmente nell'autunno del 110 a.C., Tateathyris e Pikos possiedono quindi 20 giorni nel tempio di Hathor e 24 nella cappella di Iside. Da altri documenti dell'archivio sappiamo che i beni di Psemminis vengono divisi fra gli eredi solo a maggio del 109, ripartiti rispettivamente per 1/3 a Tateathyris e per 2/3 a Pikos.[37] Nel 108 a.C. (P.Tor.Botti 25) Pikos affitta dalla sorella i suoi 6 giorni e 2/3 nel

[33] Pestman (1978a) 28-29.
[34] Si tratta di affitti utilizzati per ripagare un prestito studiati da Kaplony Heckel (2009) 1285-1286; 1294-1295; 1299-1300; 1453-1454; *vide* Lanciers (2014) 110 n. 33.
[35] Pestman (1978a) 10 n. j.
[36] Cfr. Pestman (1978a) 13 in particolare n. l e Pestman (1978 b) 151 n. nn e 197; l'originale che doveva essere conservato dal fratello non ci è pervenuto.
[37] Questo è documentato da P.Tor.Botti 28 in cui vengono divisi i campi che fanno parte dell'eredità; Pestman (1978b) 198. *Vide* lo studio di Pestman (1978a) e (1978b) a proposito della divisione della particella 'La Punta', in particolare (1978b) 196.

tempio di Hathor (esattamente 1/3 dei 20 da lei ereditati).[38] Non vi sono ulteriori menzioni dei 10 giorni che Tateathyris e Pikos hanno ricevuto da Imouthes, fino a quando nel 103 a.C. in P.Tor.Botti 33 la donna vende 10 giorni liturgici nel tempio di Hathor al proprio marito. Questo documento dimostra che sono stati acquisiti con denaro ereditato e lasciato indiviso e come tali sono entrati nel computo dell'eredità o sono il frutto di un accordo precedentemente stipulato tra Psemminis e Imouthes: non si spiega diversamente l'acquisto fatto a nome di entrambi i figli unito al fatto che le quote di proprietà siano diverse, cosa che risulta evidente dalla differenza fra i 10 giorni che vende al marito e i 6 giorni e 2/3 che aveva affittato al fratello nel 108 a.C.[39]

Il fatto che i giorni ad un certo punto ricompaiano nella disponibilità piena di Tateathyris lascia pensare che, molto probabilmente, PSI IX 1019 fosse l'apostasia a garanzia di un debito, forse contratto da Imouthes con Psemminis e confermato con i suoi eredi, e che Imouthes non è riuscito a saldare.

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[38] Dei 20 giorni liturgici ne sono stati dati 6 e 2/3 a Tateathyris e 13 e 1/3 a Pikos, rispettivamente 1/3 e 2/3 del totale.

[39] In un normale atto di compravendita con due acquirenti, qualora, come in questo caso, l'atto non specifichi quote di spettanza differenti, a ciascuno dei due va la metà del bene acquistato. Qui, nonostante l'atto non specifichi nulla, si comprende che Tateathyris ha ricevuto solo 1/3 dei 10 giorni cioè 3 giorni e 1/3, perché nel 103 a.C. (P.Tor.Botti 33) vende al marito tutti i suoi giorni liturgici che sono 10 (i 6 e 2/3 ereditati dal padre e i 3 e 1/3 acquistati da Imouthes).

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ἀντίδοσις in Roman Egypt: A Sign of Continuity or a Revival of an Ancient Institution?*

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In his study of aspects of Hellenism and its Social Goals in Ptolemaic Egypt, Alan Samuel has argued some forty years ago for a continuity in the premises of Greek life to be seen both in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.[1] Greek civilization in Ptolemaic Egypt was mainly based on Athenian models and ideas and was characterized by a principle of stability. Signs of this continuity and stability, he argued, could be found in all aspects of Greek life in the Hellenistic age: in agriculture as well as industry, architecture as well as literature, and in art as well as religion. Samuel sums up his thesis, emphasizing: «For the three hundred years of the Ptolemaic Dynasty in Egypt, the Greeks who had settled there carried on a Hellenism which drew little new from its surroundings».[2]

Although Samuel's theory has not gone unchallenged,[3] the link between mainland Greece and Greek culture in Egypt is more than obvious. The fact that the Greeks in Egypt have tended to be more conservative in the foreign milieu in which they found themselves, and that they progressively became more aware of their Hellenism vis à vis Egyptian civilization, has already been confirmed. They tended to live in their own world separated from the surrounding natives and to maintain as strongly as possible their language, culture and mode of life as signs proving their superior Hellenic identity.[4]

This new theory, which contradicts the view maintained by students of Hellenistic civilization in most years of the preceding two centuries, is elaborately detailed by Naphtali Lewis who has argued for the separateness of the Greeks in Egypt on the basis of the case studies which he included in his book entitled Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt.[5] More important, however, is the fact that signs of continuity can also be traced in the Roman period, particularly during the first three centuries of our era. We are all familiar with Lewis' two papers, "Greco-Roman Egypt: Fact or Fiction?" given in the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology in 1968, and "The Romanity of Roman Egypt, a Growing Consensus" given in the Seventeenth Congress in 1984. His views were summed up later in his book, Life in Egypt under Roman Rule, where he reiterated what was by then a famous expression: «plus

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[1] Samuel (1983).

[2] Samuel (1983) 119.

[3] Thompson (1987) 240-241, e.g.

[4] Lewis (1986) 4: «What has become clear, and becomes clearer with each new study, is that in Hellenistic Egypt....the socio-political characteristic of the country was not coalescence, but rather the coexistence of two distant entities: 'we' and 'they', the conquerors and the conquered».

[5] Excluding, perhaps, the recluse Ptolemaios who lived in the Great Serapeion at Memphis; see Lewis (1986) 4-5. The same view is also expressed with some reservations by Bowman (1996) 122: «The Greek/Egyptian dichotomy might appear very stark in some spheres and some periods but in other boundaries are less rigid».

ça change, plus ça reste la mème chose».[6] It is to be noted, moreover, that in concluding his article on "Greco-Roman Egypt: Fact or Fiction?", Lewis was tempted to see that the tendency to change was much stronger in certain spheres: «Roman domination brought more change than continuity *in the administration* of Egypt» (my italics).[7] More recently, we are reminded by Rathbone that «issues of continuity and peculiarity are fundamental» while attempting to refute what he calls: «myth of the unchanging nature of Egyptian agriculture and agrarian culture».[8]

But how does all this relate to the subject of this paper? The point becomes clear when we consider that ἀντίδοσις was an acknowledged legal procedure in classical Athens, particularly in the fourth century BCE, and that it reappears in our documents in Roman Egypt, although not a single papyrus documenting the institution has been yet found from the Ptolemaic period. How should we interpret this phenomenon? Does it represent a sort of continuity with the preceding period about which we know nothing about? If not, how much can it be considered a revival in the Roman era of a more ancient institution? Attempting to answer these questions, I shall begin with the documents, move to their context, and finish with a study of their terminology.

1. The Papyri

Altogether, we have the evidence of almost half a dozen actual cases of resignation of property in Roman Egypt.[9] From the details of these documents it becomes evident that the procedure was used in cases of insolvent debtors but it was also used to avoid performing liturgy and serving in municipal offices. The earliest document, dated to the middle of the second century, comes from the minutes of a *conventus* of Munatius, the prefect of Egypt.[10] A person named Glycon was introduced before the prefect and his lawyer spoke on his behalf, stating that Glycon had no revenues and that he resigned his property. The prefect gave his decision to have an inquiry made about the possessions and to apply the principle which he used to adhere to, namely that if this step was done to defraud the creditors, it would not be valid:

προσαχθέντων Γλύκωνος Διονυσίου
καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου Γλύκωνος μεθ' ἕτερα
Ἀρχ[έλ]ᾳος ῥήτωρ εἶπεν: ἄπορός ἐστιν
ὁ Γλύκων καὶ ἐξίσταται. Μ[ο]υνάτιος
εἶπεν: ζητηθήσεται ὁ πόρος αὐτο[ῦ,] ἤδη
μέντοι τύπος ἐστὶν καθ' ὃν ἔκρινα
πολλάκις καὶ τοῦτο δίκαιον εἶναί
μοι φαίνεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξιστανομένων ὥστε, εἴ τι ἐπὶ περιγρ[α]φῇ
τῶν δανιστῶν ἐποίησαν, ἄκυρον εἶναι.

Then, another person named Sarapion moved forward to do the same thing, as told by his lawyer, Apollonius. The prefect repeated his previous decision with a further comment: Sarapion's resignation of property would be invalid should he obtain fresh loans with intent to defraud:

[6] Lewis (1983) 35.
[7] Lewis (1995) 140, quote at 148.
[8] Rathbone (2007) 698. See also Bowman (2000) 173 and Moyer (2011) 27.
[9] Taubenschlag (1955) 530 with n. 24. The quote is from Lewis (1983) 183 and cf. Lewis (1982) 104.
[10] P.Ryl. II 75 (= Sel.Pap. II 259; 150 CE).

προσαχθέντος Σαραπί-
ωνος Πτολεμαίου μεθ' ἕτερα, Ἀπολλώ-
νιος ῥήτωρ εἶπεν: ἐξίσταται τῶν πό-
ρων ὁ Σαραπίων. Ἀσκληπιάδης εἶπεν:
ἐπεξεχ[ρ]ήσ̣α[το ..]ουσι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. Μουν[ά]-
τιος εἶπεν: [ἐ]ὰν εὑρεθῇ ἐπεκχρησ̣ά-
μ̣ε̣ν̣ος ἐπ̣ὶ̣ π̣[ερι]γραφῇ, ἄκυρον ἔστω.

A later document by a certain Sarapion from Hermopolis Magna and presented to the ἔκδικος indicates further that the option continued to be available to debtors till the fifth century.[11] These documents refer to a case of resignation of property and state clearly that this was done as a response to failure to give back loans. Glycon and Sarapion presented their case in a court presided by the prefect and the proposal was formally introduced by lawyers. The decision of the prefect applies a well known precedent, namely that an investigation should be made according to which the resignation may be considered valid or not. We have here an obvious case of the Roman measure known as *cessio bonorum,* and it is in fact described as such in discussions of this and similar documents. On the basis of this evidence, Raphael Taubenschlag observes that the Roman law concerning debt, *Lex Julia de cessione bonorum*, which was originally applied to Romans was then extended to include others as well.[12] Another document probably refers to a similar case from the third century but is too fragmentary to discuss.[13]

In addition to the preceding cases of *cessio bonorum*, the same procedure appears in documents from the third century in a different context; here, petitioners sought to avoid performing a liturgy or serving in offices.[14] An early petition concerning liturgy was written by a certain Thonis who handed it on the following day of his nomination (τῇ διελθούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ) for the office of a πράκτωρ of grains (εἰς πρακτορείαν σειτικῶν) of the toparchy (ll. 16-17).[15] Instead of performing the liturgy, Thonis decided to resign his possessions and wrote this petition to the *strategos* of the nome, Aurelius Leonides. In the beginning of the document he quoted the prescript of Severus and referred towards the end to the divine measure (τὴν θείαν διάταξιν, ll. 22-23) regarding the case to confirm his legal position.[16]

Unlike Thonis who handed his petition on the following day, Stephanos made his move immediately after he knew of the event. His petition includes the same introduction and the same reference to the divine measure, on a document dated within the same decade as Thonis' and addressed to the same *strategos.*[17] Stephanos, who was a resident of the village of Sinkepha of the Oxyrhynchite nome, complained that he came to know on the same day (τῇ ἐνεστώσῃ ἡμέρᾳ [l. 17]) that he had been nominated to a liturgy by Aurelius Amois of the same village on the ground that, as Lewis reads it, he had «sufficient means and eligible [ὡς εὔπορον καὶ ἐπιτήδειον (ll. 22-23)] to succeed him in the office of collector of money taxes [εἰς πρακτορείαν ἀργυρικῶν (l. 20)]».[18] Stephanos objected to the nomination stressing that it was unreasonable and contrary to the rules of liturgy (οὐκ ἀνὰ λόγον οὖν οὐδὲ πρὸς [τὸ] μέρος τῆς λειτουργίας [ll. 23-24]). He further announced that he would give away his

[11] M.Chr. 71 (462 CE); Lewis (1982) 104.
[12] Taubenschlag (1955) 20-21, 30 and cf. de Ste Croix (1989) 166 who notes that the application of the law was however limited: «*ex hypothesi,* it would be of no use to the propertyless». See also the last section of this paper.
[13] P.Oslo III 190 and see Taubenschlag (1955) 20 n. 92.
[14] Jones (1938) 70; Lewis (1982) 103-104.
[15] P.Oxy. XLIII 3105 (229-235 CE).
[16] See below on the prescript.
[17] P.Oxy. XII 1405 ll. 1-13 and 25-26 (236/237 CE).
[18] Lewis (1983) 183.

possessions to his fellow villager Amois, who made the nomination, according to the divine ruling (ἀλλ᾽ ἐξιστανόμενος αὐτῷ κ̣ά̣τά τὴν προκειμένην θείαν [ll. 24-25]), and proceeded to enumerate his possessions.

From the same papyri collection of Oxyrhynchus, we have a third document written around the same time as the preceding two and forwarded, interestingly enough, to the same *strategos*.[19] The petitioner here is a certain Heracleides from the village of Talao. He was appointed to the same liturgy as Stephanus (εἰς πρακτορείαν ἀργυρικῶν [l. 15]). The name of the official who nominated him is Horus and it is likely that he was performing the same liturgy which Heracleides was nominated for.[20] The document breaks off where the petitioner starts to announce his objection to the nomination and his decision to resign his property, but the first ten lines of the document include the same prescript of Severus in a better condition than the preceding petitions of Stephanus and Thonis. To this group as well may be added a document from Arsinoe which dates to the second decade of the second century. The papyrus quotes the imperial rules but breaks off where the petitioner starts to explain his case.[21]

All preceding documents were handed to the *strategos* of the nome and a nomination to a liturgy took place by local officials living in the same local areas where the petitioners lived. Therefore they are somewhat different from the nomination to the municipal offices made by city councils in the *metropoleis*. In the latter case petitions were handed to the president of the council and were referred to higher authorities only in case of disagreement. In the earliest example from the third century, we encounter Septimius Eudaimon who was an *ex-gymnasiarchos* and *eutheniarchos* of the city of Oxyrhynchus.[22] He happened to be nominated one more time for the office of the *gymnarchos* and accepted the nomination but he was later nominated for the office of the *eutheniarchos*, as well. This last nomination proved to be «the last straw».[23] Eudaimon decided to resign his property to the president of the council (ἔκστασίν σοι προεβα̣λό̣μην), to whom he presented his complaint, objecting that it would be beyond his means to serve in all these offices. A similar complaint was made by Hermophilus who served in many offices in the city.[24] He admitted that he had some means but objected that he had spent most of it on performing several previous liturgies. Then, Hermophilus contended that his son Horion was nominated as a *kosmetes*, that the new office proved to be beyond their ability to fill, and moved on to resign all his property rather than accept the nomination.

From the second half of the third century comes yet another document which records Aurelius Kopreas' refusal to fill out the office of the *exegetes*.[25] As was the case with his predecessors, Kopreas offered to resign all his property. Another case comes from Oxyrhynchus and goes back to the last decade of the century.[26] Although it is not a petition, it does refer to an attempt by a certain Agathinus to avoid serving in the office of the *agoranomos* (ll. 33-34). The final document which comes also from Oxyrhynchus contains a report on a trial of two persons before the council of the city.[27] The document is too fragmentary to discuss in detail but it is clear that it pertains to a nomination to the office of

[19] P.Oxy. LXIV 4437 (229-236/237 CE).
[20] See Jones (1936) 68, 70.
[21] BGU 473 (= M.Chr. 375; 215 CE). The papyrus does not include the expression referring specifically to liturgies (εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν) which is found in the other group of documents.
[22] P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2854 (248 CE).
[23] Lewis (1982) 104.
[24] CPR I 20 (= W.Chr. 402 = SPP XX 54; 250 CE).
[25] SB XXVI 16526; see also Palme (2011) 385.
[26] P.Oxy. XIV 1642 (289 CE).
[27] P.Oxy. XII 1417. Cf. the suggestion *ad loc.* that it might belong to the early fourth century than to the end of the third.

the *eutheniarchos* and that one of the two persons nominated, according to the editors, «threatened to resign his property and appeal to the praefect». The editors further note that this office which was responsible for the grain supply was difficult to fill at that time.

To conclude this survey of the documents, it is worthwhile to note their geographical distribution and chronology. Cases pertaining to debt and liturgy came from villages and appeared earlier than those dealing with offices which, in turn, belong to *metropoleis* and date mostly from the middle of the third century onwards. Moreover, all documents tend to refer to the imperial prescripts regarding *cessio bonorum*, but the phenomenon is most obvious in cases of liturgy and less so in cases of avoiding serving in offices. The contextual setting of each of the last two types is therefore an important issue to consider.

2. The Context

A close consideration of the cases mentioned in the last two groups of the documents, pertaining to avoiding liturgy and serving in municipal offices, shows that they share some elements that connect the institution of *cessio bonorum* in Roman Egypt to the more ancient Athenian measure of ἀντίδοσις. It has been shown in the preceding section that *cessio bonorum* was applied in various contexts the first of which deals with personal debts. There it has been argued that the law was originally limited to Roman citizens but was later extended to the Romans living in the provinces and then to peregrines.[28] The date suggested for this option to have become allowed to debtors is around 100 CE.[29] But, obviously, this case belongs to the private sphere of interaction. Of more interest to our topic, therefore, are the second and third usages where resignation of property concerned liturgies and serving in municipal offices. In spite of the geographical and chronological distribution of the papyri mentioned above, a common link between the two groups is easily noticeable in the obligation it entailed either directly (in case of liturgies) or indirectly (in case of offices) to the administration. The obligation is symbolized in both cases by the official judging the cases: petitions were submitted directly to the *strategos* in cases of liturgies and were referred to him when problems arose in the councils of the *metropoleis* regarding nominations to offices.[30]

Differences among the contexts of *cessio bonorum* did exist and had already been observed by scholars. In her famous article on "The βουλή and the nomination to the ἀρχαὶ in the μετροπόλεις of Roman Egypt", Eefje Wegener referred to the documents of liturgies and offices as pertaining to «administrative matters» and, maintaining that citizens of the *metropoleis* were not exempted from liturgies, she did not observe any significant distinctions among them.[31] Later on, Arnold Jones alluded briefly to the application of *cessio bonorum* to nominations to «magistracies and liturgies» and hoped to be excused not to go into «that highly controversial subject».[32] Raphael Taubenschlag distinguished between private and administrative cases of *cessio bonorum*.[33] The issue was taken a step forward by Naphtali Lewis who compared the private context of *cessio bonorum* with a public one.[34] Most

[28] Taubenschlag (1955) 20-21.
[29] Lewis (1982) 103.
[30] Cf. the disputes about the nominations to offices in P.Oxy. XII 1417, and XIV 1642. See also Bowman / Rathbone (1992) 123 on the ultimate control of the governors of the provinces and their representatives in the nomes.
[31] Wegener (1985) 79 and 82 for the expression.
[32] Jones (1938) 70 and cf. Lewis (1982) 106 n. 66.
[33] Taubenschlag (1955) 405 n. 23.
[34] Lewis (1982) 104, replacing administrative with public.

recently, the documents pertaining to liturgies and offices were also classified, probably following Taubenschlag, as «casi amministrativi».[35] In spite of the great attention given to the documents and the thorough comparison between them, no attempt was made in these studies to distinguish between the liturgical cases and those pertaining to serving in offices nor, as far as this paper is concerned, to invoke the Athenian model of ἀντίδοσις in the discussions.[36]

Although private documents do not concern us here, they provide us with important dates, procedure and terminology. They predate the other usages which begin to appear from the beginning of the third century (where, again, the liturgical documents predate those pertaining to offices).[37] Although the papyri refer in all cases to the imperial edicts regarding the status of the person ceding his property, variations did exist owing to the nature of the problem. It is significant to stress here the tendency of the documents pertaining to liturgies to quote the prescripts of Severus regarding liturgies (εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν) in their introduction and to stress towards the end of the documents their conformity with those divine measures.[38] In all three documents bearing on the subject of liturgies it is stated clearly that the property of the recusant should be handed to the nominator and not to the *fiscus* and, in return, the ceder of the property was not to lose his status nor suffer any punishments.[39]

An important point to consider in this context is the extension of the procedure of *cessio bonorum* from the private to the public sphere. Arguing that liturgy avoidance implies from the administration point of view that liturgy was considered as a debt to the state and/or the nominees as debtors, Lewis envisaged a «certain parallelism» and moved on to discuss the documents of the magistracies and liturgies.[40] Still, as far as this paper is concerned, a line can also be drawn between cases of avoiding liturgies in the villages and those pertaining to serving in the offices in the *metropoleis*. If extension of the procedure from the private sphere to the public one was a significant step, it was no less significant and obviously much easier and quicker step to extend it from liturgies to offices. According to the present documents it was a matter of a dozen years or so.[41]

From the previous discussion it furthermore emerges that the closest cases of *cessio bonorum* in Roman Egypt to the procedure of ἀντίδοσις in classical Athens are those pertaining to offices. This suggestion was briefly expressed little less than a century ago by van Hoesen and Johnson in their study of a papyrus dealing with liturgies. They observe: «a form of the Athenian *antidosis* was adopted in Egypt whereby those named for liturgies… might offer to surrender their property to their nominator in lieu of performing the duties».[42] Although they do not differentiate between magistracies and liturgies, their observations are notably based on the fact that surrender of the property was made to the nominator and not to the *fiscus*. It is noteworthy that they refer to P.Oxy. XII 1405 where Grenfell and Hunt mention in their commentary on the papyrus that this stipulation probably came as response to a proposal

[35] Purpura (2012) 376 no. 71 and cf. 375 no. 68.
[36] See the following paragraphs on the exception to this rule.
[37] Cf. P.Ryl. II 75 (= Sel.Pap. II 259; 150 CE) private; P.Oxy. XLIII 3105 (229-235 CE) liturgy; P.Oxy. XXXVIII (248 CE) offices.
[38] P.Oxy. XLIII 3105: τὴν θείαν διάταξιν (ll. 22-23); P.Oxy XII 1405: τὴν προκειμένην θείαν διάταξιν (ll. 26-27); P.Oxy. LXIV 4437, however, breaks before the petitioner starts to explain his case.
[39] P.Oxy. XLIII 3105 (229-335 CE); P.Oxy XII 1405 (236/237 CE); P.Oxy. LXIV 4437 (229-236/237 CE). See also BGU 473 (= M.Chr. 375; 215 CE) ll. 6-8 which does not include the above reference to liturgy, and cf. Harker (2008) 64, 131.
[40] Lewis (1982) 104.
[41] All the three documents discussed concerning liturgies are dated between 229 CE and 237 CE while the earliest one concerning offices is dated 248 CE. They all go back to Oxyrhynchus which serves as another caveat that the suggestion must remain tentative, however.
[42] van Hoesen / Johnson (1926) 118; the papyrus is AM 8938 in the Princeton University Collection.

made by the petitioner of the papyrus «to cede his property to the Imperial *fiscus* instead of performing the duty; but his proposition was declined by the Emperors, who awarded the property to his nominator and made this person responsible for the liturgy».[43] Following these arguments, the procedure of *cessio bonorum* in the cases of offices and liturgies becomes even closer to the Athenian model of ἀντίδοσις, owing to the public nature of the disputes and the method developed by the administration to solve it on a personal basis.

ἀντίδοσις was a well known procedure in democratic Athens. Thanks to the famous speech of the fourth century Athenian orator and politician Isocrates,[44] the term has a reputation unequalled by any other ancient Athenian legal term.[45] References to the institution are abundant in Classical literature starting from Lysias,[46] the famous Athenian orator who provides us with the earliest testimony, to Demosthenes.[47] As far as the procedure is concerned, ἀντίδοσις involved some stages: challenging another person, changing the property in case of agreement or bringing the case before a court in case of difficulties. It is thus described as «a bureaucratic convenience that enabled the city to keep its liturgical ranks full with minimal commitment of public resources».[48] Considering the democratic context in which it appeared, it represented the «absolute responsibility of the liturgical class» towards the city and recognized differences among its members.[49]

Most of the previous remarks about ἀντίδοσις sound familiar in the Egyptian context and neatly apply to the cases of magistracies and liturgies in our documents. Both institutions of ἀντίδοσις and *cessio bonorum* deal with public services and were devised by their respective administrations (democratic in the first, authoritarian in the latter) to pay for the costs of these services. Moreover, the challenge was made in both cases to another person and was referred to a higher authority in case of disagreement.

There are of course some variations to note; notable among these is that the procedure involved, in one case, exchanging property with another person whom the nominee challenges, and resigning it to the nominator in the other. Also, we have the Greek appellation itself which comes in the Egyptian context as ἔκστασις. As will be shown in the following section on terminology, both differences can be explained by the historical development of the laws of *cessio bonorum* in the Egyptian context. Before doing this, however, it is worthwhile to explain how this development of *cessio bonorum* from the private case of debt to the public cases of magistracies and liturgies took place.

Explaining the view of the administration regarding the subject, Lewis observed in his passage mentioned earlier that the extension of the institution to the «recusant liturgists implies a certain parallelism in the eyes of the law».[50] However, the move towards such an extension most likely has been made by someone who was nominated to perform a liturgy,[51] and who was familiar with the Athenian institution and to whom some sort of parallelism with ἀντίδοσις was more than obvious.

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[43] Whether the imperial rule came as a response to a petition by nominee or to solve a dispute between him and a nominator it cannot be determined with certainty. In either case the point remains that the administration made it a personal issue to be solved between them.
[44] See the recent edition for his Antidosis by Too (2008), e.g.
[45] Maybe the term *phoros* can be considered another example as well; both were in fact used as titles of 'Festschrifts' dedicated to prominent classists and scholars.
[46] Lys. 3.20 e.g.
[47] Dem. 21.78-79 and 42.1 e.g.
[48] Christ (1990) 161-162.
[49] Christ (1990) 162-163.
[50] Lewis (1982) 104.
[51] As the earliest document, P.Oxy. XLIII 3105 (AD 229-235), shows.

As the extant literary papyri shows, classical authors were well known and widely read in the *metropoleis* of Roman Egypt and the works of the Athenian orator Demosthenes ranked, interestingly enough, in the second place after Homer.[52] More important than Demosthenes is Isocrates himself who, as Raffaella Cribiore lately observed, «remained enormously popular at all times».[53] Isocrates' works, moreover, found their way to the Dakhleh Oasis in a find which goes well into the fourth century.[54] In spite of the customary warning in these cases, namely that the number of the illiterate was usually small, the fact that the works of those authors, which have repeated references to ἀντίδοσις, were well known and read is in itself significant.

I suggest that the idea of borrowing the procedure may well have come up to the mind of a liturgist who was familiar with the orations of those orators. The willingness to resign one's property must have been a desperate step to take but the choices were limited and it corresponded to the increasing difficulties during the second and third centuries.[55] Before this option became available, the nominee either had to accept the nomination or to «take to his heels and disappear».[56] Nothing illustrates the severity of the conditions and the heavy burden of liturgies, which *cessio bonorum* tried to avoid or at least moderate, more than the repeated references from the middle of the second century to fugitives who could not afford to bear these burdens and whose property was confiscated.[57]

The *apokrimata* which came out during the reign of Severus and which are recorded in some of the preceding documents reflect the novelty of the issue and how it developed around that time. They further reflect as well the usual attitude of the Roman administration towards local customs and laws. As José Luis Alonso has argued in his article which he gave in the preceding congress, Roman courts «not merely tolerated but unfailingly applied» peregrine law.[58] In this particular case, however, ἀντίδοσις was not fully applied; rather we have what might be called, as we shall see, a Romanized form of the ancient Greek institution.[59]

3. *Cessio Bonorum* / ἔκστασις / ἀντίδοσις

According to Liddell and Scott, ἀντίδοσις means literally: «giving in return, exchange», being derived from the verb ἀντιδίδωμι. Technically, however, it means at Athens: «a form by which a citizen charged with λειτουργία or εἰσφορά might call upon any other citizen, whom he thought richer than himself, either to exchange properties or to submit to the charge himself».[60] But, it emerges from the preceding discussion that the Egyptian documents use another term in describing the institution which is different, still, from the one used by modern literature discussing the subject. Rather than ἀντίδοσις and ἀντιδίδωμι, we read in the documents mostly ἔκστασις, the verb ἐξίστημι, and the participle ἐξιστανόμενος.[61]

Both legal terms of ἀντίδοσις and ἔκστασις are absent from the papyri of the Ptolemaic

[52] Lewis (1983) 59, who speaks also about the devotion of the metropolitae to classical tradition (p. 61).
[53] Cribiore (2011) 330, see also her remarks on p. 327.
[54] Bagnall (1993) 103 with note 379. Cf. also his observations on the works of the Athenian orator Aeschines.
[55] De Blois (2006) 30-31.
[56] Lewis (1982) 103. See also Palme (2011) 385.
[57] Lewis (1983) 183-184; Bowman (1996) 69-70.
[58] Alonso (2016) 352. See also Yiftach-Firanko (2011) 557.
[59] Thus providing us with another example reflecting the readiness of the Romans to adapt their laws to the local conditions and to use, in this particular case, their typical *cessio bonorum* to other purposes. I have to thank the anonymous reader of this paper for this observation.
[60] Liddell and Scott, s.v. ἀντίδοσις.
[61] Liddell and Scott, s.vv. ἔκστασις, ἐξίστημι. For some other words, such as ἀφίστημι and παραχώρησις, used next to those, see Lewis (1982) 104 with n. 65.

period. An expedient explanation may be that the political and liturgical systems used by the Ptolemies were different. Instead, we hear then about fleeing and abandoning not only one's property but home as well, an option which was to be replaced, in the Roman period, by ἔκστασις. But the first occurrences of the term ἔκστασις came out in the private sphere as a translation of the Latin equivalent of *cessio bonorum,* where it referred to ceding property to avoid the harsh penalty imposed on defaulted debtors. Moreover, it was over a century during which ἔκστασις became an established legal term, a period roughly corresponding to the interval separating the earliest private document and the earliest public one.

With this background in mind, when ἔκστασις was extended from the private cases to include liturgy (and later on offices), it was neither necessary to change the term nor to invoke the full application and/or appellation of the Athenian model. Desperate conditions no doubt impelled desperate measures and an offer to exchange property instead of resigning it would have meant a longer period of litigation which petitioners could not possibly afford.[62] The novelty embedded in the new usage of ἔκστασις, which is the Greek translation of *cessio bonorum*, thus recalls the Athenian model of ἀντίδοσις albeit in a modified form corresponding to the particular conditions of Roman Egypt.

4. Conclusion

In studying Roman Egypt we are always reminded of the usual *caveat* that continuity in names and titles of offices and procedures do not mean that they were the same as in the preceding period.[63] As this discussion has shown, *mutatis mutandis,* the same warning can be applied in the case of ἔκστασις / *cessio bonorum* when it was applied to avoid liturgies and serving in municipal offices. A new title or name of an institution does not necessarily imply that the latter was completely different from a preceding one. Although we do not have evidence from outside Egypt to confirm the point, extension of the uses of the Roman right of *cessio bonorum* to include cases of avoiding liturgies and offices *de facto* revived the ancient Greek measure of ἀντίδοσις. Giving credence to Samuel's thesis cited in the beginning of this paper, this particular case reflects a revival that rather indicates continuity with a more ancient past. Since the term of ἔκστασις was already established, there was no need then to go back to the old appellation, nor was there a possibility, under the compelling conditions, to argue for exchanging property instead of resigning it. Thus, giving another legal case where the change in the title does not indicate the total novelty of the institution, ἔκστασις became in one of its two technical meanings ἔκστασις *alias* ἀντίδοσις.

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[62] Lewis (1983) 193-194.
[63] Lewis (1995) 142, 302.

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The law of succession in Roman Egypt: Siblings and non-siblings disputes over inheritance

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Numerous petitions preserved on papyri from Roman Egypt prove that various conflicts arose between family members, specifically regarding the division of parental property, while papyrus documents also give evidence of violations of inherited property by non-siblings. The purpose of the proposed paper is to discuss the various kinds of conflicts over an inheritance and the different legal grounds used by the defendants according to their legal status. The aim of this investigation is to show how a legal heir's rights could be protected in such a multicultural society, in which different legal traditions coexisted.

The inheritance system applied in Roman Egypt was complex, as there were several legal systems and people of a different ethnicity were subjected to different legislation. Before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 CE, which granted Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the empire, Roman law applied only to Roman citizens of the province, while the rest of the population were subjected to either Greek or to Egyptian legal norms inherited from the Ptolemaic era. Papyrus documents testify that people in Roman Egypt bequeathed property to their children, regardless of gender or marital status. In classical Athenian law, sons succeeded to their father's estate on an equal footing.[1] In the case there were no sons, daughters would be entitled to the parental inheritance only as *epikleroi*, while they also received a dowry.[2] In Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, Greek daughters were on equal terms with sons as regards entitlement to inherited property, but only if their dowry had not paid out beforehand.[3] According to Roman law, if the father did not leave a will, or if it was for some reason invalid, all his sons and daughters *in potestate* inherited an equal share.[4] If there were no children, the brothers, sisters or nephews of the deceased divided the estate equally between them.[5] After the *senatus consultum Orfitianum* of 178 CE, children of Roman status could also inherit from their mothers.[6] In Egyptian law, the eldest son received a double portion of the parental property in terms of intestate succession, while the daughter would receive an equal share with the younger sons.[7] On the other hand, inhabitants of Roman Egypt had the right to divide their property by making a will. O.Montevecchi, in her study of Egyptian wills, found two kinds of division among children: one allowing equal shares to all, and another tending to favor the eldest son.[8] The evidence of Roman wills suggests that the

[1] See McDowell (1978) 92.
[2] Harrison (1968) 132-133.
[3] Harmon (1934) 144-146; Kreller (1919) 146. Cf. P.Enteux. 9. l. 8-9.
[4] See Gaius Inst. III 2, II 157. See also Johnston (1999) 51-52. The children were known as the *sui heredes*, because they were household heirs and even during their lifetime were regarded in a way as owners of the family property. See Johnston (2015) 200-201.
[5] Gaius Inst. III 9-10. In the absence of them, members of the *gens* or extended family were entitled. Gaius Inst. III 17. See also Jakab (2016) 504-506.
[6] For *SC Orfitianum* see Inst. Iust. III 4, Ulp. 12 ad Sab., Dig. XXXVIII 17.1, Cod. Iust. VI 57.
[7] See P.Vind.Bosw. 6. l. 4: τῷ μὲν Ἀχιλλιᾶνῷ μέρη β ἀπομεριστά, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις β τὰ λοιπ(ὰ) μέρη γ.
[8] See Montevecchi (1935) 67-121. This pattern is absent from all Roman law wills of Egypt.

Roman testator was most likely to appoint his children as his heirs, either with equal or unequal shares.[9]

Papyrological evidence suggests that in Roman Egypt there were various legal procedures for the acquisition and the protection of the inheritance by a legal heir according to the legal system which he came under. The *ius civile* provided the *hereditatis petitio*, so that the heir could claim possession of the estate.[10] *Agnitio bonorum possessionis* was used for the acquisition of the *bonorum possessio*, which was applied by both the Romans and the peregrines.[11] P.Oxy. IX 1201 of the third century is such an *agnitio bonorum possessionis* (διακατοχὴν κληρονομίας).[12] Towards the end of the republic certain relatives of the testator also had the right to share in his estate and challenge the will by raising court proceedings in the form of the complaint of undutiful will (*querella inofficiosi testamenti*).[13] In Egyptian law, a party who claimed an estate as inheritance from his parents had first to prove his kinship before taking possession.[14] In Alexandrian law, a claimant had first to be established by the authorities as heir and then to perform the ἐμβάτευσις.[15] In any conflict over property, the defendant was required to produce the legal title of his possession: purchase, succession, *usucapio*.[16]

1. Conflicts between family members:

a. Disputes between brothers and sisters over a will and intestacy

Property mainly in rural families was mostly held jointly between brothers and sisters, while most siblings in the cities divided their parental estate after their parents' death without any familial tension mentioned.[17] In the case that there was no legal will, an heir could claim his right to the parental property in terms of intestate succession. A dispute over maternal inheritance between brothers and sisters can be found in a petition from the second century CE.[18] The petitioner Stotoetis with his minor sisters have suffered their older brothers' *iniuria*: Satyros and Arpalos deprived them of their parents' inheritance. The two brothers, without any respect to their brothers' mourning, expelled them from their parents' house, also grabbing all assets belonging to the family. Stotoetis needs the stategus' support for the restoration of the property belonging both to him and his sister, as all of them had the right to

[9] For patterns discernible in Roman wills see Champlin (1991) 111-113.
[10] *Hereditatis petitio* was the claim of an heir founded on a title on civil law. See Dig. V 3, Cod. Iust. III 20, 31. See also Berger (1953) 486 and Mueller-Ehlen (1998).
[11] For *bonorum possessio* see Gaius Inst. III 32 and Schulz (1946) 235.
[12] P.Oxy. IX 1201. ll. 17-19. Aurelius Eudaimon, whose father died intestate, requested the prefect of Egypt to grant him his legal inheritance, on the basis of an edict granting *bonorum possessio* to the legal heirs. Cf. SB VI 9298, P.Amph. II 72, BGU I 140. For remedies available to and against the *bonorum possessor* see Buckland (1957) 238-239.
[13] See Dig. V 2, Cod. Iust. III 28. See also Berger (1953) 665-666. The *querella inofficiosi testamenti* was excluded, when the heir received through the testator's disposition one fourth of what he would have received as his share in intestacy.
[14] See P.Tor.Choach. 12.7 l. 4-7 (= UPZ II 162). In Egyptian law children could acquire by special agreements a kind of lien (κατοχή) on their parents' property during the parents' life since the first century CE. See Taubenschlag (1955) 211.
[15] Taubenschlag (1955) 213.
[16] Cf. SB VI 9121. After the death of Apeis, Serapous did not let Heraclous, the writer of this letter, to stay at the house and asked her to produce some memoranda. The matter may have been connected with an inheritance and the memoranda may have been deeds concerning transference of property. See also Eitrem / Amundsen (1951) 179-181.
[17] For example, in P.Princ. II 79. l. 4 from the fourth century CE three brothers divided their paternal inheritance in order to avoid conflict. Cf. P.Tebt. II 319. See Huebner (2014) 103.
[18] SB VI 8979. Cf. BGU I 226.

equal shares in their parents' inheritance. Another version of the same dispute can be probably found in P.Gen. 3 (= M.Chr. 122), as D. Samuel has pointed out.[19] Pabous and Harpalos, sons of Melas, complained that Stotoetis and Tanephronis, probably their siblings, have gone, in their absence, to the place, where the paternal inheritance was stored under seal and removed the seals. The petitioners caught them in the act resulting in Stotoetis becoming aggressive and assaulting them.

Problems could also arise if a brother or sister believed that he or she deserved a larger part of the paternal property and tried to challenge the paternal will. P.Oxy. XLIII 3117 preserves a record of proceedings in court from the third century CE.[20] A certain Serenus died bequeathing the greater portion of his estate to his son Leonides and a lesser share to his daughter Herais. Herais challenged the will and appealed asking for a share equal to that of Leonides in terms of intestate succession. Her basic argument was that her father's will was not opened according to law.[21] As the document is dated after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, Herais could invoke the Roman law of intestate succession in equal shares, in her claim. The woman's claims were at first accepted, but following her second application to the prefect, Leonides appealed against the judgment of the deputy prefect. Serenus' will remained in force for some years. The dispute over this testament continued for quite some time and the present claimants vindicated half of the estate as Diogenis' heirs, who had inherited from Herais. Conflict over inheritance may be the subject of a damaged papyrus from the second century CE. It includes the summing up of a sessions report of one of the prefects of Egypt.[22] In the first case (P.Oxy. XLII 3015. 1-5), the claimer presented an appeal asking for his share of an inheritance on the basis of a valid will. The other party may have argued that the will was inapplicable, because its terms had been changed. The court's judgment defended the validity of the will, as the testator «according to the Egyptian laws had the right to change his will». A more complicated case, involving again the application of Egyptian law, is described in SPP XX 4 (= M.Chr. 84). Aphrodisius had entered an ἄγραφος γάμος with Sarapous. Horigenes, one of their sons, died bequeathing his estate to one of his brothers and to his cousin Ammonius. Ammonius would then claim that the bequest was valid, because Egyptians could leave their property to whomever they liked, while Aphrodisius argued that the son of an unwritten marriage had no right to make a will in his father's lifetime. The prefect Blaesius Marianus rejected Ammonius' claim, probably because Horigenes did not have this right, being that he was a child coming from such a union.[23] The judge had to encounter two contradictions within the local law and chose the solution that coincided better with the Roman law.[24] All these cases prove that during the Roman era the native Egyptian law was still in use and Roman judges took it into serious consideration. However, after the edict of Caracalla, many Egyptians could also invoke provisions of Roman law in their claims.

On the other hand, P.Lond. II 177 of the first century records a petition by Egyptian Versenouphis to Gaius Vitrasius Pollio for assistance to recover property left to him and his brothers by their father, but which had been seized by their elder married sister. Their father left a will bequeathing some household assets to his wife during her lifetime (*usucapio*). After

[19] Samuel (1980) 255-259.
[20] Abou-Bakr (1992) 22.
[21] The procedure followed by Romans and peregrines, when opening testaments, in the Roman era was determined by the provision of the *lex Iulia vicesimaria* supplemented probably by the Egyptian *edictum provinciale*. See Taubenschlag (1955) 203-204. In some cases, the opening of a testament could be regulated by custom. Cf. P.Lond. II 171b; P.Ryl. II 109. See also Taubenschlag (1952) 42.
[22] P.Oxy. XLII 3015. See also Abou-Bakr (1992) 23-25.
[23] In such a case, the Egyptian law called up the parents to succession.
[24] See Modrzejewski (2012) 88-89.

her death, the children would divide this property between them. However, the elder daughter, with her husband's assistance, took control of these assets, even though she had already received her dowry and her claims had no legal grounds in Egyptian practice.[25] In this case, the testament would be again the subject of investigation. Consequently, conflict over inheritance, very often documented in papyri, is more often than not, between brothers and sisters over parental inheritance.

b. Inheritance disputes between an heir and his/her guardian

However, the most common conflicts between siblings were between an heir and his guardian, very often an uncle, about the disposition of the inheritance. In Roman Egypt, minor children were appointed a guardian, who was responsible for the administration of the orphan's property. However, they sometimes acted against the minor's interests.[26] Uncles would often act as trustees of an estate that, under other circumstances, could have been inherited by them. They would be the nearest agnates in the intestate succession, if their siblings died childless. P.Mich. IX 525 from the second century Karanis testifies that after a man had died leaving all his property to his two minor children, his brother laid claim to the deceased man's estate by employing violence. The widowed mother sent a petition to the prefect accusing her husband's brother of acting like a thief by breaking into their house during the night and stealing all movable household items.[27] The uncle did not lay a claim to all the inherited property, but he intended to make use of a part of it, because he may have been unhappy with his nephew's succession to his brother. Even if there was a legal testament left, an uncle-guardian could ignore or challenge it for his personal gain. P.Mich. XVIII 789 of the first century records another conflict between two sisters and their maternal uncle over the inheritance of their maternal grandfather. Zoilos had bequeathed to Calpurnia and Apia dowries left under the control of his son and their uncle as executor, until the girls' marriage. This document preserves the final settlement between the uncle and his nieces, who several years after getting married managed, via the legal procedure, to obtain their legal dowries in terms of Zoilos' will.

P.Oxy. XXXIV 2713 from the third century CE is the petition to the prefect of an orphaned daughter for recovery of her legal inheritance. Aurelia Didyme's mother inherited, together with her brothers, equal shares from their joint paternal property.[28] When the woman died, Didyme's uncles retained and took the profits from the third share of her maternal grandfather's estate, which ought to have come down to her in terms of succession to her mother. Aurelia Didyme's argument is that it is difficult to be wronged by strangers, but to be wronged by kin is even worse. Parallel to this, she also invokes the weakness of her sex.[29] She submitted her petition in 297 CE, following the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. We should take into consideration that by the *senatus consultum Orfitianum* of 178 CE children, whether legitimate or not, and irrespective of *ius liberorum*, were given *bonorum possessio* in the class *unde liberi* to the property of their mother, though the privilege was not extended to grandchildren.[30] An almost similar case to Aurelia Didyme's is the one in P.Oxy. XVII 2133

[25] See Arjava (1996) 53. In Roman theory, whatever the size of a daughter's dowry, if she had not received one-quarter of her share in the remaining estate, she was able to institute a suit of *querela inofficiosi testamenti*, but could not acquire more than her siblings.

[26] Saller (1994) 183-185.

[27] Despite the legal burdens, there were a number of mothers all over the Roman empire who would act as virtual guardians for their children. During the fourth century CE, Roman law legalized maternal guardianship. See Arjava (1996) 93.

[28] The three of them lived together, maybe after their sister's divorce or her husband's death.

[29] For a discussion of the literary and rhetoric elements of this document see Papathomas (2006) 244-255.

[30] SB I 1010 is a proof of the application of the *senatus consultum Orfitianum* in second century Egypt: a minor successor, with his father as his tutor, claimed the succession to his deceased mother's estate. It is striking that

from the fourth century CE, where a woman had a dispute with her paternal uncle about the measure of her share of an inheritance from her father who has died intestate. She also showed interest in protecting her younger brothers' property rights.[31] She appealed to the prefect because the decisions of lower bodies have not had sufficient weight to be enforceable.[32] Women may have sometimes had particular difficulties in asserting their rights to commonly inherited property by intestate succession, as opposed to male heirs.[33]

In addition, in BGU I 19 (= M.Chr. 85) from the second century CE, Chenalexas, an Egyptian woman, began legal proceedings against her uncle and her cousin who happened to be in possession of all the inheritance of her paternal grandmother. She requested her share in the succession of her deceased father. The affair came before the prefectural court and was judged by the officer Herakleides.[34] Before him, Chenalexas claimed that her father had acquired his part of the maternal succession, while her uncle and cousin declared that he could not have done so, because he had died before his mother. She subsequently demanded to be accorded the advantages of one of Hadrian's constitutions, one of which granted the grandchildren of Egyptians the right of succession to their maternal line.[35] She produced a precedent that is the decision of an epistrategos who had already applied that imperial measure.[36] Menander, the judge, consulted the prefect who decided that Chenalexas should take over the part of the paternal estate her father would have inherited had he survived.[37] This document has raised different opinions among the scholars. Katzoff has concluded that while Greek and Roman law had the institution of representation with no sex discrimination, only Hadrian introduced this notion to Egyptian law, allowing grandchildren to share in the inheritance of their grandparents.[38] In SB XXII 15831 a young man was left two houses with courtyards by his mother. But his maternal uncle laid claim to the houses and implemented unlawful means to put him under pressure.[39] Men, either minors or not, could easily fall victims of their scheming relatives.

Guardians of minors were not the only relatives who could raise a dispute over inheritance. For example, in the fourth century CE, Aurelius Aithiopas, a minor and orphan, submitted a petition to the praeses complaining about Annous, the sister of his paternal grandfather who

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succession of mother to children (*senatus consultum Tertullianum*) was dealt with earlier than that of children to mother. See Crook (1967) 67-68.

[31] Kreller stated that daughters were sometimes treated unequally in Egyptian succession due to the double portion bequeathed to the eldest son, although equal division between brother and sister could also occur (Kreller [1919] 147-154). P.Oxy. XVII 2133 proves that still in fourth century CE the normal status of an Egyptian daughter in the intestate succession was that of a younger son. See Harmon (1934) 144.

[32] Hobson (1993) 213.

[33] See also P.Cair.Isid. 63 from the fourth century CE, where the petitioner Taesis blamed her paternal uncle for misappropriation of her paternal inheritance, and his family for assault against her.

[34] He was an officer judging by delegation of the prefect.

[35] BGU I 19. ll. 5-7.

[36] In Roman Egypt, the relative lack of jurists led to a greater dependence on judicial decisions as precedents. For imperial constitutions see also Taubenschlag (1959) 3-28.

[37] Cf. Ulp. 5 off. proc., Dig. V 1.79.1: «when judges doubt about the law, they usually receive an answer from the provincial governor». Menander asked the prefect whether Hadrian granted this right and if the grant had retroactive force, because the grandmother had died before. For the meaning of καθολικόν in line 5 see Katzoff (1986) 122-123.

[38] In Egyptian law, grandchildren represented their deceased parents. See Taubenschlag (1955) 185. Hadrian tried to extend Roman law in this area in order to achieve greater uniformity of legal institutions in the empire. See Katzoff (1970) 239-242.

[39] See also Sijpesteijn (1995) 211.

committed unjust acts against him.[40] Annous tried to abuse Aithiopas' father's animals and decided to proceed against Aithiopas, although she had never laid any claim to their property before. The boy used as a kind of *captatio benevolentiae* the fact that he was an orphan suffering the injustice of a person who was supposed to protect him.

c. Parents-Children disputes over inheritance

Although parents were supposed to protect their children's rights, they could sometimes contravene children's legal claims to the other parent's inheritance. A complicated family dispute over maternal inheritance is the subject of a papyrus document from the second century.[41] Philippos and Charition, Greeks from Fayum, submitted an hypomnema to the epistrategus requesting their maternal inheritance. Their mother has died leaving them land and slaves, while their father, who remarried, had neglected his paternal duties and registered the property in his second wife's name. Using their weakness due to minority as an argument, the petitioners asked to recover maternal property which they were legally entitled to. Aphrodisios probably had the right to use the property during his lifetime, because the petitioners reacted only after the property had been registered in the name of their stepmother. Mothers, mainly of Greco-Egyptian ethnicity, are found in papyri of the Roman period to have been appointed as their children's guardians.[42] Although mothers, and specifically widows, tended to protect their children's inheritance rights, papyri testify some cases, in which the mother-guardian had embezzled her own children's patrimony before they came of age, alone or with a second husband's assistance.[43] In P.Oxy. VI 898 from the second century, Didymus complains of having been defrauded by his mother –his guardian. Matrina, after numerous acts of bad faith, had obtained possession of a deed belonging to Didymus and deprived him of his rightful property. She had not even paid his maintenance allowance for three months in order to prevent him from undergoing proceedings against her. However, Diogenes had already taken steps to have another guardian appointed for him, also asking the strategus' help.

2. Trespassing on inherited property by non relatives

Conflicts over inherited property could also arise from persons outside the family, specifically neighbors.[44] In P.Oxy. VIII 1121, Aurelia Techosis from Oxyrhynchus complains that whereas she had nursed her ill mother until her demise, two of her mother's neighbors in a commonly owned house carried off all the movables which rightfully belonged to Techosis, as she was her mother's legal heir. She intended to proceed against the offenders and characterized their act as plunder and robbery. The petitioner used the *SC Orfitianum* as legal grounds for her claims, and on social grounds, the fact that she had fulfilled her filial duties towards her mother during her mother's lifetime.[45] Children who had not shown obedience and respect towards their parents could be disinherited by them. This document proves that in Roman Egypt the intention to acquire the *hereditas* could be also made manifest by the care and the burying of the testator. This practice is also attested in a letter of the third century

[40] P.Sakaon 40. Cf. P.Mil.Vogl. VI 264, where Patron complained about his grandfather's daughter Thabarous and P.Oxy. XII 1468, where Aurelius Theoninus accused his great-uncle of false claim to the ownership of slaves belonging to him.
[41] P.Meyer 8.
[42] See for example SB V 7568; BGU VIII 1813.
[43] Huebner (2014) 108.
[44] P.Flor. III 319 records a conflict over property between Sarapion and probably her neighbors about usurpation of her land.
[45] For *SC. Orfitianum* see note 6.

CE.[46] Helen reproached her brother for neglecting their brother's funeral. As a result, a foreign woman, probably a concubine or a friend, inherited his property.

In P.Col. VII 173 from the fourth century CE an orphan girl submitted a petition to the prefect, because two men had sold land she had inherited from her mother.[47] Aurelia Tapaeis mentioned that Antiourios, her half-brother, and Atisios acted illegally (πρᾶγμα παρανομώτατον). She invoked the law protecting her rights as heir, also mentioning that she was an orphan and minor. In a similar way, there is the case of Gemellos in the second century Karanis, who complained to the prefect about the encroachment of his property.[48] He and his sister had inherited property from their intestate father and then their uncle, eight years before. Now, two men, Julius and Sotas, have made use of the inherited land and prevented them from enjoying the fruits of their property.[49] Moreover, in P.Oxy. XLVI 3302 from the early fourth century CE, a lady, with the *ius trium liberorum*, petitions the prefect for protection against tax-collectors. Her property, originating from her paternal inheritance, was illegally acquired by «violent and influential persons». These persons may well have been probably her own guardians. She had recourse to appeal for its restitution to the incumbents of the prefecture. Despite her not having benefitted from or earned any income from her property, tax-collectors tried to subject her to liability for taxes on that property. As a result, she was obliged to request the prefect's intervention once more. In P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2852 Sambous, with her guardian Saras, made a legal summon and formal initiation of civil procedure, because Apion and Dionysius had assumed forcible possession of property belonging to her cousin and a part of her inheritance bequeathed through the will of her grandfather. She also confirmed that the testament was legal and valid, as it has been deposited in the public archives. A common remedy for misappropriation was an action on ownership brought by the plaintiff who would claim that the defendant had wronged him by taking possession of his land.[50]

3. Conclusion

Papyrus documents from Roman Egypt record numerous disputes over inheritance. In this paper I have discussed the most common types among them. Family conflicts arose mostly from an intestate inheritance and specifically involved uncles and cousins, who came in the second line of the intestate succession after the deceased person's children, and who often intended to misappropriate their siblings' inheritance. Even if there was a valid will, family members would invariably raise doubts against it or even seize their relatives' property, particularly if they could not claim a *querela inofficiosi testamenti*. Both in the case of intestate succession and testamentary disposition, the victim could submit a petition to the authorities and obtain justice through legal proceedings, but usually only after a long period of time. When Roman authorities judged these cases, they would often take into consideration Egyptian customs, as in most of these disputes recorded on papyri, it was families of Egyptian or Greco-Egyptian status who were involved. However, in a situation where there existed contradiction between the different legal systems, there was a tendency to find a solution coinciding with Roman law, especially from the third century and thereafter. The papyrus documents prove that men and women suffered quite in the same way from their

[46] P.Oxy. VII 1067.
[47] The contract of the sale is preserved in P.Col. VII 181.
[48] P.Mich. VI 422. According to Taubenschlag this document confirms the theory that the *agnitio bonorum possessionis* was also applied by peregrines (Taubenschlag [1955] 216).
[49] Julius was a tenant on land belonging to Gemellus. Cf. PSI X 1102, where two minors claimed their inheritance rights against the heirs of three men, who had seized their father's property.
[50] See Taubenschlag (1955) 249.

relatives' greed and desire to seize their legal property. The most common inheritance-related disputes arose against minors who were legal heirs of the patrimony. Due to the minors' legal disabilities and young age, widowed mothers were supposed to protect their rights. Papyri also attest that women fell victims, more often than not, of property violation from people outside the family, mainly neighbors, and these cases involved acts of violence and thefts. In conclusion, either inside or outside the family, there were people who were not satisfied with the terms of a will or the intestate succession and decided to act violently in order to seize some amount of property. Despite any difficulties when having recourse to authorities, the multicultural society of Roman Egypt appeared to show a responsible and sincere attitude towards an heir's rights to protect their property, also giving them the opportunity and the legal mechanisms to obtain justice, according to the legal system which they came under. Women, in spite of any legal disabilities, did vindicate their rights of inheritance, alone or with the assistance of a male, even when pitted against their close relatives.

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Avoiding the Judge: the Exclusion of the δίκη in Contractual Clauses*

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1. Textual Variations of the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης Formula?

Since H. J. Wolff published in 1970 his inspired and ground-breaking study "Some observations on *praxis*", the nature and functionality of the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula in Roman Egypt has been under discussion. As is well known, the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula is to be found in many legal papyri, usually (but not always)[1] inserted in one specific part of the contract, the so-called 'πρᾶξις-clause': the contract provision in which the parties agree how the creditor can enforce the contract in case the debtor does not fulfil his obligations.

Since Ptolemaic times, many types of formulas could be added to the πρᾶξις-clause, in order to define the specific methods and conditions that will rule that enforcement in particular. And so, when a καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula is inserted inside a πρᾶξις-clause, enforcement can be carried out καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης –what seems to mean: '(the execution will take place) as if a verdict was pronounced'. This legal fiction would therefore suppose that the creditor could act as if a judge had already rendered a judgment in his favor, and therefore he would be entitled to seize the properties (and the person) of the debtor without having to turn to the judge first. Καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης would actually mean, therefore, 'without a verdict'.[2]

But for some scholars it is difficult to accept this interpretation for Roman Egypt, since Imperial constitutions of that period seem to limit –or even banish– such a prerogative, thus forcing the creditors to turn to the judge first, in case they claim to be entitled to enforcement.[3] For this reason Wolff proposed an alternative interpretation of the formula, in order to avoid the above mentioned hermeneutic problems: καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης would not mean 'without a verdict', but: 'in the same way as in a δίκη'. Wolff considered that the adverb καθάπερ would have a comparative meaning and not a hypothetic one (its semantic essence would be: 'likewise', not 'as if'), so the expression would actually mean: '(execution will take place) following the rules of the δίκη', or in other words, that enforcement should be carried out under judicial supervision, discarding any possibility of an out-of-court execution. The formula would therefore resort to an analogy, not to a legal fiction.[4]

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[1] On testimonies of καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formulas outside πρᾶξις clauses see Rodríguez Martín (2017).

[2] All translations in this paragraph by David / Van Groningen (1965) 44 n. 12. For an analysis of legal fictions in Greek legal inscriptions and papyri see Bertrand (2003) 407-408 and Jördens (2012) 400; on the origin and further development of legal fictions in Roman Law till Augustan times see Bianchi (1997); useful commentary on legal and jurisprudential examples of legal fictions in Thomas (1995) 169-186 and Ando (2011) 115-131; see also in general Ando (2015). On *quasi, ac si* and other legal terminology related to fictional clauses see Hackl (1982) and (1999); Rampazzo (2008) 411 n. 207 and Guzmán Brito (2016) 80-81.

[3] See Kaser (1971) 330 n. 4, 5 and 6, with commented bibliography on the topic.

[4] Wolff (1970) 535. On the contrast between analogy vs. fiction see Ando (2015) 310-312 and Guzmán Brito (2016) 83-85.

Clarifying this interesting question requires a wide-scope research, including the study of precedent and related legal testimonies, the collection of the numerous documentary testimonies of Roman time (more than five hundred), and their comparison with Greek, Ptolemaic and Roman Law. Although this research is already underway,[5] it would be impossible to deal with it in the length limits established for this contribution; therefore this paper focuses on one of the many side problems of this question, namely the fact that documentary papyri and Greek inscriptions attest a number of other expressions whose wording is very similar to καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης: καθάπερ δίκην ὠφληκότων, ὡς ἀπὸ / ἐκ / λογῳ καταδίκης, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν δημοσίων δικῶν, ἐνεχυράζειν πρὸ δίκης and ἄνευ δίκης καὶ κρίσεως.

The first impression is that they all consist in just formal versions of the same material meaning, all of them alluding to some kind of fictional 'exclusion of the δίκη' to the benefit of one of the contract parties. Indeed, some scholars tend to identify these expressions as καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης textual versions without further check;[6] others, on the contrary, simply ignore them when focusing their studies on the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula, thus missing important testimonies.

Indeed, a careful study on the position and function of each of these expressions in the corresponding legal texts leads to the suspicion that not all of them match the features of the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula. Therefore, it is necessary to establish accurate criteria in order to distinguish the specific expressions that constitute formal versions of the common καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης provision –and therefore the papyri that attest them have to be studied together with those containing the common formula– from those who despite their similar wording may have different meaning and purposes, and therefore should be discarded from the main research.

2. Case study

a. Καθάπερ δίκην ὠφληκότων

This first formula is attested both in literary and epigraphical sources. We find it in the first place in a passage of Demosthenes' speech against Lacritus. In paragraph D. 35.12 the orator describes a maritime loan, whose πρᾶξις-clause reads as follows:

> (...) παρὰ Ἀρτέμωνος καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου ἔστω ἡ πρᾶξις τοῖς δανείσασι καὶ ἐκ τῶν τούτων ἁπάντων, καὶ ἐγγείων καὶ ναυτικῶν, πανταχοῦ ὅπου ἂν ὦσι, καθάπερ δίκην ὠφληκότων καὶ ὑπερημέρων ὄντων, καὶ ἑνὶ ἑκατέρῳ τῶν δανεισάντων καὶ ἀμφοτέροις.[7]
>
> «It shall be lawful for the lenders, whether severally or jointly, to collect the amount by proceeding against Artemo and Apollodorus, and against all their property whether on land or sea, wheresoever it may be, precisely as if judgement had been rendered against them and they had defaulted in payment».[8]

[5] For some first critical considerations on the topic see already Rodríguez Martín (2013).
[6] See below note 26 for some examples.
[7] Greek text by Rennie (1921).
[8] Translation by Murray (1939).

As can be seen, the πρᾶξις-clause allows the creditors Artemo and Apollodorus to act against the debtors καθάπερ δίκην ὠφληκότων, or wordily, «as if they had lost a trial», since δίκην ὀφλεῖν has a very specific procedural meaning.[9]

Interestingly, the belongings of the debtors are identified in the πρᾶξις-clause: ἐκ τῶν τούτων ἁπάντων, καὶ ἐγγείων καὶ ναυτικῶν, and exactly the same expression is found in P.Eleph. 1, the oldest καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula attested in the papyri (ll. 12-13):

> ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης κατὰ νόμον τέλος ἐχούσης Δημητρίαι καὶ τοῖς μετὰ | Δημητρίας πράσσουσιν ἔκ τε αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλείδου καὶ τῶν Ἡρακλείδου πάντων καὶ ἐγγαίων καὶ ναυτικῶν.
>
> «Let the execution be upon Herakleides himself and upon all the property of Herakleides, both on land and sea, for Demetria and those executing (together) with Demetria, as if (arising) from litigation legally completed».[10]

There are some features that link both testimonies, since not only the dates of the attestations are similar (ca. 310 BCE for P.Eleph. 1 - ca. 341 BCE for Demosthenes), but also both the καθάπερ δίκην ὠφληκότων and the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formulas are placed in the same exact point of the πρᾶξις-clause, therefore playing a similar role as qualifier of the type of execution. If we add that in both cases the identification of the goods («ground or maritime»)[11] submitted to execution is also the same, we can conclude that the epigraphic καθάπερ δίκην ὠφληκότων formula can be considered just a formal variation of the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης one that we find in the papyri.[12]

This conclusion is reinforced by further epigraphical evidence: in the famous inscription IG 12.7.67B (the so-called "Praxikles-Loan",[13] concluded in Arkesine, Amorgos, 2nd cent. BCE) there are three πρᾶξις-clauses, one of them containing a καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula (ll. 46-48):

> (...) ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶσιμ, πρακτοὶ ἔστωμ Πραξικλεῖ οἱ μὴ | ἀποδόντες ἡμιόλιον τὸ ἀργύριον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πράξει πάσηι καθάπερ | ἐγ δίκης τέλος ἐχούσης κατὰ τὸ σύμβολον τὸ Ναξ[ίων κ]αὶ Ἀρκεσινέων.
>
> «In the event of non-payment, those who did not pay shall be liable to enforcement on behalf of Praxikles, for a pecuniary *hemiolion* upon their properties, by means of any kind of execution as if judgement had been rendered against them, legally completed according to the agreement between Naxos and Arkesine».

The other two, on the contrary, include καθάπερ δίκην ὠφληκότων. See for example ll. 61-64 (the second testimony is to be found in lines 68-74):

> καὶ ἐξέστω πράξασθαι Πραξικλεῖ ταῦτα τὰ χρήματ[α] πράξει πάσηι ἔ[κ] τε τῶν κοινῶν τ[ῶ]ν Ἀρκ[ε]σινέων πάντωγ καὶ ἐκ τῶν | [ἰ]δίων τῶν Ἀρκεσινέωγ κ[αὶ] ἐ[κ τῶν] οἰκούντων ἐν Ἀρκεσίνηι καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς [ἑ]κάστου ἅπαν τὸ ἀργύριογ [κ]αὶ ἐξ ἁπάντων, τρόπωι ὧι ἂν ἐπίστηται, | καθάπερ δίκην ὠφληκότων ἐν τῆι ἐκκλήτωι κατὰ τὸ σύμβολον τὸ Ναξ[ί]-|[ω]ν καὶ Ἀρκεσινέων, τέλος ἔχουσαν ἀζημίωι οὖντι πάσης ζημίας.

[9] Δίκην ὀφλεῖν is a common expression in Greek legal epigraphy (δίκῃ νικηθείς), the meaning of which would be: «als ob er einen Prozeß verloren hätte», Jörs (1919) 13 n. 1. Similar examples by Demosthenes in D. 21.77 or D. 47.63. On details about the enforcement procedure in this speech see Goldschmidt (1889) 360-363.

[10] Translation by Porten (1996).

[11] On the origin and evolution of the formula ἐγγαίων καὶ ναυτικῶν, see Rodríguez Martín (2018).

[12] The following scholars use indeed both expressions as synonyms: Mitteis (1891) 404-405; Dareste / Haussoullier / Reinach (1891) 333 n. 1; Brassloff (1900) 377 n. 2 and (1902) 9; Cantarella (1965) 21 n. 53; Wolff (1970) 533; Meyer-Laurin (1975) 197-198.

[13] On this inscription see Migeotte (1984) 173-176; Wörrle (1988) 206-207; Frölich (2005) 728-729, Velissaropoulos-Karakostas (2011) 165-167; Colorio (2014) 75-76.

> «It shall be lawful for Praxikles to collect the debt by proceeding by means of any kind of execution against all communal goods of the Arkesines, and against the properties of all residents in Arcsine and against each one of them, by the total and upon everything, in the way he establishes, as if judgement had been rendered in court according to the agreement between Naxos and Arkesine, legally completed and free from any penalty».

As can be seen from these texts, all three πρᾶξις-clauses have the same structure and elements, since the three of them refer to the legal agreements ruling the enforcement and again all of them include the clarification that the δίκη has to be τέλος ἔχουσαν. Therefore, IG 12.7.67B becomes an essential testimony in this research, for it not only proves the identity between the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης and the καθάπερ δίκην ὠφληκότων formulas,[14] but also links the precious testimonies of Demosthenes 35.12 and P.Eleph. 1.

A last testimony that supports the identity between both formulas is provided by another inscription of Arkesine, the so-called "Loan of Alexander" (IG 12.7.69, 3rd BCE).[15] This document attests the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula three times (ll. 15, 31, 40-41), always following the same pattern in the πρᾶξις-clause, but again in one of the three cases the clause includes a formal variation for the alternative formula: ὡς ὠφληκὼς δίκην.

b. Ὡς ἐκ / ἀπὸ / λογῳ καταδίκης

Once having verified in the last example that the formula can alternatively begin with either the adverb καθάπερ or ὡς,[16] we can continue our analysis testing the equivalence between the second expression –ὡς ἐκ / ἀπὸ / λογῳ καταδίκης– and καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης.

First of all, it is necessary to check whether the substantives καταδίκη and δίκη can be considered synonyms in both formulas. From a mere semantic point of view, the term καταδίκη is very specific –always used within a legal semantic field–, while δίκη, on the contrary, is a highly polysemic word, the meaning of which covers not only legal concepts but also other semantic fields like for example that of Philosophy. Therefore, in order to evaluate the actual correspondence of meanings between these words when inserted in the corresponding formulas, we have to rely on the comparison of legal testimonies, which are again in this case epigraphical.

In the first place, there is usage evidence of the ὡς ἐκ καταδίκης formula in sepulchral inscriptions, such as in the Carian IAph2007 12.1205 (ll. 10-11, 2nd BCE):

> [10](...) καὶ εἰσοίσει ἕκαστος αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν φίσκον ἀ-| νὰ ~~Χ~~ μυρία, ὡς ἐκ καταδίκης
>
> «and each one of them will contribute ten thousand to the Treasure respectively, as by judgement».

The clause is established to guarantee the payment of the fine against anyone who damages the tomb, apparently without the need to resort to the judge. And exactly the same type of clause is attested in another Carian sepulchral inscription from the same period (CIG 3.4300v), but this time using the common textual version καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης (ll. 11-12):

> (...) τῆς προαγγελίας οὔσης παντὶ | τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπί τῷ ἡμίσει καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης
>
> «remaining (the possibility of a) legal action for the half, at disposal of anyone who wants to, as if judgement had been rendered».

It is clear that in both cases the different formulas are just alternative formal versions of the same legal instrument, directed to guarantee the payment of a fine.[17]

[14] In this sense also Mitteis (1891) 401; Jörs (1919) 12-13; Cantarella (1965) 34 n. 99; Colorio (2014) 76.
[15] On the similarities between this Amorgos inscriptions see Szanto (1888); Brassloff (1902) 3-4.
[16] In this sense already Goldschmidt (1889) 370; Mitteis (1891) 418.

Another example of this textual version is to be found –with a little variation in the preposition, namely: ὡς ἀπὸ καταδίκης– in SEG 43.980 (ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE, Turant Assari, Myra, Asia Minor). In lines 5-8 a fine is established against anyone who buries a body in the grave without permission:

> [5](...) ἢ ὀφειλήσει ὁ θάψας τῇ Ἐλευθέρᾳ κιθαρη-| φόρους ἑξακισχιλίας ὡς ἀπὸ καταδίκης τέλος ἐχού-| σης, τῆς πράξεως οὔσης παντὶ τῷ βουλομέ-| νῳ ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει
>
> «Otherwise, who buries will be bound to Eleucera by six thousand *cithareforoi* as by judgement legally completed, being (the possibility of) enforcement at disposal of anyone who wants to, up to the third part».

There are some revealing pieces of information in this testimony: first of all, the expression appears in a πρᾶξις-clause, again just like in the common καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης cases; on the other hand, again we find it coupled with the expression τέλος ἐχούσης, just like in the previous examples. There is thus no doubt that also in this case the double expression ὡς ἐκ / ἀπὸ καταδίκης should be considered a lexical variation of καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης.[18]

The expression λογῳ καταδίκης, on the contrary, is a different case. It is only attested in a few late documentary papyri (from 6th cent. CE on),[19] and it never appears in a πρᾶξις-clause. One example is provided by P.Grenf. II 87 (602 CE), ll. 28-31:

> (...) εἰ δὲ τοῦτο | ποιήσομεν παρέξομεν λόγῳ καταδίκης | [30]τοῦ νομίσματος ἑνὸς παρὰ κεράτια ἓξ κεράτια | ἓξ πρὸς τῇ ἀποδόσει τῆς αὐτῆς προχρείας
>
> «but if we go into it (arrears), we will return by way of penalty six carats for every *nomisma* of what has been handed over as a pay in advance».

It seems that here καταδίκη has the meaning of '(contractual) penalty' instead of 'judgement', and thus λογῳ καταδίκης must have a different meaning than καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. The proof for this assumption is furnished by P.Stras. IV 194 (6th-7th cent. CE), a document that contains not only the λογῳ καταδίκης formula (l. 3) but also καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης (l. 11), which makes it an ideal tool to compare the different roles of each one of them:

> (...) ταύτης | τῆ[ς] διαλύσεως κελεύει διδόναι τῷ ἐμμένοντι | μ[έ]ρει λόγῳ καταδίκης χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια | δώδεκα εὔσταθμα (...)
>
> (…) ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη ὑπέθεντο ἀλλήλοις πάντα | [10]αὐτοῖς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπάρξοντα | πράγματα καθ[ά]περ ἐκ δίκης.
>
> «within this transaction, he orders that twelve gold *nomismata* of full weight must be paid to the present party by way of penalty (...) therefore in this moment let them subject reciprocally all their present and future properties as if judgement had been rendered».

This document attests that each formula is inserted in two totally different clauses of the contract, thus revealing their different nature and function: while λογῳ καταδίκης is referred to in contractual penalty clauses, καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης is as usual inserted in a goods submission clause. As a result, the expression λογῳ καταδίκης is no textual version of the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula, and therefore it must be excluded from the list of testimonies.

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[17] In this sense also Mitteis (1891) 410-411; Cantarella (1965) 35 n. 99; Wörrle (1988) 207 n. 131. Another testimony is provided by SEG 15.685. ll. 25-28, 1st-2nd cent. CE.

[18] Support this identification Fröhlich (2005) 728 and Schweyer (2002) 77-78, 87-88. Another testimony of ὡς ἀπὸ καταδίκης in SEG 38.1462, l83-185, on which see Wörrle (1988) 205-206.

[19] In fact Berger (1911) 10 considered it a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον. Testimonies: P.Stras. IV 194 (6th-7th cent. CE), P.Lond. V 1730 (585 CE), P.Muench. I 12 (590-591 CE), P.Muench. I 13 (594 CE) and P.Grenf. II 87 (602 CE).

c. ᾽Ενεχυράζειν πρὸ δίκης

A very different case is that of the expression: ἐνεχυράζειν πρὸ δίκης, which is only attested in one document, the Attic inscription IG 2.2.1241 (ca. 300 BC), l. 37:

> (...) ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδῶι τὴν μίσθωσιν ἐ-|[ν] τοῖς χρόνοις τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἢ μὴ | [35][ἐ]ργάζηται τὸ χωρίον κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμέ-| [ν]α, ἐξεῖναι τοῖς φρατριάρχοις καὶ Δυα-|[λεῦ]σιν ἐνεχυράζειν πρὸ δίκης καὶ μισ-| θῶσαι ἑτέρωι τὸ χωρίον ὧι ἂν βούλωντα-|[ι] (...)
>
> «If (the other contracting party) fails to pay the rent within the prescribed time limit or (the other contracting party) does not work the soil as prescribed, it shall be lawful both for the *fratria* presidents and for the Dyaleians to take the land to pledge πρὸ δίκης and to rent it to anyone they wish to».

From the text we understand that the community of Dyaleia has rented some pieces of land, and that the payment of the rent is guaranteed for the community and other creditors by means of ἐνεχυράζειν, a pledge that has to be taken πρὸ δίκης, being them free afterwards to rent the land to a different person. If the identity between this expression and the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula were verified, IG 2.2.1241 would constitute the oldest testimony of a καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula.[20]

But ἐνεχυρασία is a very specific and well-known legal instrument, attested not only through inscriptions but also in Ptolemaic papyri: as is well known, it refers to the seizure of the debtor's goods by the creditor, at the beginning of the general enforcement procedure; the goods had to be registered upon the authorities (καταγραφή), being afterwards sold at auction (προσβολή). The purchaser would obtain definitive possession of the goods by ἐμβάδεια.[21]

On the other hand, none of the many meanings of the preposition πρὸ is an equivalent to καθαπερ ἐκ, which has a clear meaning of 'as if' (or maybe also 'instead of'), as shown above; πρὸ could be here translated rather as 'before', a much better match to what we know about the ἐνεχυρασία legal practice: a pledge carried out at the very beginning of the enforcement procedure.

It is also true, nevertheless, that the position of the ἐνεχυράζειν πρὸ δίκης formula in the text is very similar to the place usually assigned to καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. But in this case, the whole interpretation of the formula as 'as if by virtue of a legal sentence (i.e. also without a court decision)'[22] should be subverted, based on one isolated testimony. However it may be, the appropriate assessment of this third formula depends on a previous clarification not only of the legal nature and function of the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula itself, but also of the very concept of 'Exekutivurkunden' (immediately enforceable documents) in the ancient world;[23] but that aim logically requires a deeper, thorough new legal study, that would go beyond the length limitations established for this paper. Therefore the testimony of IG 2.2.1241 must be taken into account but left in quarantine for the moment.

[20] In this sense –but nevertheless with doubts– Mitteis (1891) 405-407; Dareste / Haussoullier / Reinach (1891) 334 n. 6; Brassloff (1902) 4-8; Grundz.Mitt. 121.

[21] On ἐνεχυρασία recently Colorio (2013) and (2014). On the enforcement procedure see Jörs (1919) 47-75; Taubenschlag (1955) 524-537; Seidl (1962) 99-104 and (1973) 125-127; Rupprecht, Einf. 149-150; Llewelyn (1994) 204-212; Kelly (2011) 108-111. On an etymological analysis of ἐνεχυρασία and its relationship with the concept of πρᾶξις see Bravo (1980) 693-704.

[22] So Pestman, Prim.[2] 69.

[23] On this see recently Alonso (2016) 62, who opportunely points out that the executive force of the document would depend maybe more on its notarization than on the presence of a πρᾶξις-clause.

d. Καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν δημοσίων δικῶν

Our fourth example presents again a very similar formal structure to the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula, but nevertheless it is necessary to submit its validity to a test, just like in the previous cases.

Again in this case there is only one testimony of the formula: an inscription of Teos (Ionia), SIG 2.578, from the 2nd cent. BCE (ll. 59-60):

> (...) τὰς δὲ πράξεις τῶν δικῶν τού-| [60]των ἐπιτελείτωσαν οἱ εὔθυνοι καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν δημοσίων δικῶν
>
> «Enforcements of these procedures? / judgements? will be in charge of the *euthynoi*[24] like in other public procedures? / judgements?»

The inscription regulates a school foundation and provides for penalties in order to guarantee the survival of the institution. Being the foundation a private institution, it seems though that the πρᾶξις-clause is granting the foundation the same enforcement privileges as the State (hence the adjective δημόσιος): in other words, a direct enforcement with exclusion of the δίκη (the meaning of which, in this case, is difficult to specify, for it may refer either to the whole judicial procedure or *stricto sensu* to the final judicial decision), «like in other public procedures / judgements».

One final piece of information supports this interpretation: the fact that the claim is also here open to «anyone who wants to» (δικασάσθω δὲ αὐτῶι ὁ βουλόμενος), directly links this document to another καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης testimony, the above commented sepulchral inscription CIG 3.4300v, among others.[25] This testimony may be therefore considered as an isolated textual version of the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula.

e. ῎Ανευ δίκης καὶ κρίσεως

The fifth and last example –occasionally mentioned by scholars as a variation of the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula–[26] is widely attested in the papyrological documentation: just a quick search in the data bases provides at least 66 examples, that range from 119 BC (P.Tebt. I 11) to the 8th cent. CE (P.Rain.Unterricht I 12).

Throughout these centuries the formula presents formal variations, like for example: ἄνευ κρίσεως καὶ δίκης (P.Adler G4. l.11, 109 BCE,) or ἄνευ κρίσεως (BGU IV 1146. l. 16, 19 BCE). On the other hand, it shows up in the texts often accompanied by other sub-clauses, of which the most attested examples are: ἄνευ (πάσης) ἀντιλογίας (see for example P.Oxy. XVI 1891. l. 14, 495 CE), ἄνευ (πάσης) εὑρησιλογίας (P.Stud.Pal. XX 45. l. 9, 237 CE) and ἄνευ (πάσης/τίνος) ὑπερθέσεως (CPR I 29. l. 17, 184 CE), a formula only attested in Roman documents.[27]

But the most relevant feature of this expression is the fact that it often shares the document with the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula: almost the half of the examples of ἄνευ δίκης καὶ κρίσεως include both formulas. At first sight, it would seem a similar situation to the above

[24] On the legal role of the *euthynoi* see Fröhlich (2004) 109-112.
[25] For further parallel testimonies (IG 12.4/1.132) see Thür (2011) 349 n. 20.
[26] See for ex. Seidl (1962) 102-103; Cantarella (1965) 34 n. 99: «... che pare avesse la stessa funzione».
[27] There are other accompanying sub-formulas, but they are rarely attested, like for example: (ἄνευ) πάσης κακοτεχνίας (P.Dion. 25. l. 22, 104 CE,), only used by the end of second BCE; in Byzantine times there are also testimonies of (δίχα) πάσης ἀμφιβολίας (e.g. P.Cair.Masp. III 67305. l. 21, 568 CE), (χωρὶς) ἀφορμῆς (SB XVI 12488. l. 16, 538 CE), (δίχα) παραγραφὴς νόμων (P.Cair.Masp. II 67162. ll. 26-27, 568 CE) or (δίχα) τῆς τυχούσης παρολκῆς (P.Oxy. LXIII 4394. l. 121, 494-500 CE).

mentioned IG 12.7.67B, in which the cohabitation of both the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης and the καθάπερ δίκην ὠφληκότων formulas was attested.

But in this case, the situation is different, since in the "Praxikles' Loan" the πρᾶξις-clauses employed both expressions as equivalent to each other. The formulae were treated as synonymous. Here, on the contrary, ἄνευ δίκης καὶ κρίσεως never appears in the πρᾶξις, but among the penalty clauses. In other words: while the ἄνευ δίκης καὶ κρίσεως formula establishes a way to compel the debtor to fulfil his obligations, καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης describes the type of enforcement once the debtor has refused to comply. In fact, other features of the ἄνευ κρίσεως καὶ δίκης formula point not only to a different function in the contract, but even to an Egyptian origin, which gets this formula away of the Greek-Roman tradition of the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula.[28] So even though the wording of both formulas refer to some kind of 'exclusion of the δίκη' in order to provide an advantage for the creditor,[29] each one of them has a different functionality and plays a different legal role in the contract. Therefore, this fifth expression must be also left aside when dealing with textual variations of the common καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula.

3. Conclusions

As a result of this research, it can be attested that the three expressions: καθάπερ δίκην ὠφληκότων (or ὡς ὠφληκὼς δίκην), ὡς ἀπὸ / ἐκ καταδίκης and καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν δημοσίων δικῶν are just formal variations of the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula, for they all seem to rest on the same legal fiction: the virtual existence of a previous δίκη, which allows the creditor to immediately enforce the non-fulfilled obligations of the contract without having to resort to the judge. Therefore the three of them must be also taken into consideration in any research dealing with the meaning of function of the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula. Both the expressions λογῳ καταδίκης and ἄνευ δίκης καὶ κρίσεως, on the contrary, are never to be found in enforcement clauses, since they always refer to contractual penalties; having therefore no semantical nor functional relationship with any fictional exclusion of the δίκη, they cannot be considered formal variations of the καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula. Finally, the expression ἐνεχυράζειν πρὸ δίκης (only attested once) raises so many exegetical doubts, that it is difficult to attest its concordance with the expression καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. Would it be the case, it would constitute the oldest testimony of a καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης formula.

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[28] On the parallelism of this formula and the demotic formulas attested in P.Ryl. I 10 = P.Eheverträge 10, see Sethe / Partsch (1920), 544; Seidl (1962) 102; Wolff / Rupprecht (2002) 94. On the similarities of this formula with the Latin Roman provisions *sine controuersia et spe futurae dilationis* (ChLa. 42 1207, 153 CE) and *sine ulla controuersia* (C.Epist.Lat. 13, 27 CE), see Wolff / Rupprecht (2002) 95 n. 116.

[29] On the technical distinction between δικάζειν and κρίνειν see Wolff (1962) 98-100.

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Daddy finger, where are you? Zu den Fingerbezeichnungen in den Signalements der römischen Kaiserzeit*

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Zu allen Zeiten und in allen Gesellschaften einer gewissen Größe stellt sich das Problem der Identitätsfeststellung, und so auch im griechisch-römischen Ägypten. Wann immer es in der ptolemäischen und römischen Zeit nötig war, sich der Identität einer Person zu vergewissern, wurde diese nicht nur mit Namen und Vatersnamen, zuweilen auch dem Namen des Großvaters und / oder der Mutter, genannt, sondern auch mit einer Beschreibung versehen. Diese wird im Griechischen öfter mit den Termini εἰκών und εἰκονισμός, in der Forschung in der Regel mit dem französischen Terminus Signalement bezeichnet.[1]

Von grundsätzlicher Bedeutung für die Wiedererkennung einer Person aufgrund einer Beschreibung ist natürlich, daß die Termini für die betroffenen Körperteile allgemein bekannt sind. Ein interessantes Problem stellen diesbezüglich die Erwähnungen von Narben an den Fingern in römischen Signalements dar, denn die Bezeichnungen der einzelnen Finger weichen in den Papyri teilweise von der klassischen Terminologie ab und sind bisher nicht einhellig gedeutet worden. Dieses Problem möchte ich im folgenden untersuchen.

Betrachten wir zunächst die klassischen Bezeichnungen der Finger, wie sie in der medizinischen Literatur und neuerdings auch in einem Papyrus, der einzelne Gliedmaßen an den Armen aufzählt,[2] begegnen. Der Daumen wird als ἀντίχειρ bezeichnet, weil er der Handfläche gegenüberliegt, zuweilen aber auch als ‘Großer Finger’, μέγας. Aristoteles begründet die letztere Bezeichnung damit, daß die anderen Finger ohne den Daumen nutzlos wären.[3] In der Tat steht der Daumen gegenüber den anderen Fingern um 130 Grad verdreht, wodurch der sogenannte Pinzettengriff durch Daumen und Zeigefinger ermöglicht wird. Der Zeigefinger heißt δάκτυλος λιχανός, der Mittelfinger schlicht δάκτυλος μέσος, der Ringfinger δάκτυλος παράμεσος, weil er neben dem mittleren liegt, und der kleine Finger δάκτυλος μικρός.

Diese traditionellen Bezeichnungen kommen in Personalbeschreibungen der römischen Kaiserzeit gut 140 Mal vor. Daneben sind die Finger aber in etwa 70 Signalements nicht mit ihrem eigentlichen Namen genannt, sondern nur mit einer Ordinalzahl versehen, wobei in den Papyri nur der Erste, Zweite und Dritte Finger, die auch durch die entsprechenden Ziffern $\overline{\alpha}$, $\overline{\beta}$ und $\overline{\gamma}$ bezeichnet werden konnten, häufig auftreten.

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* Kurz nach Einreichung der ersten Korrekturfahne sandte mir Dieter Hagedorn eine ursprünglich zur eigenen Publikation geplante, von meinem Beitrag unabhängige Sammlung an Korrekturen von Fingerbezeichnungen, die sich teilweise mit den hier vorgetragenen überlappten. Nach Kenntnisnahme meines Beitrags sah er zugunsten leichterer Nutzbarkeit unserer Neuerkenntnisse von einer eigenen Publikation ab und erlaubte die Aufnahme einiger Korrekturen, die mir entgangen waren (vgl. Anm. 25), wofür ich ihm, ebenso wie für den Hinweis auf Luna (2012), herzlich danke. Für eine genaue Korrekturlesung danke ich Spyridoula Bounta.

[1] Vgl. zur Sache grundsätzlich Hübsch (1968), zuletzt Depauw (2011).

[2] P.Bagnall 51 (3. Jh. n.Chr.).

[3] De partibus animalium 687b, 18 Bekker: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καλεῖται μέγας μικρὸς ὤν, ὅτι ἄχρηστοι ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνευ τούτου.

Welche Zahl bezeichnete nun aber welchen Finger? Bisher hat es hierzu zwei Auffassungen gegeben: Zunächst schlug Johannes Hasebroek vor, die Zählung der Finger mit dem kleinen Finger beginnen zu lassen.[4] Als Kronzeugen für diese Zählweise beruft er sich auf Platon, der in einem Beispiel für eine erkenntnistheoretische Untersuchung von drei Fingern ausgeht:[5] οὗτοί φαμεν τρεῖς ἂν εἶεν δάκτυλοι, ὅ τε σμικρότατος καὶ ὁ δεύτερος καὶ ὁ μέσος. Kann aber aus diesem Satz geschlossen werden, daß ὁ δεύτερος eine feststehende Bezeichnung für den Ringfinger sei? Mir schiene zumindest nicht ausgeschlossen, daß die Bezeichnung von Platon *ad hoc* gewählt wurde, ebenso wie der Superlativ σμικρότατος für den kleinen Finger, welcher ja im allgemeinen einfach als μικρός bezeichnet war. Gefolgt ist Hasebroek in seiner Anschauung offenbar niemand.

Fast gleichzeitig mit Hasebroek hat Friedrich Preisigke eine Zählung der Finger vom Daumen aus postuliert.[6] Er bietet hierfür keine Begründung, hatte aber möglicherweise die in lateinischen Belegen bezeugte Zählweise[7] und die darauf fußende Fingernomenklatur der modernen Anatomie im Hinterkopf, in der die als *digiti manus* bezeichneten Finger vom Daumen an mit den römischen Ziffern I-V gezählt werden. Viele Herausgeber von Papyri sind Preisigke bei ihren Übersetzungen entsprechender Stellen gefolgt. Offenbar ist in unserer eigenen Kultur die Führerschaft des Daumens unter den Fingern so stark verankert, daß es nur natürlich schien, daß er als der erste Finger bezeichnet sein müsse.[8]

Die Bezeichnung von Fingern mit Ziffern begegnet neben den eigentlichen Bezeichnungen interessanterweise auch in der palmomantischen Literatur.[9] Kurioserweise tauchen in den entsprechenden Testimonien beide bisher erwähnten Zählweisen auf, in Version A die Zählung vom Kleinen Finger an, in Version D die vom Daumen an.[10]

Die spärlichen und uneinheitlichen genannten Äußerungen zur Abfolge der Finger vermögen keinen klaren Fingerzeig auf die Identifizierung der bezifferten Finger in den antiken Signalements zu geben. Interessanterweise hat die Forschung nach den Äußerungen Hasebroeks und Preisigkes das Problem, soweit ich sehe, vollkommen vernachlässigt. Wenn in neueren Papyruseditionen numerische Fingerbezeichnungen auftreten, haben einige Herausgeber ohne weiteres Preisigkes Übersetzungen übernommen, andere dagegen vorsichtigerweise auch in den Übersetzungen die Ordinalzahlen stehengelassen, ohne sich

[4] Hasebroek (1921) 37 mit Anm. 1.

[5] Pl. Resp. 523c (Bekker), jüngst auch aufgegriffen von Trumble (2010) xviii. Für einen Kommentar zur Stelle, der sich mit meiner Deutung deckt, danke ich herzlich Benedikt Strobel.

[6] WB I (1924), gefolgt von WB IV.2 (1958), jeweils s.v. δάκτυλος.

[7] Vgl. André (1991) 101 s.v. Le pouce: «Il peut être nommé d'après son rang dans la main ou le pied : *primus digitus,* le premier doigt, Pline Jun. *med.* 3, 15, 2, *primi digiti in manibus et pedibus,* à enduire d'urine d'enfant contre la fièvre quarte» und 102-103 s.v. L'anulaire: «Les termes qui désignent l'anulaire sont nombreux : 1. d'abord par sa place dans la main : en partant du pouce : *digitus quartus,* Plin. NH XXIII 110, *duobus digitis, pollice et quarto* ; Prob. Verg., G. 1, 233, *quartus* (dans la liste) ; Isid. Etym. 19, 32, 2, *quarto a pollice digito*». Vgl. auch Luna (2012) 126 und 216-219.

[8] Ein Indiz für seine Vorrangstellung mögen die Abzählreime in verschiedenen Sprachen sein, die zum Erlernen der einzelnen Finger dienen, vgl. etwa im Deutschen den bekannten Reim: «Das ist der Daumen, der (Zeigefinger) schüttelt die Pflaumen, der (Mittelfinger) hebt sie auf, der (Ringfinger) trägt sie nach Haus, und der Kleinste (Kleiner Finger), der ißt sie alle auf!», zu dessen Deutung und den wichtigsten Reimschemata Fincke (2016) 19-23 bzw. 37-39, zu Fingerreimen im englischen Sprachraum Delamar (1983).

[9] Ich danke Peter van Minnen, der auf dem Kongreß in Barcelona angeregt hat, die palmomantischen Zeugnisse in die Untersuchung einzubeziehen.

[10] S. C.Palmomanticum, Version A 90-94 (S. 135): δάκτυλος μικρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς - -. | ὁ μετὰ τὸν μικρὸν δεύτερος δάκτυλος τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ὁ καλούμενος παράμεσος - -. | δάκτυλος ὁ τρίτος τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἤτοι ὁ μέσος - -. | δάκτυλος τέταρτος - -. | δάκτυλος ὁ μέγας ὁ καὶ ἀντίχειρ καλούμενος - -, dem Version D 47-51 (S. 189) gegenüberzustellen ist: δάκτυλος δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ὁ μέγας - -. | δάκτυλος δεύτερος - -. | δάκτυλος ὁ μέσος - -. | δάκτυλος ὁ παρὰ τὸν μέσον - -. | δάκτυλος ὁ μικρός. Vgl. die Diskussion der konträren Zählweisen durch den Herausgeber S. Costanza auf S. 120.

mit dem Problem im Kommentar auseinanderzusetzen.[11] Selbst zwei Monographien, die sich ausschließlich mit den Signalements in den Papyri befassen, haben sich mit der Problematik offenbar gar nicht beschäftigt.[12] Im folgenden möchte ich anhand einer differenzierten Betrachtung der Zeugnisse prüfen, ob einer der bisherigen Vorschläge plausibel ist oder eine neue Deutung gesucht werden muß.

Betrachten wir zunächst die Proportionen der Belege nach den Definitionen von Friedrich Preisigke und Emil Kießling in ihren Wörterbucheinträgen für δάκτυλος und ἀντίχειρ. Die Ergebnisse seien durch eine Tabelle verdeutlicht, in der ich für jeden Terminus die heute bekannte Gesamtzahl an Belegen aus den Signalements anführe.

Tabelle I: Belegzahlen für Fingerbezeichnungen in Signalements nach Preisigkes Definitionen

Finger	**Bezeichnungen**	**Belegzahlen**
Daumen	ἀντίχειρ, μέγας, μέγιστος, πρῶτος = $\overline{\alpha}$	60 + 7 + 1 + 62 = 130
Zeigefinger	λιχανός, δεύτερος = $\overline{\beta}$	21 + 19 = 40
Mittelfinger	μέσος, τρίτος = $\overline{\gamma}$	12 + 12 = 24
Ringfinger	παράμεσος, τέταρτος = $\overline{\delta}$	2 + 0 = 2
Kleiner Finger	μικρός, πέμπτος = $\overline{\varepsilon}$	124 + 1 = 125

Er ergibt sich ein seltsamer Befund: Erstens hat der Daumen nach Preisigke vier verschiedene Bezeichnungen, überraschend viele, da es sich ja meistens um formale Beschreibungen handelt, die ohne Anspruch auf terminologische Variation verfaßt sind; zweitens gibt es vom Ringfinger nur verschwindend geringe Belege; drittens, was mir am merkwürdigsten scheint, sind die Ordinalzahlen bei den Fingern 1-3 häufig verwendet, beim vierten nie und beim fünften nur einmal, während die traditionelle Bezeichnung δάκτυλος μικρός weit über hundert Mal auftaucht. Wie mag sich dieses Mißverhältnis erklären?

Klarer sehen wir, wenn wir bei den Belegen der Signalements in einem zweiten Schritt die Herkunft der Papyri berücksichtigen und sie danach ordnen. Verträge und andere mit Personenbeschreibungen versehene Dokumente aus römischer Zeit haben sich fast ausschließlich aus dem Arsinoites und aus Hermupolis erhalten. In Oxyrhynchos dagegen war es nicht üblich, Vertragspartner zu beschreiben, und ich lasse die allzu spärlichen Zeugnisse aus dieser Metropole im folgenden außen vor.

Die folgende Tabelle zeigt die Verteilung der einzelnen Fingerbezeichnungen nach den beiden Herkünften Arsinoites und Hermupolis, wobei ich von den Zuweisungen Preisigkes jetzt absehe, um eine objektive Übersicht geben zu können. Vorweg sei gesagt, daß die Quellenbasis für die beiden Herkunftsorte stark voneinander abweicht, denn aus dem Arsinoites sind über 200 Signalements mit Erwähnung von Fingern erhalten, aus Hermupolis dagegen nur etwa 25.

[11] Für Hilfe bei der Durchsicht der Belege und Kommentare danke ich Julius Bergau.
[12] Caldara (1924); Cernuschi (2010).

Tabelle II: Belegzahlen für Fingerbezeichnungen in Signalements, nach Herkunft unterschieden

Finger	Bezeichnung	Hermupolis	Arsinoites
Daumen	ἀντίχειρ	2	58
Großer	μέγας	1 (?)	4
Zeigefinger	λιχανός	20	1
Mittelfinger	μέσος	4	8
Ringfinger	παράμεσος	2	0
Kleiner Finger	μικρός	6	118
Erster Finger	πρῶτος = $\bar{\alpha}$	0	62
Zweiter Finger	δεύτερος = $\bar{\beta}$	1	19
Dritter Finger	τρίτος = $\bar{\gamma}$	0	12
Fünfter Finger	πέμπτος = $\bar{\varepsilon}$	0	1

Zunächst fällt auf, daß die Fingerbezeichnungen durch Zahlen offenbar eine Eigenart des Arsinoites darstellen.[13] Aus dem Hermopolites gibt es mit P.Laur. II 28. l. 3 (138-160) nur einen scheinbaren Beleg, denn von der in BL VIII 163 verzeichneten Neulesung δακτύ(λῳ) δε(υτέρῳ) ̣[- -] anstelle von δ̣ακτ̣ύ̣λ(οις) δε(ξιᾶς) der Edition ist das erste Wort an der Abbildung (vgl. unter PSI-Online) nicht nachvollziehbar. Es wird hier eher ein anderer Körperteil gestanden haben und dahinter vielleicht doch mit der Edition δε(ξι-). Denkbar schiene mir γ̣ό̣ν̣α̣τ̣(ι) δε(ξιῷ), aber die Lesung bleibt höchst unsicher.

Bemerkenswert ist der vereinzelte Beleg für den fünften Finger aus dem Arsinoites, während die diesem nach Hasebroek und Preisigke entsprechenden Fingernamen ἀντίχειρ (Daumen) bzw. δάκτυλος μικρός (Kleiner Finger) mit 58 bzw. 118 Belegen so häufig bezeugt sind. Er findet sich in P.Stras. IX 807. l. 33 (98-117), wobei die Zahl fünf mit dem Buchstaben Epsilon bezeichnet sein soll: οὐλὴ δ]ακ(τύλῳ) (πέμπτῳ) χει[ρὸς - -]. Die Kontrolle an einem Photo (vgl. Tafel 1) zeigt allerdings, daß vielmehr $\bar{\alpha}$ zu lesen ist. Die Neulesung ist insofern bedeutsam, als nunmehr in den arsinoitischen Signalements weder Belege für einen vierten noch für einen fünften Finger existieren.

[13] Daher ist auch P.Prag. II 125 (123/124 mit BL X 164), wo in Kol. II 13 eine Narbe δακ(τύλῳ) (πρώτῳ) χ(ειρὸς) ἀρι(στερᾶς) erwähnt ist, dem Arsinoites zuzuweisen.



Tafel 1: P.Stras. IX 807, 20-33 (nur rechtes Fragment); (© Coll. BNU de Strasbourg)

Augenfällig ist an der Tabelle auch, daß von den traditionellen Termini für die Finger im Arsinoites nur die des Daumens, ἀντίχειρ, und die des Kleinen Fingers, δάκτυλος μικρός, häufig belegt sind. Andere auch literarisch belegte Bezeichnungen wie μέγας für den Daumen, λιχανός für den Zeigefinger und μέσος für den Mittelfinger bleiben dagegen zahlenmäßig weit hinter den numerischen Bezeichnungen Erster, Zweiter und Dritter Finger zurück, und der Name des Ringfingers παράμεσος ist im Arsinoites überhaupt nicht bezeugt. Es lohnt sich daher, auch hier einen Blick auf die betreffenden Belege zu werfen, soweit Abbildungen zur Kontrolle zugänglich sind.

Besonders auffallend ist der im Arsinoites offenbar singuläre Beleg für die Bezeichnung δάκτυλος λιχανός für den Zeigefinger,[14] während diese Bezeichnung in Hermupolis mit 20 Zeugnissen die normale ist. Er findet sich in P.Mich. II 121 Rekto, Kol. III xii 4 (30. Apr. - 28. Mai 42): ο(ὐλὴ) δακ(τύλῳ) λιγ(ανῶ) χιρὸ(ς) δε(ξιᾶς). Merkwürdig ist hierbei zum einen die Schreibung λιγ(ανῷ) statt λιχ(ανῶ), denn eine Vertauschung von stimmhaftem mit aspiriertem Guttural kommt in der römischen Kaiserzeit höchstselten vor[15] und wäre im Grapheion von Tebtynis kaum zu erwarten. Zweitens verwundert die Art und Weise der Abkürzung (vgl. Tafel 2),[16] denn offenbar sieht der Herausgeber auf ein weit nach oben gezogenes Iota folgend ein unter der Grundlinie ansetzendes Gamma. Eine solche Art der Abkürzung wäre ganz ungewöhnlich. Ich schließe aufgrund dieser Anomalien, daß hier keineswegs λιγ(ανῷ) geschrieben war, sondern μι(κρῷ), wobei der zweite Fuß des My durch ein überdimensioniertes Iota überlappt und verdeckt ist, vgl. für diese Art der Abkürzung Anm. 14 zu SB I

[14] Für SB I 5252. l. 34 (12. Sept. 65), nach der Edition ο(ὐλὴ) δεξ(ιᾷ) χ(ειρί), ist in BL VIII 319 eine Korrektur zu ο(ὐλὴ) δ.κ..χ. verzeichnet, wobei auch δακ(τύλῳ) λιχ(ανῷ) erwogen wird. An einem Scan des Papyrus, den ich Jean-Luc Fournet verdanke, halte ich die Lesung δακ(τύλῳ) μι(κρῷ) χι(ρὸς) ἀρ(ιστερᾶς) für wahrscheinlicher, wobei das Iota durch die zweite Vertikalhaste des My zu laufen scheint, vgl. Anhang, Tafel 7.
[15] Für Gignac, Grammar I 96 dient dieser Beleg geradezu als Kronzeuge für das Phänomen.
[16] Ich danke Brendan Haug für die Zusendung eines neuen Scans und die Erlaubnis zu dessen Abdruck.

5252. l. 34. Wir kommen zur Erkenntnis, daß die Bezeichnung λιχανός für den Zeigefinger im Arsinoites offenbar unüblich war.



Tafel 2: P.Mich. II 121 Rekto, Kol. III xii 4, Ausschnitt (© University of Michigan)

Wie sieht es nun mit den anderen Bezeichnungen aus, die im Arsinoites nach bisheriger Beleglage bereits selten vorkommen? Der Mittelfinger δάκτυλος μέσος scheint zwar acht Mal in dem Gau bezeugt zu sein, doch eine Kontrolle der Belege zeigt auch hier ein anderes Bild:

- In BGU II 454 (17. Juni 193) ist in Z. 23 anstelle von [οὐ]λ(ὴ) δακτύλ(ῳ) μέσωι gewiß οὐ̣λ(ὴ) δακτύλ(ῳ) μικ(ρῷ) zu lesen (μι^{κ} Pap., vgl. die Abb. auf BerlPap); Onnophris trägt also eine Narbe am kleinen Finger.

- Ähnlich ist in BGU XIII 2330. l. 7 (27. Apr. 89 mit J. Cowey, HGV) statt [οὐλὴ δακ]τύλωι μέσωι χειρὸς ἀριστερου nach Ausweis der Abbildung (vgl. im Band Tafel XIII und BerlPap) [οὐλὴ δακ]τύλωι μι̣κρῷ̣ χειρὸς ἀριστερᾶ̣ς zu lesen.

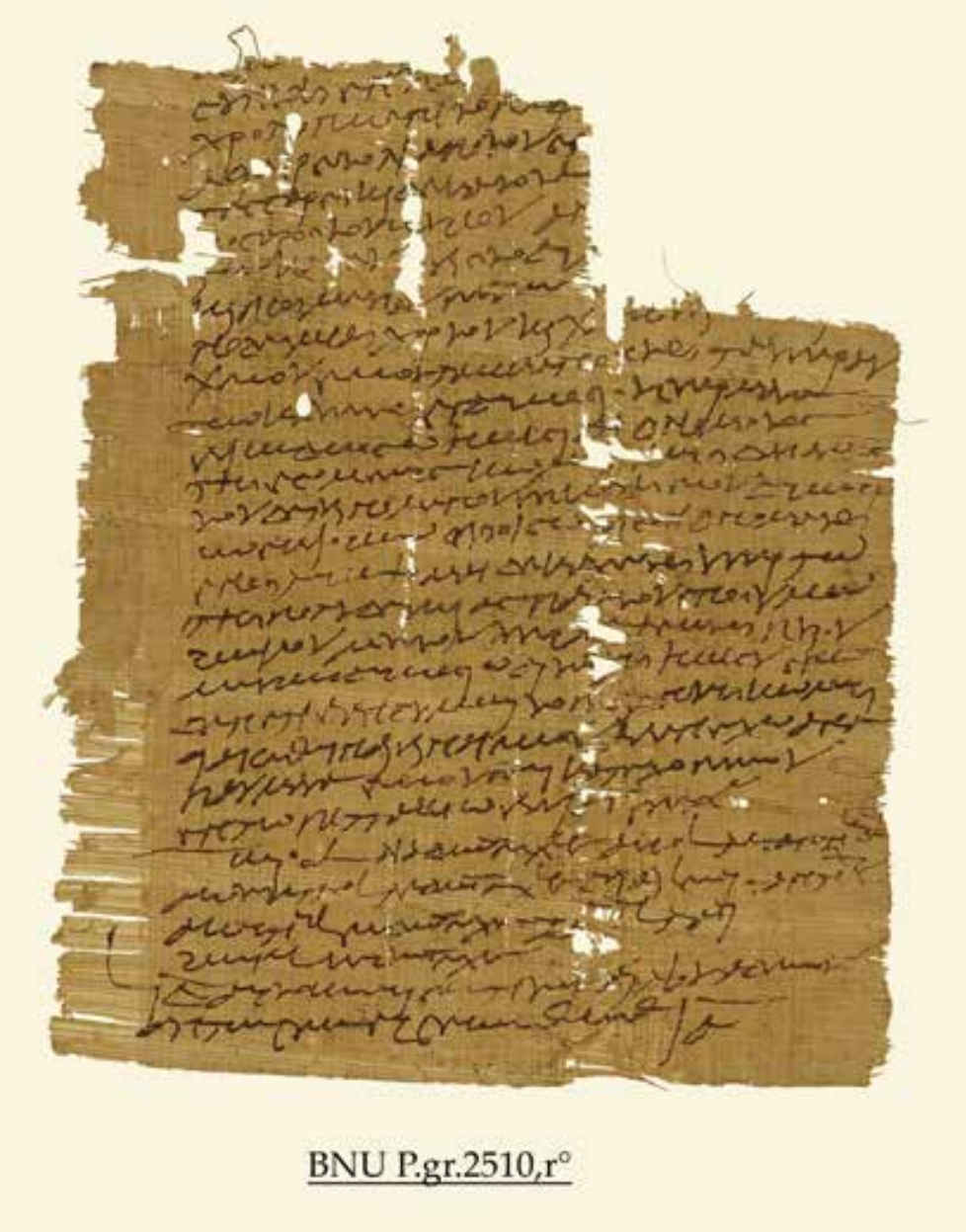
- In PSI X 1134. l. 29 (23. Okt. 91 mit BL XIII 236) ist im Signalement ὡς (ἐτῶν) κ̣θ ο(ὐλὴ) δα(κτύλῳ) μέσωι diesmal μέσωι sicher gelesen (vgl. die Abbildung auf PSI-online), aber die vorangehende Lesung δα(κτύλῳ) scheint mir ausgeschlossen,[17] so daß der Beleg für die Nennung des Mittelfingers entfällt.

- In P.Stras. IV 218. ll. 24 u. 25 (8. Sept. 150) dürfte δακτ(ύλῳ) μ(έσῳ) in δακτ(ύλῳ) μ(ικρῷ̣) zu korrigieren sein, in Z. 26-27 die sonst unbelegte Schreibweise des Ersten Fingers δακτ(ύλῳ) π(ρώτῳ) angesichts der ähnlichen Gestaltung ebenfalls in δακτ(ύλῳ) μ(ικρῷ̣), vgl. Tafel 3.[18]

- In P.IFAO I 8 (15.-23. Juli 64 mit BL XII 91) lautet ein Signalement δακ[τύλῳ - - (?) | . . . .]ῳ χιρὸς ἀριστερᾶς (Z. 9-10). Auf einem Negativ aus dem Jahre 1966 meinte Boyaval (2008) allerdings an den Rändern links und rechts mehr Spuren zu sehen, als in der 1971 erschienenen Edition verzeichnet sind, und las hier δακ[τύλῳ | μέ]σῳ χιρὸς ἀριστερᾶς. Leider publizierte er jedoch die Photovorlage nicht und teilte auch nicht mit, welche Buchstaben sonst noch zusätzlich zum Bestand der Edition sichtbar waren. Auf einem neuen Scan des Papyrus (Tafel 4) lassen sich nur die in der Erstedition gelesenen Buchstaben erkennen (zu Z. 3-4 vgl. BL XII 91).

[17] Zu sehen sind zwei Vertikalhasten, die durch eine schmale Querhaste verbunden sind. Das Gebilde ähnelt am ehesten einem *Beta* oder *Kappa* und ist eventuell vom Schreiber durchgestrichen worden. Da sich das Adjektiv μέσος in den meisten Fällen von Signalements auf die Stirn bezieht, könnte man danach an einen Auslassungsfehler denken und die Transkription με<τώπωι μέ>σωι erwägen. Ansonsten könnte μετώπωι auch am verlorenen Beginn der nächsten Zeile gestanden haben; die Voransetzung des Attributs begegnet immerhin einmal in P.Col. II 1 Rekto 4, Kol. viii, 14 (26. Febr. 155).

[18] In Z. 16 ist λήμψομαι statt λήψομαι zu lesen, in Z. 18 anstelle von ὑ̣πὲ̣ρ̣ . ψεω̣ . πυροῦ sicherlich ὑπὲρ γεν̣ήματος πυροῦ, in Z. 21 statt διαιρηθῆναι die richtige Form διαιρεθῆναι. In Z. 23 hat die Edition ἐὰ̣ν̣ φαίν̣(ηται) ̣πεχε̣( ). Wolff's Vorschlag ἐπιχω(ρῆσαι) wurde aus paläographischen Gründen abgelehnt (vgl. BL V 138), doch das Photo zeigt, daß nur das Iota ausgeschlossen ist. Durchaus möglich scheint mir aber ἐπε̣χω(ρῆσαι), l. ἐπιχωρῆσαι. Am Ende von Z. 25 ist anstelle von ἀντίχε(ιρι) bzw. ἀντίχ(ειρι) (BL V 138) gewiß ἀντίχ(ειρι) ἀρ(ιστερῷ̣) zu lesen. In Z. 27 scheint mir anstelle von χ(ειρὸς) δ̣(εξιᾶς) eher χ(ειρὸς) ἀρ(ιστερᾶς) lesbar.



Tafel 3: P.Stras. IV 218 (© Coll. BNU de Strasbourg)

Allerdings geht beim Tau die Vertikale zuweilen in kreisrundem Schwung in den nach rechts langenden Querstrich über, vgl. z.B. ἀριστερᾶς in Z. 10. Daher möchte ich nicht ausschließen, daß Boyaval auf dem älteren Negativ zwar tatsächlich zu Beginn von Z. 10 mehr Spuren sah als die Editoren, es sich bei dem vermeintlichen Sigma aber um den rechten Teil eines Tau handelt, so daß die Lesungen [πρώ]ṭῳ und [τρί]ṭῳ in Betracht kommen.

- Die Lesung in SB VIII 9830. l. 6 (84-96 mit BL XII 201) οὐλὴ δακτ]ṷ́[λω]ι μέ̣σ̣ῳι χειρὸς ἀριστερᾶς ist angesichts stark abgeriebener Buchstaben zu Recht als unsicher gekennzeichnet, und die Lesung läßt sich am Photo (vgl. Cairo Photographic Archive, über HGV erreichbar) auch nicht bestätigen. Das vermeintliche Sigma wäre allzu klein geraten; mir scheint der entsprechende Bogen schon zu Omega zu gehören und insgesamt eine Lesung von πρ̣ώ̣ṭῳ eher in Frage zu kommen, aber eine sichere Lesung ist in Anbetracht der spärlichen Schriftreste an dieser Stelle nicht möglich.

- Gut nachvollziehbar ist dagegen die Lesung in P.Amh II 113. l. 25 (19. Okt. 157) ο(ὐ)λ(ὴ) δακ(τύλῳ) μέ(σῳ) χι(ρὸς) ἀρ(ιστερᾶς), wie mir auch Roger Bagnall versichert, dem ich die Zusendung eines ausgezeichneten Scans des Papyrus verdanke. Dieser ist von der Pierpont Morgan Library jetzt großzügigerweise auch zur Veröffentlichung freigegeben, vgl. Tafel 5.



Tafel 4: P.IFAO I 8 (© IFAO, Cairo)



Tafel 5: P.Amh. II 113 (© Pierpont Morgan Library)

- Ganz sicher ist die Lesung der traditionellen Bezeichnung des Mittelfingers in CPR I 246. l. 11 (26. Jan. - 24. Febr. 162): οὐλ(ὴ) δακτύλ(ῳ) μέσῳ [χειρὸς . . . . .].[19]

Von den vermeintlich 8 Zeugnissen für Narben am δάκτυλος μέσος im Arsinoites haben sich bei der Prüfung nur zwei Belege halten können (P.Amh. II 113. l. 25 und CPR I 246. l. 11). Angesichts der hohen Zahl aus dem Arsinoites überlieferter Signalements müssen wir daher vermuten, daß der Mittelfinger in der Regel kaum durch den Terminus δάκτυλος μέσος,

[19] Ich danke B. Palme und S. Hodecek für die rasche Erstellung und Zusendung eines Photos, welches nunmehr auf dem Online-Katalog der Papyrussammlung der ÖNB zugänglich ist. In Z. 22, wo die Edition . . . . . μι . . . . δοι hat, scheint mir die Strafklausel zu beginnen: ἐὰν δὲ] μὴ ἀποδοῖ τ[- -] (l. ἀποδῶι).

sondern vielmehr durch eine der oben genannten Ziffern bezeichnet wurde. Hiervon unberührt bleibt die Möglichkeit des prädikativen Gebrauchs von μέσος, wie er in P.Bingen 73. l. 6-7 (nach 137) begegnet: οὐλὴ μέσ[ῳ] | δακτύλῳ πρώτῳ χ[ειρὸ]ς ἀριστερᾶς, «Narbe mitten auf dem Ersten Finger der linken Hand».[20]

Ähnlich verhält es sich bei dem Verhältnis zwischen arsinoitischen Belegen für δάκτυλος μέγας und ἀντίχειρ für den Daumen: Keiner der vermeintlichen Belege für δάκτυλος μέγας kann als sicher bezeichnet werden, wie die folgende Aufstellung zeigt:

- Die Ergänzung in P.Meyer 11 = CPGr I 27. l. 4 (102-114) οὐλὴ δακτύλῳ ἀριστ]ερῶι με-[γ]ά[λῳ ist nicht durch Parallelelen gedeckt, da ἀριστερός ebenso wie δεξιός nicht direkt bei δάκτυλος, sondern bei der zugehörigen Hand zu stehen pflegt. Die Lesungen lassen sich bewahren, wenn man anstelle eines Fingers ein anderes Körperteil und dann die Angabe des Vormundes annimmt: οὐλὴ - - ἀριστ]ερῶι με[τ]ὰ [κυρίου κλπ.

- Das Signalement in SB XIV 11533. Kol. ii. 5 (29. Okt. 104) οὐλὴ δ̣ακτ̣[ύλῳ] μ̣ε̣γ̣ά̣(λῳ) χιρὸ(ς) ἀρισ(τερᾶς) ist so unsicher gelesen, daß es nicht als klarer Beleg für die Daumenbezeichnung gelten kann. Ein Photo des Papyrus ist nicht publiziert worden.

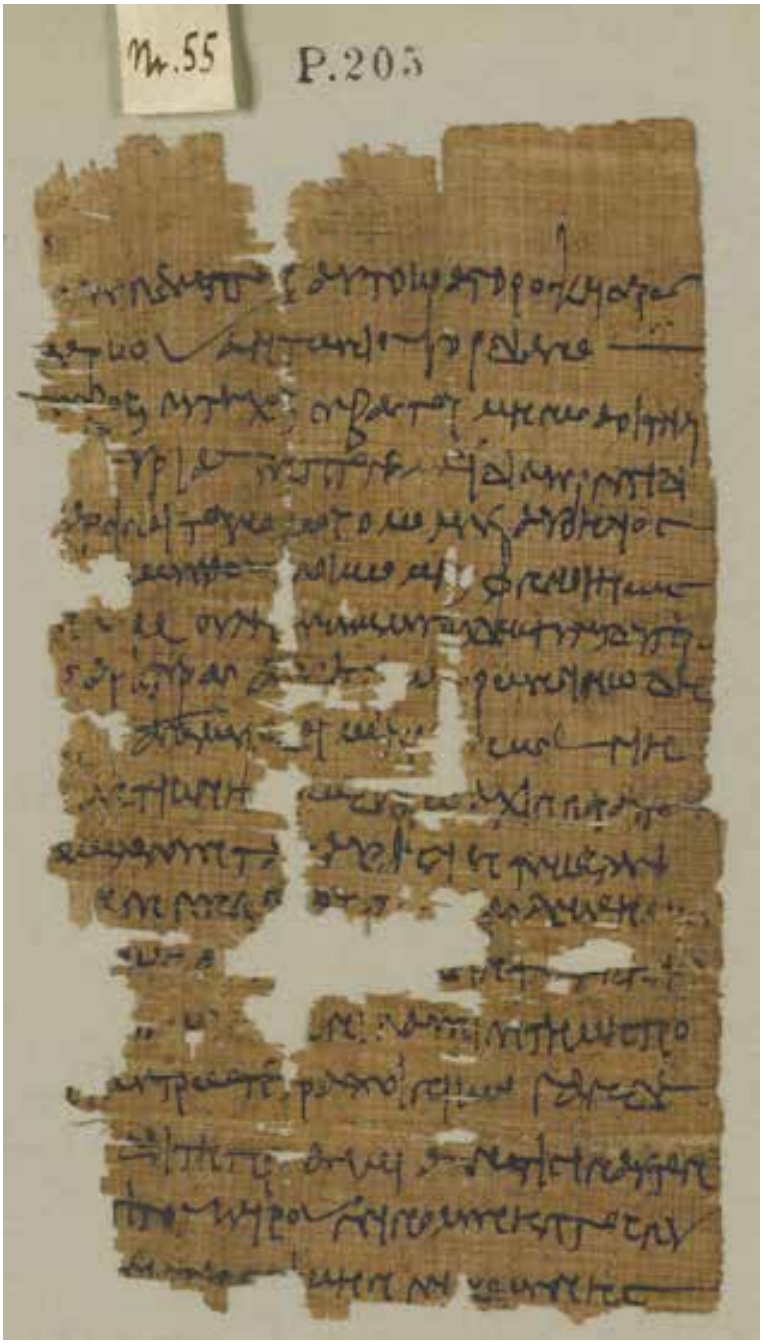
- In P.Hamb. I 71. ll. 7-8 (25. Juli - 23. Aug. 149): οὐλ[ὴ δακτύλῳ | μεγάλῳ] χειρὸς ἀριστε-[ρ]ᾶς ist die Bezeichnung ohne Berechtigung ergänzt, denn es ist unbekannt, an welchem Finger Anchorimphis seine Narbe hatte. Dies zeigt auch der Kommentar des Herausgebers zur Zeile: «Möglich wäre auch [μικρῷ]». Auch eine Ergänzung von πρώτῳ, δευτέρῳ oder τρίτῳ ist daher nicht auszuschließen.

- In P.Meyer 4. ll. 23 und 24 (18. Okt. 161) findet sich jeweils die Beschreibung οὐλ(ὴ) δακ(τύλῳ) μ̣ε̣γ(άλῳ) χ(ειρὸς) ἀριστ(ερᾶς). Hier sind die entscheidenden Buchstaben als unsicher gekennzeichnet; der Papyrus ist nicht kontrollierbar, da er verschollen ist. Eine Verlesung ist jedoch gut denkbar, am ehesten jeweils für μικ(ρῷ).

- Auch in P.Hamb. I 55. l. 7 (7. Nov. 241) scheint μέγας in Zusammenhang mit einem Finger zu stehen (vgl. Caldara [1924], 124): οὐλὴ ̣εκ̣· μεγ̣ά̣(λ̣) δακτύλου δευτέρο[υ]. Auf einem Photo (Tafel 6[21]) ist allerdings οὐλὴ κεκαμμένωι δακτύλωι δευτέρω[ι] zu lesen, vgl. an Parallelen für das Partizip CPR I 170. l. 4 (103-114): κεκαμμένου (oder besser κεκαμμένου<ς>?) δακ[τύλ]ους τρεῖς χειρὸς δε[ξιᾶς, P.Tebt. II 397. l. 6 (23. Febr. 198): κεκαμμένον δάκτυλον μικρὸν ἀριστερᾶς χειρός und möglicherweise noch SB XVIII 13764. l. 5 mit BL X 222 (148-161 n. Chr.): κεκομ<μ>ένον [δ]ά̣κ̣τ̣υλον πρῶτον χε̣ι̣[ρός, falls auch hier κεκαμμένον zu verstehen ist.

[20] Auch in SPP XX 31, Kol. ii. 7 (13. Aug. 230) οὐλὴ μέσον δάκτυλο[ν χειρός - -] mag prädikativer Gebrauch vorliegen, und man könnte entsprechend nach δάκτυλο[ν zunächst die eigentliche Bezeichnung des Fingers erwarten. Andererseits steht in seltenen Fällen die Bezeichnung des Fingers auch vor δάκτυλος, vgl. für Belege Azzarello (2007) 132 und wahrscheinlich P.Dime III 11. l. 5 (19. März 29).

[21] Für Anfertigung und Zusendung des Photos danke ich Hans-Walter Stork und Andrea Diekert.



Tafel 6: P.Hamb. I 55 (© Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg)

Die Verkrümmung der Finger könnte auf eine Gichterkrankung[22] oder auch eine Beugekontraktur (*Morbus Dupuytren*) zurückzuführen sein.

Da es demnach keinen einzigen sicheren Beleg für die Bezeichnung des Daumens als δάκτυλος μέγας aus dem Arsinoites gibt, bleibt festzuhalten daß man in diesem Gau in aller Regel die Bezeichnung ἀντίχειρ für den Daumen verwendete.

Was läßt sich nun aus diesem Befund folgern? Es werden augenscheinlich im Arsinoites regelmäßig fünf Fingerbezeichnungen in der Beschreibung von Körpermalen verwendet, und zwar ἀντίχειρ für den Daumen und δάκτυλος μικρός für den Kleinen Finger, sodann die

[22] So Preisigke, WB I s.v. κάμπτω, der die Stelle in P.Tebt. II 397. l. 6 mit den Worten «mit (gichtisch) verkrüppeltem Finger (schief gezogen)» wiedergibt.

Ordinalzahlen Erster, Zweiter und Dritter Finger. Könnte einer dieser numerierten Finger grundsätzlich mit dem Daumen oder dem Kleinen Finger gleichgesetzt werden? Ich halte dies für unwahrscheinlich, denn es gibt einige Texte mit mehreren Signalements von professioneller Schreiberhand, in denen sowohl bezifferte Finger als auch die Bezeichnung ἀντίχειρ oder δάκτυλος μικρός begegnen.[23]

Daraus folgt, daß es sich bei den mit Ziffern von 1-3 belegten Fingern mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit um die drei mittleren Finger handelt. Man darf gewiß vermuten, daß die Zählung entweder mit dem Zeigefinger oder mit dem Ringfinger begann, da die Numerierung nur so der Abfolge der Finger entsprechen kann. Einen eindeutigen Beweis für eine der beiden möglichen Zuordnungen sehe ich nicht, aber mir scheint die Statistik einen gewissen Hinweis zu geben: Wenn man die Signalements aus Hermupolis, in denen die mit Narben behafteten Finger ja eindeutig identifiziert sind, betrachtet, so zeigt sich, daß der Zeigefinger mit zwanzig Belegen am häufigsten betroffen ist, dann mit großem Abstand der Kleine Finger und der Mittelfinger mit fünf Zeugnissen, während Ringfinger und Daumen jeweils nur zweimal in den Signalements begegnen.[24] Ein Vergleich mit dem Arsinoites hinkt zwar insofern, als hier Narben am Daumen und am Kleinen Finger besonders häufig auftreten, doch es ist immerhin bemerkenswert, daß der Zeigefinger in Hermupolis sehr viel häufiger von auffälligen Merkmalen betroffen ist als Mittel- und Ringfinger. Dies scheint mir dafür zu sprechen, daß wir im Arsinoites im Ersten Finger am ehesten den Zeigefinger erblicken sollten, im Zweiten den Mittelfinger, und im Dritten den Ringfinger.

Ein Schönheitsfehler der Hypothese besteht im Befund einer irritierenden Ausdrucksvariation zweier Signalements in P.Amh. II 113 (19. Okt. 157), wo in Z. 11 eine οὐλ(ὴ) δακτύλῳ δευτέ(ρῳ) genannt ist und in Z. 25 eine ο(ὐ)λ(ὴ) δακ(τύλῳ) μέ(σῳ), welche sich nach der neuen Deutung beide auf den Mittelfinger beziehen. Nach Ausweis des Scans (Tafel 5) sind die Lesungen der Edition nicht zu beanstanden.

Auch wenn sich die Richtigkeit dieser Zuordnung auf Grundlage unserer Zeugnisse momentan nicht beweisen läßt, so wirken die aus der neuen Hypothese und einigen Neulesungen[25] folgenden Zahlenverhältnisse doch weitaus plausibler als mit den Definitionen

[23] Vgl. insbesondere die Kombinationen Erster Finger + δάκτυλος μικρός: P.Athen. 28. ll. 8 u. 11 (16. Okt. 86) sowie Erster Finger + ἀντίχειρ: P.Merton I 10. ll. 4 u. 5 (28. Juli 21); P.Mich. V 233. ll. 2 u. 3 (13. Sept. 24); P.Berl.Leihg. II 29. ll. 22; 27; 29; 36; 38; 48 u. 50 (1. Febr. 164; 5× Erster Finger und 2× ἀντίχειρ), daneben auch Zweiter Finger + ἀντίχειρ: P.Athen. 29. ll. 6 u. 8 (29. März 121) sowie Dritter Finger + δάκτυλος μικρός: P.Worp 18. ll. 6-7 u. 8 (11. Sept. 139).

[24] Kleiner Finger: P.Lips. I 15. l. 3 (2.-3. Jh.); CPR XVIIA 17a. l. 1 (= 17b. l. 1; 29. Mai 321 [?]); 32. l. 4 (10. Dez. 340); P.Flor. I 34. l. 6 (8. Apr. 342 mit BL IX 83); P.Lips. I 54 = WChr 467. l. 3 (9. Febr. 377); Mittelfinger: P.Flor. III 369. l. 21 (s. folgende Anm.; 20. Aug. 139 oder 149); P.Ryl. II 177. l. 2 (1. Sept. 246); P.Philammon, pag. 9, 6-7 (vor 16. Juni 359): μέ]σου δα[κ]τύ̣λου̣ (Zaubertext); P.Flor. I 52. l. 3 (376); 75. l. 7 = WChr 433 (11. Okt. 380); Ringfinger: P.Flor. I 52. ll. 9 u. 12 (376); Daumen: SPP II, S. 34, 2-4 (Hermupolis oder Antinoopolis, 7. Juli 343): οὐλὴ κατ᾽ ὠλέ|[να]ς δακτύλῳ μεγάλῳ ἀντί|χειρι ἀριστερᾶς χειρός; P.Flor. I 52. l. 7 (376): οὐλὴ ἀντί[χ]ειρι [ἀ]ρισ[τερᾶς] χ̣ειρός.

[25] Zuweilen ist in Editionen die genaue Angabe des Fingers wegen fehlender Markierung von Abkürzungen und verschliffener Schreibweisen nicht erkannt worden: In BGU XIII 2246. l. 6 (30. Aug - 28. Sept. 115 [Ed.: 98-117, vgl. Reiter, demnächst] meine ich auf dem in BerlPap zugänglichen Scan δακ̣(τύλῳ) μικ(ρῶ) statt δακτύ(λῳ) lesen zu können, wobei κ und μ in Verschleifung geschrieben sind. In BGU III 891 Verso, 21 (1. Mai 144) steht deutlich δακ(τύλῳ) ᾱ anstelle von δακτ(ύλῳ), vgl. den Scan auf BerlPap. In SB XVIII 13288. l. 18 (2. Mai 133) scheint mir wiederum δακ̣(τύλῳ) μικ̣(ρῷ) anstelle von δακτύλῳ zu stehen, ohne daß die Abkürzungen durch Hochsetzung angezeigt wären (vgl. Cairo Photographic Archive, über HGV erreichbar). D. Hagedorn weist mich darauf hin, daß in P.Tebt. II 439. l. 9 (vgl. die Neuedition von R. Mascellari in ZPE 200, 2016, 363-368) anstelle von δακτύ(λῳ) χε(ιρὸς) ἀριστ(ερᾶς) klar δακ(τύλῳ) μικ(ρῷ) χε(ιρὸς) ἀριστ(ερᾶς) zu lesen ist. In Z. 7-8 hat der Papyrus offenbar βεβοη|θημένως, l. βεβοηθημένος [Ed.: βεβοη|θημένος]. In P.Flor. III 369. l. 21 scheinen dem Signalement die Präzisierung des Fingers und die Bezeichnung der Hand zu fehlen: Ὀννῶφρις (ἐτῶν) με δακτ(ύλῳ). An der Abbildung auf PSI-online meine ich jedoch am Ende δακ(τύλῳ) μέ(σῳ) lesen zu

Preisigkes. So gab es nach Preisigke unter über 250 Fällen von Fingermalen aus dem Arsinoites keinen einzigen Beleg für eine Narbe am Ringfinger, nach der neuen Deutung dagegen 10 = 3,7%. Die Zählung vom Zeigefinger an scheint zwar in der Antike sonst wenig bekannt zu sein, hat jedoch in der modernen westlichen Welt eine lange Tradition[26] und ist etwa in den USA heute noch vorherrschend.[27]

Tabelle III: Fingerbezeichnungen in Signalements aus Hermupolis und dem Arsinoites nach neuer Hypothese

Finger	**Hermupolis**		**Arsinoites**	
	Bezeichnung	**Belege**	**Bezeichnung**	**Belege**
Daumen	δάκτυλος μέγας, ἀντίχειρ	2	ἀντίχειρ	60
Zeigefinger	λιχανός	20	δάκτυλος πρῶτος	64
Mittelfinger	δάκτυλος μέσος	5	δάκτυλος δεύτερος	19
Ringfinger	δάκτυλος παράμεσος	2	δάκτυλος τρίτος	10
Kleiner Finger	δάκτυλος μικρός	5	δάκτυλος μικρός	120
Summe		**34**		**273**

Wie mag es zu der auf den ersten Blick seltsam anmutenden Zählung der Finger vom Zeigefinger an gekommen sein? Der Grund dürfte darin gelegen haben, daß der Daumen offenbar nicht als ein normaler Finger, sondern eher als Gegenpol zur Hand angesehen wurde.[28] Die Bezeichnung ἀντίχειρ weist explizit auf die Opposition des Daumens zur übrigen Hand hin. Es ist bezeichnend, daß sich dieser Terminus, der als Attribut zum

können, so daß offenbar nur die Angabe der Hand vergessen wurde. Hagedorn bemerkt, daß zu Beginn der Zeile eher Ὀννῶφρι(ς) ὡ(ς) (ἐτῶν) με zu lesen ist. Nur in ganz wenigen Fällen ist sicher nachweisbar, daß die genaue Bezeichnung eines Fingers fehlt, vgl. etwa P.Ryl. II 105 = CPGr II 33. l. 22 [26. Okt. 136; in Z. 21 dagegen οὐλ(ὴ) δακ(τύλῳ) (πρώτῳ) χ(ειρὸς)!] und P.Sakaon 65. ll. 4-5 (11. Sept. 328; vgl. Cairo Photographic Archive, über HGV erreichbar); angesichts der Seltenheit der fehlenden Präzisierung liegt der Verdacht nahe, daß es sich um Versehen der Schreiber handelt. In P.Berl.Leihg. II 44. ll. 20 u. 22-26 (157/8), wo jeweils ο(ὐλὴ) δ̣α̣κ̣(τύλῳ) χ(ειρὸς) ἀ̣ρ̣ι̣(στερᾶς) [in Z. 23 δ̣(εξιᾶς)] transkribiert ist, könnte der sehr geübte Schreiber, dessen Abkürzungen zuweilen stark reduziert sind [vgl. die Gestaltung von ὡ(ς ἐτῶν) in Z. 19-26 und von ἀ̣ρ̣ι̣(στερᾶς) in Z. 24-26], dagegen stets ο(ὐλὴ) δα̣(κτύλῳ) μ̣(ικρῷ) intendiert haben, vgl. den Scan auf BerlPap. In P.Stras. IV 289. l. 9 (47/48), wo δακτ(ύλῳ) μ( ) gedruckt und an μ(ικρῶ) oder μ(έσῳ) gedacht wird, lese ich auf einem neuen Photo (Anhang, Tafel 8) δακ(τύλῳ) μικ(ρῷ). In Z. 13 ist hier ἀλληλων ἐνκύη (l. ἀλληλεγγύη) in ἀλλήλων ἔνκυυ (l. ἔγγυοι) | [εἰς ἔκτισιν - -] zu korrigieren. In P.Berl.Frisk. 1 Kol. xiv. 18 (8. Febr. 155) kann auf dem Scan auf BerlPap δακ[(τύλῳ)] β gelesen werden, während in der Edition δακ(τύλῳ) .[.] transkribiert ist. In P.Kron. 25. l. 22 (17. März 110) scheint die Lesung δακτύ(λῳ) τ[ρίτῳ] (zumal ohne Angabe der Hand) zweifelhaft, da Kronion, Sohn des Cheos, sonst mit Narbe am Kleinen Finger der linken Hand geführt wird, vgl. P.Kron. 8. ll. 3-5 (7. Dez. 109); 10. ll. 5-6 (19. Juli 116) und 12. ll. 7-9 (21. Aug. 135). Eine entsprechende Lesung und Ergänzung zu δακ(τύλῳ) μ̣ι̣κ̣[ρῷ χ(ειρὸς) ἀρ(ιστερᾶς)] scheint in der Tat nicht ausgeschlossen (vgl. P.Kronion, Tav. IV). In P.Mich. IX 524. l. 17 (14. Sept. 98) hat die Edition δακ(τύλῳ) βου, wozu der Kommentar erklärt: «βου = δευτέρου for δευτέρῳ». Anstelle dieser ganz unwahrscheinlichen Lesung erwägt Hagedorn am Digitalbild die Lesung δακ̣(τύλῳ) α̣΄.

[26] Vgl. Trumble (2010) xvii-xx und unten Anm. 31.

[27] Für einen plastischen Beleg der vom Zeigefinger ansetzenden Zählung aus der zeitgenössischen Literatur s. Genova (2009) 152: «"Now I want you to raise the number of fingers on your left hand which corresponds to the place in the alphabet of the first letter of the city you're in." She repeated what he had said in her head and then made the peace sign with her left index and middle fingers». (Die Antwort von Alice auf die Frage von Dr. Davis, zwei Finger, ist richtig, da es sich um Boston handelt).

[28] Vgl. Groß (1974) 17 und 20; Trumble (2010) xviii: «At any rate, choosing between these two methods of numbering the fingers [vom Daumen bzw. vom Zeigefinger an] generally reflects a vague assumption about whether or not the thumb may be defined as a bona fide finger» und 207-221, die unter der Kapitelüberschrift "The Strange Status of the Thumb" stehen.

Beziehungswort δάκτυλος zu begreifen ist, so weit verselbständigt hat, daß er in den Dokumenten in aller Regel substantiviert auftritt.[29]

Die Sonderstellung des Daumens wird besonders gut greifbar in einem Passus des Arztes Rufus von Ephesos aus seinem Werk über die Bezeichnungen der Körperteile:[30] δακτύλων δὲ ὁ μέν τις μέγας, ἀφεστηκὼς τῶν ἄλλων· ὁ δὲ λιχανός, ὁ πρῶτος τῶν τεσσάρων· ὁ δὲ μέσος, ὁ δὲ παράμεσος, ὁ δὲ μικρός. Die Stelle ist ein schöner Beleg dafür, daß auch ein antiker Fachmediziner die besondere Position des Daumens thematisierte und ihn den anderen Fingern der Hand gegenüberstellte, wobei er folgerichtig den Zeigefinger als den ersten dieser Gruppe betrachtete.[31]

Unabhängig von der Richtigkeit der vorgetragenen These über die Fingernumerierung im Arsinoites steht außer Frage, wie wichtig zu allen Zeiten eine präzise Kenntnis der einzelnen Finger und eine eindeutige Nomenklatur innerhalb eines Kommunikationssystems ist. Dies zeigt der dramatische Vorfall am Spital Oberaargau im schweizerischen Langenthal, wo im Dezember 2013 einer Frau wegen eines Sehnenleidens anstelle des Mittelfingers der rechten Hand versehentlich der Zeigefinger operiert wurde; der Direktor der Klinik vermutete, daß es aufgrund sprachlicher Probleme zu dem Fehler gekommen sei.[32]

[29] Abgesehen vielleicht von SPP II, S. 34, 3, vgl. das Zitat in Anm. 24. Zum meist maskulinen Geschlecht von ἀντίχειρ vgl. A. Soldati, Komm. zu P.Tebt.Pad. 19. l. 6.

[30] Rufus, De corporis humani appellationibus 83.2 Ilberg.

[31] Vgl. für die Formulierung auch Mart. Cap. 9. 946: *primus a pollice (digitus)*, zitiert bei André (1991) 101 s.v. *L'index*. Eine solche Bezeichnung des Zeigefingers und die entsprechende Fingerzählung findet sich gelegentlich auch in westromanischen Sprachen, vgl. Luna (2012) 170, 2.2: «Los dos únicos usos de la unidad pluriverbal (esp.) *dedo primero* para referirse al dedo índice pueden estar relacionados con el hecho de que el dedo pulgar esté muy separado del resto de los dedos. Esta distancia es la que puede haber provocado o bien que los hablantes que pronunciaron esta respuesta no tuvieran en cuenta el dedo pulgar e iniciaran el cómputo en el índice o bien que consideraran que este es el primer dedo de todos», 196, 2.5 (spanisch 'segundo' für den Mittelfinger) und 223, 2.3 (spanisch 'tercero' und katalanisch *tercer* für den Ringfinger).

[32] Vgl. Aargauer Zeitung vom 23. Dez. 2013, aktualisiert am 7. Okt. 2014, "Spital in Langenthal operiert an Patientin den falschen Finger", abrufbar unter http://www.aargauerzeitung.ch/blaulicht/spital-in-langenthal-operiert-an-patientin-den-falschen-finger-127505815.

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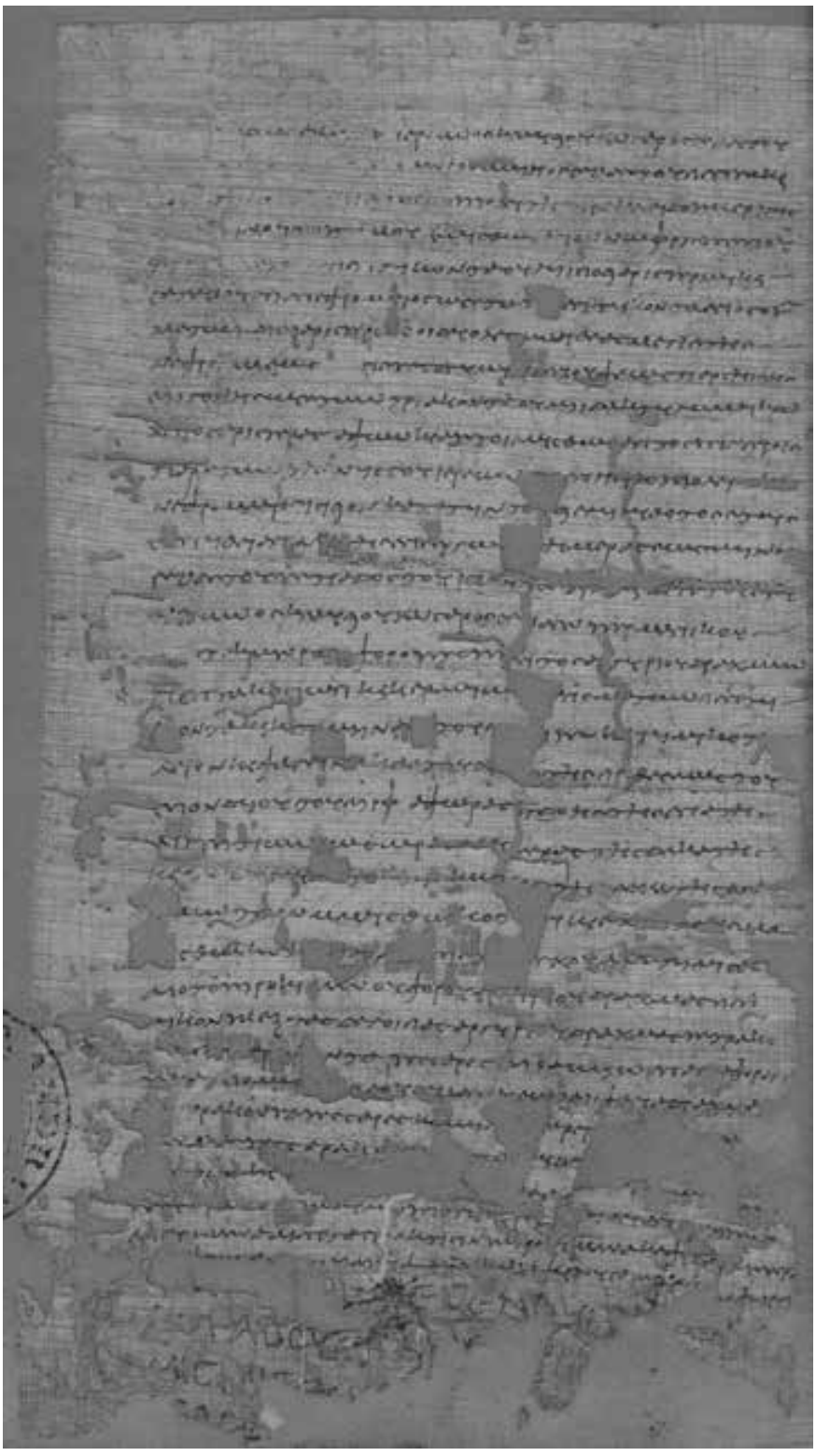
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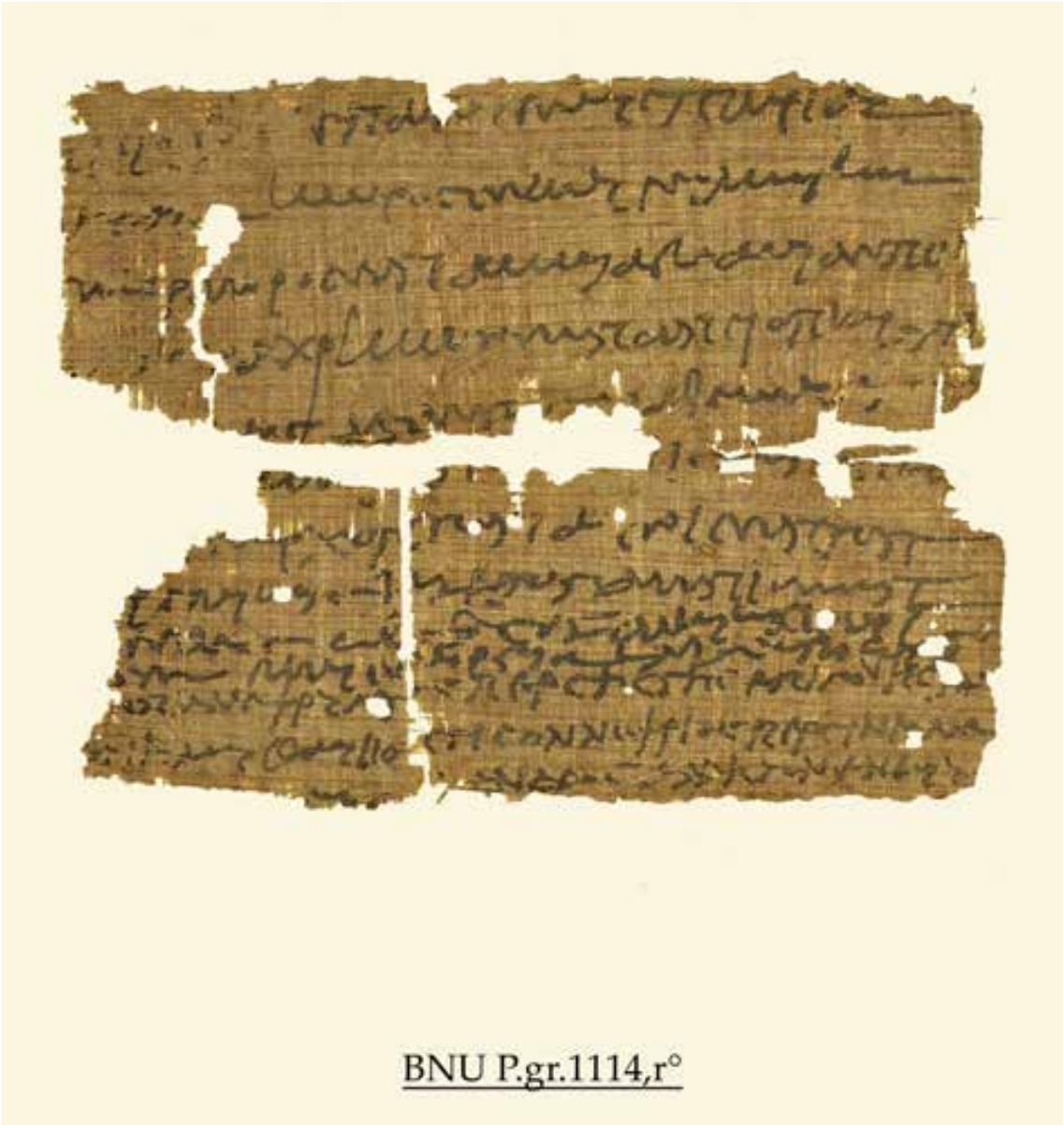
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Anhang



Tafel 7: SB I 5252 (© J.-L. Fournet)



Tafel 8: P.Stras. IV 289 (© Coll. BNU de Strasbourg)

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Wine dealers and their networks in Roman and Byzantine Egypt. Some remarks*

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1. Introduction

Trade can be perceived as a network of merchants, a system connecting sellers to buyers and sellers to sellers. Textual sources from Egypt speak of different groups of individuals engaged in trade –major entrepreneurs, middling traders and peddlers, importers and exporters, retailers and wholesale dealers. Examination of documentary evidence permits one to explore the specifics of connectivity within groups of traders, their dependency patterns and support systems, to assess whether these relations tended to be static or dynamic, and to observe the flow of information between markets. The existence of merchant associations also influenced trade, as they may have played a part in building regional trade networks and enhanced interaction between centers.[1]

Among the various trade specializations attested in papyri from Roman and Byzantine Egypt, wine merchants are an important group for the study of trade networks, as they appear fairly frequently in the sources and represent an important branch of the ancient economy. Papyri can be used to trace patterns of wine trade in the *chora* of Egypt to ascertain the place of both urban and rural dealers within the trading system. The available material brings information on wine dealers' social connections, professional ties and position in society. However, the topic of social networks is too vast to address in this short paper; on the pages that follow I concentrate, instead, on questions related to geographic connections: What is the geographic and chronological distribution of texts referring to wine merchants and what does this distribution tell us? What can we say about the geographic connections of wine merchants? Where were they based? Where did they operate? And lastly, what patterns did their operations follow?

2. Sources

Information on the wine trade can be found in many documents dated from the first to the seventh centuries. However, sales and purchases of wine do not always entail the involvement of merchants. The focus of my interest are networks of traders who were specialized professionals; therefore, for the purposes of this study I omitted references to sellers, buyers and transporters of wine who are not explicitly referred to as merchants.[2] The

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[1] Fikhman (1994); Carrié (2005); Gibbs (2008); Venticinque (2016).

[2] Also for this reason I leave out other evidence of trade, for instance amphorae and non-documentary texts. The trouble with distribution patterns of ceramics is that they cannot be simply equated with trading activity, and a discussion of other factors, such as redistribution and reuse, would be necessary. For an outline of the problem,

main criterion in text selection, therefore, was the presence of Greek terms for wine merchant: οἰνέμπορος, οἰνοπώλης, οἰνοπράτης and οἰνοκάπελος. In addition to these explicit mentions I also included texts referring to persons identifiable as wine merchants thanks to data from archives, specifically the archive of Heroninos and the small archive of Tesenouphis the wine merchant.[3] In total, the search combining the above criteria yielded 118 texts.[4]

The texts belong to a variety of categories and are mostly business letters, accounts, registers and contracts. Some provide relevant information on the places of wine merchants' activity. For instance, P.Diog. 13 and 14 from Alexandria, dated to 141, are tax exemptions for supplying wine to be presented at tollgates in Schedia and Iouliopolis. On the order of the prefect, Alexandrian merchants were to deliver 300 *dipla* of wine from Hermopolis Parva and 396 *dipla* from Anthylla to the city in order to provision it. Both villages were located in the Alexandrian *chora*. In Anthylla, the wine was purchased from two other merchants. From another second century text, P.Grenf. II 61 (Arsinoites, 197/198), we learn that an inhabitant of Psenyris received wine from an *oinemporos* from the village of Aphrodites Berenikes Polis. P.Flor. III 314 (Enseu, 428) is a contract between a potter and a wine merchant (*oinoprates*), both said to be from the village of Enseu in the Hermopolite nome. The potter is to provide the merchant with empty jars, which were undoubtedly intended for wine.

Not all texts show the merchants in the context of their wine business. Sometimes we see them in other situations, attested as owners of houses or holders of land, paying taxes or receiving grain. For instance, SPP XXII 179 is a list of money payments mentioning a wine merchant named Paboukas. The text is from Soknopaiou Nesos, therefore it is possible to identify this locality as the wine merchant's base of operation. P.Oxy. I 43v (Oxyrhynchos, after 16 February 295), in turn, mentions the house of Parion the *oinemporos* in Oxyrhynchos. Finally, in P.Cair.Masp. II 67163, a loan contract dated to 30 November 569, Aurelios Georgios *oinoprates* from Lykopolis is seen lending money in Antinoopolis, about 100 km away. Although not directly related to wine sales, such documents also offer information on the merchants' operating range, connections and mobility.

3. Chronological and geographic breakdown of the texts

Not all papyri mentioning wine merchants are as informative as the examples provided above. Overall, looking at individual texts our evidence remains anecdotal and the conclusions tend to be impressionistic. Many texts refer to wine dealers in obscure contexts or fail to provide a context at all. Nonetheless, some information on the presence of wine merchants can be derived from the study of the collected documents as a group. For instance, one can compare mentions of wine dealers in particular centuries and regions. Did the variations in the number of texts concerning wine dealers occur because in certain periods or regions there was more or less wine-dealer related activity or simply because more papyri are preserved from one period or region and fewer from another?

In order to answer this question, it is first necessary to compare the number of papyri mentioning wine dealers from each century and region and their relative changes to the total number of preserved papyri. The assumption in this case is that if the number of wine dealers

see Wilson (2009) 229-237. Due to spatial constraints, also non-documentary texts remain outside the scope of this paper, but see, e.g. Kislinger (1999).

[3] For the archives see Rathbone (1991) and Schubert (2007).

[4] The complete table and the Gephi databases used to construct the visualizations are available at Dzierzbicka (2018) WineDealersData. RepOD, http://dx.doi.org/10.18150/repod.6244760.

remains constant, the fluctuations in the number of attestations will follow the fluctuations in the total number of papyri. The century was used as the basic unit, and the dates were weighed to give proper representation to more broadly dated texts.[5] The Trismegistos database was the source of data on the total number of papyri preserved from each century.[6] Comparison of the two datasets was possible after calculation of median values for both groups and establishing the distribution of the data in relation to the median. The distribution of values in both datasets is shown on the graph in fig. 1.

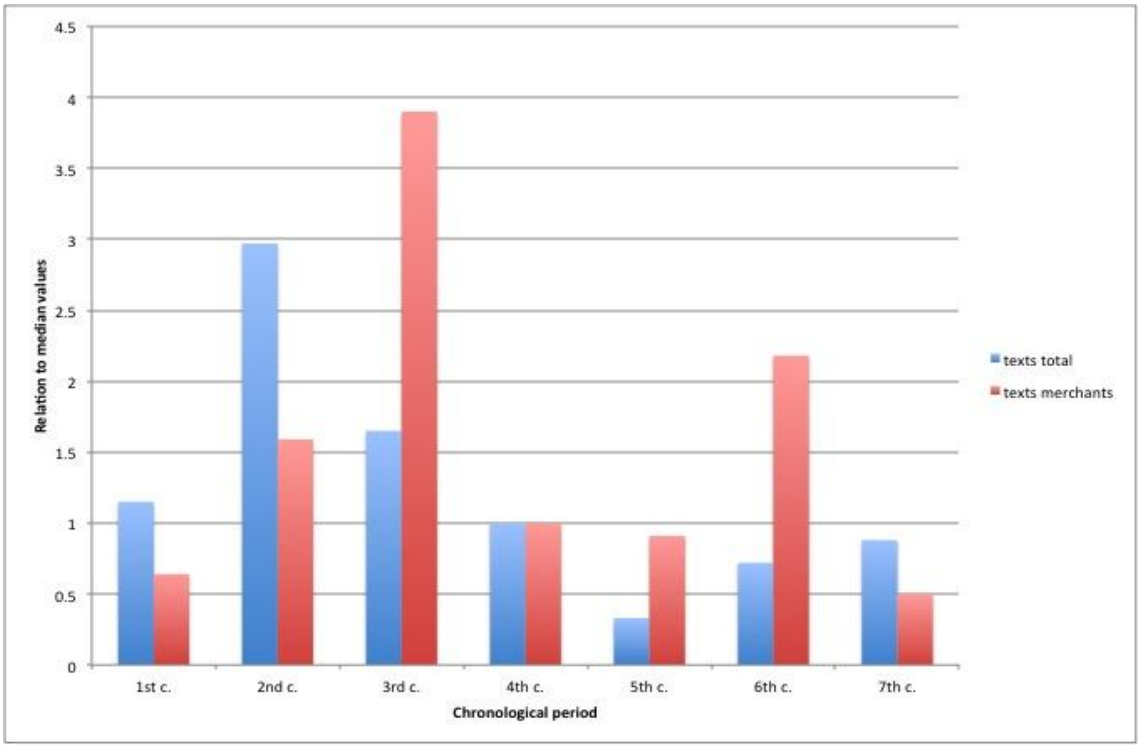


Fig. 1. Chronological distribution of papyri mentioning wine dealers *vs* total number of papyri preserved from each century. Distribution of values in relation to the median.

The graph in fig. 2 shows the number of papyri mentioning wine dealers divided by century. The number of papyri mentioning wine dealers rises steadily from the first to the third century, then there is a drop and again a rise from the fifth to the sixth century, followed by a decrease in the seventh century. The correlation between the changes in the total number of papyri and in the set of papyri mentioning wine dealers is fairly low, with the Pearson correlation coefficient at 0.3.[7] This means the two sets of variables do not tend to change together. The number of wine merchant attestations is low compared to the total in the first, second, fourth and seventh centuries, given the number of papyri preserved from these periods, but is relatively high in third, fifth and sixth centuries. In the third century, the archive of Heroninos is partly responsible for the increased number of attestations of wine dealers. However, in the fifth century and especially the sixth century, we could be looking at

[5] Van Beek / Depauw (2013).
[6] http://www.trismegistos.org/tm/search.php, Provenance: Egypt, date: strict.
[7] The Pearson Product Moment Correlation is a measure of correlation that permits one to assess the strength of an association between two sets of variables and to show this association in linear form. The coefficient is a number between +1 and –1, where +1 means a perfect positive association, 0 means no association, and –1 means a perfect negative association. See, e.g. Canning (2014) 75-78.

a true relative growth in their number, since no similar corpora of texts tip the scale in the body of evidence for wine dealers for this period.

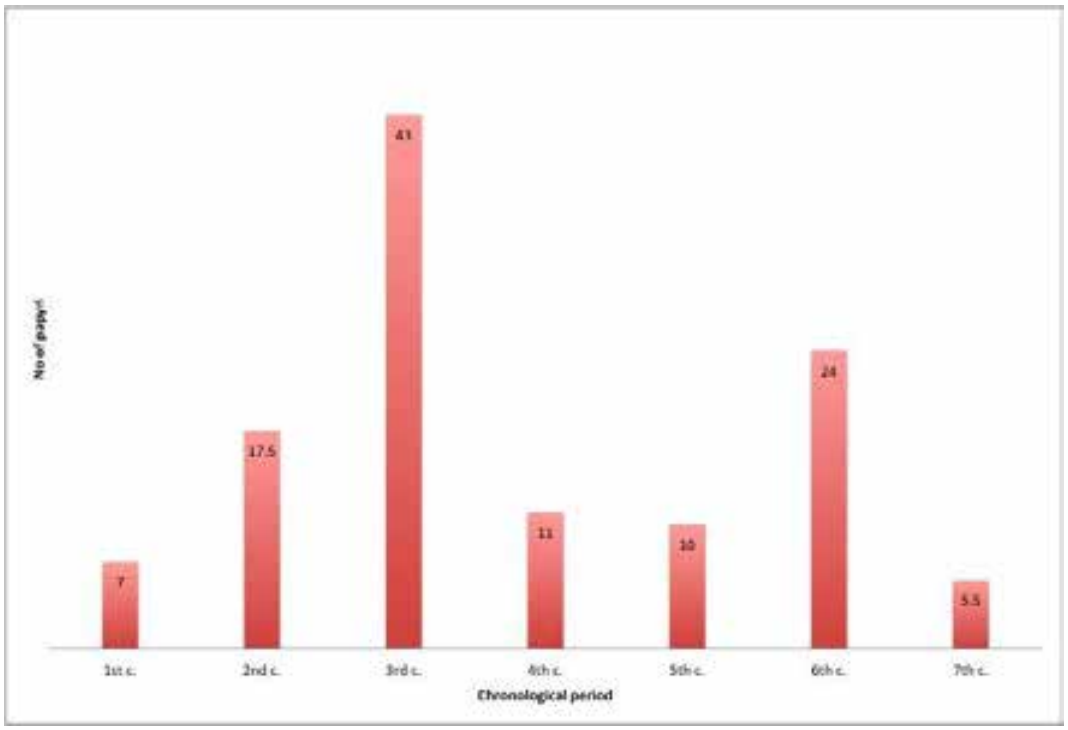


Fig. 2. Chronological distribution of papyri mentioning wine dealers, by century (weighed dates).

Scrutiny of the origin of the texts mentioning wine dealers also requires a comparison to the overall relative number of papyri from the same localities (fig. 3). In each case, the number of papyri mentioning wine dealers is proportional to the total number of papyri from the same localities (Pearson correlation coefficient = 0.7), with one exception: the Theban area. There are also no attestations of wine dealers' activity of any kind further to the south. Of course the fact that wine dealers are not attested south of Thebes does not mean that wine was not produced or consumed in that region. It is possible that south of Thebes the model of distribution of wine was different than in the north. However, it also cannot be excluded –and indeed seems more likely– that wine merchants' activity was concentrated in the major wine-producing areas, especially Middle Egypt and the Fayum, and they were indeed fewer in number in the south.

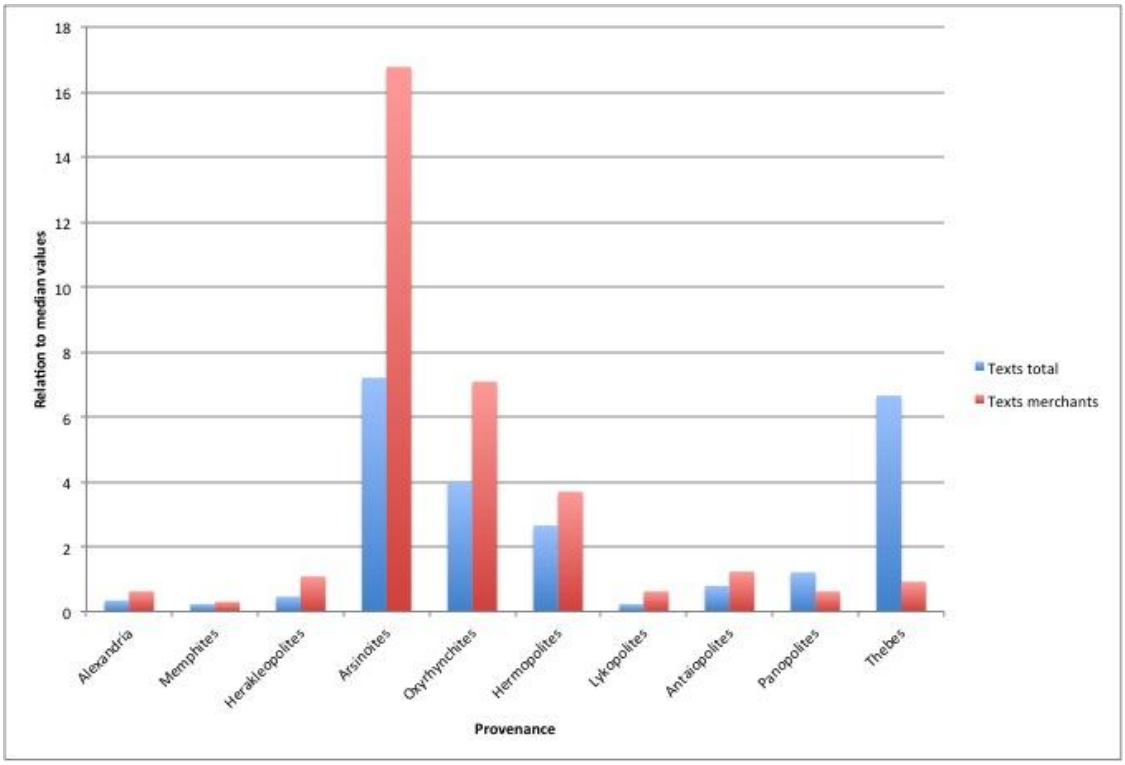


Fig. 3. Geographic distribution of papyri mentioning wine dealers *vs* total number of papyri preserved from each region. Distribution of values in relation to the median.

It is interesting to set the above conclusion against a communication network model for Egypt constructed by Richard Alston on the basis of contacts attested in Oxyrhynchos papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods.[8] According to this model, localities within the Oxyrhynchite nome accounted for 40-50% of all contacts attested for the city. Of non-Oxyrhynchite contacts, ca 45% was with localities within a radius of ca 90 km from the metropolis. 17% of non-Oxyrhynchite contacts fell within a zone extending from 90 km to ca 230-260 km to the north and south, while Alexandria accounted for ca 25% of all contacts outside the nome. The remaining ca 13% of the contacts outside the Oxyrhynchite nome were with the rest of Egypt and locations abroad. Alston's communication network model shows the same general trend as the evidence for connections of wine dealers: little or no contact with the area south of Panopolis and a focus on Middle Egypt and Alexandria. As in Alston's network model, the wine dealers' connections are focused on the urban center and much of their contacts are within the nome, but communication with other centers up to 200 km away is well attested.

The scrutiny of the chronological and geographic distribution of the texts shows that the region responsible for the fourth-seventh centuries peaks in wine-dealing activity is Middle Egypt and the Fayum. Notably, these are also areas where massive amphora production takes place in the same period (see fig. 4). The manufacture of Middle Egyptian amphorae (primarily Late Roman 7), ubiquitous in the Nile Valley in the Byzantine period, has been associated with the intensification of wine-producing activity in this area.[9]

[8] Alston (1998) 184-186.
[9] Dixneuf (2011) 154-173; Wickham (2005) 760-764.

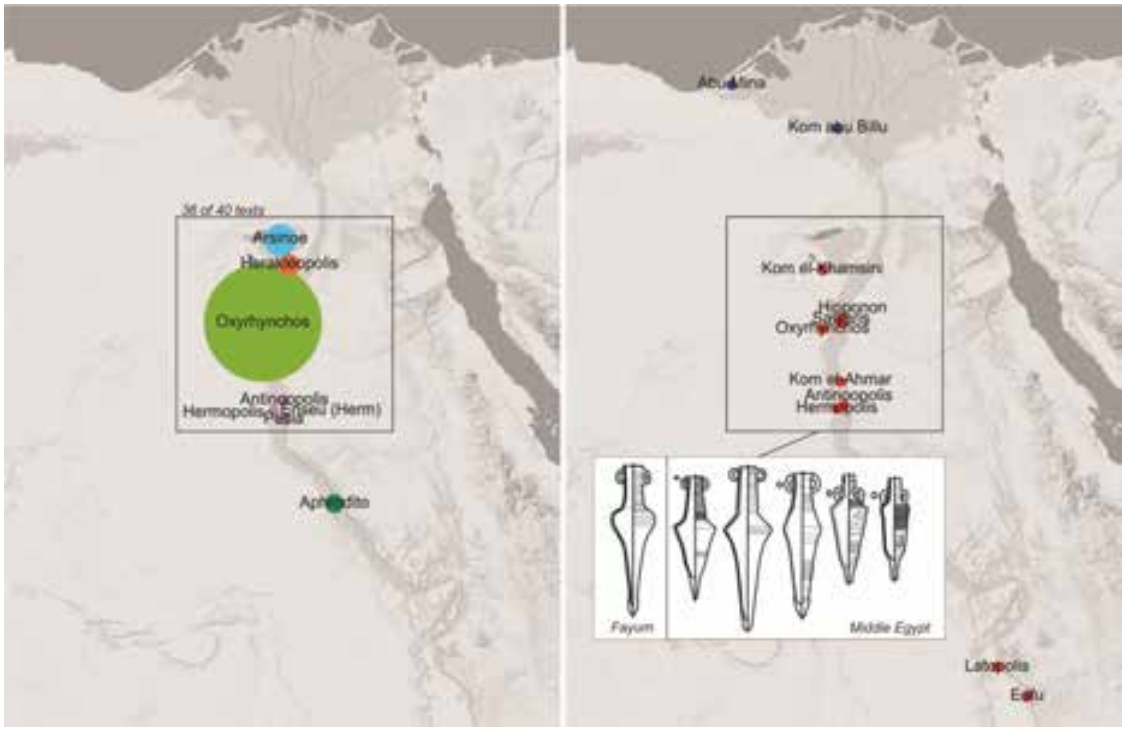


Fig. 4. Geographic distribution of papyri mentioning wine dealers *vs* sites of amphora production in the 4th-7th cent. Amphorae and kiln sites after Dixneuf (2011).

One also might be tempted to associate the presence of wine merchants in the Fayum and Middle Egypt of fourth to seventh centuries with the emergence of great estates, such as the Apion *oikos* at Oxyrhynchos. After all, in the third century *oinopolai* were certainly involved in the distribution of wine from the Appianus estate.[10] However, wine merchants are hardly attested at all in the Apion archive and they do not seem to have played any role on the estate.[11] We cannot be certain that other great estates followed the Apion model (wine was not a cash crop on the estate) but we also have little evidence in favour of connections between major landowners and wine dealers in Late Antiquity.

Apart from owners of great estates, however, a possible group of wine merchants' suppliers in fourth-seventh centuries in Middle Egypt are the lessees of vineyards –people who were burdened with disposing of the wine and who needed cash to pay their rent and taxes. Wine merchants may have served as links between them and the market and as providers of ready money. If this hypothesis holds true, then the higher number of attestations of wine merchants in the fourth-seventh centuries in Middle Egypt and Fayum could be associated with the presence of large rent-seeking estates, but in an indirect fashion.

4. Geographic distribution of wine dealers

The geographic distribution of texts that mention wine dealers is not tantamount to the wine dealers' area of operation. In order to study the latter, we must turn to the content of the papyri and find localities mentioned in the texts as being associated with the activities of wine dealers. In total, the mentioned 118 texts provide references to 54 different localities.

[10] Rathbone (1991) 287-293.
[11] Hickey (2012) 141-145.

Plotting these locations on a map proves problematic because aside from the well-known cities and archaeologically attested sites, the location or indeed even the name of many of them is unknown. For this reason I chose, instead, to show these localities and the connections between them on visualizations generated using Gephi network analysis software.

Network analysis, a method borrowed from sociology and mathematics, has recently gained importance in papyrology.[12] The method is rooted in graph theory, from which it adopts techniques for identifying, examining and visualising patterns of relationships. The main goal of network analysis is to detect and interpret patterns of relationships between subjects of research interest, for instance individuals, objects or communities. Network analysis software visualizes data in a manner that can offer a new perspective on information provided by textual sources. A visualisation consists of a set of points which represent the smallest units in the analysis, and a set of lines between these vertices which represent their relationships. When dealing with papyrological data we must keep in mind that this tool essentially represents the state of our sources and reflects scholarly practice rather than reality. In our case, however, the visualizations can help represent geographic connections when the location of places mentioned in texts is unknown.

On the Gephi visualizations presented in this paper, the locations mentioned in the texts are represented as nodes differentiated by colour and size according to the number of attested events related to wine merchants (for instance, location X stands for NN, a wine merchant, pays a tax in village X). The lines, or edges, connecting the different-sized dots are the attested connections between localities (for instance, a line between localities X and Y stands for NN, wine merchant of village X, sells wine in village Y). Even though these are visualizations, not maps, the known localities are plotted roughly according to their relative position in real life to make the visualizations more intuitive. This was done at the cost of emphasizing the connectedness of particular centers because this is not of primary importance for the present paper. Localities whose names are lost or omitted in the documents were given code names, for instance a nameless vineyard in the Oxyrhynchite nome is represented as ‘A (Oxyrhynchite)’.

Figures 5a-d and 6a-c present the attested locations divided by century. Looking at the visualizations, several observations can be made. First of all, Oxyrhynchos is attested as a place of wine merchant activity from the first to the sixth centuries. Second, activity in Thebes is small but consistent from the first to the third centuries. The bulk of the data concerns the second and third centuries. In the second century, the most active circuits are located in the Arsinoites, around Oxyrhynchos and in the vicinity of Alexandria. In the third century, the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite circuits are still the best attested, but activity can also be seen further to the south, in the Hermopolite and Panopolite. In the sixth century the best attested nodes are Oxyrhynchos and Arsinoe.

[12] Since Ruffini (2008) there have been other successful applications of network analysis in papyrology, e.g. Broux (2015).

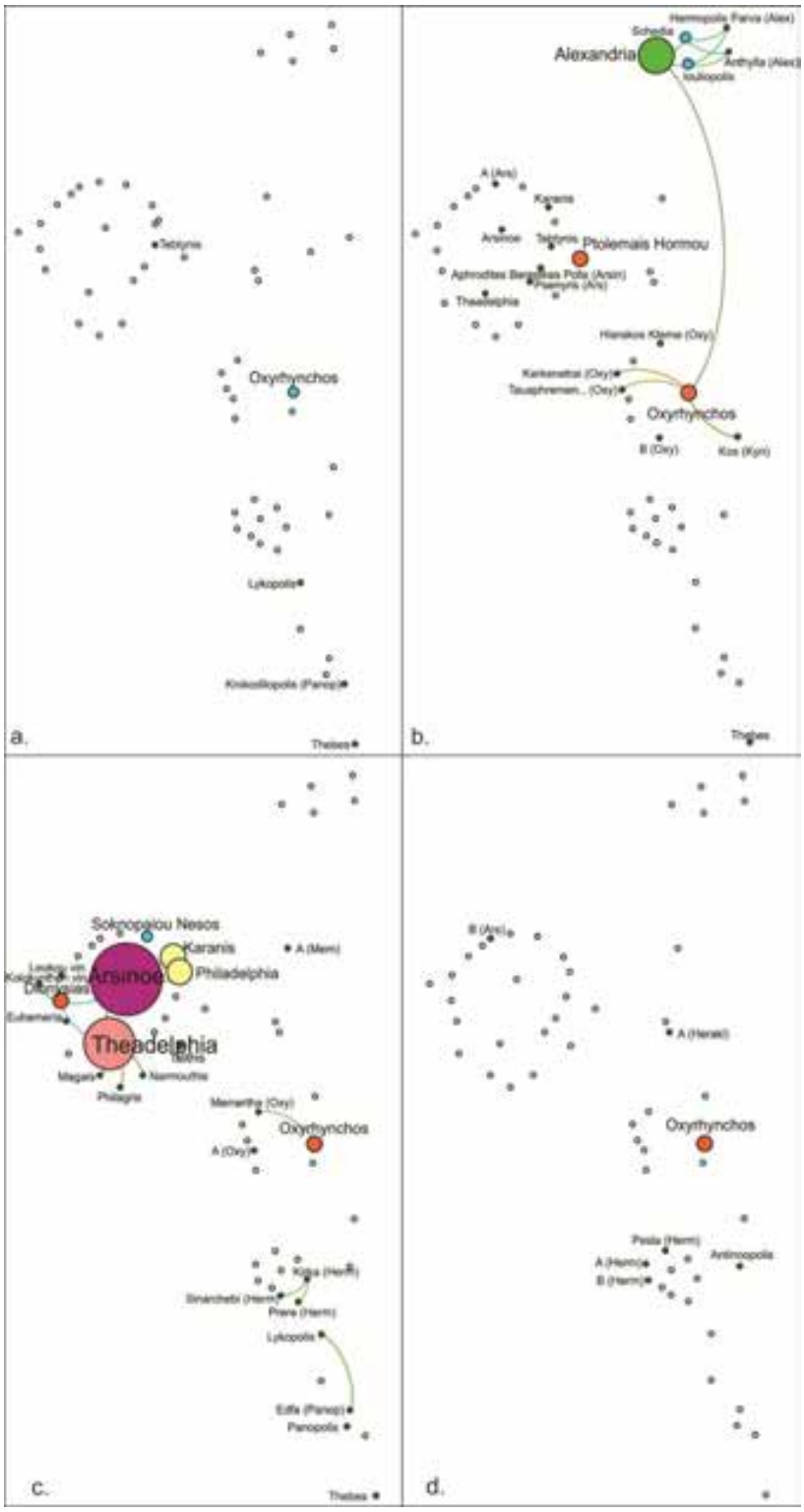


Fig. 5a-d. Locations of wine merchant activity attested in papyri from the 1st (5a), 2nd (5b), 3rd (5c) and 4th cent (5d).

Figure 6d is a cumulative diagram presenting all 54 localities in order to offer a more general view and trace recurring patterns. Among the mentioned localities 11 are nome capitals. The most frequently attested localities are Oxyrhynchos and Arsinoe, for which we have over 10 events. 4 events each are attested for Alexandria, Hermopolis and Lykopolis, and three or less for metropoleis of the Herakleopolite and Panopolite nomes, as well as Thebes. Seven of the localities are Fayum towns: Karanis, Tebtynis, Narmouthis, Ptolemais Hormou, Soknopaiou Nesos, Dionysias, and Theadelphia. Theadelphia is likely overrepresented due to the archive of Heroninos. As many as 33 localities are smaller villages, hamlets and vineyards, and two are customs posts near Alexandria.

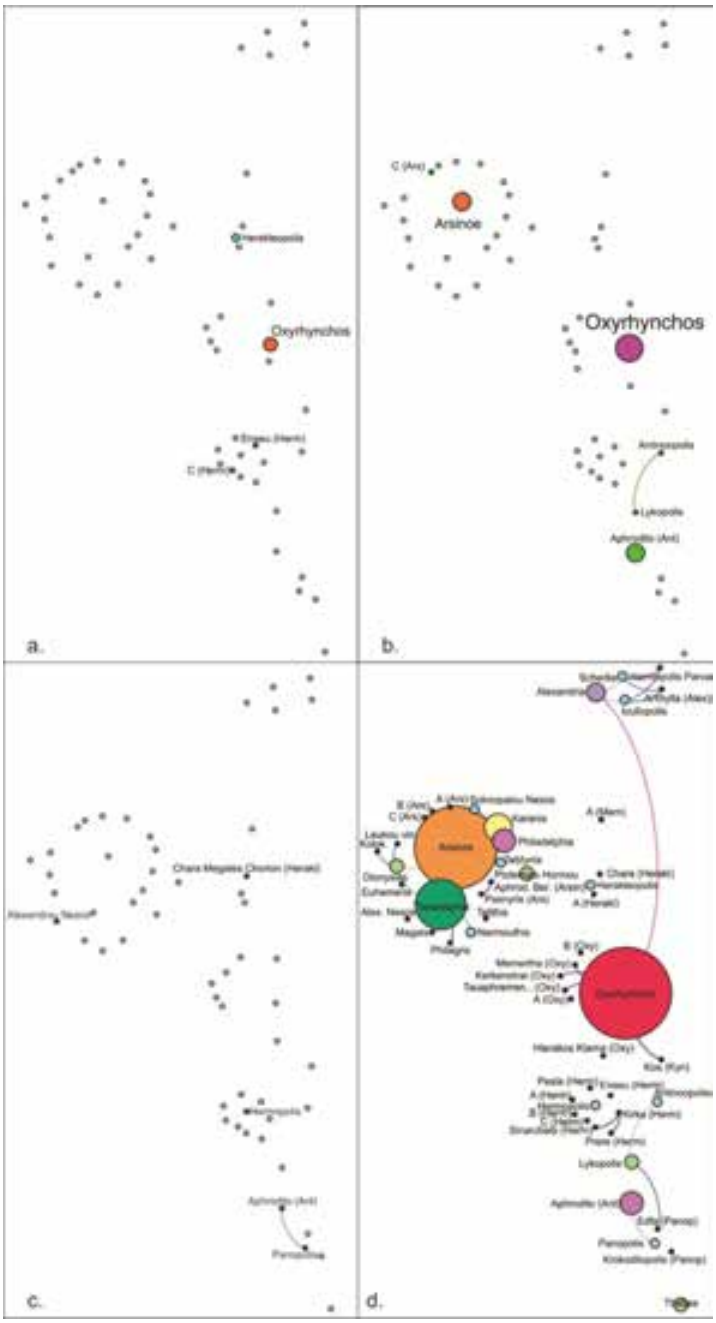


Fig. 6a-c. Locations of wine merchant activity attested in papyri from the 5th (6a), 6th (6b) and 7th cent (6c).

Fig. 6d. Cumulative diagram presenting all places of wine merchant activity attested from the 1st to the 7th c.

The attested localities can also be divided into places where the wine dealers are based and those in which they are attested only doing business (fig. 7), in green and in pink respectively. Dominic Rathbone, in his study on the archive of Heroninos, noted that the wine merchants associated with the Appianus estate were city-based and village-based.[13] The collected documentary evidence on wine merchants from beyond the Fayum shows that this division can perhaps be applied more generally. Thus, besides Arsinoe and Alexandria attested in the archive, we have city or 'town'-based wine merchants in Oxyrhynchos, Hermopolis, Lykopolis, Aphrodito and Panopolis. As for village-based wine merchants, in addition to the large villages in the Arsinoite, most of which are also attested in the archive of Heroninos, we see merchants based in the villages of Ptolemais Hormou and in Enseu, Hermopolites.

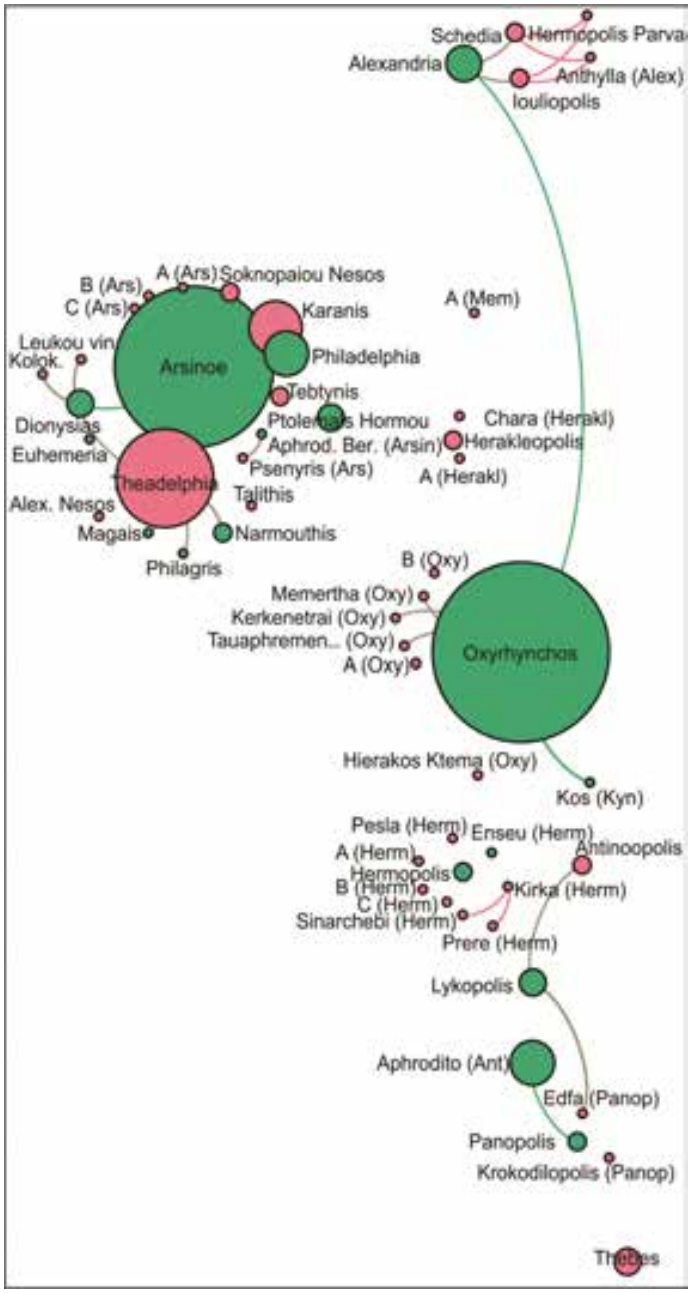


Fig. 7 Cumulative diagram showing attested localities as base locations (green) and places of activity (pink) of wine merchants

[13] Rathbone (1991) 287-293 and 300-305.

5. Networks of connections

Some of the collected texts permit one to map the wine dealers' networks of connections: contacts with partners, agents, clients, administration, etc. (fig. 8). Each connection, marked on the visualizations as an edge, or line, connecting the nodes that represent localities, is an instance of such a contact.

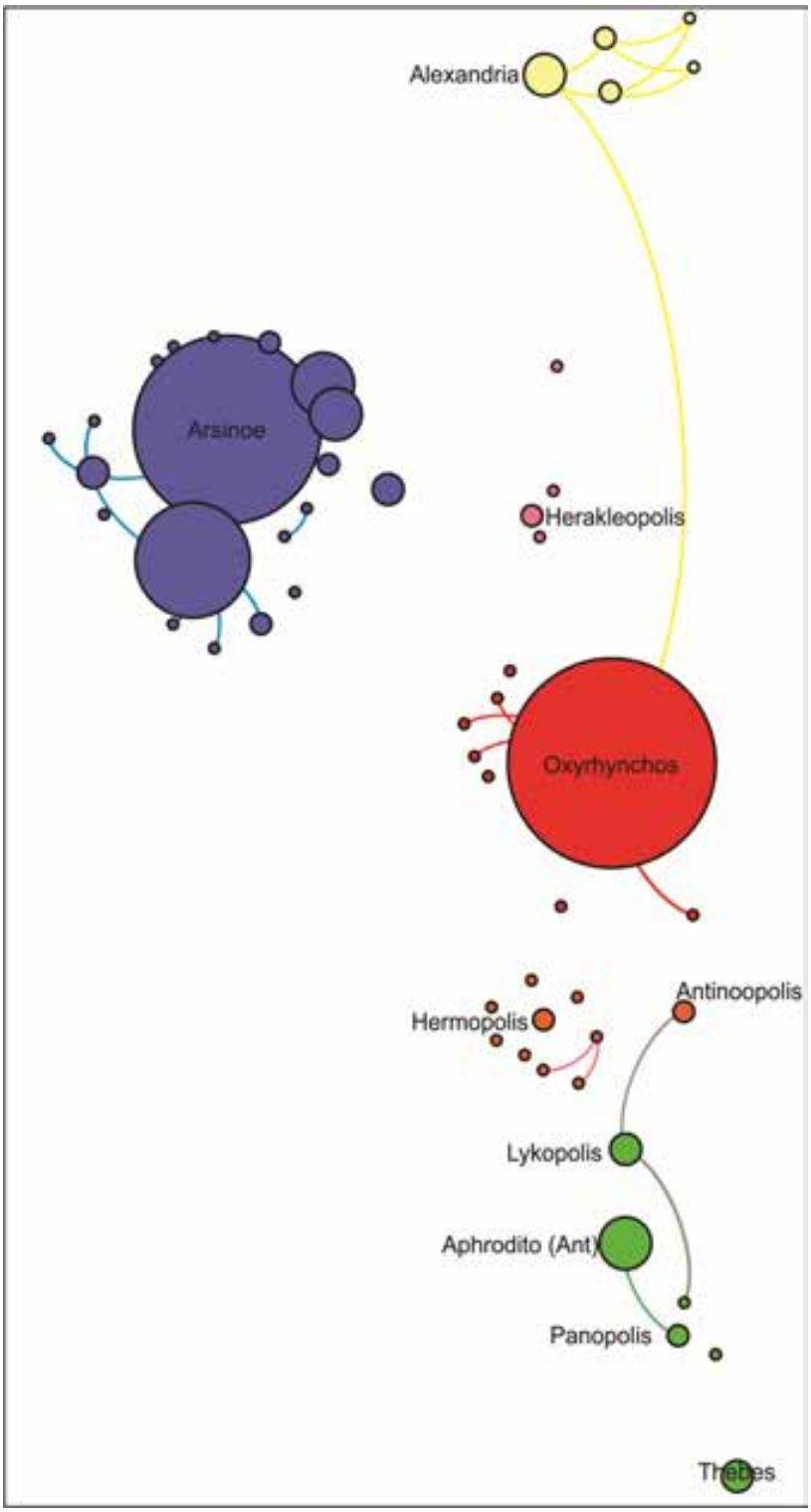


Fig. 8 Connections between places of wine merchant activity and detectable circuits. Cumulative diagram

Several economic models have been applied in the analysis of Egyptian trade networks.[14] The first is the localised trade network model, in which trade is confined to villages and their immediate vicinity. In this model, several villages trade with each other while urban communities may also be part of the network, but do not play a dominant role. The second model is a nome network model incorporating villages and the district capital, which plays a dominant role. Most goods are in this case traded and produced locally for consumption within the nome. The third is the regional trade network model, in which goods are exchanged across several nomes. It focuses on the system's urban communities. The fourth model is a long-distance trade network, in which goods are traded extensively outside the region.

The connections attested in the documents concerning wine merchants seem to correspond to three network models: The regional model is attested in connections between nomes on two levels: capital to capital or other city, for instance Lykopolis to Antinoopolis (P.Cair.Masp. II 67163), or metropolis to village, like Lykopolis to Edfa in the Panopolite (SB X 10270). Ties corresponding to the localized and nome models are also attested. The local connections are from metropolis to village, like from Oxyrhynchos to Memertha (P.Oxy. XXXI 2576), from village to village, like from Kirka to Sinarchebi in the Hermopolite nome (P.Bad. II 26), or from village to vineyard, like between Dionysias and Leukou *ktema* (P.Flor. II 196). We can try to delineate several such local circuits: most definitely Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite, likely Alexandrian and Hermopolite, as well as for lack of a better word, a Southern circuit or cluster of smaller, regional circuits. Although data is too scarce to say this with certainty, it seems that some regional circuits may have been closer to the nome model, like the Oxyrhynchite one, and others were more diffused, closer to the localized model, like the Arsinoite circuit.

6. The time-and-space versus the terminology of wine merchants

A broad look at the collected dossier of papyri mentioning wine merchants allows one to glimpse differences in the usage of terms used to designate wine merchants in Greek papyri. In turn, the terms themselves provide some information on the level of connectivity and mobility of this group.

As mentioned at the beginning, the main designations in use from the first to the seventh century are *oinemporos*, *oinopoles* and *oinoprates*. The term *oinokapelos*, common during the Ptolemaic period, is practically obsolete in Roman times. The term *oinemporos* is attested in the second and third centuries, mostly in the Oxyrhynchite, but also in Alexandria and vicinity. The term *oinopoles* is in use in the first three centuries of Roman rule and is attested mostly in the Arsinoites. It is the term of choice in the archive of Heroninos, which shows *oinopolai* maintaining connections on a local level, within the nome. The term *oinoprates* is the sole designation of wine merchants from fourth century onwards. It seems to denote both wholesale and retail dealers, even though the attested *oinopratai* have few business dealings outside their place of residence. Nonetheless, two connections are attested and they are both interregional.

Thus, it appears that only the terms *oinemporos* and *oinopoles* function contemporaneously and therefore merit closer investigation to seek possible differences in meaning. Documents mentioning *oinemporoi* are informative in this respect. In SB X 10211. l. 5 (1st-2nd cent.), *oinemporoi* buy wine wholesale directly from a producer and his mother –possibly in

[14] Used and discussed in Alston (1998) 169-170. For problems with defining local, regional and long-distance networks, see e.g. Alcock (2007) 686-692.

advance, since earnest-money is involved– The same is the case of P.Erl. 93 (2nd-3rd cent.), in which two *oinemporoi* buy almost the entire lot (1214 of 1262 jars). This may also be an advance purchase, as no price is mentioned in the account.

Buying wholesale need not imply very large amounts: In P.Oxy. VII 1055 (Oxyrhynchites, 235 or 267), Herakleides the *oinemporos* purchases 203 jars from one vat and 100 from another. In turn, in P.Grenf. II 61 (Psenyris, 197/198) Tapiamis buys wine from an *oinemporos* for 800 drachmas, so the amount must have been about 100 jars. In the aforementioned P.Diog. 13 and 14, the numbers are relatively small as well (300 *dipla* and almost 400 *dipla*). These smaller purchases are comparable in size to batches handled by some *oinopolai*, for instance in P.Bad. II 26. ll. 5, 7, 9, 13 and 17 (Hermopolite, 293), where Silbanos, Hatres and others buy 100-120 jars of wine each. Thus, what seems to have distinguished *oinemporoi* from *oinopolai* were their wholesale dealings, though 'wholesale' does not necessarily mean 'large quantities'. The 'wholesale' nature of the dealings of *oinemporoi* seems to consist in purchase of the entire crop in bulk. The latter is indicated, for instance, by the author of P.Oxy. LIX 3989. ll. 11-13, who commends his addressee for selling the wine wholesale (ἐμπ̣[ο]ρ[ι]κῶς) as opposed to retail, by the *kotyle* (κοτυλίζειν). The number of jars in a bulk purchase, however, depended on the size of the vineyard, and such plots were usually small.

Oinemporoi also seem to have had the largest number of business dealings outside their place of residence and the most trans-regional connections. In P.Oxy. XXII 2342. l. 3 (Oxyrhynchos, 102), *oinemporos* Pasion, possibly from the Herakleopolites or Kynopolites, has a partner in Oxyrhynchos and travels to Alexandria. In PSI X 1123 (Oxyrhynchos, 152), Pokrouris *oinemporos*, presumably from Oxyrhynchos, sells wine from Kerkenetrai and Tauaphremen, localities in the same nome, to another wine merchant, who operates in Alexandria and is to transport the wine to the city. In SB X 10270 Nr. 49. l. 4 (Edfa, 229) Aurelioi Herodes and Herakleides, two *oinemporoi* based in Lykopolis, have dealings with Aurelios Paniskos from Edfa near Panopolis, ca 100 km away.[15] Meanwhile, no inter-regional connections are attested for *oinopolai*.

The pattern observed for *oinemporoi* also seems to apply to other compounds with *-emporos* (e.g. *linemporos, eriemporos*, etc.). The tendency to purchase bulk amounts is observable in documents of the guild of salt merchants from Tebtynis, who deal jointly with *emporoi*, possibly in order to meet the required quota (P.Mich. V 245. ll. 30-31; Tebtynis, 47). As for the geographic scope of operations, customs regulations in P.Oxy. I 36 (= W.Chr. 273) refer to *emporoi* carrying their cargo on ships (ll. 8. 9 and 14, possibly also 3 and 5). Although it is not certain whether we are dealing with an internal or external toll tariff, we are certainly looking at trans-regional and not local trade in this case.

7. Conclusions

To sum up, differences in the number of attestations of wine merchants in various regions throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods are, to a degree, correlated with the changing numbers of papyri preserved from a given century and region. However, we can see an increase in the number of wine merchants in the third, and later fifth-sixth centuries compared to other centuries. This could be connected with an overall increase in wine production in these periods and, indirectly, with the development of large estates.

[15] The same applies to the *emporos* attested in T.Varie 3 (not included in the dossier because the merchant is not specifically referred to as a wine dealer). The batch of wine transported by river numbers 5826 *knidia*. See Morelli (2010).

The places of wine merchants' activity are limited to the Nile Valley north of Thebes. A possible explanation of this is that they were active primarily in the production zones and even though wine production is attested also further south both in papyri and in archaeological evidence from the vicinity of Edfu and Aswan, it was clearly on a smaller scale than in Middle Egypt and Fayum.

Wine merchants are based primarily in cities, but also in villages. The decisive criterion in this case may have been the presence of consumers. As for the places where they do business, it is their own hometowns, wine-producing localities (villages, vineyards, etc.) and towns where the owners or managers of the vineyards resided. Papyri often refer to them as wine merchants of town or village X and show them receiving sums of money or consignments of wine for sale.

Wine merchants' connections spanning different localities are not as commonly attested as one would expect, but some connectivity patterns can be indicated. The general impression is that of local circuits linked by trans-regional connections. Overall it appears that the down-the-line exchange model dominates: merchants operated from their bases and worked along established lines of connections, but more complex or long-distance transactions required the cooperation of several individuals engaged in the trade.

Where the documents show us actual shipments of merchandise, they mention individual transactions carried out by merchants from point A to point B. This seems to imply the dominance of wine merchants operating regular routes and dealing with familiar partners rather than, for instance, working as itinerant middlemen sailing up and down the Nile. The latter pattern is, in fact, completely unattested. And for good reason: we see wine merchants borrowing and lending money, signing agreements for the advance purchase of wine and cooperating with owners and managers of large estates, or working with the administration. In order to engage in all of the above interactions they needed to be well integrated into the local society. They had to establish local ties that led to building trust and acquiring information vital for their business dealings. The fact that connections in the presented network are few and rather short-distance shows, in my opinion, this focus on local communities. Paradoxically, it is precisely the absence of intricate, long itineraries that shows the complexity of Egypt's wine trade. What the documentary evidence offers us are only isolated links, but these links formed a web that connected countless individuals into a trade network.

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The Ostraka from Umm Balad

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In the hinterland of the seaside resort of Hurghada, some 50 km from the Red Sea coast, and not very far from Mons Porphyrites, there is a small quarry with a very well preserved *praesidium*, now known as *Umm Balad*. When we were working at Mons Claudianus from 1987 to 1993 we occasionally visited the place, which is easy to get to.[1]

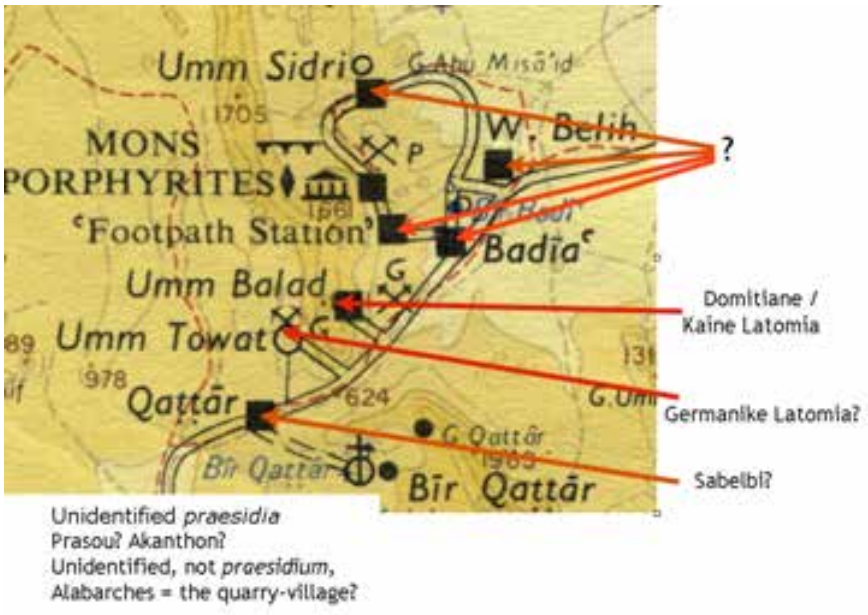


Fig. 1. Map of the area with Umm Balad / *Domitiane* / *Kaine Latomia* indicated. From Meredith (1958)

Towards the end of the 1990s it was clear that the Beduins were excavating there, since the rubbish dump in front of the gate began to look more and more like a rabbit-warren. It thus came about that we obtained an excavation permit in 2002 when most new archaeological projects in the Eastern Desert were stopped by the SCA in order to encourage excavations in the Delta, which was threatened by the rising water-table. Our arguments about the urgency had been heard, and during two seasons in 2002-2003 we were able to excavate the rubbish-dump completely and the *praesidium* as much as necessary, and to make detailed plans of the area and the two quarries.

The rubbish-dump yielded some 1150 ostraka of which four are firmly dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius, more precisely between the years 146 and 151 CE. Other texts are clearly Antonine as well, e.g. 13 *entolai*, a type of document that is well known from Mons Claudianus and which is found only in the Antonine period and later.[2] A few more could be dated similarly for various reasons, e.g. a label from a bread-basket sent to a worker and

[1] 'We' here and elsewhere in this paper means Hélène Cuvigny and myself. For the excavation of Umm Balad, the team further consisted of Jean-Pierre Brun, and Michel Reddé, Dominique Cardon, Emanuel Botte. Laetitia Cavassa, and Isabelle Sachet.
[2] About *entolai* see e.g. Cuvigny (1996).

containing 50 pairs of loaves. In the Trajanic period it was always 55 pairs. So, on the whole, we were fairly happy thinking that we were excavating an Antonine site, although a few things puzzled us, most importantly perhaps, that there were a fair amount of Jewish names, which ought not to be possible after the Jewish revolt at the end of Trajan's reign, 115-117 CE.[3]



Fig. 2. The *praesidium* and our tents seen from an elevated point looking south (© the author, 2003).

Then, at the end of the second season, there came a text that was firmly dated to Domitian's reign and another was identified later. It was so late in the season that the archaeologists had already gone home and Hélène Cuvigny and I were really just cleaning up and closing. I shall spare you a detailed account of the effect this discovery had on us, but of course we had to re-think a lot of things. It became clear that the quarry was a Domitianic foundation that had worked in close co-operation with Mons Claudianus. It had been fairly short-lived for reasons that I shall return to in a moment. Then, from the early second century, there had been a break in activities, and under Antoninus the place became active again for some time, but probably not for very long. We do not know why the place was used again under Antoninus. The buildings are good, but there is no water there, only a cistern. In fact, a good many of the ostraka are concerned exactly with the transportation of water from various wells in the neighbourhood. During the Domitianic period the documents received or written at Umm Balad were mostly of a kind that did not need a date, like letters.

At any rate, once we had got used to this new dating, it solved several problems. It became comprehensible how there could be Jewish workers, and another problem also found a better solution: We had of course already seen that many names of workers were ones we already knew from Mons Claudianus, not least Hieronymos, the architect.[4] So far we had thought that he might be a homonymous grandson, but it now became clear that he might be the same man, and that he probably worked at Umm Balad before transferring to Mons Claudianus. But this is far from clear, since a Hieronymos seems to have been active at Mons Claudianus both under Trajan and in the middle of the 2nd century.[5] Equally, frequent mentions of

[3] The most interesting piece of evidence for Jewish presence is the representation of Moses on an ostrakon. See Cuvigny (2014). For a general description of this rebellion, see Modrzejewski (1991) 161-167.
[4] See e.g. O.Claud. IV 823.
[5] Both Hieronymos and Sokrates, the junior architect, also figure in correspondence with Athenodoros who is well dated to 150-154 CE, see e.g. O.Claud. IV 882, 891, and 894. Sokrates is described as «architect of

Porphyrites and Kaine Latomia (Καινὴ Λατομία) in ostraka from Mons Claudianus did not refer to homonymous quarries in the Mons Claudianus region,[6] but actually meant these quarries some 50 km north of Mons Claudianus as the crow flies and at least 70-80 km, or 2-3 days on foot, by the path they must have taken. In spite of this distance, there seems to have been regular communication and exchange of workers between Mons Claudianus and Umm Balad.

Let us stop a moment at the name of the quarry. The enterprise must have begun during, probably towards the end, of the reign of Domitian, and the name of the quarry was Δομιτιανὴ λατομία. After the murder and *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian, the name of the place was quickly changed to Καινὴ Λατομία. So we have a means of dating texts to before or after 96 CE according to which name is used. At Mons Claudianus we find a certain number of mentions of *Kaine Latomia*, but none of *Domitiane Latomia*, which must mean that contact between the two establishments mostly took place after 96 CE.[7] Some time thereafter activities in *Kaine Latomia* stopped and the efforts were concentrated on Mons Claudianus, perhaps already then to extract the columns for the Forum Traiani and the Basilica Ulpia.



Fig. 3. A quarry-face in Quarry A on a terrace, midway up on the mountainside. Notice how the rock is criss-crossed by cracks and hairlines (author's photo, 2004).

But why did the work at *Kaine Latomia* stop? According to me, because the stone was no good. Looking at what is left in the quarry it seems clear that the stone from *Kaine Latomia* never split along the projected line. It must, in other words, have been extremely difficult to do anything useful with it. I have consulted the geologist James Harrell from Toledo in Ohio who has analysed the stone and allows me to quote the following statement:[8]

> «There are indications the quartz diorite of Wadi Umm Balad is prone to breakage and that this may be why the Romans made relatively little use of it. To the extent that this is true, it

Arabarches» in O.KaLa. inv. no. 269.

[6] It cannot be completely excluded that there was also an homonymous quarry in the region of Mons Claudianus, but on the whole I do not believe there was.

[7] For Καινὴ Λατομία see O.Claud. IV 700, 702, 704, and 777.

[8] E-mail 9 June 2012. A description and analysis of the stone can be found in Brown / Harrell (1995) 232.

> may be attributed to the rock's mineralogy and mode of formation. The bulk of the quartz diorite originally consisted of oligoclase, a variety of sodic plagioclase feldspar, with biotite mica constituting most of the remainder of the rock. Through a combination of deuteric and hydrothermal alteration processes, these two minerals have been partially replaced by structurally weak clay minerals (mainly sericite and chlorite). Internal fracturing has been induced by shearing accompanying the quartz diorite's intrusion as an igneous dike and also by expansive hydration of clay minerals during weathering. This together with the compositional changes could cause uncontrolled breakage in the rock during quarrying, carving and transport».

In plain English this means that the stone from Kaine Latomia is liable to break in unwanted ways. In fact, very few examples of this stone are found outside the quarries. Nearly all examples are small and in secondary positions. According to R. Gnoli the only samples of the stone still in place are found in the floor of the *triclinium* of the *Domus Flavia*,[9] built between 81 and 92 CE, so the quarries at Umm Balad must have been in operation at least by the late 80s.

There are only two quarries, both of them very high up, but only one of them (Quarry A) has a ramp down to the wadi floor, so it is difficult to see how any stone can ever have come out from the highest quarry (Quarry B).

Comparatively few ostraka are concerned with the actual quarrying. Much of the time during which the Romans were active must have been spent at the outset on constructing the infrastructure, building the ramps, the paths, and the *praesidium* itself. And while they were working, a lot of effort must have gone into procuring and transporting water. For the *praesidium* is built in a place where there is no well. Even so, it is quite far from the quarries, which are not only high up on the mountainside, but also about 1 km into the mountains from the *praesidium*.[10] Because of this, it is even stranger that the place was re-occupied some 40 years after the first attempt, but there are texts that show that there was a second attempt at extracting stone.

But here I should speak more of the texts and less about the physical background. There are already several hundred pages of text-edition of ostraka from Umm Balad awaiting publication, and I will show you a serious methodological problem that we have.[11] The area between Mons Claudianus and Porphyrites is relatively well explored. There is a good map by Meredith (1958) and an even better and more recent one in The Barrington Atlas (Talbert 2000), and we have ourselves been to most of the places where there are signs of Roman activity. All these places must have had names in Roman times. At the same time, the texts mention many place names, and a major task when editing the texts is to correlate such place names to actual sites. Along the desert roads, this is relatively easy, since letters were normally sent between neighbouring stations, but the quarries and their *praesidia* are not disposed along roads in the same way. There is a criss-cross of connections, and no logical 'up-and-down-the-line' except for the stations along the supply road from Qena, which was probably the one called ὁδὸς Πορφυρίτου.[12] In the ostraka from *Kaine Latomia* alone we have twelve different place-names and only a very few are identified with anything like certainty. And what is a certain identification anyway? You never find an inscription over the main gate saying «This is etc.», but if you excavate a site and find a large number of

[9] Gnoli (1971) 133. The most recent treatment is di Nuccio / Ungaro (2002) 230. Note that the photograph on page 231 is of Umm Balad, not Wadi Barud as stated in the caption. But this, like all the other standard bibliographical references, just repeats the information from Gnoli in more or less abbreviated form.
[10] For the roads around Umm Balad, see Bülow-Jacobsen (2013) 568-572.
[11] The O.KaLa. will be published in due course by Hélène Cuvigny and myself.
[12] See e.g. O.Claud. I 61 and 62 (more in index).

amphoras inscribed with a place-name, there is good reason to suppose that they arrived at their destination and that we have the ancient name of the site. At Umm Balad we have 31 such ostraka naming mentioning *Domitiane Latomia* and 75 for *Kaine Latomia*, two of which are shown in fig. 4 below. But in order to have such evidence one must excavate and find texts, and so few of these quarry-sites, and even fewer of the support-points around and between them have been excavated, so we do not have those jar-inscriptions from neighbouring sites. And so we must use a context-based identification.



Fig. 4. Amphoras marked with recipient's name and address (author's photo).

I shall give you a couple of examples of this procedure: Sabelbi (Σαβελβι), whatever it means, is mentioned some 15 times in our texts from *Kaine Latomia*, so it must have been important, and probably not very far away. We learn (O.KaLa. inv. no. 115) that it was a *praesidium*, since there was a *curator.* There is mention of water-transport, so it must also be one of the wells that served *Kaine Latomia*. It was close to the *praesidium* Akantha (Ἄκανθα) and horsemen from Sabelbi were told to escort camels going to Akantha. But then, we do not know where Akantha was either. Furthermore, Sabelbi seems to have been placed before *Kaine Latomia* on the route of the supply-caravan from the Valley (O.KaLa. inv. no. 288). Finally there is a text telling us (O.KaLa. inv. no. 422) that there was a καταβατόν, which must mean a descent here, in Sabelbi that presented a problem for heavily loaded wagons. The only place I can find that fits all these criteria is the station now known as Qatar, the first station on the road from *Kaine Latomia* to Qena, about 13,5 km from *Kaine Latomia* by wagon. I suppose that Hieronymos was accompanying a stone-transport by wagon. Arriving at Sabelbi he discovered that there would be a problem and sent a man the relatively short distance back to Umm Balad for ropes and other necessities. Perhaps it is a little fanciful, but I cannot help thinking that this may have been the first heavy transport out of the quarry, or this problem would have been known and taken into account beforehand.

O.KaLa. inv. no. 422 11 × 15 cm Reign of Domitian?



Ἱερώνυμος Μαξίμωι
τῷ̣ι φιλτάτῳ χα(ίρειν).
δώσις τῶι φέρ[ο]ντί σοι τὸ
ὄστρακ(ον) τ̣ὸν τόνον τ̣ο̣ῦ̣
πρὸς τὴν θύραν Πολυ-
δεύκου, τὸ κόμμα τὸ
θρόινον ὁμοίως,
καὶ τὸ σεβέν<ν>ινον,
ἵνα σχῇ ἡ ἅμαξα
εἰς τὸ καταβατὸ̣ν̣
τὸ ἐν Σαβελβι̣.
ἔρρωσο

2. χ̄ ‖ 3. r. δώσεις ‖ 4. οστρα^{κ} ‖ 7. r. θρύινον

«Hieronymos to Maximus, his dearest, greetings. Give to the bearer of the ostrakon the cord that is by Polydeukes' door, likewise the switch of rush and the palm-fibre rope, in order for the wagon to hold steady on the (descending) ramp in Sabelbi. Farewell».

Here καταβατόν cannot mean a column of text (LSJ = σελίς), but must mean 'descent', 'going down'. The translation of LSJ is based on Herodianus, *Partitiones* 122,3 «σελὶς, τὸ καταβατὸν τοῦ βιβλίου, καὶ κλίνεται σελίδος·» This, to my mind, does not make καταβατόν a synonym of σελίς, but explains σελίς as 'the descent in the book (roll)' as opposed to its length.

Let us try another one: From the *praesidium* there was a road, now mostly destroyed, up the wadi to where the quarries were. There, on the wadi floor, just before you begin climbing up, there is a village, where the workers must have slept when they were working in the quarries and where some preliminary roughing out of the blocks went on (see fig. 6). Plenty of letters and notes that we find at the *praesidium* must have been written and sent from there, but what was this place called?



Fig. 6. The village at the end of the wadi, where the ramp from the quarry ended. Alabarches? (© the author 2002).

Looking through letters that must have been written from the quarry or thereabouts we quickly concentrate on the architect Sokrates, who writes many letters to Hieronymos, who was probably an older colleague and in charge of the whole enterprise. There are 15 letters from Sokrates to Hieronymos concerning all sorts of small matters, often about things that Sokrates needed for the work in the quarry. In one letter he swears that he does not have something –the word is in lacuna– neither in the quarry nor in Alabarche.[13] This would seem to settle the matter in favour of Alabarche as the name of the quarry-village, but unfortunately there is another letter that could be evidence to the contrary:

[13] Inv. no. 261 is already published as P.Worp 50.

O.KaLa. inv. no. 354 11.5 × 11.5 cm Reign of Domitian or Trajan



Apuleius Clementi / collegae suo
salutem·
ante omnia / opto te bene ualere
frater quot mea / uota sunt / scire
te uolo frater / quia in Alaḅarche
sum si quot desideraueris impe-
ra · tanquam fratri tuo rogo
tempori · seruire debemus
donec et nos tempus
domini nos{s}tri Eu-
tychi prendamus
uale

6. r. *quid*

«Apuleius to Clemens, his colleague, greeting. First of all I hope that you are well, brother, which I pray for. I wish you to know that I am in Alabarche. If you want anything, command, I ask you, like from a brother. We must make the best of it as long as even we take the rhythm from his Lordship Eutyches. Be well».

As so often with these letters, we do not really understand what is involved, but perhaps it was just a phatic message (something like a postcard: «Greetings from Alabarche. Hope you are well. Write to me»). The two correspondents are both military. Eutyches is almost unknown, but could be a civilian engineer who was apparently little appreciated. In any case, if Apuleius was in the quarry village, Clemens who was in the *praesidium* would know already, since you had to pass the *praesidium* to get there, and, more important, if you were in the godforsaken little village at the end of the wadi, it would be a strange thing to offer to send whatever your correspondent demanded. Unless Apuleius was joking, as he may have been, this letter might prove that Alabarche was not the name of the quarry-village. But in line 5 it is uncertain whether *quia* has its classical meaning of ‘because’ or the postclassical of

'that'. If *quia* just introduces the object-clause dependent on *scire*, we should perhaps put a full stop after *sum* in line 6. If so, the statement that Apuleius is in Alabarche is no longer the reason why Clemens should ask him anything, and the argument against Alabarche as the name of the quarry-village becomes less important.

Some names are certainly identified, as e.g. Porphyrites and Klaudianon. Sabelbi, as we have seen, may well be the *praesidium* in Wadi Qatar, and there is a good chance that the next *praesidium* on the road towards Qena was called Melan Oros.[14] Alabarche may or may not be the name of the quarry-village. But there are other praesidia we do not know, like Prasou, which must have been quite close, or Akantha. As you can see on pl. 1, there is still plenty of excavation to be done in order to find the ostraka with names and addresses, before we understand the logistics of this quarry-zone.

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[14] Now called Deir el-Atrash.

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Dati preliminari derivanti dallo studio degli ostraca di Berlino (O.Dime) da Soknopaiou Nesos*

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Il sito greco-romano di Dime es-Seba / Soknopaiou Nesos (Fayyum, Egitto) è oggetto di scavi scientifici e sistematici dal 2003 ad opera del Soknopaiou Nesos Project (SNP), diretto da M. Capasso e P. Davoli.[1] Le tredici Campagne di scavo (2003-2016), che hanno interessato in massima parte l'interno dell'area sacra della *kōmē*, hanno restituito finora circa 600 ostraca, la maggior parte dei quali hanno testo scritto in demotico.[2]

Prima delle indagini del SNP a Soknopaiou Nesos solo la missione tedesca dei Königliche Museen di Berlino ha documentato un significativo recupero di ostraca.[3] La Missione, diretta da Friedrich Zucker in collaborazione con Wilhelm Schubart, effettuò due campagne di lavoro a Soknopaiou Nesos tra febbraio 1909 e gennaio 1910, con il chiaro scopo di recuperare papiri.[4] Nel suo diario Zucker riporta che durante gli scavi si rinvenne, appena fuori dal *temenos* nella parte nord-occidentale del sito, un considerevole gruppo di ostraca.[5] Dei 228 ostraca ritrovati 222 sono ora conservati nella Papyrussammlung a Berlino[6] e i

* La materialità degli ostraca di Dime / Soknopaiou Nesos (Fayyum) e Amheida / Trimithis (Dakhla Oasis) è stata oggetto della mia ricerca di Dottorato presso l'Università del Salento (Lecce) e l'Università di Poitiers. Co-tutor di questa ricerca sono state rispettivamente Paola Davoli e Pascale Ballet. Un sincero ringraziamento va ai Direttori delle due Missioni Archeologiche P. Davoli, Mario Capasso e Roger S. Bagnall per avermi dato questa opportunità. Tale ricerca è attualmente parte di un più ampio progetto attivo presso la Ruprecht-Karls-Universität di Heidelberg, intitolato "Schreiben auf Ostraka im inneren und äußeren Mittelmeerraum", patrocinato dal Sonderforschungsbereich (SFB) 933 – Materiale Textkulturen. Materialität und Präsenz des Geschriebenen in non-typographischen Gesellschaften e finanziato dalla Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, che ringrazio per il sostegno. Sono grata, inoltre, a Julia Lougovaya per aver supervisionato con pazienza il presente lavoro, a Rodney Ast e James Cowey per il supporto e i consigli forniti durante le varie fasi dello studio dei materiali di Berlino. Sull'analisi dei supporti scrittori di Amheida / Trimithis si veda Caputo (2016) 62-88. Per un resoconto sulle metodologie di studio degli ostraca vedi anche Caputo (2018) 677-701.

[1] Per i rapporti di scavo e le pubblicazioni del Soknopaiou Nesos Project si veda www.snproject.org.

[2] Da uno studio preliminare dei testi attualmente risultano 548 ostraca demotici, 18 ostraca greci, 4 ostraca bilingui, 3 ostraca copti, 7 ostraca figurati e 12 ostraca non classificati. L'edizione dei testi e lo studio dei supporti scrittori degli ostraca ritrovati dalla Missione SNP saranno oggetto del volume Soknopaiou Nesos Project II (SNP II), interamente dedicato ai materiali scritti.

[3] Sono noti almeno altri quattro ostraca, scritti in greco, ritrovati durante lo scavo archeologico condotto a Dime dalla Missione della University of Michigan nel 1931-1932. L'ostracon O.Mich. 9733 è stato restituito al Museo Egizio del Cairo, i restanti tre (O.Mich. 9732, 9736 e 9737) sono attualmente conservati ad Ann Arbor, presso la Library della University of Michigan. I quattro ostraca sono stati éditi da Youtie tra il 1975 ed il 1976: Youtie (1975) 283-284; Youtie (1976) 20 no. 8, 21 no. 9, 24 no. 14.

[4] Sullo scavo della Missione Tedesca si veda Zucker (1909) 178-184.

[5] Sullo scavo a Dime vedi Zucker / Schubart (1971) 5-55, in particolare 14.

[6] Vorrei ringraziare gli Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, in particolare Verena Lepper (Curatrice della Collezione dei Papiri per la sezione Egiziana e Orientale), Marius Gerhardt (Curatore della Collezione dei Papiri per la sezione Greca e Latina) e Anne Schorneck (Responsabile del magazzino della Collezione dei Papiri) per avermi concesso di esaminare la collezione e per la loro disponibilità e gentilezza.

restanti 6, riconosciuti da Karl-Theodor Zauzich nel 1973 come provenienti da Soknopaiou Nesos,[7] sono nella Ägyptische Sammlung dell'Università di Zurigo.

I testi berlinesi, tutti scritti in demotico e datati paleograficamente al periodo romano (I sec. a.C.-II sec. d.C.), sono stati pubblicati nel 2006 da Sandra Lippert e Maren Schentuleit in Demotische Dokumente aus Dime I. Ostraka.[8] In tale volume, tuttavia, non è stato possibile fornire alcun dato relativo ai supporti di scrittura poiché i risultati archeologici e ceramologici emersi dai primi sette anni di scavo del SNP (2003-2009) a Dime sono stati pubblicati solo nel 2012, nel volume Soknopaiou Nesos Project I (SNP I),[9] quindi ben 6 anni dopo l'edizione dei testi di Berlino.

L'analisi sistematica della ceramica rinvenuta nel corso delle diverse campagne di scavo ha, infatti, permesso di acquisire un campionario delle forme e quindi di redigere un catalogo degli impasti associati ai tipi di vasi in uso a Soknopaiou Nesos dal periodo Tolemaico all'VIII sec. d.C.[10] Partendo da queste informazioni sono stati riconosciuti e classificati anche i frammenti ceramici usati come ostraca.[11] La metodologia applicata allo studio dei recenti ritrovamenti è stata, quindi, usata per l'analisi degli ostraca ritrovati da Zucker, al fine di completare il corpus degli ostraca provenienti da Soknopaiou Nesos e integrare finalmente lo studio di questi reperti con le informazioni sulle caratteristiche materiali. In questo contributo si forniscono, in via preliminare, i risultati derivanti da tale indagine.

L'osservazione autoptica dei 222 ostraca presenti nella collezione di Berlino si è svolta durante due visite distinte, la prima a maggio e la seconda ad ottobre del 2016. Ogni singolo ostracon è stato visionato accuratamente, classificato secondo la morfologia, l'impasto ed il trattamento della superficie e confrontato con gli altri pezzi componenti il corpus. Per ciascun ostracon è stata presa in esame la superficie di frattura (su fratture già esistenti), di cui è stata realizzata una fotografia per mezzo di un microscopio USB con ingrandimento a 400X. I frammenti diagnostici, cioè quei cocci con elementi sufficienti a permettere l'identificazione del tipo di recipiente di origine, sono stati disegnati per essere confrontati con le tipologie presenti nel catalogo della ceramica di Dime. Durante l'analisi sono state prese in considerazione anche alcune caratteristiche della scrittura, come ad esempio, il lato del coccio su cui era apposto il testo (faccia interna, concava, o faccia esterna, convessa), l'orientamento della grafia rispetto alle linee del tornio (parallela, perpendicolare, obliqua), il tipo di strumento utilizzato per tracciare i segni, il colore dell'inchiostro, così come la completezza o meno del testo.

In generale, tutti gli ostraca sono in buono o discreto stato di conservazione. La maggior parte dei testi è scritta sulla superficie convessa del coccio, liscia e senza irregolarità; la superficie concava, o interna, è quasi sempre ruvida ed impeciata. Solo un esemplare (O.Dime I 1) presenta linee di scrittura su entrambi i lati, e in questo caso la parte interna non è impeciata. L'inchiostro utilizzato per scrivere sui cocci è di colore nero intenso, e i testi sembrano essere stati redatti con calamo a punta media o fine. Tendenzialmente la scrittura è parallela alle

[7] I 6 ostraca vennero pubblicati nel 1965 da S.V. Wångstedt insieme ad altri esemplari di provenienza tebana ma, nel 1973, K.-Th. Zauzich ne ipotizzò la provenienza da Soknopaiou Nesos basandosi su dati paleografici e onomastici: Wångstedt (1965) 52-53, no. 47-52; Zauzich (1997) 1056-1060.
[8] Lippert / Schentuleit (2006).
[9] Il volume contiene un'analisi dettagliata e completa dei contesti archeologici da cui provengono gli oggetti e la ceramica, ed un resoconto delle quantità e dei tipi di materiali scritti presenti nelle aree scavate: Capasso / Davoli (2012) 11-18; Davoli (2012) 119-227; Stadler (2012) 254-263.
[10] Dixneuf (2012) 315-361.
[11] L'analisi della ceramica degli ostraca ritrovati dal 2003 al 2016 è stata eseguita dall'Autore durante le Campagne di scavo, direttamente sul campo.

linee del tornio (136 testi su 222), più raramente perpendicolare (43 ostraca) o obliqua (32 ostraca), e solo in 4 ostraca è varia.

Il 99,54% degli ostraca berlinesi sono ricavati da anfore egiziane, una delle categorie di vasi più comuni a Dime; solo un esemplare è redatto su un frammento di ciotola la cui forma non è identificabile (O.Dime I 59). La tipologia generale di anfora egiziana riconosciuta è quella definita solitamente come anfora bi-troncoconica e corrispondente all'Amphore Égyptienne 3 (AE 3) della classificazione di Jean-Yves Empereur e Maurice Picon[12] o all'anfora Hermopolite-type A secondo la classificazione delle produzioni di El-Ashmounein (Medio Egitto).[13] Queste anfore, sono diffuse in tutto l'Egitto a partire dalla fine del I secolo a.C. fino alla prima metà del VIII secolo d.C. in numerose varianti. Tra gli ostraca esaminati sono stati individuati almeno 20 testi scritti su frammenti diagnostici riconducibili a porzioni della spalla, della pancia e del puntale di AE 3, grazie ai quali è stato possibile restringere l'identificazione delle anfore usate ad almeno due sottotipi di AE 3 (AE 3-3.1 e AE 3-3.2), entrambi databili al I-II sec. d.C.[14] I testi e i supporti sono quindi contemporanei.

Il 100% dei frammenti è in argilla nilotica. In particolare, sono stati riconosciuti 3 tipi di impasto, secondo la classificazione di Dime:[15] F1 (16,20%) caratteristico delle produzioni anforiche AE 3 e di alcune categorie di ceramica comune o legate alla presentazione di alimenti; F1a (83,33%) riscontrato principalmente negli esemplari di anfore di produzione fayumita, definite anche tipo Magdola; F10 (0,46%) associato soprattutto alle produzioni di ceramica da mensa. Un ulteriore livello di indagine ha comportato, all'interno di alcune categorie di ostraca, un esame più accurato delle eventuali relazioni tra la morfologia dei supporti e i loro testi.

La categoria di testi più numerosa tra gli ostraca berlinesi è quella dei 'Namenostraka', ovvero testi brevi costituiti da uno (O.Dime I 86-169) o due nomi (O.Dime I 170-173) di persona, solitamente maschili, associati talvolta ad un patronimico. Ben 82 testi su 222 totali (37%) sono stati classificati da Lippert e Schentuleit come 'Namenostraka'. I frammenti utilizzati per questi testi sono di dimensioni piuttosto ridotte (3,5-8 cm di larghezza x 3,5-9 cm di lunghezza x 0,6-1,9 cm di spessore), e la loro forma varia da quadrangolare (43,2 %) a pentagonale (39,8 %), meno frequentemente triangolare (4,5 %) o esagonale (4,5 %). Il testo, posizionato lungo il margine superiore del coccio, è apposto sempre sul lato convesso, parallelamente alle linee del tornio, raramente in direzione perpendicolare o obliqua rispetto ad esse. La ricorrenza di alcune forme e delle stesse dimensioni suggerirebbe quanto meno una selezione dei cocci utilizzati come supporti.

La seconda grande categoria è costituita dalle liste di nomi, suddivise in elenchi organizzati per *Phylai* (O.Dime I 24-35) e in liste di nomi senza alcun apparente raggruppamento (O.Dime I 36-85). Si tratta per lo più di testi non interi, apposti parallelamente alle linee del tornio, in due o più colonne. I frammenti ceramici hanno diverse dimensioni e forma, e corrispondono generalmente a porzioni del collo, della spalla, o del corpo dell'anfora. La morfologia dei cocci, il trattamento delle superfici e gli impasti hanno permesso di riconoscere alcuni punti di congiunzione tra ostraca i cui testi erano stati studiati in maniera distinta e separata. Mentre per alcuni frammenti è possibile affermare con certezza l'appartenenza ad una stessa anfora, per altri l'ipotesi che fossero riconducibili ad uno stesso contenitore è solo plausibile, poiché i frammenti non sono tra loro combacianti. In totale sono

[12] Empereur / Picon (1989) 223-248, in particolare 77; Tomber (2007) 525-526; Bailey (2007) 227-237. Si veda anche Dixneuf (2011).
[13] Bailey (1998) 125.
[14] Dixneuf (2011) 117-118, figg. 101a-b e 102.
[15] Per la tipologia degli impasti si è adottata la classificazione di Dixneuf in SNP I: Dixneuf (2012) 317-318.

stati ricongiunti 9 ostraca: una lista di *Phyle* (O.Dime I 24 + 27 + 54 + 81), 5 liste di nomi (O.Dime I 39 + 70; O.Dime I 83 + 37; O.Dime I 66 + 62; O.Dime I 67 + 61; O.Dime I 69 + 73), e un acconto di grano (O.Dime I 182 + 186).[16] Il numero degli ostraca berlinesi ritrovati dalla Missione Zucker a Soknopaiou Nesos è così stato ridotto da 222 a 213, ed è possibile che ulteriori frammenti possano essere ricomposti.

Lo studio della materialità degli ostraca berlinesi, se da un lato, ha confermato per alcune categorie di ostraca ('Namenostraka') le stesse caratteristiche fisiche riscontrate per gli esemplari ritrovati dal SNP, dall'altro, ha evidenziato una pratica che non era stata rilevata durante lo studio dei recenti ritrovamenti, ovvero l'uso di grandi porzioni di anfore, o dell'intero recipiente, per testi quali liste di nomi o conti. Tale consuetudine, finora non altrimenti attestata a Soknopaiou Nesos, sembrerebbe essere altrettanto rara durante il periodo romano anche in altre aree d'Egitto. Testi demotici redatti su anfore egiziane più o meno intere sono noti da: Armant (O.Bucheum 0.30), un testo documentario suddiviso in 4 colonne di scrittura in cui si menzionano i conti del farro destinato ai preti delle *Phylai* del tempio;[17] Mitrahine (Berlin P. 12845), un testo letterario;[18] Medinet Habu (O.Med.Habu 4038), un testo pseudo-legale ripartito in sei colonne di scrittura.[19]

Ugualmente poco numerosi sono anche gli esempi iscritti in greco. Oltre ai ben noti esemplari di anfore egiziane interamente iscritte ritrovate a Krokodilô (O.Krok. 1, O.Krok. 41, O.Krok. 87),[20] uno dei *praesidia* romani del deserto orientale, dove tale uso è frequentemente attestato, sono da menzionare: un testo documentario su collo d'anfora egiziana da Elkab (O.Elkab 191);[21] un esemplare composto da almeno 20 frammenti combacianti di anfora egiziana (O.Amst. 8), il cui testo concerne la vita e l'organizzazione interna di un piccolo distaccamento militare;[22] e un'anfora egiziana pressoché intera proveniente da Armant (O.Bodl. II 1964-1967+ O.Bodl. II 2407-2434), il cui testo potrebbe essere assimilato al diario di uno stratego.[23]

Purtroppo lo scavo della Missione Zucker non è stato condotto con metodologia moderna e quindi non tutti i frammenti di vasi rinvenuti sono stati documentati. Ciò non permette, oggi, di valutare se le anfore su cui erano stati scritti i testi di cui sopra siano state gettate ancora intere in discarica oppure se fossero già rotte e solo in parte usate come supporto scrittorio. Tuttavia, l'elevato numero di frammenti pertinenti allo stesso testo, e quindi recipiente, potrebbero indicare una giacitura ravvicinata degli ostraca.

Durante la Campagna di scavo del 2009 la Missione del SNP ha indagato parte delle discariche formatesi a seguito degli scavi del 1910 condotti da Zucker e Schubart sul versante ovest del *kôm*, all'esterno del *temenos*, il luogo in cui il Diario di Zuker colloca il rinvenimento degli ostraca berlinesi. In Area 10, come è stata denominata, sono state aperte due trincee (Saggio 2 e 3) con l'intento di capire i contesti di rinvenimento di tali ostraca e di recuperare eventuali oggetti sfuggiti o scartati dalla missione del 1910.[24] Nella discarica moderna sono stati ritrovati 28 ostraca demotici, di cui 23 sono 'Namenostraka', tre sono

[16] Per una descrizione più dettagliata dei nuovi attacchi e la riedizione dei testi O.Dime, si veda Caputo / Cowey (2018) 62-75.
[17] Mond / Myers (1934) vol. II, 57-63 e vol. III, 68-71.
[18] Spiegelberg (1977).
[19] Parker (1941) 84-113, Pls. XVII-XIX.
[20] Cuvigny (2005) 9-27 e 213-224, 77-84 e 238-239, 135-154 e 256-270.
[21] Bingen / Clarysse (1989) 131-133, XIX (191), figg. 1-2.
[22] Clarysse / Sijpesteijn (1988) 71-96.
[23] Tait / Préaux (1955) 337-338, no. 1964-1967; Clarysse / Sijpesteijn (1988) 74.
[24] Davoli (2012) 203-217, figg. 122-140.

conti e due sono liste di nomi frammentarie.[25] Grazie al loro studio, attualmente in corso, sarà forse possibile capire se e come questi ostraca si ricollegano a quelli berlinesi. Le nuove tecnologie di documentazione digitale tridimensionale potrebbero senza dubbio essere d'aiuto.

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[25] Gli ostraca sono attualmente in fase di studio da parte M.A. Stadler e C. Arlt dell'Università di Würzburg. Sugli ostraca nominali vedi anche Arlt (2013) 7-17.

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Banking transactions on the recto of a letter from Nero to the Alexandrians (P.Genova I 10)?

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The papyrus collection at the University of Genoa includes a copy of a letter sent by the Emperor Nero to the city of Alexandria (inv. no. 8562v). The first edition of the text was published in 1969 by Augusto Traversa (reproduced in SB X 10615), immediately followed by Jean Bingen's review and a re-edition by Mario Amelotti and Livia Migliardi Zingale, which was then part of the first volume of the series Papiri dell'Università di Genova (I 10).[1] The letter was included in James H. Oliver's posthumous collection, Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri and most recently examined by Andrew Harker briefly in his volume on the Acta Alexandrinorum.[2]

The imperial *epistula* was copied onto recycled material, the back of a cut-out of a document which was then rotated so the head of the page became the footer. The lines are very long (as in other imperial epistles)[3] and are not perfectly straight or aligned. The hand is hasty and there are abbreviations by suspension, an interlinear correction (l. 3) and some errors.[4] All these characteristics are indicative of a private copy.

The text of the epistle is badly mutilated due to serious damage to the papyrus, especially in the left portion where the ink is abraded in several places. In the first three lines, we may read an extensive imperial titulature («Nero Claudius, son of the divine Claudius, grandson of Caesar Tiberius and Caesar Germanicus, descendant of the divine Caesar Augustus, Germanicus, pontifex, tribunicia potestas, consul, emperor»), from which we can infer the date of the letter: 55 CE.[5] The letter is addressed to a *polis*, probably Alexandria (l. 3 Ἀ[λ]ε̣[ξανδρέω]ν τῇ π[ό]λει χ(αίρειν)). Such editorial restoration, which is palaeographically acceptable and fitting for the length of the lacuna, is founded on two elements: 1) a parallel with the wording in the letter from Claudius to the Alexandrians (P.Lond. VI 1912. ll. 15-16 Ἀλεξανδρέων τῇ πόλει χαίρειν)[6], which also differs from other imperial letters to cities, where the standard address is usually broader: τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, «to the chief magistrates and the council and the people» (an unsuitable formula for Alexandria,

[1] Bingen (1969); Amelotti / Migliardi (1970); Amelotti / Migliardi (1974) with some improvements in the reading of ll. 5 and 7. See also Williams (1975) 42 n. 11 = BL VII 274.
[2] Oliver (1989) 110-112 no. 33 (= BL IX 361). Harker (2008) 21, 50, 211.
[3] The length is more than 50 letters per line. Other imperial epistles to cities, both from inscriptions and papyri, display similar characteristics. Epigraphic examples are Oliver no. 1 (Augustus to Samos) and other imperial letters from the so-called Archive Wall at Aphrodisias (nos. 48, 211, 218, 219). A worth noting papyrus example is the letter from Claudius to the Alexandrians (no. 19), in which columns have different widths: col. i (with the edict by the prefect) is narrower, while the following columns reproducing the text of the epistle (col. ii and iii especially) are wider, but then the last column (col. iv) narrows again probably for reasons of space, since even here (as in P.Genova I 10) the letter is copied onto reused papyrus material (see infra).
[4] L. 3 Ποτάμων<ος>; l. 5 διαφυλάττωι for διαφυλάττω; l. 6 ἡδῖαν for ἡδεῖαν.
[5] See Bingen (1969) 152. Cf. BL IX 361 for alternative restorations of the titulature.
[6] P.Lond. IV 1912 vo = CPJ II 153 = Sel.Pap. II 212. «At Alexandria the word polis means the Demos plus at least the Jews», Oliver (1989) 5, cf. p. 83. Cf. also P.Oxy. XLII 3022 = Oliver no. 46, Trajan to the Alexandrians, where, however, the point is in lacuna (ll. 3-4 Ἀλεξ̣[). In Oliver no. 5, Augustus to the Alexandrians, the formulation is Ἀλεξανδρέων δήμῳ.

which at that time didn't have its own *boule*), even though there are some epigraphic examples with the bare genitive of the demonym followed by τῇ πόλει (e.g. Δελφῶν τῇ πόλει);[7] 2) Alexandria, as we will see, appears again in the unpublished text on the recto.

The subject of the letter remains somewhat obscure. It concerns a certain Potamon, son of Boccas, and his sons (ll. 3-4 \περὶ/ Ποταμων τοῦ Βοκκᾶ | καὶ [τ]ῶν υἱῶν αὐ[τοῦ] ἀ[̣]φ[) and is a response to the numerous letters sent by Potamon to the emperor (ll. 4-5 πλεονάκ(ις) ἐκ τῶ[ν] ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ ἔγνων | περὶ ὧν καὶ αὐτ[).[8]

In the little that we can read in the following lines, the emperor confirms an earlier decision (l. 5 διαφυλάττωι).[9] The verb διαφυλάσσω is frequently used in imperial epistles to indicate that a previous directive was being maintained, e.g. to confirm concessions granted by previous emperors (a typical theme in such epistles).[10] It is the verb that guarantees the continuity of acquired rights and privileges (remembering that our letter dates to the first year of Nero's reign). Nero did indeed judge an *entole* to be valid (ll. 5-6 κεκρικὼς | ἐντο̣[λ]ὴν κυρ̣ίαν), probably a *mandatum* of his predecessor,[11] and is communicating his *krisis*, his decision, or –less likely– his verdict, if we agree with Amelotti and Migliardi that this is a judicial context.[12] What follows is even more uncertain. The emperor seems to show benevolence in mitigating something (l. 6 ὅπερ ταύτην ἡδῖαν ποιω[): a verdict according to Amelotti / Migliardi, or perhaps the *entole*, the *mandatum* of his predecessor, as I posit. The same adjective ἡδύς is used in an epistle by the emperor Hadrian to indicate a more favourable directive than his predecessor.[13]

We then have a reference in the genitive to two or more people, including a Potamon *neoteros*, probably one of Potamon's sons (l. 7] καὶ τοῦ νε[ω]τ̣[έ]ρου Ποτάμωνος), and to when they became ἐπ[. This latter term, mostly lost in lacuna, could perhaps indicate a public office (cf. l. 5 ὑπ̓ α[ὐτ]οῦ ἀρχ[ῆ]ς̣). It is followed by the usual reference to the publication of the *epistula*, by its public posting (π̣[ροετ]έθη) or public reading (ἀ̣[νεγνώ]σθη BL VII 274).[14]

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[7] Oliver (1989) 5: nos. 44, 57, 62, 75, 76.

[8] There are other examples of imperial correspondence mentioning letters that the emperor is responding to: Oliver (1989) 2-4; e.g. no. 15, referring to an *epistole* delivered by an embassy, no. 138 responding to *grammata* from Vedius Antoninus. However, the emperor usually refers to a decree (*psephisma*) presented to him by an embassy. Cf. Anastasiadis / Souris (2000) ss.vv.

[9] The hypercorrective *iota mutum* is a common error, occurring for example in P.Lond. VI 1912 (Oliver no. 19, Claudius to the Alexandrians), cf. Bell (1924). See Gignac, Gram. I 185.

[10] Cf. e.g. Oliver no. 23.7 or 19.3.54, Claudius to the Alexandrians, this letter too dating back to the beginning of his reign, when the new emperor recognises and confirms the privileges granted by his predecessor; 29.6. See Anastasiadis / Souris (2000) s.v. On this point see Oliver (1989) 11, 23, Montevecchi (1970) 14 regarding Nero's letter to a polis and the so-called 6475, a group of privileged citizens (col. ii. 3).

[11] ἐντολή is a quite common word in papyri, both with the generic meaning of order, and with more specific meanings, such as mandate (e.g. P.Oxy. XXXVI 2771. l. 10), directive, provision given to local administrators (see Oliver [1989] 18 and cf. no. 40 *Entolai* by Domitian to the procurator Claudius Athenodorus), circular (e.g. P.Tebt. I 6. l. 10; P.Oslo II 49. l. 8), instruction given by a city to its delegates in an embassy (see Kayser [2003] 449 and cf. Oliver no. 5.5 Augustus to the Alexandrians), or authorisation (also of legal representation, e.g. P.Oxy. XLVIII 3389. l. 15). On the correspondence with the Latin *mandatum*, see Spicq (1991) 521-523.

[12] «Comunicazione della sua sentenza in seguito a ricorso in sede di giudizio». In line with the supposed judicial context, Amelotti / Migliardi speculated reading: ἀ[μ]φ[ισβητήσεως = *controversia* at l. 4.

[13] BGU I 140 (Hadrian to the prefect Ramnius Martialis, 119 CE), ll. 16-20 ἥδιστα δὲ αὐτὸς προείεναι τὰς ἀφορμὰς δι᾽ ὧν τὸ αὐστηρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ Αὐτοκρατόρων σταθὲν φιλανθρωπότερ[ο]ν ἑρμηνεύω. Cf. BGU II 372 (edict by Sempronius Liberalis, 154 CE, Arsinoite), ll. 14-15 ἵ]να δὲ τοῦτο προθυμ[ότ]ερο̣[ν κ]α̣ὶ ἥδιο[ν π]ο[ιή]σ̣ω̣[σιν. See Anastasiadis / Souris (2000) s.v. ἡδύς.

[14] The verb προτίθημι was frequently used in the publication of imperial letters (mostly edicts and rescripts): see Anastasiadis / Souris (2000) s.v. or, among other unrecorded cases, Oliver no. 38 l. 19. The restoration ἀ̣[νεγνώ]σθη proposed by Williams (BL VII 274) does not fit well the remaining traces, although it would have parallels in IGRR IV 1619 (Caracalla to Aurelius Julianus; 213 CE) read in the theatre, l. 26 (ἀνεγνώσθη), and

These letters generally ended with a date and closure greeting, but we are unable to read this part on our papyrus.

It is not clear what exactly the issue was that prompted Nero to intervene. It must have been something important to the city and Potamon must have filled a public role and had direct contacts linking him with the imperial power.

Imperial correspondence generally began in response to embassies, which were often sent by cities (or leagues or associations) in order to present honorary decrees, demonstrate merits and request concessions (typically recognitions of decision-making autonomy or tax privileges). But even a single individual in a prominent position could send a messenger with a request and receive an epistle in response from the emperor.[15] The latter seems to be the case here (see ll. 4-5 with the reference to the many letters sent by Potamon). The fact that the reply is addressed to the entire city, and not to the individual, demonstrates that it was a matter of public concern and in that regard is similar, for example, to the letter from Antoninus Pius to the Ephesians concerning the benefactor Vedius Antoninus.[16]

So, who was Potamon? Ποτάμων is a relatively common name after all, and Trismegistos People indexes more than 260 attestations in papyri and inscriptions.[17] If we restrict the search results to the first century CE, we can focus on a few main cases. Aside from the name Potamon mentioned in some papyri from Tebtynis,[18] in Alexandria we have a Tiberius Claudius Potamon, *exegetes*, *hypomnematographos* and *strategos* of the city in 58 CE, to whom a request for *ephebatus* is addressed (P.Oxy. XLIX 3463). He could be tentatively identified as the Claudius Potamon of another Oxyrhynchus papyrus a few years earlier (P.Oxy. XLVI 3271, 47-54 CE), who acts as intermediary for a petition addressed to the prefect by a woman (his mother?),[19] who owned properties in Alexandria. This Potamon is a man who obtained Roman citizenship under Claudius and who holds an important public office. Another suggestive occurrence of the name Potamon in first century Alexandria is that found in the aforementioned P.Lond. VI 1912, Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians dated 41 CE in response to the Greek embassy on the Jewish question, in which the father of one of the delegates is called Potamon (II 18 Πασίων Ποτάμωνος). Participation in embassies often allowed one to form fruitful relations with the imperial court, in some cases obtaining Roman citizenship or a prestigious position.[20] Several participants at this Greek embassy had quite

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P.Lond. VI 1912, where the edict by the prefect orders the publication (l. 6 ἐκθεῖναι) of Claudius' epistle to the Alexandrians because not all the population could attend its public reading (ll. 2-5 ἐπειδὴ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς ἱεροτάτης καὶ εὐεργετικωτάτης ἰς τὴν πόλειν ἐπιστολῆς πᾶσα ἡ πόλεις παρατυχεῖν οὐκ ἠδυνηθην διὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῆς).

[15] Oliver (1989) 1. On embassies see also Kayser (2003).

[16] Oliver no. 138 = SIG^3 850 (145 CE). Examples of imperial letters addressed to a single individual are quite rare (nos. 35, 263, 282, 287), and this is not surprising: these letters, as well as the letters with negative feedback, are far less likely to be granted eternal memory through engraving in stone. When dealing with individuals, imperial letters are usually about people who hold public office or benefactors (*martyria*), as in the case of Vedius Antoninus 3 RE a benefactor who requested aid from the emperor in order to keep his promise to construct buildings for the city. The emperor in his response refers to Vedius Antoninus' letters (cf. supra n. 8). See Kokkinia (2003).

[17] TM Nam 5257. Cf. P.Count 47.1 11n. with II 320.

[18] The name occurs in connection with some purchase contracts from the archive of Kronion, son of Apion, head of the grapheion of Tebtynis, for ex. P.Mich. II 126; P.Mich. V 238.

[19] The edition reads δι(ὰ) δύο υἱ(ῶν) | Κλαυδίων Ποτάμωνος καὶ Ἀπολλ( ) | παρὰ Ἰσιδώρας (ll. 1-3) «by agency of (her) two sons Claudius Potamon and Claudius Apoll(onius?) from Isidora», but the phrasing is unusual and the reading δύο υἱ(ῶν) (l. 1) is quite unsure. Perhaps the Claudius Potamon and Claudius Apoll(onius?) were not relatives of the woman petitioning but officials supposed to receive the petition and transmit it to the prefect. I thank the anonymous referee for this point.

[20] Harker (2008) 19.

illustrious careers: we need only think of Chaeremon, who became the tutor of the young Nero, and Tiberius Claudius Balbillus, whom Nero would appoint prefect of Egypt in 55 CE. It is not inconceivable, then, that the Potamon of Nero's letter is linked to the family of one of the embassy participants, Pasio, son of Potamon. Harker hints at this possibility and also suggests a potential familial relationship with an Alexandrian philosopher named Potamon who lived at the time of Augustus.[21] The name Potamon was handed down within the family even in the case of our papyrus, which refers to a Potamon junior. Unfortunately, the name Potamon is not exactly rare and the identifying elements are too fragile to fully rest on this enticing hypothesis. In addition to the question of who the subject of the imperial missive was, we must also ask: who might have an interest in copying this letter? We will return to this issue once we have examined the unpublished text on the recto of the papyrus.

It is worth pointing out that we have no information on the provenance of the papyrus (it was purchased on the antiquities market) nor on its exact date. The 55 CE date of the imperial epistle indeed only constitutes a *terminus post quem* for its reuse, but we do not know how much time elapsed before the epistle was copied on the verso of our papyrus,[22] nor how many years prior the recycled material dates back. Nevertheless, a first century CE date seems consistent with the writings on both sides, which do not seem very far apart from each other.

The recto preserves the lower part of two columns, with a *kollesis* in between. According to Amelotti and Migliardi they were two different documents glued together in a *tomos sunkollesimos*, but they may actually belong to one single document.[23] The two columns resemble each other in script and in graphic layout (wide line spacing, column width). Seven and six lines respectively survive, with a lower margin of 5 cm.

Twentieth century editors of the epistle on the verso gave a rather brief description of the other side: «due documenti diversi, riguardanti alcune operazioni bancarie, compiute forse attraverso una banca di Alessandria», in one of which «sono menzionati la città di Alessandria, un *cheristes* di nome Alessandro ed una *kolubisti[ke* (sic!)[24] *trapeza*, cui si debbono forse riferire le due somme finali che chiudono il frammento».[25]

The column to the left of the join is in worse condition (as seen on the opposite side) than that on the right, with only scattered letters being legible. Some numerals are visible in a vertical column to the right and at least three of them are sums of talents (the ten or so at lines 2 and 7, five at line 5). Thus it is an account of money, but the few surviving traces are very difficult to decipher (perhaps ὥ̣[σ]τ̣ε εἰ̣ς at l. 5).

We'll focus on the better preserved right-hand column. There does not seem to be much missing to the right. A provisional transcription is:

[21] Harker (2008) 21. Cf. Sud. π 2126. An Alexandrian Potamon is also mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (Vitae Philosophorum I 21) as the promoter of an eclectic school.

[22] Some Acta Alexandrinorum papyri testify to copies dating to two centuries after the events to which they refer: see Harker (2008) 24; Colomo (2016) 222.

[23] Amelotti / Migliardi (1970) 23 and (1974) 25, based their hypothesis on two main arguments: 1. alleged graphic differences («grafia alquanto diversa» and «diversa larghezza originaria»); 2. the *kollesis* more prominent than in a standard roll («giuntura molto più marcata di quella di un normale rotolo»). Both arguments seem questionable, and a *tomos synkollesimos* made to archive various accounts seems rather unlikely. On *tomoi synkollesimos* see Clarysse 2003.

[24] 'Sic' refers to making the double *lambda* single, a very common phenomenon in Roman papyri (see Gignac Gram. I 155), although not attested elsewhere for this specific term.

[25] Amelotti / Migliardi (1970) 21-23.

col. ii

1 καὶ ὥ̣σ̣τ̣[ε] ε̣ἰ̣ς̣ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κα . . . . . [
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χειριστ(ῆ̣) Χοιὰχ δ̄ [
καὶ ε̣[ἐ]π̣ιθήκηι Ἀπολλωνίου κολυβιστ .[
Ἀ[λε]ξ̣άνδρειαν̣ διὰ Μαρτιάλ(ι) (δραχμαὶ)[
5 γίνεται καὶ τούτων (τάλαντα) ι[
γίν[ετ]αι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ̣ ἀργ(υρίου) (τάλαντα) [
<margin>

«and for Alexandria ... [
the cheiristes Alexandros Choiak 4 [
and ... epitheke of Apollonius the moneychanger [
Alexandria by agency of Martialis drachmas [
and the total of these (entries) is: talents 1[
sum total silver talents [»

This document too is an account with sums of money, in drachmas and talents. We can read the last two sections of the account (introduced by καὶ and each one arranged on two lines with a slight indentation). A total and an overall total follow. In both items, Alexandria is cited (ll. 1 and 4, in the accusative case), probably as the destination of the amounts. It would seem then to be a cash outflow account. In the first preserved item, a *cheiristes* named Alexandros is involved in a transaction dated the 4th of Choiak, probably involving the shipping down to the capital (l. 1 κατα̣π̣λ̣ε̣ῦσ[αι?). The term *cheiristes* could be translated as 'agent' or 'manager', but it perhaps indicated a more precise role. In Ptolemaic papyri we find *cheiristai* connected to payments in grain, perhaps as agents of the *sitologi*, but also in the role of bank employees in charge of the transport of *basilika chremata*.[26] In Roman-era papyri, the *cheiristai* were often responsible for tax collection in villages and the subsequent deposit of the money in local public banks.[27] They issued receipts for tax payments[28] and presented monthly reports to the *praktores*. In fact, they seem to be assistants to the *praktores* in collecting taxes, with practical tasks including money transport.

The second item of our account is the one involving the *kollubistike trapeza*. Such exchange banks are already attested in fourth century Athens and in Egypt by the third century BCE, but the documentation indicates a significant expansion of this type of bank under Augustus and in the first century CE. Κολλυβιστικαὶ τράπεζαι were numerous, especially in Alexandria where they outnumbered other types of banks, though they were also present throughout the entire Egyptian territory.[29]

Here, instead of κολλυβιστι[κή τράπεζα (as in Amelotti / Migliardi [1970] 23 and [1974] 25), I would read κολλυβιστο̣[ῦ, thus «of Apollonius the moneychanger». *Omicron* seems best

[26] In the P.Enteux. 38 petition, dated to 221 BCE, the *cheiristes* of the royal bank of the Polemon meris rented 73 donkeys for this purpose.
[27] See Bogaert (1994) 348, 373, 381-2, 384. Also see P.Col. V p. 112: the *cheiristes* is the one who manages the payment. For the *cheiristai* as assistants of the *praktores* or other tax collectors see Preisigke (1910) 15 n. 2 referring to BGU III 991 (151 CE, Karanis, letter of a *praktor* to a *cheiristes* in which, however, the transport of the cash to the public bank is a task assumed by the *praktor* and not by the *cheiristes*), and Wallace (1938) 306, 310-311, 314. For the task of collecting taxes in the villages see P.Mich. XII, p. 52, especially for villagers not resident in their *idia* (cf. P.Princ. I 8), see Wallace (1938) 473. Bogaert (2001) 233 defines the *cheiristai* as «chargés de collecter les taxes, surtout la *laographia* payée en plusiers fois». In rural estates of third century Egypt the *cheiristes* is apparently a manager as the *epitropos* and the *oikonomos*, and the title «did not denote specific functions» according to Rathbone (1991) 62.
[28] E.g. SB XVI 12238. See Bogaert (1994) 382.
[29] Bogaert (1983), Bogaert (1994) 4 and 410-411. On exchange banks see also Geva (2011) 144.

suited to the character at the edge of the break, which is rounded and a bit high on the line. Κολλυβιστής is much rarer in papyri than the more common κολλυβιστική τράπεζα, and in fact has been found only in 3 Ptolemaic and 2 early Roman documents.[30] Among these, BGU VI 1303 and P.Oxy. XXXVI 2772 are particularly relevant because they provide the earliest evidence of the role of banker, besides that of moneychangers: one could deposit money and have an account at a κολλυβιστής.

The Berlin papyrus is a letter from the Arsinoites[31] in which a dealer gives instructions for the transport and sale of 1,780 *artabai* of grain. The author of the letter asks his correspondent to let him know the current value of silver and wait until silver or bronze is deposited with the moneychanger Apollonius[32] (θεματίζ[ειν τό] τ̣ε ἀργύ(ριον) ε̣ᾳ̣ τ̣ε̣ χᾳ̣[λ]κὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀ̣πολ̣[λω]ν̣[ίου] [το]ῦ κολλυβιστοῦ). Apollonius is undoubtedly one of the most common Greek names, but it is impossible not to wonder whether the Apollonius moneychanger of this letter is the same one as in our papyrus. Such identification (which would provide a useful geographical contextualisation in the Arsinoites) seems, at first, chronologically difficult. The editor of BGU dated the papyrus to the end of Ptolemaic era, presumably on palaeographic grounds.[33] The letter bears a date, of uncertain reading, of the sixth regnal year. On that basis, one could infer a possible date of 75 BCE (Ptolemy XII Auletes) or 46 BCE (Cleopatra VII),[34] but it is impossible to assess the accuracy of such assumptions as there are no published images of this papyrus, which is now lost.[35] Facing such chronological uncertainty, perhaps a later date cannot be ruled out and the identification of the two Apollonius *kollubistes* is not impossible, though the hypothesis remains unprovable.

The Oxyrhynchus papyrus, datable to 10/11 CE, is a letter by a Roman who, writing in Greek with the Latin alphabet, instructs the *kollubistes* Archibius to pay 1,953 drachmas to his account with the *kollubistes* Harpochration.[36] This example of a transaction, a money transfer managed by a *kollubistes*, is interesting when considering what we read in our account.

Immediately before Ἀπολλωνίου, one can see the letters ιθηκηι preceded by a letter with a horizontal stroke at the top of the line. The only possible restoration seems to be ἐ]π̣ιθήκηι.[37] A *epitheke* is a letter asking someone (acting as an intermediary) to pay a certain sum of money to someone else (the beneficiary).[38] This letter was sent to the beneficiary, who, with this document in hand, could go to the intermediary and withdraw the specified amount. It is not therefore a payment order but a letter of credit, a sort of check via an intermediary, not

[30] P.Petr. III 59a = P.Count 14.7 (III BCE, Arsinoite? a list of trades including 6 moneychangers [κολλ]υ̣βισταὶ ϛ); P.Tebt. III 1079. l. 49 (III-II BCE Tebtynis, account mentioning Πτολεμαίωι κ̣ο̣λλυβισ(τῆι)); BGU VI 1303 (see infra); P.Oxy. XXXVI 2772 (see infra); SB XII 10793 (18 CE, Arsinoite?). Cf. Bogaert (1983) 21-23.

[31] Bogaert (1987) 74 suggests the letter's provenance is Crocodilopolis. Cf. Bogaert (1998) 179. On this letter, also see Rossi (2012) 650.

[32] On Apollonius *kollubistes* (ProsPtol. 1159) see Bogaert (1983) 22 and no. 4 (= Bogaert [1994] 95).

[33] W. Schubart (1922) only noted «Aus dem Ende der Ptolemäerzeit», without any further explanation.

[34] Cf. Bogaert (1987) 74.

[35] Rossi (2012) 650. Among other things, the dating of this document is particularly important because it could be the first evidence of the presence of private banks in the metropolis of the Arsinoite nome: see Bogaert (1987) 73-74.

[36] Bagnall / Bogaert (1975).

[37] Probably ἐ̣[ν ἐ]π̣ιθήκηι, or perhaps σ̣[ὺν ἐ]π̣ιθήκηι.

[38] The classical reference on this financial instrument is Preisigke (1910), who, however, could only base his discussion on BGU IV 1064, and understood the *epitheke* as a payment order addressed to a bank. Also see Pintaudi (1976) «nel suo principale significato di assegno bancario il termine è ampiamente presente nella documentazione». A reassessment of the issue in Inoue (2000). Cf. also Concannon (2010).

necessarily a bank (in fact cases in which banks are involved are few and uncertain)[39] and the most appropriate translation may be 'bill of exchange'.

The first reference to an *epitheke* in a papyrus dates to the second half of the first century BCE (SB 7530 letter from Herakleopolites, 38 or 16 BCE), and we have some direct examples from the third century CE (BGU IV 1064, SB XIV 12094, P.Laur. II 25, P.Oxy. LIX 3979). The *epithekai* could be used both in government[40] and in private transactions, and were common in commercial affairs, for example, to transfer a credit.[41] This payment method was particularly useful when transferring money (virtually) to distant places (a sort of traveller's check) and in this aspect the *epitheke* is analogous to the *permutatio*, used also in other parts of the Roman Empire.[42]

The nominal value of an *epitheke* could be recorded in accounting.[43] Our account lists the value of an *epitheke* of the moneychanger Apollonius and, on the following line, there is a reference to Alexandria and the intermediation of a person bearing a Roman name, Martial. Thus we could envisage a situation where the *epitheke* was issued by the moneychanger Apollonius, perhaps on behalf of someone else who had paid him the money (the author of our account sheet?), the payee is located in Alexandria and the intermediary who will physically pay him the indicated drachmas is Martial (Μαρτιάλις or Μαρτιάλιος). Another possibility is that Martial is only the bearer of the *epitheke* letter being sent to Alexandria. Apollonius is the holder of an exchange bank in the *chora*: he had to have acquaintances in the capital and a good reputation of solvency, necessary conditions for the issuer's *epitheke* to be accepted.[44]

We cannot determine if the context is that of private business or government affairs related to tax administration, as the reference to *cheiristes* would suggest (l. 2), and often the two areas were closely connected. What seems clear is that these few preserved lines indicate movement of capital from the *chora* to Alexandria and demonstrate the use of financial instruments.

We shall now return to the question of who had an interest in copying a letter from Nero on the back of these accounts. Most of the imperial epistles we know are preserved through inscriptions, but in Egypt copies on papyrus could survive also.[45] These texts could obviously

[39] Inoue (2000) 91 stresses this aspect. Cf. P.Oxy. XLIII 3092 and PSI VIII 890. Inoue excludes the typical example of BGU IV 1064 because the address to a *trapezites* is from a restoration of uncertain reading (BL I 93). Cf. Concannon (2010) 84.

[40] P.Oxy. XLIII 3146. 8 (Oxyrhynchus, 347 CE).

[41] Cf. e.g. P.Oxy. VII 1055 (267 CE).

[42] Hollander (2007) 40-41. On money transfers in Greek-Roman Egypt see Geva (2011) 140-155.

[43] Cf. e.g. P.Oxy. XLIX 3505 (II CE), other examples in Inoue (2000). See Concannon (2010) 82, 83.

[44] Cf. P.Oxy.Hels. 48.11-15: εἰ οὖν οἶδας ὅτι ἐπιθήκην εὑρίσκομεν παρὰ σοὶ ὥστε μεταβληθῆναι τὸ κερμάτιον ἐνθάδε, ἔρχομαι πρὸς σὲ εἰς συνωνὴν ἐρίων. Cf. Inoue (2000) 94-95. In addition, see the advice not to accept *epithekai* in P.Oxy. LVI 3864. 20-33.

[45] Considering letters, edicts, rescripts, instructions and speeches, Oliver (1989) numbered 44 papyri, some of which collect more than one text (e.g. P.Oxy. XXVII 2476, BGU IV 1074, P.Oxy.Hels. 25 and P. Oxy. XXXI 2610, collections of imperial letters to the synod of Dionysian artists). An updated list of imperial constitutions (but the new acquisitions are mostly epigraphic) is in Purpura (2009). A specific list of *epistulae* can be found in Hoogendijk / van Minnen (1987) 68-69. There are 12 papyri that preserve imperial epistles addressed to cities: Oliver nos. 5 (Augustus to the Alexandrians 10-9 BCE, P.Oxy. XLII 3020), 19 (P.Lond. IV 1912, see infra), 33 (our P.Genova I 10), 39 (SB XII 11012, see infra), 46 (P.Oxy. XLII 3022, see infra), 137 (Antoninus Pius to Antinoopolis' citizens, P.Strasb. III 130, 149 CE?), 164-166 (three imperial letters to the citizens of Antinoopolis reported in a petition, P.Würz. 9, 161-169 CE Arsinoite), 174 (Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to Antinoopolis' citizens, BGU I 74, 166-169 CE Arsinoite), 185 (Letter of an emperor or usurper to the Alexandrians?, P.Oxy. LXVII 4592, Oxyrhynchus, 2nd -3rd CE), 283 (P.Ant. III 191, see infra), 292 (fragment of a letter along with edicts, P.Oxy. XII 1407, 240 CE?); plus at least P.Vindob. Graec. inv. 25945 (three letters

be of interest from a legal point of view due to their jurisprudential value, but in some cases, and especially in the case of letters addressed to cities, other political or economic interests could have played an important role. Some clues about the contexts which produced such copies can be found through examination of the material aspects and the cases in which copies are made on reused materials. It is significant that almost half of all emperors' letters to cities preserved on papyri are transcriptions on the backs of other documents. Besides P.Genova 10, other examples are:

- The repeatedly mentioned P.Lond. IV 1912 = Oliver no. 19 (41 CE): Claudius to the Alexandrians, a letter written by the emperor in response to the Greek embassy concerning the riots between the Greek and the Jewish communities of Alexandria (38-41 CE), a well-known story thanks to the literary reports by Philo (In Flaccum and De Legatione ad Caium) and Josephus (AJ XIX 278-285). The document is on the back of a tax register from 37/38 CE[46] and belongs to the archive of Nemesion, son of Zoilos, of Philadelphia. In the quick hand that wrote the error-filled transcript of the imperial *epistula,* we can recognise the handwriting of Nemesion himself. He was a capitation tax collector in Philadelphia during the reigns of Claudius and Nero, as well as a businessman active in sheep breeding and money lending. He was indeed a man of substance in the village. The documents of his archive show he had good connections with local government leaders and strong relationships with characters bearing Roman names.[47]

- The Milan papyrus SB XII 11012 = Oliver no. 39 (55 CE Arsinoites): Nero to a *polis* and the 6475, copied on the back of a literary text possibly used in an education context (Aesopic fables), datable to the end of the first century BCE, and indicative of a milieu of low-culture Greeks or Hellenized people.[48]

- P.Oxy. XLII 3022 = Oliver no. 46 (98 CE Oxyrhynchus): Trajan to the Alexandrians, copied in «a large crude hand» on the back of an unpublished private letter with many deletions.[49]

- P.Ant. III 191 = Oliver no. 283 (end of the third century CE, Antinoopolis?): fragment concerning proceedings on the religious privileges of the Antinoites, quoting a letter from Gordian III to the judges, the council and the people of Antinoopolis. The text was copied «in an inelegant hand» on the back of P.Ant. I 37, affidavit of registration (209-210 CE). We can then assume, in this case, a juridical context.

All are private copies in quick and inelegant hands. That closest to ours is the papyrus from Nemesion's archive: both are letters to the city of Alexandria copied on reused accounting materials. Even the graphical aspect is quite similar, so much so that at first it made me consider a possible connection, though it was not confirmed.[50] While the framework of our P.Genova I 10 can be outlined only by hypotheses, in the case of the London papyrus we have accurate information about the person and the context in which the copy of Claudius' famous letter to the Alexandrians was made. Much has been written on this letter and many

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from Gordian III to Antinoopolis' citizens, SB XVIII 13774-13776, 241-242 CE, ed. Hoogendijk / van Minnen 1987).

[46] P.Brit.Mus. inv. 2248, still unpublished aside a portion in Hanson (1984). Cf. Hanson (2010) 310-311.

[47] On Nemesion, see Hanson (1989), Clarysse 2012.

[48] Montevecchi (1970) 6.

[49] For the editor it is «possible that 3022 was copied as part of the *Acta* literature, not merely for its own sake».

[50] A more careful analysis shows that Nemesion's hand does not match that of the Genoa papyrus in the layout of several letters (*beta* and *tau* in particular).

have questioned why a tax collector in the Arsinoites, who was not a citizen of Alexandria, would be interested in copying it.[51]

It is possible that some of these imperial epistles –and in particular the one from Claudius to the Alexandrians for the topic which it addresses– were copied also for an interest in the so-called Acta Alexandrinorum. The circulation of this semi-fictional literature of anti-Roman propaganda in Egypt is well attested by papyri, but is often difficult to contextualise, apart from happy exceptions like the fragment in the archive of Socrates, another tax collector in an Arsinoite village (Karanis, 2nd CE).[52]

It has been suggested that the Philadelphia elite was interested in the contrasts between the Greek community and the Jewish community in Alexandria because they experienced similar ethnic tensions at local level.[53] And Philadelphia was, in his own small way, a sort of mirror of the capital: the local elite, to which Nemesion belonged and for whom the letter was copied, was interested in the issues of the capital, which were not so different from the issues a small town of the *chora* might be dealing with. This is especially true in a region like that of Philadelphia, whose geographical position was a link to the capital, and where we know there was a large number of properties belonging to imperial family members or the friends and *liberti* of the emperor.[54] It is hardly surprising that the Greek or Hellenized elite of the *chora* would be interested in documents of this kind. They had a direct interest in what was happening in the capital and in the relationship with imperial power for the administrative positions they held, for local power management, for their businesses and for the privileges they hoped to achieve or maintain. Moreover, Alexandrian citizens often owned properties in the *chora* and local elite members aspired to acquire Alexandrian citizenship, as a first step to obtain Roman citizenship –and the tax exemptions and privileges that came with it.[55]

It is no wonder, then, that a copy of an imperial epistle to the Alexandrians was produced in the context that we might imagine for the unpublished recto of Nero's Letter. Bookkeeping of relatively high sums of money, use of banks and financial instruments, a possible connection with tax collection and obvious economic and financial relations with the capital of Egypt are all elements that point to a context in which economic and political local elite looked to Alexandria and Rome to maintain and gain prestige, power and wealth.

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[51] E.g. Pestman, Prim.[2], 105-109; Kayser (2003) 439.

[52] Harker (2008) 4. For the fragment in the Socrates archive see Musurillo (1954) n. 22, cf. Harker (2008) 180. However, the idea that the fragment falls under the Acta Alexandrinorum genre has been called into question by Rodríguez (2009).

[53] There is no evidence of anti-Semitic sentiments in the Philadelphia of Nemesion's time: the alleged anti-Jewish elements brought by Schwartz (1985), and repeated e.g. by Harker (2008) 25, are based on incorrect readings of papyrus evidence. Yet there had to be a certain degree of separation between Semites and the rest of the population, given that, as Hanson (1992) pointed out, Arabs and Jews are the only ethnic specifications in the archive.

[54] Hanson (1984), Hanson (1992) 139-140.

[55] Bowman / Rathbone (1992) 116.

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P.Berol. inv. 25141: Sale of a Donkey, a Case of Tax Evasion in Roman Egypt?*

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This nearly rectangular light brown papyrus is badly damaged along the lines of folding. There are many lacunas large and small augmented by holes produced by worms nearly everywhere in this not so large piece of papyrus. The right side is far better preserved than the left. The text is much abraded, though the ink, where it is preserved is bold. The margins are as follows: upper about 0.8 cm; lower 2.8, up to 1.2 cm at left, whereas on the right the writing stretches to the very edge. About 4.5 cm from the left margin remnants of a *kollesis* are visible. The manuscript was written by two rather skilled cursive hands, of which the first runs up to approximately the middle of line five. The papyrus was folded several times vertically. No horizontal folds are traceable. The text is written along the fibers (→). The other side (↓) is blank.

Pabetas(?) the son of Hermes, the name of his provenance was only partly preserved, thirty-two years of age, sells a mouse colored (?) donkey to the son of Onesimos (the name of the purchaser did not survive) twenty years old for forty silver drachmas. Both vendor and purchaser (?) are identified probably by scars they suffered on one of their fingers. The deal was concluded at the market place of Alexandrou Nesos probably in the fourteenth year of Septimius Severus (205/206 CE).

As argued in P.Berl.Cohen 9, P.Berol. inv. 25141 is one of a group of seven instances that can be regarded as a special variety among animal sale documents. For the differences between this group and other animal sale contracts see Kränzlein (1990) 75-76. Only four items on this list[1] deal with donkeys. In two of the other three the kind of animal sold is lost. The seventh probably deals with the sale of an ox (?). All seven transactions were concluded in the Arsinoite Nome: three at Arsinoiton polis, three at Alexandrou Nesos and one at Kerkesoucha.

Claytor's observation (2015) 204 and n. 28, suggesting that from around the end of the second century CE a new style of animal sale contracts not unique to Kerkesoucha came into use, supports the uniqueness of this group. He refers to P.Berl.Cohen 9 as an example. P.Berol. inv. 25141 is another instance of this sort.

The following features gather these seven documents into one group. All of them are very short documents. They contain fewer details regarding the purchaser and the animal bargained. Several sections found in other animal sale contracts are entirely omitted in this variety of texts, namely, the ἀναπόριφος and the βεβαίωσις sections.

* I would like to thank the late Dr. W. Brashear for allowing me to use the preliminary transcription which he made for this papyrus. Many thanks are also due to F. Reiter, former curator of the Greek and Latin department of the papyrus collection of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, for reading this edition and offering many valuable comments. Marius Gerhardt, the present curator, too read this edition and made important suggestions. He also permitted the publication of this papyrus here. I thank him heartily for his benevolence. All other errors are solely mine.

[1] For the list see P.Berl.Cohen p. 60-61. The price of no. 1 on the list was convincingly corrected from 209 to 240 drachmae by Salomons / Worp (2010) 287.

It seems quite established that a central animal trade market was located at the village of Alexandrou Nesos. This is to be inferred from the statements and text discussion advanced by Jördens.[2] To the documents Jördens cites another two can now be added, (P.Berl.Cohen 9 and P.Berol. inv. 25141)**,** which further strengthen the supposition regarding the importance of this village in the field of animal trading in the united Polemon and Themistos division of the Arsinoite Nome. See the Fayum Project regarding this village. The GEO ID of Alexandrou Nesos is 105.

Moreover, the two hands inscribing P.Berol. inv. 25141 **(**mentioned above) prove that such documents for business transactions were prepared in advance. This may indicate, that during the daily busy market hours such forms had to be handy, meaning prepared beforehand, with only the relevant information regarding the specific transaction to be filled in.[3] A somewhat different procedure might involve a document being partly prepared beforehand (as described above), only this time it would be completed during the business hours by the same person, who had written the commencing part earlier. In such a case there could have been some difference between the scripts of the two parts. This, however, may be accounted for indicating the fact that both parts of the manuscript were not inscribed together on the spot.[4] For the intensive trade of donkeys in Roman Egypt see Adams (2007) 105; 98 for Alexandrou Nesos.[5]

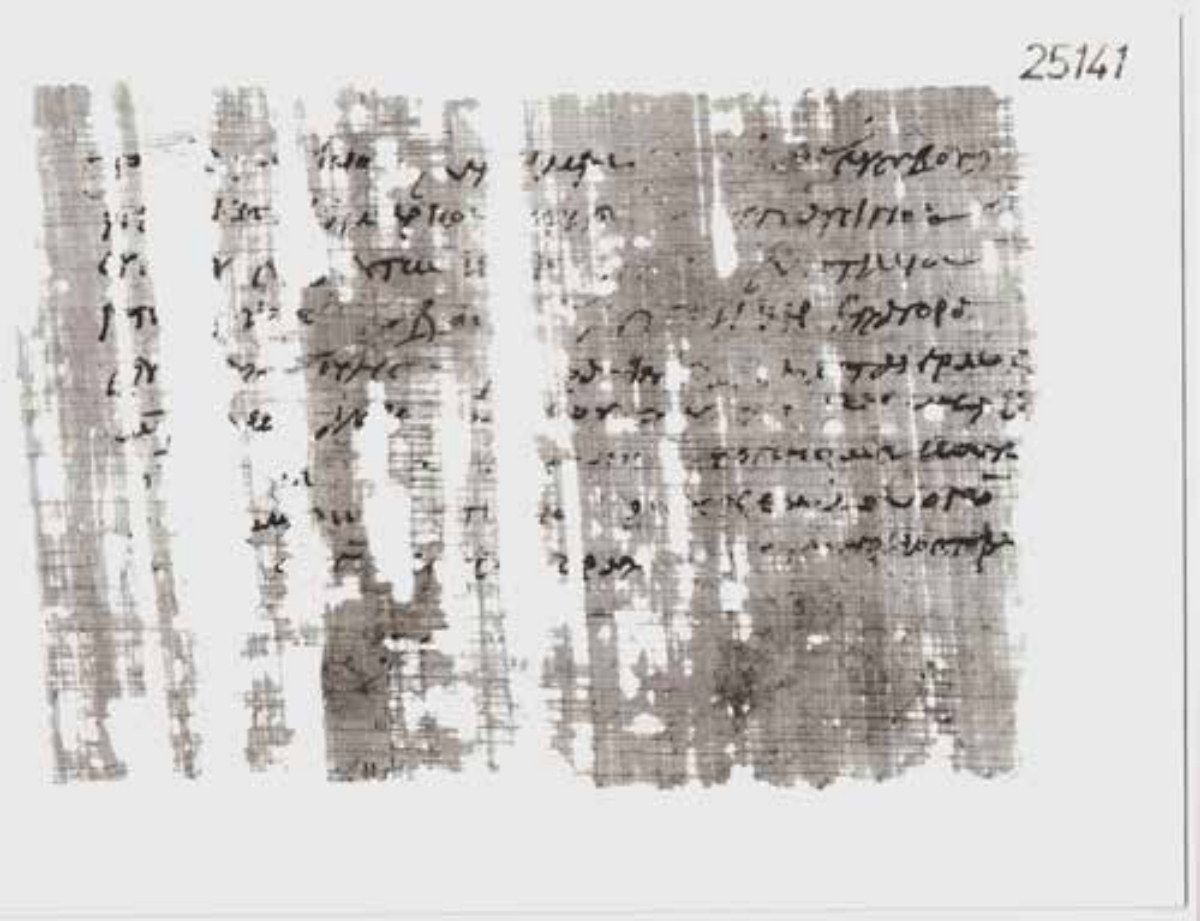
P.Berol. inv. no. 25141 9.4 x 13.8 cm August 21, 206(?) CE
Alexandrou Nesos

1 ἔτο[υς] ι̅δ̅ Λ̣ο̣υ̣κίο̣υ̣ Σεπ̣τ̣ιμίου Σ̣ε̣ο̣υ̣ή̣ρου Εὐσεβοῦς
Π̣ερ[τίν]ακος κ̣αὶ Μάρκου [Α]ὐ̣ρηλί̣[ο]υ [Ἀ]ντωνίνου
Εὐσ[εβο]ῦ̣[ς] Σ̣ε̣β̣α̣ς̣τῶ̣[ν] κ[αὶ] Π̣ο̣υ̣β̣λ̣ί̣ο̣υ̣ Σεπτιμίου
Γ̣έ̣τ̣α̣ [Κα]ίσ̣αρ̣ο̣ς Σ̣ε̣β̣α̣ς̣[τ]ο̣ῦ̣ Μ̣ε̣σ̣ο̣ρὴ κη ἐν ἀγορᾷ
5 Ἀλ̣ε̣[ξάν]δ̣ρ̣ο̣υ̣ Νήσ̣ο̣υ̣ π̣[έ]π̣ρακε̣ν̣ (M2) Π̣α̣β̣[ε]τ̣ᾶς Ἑρμοῦ
μη(τρὸς) [Ἡρ]ακ[λ(είας)] ἀπ̣ὸ̣ κ̣[ώ]μ̣[(ης) ±2].ου.....ι̣δ̣ο(ς) ὡ(ς) (ἐτῶν) λ̅β̅
ο̣ὐ̣[λ(ὴ) δακτ]ύ̣λ[ῳ ± 5].[±3].[±3].....[± 2]ρ̣ Ὀνησί(μου) ὡς (ἐτῶν) κ̅ οὐλ(ὴ)
..[±4]ακ.[±2]λω [±5]τι[±3]ρ̣ο̣[±3]……θμ…ου ὄνο(ν)
μ̣[υόχ]ρ̣[ου]ν [ἀ]ρ̣γυ̣ρί̣[ο]υ̣ δραχ[μ]ῷ̣ν̣ τ̣ε̣σ̣σεράκοντα (γίνονται) (δραχμαί) μ̣
10 Traces

1 Pap. σ̣ε̣ο̣ύ̣η̣ρ̣ού; 6 Pap. μ̅η̅; κ̣[ω]μ̣̅; L; 7 Pap. ο̣υ̅; L; ουλ̅; 8 Pap. ονο̅; 9 Pap. μ̣[υοχ]ρ̣[ου]ν̅; Pap. /; ⟍ = (δραχμαί)

«Year fourteen, Mesore 28, of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augusti, and Publius Septimius Geta Caesar, Augustus, in the marketplace at Alexandrou Nesos (2nd Hand) Pabetas(?), son of Hermes, his mother being Heraklea(?) from the village of … about thirty-two years old with a scar on his … finger (?) sold (to) NN the son of Onesimos about twenty years old with a scar … on his … finger(?) … a mouse colored(?) donkey for forty silver drachmas, total 40.»

[2] See Jördens (1995) 50. See also Litinas (1997) 602.
[3] For another instance of the same procedure at Alexandrou Nesos see BGU XIII 2336 introduction. P.Berl.Cohen 8 shows similar office work at Kerkesoucha, another central market for animal trade in the Arsinoite Nome, the Herkleides division. See also Kränzlein (1990) 76.
[4] I owe this observation to the anonymous reader of my edition, to whom I stand deeply thankful.
[5] An updated list of donkey sales (contracts and others) was published by N. Litinas. See the following: http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/zpe/downloads/1999/124pdf/124195.pdf



Commentaries

1. ἔτο[υς] ι̅δ̅: The remnant of the character preceding the delta cannot be combined with the word ἔτο[υc] being inscribed too far from it. Bearing in mind that Septimius Severus ruled the Roman Empire for eighteen years (193-211 CE), this stroke cannot be resolved as anything but an iota, which together with the following delta indicates the fourteenth year of Severus' reign. This regnal year is well attested in Bureth (1964) 99.

Σ̣ε̣υ̣ή̣ρ̣ου: The text reads: σε̣υ̣ύη̣ρ̣ού. These two strokes may be thus accounted for. The first is probably the top of an elongated diagonal stroke in the first upsilon. The second might be stray ink. See plate.

4. Μ̣εσ̣ο̣ρὴ κη: In all the parallel documents listed on chart 1 (P.Berl.Cohen 9, p. 60) the name of the month and the number of the day are inscribed right before ἐν ἀγορᾷ. Since the only name of a month on the Egyptian calendar ending with an eta is Μεcορή, this seems quite a safe choice for the month in P.Berl. inv. 25141. It seems that the trade of donkeys was not restricted to any special season of a given year, but was active the whole year through. The following list indicates that the differences among the months in which the transactions took place are rather small. According to the evidence as it stands, meager though it is, out of the 93 extant donkey sale references (see Litinas list supra n. 5) concluded during the II century and up to the fall of the Severan dynasty (235 CE) in only 71 texts do the dates record the months in which the transactions were conducted. The list follows: Thoth: 9 transactions; Mesore, Pauni, Pharmouthi, Phaophi: 7; Pachon and Phamenoth: 6; Mecheir, Hathyr and Choiak: 5. The rest have four or less each.

ἐν ἀγορᾷ: For the use of the word ἀγορά in animal sale contracts see Litinas (1997) 601-606. See Claytor (2015) 205 n. 36 for the activity at the agora of Alexandrou Nesos.

5. Πα̣β̣[ε]τᾶς: A plausible completion of the vendor's name, which is quite fragmentary here. Though Παβετᾶς is not a common name, it is still attested several times in the Arsinoite nome. See e.g. BGU VII 1718. l. 5, an ostracon from Philadelphia (third cent. CE) and WL s.v.

6. [Ἡρ]ακ[λ(είας)]: A possible suggestion for the mother's name might be Ἡρακλεία, a rather common female name in Roman Egypt. See NB and Foraboschi (1966) s.v. This word is abbreviated in most cases as a toponym but at times also as a woman's name. See e.g. BGU III 755. l. 5 (118 CE); SB XVI 12792. l. 5 (164 CE).

ἀπὸ κ̣[ώ]μ̣[(ης): The horizontal stroke in the interlinear space between the two lacunas following the kappa was apparently inscribed over the now partly lost mu probably indicating the abbreviation of κώμ(ης). The word κώμης combined with ἀπό was mostly written in full. At times, however, it was abbreviated in several manners. E.g. BGU II 373.6 (in full, 298 CE); SB XII 11152.6: κ(ώμης) (225 CE): SB XVI 13071.13: κώ(μης) (223-225 CE); P.Mich. II 121 i.2: κώμη(ς) (42 CE).

±2].ου.....ι̣δ̣ος: Iota, the character preceding the delta, is highly fragmentary. One is tempted to resolve alpha instead, which might render Δι̣ονυσιάδος, the genitive form of the name of the village Διονυσίας. Even so iota seems to be more plausible than alpha. For the village of Dionysias see the Fayum Project (GEO ID 565).

7. ο̣ὐ̣[λ(ὴ): Line seven might have begun with an indication of the scar on the vendor's body. A tiny stroke next to the fragmentary omicron(?) at the beginning of the lacuna is probably all that survived of the upsilon. Above it the abbreviation mark is visible. It might have covered the lost lambda as well. The same word was seemingly likewise written at the end of this line.

ο̣ὐ̣[λ(ὴ) δακτ]ύ̣λ[ῳ ± 5].[±3].[±3].....[±2]ρ̣ Ὀνησί(μου): The rest of the lacuna up to the beginning of the purchaser's name could have been originally inscribed with the full description of the scar on the vendor's finger, as in SB XVI 12559.11 (155 CE): οὐλὴ δακ(τύλῳ) μικ(ρῷ) χ<ε>ιρὸς ἀρ(ιστερᾶς), or perhaps δεξιᾶς, if the scar in our case was on the small finger of the right hand. See also SPP XXII 29.10-11 (2nd cent. CE).

Ὀνησί(μου): At the end of line 7 my transcription reads: Ὀνησί(μου) ὡς (ἐτῶν) κ̄ οὐλ(ὴ), (see text). An alternative reading here was suggested: Ὀνησίμου βοῦν. The price of the animal here (40 dr.) might have assisted this reading. In P.Fay 62 (134 CE) a cow is sold for 44 dr. Yet Drexhage's (1991) 303-304, price list of sheep, goats and cattle (1st-3rd cent. CE) shows higher prices as well. The word ὄνο(ν) clearly read at the end of line 8 discounts this possibility.

8. The beginning of this line is very fragmentary. The only comment that can be made with some certainty regards]ακ.[±2]λω which may be resolved as δ]ακ[τύ]λῳ. I am unable to offer any clear text for the rest of the line up to the word ὄνο(ν).

ὄνο(ν): The flat horizontal stroke over the second omicron stands for the final nu. This manner of abbreviation came to be frequent as early as the first half of the third century CE. See Bell (1951) 427; Cribiore (1996) 86.

9. μ̣[υόχ]ρ̣[ου]ν: The suggested and probably fitting resolution is μυόχρουν. There is a horizontal stroke over the nu partly unexplainable as yet. Could the scribe have drawn a horizontal stroke over the lost upsilon, probably intending it to replace the nu, as in the previous comment, but then changed his mind and wrote down this letter anyway?

τ̣ε̣σ̣σ̣ερά̣κοντα: Though the regular form is τεσσαράκοντα, this spelling can also be found. See e.g. P.Louvre I 14. ll. 8-9 (44 CE); P.Prag. I 63.ll. 13-14 (180 CE); CPR VII 36. l. 9 (331 CE).

[ἀ]ρ̣γυ̣ρί̣[ο]ῦ̣ δραχ[μ]ῶ̣ν̣ τ̣ε̣σ̣σ̣ερά̣κοντα: Compared with other prices paid for donkeys from 1 CE up to the fall of the Severan dynasty and the beginning of the crisis in the Roman Empire (235 CE) forty drachmas was rather low. Out of 130 extant papyrological references to donkey sales concluded in Egypt during this period 57 record the price paid for the sold/purchased animal. Only seven were sold for less than one hundred drachmas.[6] The animal in P.Berl. inv. 25141 was traded for the lowest price (forty drachmas). This price seems odd considering the fact that prices of donkeys in the course of the period discussed were constantly on the rise. (See Litinas' list, n. 5 supra). Our text does not volunteer any further details regarding the animal sold beyond its color (μ̣[υόχ]ρ̣[ου]ν?), which probably was common, not special. There must have been something about this donkey that lowered its price. On the other hand P.Berl.Cohen 8. ll. 13-15 (190 CE, 240 drachmas), SPP XXII 101. ll. 7-8 (193-212 CE, 280 drachmas) and BGU II 413. ll. 7-8 (219 CE, 500 drachmas) do advance more detailed descriptions of the animals sold, but in all three of them the prices are way higher than in P.Berl. inv. 25141. Was the purchaser (in collaboration with the vendor) trying to evade the payment of the full fare of the ἐπιστατεία καὶ δεκάτη payable at the market place of Alexandrou Nesos by not stating the actual price of the donkey sold here? see Pintaudi (1987) 43-47 for the charging of this. For the payment of this tax at the market place of Alexandrou Nesos see BGU XIII 2293 (147-155 CE); 2275 (155 CE).

Nobody likes to pay taxes. This is true nowadays, as certainly it was in ancient times. Actions taken by government officials in Roman Egypt took advantage of the Egyptian population. This created enormous discontent among the Egyptians, and might have triggered the motivation to cheat the authorities.

Adams (2007) 138-142, deals with abuses in the system of animal requisition on the side of the government or its agents. So do Lewis (1983) 161-163 (corruption in tax collection), 178-180 (liturgy nomination) and Link (1993) 313 with footnote 37 presenting the case of Totoes, an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchos (P.Oxy. XVII 2131, 207 CE) who was unjustly nominated for the liturgy of public donkey driver, the πόρος required for which was 1200 drachmas. Totoes did not own property valued as such. Link also discusses acts of ἀναχώρησις committed by taxpayers not as a desperate step because they could not pay the taxes, but on account of their unwillingness to do so (p. 315: «… nicht unfähig, sondern einfach unwilling …»). The abuses on the side of the government might have triggered tax evasions performed by tax payers.

In PSI V 476 (3rd cent. CE) Zenas advises his friend Ptolas, how he can evade supplying the amount of πυρὸς συναγοραστικός demanded by the officials. Can the example of P.Berl. inv. 25141 be viewed as such a case?

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[6] They are no. 53 (70 dr.), 67 (56 dr.), 68 (60 dr.), 69 (48 dr.), 71 (60 dr.), 81 (88 dr.), 84 (64 dr.) on Litinas' list cited supra (n. 5).

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New Evidence for *Colonia Aelia Capitolina* (P.Mich. VII 445 + inv. 3888c + inv. 3944k)*

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P.Mich. VII 445, edited by H.A. Sanders in 1947, preserves the beginnings of sixteen lines of a text belonging to the military milieu, written on the recto across the fibres; the *verso* is blank. The left margin is complete, the upper and lower ones are partially damaged, whereas a remarkable portion has been lost on the right side. The papyrus was substantially supplemented by Arangio-Ruiz (1948) 261-263, who recognised it as an acknowledgment of debt written in the form of a *chirographum* in a paper published just one year after the *editio princeps*. Then, it was reprinted as CPL 194 by R. Cavenaile and reedited as ChLA V 284 by R. Marichal. The papyrus is relevant from the juridical point of view, since it contains one of the few Latin *chirographa* on papyrus, as well as from the historical viewpoint. The text (l. 3) mentions the *Legio X Fretensis*, which was stationed in Jerusalem by Titus in 70 CE just after the end of the first Jewish war (see e.g. Dąbrowa [1993] 9), along with the toponym in which the contract was signed (l. 2), supplemented as *Colo̩[iam Caesaream* by Arangio-Ruiz (1948) 262. In fact, P.Mich. VII 445 is the only Latin papyrus to have been certainly written in Jerusalem. The provenance is unknown, for the papyrus was purchased in London in 1925, 2nd May, but it is likely to have been brought from Jerusalem to Egypt by a veteran.[1] It was dated to 188 CE on the basis of the consular date in l. 1 (partially supplemented), which would point to the second consulships of both Seius Fuscianus and Marcus Servilius Silanus.[2]

An analysis on two unpublished Latin papyri, which I recently carried out, proves that they join P.Mich. VII 445, thus providing us with the opportunity to restore almost completely the original document. The hypothesis of the realignment, suggested by palaeographical and material affinities (the three papyri are written across the fibres, they contain more than one hand, their back sides are blank), is corroborated by the text continuity of the reconstructed lines. The joining fragments are P.Mich. inv. no. 3888c, which preserves scanty remains of sixteen lines, and P.Mich. inv. no. 3944k, consisting of two fragments preserving parts of fifteen lines on the whole. They both belong to a lot of texts that was sent by E. R. Boak in March 1925 and reached Ann Arbor University in October 1926.[3] The realignment of the

* The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement no. 636983); ERC-PLATINUM project, University of Naples Federico II. I thank Brendan Haug for allowing me to study the two unedited papyri and for the digital images he sent me. The text was discussed on a first time during the workshop "Un nuovo riconoscimento di debito del II sec. d.C.: per un'edizione di due frammenti latini inediti dell'università del Michigan", Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, Naples, 28/04/2016: during the workshop, the members of PLATINUM (P.I. Maria Chiara Scappaticcio, Dario Internullo, Giulio Iovine, Valeria Piano and Ornella Salati), whom I thank, offered me various suggestions. I thank the anonymous reviewer for bringing to my attention the epigraph coming from Hierapolis (AE 2004 1424 = SEG 2005 1416). The present paper focuses on some points that I discussed during the congress; for a full edition of the reconstructed papyrus see Bernini (2018).

[1] See ChLA V 284, 18 and http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-1914/3258r.tif.

[2] As for Fuscianus, see PIR^2 S 317 and NP XI 352 s.v. *Seius* 1; as for Silanus, see PIR^2 S 599.

[3] See http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-10521/3888cr.tif and http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-12453/3944kr.tif.

three fragments restores a text containing sixteen lines on the whole that can be almost entirely supplemented. The papyrus completely preserves the left margin, whereas the other three margins are more or less damaged. Five hands wrote the text: the scribe (M1) and four witnesses (M2-M5).

As already stated by Arangio-Ruiz (1948), the text is written in the form of a *chirographum*, which is typical of private documents.[4] Beside the present document, we have just seven Latin *chirographa* coming from a military milieu.[5] The main characteristics of Latin *chirographa* are listed by Amelotti and Migliardi Zingale.[6] They are:

1. the date written at the beginning;
2. the personal drafting;
3. the non-epistolary format,[7] introduced by the verb *scripsi*;
4. attention to the will of the issuer rather than to autography;
5. the presence of marks written by the declarant and the subscribers;
6. the potential presence of the 'Doppelbeurkundung'.

The first three occur in the present text, which instead lack both the signature by the declarant (who claimed to be illiterate, see ll. 5–6), and the 'Doppelbeurkundung'.

The relevance of the realigned text is not limited to the juridical aspects, since it contains new historical evidence, in fact:

1. it disproves the previous dating and leads to new chronological remarks;
2. it increases the number of occurrences for the toponym *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*;
3. it is a new evidence concerning the formular of the acknowledgments of debt, and shed light upon the knowledge of the juridical vocabulary within the *Legio X Fretensis*;
4. it is an important evidence of the Latin language in Jerusalem.

The content can be largely understood. The contract was written on the fifth day before the Ides of May (that is 11th May) in the winter-quarters of *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*, where the *Legio X Fretensis* stationed. The borrower claims to have received an amount of money by a comrade, and commits himself to give it back *sine controversia* to him, as well as to his *procurator* or his heirs, as soon as he would be requested. This part was written by Iulius Serenus, who was asked by the borrower to write the text instead of him, being he illitterate. The document ends with four subscriptions written by four different hands.

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[4] For an overview, see Amelotti / Migliardi Zingale (1996), and Yiftach-Firanko's remarks in Démare-Lafont / Faraguna / Yiftach-Firanko (2013) 22-27. As pointed out by Jakab (2013) 230, «die Chirographa immer Verpflichtungen zwischen zwei Parteien (Schuldner und Gläubiger) erzeugten, wobei die Anwesenheit der Kontrahierenden meistens vorausgesetzt werden kann. In Ausnahmenfällen war jedoch eine Stellvertretung bei der Beurkundung denkbar». Among Latin authors, see for instance Gaius, Inst. 3.134: *praeterea litterarum obligatio fieri videtur chirografis et syngrafis, id est, si quis debere se aut daturum se scribat, ita scilicet, si eo nomine stipulatio non fiat. quod genus obligationis proprium peregrinorum est*, and Mod. Dig. 22.1.41.2: *ab Aulo Agerio Gaius Seius mutuam quandam quantitatem accepit hoc chirographo: «ille scripsi me accepisse et accepi ab illo mutuos et numeratos decem, quos ei reddam kalendis illis proximis cum suis usuris placitis inter nos»: quaero, an ex eo instrumento usurae peti possint et quae*.

[5] They are listed by Platschek (2013) 250-252: P.Vindob. inv. no. L 135 (25/08/27 CE); AE 1992. 1139 (83 CE); T.Vindon. 3 (25/02/90 CE); P.Mich. VII 438 (140 CE); P.Fouad 45 (153 CE); P.Mich. III 161 (2nd CE); and P.Mich. VII 440 (162 CE). A *chirographum* written in Greek shows partial similarities with the Latin form, see T.Sulpicii 78p2 ll. 5-12 (11/04/38 CE) Μενέλαος Εἰρηναίου Κερα|μιήτης ἔγραψα ἀπέχιν μαι (l. ἀπέχειν με) | παρὰ Πρίμου Ποπλίου Ἀττίου Σεβή|ρου δούλου{λου} δηνάρια χίλια | ἐκ ναυλωτικῆς ἐκσφραγισμένης | ἃ καὶ ἀποδώσω ἀκουλούθως | τῇ ναυλωτικῇ ἢ⟨ν⟩ πεποίημαι πρὸς | αὐτόν.

[6] Amelotti / Migliardi Zingale (1996) 135-136.

[7] According to Jakab (2013) 219, the *chirographum* is instead characterised by an epistolary form: «[i]m juristischen Kontext werden zwei technischen Wörter verwendet, die Schriftstücke in Briefform, mit persönlicher Formulierung, bezeichnen: *chirographum* und *epistula*». See also Jakab (2013) 220.

The first two lines and the beginning of the third one are the most important under the historical viewpoint, preserving the dating formula and the place where the papyrus was written. According to ChLA V 284, they run as follows:

P̣(ublio) [Fu]ṣciano]̣[I M(arco) Silano II co(n̄)s(ulibus) ±14]
aput Colon̤[iam Caesaream in castris in hiber-]
3 *nis …*

1. The dating formula: Seius Fuscianus

Not much is known about Seius Fuscianus' life; the most important source only tells us that he was *condiscipulus* of Marcus Aurelius: *frequentavit et declamatorum scholas publicas amavitque e condiscipulis praecipuos senatorii ordinis Seium Fuscianum et Aufidium Victorinum, ex equestri Baebium Longum et Calenum* (HA Aur. 3.8). According to Alföldy (1977) 159-160, he would have been about two years older than the emperor, though a date of birth prior to 118 CE should not be excluded. He was elected *consul ordinarius* along with M. Servilius Silanus in 188 CE (it was the second consulship for both), the year to which P.Mich. VII 445 was dated: in fact, the spot of ink at the end of l. 1 was read as the lower part of an *i*, and interpreted as the first numeral of the number *II*. The present evidence would be the only one in which the *praenomen Publius* would be mentioned (see PIR^2 317); however, the realignment of the three fragments does not confirm the dating formula.[8]

2. The place: Colonia Aelia Capitolina

The current occurrence is the only one within the papyrological evidence, being partial that of SB XXVI 16607, a papyrus that probably dates back to the 5th CE and may have been found in Panopolis: in l. 18 we read Ηλιᾳ̣[̣] ̣ειερο̣[σαλ]η̣μ̣ (l. Αἰλία [̣] Ἱεροσαλήμ).[9] The toponym is occasionally mentioned in both epigraphical[10] and literary[11] texts:

Inscriptions:

1. AE 1976 494.1-6 (135-199 CE; found near Mogontiacum): *D(is) M(anibus)* | *Octaviae Capitolinae* | *dom(o) Ael(ia) Capitolina* | *castissimae ac pudic*|*issimae coniugi et* | *incomparabili*
2. Tituli Aquincenses II 499.1-4 (151-200 CE; found in Aquincum): *D(is) M(anibus)* | *Ael(io) Silvano* | *(centurioni) leg(ionis) II adi(utricis)* | *domo Syria Palaestina* | *colon(ia) Ael(ia) Capitolina*
3. CIIP 1.2 719.3-6 (202-205 CE; found in Hierosolyma): *et Iuliae Aug(ustae)* | *[matri Aug(usti) et Caes(aris) et (?)Fulviae Plautillae Aug(ustae) col(onia) Ael]ia Kap(itolina) Commo*|*[diana*
4. CIIP 1.2 728.3 (*post* 180-192 CE; found in Hierosolyma): *Co[l(onia)] Ael(ia) Cap(itolina) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*
5. CIL III.1 117.13-15 (s.d.; found in Rama): *Col(onia) Ael(ia) Capit(olina)* | *m(ilia) p(assuum) V* | Κολ(ωνία-) Αἰλίας Καπιτωλ(ίνης)

[8] On this point see Bernini (2018).
[9] Formerly 'Privatsammlung E. von Scherling, Inv. Nr. 110'. It was edited by Noordegraaf (1938); see the commentary *ad loc.* (Noordegraaf [1938] 284). See also the recent reedition by Perale (2016).
[10] According to the database TM GEO (http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/georef_list.php?tm=853; accessed 04/11/2017).
[11] The form Αἰλία Καπιτωλιάς occurs in Ptol. Geogr. 5.16.8 and 8.20.18.

6. CIL III Suppl. 2 12087.9-11 (s.d.; found in Beit Djemal): *Col(onia) Ael(ia) Capit(olina)* | *m(ilia) p(assuum) XVIII*] | Κολ(ωνία-) Αἰλίας Καπιτωλ(ίνης)

Literature:

1. Afric. Cesti 5.1: τήνδε τὴν σύμπασαν ὑπόθεσιν ἀνακειμένην εὑρέσεις ἔν τε τοῖς ἀρχείοις τῆς ἀρχαίας πατρίδος κολωνίας Αἰλίας Καπιτωλίνης τῆς Παλαιστίνης κἀν Νύσῃ τῆς Καρίας
2. D.C. 69.12.1: ἐς δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς κατασκαφείσης οἰκίσαντος, ἣν καὶ Αἰλίαν Καπιτωλῖναν ὠνόμασε
3. Ulp. Dig. 50.15.1.6-7: *in Palaestina duae fuerunt coloniae, Caesariensis et Aelia Capitolina, sed neutra ius Italicum habet*

The reestablishment of Jerusalem as *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*[12] is referred to only by two authors: Cassius Dio and Epiphanius.

The witness by Cassius Dio has been construed as the most reliable evidence, and would suggest that Bar Kochba Revolt (132-136 CE) exploded because of this refoundation, which would have taken place in 128-131 CE:

> D.C. 69.12.1-2: ἐς δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς κατασκαφείσης οἰκίσαντος, ἣν καὶ Αἰλίαν Καπιτωλῖναν ὠνόμασε, καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τόπον ναὸν τῷ Διὶ ἕτερον ἀντεγείραντος πόλεμος οὐ̓τ᾽ ὀλιγοχρόνιος ἐκινήθη. Ἰουδαῖοι γὰρ δεινόν τι ποιούμενοι τὸ ἀλλοφύλους τινὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν σφῶν οἰκισθῆναι καὶ τὸ ἱερὰ ἀλλότρια ἐν αὐτῇ ἱδρυθῆναι, παρόντος μὲν ἔν τε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ αὖθις ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ ἡσύχαζον, πλὴν καθ᾽ ὅσον τὰ ὅπλα τὰ ἐπιταχθέντα σφίσιν ἧττον ἐπιτήδεια ἐξεπίτηδες κατεσκεύασαν ὡς ἀποδοκιμασθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων χρήσασθαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ πόρρω ἐγένετο, φανερῶς ἀπέστησαν.

A different date can be inferred from a passage by Epiphanius, whom has been almost disregarded in favor of Cassius Dio.[13] He tells us that Hadrian, while travelling to Egypt in 117 CE, stopped in a completely destroyed Jerusalem: this event would have led him to the decision of refoundation the city with the name of *Aelia:*

> Epiph.Const., De mensuris et ponderibus 14: διέρχεται οὖν τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν, ὑπερβαίνει τε τὴν Κοίλην καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην, καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν Παλαιστίνην, τὴν καὶ Ἰουδαίαν καλουμένην μετὰ ἔτη μζ΄ τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐρημώσεως. καὶ ἄνεισιν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, τὴν περίπυστον πόλιν καὶ ὀνομαστήν, ἣν κατέστρεψε Τίτος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παῖς τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας. καὶ εὗρε τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν ἠδαφισμένην, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ κατεπεπατημένον, παρεκτὸς ὀλίγων οἰκημάτων καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας μικρᾶς οὔσης, ἔνθα ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ μαθηταί, ὅτε ὁ Σωτὴρ ἀνελήφθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλαιῶνος ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὑπερῷον. ἐκεῖ γὰρ ᾠκοδόμητο· τοῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ μέρει Σιών, ἥτις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρημώσεως περιελήφθη· καὶ μέρη οἰκήσεων περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σιὼν καὶ ἑπτὰ συναγωγαί, αἳ ἐν τῇ Σιὼν μόναι ἑστήκεσαν, ὡς καλύβαι μόνον, ἐξ ὧν μία περιελείφθη ἕως χρόνου Μαξιμωνᾶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως «ὡς σκηνὴ ἐν ἀμπελῶνι» κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον. διανοεῖται οὖν ὁ Ἁδριανὸς τὴν πόλιν κτίσαι, οὐ μὴν τὸ ἱερόν. καὶ λαβὼν τὸν Ἀκύλαν τοῦτον τὸν προγεγραμμένον, ἑρμηνευτὴν Ἕλληνα ὄντα, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἁδριανὸς Ἕλλην ὑπῆρχεν· ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀκύλας αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως πενθερίδης, ἀπὸ Σινώπης δὲ τῆς Πόντου ὁρμώμενος καθίστησιν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπιστάτην τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν τῆς πόλεως κτισμάτων, ἐπιτεθεικὼς τῇ οἰκοδομουμένῃ πόλει τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ὀνόματος τὸν χρηματισμόν. ὡς γὰρ ὠνόμαστο Αἴλιος Ἁδριανός, οὕτω καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠνόμασεν Αἰλίαν.

[12] For an overview on the foundation of the city, see also Lifshitz (1977) 483-486.
[13] Epiphanius' version was recently revalued by Capponi (2010) 496-501.

Cassius Dio's version is more reliable, for a travel to Egypt in 117 CE is unlikely –since Hadrian became emperor in that year– and it is confirmed by an inscription found in Hierapolis (AE 2004 1424 = SEG 2005 1416).[14] It dates back to the period between the end of spring and the beginning of summer 130 CE, and contains a letter sent by the Emperor Hadrian to the Phrygian city –possibly concerning a privilege– that ends (l. 13) with the mention of the place where the letter was written: ἐν Ἱεροσολύμ[οις.[15]

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θ]εοῦ Τραιανοῦ [Παρθικο]ῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Ν[έρουα]
[υἱωνός, Τραϊανὸς Ἁδ]ριανὸς Σεβαστός, ἀ[ρχι]ερ[εὺ]ς μέγιστος, δημαρ-
[χικῆς ἐξουσίας] τεσσαρεσκαιδεκά[της], ὕπατος τὸ τρίτο[ν, πατὴρ]
[πατρίδος], Ἱεραπολειτ[ῶν] τ̣οῖ̣ς̣ ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ̣ βουλῇ̣ καὶ τῷ̣ δή-
5 [μῳ χαίρειν· .]ΛΛΑ ἐπαινῶν ἐπέστειλα ΤΗΣΙΙ .ΙΙΤΩΝΙΙΣΙ Ι . . ΤΙ[- - -]
[- - - - - - - -]Ι ΤΙ . ΙΛΟΣ . .ΚΑΙΟΝΤΙΙΙΛΙΙΙΙΑΓνοησαι ὑμ[ῖν (?)[16] .]ΛΛ[- - -]
[- - - - - - - - -]ΛΙΟΣ . .ΒΡΟ .Σ ΛΙΕνοησατε καὶ παραπεμψαΙΙΛ[- - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]ΝΕΝΤΑΛΛΛΙΙΠ[- - - -]ΙΕΙ[- - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]ΤΑτων ΦΟΙ . .ΙΙ .ΙΙΟΥ . . ΤΟ[- - - - - -]
10 [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]ΤΛ . . . ΚΑΙ . . . .ΙΚΛΙΜΕΙ[- - - - - - - -]
[- -]Ο . ΙΙ ΛΛΛΟΡ . Ι ΙΙΛΙΖΙ[- - - - - - - - - -]
[- -] . Λ .Ο .ΟΙΙ . .ΤΚΙΙ[- - - - - - - - - - -]
[- -] ἐν Ἱεροσολύμ[οις.]

Recent excavations seem to indicate that the city was rebuilt some years earlier: «[t]he construction of the new Roman city of Aelia Capitolina is generally thought to be associated with Hadrian's well-known visit to Judaea around 129/130 […]. On the basis of the finds from the Eastern Cardo, we now suggest that the Roman city was planned and its main thoroughfares paved in the early years of Hadrian's reign, about a decade before his visit to the East».[17] However, this fact does not contradict Cassius Dio: it witnesses only some construction activity within the city, but does not indicate the refoundation of the city as a Roman settlement.

The reasons leading to this refoundation were not restricted to military needs: it may have been decided also for improving the conditions of the civilian quarters, or for better integrate the region.[18] The key-point is the rebuilding of Jerusalem as a no longer Jewish city, as evident in particularly in the construction of the temple dedicated to Iuppiter Capitolinus in the place where the temple of God was previously located. Recently Brizzi (2015) 322-323 pointed out that anti-Jewish interpretation of the rebuilding seems to be contradicted by the general attitude of the Romans towards Jews, which was not particularly cruel.[19] Other

[14] Mentioned in Ritti (2006) 158-159. I owe the remarks on Hadrian's travel to Werner Eck, whom I thank.
[15] See SEG 2005 comment ad l.: «Hadrian may have sent the letter from the military camp that was situated *in* Jerusalem».
[16] Chaniotis (SEG 2005 1416) tentatively suggests ἀγνοῆσαι ὑμ[ᾶς.
[17] Weksler-Bdolah (2014) 56. As for the camp of the legion is concerned, its stationing has not been identified with certainty. The borders are traditionally believed to be (Bar [1998] 8–9): 1. the First Wall (corresponding to the north and west boundaries); 2. a line of wall erected by the soldiers (on the eastern side); 3. a line on which the Ottoman wall was later built (as for the southern boundary). Bar (1998) 15 tentatively places the camp in «the area between the Second Wall and the Third Wall» by resorting to both literary sources and archaeological findings.
[18] Brizzi (2015) 322.
[19] Brizzi (2015) 323: «[p]ur non potendo essere esclusa, l'interpretazione antigiudaica non si accorda però con il ritegno che l'imperatore mostrò in seguito nel celebrare la vittoria; né con l'evidente sorpresa mostrata dai Rornani allo scoppio di un movimento che, pure se lo avessero provocato essi stessi, avrebbero dovuto prevedere (e persino anticipare)».

scholars interpretate this fact within the frame of the so-called clash of civilization, as Golan (1986) and Goodman (2007) do. By relying upon the framework of the 'Geistesgeschichte', the former asserts that Hadrian's decision to found Colonia Aelia Capitolina was influenced by his Graeco-Roman cultural background: it was a way to tackle the clash of civilizations between the ideology of the *Imperium Romanum* and and a religious milieu that in some aspects was incompatible with it. However, he did not oppose to Christianity[20] so as to overlook the tolerance that characterised the Roman Law: «in spite of the emperor's wish to root out Christianity, Hadrian had decided not to trespass beyond the self-imposed limits of true Roman justice».[21]

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[20] The author refers also to Traian's *rescriptum* about Christians, see Plin. Epist. 10.97.

[21] Golan (1986) 233.

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Who was the wife of Pompeius Niger?

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Lucius Pompeius Niger, a first century soldier of Egyptian origin, left a small archive of documents which is now dispersed through various collections. He was discharged from the *legio XXII Deiotariana* sometime before 44 CE, and the bulk of the archive –legal documents as well as five private letters– stems from his time as a veteran. The archive is important as an early attestation of a legionary soldier of non-Roman origin, but also Pompeius Niger's family life has attracted the interest of scholars.[1] Several of his family members (including children) are known from the preserved documents. The identity of his wife, however, remains uncertain. Two women figuring in his private letters have been proposed in earlier studies.[2] In this paper a possible wife will instead be sought in his legal papers.

Several of the documents from the Pompeius Niger archive are in the Papyrus Collection of the University of Oslo Library, all from a lot acquired in 1934 from the well-known antiquities dealer Maurice Nahman. The 1934 acquisition consists of 67 papyri and is a mixed lot regarding type, date and provenance. 27 papyri from this group have been published in different journals, and more are being prepared for future volumes of the Papyri Osloenses series. This lot has several links to papyri in other collections acquired in the same period, most notably the Yale collection and the Fouad collection inCairo, where joining fragments have been identified. One unpublished fragment from this lot will be our starting point.

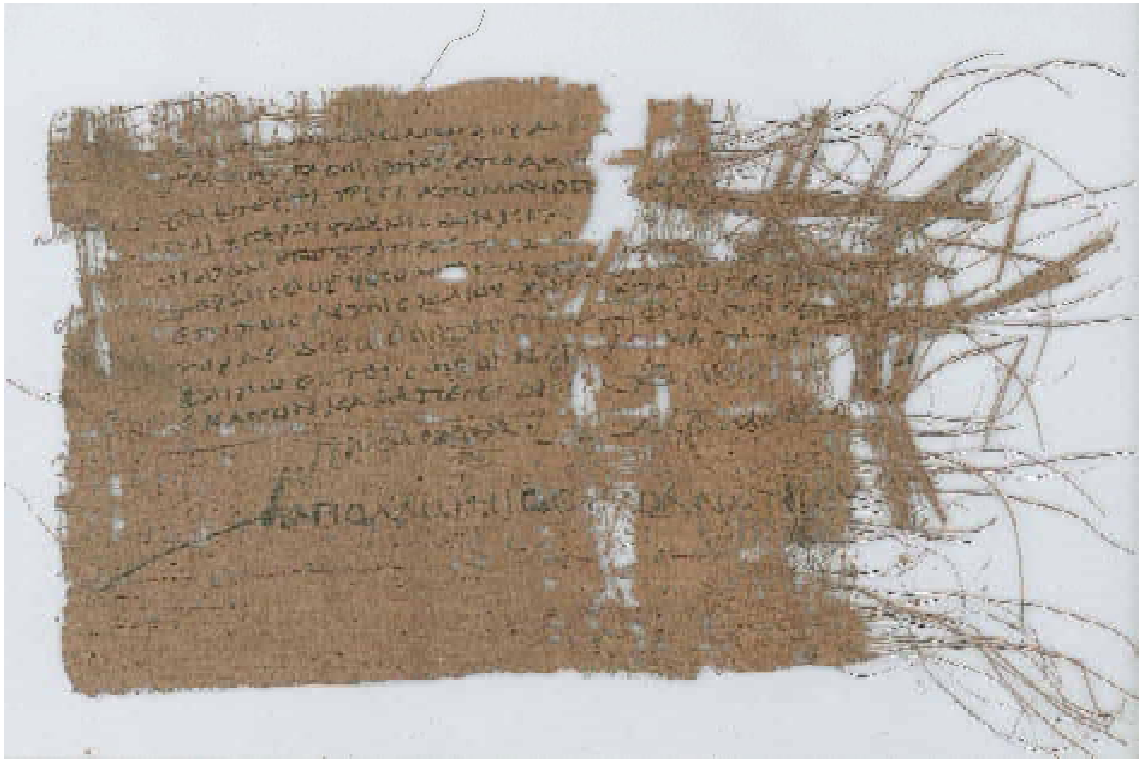
The fragment (inv. no. 1496) is 9.5 cm high and completely preserved on the vertical axis with 1.2 cm of upper and 2.5 cm of lower margin. Three horizontal fold lines are visible at a distance of 2.5–2.8 cm increasing from the bottom to the top. The fragment is complete on the left side with a margin of 1.8 cm, but is torn off and badly damaged towards the right, preserving a maximum width of about 17.5 cm. A reconstruction of the text indicates that the right half of the sheet has been completely lost and that the original document would have been approximately 35 cm wide. As the document is written *transversa charta*, this would correspond to the height of the roll from which it was cut. Of the preserved part, the left half (approximately 8.8 cm) is virtually undamaged, whereas the right half in several places is reduced to single fibres with dots of ink that are hardly interpretable. The condition of the papyrus suggests that the sheet, after the horizontal folding, was folded vertically twice in the middle producing four panels, of which two are lost. A full edition of this document appears along with others from the 1934 acquisition in my doctoral thesis[3]. Here I provide only a transcription of the well-preserved parts of the first 10 lines (the body of the document) with minimal supplements:

Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου, Ἀλθα[ιεύς
γεγονότα σοι ἐκ τοῦ ἀποδη̣[

[1] On the Pompeius Niger archive, see Smolders (2015) with bibliography.
[2] Heraklous, the author of SB VI 9121, was proposed as Pompeius' wife in the ed. pr. by Eitrem and Amundsen (1951) 180 (ad l. 1), whereas Charitous, the author of SB VI 9120, was suggested in Bagnall and Cribiore (2006) 126.
[3] See Mangerud (2018) 82-94.

ἐν ἔτεσει τρισὶ ἀπὸ μηνὸς .[
σοι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μισθὸν κατὰ μ[ῆνα
παραμένοντα πρὸς τῇ μαθή[σει
τοῦ μισθοῦ ὑπολογήσω· τῶν [
ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς· καὶ οὐκ ἀποσπάσεις αὐτὸν ἀπ’ ἐμ[οῦ
του δὲ διελθόντος ἐπιδείξομαί σοι αὐτὸν [
βαίνω, ἐκτείσω σοι παραχρῆμα τά τε β[λά]βη [
ἑκατὸν καθάπερ ἐγ δίκ[η]ς χωρεὶς τοῦ [κυ]ρίᾳ [

3 l. ἔτεσι 10 l. ἐκ, 10 l. χωρίς



P.Oslo inv. no. 1496 recto. © University of Oslo Library.

The document is a *cheirographon*, a contract styled as a letter from the one contracting party to the other. In line 3 we find the phrase ἐν ἔτεσι τρισί, so the agreement apparently has a time frame. We further see from line 4 that a salary is involved, and that it is to be paid on behalf of a third person. The phrase παραμένοντα πρὸς τῇ μαθήσει in line 5 finally makes it clear that we are dealing with a contract of apprenticeship. The accusative participle γεγονότα in line 2 presumably refers to the apprentice, and the phrase beginning with γεγονότα σοι ἐκ τοῦ αποδη .[would then imply that the second contracting party is the apprentice’s mother. The explanation for the father’s absence could lie in the word following τοῦ, and the reading ἀποδήμ[ου or ἀποδημ[οῦντος,‘being out of town’, easily comes to mind.

A fair number of apprenticeship contracts have been published, the vast majority of which date from the Roman period. They are usually quite standardized in form. The typical apprenticeship contract in Oxyrhynchos has the form of an objective reciprocal homology (ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, ὁ μὲν δεῖνα ἐκδεδόσθαι τῷ δεῖνι κτλ.), whereas in the Arsinoite nome the standard form is a protocol (ἐξέδοτο ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι κτλ.) followed

by a subscription by both parties.[4] These formalities clearly mirror the reciprocal nature of the transaction –the master craftsman is obliged to provide teaching, the apprentice to provide work force. There are, however, also a few apprenticeship contracts written as *cheirographa*, a format which is in its nature unilateral. I will not go into possible explanations for the occasional use of this contract form; here the point is only that they are rare. In fact there are only two known examples of *cheirographa* addressed from a master craftsman to the parent of an apprentice. One of these, P.Fouad 37, dating from 48 CE, happens to be a very close parallel to our document. The body of the contract runs as follows:[5]

Μηνόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου, Ἀλθαιεύς, Λουκίῳ Πομπηίωι Μίγερι χ(αίρειν). ὁμολογῶ σε ἐγδεδόσθαι μοι τὸν υἱόν σου Φοῦσκον, οὐδέπω ὄντα τῶν ἐτῶν,
ἐγδιδάξαι τὴν λινυφικὴν τῶν καθημένων τέχνην πᾶσαν ἐντελῶς, καθὰ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπίσταμαι, ἐν τησι δυσὶ ἀπὸ μηνὸς Γερμανικείου τοῦ ὀγδόου
ἔτους Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ χορηγήσω σοι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μισθὸν κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ἀργυρίου
δραχμὰς τέσσαρας (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ, σοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς τρέφοντος αὐτὸν καὶ ἱ[ματίζ]οντος· ὃν καὶ παράξῃ μι παραμένοντα πρὸς [τῇ μ]αθήσει, αὐτὰς τὰς ἡμέρας,
ὑπήκοον ὄντα ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν τέχνην· ἀργήσῃ τοῦ μηνὸς ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ὃν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ μισθοῦ ὑπολογήσω· τῶν δὲ πλειόνων τοῦ μὲν
μισθοῦ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ὑπολογήσω, ἀντιπαράξῃ μι δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ[ς ἴσ]ας μετὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς· ὃν καὶ οὐκ ἀποσπάσεις ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐντὸς τοῦ
χρόνου, οὐδέ μοι ἐξέσεσθαι ἀποτρεψασ⟨θαι⟩ αὐτὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ ἴσου χρόνου· τούτου δὲ πληρωθέντος ἐπιδείξομαί σοι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὁμοτέχνων
τριῶν ὧν ἐὰν κοινῇ . . . . . [ ] ἐὰν δ' ἔν τινει παραβαίν[ω], ἐκτείσω σοι παραχρῆμα τά τε βλάβη [καὶ] δ̣α̣π̣[ανήματα]
καὶ οὓς ἐὰν προσοφείλω μισθοὺς σὺν ἡμιολίᾳ καὶ ἐπίτειμον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατόν, καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης, χωρὶς τοῦ κύρια εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμ-
μένα.

1 l. Νίγερι 1 l. ἐκδεδόσθαι 2 l. ἐκδιδάξαι 2 l. ἐν ἔτεσι δυσί 4 l. παρέξῃ μοι Youtie (1949) 215; παράξημι ed. pr. 5 l. ἀργήσει 5 l. ὧν 6 l. ἀντιπαρέξῃ μοι Youtie (1949) 215; ἀντιπαράξημι ed. pr. 8 l. τινι 9 l. ἐκ

We see that lines 3-10 of the Oslo papyrus mirror almost exactly lines 2–9 of the Fouad document, on the basis of which one might reconstruct most of the lost text. Furthermore, the layout of the sheets is very similar. P.Fouad 37 measures 11 x 35 cm and also seems to be written *transversa charta*.[6] The folding patterns are the same, and both documents have a label on the *verso*, written upside down in relation to the text on the *recto* on a panel that would face outwards when folded. As the two documents have a contract form untypical for apprenticeship contracts, the same physical format, almost exactly matching phraseology, and they moreover come from two collections with known links, it seems a reasonable assumption that they have the same origin. The respective masters, Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου and Μηνόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου, are both Alexandrians of the Althaean deme, and one is tempted to think that they might be brothers or at least related.

[4] See Bergamasco (1995) 98-99.
[5] The sections that are (nearly) identical in the preserved part of P.Oslo inv. no. 1496 are underlined.
[6] This is not stated in the edition, but judging from the online images provided by the Photographic Archive of Papyri in the Cairo Museum (http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/Fouad-bw/300dpi/P.Fouad37r.jpg and http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/Fouad-bw/300dpi/P.Fouad37v.jpg) the text on the *recto* seems to run against the fibres. With all due caution I also wonder whether a horizontal *kollesis* might be visible on the verso.

The Fouad papyrus is part of the aforementioned archive of documents relating to the soldier Pompeius Niger. A recurring feature in his legal documents is a house that he inherited and owned in part with his brothers. The division of this house upon the death of their father is recorded in an Oslo papyrus (SB VIII 9824), dating from 31 CE. The beginning of this document reads:

ἔ[το]υς ἑπτακαιδεκάτ[ου Τιβερ]ίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Μεσορὴ ἐπαγο(μένων) ϛ Σεβαστῇ
[ἐν Ὀ]ξυρύγχω[ν] πόλει τῆ[ς Θηβαΐδο]ς. ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις Ἀπίων καὶ πρότερον μὲν
Ζ̣ω̣ΐ̣λος νυνεὶ δὲ Πομ[πήιος] στρατιώτης καὶ Σύρος καὶ Σαραπίων οἱ τέσσαρες
Σύρου ἐν ἀγυιᾶ[ι]· ἐπεὶ ὁ τῶν ὁμ̣ο̣λογούντων πατὴρ Σύρος Ἀπίωνος ἀπέλιπεν
5 αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ [π]ρὸς τῆι αὐτῆι π̣όλει Σαραπιήου ἐν λαύρᾳ Ἑρμαίου ἑκάστωι κατὰ τὸ ἴσον
οἰκίαν κτλ.

1. Τιβερ]ίου Snyder (1964) 147; Ἀδρια]νοῦ vel Τραια]νοῦ ed. pr.

From this document we learn that Pompeius was earlier called Zoilos.[7] His father's name was Syros, his grandfather's Apion, and he had three brothers called Apion, Syros and Sarapion. If we now look at the back of the apprenticeship contract, P.Oslo inv. no 1496, we might discern in the first line the name Ἀ̣π̣ο̣λλώ̣[νιος and in the second line Σύρ̣ου. These would presumably be the master and apprentice respectively, analogous to the label of P.Fouad 37, Μη̣ν̣ό̣δω̣ρ̣[ος] Φούσκου. In accordance with traditional naming conventions, Syros, the name of Pompeius Niger's father, would be the expected name of his oldest son, and we have thus yet another argument for linking the document to the Pompeius Niger archive.



P.Oslo inv. no. 1496 verso detail. © University of Oslo Library.

The house mentioned in SB VIII 9824 occurs also in a Latin document, P.Thomas 6 = PSI XI 1183. This document consists of two fragments with the same text written in two different hands. The exact nature of the text has been much discussed. According to the latest edition, it is a declaration by Pompeius Niger for the universal census of Roman citizens held in 47/48 CE.[8] Lines 3-13 of fragment A read:

[*e*]*T• FÌLIOS• CÌUITATE• DONATOS• ESSE* [*ab•*]
[*Ti• Claudio• Caesar*]*E• AUGUSTO• GERMANICO• ÌMP•*

[7] I have corrected in the transcription of line 3 Πολέμ̣[αρχος] into Πομ[πήιος] (the archive was not yet known at the time of the ed. pr.). This reading is certain, as can be seen from an online image (http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/SB-bw/300dpi/SB.VIII.9824.jpg). I also propose reading in the same line Pompeius' former name as Ζ̣ω̣ΐ̣λος rather than Νε̣ῖλος, as this would provide a link to another Oslo papyrus, SB XX 14665, a tax receipt issued in 30 CE to a Ζωΐλος Σύρου from the same quarter of Oxyrhynchos.
[8] See Rathbone (2001) with references to earlier studies.

[*Ti• Plautio• Silvano• Aeli*]*ANO• TAURO• STATILIO• CORUÌNO*[*• COS•*]
[*domum - Oxyry*]*NCHÌTE• METROPO<L>Ì• HS CCCC•*
[*communem• sibi• cum• Hapiō*]*NĒ• ET• SERĀPIŌNĒ• SÝRÌ• FILÌS•* [*ET*]
[*Syro• pro• parte• iiii• in*]*TER*[*•*] *AD•FÌNES• ISCHYRAN• THEONIS• ET•*
[*Ha*]*MYN• SELEUCÌ• L•*
[*domu*]*M• ITEM• OXYRHYNCHÌTE• METROPOLÌ• HS D*
[*com*]*MUNEM• SIBI• CUM• DIDYMO• ET• APOLLŌNIO• ET• HÁTRIONE•*
[*filis•*] *HATRIONIS• ET• HATRIŌNE• PRO• PARTE• III• INTER• AD•FÌNES•*
[*Apol*]*LONI*[*um• A*]*POLLONÌ• ET• CTESĀN• CTESÁTIS•*

From this text we learn in lines 3-5 that Pompeius and his children were granted Roman citizenship during the consulship of Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus and T. Taurus Statilius Corvinus, which would be in 45 CE. His property is listed, and the first house mentioned (lines 6-9) is apparently the one he owns together with his brothers. Apart from the fourth part of this house, he also owns the third part of another house (lines 10-13). We will return to this second house later.

A further papyrus referring to Pompeius' inherited house is P.Fouad 44. This document records an antichretic loan in the form of a *synchoresis* contract, dating from 44 CE, the year before he received Roman citizenship. The first 27 lines of the contract run as follows:

ἀ]ρχιδικαστῇ καὶ πρὸς τῆι ἐπιμελείαι τῶν χρηματιστῶν
[καὶ τῶν ἄλλ]ωι̣ κρι̣τηρίων,
παρὰ Διδύμης τῆς Διονυσίου τῶν ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγχων π[ό]λεως
μετὰ κυρίου Ἐπιμάχου τοῦ Λυκίου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς [Ὀ]ξυ-
[ρ]ύγχων πόλεως καὶ παρὰ Λουκίου Πομπηίου Λουκίου υἱοῦ φυλ̣(ῆς)
[Π]ο̣λ̣λία τῶν ἀπολελυμένων στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς δε[υτ]έρ(ας)
καὶ εἰκοστῆς λε[γεῶν]ος. συγχωροῦμ̣ε̣ν̣ πρὸ̣ς ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ τ(οῖσ)-
δε ὥστ' ἐπε[ὶ ὁ Λούκιος] ε̣ἴ̣λ̣η̣[φ]εν̣ π̣[α]ρ̣[ὰ] τῆς Διδύμης δάνειον
[διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου ἀργυρίου σ]εβαστοῦ καὶ πτολεμαικοῦ δραχμὰς
[τετρακοσίας ἐπάν]α̣γκον αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τῶν τούτων τόκων
[ἐάσειν τὴν Διδύμ]ην καὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῆς ἐνοικεῖν ἐν τῶι ἐπι-
[βάλλοντι αὐτῷ̣ μ]έρει πατρικῆς οἰκίας τῆς οὔσης ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν
[Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει] Σαραπείου ἐν λαύρᾳ Ἑρμαίου ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη
[. . . . ἀπὸ μηνὸς Σ]εβαστοῦ τοῦ ε (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
[Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ] Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, τῶ̣ν̣ τῆς οἰκί-
[ας δημοσίων κατὰ τὸ ἐ]πιβάλ[λο]ν τῶι Λουκίωι μέρος ὄντων
[πρὸς τὴν Διδύμην, μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ] τῶι Λουκίωι ἐγβάλλειν τ(ὴν)
[Διδύμην καὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῆς ἐ]ντὸς τοῦ χρόνου· μετὰ
[δὲ] τ̣οῦτον ἀπο̣[δώσειν Λούκιον τῇ] Διδύμῃ τὸ δάνειον ἄτοκ(ον)·
[ἐὰ]ν δ' ἔν τινι π[α]ρα[βαί]νῃ ἐκτίνε[ι]ν̣ αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα τὸ̣ μὲν
[δά]νειον τὰς τοῦ ἀ[ργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὰς)] υ σὺν ἡμιολίᾳ καὶ τόκοις δραχμιαίοις
[ἑκ]άστης μνᾶς κα[τὰ] μῆνα καὶ ἐπίτιμον ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ρ, τῆς πράξεως
[ο]ὔσης παρά τε αὐτ̣[οῦ] καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶι πάντων
[κα]θάπερ ἐγ δίκης. [ἐ]ὰ̣ν̣ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐνστάντος μὴ κομίση-
[τ]αι̣ ἡ Διδύμη τὸ π[ρο]κίμενον κεφάλαιον, κρατεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ κυρι-
[ε]ύειν τοῦ σημαινομένου μέρους τ̣[ῆς] οἰκίας καὶ διοικεῖν περὶ αὐ-
τοῦ ὡς ἐὰν αἱρῆται κτλ.

4. l. Λουκίου? 17. l. ἐκβάλλειν 24. l. ἐκ δίκης 25. l. προκείμενον

The document states that Pompeius, who is a discharged soldier (l. 6), has borrowed 400 drachmas from a certain Διδύμη Διονυσίου. Instead of paying interest he allows the creditor and her heirs, τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτῆς, to inhabit his part of the house (ll. 10-13).[9] There follows different provisions in case of non-fulfilment, to which we will come back later.

One Didyme, daughter of Dionysios, occurs also in three Oslo papyri, two of which have been published as SB XVI 13042 = SB VIII 9827a and SB VIII 9827b, respectively. These three documents also concern antichretic loans. Didyme is, however, here the debtor. The earliest document, an unpublished fragment (inv. no. 1491) preserves parts of the subscriptions of a contract, where Didyme, together with her father Dionysios, acknowledges receiving on 9 March 26 CE a loan of 100 drachmas and thereby grants to the creditor, a certain Ἁρμιῦσις Πτόλλιδος, the right of habitation of part of a house. The contract has been crossed out, and underneath on the same document is the receipt issued by Harmiysis, dated 30 June 29 CE, where he acknowledges that the money has been repaid. On the same day, however, a new contract is drafted between the two parties, where Didyme receives a new loan from Harmiysis, this time amounting to 160 drachmas. The first loan seems, therefore, not actually to have been repaid, but rather extended and increased. The beginning of the renewed contract, SB XVI 13042, runs:

[ἔτους πεντεκαιδεκάτου] Τ̣ιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπεὶφ ϛ ἐν Ὀξυρύγ-
[χων πόλει τῆς Θηβαΐδος.] ἐδάνεισεν Ἁρμιῦσις Πτόλλιδος Διδύμηι Διονυσίου
[Περσίνηι μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ τῆς α]ὐτῆς πατραδέλφου Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου
[ἐν ἀγυιᾶι ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ] Π̣τ̣ολεμαικοῦ νομίσματος δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα
5 [κεφαλαίου, αἷς οὐδὲν τῶι καθόλου π]ροσῆκται, ἐφ᾽ ᾧι ἀντὶ τῶν τούτων τόκων ἐνοική-
[σει ὁ Ἁρμιῦσις καὶ οἱ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῶι] ὑπάρχοντι τῆι Διδύμηι τρίτωι μέρει πατρικῆς
[οἰκίας κτλ.]

We note that Didyme's guardian is her paternal uncle Apollonios (line 3), so presumably her father is dead by this time. Instead of interest, Didyme allows Harmiysis to inhabit her third part of an inherited house (lines 5-7).[10] The return of this loan is recorded in SB VIII 9827b. As these three documents are also from the lot of papyri bought from Nahman in 1934, it is tempting to connect them with the archive on the assumption that Didyme is the same woman who later granted Pompeius a loan and lived in his house.

One might, however, wonder why Didyme's earlier papers would be kept together with those of Pompeius if she was merely his sometime tenant/creditor. My proposal is that Didyme was in fact Pompeius' wife. If that hypothesis is correct, it would be a reasonable suggestion that Didyme's third part of an inherited house is identical with the third part of a house that Pompeius later registered in the Latin census declaration (P.Thomas 6 = PSI XI 1183. ll. 10-13). We may note that the names of two of the co-owners mentioned there are likely to occur in her family: Didymos, the masculine variant of Didyme, and Apollonios, the name of Didyme's uncle and grandfather.

Now one might reasonably ask why Didyme in P.Fouad 44 would grant a loan to and rent a house from her husband. I think the answer lies in Pompeius' status as a soldier. We know

[9] My transcription of lines 8-14 differs from that of the ed. pr. and BL V 32. The proposed changes are, however, of a syntactical nature and do not alter the general sense. These and other minor changes in reading will therefore not be discussed in detail here. An online image is available at http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/Fouad-bw/300dpi/P.Fouad44r.jpg.

[10] A reedition of this document with a reconstruction of its fragments appears in my doctoral thesis, Mangerud (2018) 42-57. In the passage given here, the only changes are slight extensions of the supplements in lines 3-6. An online image is available at http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/SB-bw/300dpi/SB.VIII.9827(i).jpg (05/11/2018).

that active soldiers were not allowed to marry, and that Pompeius had in 44 CE not yet received the citizenship, which would usually be accompanied by *conubium*, the right to enter into a formal marriage.[11] He must, however, already have had a family by this time, as he less than four years later apprentices his son Fuscus, as recorded in P.Fouad 37. One could therefore easily imagine some sort of legal arrangement set up to justify Didyme and their children living in his house. Even more importantly, the loan might conceal a dowry, some documentation of which would presumably be wanted. It is well known that both loan contracts and deposits were used for this purpose.[12] If we take a closer look at the different provisions in the contract, they are all similar to those found in marriage contracts. In lines 17-18 it is stated that Pompeius is not to «throw her out» of the house. The verb ἐκβάλλειν is also the technical term used when a man divorces his wife. Should he neglect any of his duties, ἐὰν ἔν τινι παραβαίνῃ in line 20, he should return her the loan with a 50% addition. The same provision is found in marriage contracts referring to the dowry. Finally in lines 24-27 we learn that should Pompeius not return the money, Didyme is to obtain the property, what could be a way to secure inheritance.

We now return to where we started, the apprenticeship contract P.Oslo inv. no. 1496, and take another look at the label on the verso. Apart from the names of the master Apollonios and the apprentice Syros there is also a third line of text partly preserved. The letters *delta*, *iota*, *delta* can be clearly read, which in this context might suggest a word like διδασκαλική, the term used in the papyri for apprenticeship contracts. I think, however, the reading Διδύμη[ς is preferable. This would then presumably be Syros' mother, who, as we saw, was the second contracting party formally apprenticing him to Apollonios. Whether she assumes this responsibility because the father is simply «out of town», as the reading ἀποδήμ̣[ου or ἀποδημ̣[οῦντος in line 2 of the recto would suggest, or some other justification –real or contrived– is concealed in these traces, the document provides further support to the hypothesis that Didyme was Pompeius' *de facto* wife. The assumption that Syros would be Pompeius' firstborn son, suggests that the contract predates that of Fuscus, and the fact that he, unlike Fuscus, is referred to by a non-Roman name might further point to a date before Pompeius and his children were granted citizenship in 45 CE. It would of course in that case be tempting to look for an explanation of Pompeius' absence from this contract in his status as a soldier.

To sum up the texts discussed here, we may propose the following chronology: In the late 20s and early 30s Didyme borrowed money from a certain Harmiysis allowing him in return to live in her house, possibly because she was herself already living in the house of Pompeius. Her father had presumably died by the time she renewed the contract in 29 CE. The three papyri in the Oslo collection recording these transactions (P.Oslo inv. no 1491, SB XVI 13042 and SB VIII 9827b) should probably be added to the archive. In 30 CE Pompeius Niger, still using his former name Zoilos, paid a number of taxes. The receipt for these payments (SB XX 14665) should also be added to the archive. By 31 CE, when the division of his paternal house was recorded (SB VIII 9824), he had taken the name Pompeius. From 44 CE we have the loan contract between Didyme and Pompeius (P.Fouad 44), which possibly conceals a dowry. This document might be a prolongation of earlier contracts. In 45 CE Pompeius receives citizenship with *conubium*, but sometime before that he apprentices his oldest son Syros, legally still referred to as the son of Didyme (P.Oslo inv. no. 1496). In 47/48 CE Pompeius registers as a Roman citizen both his own inherited part of a house, as well as that of his wife (P.Thomas 6). Finally in 48 CE, Pompeius is able to apprentice another son, Fuscus, this time as his legal father with no further complications.

[11] See on the subject Phang (2001).
[12] See Yiftach-Firanko (2003) 15-21 for a list of marriage documents by scheme.

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Anatomie d'un genre en mutation: la pétition de l'Antiquité tardive

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Lorsque j'ai été invité à participer à la session "The Rhetoric of Complaint: The Petition from the Romans to the Mamluks", j'ai pensé que c'était l'occasion de faire le point sur un genre à la fois trop et pas assez connu dans la forme qu'il prit durant l'Antiquité tardive. Familière aux historiens et juristes de l'Antiquité, la pétition n'a cessé d'être étudiée pour les enseignements institutionnels et historiques qu'elle livre et a même connu depuis une vingtaine d'années un regain d'intérêt que cristallise, par exemple, l'ouvrage collectif La Pétition à Byzance édité en 2004 par Denis Feissel et Jean Gascou.[1] Mais force est de constater que, contrairement à la pétition ptolémaïque et romaine,[2] il manque toujours une étude formelle de la pétition protobyzantine. Malgré des travaux ponctuels qui se sont multipliés ces dernières années,[3] une synthèse se fait toujours attendre, qui prenne en compte à la fois les papyrus et les sources littéraires contemporaines[4] et qui replace les exemples égyptiens dans le contexte de l'Empire. Ma réédition du plus gros dossier de pétitions protobyzantines sur papyrus, celles de Dioscore d'Aphrodité (VI^{e} s.), qui a été retardée pour diverses raisons depuis des années, devrait combler –mais seulement partiellement– cette lacune en resituant ces textes dans le cadre plus général de la production de pétitions dans l'Empire byzantin.[5] En attendant, je proposerai ici une synthèse de ce qui me semble constituer les diverses spécificités de la pétition protobyzantine en tant que genre écrit –je n'aborderai pas ici les pétitions sous l'angle de leur contenu ni sous celui des procédures dans lesquelles elles s'inscrivent. Car, si la pétition connaît tout au long de l'Antiquité une très forte stabilité dans sa diplomatique et sa structure, elle n'en subit pas moins, dès la fin du principat (II^{e}/III^{e} s.), certaines mutations formelles qui vont lui donner un faciès quelque peu différent, surtout à partir du IV^{e} s., suivant des tendances qui caractérisent la culture écrite de l'Antiquité tardive en général. Celles-ci sont d'autant plus visibles dans la pétition que, mettant en contact les pétitionnaires avec les plus hautes autorités (gouverneurs, empereur), elle était ressentie comme un genre à part, dont la forme devait être particulièrement soignée.

[1] Feissel / Gascou (2004).
[2] Pour l'époque ptolémaïque, cf. Collomp (1926) 51-140; P.Enteux., p. XIX-XXX; di Bitonto (1967) et (1968). Pour l'époque romaine: Mascellari (2012); Hauken (1998) et (2004). L'ouvrage de White (1972) non seulement ne prend pas en compte l'époque byzantine, mais surtout, comme le montre déjà son titre, commet l'erreur de confondre pétition et lettre (même critique pour Mullins [1962]).
[3] Fournet (2004); Papathomas (2006); Fournet (2007); Papathomas (2007a); (2009); Fournet (2010a) 61-63 (pour l'intitulé des pétitions byzantines).
[4] L'ensemble le plus riche de pétitions protobyzantines est livré par les Acta Conciliorum Œcumenicorum: voir Fournet (2010a).
[5] P.Aphrod.Pét. Je tire de ce volume les éditions et traductions des pétitions de Dioscore que l'on trouvera ci-après.

1. L'écriture et la mise en forme: une rhétorique graphique

La première nouveauté est d'ordre graphique: les pétitions sont de plus en plus souvent écrites à l'aide d'un style d'écriture soigné, qui peut être soit une écriture littérarisante contrastant avec celle des autres documents (lettres mises à part),[6] soit une cursive plus raffinée que dans les documents usuels. L'usage de cette écriture soignée peut aller de pair avec le recours à des signes diacritiques (accents, esprits, points) et à des préciosités graphiques comme l'iota adscrit qui imitent les standards de la production de librairie.[7] Je me contenterai de deux exemples, espacés dans le temps:

• P.Panop. 27, pétition à un *praeses* de 323 écrite «in einer sehr sorgfältigen, geradezu an Buchschrift erinnernden Hand» (éd.), qui plus est sur un feuillet de papyrus de la meilleure qualité. Cette écriture n'est pas sans rappeler les écritures littéraires des lettres du cercle très cultivé de Theophanês. On notera la présence d'esprits rudes (l. 5 et 11) et de l'iota adscrit dans l'*inscriptio* –comme une sorte de marque du respect dû au récipiendaire.[8]

• P.Haun. III 53 (VI^{e} s.), pétition à un personnage indéterminé: l'écriture est une «aussergewöhnlich grosse und schöne byzantinische Hand» (éd.) qu'on ne rencontre que dans les documents les plus soignés et qui contraste péniblement avec l'écriture de semi-analphabète de la pétitionnaire dans sa souscription.

On ne se contente pas de soigner l'écriture; on joue aussi sur les styles d'écriture à l'intérieur du même texte. On voit en effet se développer une tendance à la différenciation graphique qui a pour fonction de séparer visuellement du reto du texte le nom de l'autorité (*inscriptio*), que l'on met en relief par l'écriture la plus élégante et solennelle.[9]

• C'est le cas du P.Oxy. I 130 (548/549) (fig. 1), dans lequel le nom du destinataire est écrit dans un style droit et allongé (qui n'est pas sans rappeler celui des endossements épistolaires ou des protocoles) contrairement au reste du texte, en cursive inclinée.

† τῷ ἐμῷ ἀγαθῷ δεσπότῃ φιλοχρίστῳ φιλοπτόχῳ παν-
ευφήμῳ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ πατρικίῳ καὶ δουκὶ τῆς Θηβαίων
χώρας Ἀπίωνι π(αρὰ) Ἀνοὺπ ἐλεεινοῦ ὑμετέρου δούλου ἀπὸ τοῦ διαφέροντος
αὐτῇ κτήματος καλουμένου Φάκρα.
οὐδὲν ἄδικον ἢ ἀσεβὲς κέκτηται ὁ ἔνδοξος οἶκος τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀγαθοῦ
κτλ.

[6] Cf. Fournet (2009), notamment 32-37 pour le phénomène analogue dans les lettres.
[7] Cf. Fournet (1994) et Fournet (sous presse a.).
[8] Voir, au sujet du même phénomène dans l'*inscriptio* d'une autre pétition (P.Gen. I^{2} 17. l. 1, de 207), ce qu'en disait Nicole (1895) 228: «On trouve une foule de pièces dont le texte même n'offre plus trace de l'emploi classique de l'ι ascrit et où cette lettre accompagne les noms et les titres des hauts fonctionnaires –dicéodotes, stratèges, centurions, etc.– qui figurent au datif dans l'entête. C'est l'emploi honorifique de l'ancienne orthographe remplaçant, mais à l'autre extrémité des mots, nos majuscules de politesse. Ici le centurion est honoré de cette marque de déférence; on s'en passe avec le décurion, qui est un trop mince personnage».
[9] Sur ces systèmes de différenciations graphiques, cf. P.Worp 35, p. 245-249 et Fournet (2013) 156.

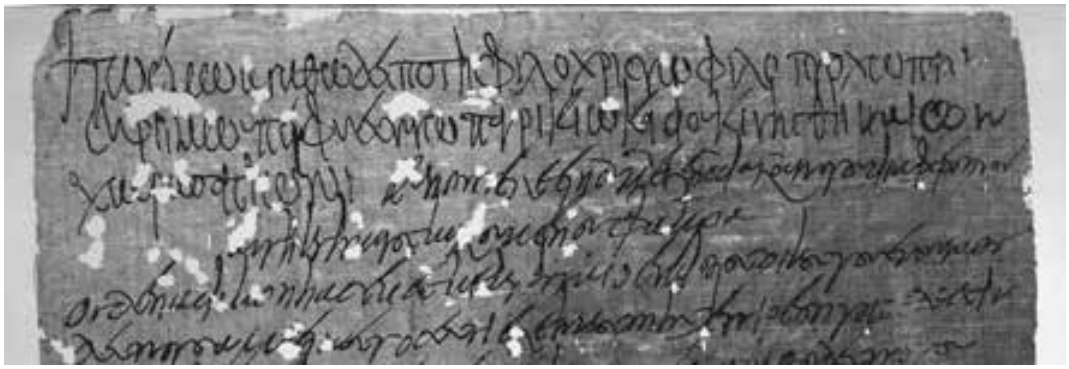


Fig. 1: début du P.Oxy. I 130 © Archives photographiques internationales de papyrologie

• Le jeu d'opposition graphique peut être plus complexe comme le montre cette autre pétition d'Oxyrhynchos du VII[e] s., P.Oxy. LXXXI 5289 (fig. 2).[10]

† τῷ ἐμῷ ἀγαθ(ῷ) δεσπό(τῃ) με(τὰ) θεὸν
προστ(άτῃ) τῷ ἐνδοξ(οτάτῳ) θεοφυλ(ά)κ(τῳ)
ἀντιγ(εούχῳ) δέησις καὶ ἱκεσία παρ' ἐμοῦ
Μαροῦδος πενηχρᾶ(ς) ὑμετέρα(ς) δούλ(ης). (vac.)
ἀκούσασα ἐγὼ ἡ δούλη ὑμῶν τὰ ἀγαθὰ
κτλ.

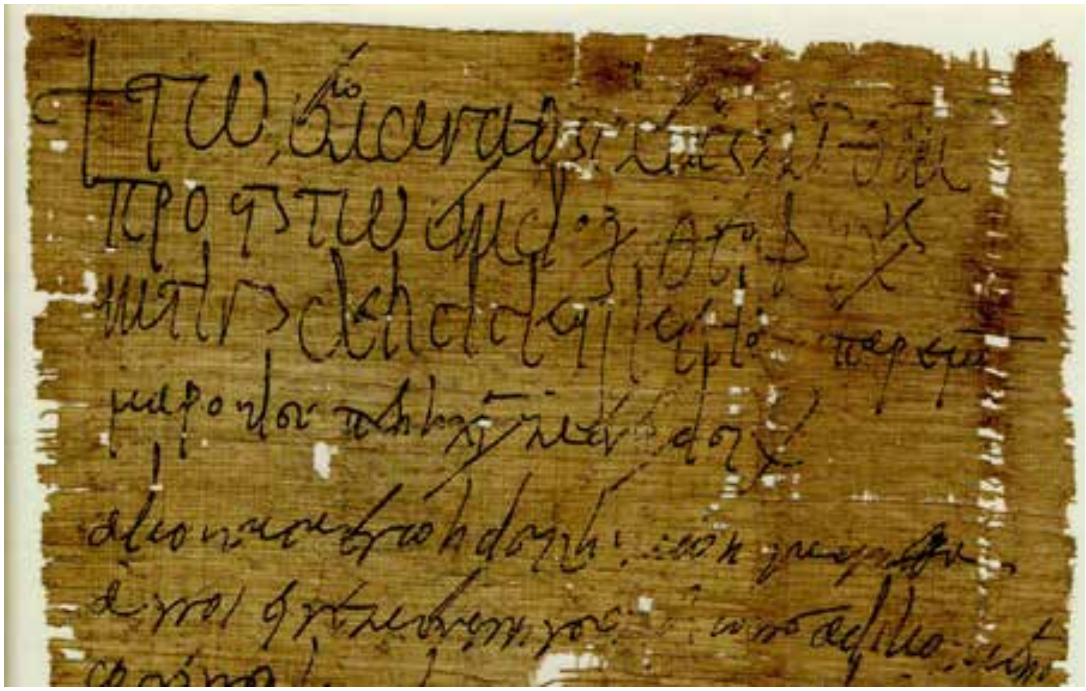


Fig. 2: début du P.Oxy. LXXXI 5289
© Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and Imaging Papyri Project, Oxford

On observe cette fois-ci trois styles d'écriture: (1) le style vertical allongé pour l'*inscriptio*; (2) une cursive droite pour l'*intitulatio*; (3) une cursive penchée pour le reste du texte.

[10] Je remercie N. Gonis de m'avoir communiqué une image de ce papyrus avant la publication. Mon identification des trois styles a été reprise par l'éditrice.

Quoiqu'édité sans photo, P.Oxy. XXVII 2479 (VI^{e} s.) laisse deviner le même jeu d'oppositions graphiques d'après la description de l'édition:[11]

1 τῷ ἐμῷ ἀγαθῷ εὐεργ(έτῃ) (καὶ) δεσπ(ότῃ) δέησις (καὶ) ἱκεσία
2 π(αρὰ) Πιηοῦτ[ο]ς ὑμετέρ(ου) δούλου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Κινέας.
3 τὸ φιλόπτωχο[ν] καὶ φιλόχριστον τῆς ὑμετέρας πανευκλεοῦς δεσποτείας
κτλ.

Signalons en passant que ces oppositions ont été mal interprétées par la DDBDP qui propose d'y voir des mains, et non des styles, différents:

1 (M1?) τῷ ἐμῷ ἀγαθῷ εὐεργ(έτῃ) (καὶ) δεσπ(ότῃ) δέησις (καὶ) ἱκεσία
2 (M2?) π(αρὰ) Πιηοῦτ[ο]ς ὑμετέρ(ου) δούλου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Κινέας.
3 (M3?) τὸ φιλόπτωχο[ν] καὶ φιλόχριστον τῆς ὑμετέρας πανευκλεοῦς δεσποτείας
κτλ.

Je proposerais d'éditer ce texte (ainsi que les autres) d'une façon qui mette en évidence les différences de style:[12]

1 (style 1) τῷ ἐμῷ ἀγαθῷ εὐεργ(έτῃ) (καὶ) δεσπ(ότῃ) δέησις (καὶ) ἱκεσία
2 (style 2) π(αρὰ) Πιηοῦτ[ο]ς ὑμετέρ(ου) δούλου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Κινέας.
3 (style 3) τὸ φιλόπτωχο[ν] καὶ φιλόχριστον τῆς ὑμετέρας πανευκλεοῦς δεσποτείας
κτλ.

Quel que soit le nombre de styles, on notera que la seconde partie du prescrit (l'*intitulatio*) n'est jamais écrite dans le style solennel de l'*inscriptio*, façon de bien montrer la différence de niveau entre l'humble pétitionnaire et l'autorité, et qui confirme que le prescrit hypomnématique est bien constitué de deux parties ressenties comme indépendantes.[13]

• Un papyrus de Nessana, P.Ness. III 54 (milieu VI^{e} s.) (fig. 3), montrera clairement que l'on n'a pas affaire à une particularité de la pratique égyptienne: on y trouve la même opposition ternaire, à ceci près que le style 2 n'est cette fois-ci pas droit mais incliné contrairement au style 3.

1 [† τῷ δ]ε̣σπότῃ μου Φλ(αουίῳ) Γ̣εωργίῳ [τῷ ἐνδ]οξ(οτάτῳ) μο̣[υ . .] . λ̣[. .] . ω̣[
2 [δέησις παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνα ἐ]λ̣εεινοῦ πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ διοικητοῦ Χαφρεα[των κώ]μης
. [. . .] . . . [
3 [± 12]ε[.]ν ἐπινεύσων διέγειρεν τὸν δεσπότην̣ ἡμ̣[ῶν τὸ]ν ὑπερφυέ[στ(ατον)] πατρίκιον καὶ
πριμ̣[
κτλ.

[11] «The first line of the preamble is written in a tall, upright and laterally compressed cursive, the second in a squarer cursive of an older type and the main body of the text in a straggling sixth-century hand with a marked inclination to the right» (P.Oxy. XXVII, p. 177-178).
[12] Cf. P.Worp, p. 248 n. 28.
[13] Comme l'a bien montré Martin (2007). Il faudrait séparer d'un point ou point en haut l'*inscriptio* de l'*intitulatio*.



Fig. 3: P.Ness. III 54 (tiré de Crisci [1996] pl. LVI).

Quoique non systématiques, ces jeux d'opposition entre styles graphiques se rencontrent de plus en plus fréquemment à partir du VI^e^ s. et participent de ce qu'on pourrait appeler une rhétorique graphique, qui traduit, au niveau de la forme, la dimension rhétorique que véhicule le fond, notamment en exaltant le récipiendaire par une écriture très stylisée.[14]

Les caractéristiques formelles de la pétition protobyzantine ne tiennent pas seulement à la graphie, mais aussi au support et à la mise en page du texte. Alors que les documents byzantins généralisent une mise en page *transversa charta* (aussi bien pour les lettres que pour les documents de la pratique et de l'administration), la pétition se singularise en gardant la disposition perfibrale qui était déjà la sienne à l'époque romaine mais qui devient désormais une anomalie[15]. Il s'agit là d'une caractéristique qui, contrairement aux jeux graphiques, n'est pas une innovation diachronique, mais s'inscrit dans la synchronie et marque le développement d'une sensibilité à la forme se traduisant par un jeu d'oppositions que les modernes n'ont pas toujours compris mais auquel ils commencent à être réceptifs. L'interprétation de cette apparente anomalie de mise en page est susceptible de plusieurs interprétations: la disposition perfibrale calque-t-elle celle de l'archaïque rouleau littéraire de l'aura duquel elle se parerait? Marque-t-elle plutôt l'opposition procédurale qui existait entre la pétition et la lettre (qui, elle, adopte désormais une présentation *transversa charta*)? Ou bien distingue-t-elle plus simplement la pétition des autres documents de nature privée en mettant ainsi en vedette un genre dont la singularité tient à l'éclat des personnes qui en sont les destinataires (les autorités, plus éminentes encore après les réformes de Dioclétien)? Il n'est pas facile aujourd'hui de faire une étiologie précise de ces changements formels.[16]

[14] On assiste au même phénomène avec les endossements épistolaires où ce même style d'écriture est utilisé principalement pour le nom du destinataire alors que le nom de l'expéditeur, en fin de ligne, est normalement dans un style d'écriture plus simple.

[15] Cf. Fournet (2004) 72-73 et (2007).

[16] Federico Morelli me signale une possible piste: les pétitions étant écrites à partir d'un brouillon, on connaissait donc leur taille avant de commencer la copie finale contrairement aux lettres qui, *transversa charta*, pouvaient être aussi longues que la largeur d'un rouleau. Mais cette explication ne rend pas compte de la différence d'orientation fibrale systématique entre la pétition et les autres documents non épistolaires.

2. La structure: la contamination de la rhétorique de l'éloge et de la complainte

La pétition de l'Antiquité tardive innove aussi par sa structure: elle introduit une nouvelle partie et modifie quelque peu le contenu ou la coloration des parties existantes.

a. L'apparition et le développement du *prooimion*

Alors que la structure de la pétition, avec l'enchaînement du protocole ou prescrit (*praescriptio*), des attendus (*narratio*) et de la demande (*preces* ou *precatio*), était restée inchangée pendant cinq siècles, on voit apparaître aux II^e^/III^e^ s.[17] un exorde (*prooimion*) qui vient s'intercaler entre le prescrit et les attendus, et dont la fréquence et l'ampleur ne cessent de croître durant l'Antiquité tardive.[18] Marqué par le développement de la Seconde Sophistique, le *prooimion* traduit un refus croissant de la part des rédacteurs de documents de jeter le lecteur d'un texte *in medias res*. Sa présence n'est ressentie nulle part comme aussi nécessaire que dans la lettre et la pétition. Préparant le lecteur au contenu même de la plainte, il cherche à motiver la démarche du pétitionnaire et à assurer la bienveillance du destinataire.[19] Jouant initialement le rôle de transition entre le prescrit (rédigé de façon impersonnelle) et la *narratio* (partie éminemment subjective) et justifiant le recours de la part du pétitionnaire à la justice du destinataire, il va devenir une partie en soi où s'exprimera toute une rhétorique encomiastique.

Sans essayer ici de faire l'histoire de la genèse et du développement du *prooimion*, je voudrais juste citer quelques exemples de la fin du III^e^ et du début du IV^e^ s. qui illustrent sa formation.

Partons, par exemple, de P.Cair.Isid. 70 (Karanis, ca 310), qui commence *in medias res* sans *prooimion*:

> (prescrit). [*narratio*:] ἀνόμως καὶ ῥει[ψ]ονκεινδύνως ἀπετηθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀκ[ο]τᾶ υἱοῦ Γερμαν[οῦ χ]ρυσὸν καὶ ἄσημ(ον) ὑπὲρ ἧς αὐτὸς ἔχει ἐν γεωργίᾳ γῆς (…) ἀνατρέπ̣ε̣ῖται ἡ ἰδία,
>
> «Akotas fils de Germanos me réclamant de façon illégale et impudente de l'or et de l'argent pour la terre qu'il a lui-même en culture (…), mes propriétés sont anéanties»,

et comparons-le au P.Sakaon 38 (Théadelphie, 312),[20] qui développe à partir des deux adverbes débutant la *narratio* du P.Cair.Isid. 70 un court *prooimion* qui introduit le préfet à la teneur de la plainte tout en louant son action judiciaire:

> (prescrit). [*prooimion*:] τὰ παρανόμως καὶ ῥιψο[κινδύνως ἐπ]ὶ τῶν τόπων τολμώμενα, ἡγεμὼν δέσποτα, ὑφ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἀνακόπτεται εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ [τῆς σῆς μισο]πονήρου ἀνδρίας,
>
> «Les actes audacieux commis dans nos villages de façon illégale et impudente, qui d'autre, ô Seigneur Préfet, y met fin si ce n'est Ta Bravoure qui hait les méchants?».

On voit ainsi comment certains éléments de la *narratio* ont pu donner naissance à une courte introduction.

Les premiers *prooimia* pouvaient se contenter de paraphraser l'acte de remise de la pétition, comme le P.Cair.Isid. 67 (Karanis, ca 310):

> [*prooimion*:] πρᾶγμα δε[ό]μενον τῆς σῆς ἐξετάσεως διὰ ταύτης μου τῆς ἀξιώσεως, ἡγεμὼν κύριε, παρατίθημι τῇ σῇ ἀρετῇ εὔε[λ]πις ὢν βοηθίας τῆς ἀπὸ σοῦ τυχ[ε]ῖν

[17] Les premiers exemples sont P.Wisc. I 33 (147); BGU III 983 (138-161).

[18] Sur les premiers *prooimia*, cf. P.Berl.Frisk, p. 81-91. Sur les 80 pétitions que Jean Gascou et moi-même avons répertoriées entre les V^e^ et VII^e^ s. et dont l'état permet de vérifier la présence ou non d'un *prooimion*, 39 % en sont dotées. On trouvera en annexe un échantillon de pétition où la structure a été mise en évidence.

[19] Sur le *prooimion* en général, cf. Lausberg (1990) 150-163; Hunger (1964) 19-35.

[20] M.Chr. 64 = P. Flor. I 36 = ChLA XXV 778.

> «C'est une affaire qui requiert ton instruction que je soumets par cette mienne pétition, ô Seigneur Préfet, à Ton Excellence, ayant bon espoir d'obtenir ton aide».

Seuls les derniers mots constituent une fugace *captatio benevolentiae*.

Mais le *prooimion* était la partie où l'on pouvait introduire le cas particulier (tort subi) à partir d'une règle générale (la loi met fin à l'injustice) en donnant l'occasion au pétitionnaire de faire l'éloge de la justice de l'autorité à laquelle il s'adresse. Se sont donc développés des *prooimia* généralisants et édifiants[21] où l'action judiciaire du destinataire (on l'a vu avec P.Sakaon 38),[22] mais aussi, plus abstraitement, les lois et la justice sont posées comme principes justifiant plus ou moins implicitement la remise de la pétition. Par exemple, P.Cair.Isid. 68 (Karanis, 309/310):

> [*prooimion*:] τὰ ἐπὶ ἀνατροπὴ<ν> καὶ φυγ[α]δίαν γινόμενα ἡμῖν τοῖς μετρίοις οἱ νόμοι κωλύουσι,
>
> «Ce qui nous conduit, nous les petits, à la ruine et à la fuite est interdit par les lois».

Suivent les attendus:

> καὶ αὐτὸς τοίνυν μέτριος παντελῶς τυγχάνων βίαν καὶ παρανομίαν πάσχω ὑπὸ Ἥ[ρω]νος καὶ Παησί[ο]υ κα[ὶ] Ὡρειων (l. Ὡρίωνος) καὶ Ἀχιλλᾶ γραμμ[ατέ]ως,
>
> «Or, moi qui suis aussi à tous égards un petit, je suis victime de violence et d'injustice de la part d'Hêrôn, Paêsios, Hôriôn et du scribe Akhillas...».

Les *prooimia* se présentent ainsi sous la forme de maximes[23] qui, avec le temps, vont prendre de plus en plus d'ampleur jusqu'à devenir de vrais *enkômia*, notamment sous le calame de Dioscore d'Aphrodité (VI^e^ s.). Qu'il suffise de citer le *prooimion* de 9 longues lignes qui introduit la célèbre pétition P.Cair.Masp. I 67002 contre le pagarque Mênas (567):[24]

I 1 Πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη καὶ δικαιοπραγία τὰς προόδους προλάμπουσιν ἀεὶ τῆς πανεξόχως βελτίστου
ὑπερφυοῦς ὑμῶν ἐξουσίας,
ἣν ἐκδέχομεν[[οι]] πρὸ πολλοῦ οἷον οἱ ἐξ Ἅιδου καραδοκοῦντες τὴν τότε τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἀενάου
Θ(εο)ῦ παρουσίαν. Μετ᾽ αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν
δεσπότην Θ(εὸ)ν σωτῆρα βοηθὸν ἀληθ{ε}ινὸν κ[α]ὶ φιλάνθρωπον εὐεργέτην, ἔχομεν μετὰ
πάσης ἐλπίδος σωτηριώδους τὸ ἐν πᾶσι
πανευφημούμενον καὶ διαβεβοημένον ὑμ[ῶ]ν ὕψος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις καιροῖς
ἐπιβοηθῆσαι ἡμῖν καὶ ἐξ ὀδόντων τῶν ἀδίκων
5 ἡμᾶς ἀποσπάσασθαι καὶ ῥύσασθαι ἐκ τῶν ἀνέκαθεν συμβεβηκότων ἡμῖν ἀφάτων ζημιωμάτων,
ὧν οὐ χάρτης χωρεῖ,
παρὰ Μηνᾶ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου σκρινιαρίου καὶ παγάρχου τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν. Σμικρομερῶς μὲν
ἀναμιμνήσκομεν τὸ πάνσοφον
ὑμῶν καὶ εὐκλεέστατον καὶ φιλάγαθον συνειδός, πάσης δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ νουνεχ⟨ε⟩ίας
ὑπέρτερον τυγχάνει ἀποκαταλέπτου
τοῦ λόγου τὰ σύμπαντα κατανοῆσαι εἰς ἄκραν εἴδησιν καὶ περιπέτειαν. Ὅθεν ἀόκνως
προκυλινδούμενοι ἥκαμεν παρὰ πόδα τῶν
ἀνεπάφων ὑμῶν ἰχνῶν, διδάσκοντες τὰ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς πράγματα ἐν τούτοις ἔχοντα. ⸸

[21] Cf. Fournet (1998) 14-15.

[22] Cf. aussi P.Cair.Isid. 66 (Karanis, c. 299) qui est presque identique: (prescrit). τ[ὰ] παράνομα τῶ[ν πραγμάτων], ἡγεμὼ[ν] δέσποτα, ὑπ᾽ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἀνακόπ[τ]εται εἰ μὴ ὑ[πὸ τῆς σῆς ἀνδ]ρ[εί]ας, «(prescrit). L'illégalité des comportements, ô Seigneur Préfet, qui d'autre y met fin si ce n'est Ta Bravoure?»

[23] Papathomas (2007a).

[24] Pour ne pas mentionner le *prooimion* du P.Cair.Masp. I 67003 (567) qui occupe près de la moitié de la pétition et que j'ai cité et traduit dans Fournet (2013) 142-143. Je serais enclin à considérer le P.Cair.Masp. I 67089r B, D (VI^e^ s.) comme le brouillon d'un long *prooimion* suivant en cela l'avis du premier éditeur («une requête (au duc?)»). Il est significatif que Bell (1944) 27 préfère y voir «a complimentary oration to a newly appointed Duke», tant le *prooimion* s'apparente à un *enkômion.*

> «Le sens et la pratique de la justice illuminent toujours tout entiers les audiences de votre très éminente, très bonne et excellente Autorité, que nous attendons depuis longtemps comme les habitants de l'Hadès espéraient jadis la venue du Christ-Dieu toujours vivant. Car après Dieu même, notre maître, notre sauveur, notre secours, notre véritable et bienveillant bienfaiteur, c'est en votre Altesse partout très fameuse et acclamée que nous plaçons tous nos espoirs de salut afin que, dans toutes les situations d'urgence, elle vienne à notre secours, qu'elle nous mette à l'abri des crocs des injustes et qu'elle nous sauve des indicibles dommages, que, depuis le début, nous subissons et qu'un rouleau de papyrus ne suffit pas à contenir, perpétrés par Mênas, le clarissime scriniaire et pagarque d'Antaiopolis. Humblement, nous rappelons à votre Conscience toute sage, célébrissime et qui aime le bien ... mais elle atteint toute raison et sagesse, mieux que ne le permet un discours détaillé, au point de tout comprendre jusqu'à en avoir une suprême connaissance et à opérer un renversement de situation. C'est pourquoi, sans hésiter, nous sommes venus en nous roulant à vos pieds immaculés, vous informant de la teneur de notre affaire» (on notera que Dioscore clôt cette partie par une croix pour signaler le passage à la *narratio*).

Cette inflation s'observe aussi dans les nombreuses pétitions transmises par les Acta Conciliorum Œcumenicorum (ACO).[25]

L'introduction du *prooimion* s'accompagne de modifications qui touchent les autres parties de la pétition.

b. Le prescrit, qui se contentait jadis de décliner sobrement et objectivement l'identité du destinataire (*inscriptio*) et du pétitionnaire (*intitulatio*), non seulement fait place, de plus en plus à partir du VI^e^ s., à une désignation assez littéraire de la pétition (δέησις καὶ ἱκεσία) qui s'insère entre l'*inscriptio* et l'*intitulatio*,[26] mais s'enfle à son tour d'éléments encomiastiques et pathétiques comme le montre bien le P.Oxy. I 130 (548/549):

> ☩ τῷ ἐμῷ ἀγαθῷ δεσπότῃ φιλοχρίστῳ φιλοπτόχῳ πανευφήμῳ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ πατρικίῳ καὶ δουκὶ τῆς Θηβαίων χώρας Ἀπίωνι π(αρὰ) Ἀνοὺπ ἐλεεινοῦ ὑμετέρου δούλου ἀπὸ τοῦ διαφέροντος αὐτῇ κτήματος καλουμένου Φάκρα
>
> «À mon bon maître qui aime le Christ et qui aime les pauvres, le très fameux et très excellent patrice et duc de la province de Thébaïde, Apiôn, de la part d'Anoup votre esclave digne de pitié, originaire de votre domaine du nom de Phakra».

On assiste à une contamination du prescrit par le *prooimion* dont témoigne ce parallèle contemporain, le P.Oxy. XXVII 2479 (VI^e^ s.), où l'on retrouve les mêmes éléments, cette fois-ci dans le *prooimion* après un sobre prescrit:

> Τῷ ἐμῷ ἀγαθῷ εὐεργ(έτῃ) (καὶ) δεσπ(ότῃ) δέησις (καὶ) ἱκεσία
> π(αρὰ) Πιηοῦτ[ο]ς ὑμετέρ(ου) δούλου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Κινέας.
> τὸ φιλόπτωχο[ν] καὶ φιλόχριστον τῆς ὑμετέρας πανευκλεοῦς δεσποτείας
> παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξελθὸν πολλοὺς ταύτης προσφεύγειν αὐτῇ παρεσκεύασαν,
> οἵτινες προσερχ[ό]μενοι τοῦ δικαίου καὶ πάσης ἐλεη[μοσύ]νης τυγχ[ά]νουσι.
>
> «À mon bon maître et bienfaiteur, requête et supplique de la part de votre serviteur Piêous, originaire de Kineas. L'amour des pauvres et du Christ dont fait preuve Votre très illustre Seigneurie, s'étant répandu à travers tout le pays, a poussé à venir trouver refuge auprès de vous beaucoup de gens qui viennent vous solliciter et obtiennent justice et toute pitié».

[25] Par exemple, la pétition des moines à Théodose conservée par les ACO I/5, p. 7-10, traduite par Festugière (1982) 523-525. La pétition, que j'ai donnée ici en annexe à titre d'exemple (pétition de Sabinianos), présente un *prooimion* qui est à peine plus court que la *narratio.*

[26] Cf. Fournet (2010a) 61-63.

Quant aux éléments pathétiques,[27] on les retrouve amplifiés, par exemple, dans le prescrit d'une pétition de Dioscore, P.Cair.Masp. I 67002 (567), déjà citée:

> ┼ Δέησις καὶ ἱκεσία πα(ρὰ) τῶν ἐλ⟨ε⟩εινοτάτων δούλων ὑμῶν καὶ ἀθλίων λεπτοκτητόρων τε καὶ οἰκητόρων τῆς πανταθλίας κώμης Ἀφροδίτης τῆς οὔσης ὑπὸ τὸν θεῖον οἶκον καὶ τὴν ὑπε̣[ρ]φυῆ ὑμῶν ἐξουσίαν
>
> «Requête et supplique de vos très pitoyables serviteurs, les misérables petits propriétaires et habitants du très misérable village d'Aphrodité, qui dépend de la *domus divina* et de votre excellente Autorité».

On observe aussi ailleurs une contamination du prescrit par la *narratio*: outre l'exemple cité à l'instant où la référence à la *domus divina* anticipe l'argumentation de la *narratio*, je citerai le P.Cair.Masp. I 67008 (567), où la *narratio* est résumée dans l'*inscriptio*:

> 5 ┼ [Δ]έ̣ησις (καὶ) ἱκεσί[α] πα(ρὰ) Ἰσχυρί̣ωνος τοῦ γαμβροῦ Ἀπολλῶ̣τος πρωτοκωμ(ήτου)
> 6 [κώμης Ἀφ]ροδίτης, τ[ο]ῦ βιαίως ἀνα̣[ι]ρηθέντος π̣αρὰ τῆς λη̣στρικῆς ἐφό̣[δ]ου ἡμεραίᾳ
> 7 [κ(αὶ) ± 6]έντος ἀλ̣όγως.
>
> «requête et supplique d'Iskhyriôn, gendre d'Apollôs, le protocomète du village d'Aphrodité, tué violemment dans une attaque de bandits en plein jour et [dépouillé (?)] arbitrairement».

c. La *narratio*, de son côté, se développe sous l'influence de tendances linguistiques et stylistiques sur lesquelles je reviendrai.

d. La *demande* (*precatio* ou *preces*) connaît elle aussi une propension à s'enfler et à accueillir, outre des motifs encomiastiques, des éléments de la *narratio* contrairement au formulaire assez stéréotypé des époques antérieures. Je me limiterai à un exemple tiré d'une pétition de Dioscore, P.Cair.Masp. I 67008 (567):

> [Ὅ]θεν ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῆς ἀθανάτου κορυφῆς καὶ τ̣ῶ̣ν εὐσ̣εβεστάτων
> βασιλ̣ι̣έ̣ων καὶ οἰκο̣υ̣[υμ]ε̣νικῶν ἡμῶν δεσπ[ο]τ̣[ῶν] τοῦ διαδήματος καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ πάντα σωτηρίας ὑμῶν, εἰ παρα[στ]αίη, προστάξαι
> ἱκα̣ι̣νῶς ἐκδ̣ι̣[ικη]θῆναί μ̣ε̣ καὶ ἀναλη[μφ]θῆναι τὰ εἰρημέ(να) μου πρ̣[άγμ]ατά τε καὶ ζημιώματα̣ π̣α̣ρὰ τ̣ῶ̣ν εἰρημένων
> Θ̣ε[οφίλ]̣ι̣ης τε̣ι̣ [καὶ] Διοσκόρου· ἀδίκως κ[αὶ ἐπ᾽] αἰτίᾳ αὐτῶν κ̣[αὶ] προφάσει ἀ̣[πητ]ή̣θην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν εἰρημ(ένων) [Ἑλ]λαδίου καὶ Δίου
> 25 [τῶν μετ᾽ ἀλλήλους (?) τοπο]τηρησάντων τότε καὶ . .[. . .] τῶν χρησαμένων κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ. Κ[αὶ ἀ]ν̣τ̣ὶ ταύτης τῆς εὐεργεσίας τὸ τρίτο̣ν β[. . .]ως προσ-
> π̣ο[ρίσω μὲν τοῖς ὑμῶ]ν̣ π̣αιδαρίοις εἰς λόγον̣ [δωρ]εᾶς ὑπὲρ ἐξανύσεως, τὸ δὲ δ̣[ίμοιρο]ν̣ ὅπως καὶ εὕρω εἰς ἀνατρ[ο]φὴν ι̣τ̣ι̣ῆς ἐμῆς γεραιότητ[ος]
> [καὶ τῶν νηπίων ἐμῶν τ]έ̣κ̣ν̣[ων τῶν ἐλεεινοτάτων δο]ύλων ὑμῶν, ὅπω̣ς̣ ἐ̣[ν]δ̣[ε]λ̣εχ[ῆ πρεσ]βείᾳ̣ν̣ καὶ εὐχὴ̣ι̣ν̣ι̣ διὰ παντὸς ἀνύ̣[ψ]ω πρ[ὸ]ι̣ς̣ι̣ τ̣ὸν Θ(εὸ)ν ὑ̣(πὲρ) διαμο̣ν̣[ῆς]
> καὶ σωτ̣η̣ρίας τ̣ῆ̣ς̣ ὑμῶ̣[ν] φιλ̣[α]ι̣νθρ̣ι̣ωπίᾳ̣ς̣, δέσποτα [┼].
>
> «C'est pourquoi je vous adjure par l'immortelle Éminence, par les très pieux empereurs, nos maîtres universels du diadème et par votre salut qui passe avant tout, si vous le jugez bon, d'ordonner que justice me soit pleinement rendue et que les biens susdits qui m'appartiennent et les sommes dont j'ai été spolié me soient restitués par lesdits Théophilê et Dioskoros. C'est injustement, par leur faute et à leur instigation que ces sommes m'ont été prélevées pour leur compte par lesdits Helladios et Dios, les topotérètes [qui se sont succédé (?)] alors et […] qui ont agi contre moi. Et en gratitude pour ce bienfait je remettrai [en toute certitude (?)] le tiers à vos employés à titre de don pour avoir mené à bien cette affaire, pour pouvoir obtenir de mon côté les deux tiers nécessaires à l'entretien de ma vieillesse et à celui de mes jeunes enfants, vos

[27] Sur ces éléments dépréciatifs, cf. Papathomas (2007b).

> très pitoyables serviteurs, afin qu'à tout jamais, je fasse monter vers Dieu d'incessantes prières d'intercession pour la permanence et le salut de votre Philanthropie, ô seigneur».

On retrouve le même phénomène dans les pétitions extra-égyptiennes comme celles transmises par les ACO (par exemple, celle d'Eusèbe, évêque de Dorylée, aux empereurs Marcien et Valentinien de 451, où la demande est aussi longue que la *narratio*).[28]

L'introduction d'une nouvelle partie (qui peut atteindre dans des cas extrêmes la moitié du volume de la pétition)[29] et le gonflement des autres par des motifs rhétoriques ou narratifs, conjugués aux tendances naturelles de la prose de cette époque qui aime la redondance, la périphrase et l'expression sophistiquée, ont pour résultat que les pétitions protobyzantines deviennent très longues.[30] Qu'il suffise de mentionner la pétition d'Ammôn au préfet d'Égypte rédigée en 348[31] (qui, dans sa version finale, a dû faire plus d'une centaine de longues lignes) ou celle que Dioscore adressa en 567 au duc de Thébaïde Athanasios[32] (qui fait 74 très longues lignes, ce qui lui valut d'être taxée de «verbeuse et lamentable supplique» par Germaine Rouillard).[33] Cette dilatation des pétitions protobyzantines d'Égypte trouve de nombreux parallèles dans le reste de l'Empire (notamment avec les pétitions des ACO)[34] et constitue un phénomène qui a fini par poser problème aux autorités, lesquelles, déjà sur-sollicitées, devaient 'digérer' des libelles fort longs où l'objet était noyé dans les flots de la rhétorique. Des mesures ont dû être prises pour endiguer cette surenchère verbale comme en témoigne un passage d'une loi de Justinien de 530 conservée par le Cod. Iust. VII, 62, 39 (= CJC II, p. 324) sur les pétitions introduisant un appel:

> *1a. (1) in refutatoriis autem libellis, qui solent maxime in sacro auditorio prudentissimorum nostrorum procerum recitari, caveant tam litigatores quam libellorum dictatores verbosis uti adsertionibus et ea quae iam perorata sunt iterum resuscitare, sed haec sola eis inscribere, quae compendiosa narratione causas provocationis possunt explanare [vel aliquid novi continent]*[35] *vel addere quod derelictum est: sciturі, quod si hoc fuerit praetermissum, non deerit adversus libellorum conditores amplissimi iudicii competens indignatio, quod sufficiant gestorum*

[28] ACO II/1/1, p. 66, 23-67, 17 et Évagre, Hist. eccl. II 18 (éd. J. Bidez et L. Parmentier, p. 68, 11-69, 22), traduite par Festugière (1982) 682-683. En voici la demande: ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐ μικρὰ τὰ τετολμημένα αὐτῶι κατά τε τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν, δεόμεθα καὶ προσπίπτομεν τῶι ὑμετέρωι κράτει θεσπίσαι τὸν εὐλαβέστατον ἐπίσκοπον Διόσκορον ἀπολογήσασθαι τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶι ἐπαγομένοις, δηλαδὴ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπομνημάτων ἀναγινωσκομένων ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου, δι' ὧν δυνάμεθα ἀποδεῖξαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλλότριον ὄντα τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως καὶ αἵρεσιν ἀσεβείας πεπληρωμένην κρατύναντα καὶ ἀδίκως ἡμᾶς καθελόντα καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ἡμᾶς κατεργασάμενον, θείων καὶ προσκυνουμένων ὑμῶν μανδάτων καταπεμπομένων τῆι ἁγίαι καὶ οἰκουμενικῆι συνόδωι τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων, ἐφ' ὧι τε ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ προειρημένου Διοσκόρου διακοῦσαι καὶ ἀνενεγκεῖν εἰς γνῶσιν τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας πάντα τὰ πραττόμενα πρὸς τὸ παριστάμενον τῆι ἀθανάτωι ὑμῶν κορυφῆι. καὶ τούτου τυχόντες ἀδιαλείπτους εὐχὰς ἀναπέμψομεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ αἰωνίου ὑμῶν κράτους, θειότατοι βασιλεῖς. La *precatio* de la pétition des archimandrites Théodose et Sabas à Anastase (Cyrille de Scythopolis, Vie de saint Sabas, éd. Schwartz [1939] 152, 21-157, 23 [517]) est encore plus longue: elle commence p. 155, 6 (οὗπερ Ἀκεφάλου τὴν κοινωνίαν καὶ ἕνωσιν ἀποφεύγοντες καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαρνούμενοι δεόμεθα τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας κατελεῆσαι τὴν μητέρα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πασῶν Σιὼν τὴν ὑπερασπίζουσαν τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς ὑμῶν κράτους οὕτως ἀτίμως ὑβριζομένην καὶ πορθουμένην, καὶ θεσπίσαι καταξιώσατε ὥστε κτλ.) pour se finir plus de 65 lignes après (p. 157, 23)!

[29] Cf. le cas de P.Cair.Masp. I 67003, cité à la n. 24.

[30] On a aussi des pétitions longues aux époques précédentes (la plus connue est celle de Dionysia, P.Oxy. II 237 [186]), mais elles sont moins fréquentes et constituent des exceptions motivées par des cas complexes.

[31] P.Ammon II 36-37, 41-46.

[32] P.Cair.Masp. I 67002.

[33] Rouillard (1928^2) 213.

[34] Par exemple, celle du diacre Iskhyriôn d'Alexandrie au synode de Chalcédoine (ACO II/1/2, p. 17, 11-19, 2 [451]), qui fait 100 lignes ou celle des archimandrites Théodose et Sabas à Anastase (Cyrille de Scythopolis, Vie de saint Sabas, éd. Schwartz [1939] 152, 21-157, 23 [517]), qui fait plus de 130 lignes.

[35] *Del.* Mommsen.

volumina introducta et virorum spectabilium magistrorum scriniorum breves omnia apertissime ostendere.

«Quant aux libelles de pourvoi en appel qu'on a l'habitude de lire en premier lieu devant l'auditoire impérial de nos très sages et éminents conseillers, les parties aussi bien que les rédacteurs de libelles doivent se garder de s'exprimer verbeusement et de reprendre un argument qui a déjà été complètement traité mais ne doivent y faire figurer que ce qui, par un exposé ramassé, peut expliquer les motifs de l'appel ou ajouter ce qui a été omis: qu'ils sachent que, si ces recommandations ne sont pas observées, les auteurs de libelles ne manqueront pas d'encourir la juste indignation des très magnifiques juges[36], puisque les procès-verbaux qui sont produits et les relevés sommaires des spectables *magistri scriniorum* suffisent à montrer tous les faits de la façon la plus claire».

3. La sophistication du style

Les mutations graphiques, structurelles et formulaires dont je viens de parler s'accompagnent naturellement d'une évolution du style et de la langue en général. Je ne m'y attarderai pas ici car j'ai déjà eu l'occasion d'en parler ailleurs[37] sans compter que la pétition ne fait que refléter en la matière des tendances propres à la prose de cette époque en général, que l'on retrouve dans l'ensemble des productions aussi bien documentaires que littéraires.[38] Mentionnons rapidement les plus saillantes: vocabulaire recherché,[39] archaïsant[40] ou poétique,[41] formes attiques,[42] échos ou citations littéraires.[43] On les retrouve toutes à l'œuvre dans les pétitions des ACO, à ceci près que les citations d'auteurs profanes sont remplacées par des citations bibliques comme l'exigeaient le contexte et la personnalité des intervenants.

4. L'empire de la rhétorique

La rhétorique étant avant tout l'art de persuader, s'il est un genre documentaire où son recours est attendu, c'est bien évidemment la pétition, où elle se justifie par sa fonction (persuader les autorités d'une injustice subie) et se recommande par la plus-value formelle qu'elle apporte, même si celle-ci n'a pas été toujours bien jugée par les modernes, pour une part victimes de leurs préjugés.[44] Le dossier le plus intéressant à cet égard est l'ensemble des pétitions de Dioscore d'Aphrodité, qui, par leur nombre, leur bon état de conservation et leur rédaction soignée, se prêtent mieux qu'aucun autre à une analyse rhétorique détaillée. On y voit s'élaborer une rhétorique qui se construit à travers trois lieux obligés: (1) l'éloge de l'autorité (qui s'exprime essentiellement dans le *prooimion* et les *preces*); (2) le contre-éloge

[36] Litt. «du très magnifique jugement».
[37] Fournet (2004) 67-69.
[38] Pour les documents, cf. Zilliacus (1967) et Fournet (2013) 138-148. Pour la littérature, la bibliographie est gigantesque: on pourra se reporter à la synthèse de Browning (1978), repr. dans Browning (1989) no XV.
[39] Par exemple, Papathomas (2006) 249-254.
[40] Signalons en passant l'usage du mot εὐθένεια dans P.Oxy. XXVII 2479. l. 26 (VI^{e} s.) que l'éditeur a mal interprété: il ne s'agit absolument pas d'un *lapsus calami* pour ἀσθενεία, mais, comme l'a bien montré Triantaphyllopoulos (1967), notamment 358-360 (BL VI 109, non signalé par la DDBDP), d'un mot à prendre dans le sens d'ἐμβολή «annone» (on comparera l'argumentation avec celle du P.Cair.Masp. I 67002, III, 11-12). Ce qu'oublie de préciser cet auteur, c'est que le mot n'est plus employé dans ce sens au VI^{e} s. (ses derniers emplois papyrologiques sont P.Charite 18. l. 5 [320/350] et P.Gen. IV 182. l. 13 [468]). Son emploi ici produit donc un effet stylistique.
[41] Fournet (2004) 67-69; Fournet (2013) 146-148.
[42] Par exemple, Papathomas (2006) 248-249; Fournet (2013) 145 (avec quelques éléments bibliographiques).
[43] Fournet (2004) 68-69; Fournet (2013) 144-145. Pour les citations bibliques chez Dioscore, cf. Dijkstra (2003).
[44] Cf. Kovelman (1991) qui est un des premiers à s'être intéressé à la rhétorique des pétitions et à avoir montré son apport à notre connaissance de la culture de l'Antiquité tardive.

ou ψόγος («blâme») de l'accusé (qui s'inscrit surtout dans la *narratio*); et (3) la victimisation du pétitionnaire (qui, notamment dans la *narratio* et les *preces*, tente de montrer son irréprochabilité et, du même coup, l'injustice criante de sa situation). Il est difficile, dans les limites de temps que me sont imparties, d'illustrer et d'analyser ces trois discours qui ne cessent de s'entremêler –cela nécessiterait d'entrer dans le détail des textes, souvent longs, voire difficiles–[45]; aussi me contenterai-je d'un exemple qui montre particulièrement bien comment Dioscore cherche à décrédibiliser le défendeur par une rhétorique du ψόγος, qui s'exprime à travers tout un système d'oppositions destiné à noircir le protagoniste et à en faire l'incarnation du mal. Il s'agit d'une pétition que les curiales de la ville d'Omboi (auj. Kôm Ombo) présentèrent en 567 au duc de Thébaïde Athanasios pour dénoncer les agissements d'un individu (dont le nom est en lacune), suspect de paganisme, de détournement des impôts et de diverses exactions (P.Cair.Masp. I 67004).[46] Jamais, dans le corpus dioscorien, un accusé n'aura été affublé de tant de termes injurieux ou infâmants: μωρίαν καὶ ἀκαταστασίαν ἀμύθητον ἐνόησεν (l. 6) «il a été atteint d'une indicible folie et instabilité», ἀταξίᾳ φερόμενος (l. 6) «emporté par son dérèglement», μάταιος καὶ ὀλισθηρός (l. 7) «impie et renégat», ἀντιπολέμιος (l. 8) «ennemi», ὠμοφάγος καὶ μιξοβάρβαρος καὶ μιξέλλην (l. 15) «carnassier (litt. mangeur de chair crue), mi-barbare, mi-grec», βέβηλος καὶ παρθενο[(l. 16) «impie et ravisseur de vierges»[47], ἀτοπώτατος καὶ ἀναξίως ἔχων τῆς κλήσεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος (l. 18) «de la plus extrême méchanceté et indigne du nom qu'il porte», εὐκατάγνωστος (?, l. 19) «qui mérite d'être condamné». La *narratio* est construite de façon à en faire un sauvage, un barbare, qui ne respecte aucune des valeurs de l'Empire: 1) il renie le christianisme, religion d'État:[48] 2) il rejette les principes fondateurs de l'organisation civile et militaire de l'Empire (les impôts, en les détournant; l'armée, en détruisant les enseignes militaires):[49] 3) il ne respecte pas les tabous sexuels, socle de la société civilisée (il semble avoir eu des relations avec sa petite-fille).[50] Les malversations de l'accusé dépassent l'indicible à en croire les pétitionnaires qui n'hésitent pas à conclure leur requête par un bel *adynaton* rhétorique: «… les très horribles méfaits de cet individu qu'un rouleau de papyrus ne suffit pas à contenir et que des langues [ne sauraient] exprimer».[51] Cette construction un

[45] On trouvera, dans le chap. 7 de mes P.Aphrod.Pét., une analyse rhétorique des pétitions de Dioscore.

[46] Cette pétition a été rééditée par Dijkstra (2004) = SB XXVIII 17239. J'ai pu en améliorer encore le texte. C'est sur ma réédition et l'interprétation générale de ce texte (qui s'éloigne sur un certain nombre de points de celle de Dijkstra) que s'appuient les lignes qui suivent.

[47] S'il faut bien restituer l'homérique παρθενοπίπης, comme le propose J.H.F. Dijkstra, ou un autre composé, de l'invention de Dioscore, de sens approchant (J. Maspero proposait παρθενοφθόρος).

[48] Μήτε ἀνθρώπων φειδόμενος κατὰ φόβον Θεοῦ (l. 7) «n'épargnant aucun être humain par crainte de Dieu»; τὸ μεμυημένον ⟦ ̣ο̣ι̣⟧ χριστιανικὸν ἀθε̣τ̣ῆσαι σέβας καὶ θρῆσκος καὶ δαίμοσι καὶ ξοάνοις ἀφιερῶσαι σηκούς (l. 8) «(il n'a pas hésité) à supprimer le culte et la religion chrétiens auxquels nous avons été initiés, à consacrer des chapelles à des démons et des statues»; αὐτὸν τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἤτοι Βλέμυσι ἀ̣[ν]ακαινίσασθαι, μεθ' ὃ καίπερ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ἀΐδιον ἐπιγινώσκειν Θεὸν ὑπεστράφοντο τῶν ἐξουδενώσεως εἰδώ̣[λων (l. 9) «restaurant les sanctuaires pour les barbares, à savoir les Blemmyes, après que ceux-ci, bien que s'étant détournés des idoles méprisables pour entrer dans la connaissance du Dieu éternel, […]»; συνθρη[σ]κ̣εύων τοῖς τοιού̣[τοις] (l. 16) «partageant la religion de telles personnes».

[49] Μηδεμίαν ἔκπλ̣ηξιν τῶν νόμων καρπ̣ούμενος (l. 7) «ne ressentant aucune crainte des lois»; αὐτονομῶν ἀπήτ[ησεν] ἑ̣αυτῷ̣ οἰκε̣ιωσάμενος μετ[ὰ τ]ῆς ἑπομένης αὐτῷ̣ τῷ̣[ν] ἀτάκτων συνόδου̣· [κατ]εδαπάνωσαν εἰς ἑαυ̣[τ]οὺς ἀφόβως καὶ τὰ ᾰ̣[μ]πελικὰ ᾰ̣ὐ̣[τ]ῶν χ[ω]ρία ἀπ̣[ετρύ]γησεν ἀπηλ[(l. 15) «suivant sa propre loi, il perçut [des impôts], en se les appropriant pour lui-même, en compagnie de la troupe de hors-la-loi qui l'escortait. Ils les dépensèrent intégralement pour eux-mêmes sans aucune crainte. Et il vendangea leurs domaines viticoles»; πρὸς λύμ̣[ην] τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ δ̣ημοσίου λόγου (l. 16) «au détriment du fisc»; τὰ ἱερὰ σίκνα χ[ωνεύ]σας χρυσᾶ εἰς κλα[νίο]ν̣ ἄβρας βαρβάρω[ν (l. 17) «ayant fondu les enseignes impériales en or pour en faire un bracelet d'une esclave favorite parmi les barbares».

[50] Πα̣[ρ]θενο̣ . .[(l. 16) «ravisseur de vierges»; ἰδικὴν ἐ̣[γγόν]ην (?) καταμοιχεύσας (l. 17) «ayant séduit une de ses propres petites-filles (?)».

[51] Τὰ πάνδειν̣[α τούτ]ο̣υ̣ (…), ἅτινα χάρτης [οὐ χωρ]εῖ οὔτε γλώσ[σαις] ἐκφράσα̣ι̣ [(l. 18).

peu trop parfaite d'un anti-héros doit bien évidemment nous inciter à ne pas prendre à la lettre certains des méfaits que les pétitionnaires font commettre à l'accusé. Elle est en tout cas un vrai paradigme des valeurs partagées par une société et prend des allures allégoriques très prononcées, où l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament sont mis à contribution:[52] le recours à un vocabulaire marqué par les Écritures, comme un antidote au paganisme supposé du protagoniste;[53] la comparaison explicite de ce dernier avec Jéroboam, roi d'Israël de triste mémoire pour avoir fait replonger son peuple dans le culte des idoles[54]; enfin l'utilisation d'un lexique assimilant le duc au Christ rédempteur[55].

Ce n'est là qu'un échantillon de cette rhétorique qui envahit les pétitions protobyzantines et qui offre un vivant raccourci des options culturelles de la société antique tardive telle que conditionnée par l'école, sa fonction publique et la propagande d'État.

5. Les rédacteurs de pétitions au travail

J'aimerais terminer cet exposé en m'intéressant à ces professionnels de l'écrit, sans qui nous n'aurions pas la plupart des pétitions qui nous sont parvenues, et aux conditions dans lesquelles ils les ont élaborées.

Les pétitionnaires avaient le plus souvent affaire, pour rédiger leurs requêtes, à des scribes professionnels, avocats[56] ou notaires (comme Dioscore),[57] qui, contrairement aux documents de la pratique, ne laissent pas de *completio* –ce qui empêche le plus souvent de les identifier. Ce genre avait pris une telle importance dans la production documentaire de l'Antiquité que l'Édit sur les prix de Dioclétien le distingue sous le nom de λίβελλα des autres documents (τάβλας) dans l'entrée qu'il consacre aux tabellions: ἀγοραίοις γράφουσι λίβελλα ἢ τάβλας στίχους ρ [∗ ι´] «aux tabellions qui écrivent des pétitions ou des actes, les 100 stiques: 10 deniers».[58]

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[52] Voir Dijkstra (2003) 140-146. Dans d'autres pétitions de Dioscore, c'est la poésie épique qui sert de système de références.

[53] Cf., par exemple, l. 9: τῶν ἐξουδενώσεως εἰδώ̣[λων avec un substantif, inconnu des papyrus, qui remonte aux Ps. 123; l. 16: ὁ βέβηλος, qui a ici le sens d' «impie» que l'on retrouve dans la 1 Ep.Ti. 1, 9 et l'Ep.Hebr. 12, 16; l. 17: χ[ωνεύ]σας χρυσᾶ εἰς κλα[νίο]ν, qui est influencé par Ex. 38, 5 (ἐχώνευσεν αὐτῇ τέσσαρας δακτυλίους χρυσοῦς); l. 19: πλ̣[έον] καπνοῦ εὐκατάγν̣[ωστον (?) σ]βέννυσθαι, qui porte la marque d'Is. 34, 10; sans compter tous les mots pris dans un sens scripturaire. Cf. Dijkstra (2003) 142. Ce dernier auteur (Dijkstra [2003] 143-144) montre une influence de 2.Ep.Pet. 2 sur une partie de la pétition, particulièrement visible à la l. 9.

[54] L. 11: καθ' ὃ [Ἰ]ερω̣βοαμ̣ τὰς δαμάλει[ς, à comparer avec 3.Rg 12, 28: καὶ ἐβουλεύσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς (sc. Jéroboam) καὶ ἐπορεύθη καὶ ἐποίησεν δύο δαμάλεις χρυσᾶς καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν λαόν· Ἱκανούσθω ὑμῖν ἀναβαίνειν εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ· ἰδοὺ θεοί σου, Ἰσραήλ, οἱ ἀναγαγόντες σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου. La *synkrisis* est d'autant mieux choisie que Jéroboam emprunta ses idoles à l'Égypte.

[55] L. 5: παρουσίας; l. 6: μὴ ὄντος λυτρουμένου μήτε σώσο̣ντος εἰ μὴ ὑμᾶς τοὺς ὑ̣περοχωτάτους καὶ ἐνδόξους.

[56] Cf., pour une période plus ancienne, Zawadski (1960) 80-94: «À la ligne 12 de notre inscription, Panas, le représentant d'Anosos, menace de faire appel à l'intermédiaire d'un *synegoros* à Dokimion. Mais le procurateur Threptus sait lui faire comprendre que cet appel ne servira de rien. Il est probable que ce sont les *synegoroi* de ce genre qui étaient les auteurs de toutes ces plaintes et requêtes que caractérisent le même style et les mêmes *loci communes*. Mais à la lumière de notre inscription, il semble que ce n'est que dans les cas extrêmes qu'une communauté se décidait à prendre cette voie».

[57] Cf. Hauken (1998) 270, au sujet des pétitions impériales sur pierre qu'il étudie: «At the same time it [sc. la technique du récit des faits] gives a strong hint as how they were composed: The petitioners approached a scribe with an established knowledge of petitions. When they had presented all the details, he trimmed it, weeded out the trivia, and relied on his experience and manual in order to prepare a bland and routine petition. The end products would then keep close to conventional complaints without being direct carbon copies».

[58] Version latine: *tabellanioni in scriptura libelli vel tabularum [in ver]sibus no. centum [D] X* (Lauffer [1971] 7, 41, p. 120-121). Nous sommes encore à une époque où la pétition n'a pas pris le développement formel qui sera le sien plus tard, ce qui explique le prix assez bas comparé à l'écriture de première qualité (25 deniers les 100

Étant donné la dimension rhétorique que prend la pétition dans l'Antiquité tardive, il est très vraisemblable que ces tabellions avaient recours à des manuels ou des recueils de modèles. La documentation ne nous en fournit cependant aucun exemple. Et pourtant, les frappantes ressemblances formulaires et phraséologiques entre des pétitions provenant de tous les coins de l'Empire[59] supposent l'existence de tels manuels, pour une part dépendants des manuels de rhétorique épidictique.[60] De même, les *prooimia* présentent trop d'analogies pour que des recueils n'aient pas circulé comme, bien plus tard, les recueils de *prooimia* de l'Oxoniensis Barocci 131 (XIII^{e} s.) ou du Pal. Heidelbergensis 356 (XIV^{e} s.).[61] Ainsi, si certaines ressemblances peuvent s'expliquer par des traditions propres à des bureaux régionaux,[62] d'autres, repérables dans des textes éloignés dans le temps et l'espace, nous obligent à postuler l'existence de tels recueils –malgré le caractère très conventionnel des idées que véhiculent ces préambules.[63] Un exemple avec trois pétitions s'échelonnant du IV^{e} au VI^{e} s. et provenant de nomes différents:

> • P.Kell. I 21. ll. 4-6 (Kellis, 321): εἰ] ἑκάστῳ προχωρήσει τὰ τῆς αὐθαδίας καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ τῶν | [νόμων ἐπιστ]ρέφεια ἐπακολουθεῖν εἴωθεν, ἀβίωτος ἂν ἡμῖν τοῖς | [μετρίοις π]ᾶς χρόνος ἐγείνατο[64],
>
> «Si les actes d'arrogance réussissaient à chacun et si la sévérité des lois n'avait pas coutume de les poursuivre, toute époque serait invivable pour nous, les petits»;
>
> • P.Panop. 27. ll. 4-7 (Panopolis, 323): εἰ τοῖς | μεγάλα δυναμένοις προεχώρει οἷς ἂν ἐπιχειρῶσι | καὶ εἰ μὴ τῇ τῶν νόμων ἐπεξελεύσει ἀνεκόπτοντο, | ἀβίωτος ἂ[ν] ἐγίνετο ὁ τῶν μετρίων βίος,
>
> «Si les grands de ce monde réussissaient ce qu'ils entreprennent sans le frein de la sanction des lois, l'existence des petits serait invivable».
>
> • P.David 17. ll. 5-7 (Hermoupolis, 504): [εἰ μὴ] προεχώρει ἡ τῶν νόμων ἐπιστρέφ`ε´ια κατὰ τῶν | [ἀνδρά]σιν ἐπιχειρούντων, πάντες ἂν εἰς μανείαν | [καὶ ε]ἰς ἕτερα ἀτοπήματα κατέτυχον,
>
> «Si la sévérité des lois ne réussissait pas contre ceux qui s'en prennent aux hommes, tous sombreraient dans la folie ou d'autres désordres».

En cela, la pratique de la pétition ne devait pas différer grandement de celle de la lettre, autre genre qui se 'rhétoricise' profondément à la même période, mais pour lequel manuels et recueils ne manquent pas, surtout durant l'Antiquité tardive.[65] Les seuls papyrus qui pourraient s'apparenter à des modèles sont le P.Münch. III 79 (prov. inconnue, VI^{e}/VII^{e} s.), début de pétition sans le nom du récipiendaire et du requérant (mais il pourrait fort bien s'agir

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stiques) et l'écriture de seconde qualité (20 deniers) et l'absence de différenciation entre pétition et autres types de documents.

[59] Je donne en annexe un exemple avec la pétition de Sabinianos, évêque de Perrhê, cité d'Euphratèse aux confins de la Cappadoce, remise au concile de Chalcédoine de 451.

[60] Je crois avoir montré, par exemple, ce que la pétition doit au discours d'ambassade à travers la codification qu'en a faite Ménandre le Rhéteur: cf. Fournet (2004) 63-67.

[61] Pour le premier, cf. Browning (1966); pour le second, cf. Hunger (1964) 38 et 217-245. Sur le rôle de ces recueils, qui servaient non seulement aux modestes tabellions ou aux fonctionnaires des chancelleries, mais aussi aux professeurs et étudiants de rhétorique, cf. également les remarques de Krumbacher (1897) 488.

[62] Ainsi, P.Cair.Isid. 66 (Karanis, c. 299) et M.Chr. 64 (Théadelphie, 312), cités plus haut (n. 22 et 20).

[63] Il ne faudrait pas non plus surestimer la place des recueils dans la rédaction des *prooimia* de pétition: s'ils pouvaient donner des idées aux rédacteurs, ceux-ci ne devaient pas manquer de les transformer et les adapter. Ainsi, dans P.Cair.Isid. 62 (296), le *prooimion* est d'une orthographe aussi déplorable que le reste de la pétition (à la différence du prescrit dont les noms et titres ont été certainement recopiés à partir d'un autre document), ce qui montre que le *prooimion* n'était pas servilement copié dans un recueil.

[64] J'intègre les corrections que j'ai suggérées dans Fournet (1998) 14-15 (= BL XI 99).

[65] Cf. Fournet (2009), notamment 53-66 pour les exemples papyrologiques.

aussi d'un brouillon), et surtout le P.Cair.Masp. III 67295 (Aphrodité, VI^{e} s.). Ce dernier est un rouleau de la main de Dioscore d'Aphrodité,[66] qui comprend une série de textes dont il a dû se servir comme modèles: une pétition du philosophe Horapollon datant du siècle précédent (col. i-ii) et au moins deux lettres très rhétoriques avec des citations homériques, l'une à un évêque, l'autre d'un «*notarios* érudit (ἐμπαίδευτος)» à un confrère (col. iii).[67] Que Dioscore se soit servi de la pétition d'Horapollon pour rédiger les siennes est incontestable et prouve la fonction paradigmatique de ce recueil.[68]

La disparition de manuels de rédaction de pétitions ou de recueils de modèles, si elle est un hasard de notre documentation papyrologique,[69] est probablement due à des choix délibérés pour ce qui est de la tradition manuscrite: la pétition, trop dépendante des procédures judiciaires, n'est pas parvenue à atteindre le même statut que la lettre, qu'il était plus facile ultérieurement d'abstraire des conditions initiales de production pour en faire une œuvre littéraire à part entière. La paralittérature ou métalittérature que l'épistolographie avait générée a donc été jugée digne d'être conservée en même temps qu'on rassemblait en *corpora* les lettres de personnages connus et qu'on les intégrait au flux de la transmission. Les pétitions, elles, n'ont jamais fait l'objet d'un tel intérêt littéraire ou d'une pareille attention patrimoniale –malgré leurs qualités formelles–, et la tradition les a délaissées[70] en même temps que les manuels qui contribuaient à leur élaboration.

Malgré le profit que les rédacteurs pouvaient tirer de ces ouvrages, l'écriture des pétitions n'en restait pas moins une tâche délicate. Si elle ne nous a pas livré les manuels ou recueils qui servaient aux rédacteurs de pétitions, la documentation papyrologique donne de nombreux témoignages du travail d'écriture, qui, peut-être plus que pour d'autres types documentaires, pouvait être long et laborieux. Le meilleur exemple est probablement celui du *scholasticus* Ammôn, dont les archives ont livré pas moins d'une quinzaine de brouillons d'une pétition relative à une affaire qui l'opposait au *memorarius* Flavius Eugeneios (348).[71] Ces brouillons témoignent de ses hésitations tout d'abord dans la forme de la procédure qu'il souhaitait donner à sa plainte: il balance entre une pétition adressée par lui ou par l'ami de son frère, Komôn,[72] soit au *katholikos*, soit au préfet.[73] Mais ces brouillons illustrent surtout les tâtonnements dans le travail de rédaction: Ammôn ne cesse de se corriger, de reprendre telle phrase, de remettre telle partie sur le métier,[74] de recopier en la modifiant telle version

[66] BL X 35.

[67] Une autre main a recopié, dans la colonne iv, une lettre (?) adressée à un comte ἐξπελλευτής, mais elle est trop abîmée pour qu'on puisse en tirer quelque chose. J. Maspero ne l'édite pas.

[68] L'indice le plus patent est la réutilisation de l'expression ἀνορυχαὶ καὶ ἀνασκαφαί (P.Cair. Masp. III 67295, ii, 5) dans P.Cair.Masp. III 67283, i, 16 (Aphrodité, 540-544/545): ἀνορυχαῖς καὶ ἀνασκαφαῖς. Dans cette même pétition, on notera l'emploi du substantif εὐζωΐα «digne existence» (i, 8: cf. P.Cair.Masp. III 67295, i, 19) et de l'expression σ]χολὴν ἄγειν (i, 12; cf. P.Cair.Masp. III 67295, i, 13).

[69] À titre de comparaison, nous n'avons, pour la lettre, genre bien plus pratiqué, que deux manuels d'épistolographie conservés sur papyrus: cf. Fournet (2009) 57.

[70] À de rares exceptions près qui sont dues soit à une erreur d'identification du genre (ainsi cette pétition de Basile transmise au milieu de ses lettres: cf. Gascou (1997), repr. dans Gascou (2008) no XIX, p. 417-429), soit à leur statut de documents historiques qui explique qu'on ait éprouvé le besoin de les citer, qu'elles soient fictives (comme la pétition de Véronique au roi Hérode: Jean Malalas, Chronographia, p. 237,9-239,2 [éd. Dindorf, Corpus de Bonn], reprise par Jean Damascène, Orationes de imaginibus tres, III 68, 12-35 [éd. Kotter, PTS 7]) ou réelles comme les nombreuses pétitions conservées par les ACO ou d'autres historiographes (cf. l'exemple de la pétition d'Eusèbe conservée, entre autres, par Évagre, Hist. eccl. II 18 et citée ci-dessus n. 28). Sur les pétitions transmises par la tradition manuscrite non papyrologique, cf. Fournet (sous presse b.).

[71] P.Ammon II 32-46.

[72] P.Ammon II 32; 35; 40. Les autres sont à son nom.

[73] P.Ammon II 34 (?), 38 sont adressées au *katholikos*, les autres au préfet d'Égypte.

[74] Par exemple, le *prooimion* fait l'objet de deux versions sur le recto et le verso de P.Ammon II 46 sans compter celles incluses dans des esquisses plus complètes (P.Ammon II 37. ll. 1-9 et 41. ll. 1-16). On notera que

précédente, au point qu'il n'est pas facile aujourd'hui de suivre la chronologie de ses repentirs.[75] Bref, tout *scholasticus* et bon lettré qu'il était, Ammôn semble avoir particulièrement peiné à rédiger ce texte.

L'autre dossier qui documente le mieux le délicat travail d'élaboration de pétitions est celui de Dioscore d'Aphrodité (VI^{e} s.): contrairement à celui d'Ammôn, on n'y retrouve pas de requêtes en plusieurs versions (les révisions s'y limitent à des corrections à l'intérieur de chaque document); mais le nombre de pièces (au moins 35 en comptant les inédits)[76] permet de saisir sur le vif le travail du rédacteur de pétitions, plus complexe qu'il n'y paraît de prime abord. Ce dossier est en effet constitué de pétitions à la fois écrites pour lui et surtout composées pour d'autres, dont les caractéristiques formelles permettent de dégager les diverses situations dans lesquelles Dioscore a été amené à travailler à l'élaboration de pétitions et les différentes phases du processus de rédaction: (1) dans un cas, il s'est contenté de relire une pétition écrite par un autre et d'y faire des corrections;[77] (2) dans d'autres, il est l'auteur d'une première version qui a été ensuite recopiée (et retravaillée?) par un autre, cette seconde version étant éventuellement à nouveau corrigée par lui;[78] (3) la plupart des pétitions sont des brouillons de sa main, plus ou moins avancés dans le processus de rédaction: (a) certaines sont inachevées (absence de prescrit, *prooimion* ou de *preces*),[79] présentent des reprises partielles et/ou, par le recours à des approximations (τῷδε τοῦδε «à Untel fils d'Untel» remplaçant un nom propre), indiquent que toutes les informations n'étaient pas encore à la disposition du rédacteur;[80] (b) d'autres, complètes et écrites avec soin, présentent l'état définitif du texte juste avant le stade de la copie finale soumise à l'autorité;[81] (c) une seule, enfin, peut être considérée comme une pétition originale, munie qu'elle est de ses souscriptions.[82] Le dossier des pétitions de Dioscore permet de conclure que ce dernier a travaillé dans une officine notariale où il s'est particulièrement impliqué dans la rédaction de pétitions et que celles-ci étaient rarement rédigées d'un seul jet, mais que le document final passait par un certain nombre de copies (au moins trois réalisées éventuellement par diverses personnes), chacune amendée, voire retravaillée. L'examen plus détaillé des textes montrerait enfin –ce que je n'ai pas le temps de faire ici– que le matériau de certaines parties (notamment des *prooimia*) pouvait être réutilisé d'une pétition à l'autre dans la mesure où les clients en référaient à des juges différents.

Cette présentation a montré que la pétition a fortement évolué à partir de la fin du principat et durant l'Antiquité tardive, à l'unisson d'autres genres documentaires comme la lettre avec laquelle elle partage certaines prétentions littéraires qui tiennent notamment à leur fonction: elles forment les deux facettes d'un processus de communication, l'une moins formelle (la

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ce *prooimion*, qui fait partie de la version adressée au préfet, est bien plus sophistiqué que celui de la version au *katholikos* (P.Ammon II 38).

[75] Cf. P.Ammon, p. 43-50.

[76] P.Aphrod.Pét. (en cours de publication).

[77] P.Cair.Masp. I 67020.

[78] Avec corrections de Dioscore: P.Cair.Masp. I 67006r (?); 67019v; II 67205; P.Lond. V 1676. Sans corrections: SB XIV 11856.

[79] P.Cair.Masp. I 67009 (sans prescrit ni *preces*); 67019v (sans prescrit); 67020 (sans prescrit); P.Lond. V 1674 + 1675 (sans prescrit); P.Lond. V 1676 (sans prescrit ni *prooimion*). Je ne prends pas ici en compte les inédits et pièces où certaines de ces parties pourraient être en lacune.

[80] P.Cair.Masp. III 67352 (rééd. Fournet [2010]), l. 6 (τῷδε τοῦδε); ll. 18-21 (réélaboré au verso).

[81] SB V 8938; P.Cair.Masp. I 67002; 67003; 67004; 67008; 67011; 670015; 67016; P.Lond. V 1678 + P.Lond. inv. 01607 + P.Flor. III 295.

[82] P.Cair.Masp. III 67283 (540-544/545).

lettre), l'autre plus contrainte (la pétition), mais toutes deux reflets des nouvelles formes de sociabilité et de sensibilité dans les rapports à autrui qui prévalaient dans la société très hiérarchisée du Bas-Empire. Cette évolution commune de deux genres fonctionnellement si proches aboutit d'ailleurs à rendre plus labiles que jamais les frontières entre les deux, au point que l'Antiquité tardive voit l'émergence du genre hybride de la supplique épistolaire dans un cadre non judiciaire.[83] Mais si la pétition épouse assez fidèlement les mutations culturelles à l'œuvre dans d'autres domaines de l'écrit, le fait que, contrairement à la lettre, elle met en contact les simples citoyens avec les plus hautes autorités de l'Empire (empereur, préfets du prétoire, gouverneurs, etc.) exacerbe ces évolutions, qui se traduisent dans la pétition avec plus d'intensité que dans d'autres genres documentaires aussi bien sur le plan de l'écriture et de la mise en page que du formulaire et de la langue –de ce point de vue, on ne peut envisager sa forme indépendamment des procédures qui la conditionnent. Elle devient ainsi un des meilleurs observatoires des tendances de la culture écrite de l'Antiquité tardive – non celle que pratiquent les grandes figures de la littérature, mais celle mise en œuvre quotidiennement par la masse des professionnels de l'écrit qui prêtaient leur calame aux citoyens de l'Empire.

Annexe

La pétition de Sabinianos, évêque de Perrhê (451), comparée aux pétitions égyptiennes

ACO II/1/3, p. 65, 28-66, 7 éd. E. Schwartz

65 [Prescrit] Τοῖς κατὰ πάντα θεοφιλεστάτοις καὶ ἁγιωτάτοις πατράσι [καὶ] ἀρχιεπισκόποις Λέοντι Ἀνατολίωι Μαξίμωι καὶ πάσηι τῆι λοιπῆι ἁγίαι συνόδωι δέησις καὶ ἱκεσία παρὰ Σαβινιανοῦ ἐπισκόπου. [*Proimion*] Πολλαὶ μὲν καὶ διάφοροι αἱ περὶ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ εὐεργεσίαι, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῶι παρόντι καιρῶι περὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας γενομένη κηδεμονία ἰδική τις τυγχάνει καὶ ἐξαίρετος, καθὼς τὰ πράγματα βοᾶι. Συνήθροισε γὰρ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγγελικὴν σύνοδον διὰ τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ τῶι τὴν πλάνην ἰδεῖν καὶ τὴν μὲν πρὸ τούτων ἐνιαυτῶν δύο μικρῶι πρὸς ἐν Ἐφέσωι γενομένην σύγχυσίν τε καὶ ἀκαταστασίαν καταργῆσαι, τὴν δὲ ἀλήθειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην φωτίσαι. [*Narratio*] Ὅθεν κἀγὼ τῆς ζάλης ἐκείνης καὶ τῶν κλυδώνων πειραθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον κατέφυγον εὔδιον λιμένα διδάσκων ὡς Διόσκορος ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων αὐθεντίαι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τυραννίδι ἐμὲ μὲν τῆς ἐγχειρισθείσης μοι κατὰ κανόνας τῶν Περρηνῶν ἐκκλησίας διὰ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου καὶ μητροπολίτου ἡμῶν Στεφάνου ἐξέωσεν, ἀντεισήγαγεν δὲ Ἀθανάσιον, ἄνδρα καθαιρεθέντα ἐν τῆι Ἀντιοχέων μεγαλοπόλει ὑπὸ πλείστων θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων. Οἷα τοίνυν **66** καὶ τοῖς μετὰ τούτους γέγονεν καὶ ὅπως πᾶσα ἡ πόλις μετὰ πικρῶν δακρύων καὶ ὀδυρμῶν περιχεθεῖσα δυσαποσπάστως εἶχε περὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπένθει βιαίαν ἐκβολήν, τάχα περιττὸν ἐμὲ λέγειν. [*Preces*] Δι' ὃ παρακαλῶ καὶ καθικετεύω τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλοθείαν μὴ περιιδεῖν τὴν κατ' ἐμοῦ γενομένην ἀδικίαν, ἀλλὰ κελεῦσαι τῶν δικαίων με τυχεῖν, ὅπως καὶ ἐν τούτωι ἀνυμνῆται ὁ φιλάνθρωπος θεὸς διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγγελικῆς καὶ θεοτιμήτου συνόδου καταργήσας μὲν τὴν πλάνην, φωτίσας δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.
[Souscription] Σαβινιανὸς ἐπίσκοπος ἐπιδέδωκα ὑπαγορεύσας καὶ ὑπογράψας τήνδε τὴν δέησιν.

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29 δέησις καὶ ἱκεσία: sur ce syntagme (plus ou moins issu d'Isocrate) qui, à partir du IV^e^ s., se glisse entre l'*inscriptio* et l'*intitulatio*, cf. Fournet (2010a) 61-63 et 74. C'est la seule occurrence des *ACO* qui n'appartienne pas à une pétition adressée à l'empereur. Les premières occurrences papyrologiques (P.Ryl. IV 618 [c. 317]; P.Lips. I 34-35 [376-378]; SB XX 14606 [425-450]) confirment bien que cette expression était l'apanage des pétitions impériales. L'emploi qu'en fait Dioscore après le milieu

[83] Cf. Gascou (2004).

du VI^{e} s. montre qu'elle s'est galvaudée; on la rencontre alors pour des pétitions adressées à des gouverneurs et même dans des pétitions privées (P.Oxy. I 130 [548/549?]; XXVII 2479 [VI^{e} s.]).

35 ἀκαταστασίαν: cf. Fournet (1998) 7 (au sujet de P.Kell. I 20 [c. 300/320]). Ajouter, par exemple, la pétition des archimandrites Théodose et Sabas à Anastase (517) conservée par Cyrille de Scythopolis, *Vie de saint Sabas* (éd. Schwartz [1939] 157, 5, τὰς συνεχεῖς ἀκαταστασίας).

36 ὅθεν κἀγώ: syntagme qui fait fréquemment la transition entre le *prooimion* et la *narratio*. Cf. SB XX 14606. l. 4 (425/450): [ὅ]θεν κἀγὼ τοῦτο σαφῶς μεμαθηκὼς ἐπὶ τάσδε τὰς δ̣ε̣ήσεις | ἐλήλυ̣θα τοῦ πράγμα̣[το]ς ὄντος ἐν̣ τ̣ούτοις; P.Oxy. I 130. l. 7 (548/549?): ὅθεν κἀγὼ ὁ ἐλεεινὸς δοῦλος τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δεσπότου | διὰ ταύτης ⸀μοῦ⸁ τῆ[ς] παρούσης δ{εησ}εήσεως ἐλεηθῆναί μοι βούλομαι | γνῶναι τὴν ὑμετέραν δεσποτίαν ὡς κτλ.; P.Oxy. XXVII 2479. l. 6 (VI^{e} s.): [ὅ]θ̣ε̣ν̣ (BL X 149) κἀγὼ ὁ ἐλεειν̣[ὸς] (BL VIII 259) [π]ροσέρχομαι κ̣α̣τ̣α̣δακρύω[ν καὶ δι]δάσκων.

37 κατέφυγον: le verbe καταφεύγω «trouver refuge» est typique des pétitions depuis l'époque hellénistique. Il se rencontre normalement dans la demande finale (par exemple, P.Enteux. 71. ll. 8-9 [222 av.]: τούτου γὰρ γενομένου, ἐπὶ σὲ κατα|φυγών, τὸν πάντων κοινὸν εὐεργέτην, ἕ[σομ]αι τοῦ δικαίου τετευχώς; P.Mich. IX 529. ll. 13-14 [232/236]: κατέφυγον ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας σου δεό[μενός σου] | [τύχης τῆς λα]μ̣προτάτης, ἐὰν δό[ξ]ῃ, ἀκοῦσαί μου πρὸς [αὐτούς]).

εὔδιον λιμένα: sur cette appellation métaphorique, cf. P.Acad. inv. 18/2, 1-2 (Lycopolis, fin V^{e} s.), éd. Fournet (2007) 363 et le commentaire que j'en donne p. 364.

διδάσκων ὡς: «Depuis le Haut-Empire, le verbe διδάσκω s'emploie en cas d'intervention auprès des autorités romaines, empereurs ou gouverneurs (voir L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII, Paris 1960, p. 252-254)» (Feissel [1994] 285, n. 90, repr. dans Feissel [2010] 463). C'est donc le verbe-clé qui introduit normalement la *narratio* proprement dite. Dioscore l'emploie dans presque toutes ses pétitions tandis que les autres pétitions papyrologiques en font un usage moins fréquent (BGU III 798. l. 8 [fin VI^{e}/VII^{e} s.], διδάσκομεν δὲ κτλ.; P.Oxy. XXVII 2479. ll. 6-7 [VI^{e} s.], δι]δάσκων [κα]τὰ ἐμαυτὸν | [ὡς κτλ.). Les pétitions des *ACO* y font aussi recours: *ACO* I/1/7, p. 96, l. 32 (pétition au synode): διδάσκω ὡς κτλ.; III, p. 32, 26 (pétition impériale): διδάσκομεν τοίνυν ὡς κτλ.; II/1/2, p. 23, l. 19 (pétition au synode): πρόσειμι διδάσκων κτλ. Voir aussi les textes législatifs où sont citées des références de pétitions (cf. Feissel, l. c., n. 93: Just., Nov. CXXXV pr. [CJC III, p. 690, 3]); CLVIII pr. [p. 734, 23]). On notera que la conjonction qui suit est toujours ὡς et non ὅτι, ce qui peut être interprété comme une marque d'atticisme archaïsant.

38 τυραννίδι: sur τυραννίς, cf. Fournet (1998) 13.

66

1 μετὰ πικρῶν δακρύων: cf. SB VI 8994. l. 9 (VI^{e} s.).

3 δι' ὃ παρακαλῶ καὶ καθικετεύω: cf. les références que je cite dans Fournet (1998) 16.

3-4 μὴ περιιδεῖν τὴν κατ' ἐμοῦ γενομένην ἀδικίαν: cf. P.Lond. V 1675. ll. 4-5 (567/568), μὴ παρορᾶν ἡμᾶς θλιβομένους καὶ καταπονουμένους | ἐν οἵῳ δήποτε πράγματι; P.Cair.Masp. II 67205. l. 9 (566-570/573), μὴ παρορᾶν ἐμὲ μήτε τὴ[ν - - -]. Voir aussi les *preces* des *ACO* III, p. 61, l. 23 (μὴ περιιδεῖν); p. 140, l. 22 (id.) ou, avec le synonyme παροράω, I/1/7, p. 9, l. 4 (μὴ παριδεῖν), III, p. 133, 3 (id.). Cette expression remonte à l'époque ptolémaïque (P.Enteux. 26. l. 10; 47. l. 6; 75. l., 11; 79. l. 9; 82. ll. 6-7; etc. [III^{e} s. av.]: μὴ περιιδεῖν).

4 τῶν δικαίων με τυχεῖν: expression stéréotypée des *preces* de pétition (aussi sous la forme τοῦ δικαίου τ.), qui remonte à l'époque hellénistique. Surtout à partir du IV^{e} s., elle est souvent simplifiée sous la forme τούτου τυχών: P.Abinn. 45. l. 20; 47. l. 17; 48. l. 18; 49. l. 22; 51. l. 18; 52. l. 20; 53. l. 16; 55. l. 15; P.Cair.Isid. 74. l. 19; P.Lips. I 34, l. 22; P.Mert. II 91. l. 19 (tous du IV^{e} s.); P.Oxy. VI 904. l. 9 (V^{e} s.); XVI 1877. l. 8 (488); 1884. l. 13 (504); P.Oxy. XVIII 2187. l. 24 (304); P.Rain.Cent. 91. l. 11 (419); P.Sakaon 40. l. 18; 42. l. 23; 45. l. 17; 46. l. 17; 47. ll. 17-18 (tous du IV^{e} s.); SB XVIII 13769. l. 20 (345/352); dans les *ACO*, I/1/5, p. 10, l. 10; 1/7, p. 123, l. 15; II/1/1, p. 67, l. 16; p. 101, l. 28; p. 153, ll. 1-2; p. 177, ll. 36-178, 1; I/3, p. 45, l. 32; p. 105, l, 12 (tous du V^{e} s.). Dioscore garde un souvenir de l'ancienne formule dans P.Cair.Masp. III 67279. l. 6 (c. 567), βουλόμενος τῶν δικαίων τυχεῖν, qui est cependant placée dans la phrase de transition entre le *prooimion* et la *narratio*

(cf. aussi P.Lond. V 1678. l. 4 [566/568]: τ]οὺς τῶν δικαίων ὀρεγομένους). Il préfère, dans les *preces*, une forme à connotation plus encomiastique de la formule (τούτου τυχὼν τοῦ εὐεργετήματος ou *sim.*).

4-5 ὅπως καὶ ἐν τούτωι ἀνυμνῆται ὁ φιλάνθρωπος θεός: adaptation de la formule qui consiste à promettre des prières en faveur du récipiendaire s'il accorde la demande. Cf. SB XX 14606. l. 15 (425/450): τούτου τυχὼν τ̣ὰ̣ς συνήθεις ε̣ὐ̣χ[ὰς] ἀ̣[ναπ]έ[μψ]ω τῷ Θεῷ ὑ̣πὲ̣ρ τοῦ αἰωνίου [ὑ]μῶ[ν] κ̣ρ[άτου]ς; P.Gen. I^2 14. ll. 26-27 (VI^e/VII^e s.): εὐχὰς ἀναπέμψω] τῷ μισ[θ]α̣ποδότη Θεῷ ὑ̣πὲ̣ρ σωτ̣[ηρίας] κ̣αὶ εὐζω̣ΐ̈ας –la restitution est de Gascou (2004) 95–; P.Oxy. XXVII 2479. ll. 17-19 (VI^e s.): ἀναπέμψω | τῷ δεσπότῃ Χριστῷ ⸀τὰς εὐχάς μου⸁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας πανευκλεοῦς | δεσποτείας; les diverses pétitions de Dioscore (par exemple, P.Cair.Masp. I 67006r, 7-8 [566-570/573]: τούτου ὅπως τούτου τυχοῦσα τοῦ εὐεργετήματος εὐχαριστηρίους εὐχὰς καὶ ὕμνους ἀναπέμψω τῷ πανκτίσ⟨τ⟩ῳ Θεῷ καὶ σωτῆρι ⸀Θ(ε)ῷ⸁ ⟦ὡς καὶ ἐπίμονος⟧ ⸀ὑπὲρ δι[αμονῆς]⸁| [τοῦ φι]ι̣λ̣α̣ν̣θρώπου ὕψο⸀υ⸁ς ⸀ὑμῶν⸁ καὶ τῶν γλυκυτάτων ὑμῶν τέκνων διὰ παντός). Ces divers exemples montrent que, malgré D. Feissel et K.A. Worp (cf. Feissel, o. c. [n. à l. 37], p. 358: «seuls les clercs et les moines promettent leurs prières»), les prières ne sont pas l'apanage des religieux mais sont aussi promises par les laïcs.

7 Σαβινιανὸς ἐπίσκοπος ἐπιδέδωκα ὑπαγορεύσας καὶ ὑπογράψας τήνδε τὴν δέησιν: le verbe ἐπιδέδωκα est typique des souscriptions de pétitions. On le trouve cependant rarement dans les papyrus avec la précision, quelque peu redondante, ὑπογράψας (cf. la pétition d'Horapollon, P.Cair.Masp. III 67295, ii, 24-25 (V^e s.): Φλ(αύιος) Ὡραπόλλων Ἀσκληπιάδου φι[λ]όσοφος ὁ π[ρ]ογεγραμμέν(ος) ἐπιδέδωκα τούτους μου το[ὺς λι]βέλλους τοὺς | (…), κ(αὶ) ὑπογράψα[ς] ἐπιδέδωκα), et jamais avec ὑπαγορεύσας –les pétitions étant rarement dictées du fait du travail d'élaboration qu'elles nécessitaient contrairement à d'autres actes, comme les testaments, où la parole spontanée est essentielle (cf., par exemple, P.Cair.Masp. III 67312. l. 21 ou P.Lond. I 77. l. 12 [p. 231]). Sur la désignation de la pétition comme δέησις, cf. Fournet (2010a) 62 et 73.

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Rural Collective Action in Byzantine Egypt (400-700 CE)

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There is a large and growing number of academic articles and books addressing the purpose, role and government interaction of early Byzantine rural associations. Lajos Berkes, for example, published an excellent analysis of the administration and structure of villages and village communities in early Byzantine Egypt (4th-8th cent.) in 2017, which addressed the rural associations. His work built on earlier work by many scholars, including but not limited to: Bonneau (1983), Bagnall (2005), Fikhman (2006), Gascou (2008), Hickey (2012), and Kaplan (2006). Berkes described the village association as an organization that managed the village land, had a role in tax collection, and acted to protect village interests.[1] He considered the village association to be in the first instance controlled by village officials liable for tax and other burdens, and by taxpayers responsible for the agrarian areas of the village, although these groups were later enlarged to include other village elites.[2] My paper will build on the work of Berkes and other scholars, but is limited to observations on three issues that remain contentious.

The first of these issues concerns whether the various terms found in the papyri that have been interpreted to refer to rural associations necessarily should be interpreted to mean the same thing. The second of these issues concerns the extent to which the law recognized rural associations. Finally, this paper will address the issue of whether the rural associations are rural cooperatives in the sense that this term is often used in modern times; that is, to refer to associations in which there is a social as well as a fiscal role, and often in which there is joint ownership or control of certain agricultural resources. I will argue that village associations and associations of farmers, and farmers and *ampelourgoi* ('vineyard specialists') in Byzantine Egypt (fifth through seventh centuries for purposes of this paper) operated collectively when it was in their interest and avoided collective responsibility for taxes when possible. I use the term 'associations' in lieu of *collegia*, guild or other terms that have accrued specific connotations, especially in medieval contexts.

A search of the Duke Database of Documentary Papyri for Byzantine Egypt revealed twenty-three documents referencing a rural association.[3] This category includes associations of

[1] Berkes (2017) 16-28.
[2] Berkes (2017) 26.
[3] SB XXII 15618. ll. 4 and 6-7 (Arsinoite, 427/428 - 412/413; using the phrases τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Τερύθεως and κοινοῦ τῆς κώμης Τευὼ Νεανίσκου, respectively); P.Oxy. LIX 3985. l. 2 (473; using the phrase τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Τακόνα); SB XVI 12554. l. 15 (Unknown, 5th-6th cent.; using the phrase τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀμπελουργῶν); P.Lond.Herm. 1. f21v. l. 4; f25r. l. 9; f1. l. 6 (Hermopolite, 546/547; using the phrases κοινοῦ τῆς κώμης, κοινὸν ἐποικίου, and κοινοῦ τῆς κώμης); P.Michael 54. l. 6 (Aphrodito, 6th; using the phrase τῶν κοινῶν ἡμῶν); PSI VIII 954. col. xxx. l. 5; col. ii. l. 21; col. ii. l. 22; col. iii. l. 28; col. iii. l. 29; col. iv. ll. 40-44 (Oxyrhynchites, 6th cent.; using the phrases τοῦ κοινοῦ . . . Σκυταλίτιδος, π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν ἐποικίου, παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ ἀμπελουργῶν ἐποικίου, and παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ ἀμπελουργῶν ἐποικίου); P.Oxy. XVI 2029. l. 3 (6th cent.; using the phrase τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν); P.Oxy. I 133. ll. 7 and 22 (550; using the phrase τὸ κοινὸν τῶν πρωτοκωμητῶν τῆς κώμης Τάκονα); SB XXIV 16324. ll. 23 and 25, col. ii l. 31 (Oxyrhynchite, 557; using the phrase τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν ἀπὸ] Λουκίου, τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν)], and τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τ]ῶν γεωργ(ῶν) κ̣α̣[ὶ] ἀ̣μ̣πελ(ουργῶν)); P.Oxy. XVI 1912. l. 27 (566; using the phrase τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν plus many references to τῶν αὐτῶν γεωργῶν [see ll. 29, 30, 32, 39, 40, 41 and

people from a village, associations of farmers and associations of farmers and *ampelourgoi*. I have included associations of village headmen and notables because they appear to be operating on behalf of a village (although they could also be operating in their own behalf as well). The word that is generally used to describe these associations is κοινὸν, which in Byzantine Egypt generally referred to an association, often of farmers but also of other trades, such as carpet-makers, salt-sellers and bleachers.[4] This word should be distinguished from the description of other groups that appear in the papyri, including a partner (κοινωνός) or an heir (κληρονόμος). The difference between them appears to be that the κοινὸν includes, in the case of a village or settlement κοινὸν, or a κοινὸν of farmers or farmers and *ampelourgoi*, all those in a specific locality. Individuals working with partners or heirs are not described in connection with a village or settlement. Thus, partners and heirs are associations of people who may, among other roles, jointly work on the land and pay taxes and rent, but are not described in a way indicating a representational role for a locality.

The first issue is whether the various phrases that have been used in the papyri in relation to κοινὸν necessarily refer to the same kind of associations. These phrases include: 1) τὸ κοινὸν of a village or settlement, 2) τὸ κοινὸν of farmers or farmers and *ampelourgoi*, 3) those people from a village or settlement, and 4) τὸ κοινὸν of those who have been named earlier in the document. An example of the first phrase is: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Τακόνα («the association of those from the village Takona»).[5] An example of the second phrase is: παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν ἐποικίου («from the association of the farmers of a settlement»).[6] An example of the third phrase is: τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης («those from the village»).[7] An example of the fourth phrase is: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν αὐτῶν ὀνομάτων («the association of those same named [above]»).[8] The fourth phrase is only found in documents addressed to the Apion estate from registered inhabitants of its settlements and villages. Berkes stated that both the phrases «τὸ κοινὸν of a village or settlement» and the phrase «τὸ κοινὸν τῶν αὐτῶν ὀνομάτων» referred to the association of the village or settlement responsible for the transaction described in the document, citing to Johnson and West.[9] A principal reason for this statement is the writing on

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so forth]); P.Oxy. LV 3804. ll. 30, 31, 34, 42, 46, 47, 55, 60, 61, 93, 96, 101, 113, 118-120, 125, 133, 135-137 and 214 (566; using several phrases including τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κτήματος, τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ ἀμπελουργῶν, and τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν); P.Oxy. XVIII 2195. ll. 17, 33, 34, 171, 174 and 175 (576/577?; using the phrase τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν and sometimes immediately after it τῶν αὐτῶν γεωργῶν); P.Oxy. XVI 1896. l. 24 (577; using the phrase τὸ κοινὸν τῶν προγεγραμμένων ὀνομάτων); P.Oxy. XIX 2243a. ll. 47 and 49 (590; using the phrase τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν and also with references to τῶν γεωργῶν or τῶν ἀπὸ κτήματος [see ll. 51 and 52]); P.Select 20. ll. 22-23 (also P.L.Bat. XIII 20), (Oxyrhynchites, 592; using the phrase τὸ [κοινὸν τῶν] προγεγραμμένων ὀνομάτων); P.Oxy. LXII 4351. l. 17 (late 6th cent.; using the phrase τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἄλλων ὀνομάτων); P.Oxy. XVI 2038. ll. 20 and 21 (last quarter 6th-early 7th cent.; using the phrase τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀμπελουργῶν, and also at l. 21 the phrase οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ προκείμενοι γεωργοὶ); P.Lond. V 1764. ll. 8-9 (Oxyrhynchites, 579/580, 594/595 or 609/610; using the phrase τὸ κοινὸν τῶν προγεγραμμένων ὀνομάτων); P.Oxy. LXX 4802. ll. 17 and 18 (early 7th cent.; using the phrase τὸ κοινὸν τῶν προγεγραμμένων ὀνομάτων); PSI I 52. ll. 34-35 (Oxyrhynchites, 602-617 or 647; using the phrase τὸ κοινὸν τῶν αὐτῶν ὀνομάτων); P.Oxy. XVI 1981. ll. 28-29 (612; using the phrase τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων); P.Oxy. XVI 1979. l. 23 (also SB XXVIII 17002) (614; using the phrase τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων); P.Leid.Inst. 77. ll. 1 and 3 (Unknown, 7th cent.; using the phrase κοινοῦ τῆς κώμης).

[4] SB XX 15134. l. 2 (Oxyrhynchite, 483), SB XXVI 16817. l. 2 (Arsinoites?, early 6th), and P.Oxy. LIX 3987. ll. 2-3 and 7 (457, 502 or 532). Also see SB XXII 15618. ll. 7-8, which used the word σύνοδος, a word that was defined as an association and discussed in Gagos / van Minnen (1992) 189.

[5] P.Oxy. LIX 3985. l. 2.

[6] PSI VIII 954. ll. 4 and 21.

[7] SB XXII 15618. l. 4.

[8] P.Oxy. XVI 1979. l. 23. See also P.Oxy. XVI 1896. l. 24; PSI I 52. ll. 34-35; P.Lond. V 1794. ll. 8-9 and P.Select 20. ll. 22-23 (all from Oxyrhynchite).

[9] Berkes (2017) 21-22, citing to Johnson / West (1949) 153-154. Also see the editor's discussion in P.Oxy. LXVI 4536. l. 32.3 for the same argument.

the back of P.Oxy. XVI 1981 stating that it is a declaration «from those of the village Opheous», which Johnson and West interpreted to mean that the declaration was from the *koinon* of the village, binding the village. Similar descriptions are found on the backs of others of these documents. An assumption behind this reasoning is that at least three of the four phrases (numbered 1, 3 and 4 above) all refer to the same organization –the *koinon* of the village or settlement. Only *koina* of farmers or farmers and *ampelourgoi* may be different, although the differences are unclear.

The estate accounts and tax cadasters, however, are very precise in their descriptions of payors and recipients of money and produce. This is especially true of accounts from the Apion estate. An Apion statement of account, P.Oxy. LV 3804, identifies individuals as well as heirs (ll. 26-27), individuals and their partners (ll. 50 and 69), associations from a *ktema* (ll. 30, 42 and 46), associations of farmers (ll. 55 and 60), associations of farmers and *ampelourgoi* (ll. 34, 47 and 101). Often, as noted by Hickey, specific types of associations would be responsible for specific types of expenses.[10] The associations of associations of farmers and *ampelourgoi*, for example, are often responsible for the *apotakton chorion* (ll. 47 and 101). The associations of farmers are often responsible, at least in the Apion accounts, for the *synteleia kephales* (ll. 30 and 55).[11] The different taxpayer groups appear to be organized geographically, and an association from a village may appear just before an association of farmers.[12] This suggests that there are different associations in an area recognized for different purposes. In many cases, there appear to be, at least on the Apion estate, several probably overlapping associations with different responsibilities. The statements from other locations in Egypt are less detailed than those of the Apion estate, but still distinguish, for example, between people from a village and the association of a village.[13] I think that it is highly unlikely that a scribe would use different terms for the same organization within a few lines of a document. It is more likely that there were differences between the groups that are not clear to us. Whether these farmers associations were developed by the village associations in order to restrict liability for certain expenses to the farmers, or whether the Apion administration encouraged them for ease in assessing costs is not known. Both groups may have had reasons for preferring the development of sub-groups for purposes of assessing costs.

The existence of various associations in a geographical area causes even more concerns about the fourth type of association found in the documents –the association of those named in the document. This phrase appears rather late (our first attestation dates to 577) and all involve the Apion estate. Although it is possible that the named individuals are representing a larger group, given the precision with which the scribes described each group in other document, I think that it is more probable that the named individuals are, in fact, the association that is intended to be legally bound in the document, and the phrase at the end concerning the association of those named, literally applies only to those named above in the document.

[10] Hickey (2012) 65-72.

[11] The term *synteleia kephales* is a controversial term. On its face, it appears to refer to a payment by head, but poll taxes, or taxes based on the person, were not known to have existed in Byzantine Egypt until the Arab conquest. Many scholars have stated for various reasons that this term does not refer to a poll tax, but others are not convinced. For a discussion of this term, see Sijpesteijn (2007) 445, Hickey (2012) 82-83 and Bransbourg (2016) 331-332.

[12] For example, see P.Oxy. LV 3804. ll. 30, 34, 46, 47, 93 and 96.

[13] See SB XXII 15618. ll. 4 and 7-8 (Arsinoite, 412/413 or 427/428; using the phrases τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Τερύθεως and κοινοῦ τῆς κώμης Τευὼ Νεανίσκου, respectively).

This is especially true in light of the general lack of official positions provided with the names –that is, they are not generally identified as leaders of the village or settlement.[14] The fact that the back of P.Oxy. XVI 1981 states that it is a declaration from those of the village Opheous can as easily mean that the document is a declaration from those named who are from that village as that it is a declaration from all of those residing in the village. For this reason, I believe that the phrase «those from the village or settlement» must also be read in the context of the document. The phrase may mean that the village or settlement as a whole, or some smaller group. Finally, the scribes are fully capable of drafting documents in which the named parties state that they are acting on behalf of their village and that they intend to bind their village in the document.[15]

The second issue concerns the extent to which the law recognized rural associations. Berkes described this as an issue requiring more research.[16] Michel Kaplan stated that associations at least by the seventh century had a legal existence, but that the exact nature of that existence was difficult to describe.[17] He based his argument for the seventh century largely on stories from the Life of Theodore of Sykeon in which village associations sought legal relief. The sixth century Justinian Code said that cities, guilds, schools, bureaus, offices, as well as individuals that had been granted legal benefits would retain those benefits after the promulgation of the Code.[18] These organizations therefore must have been recognized as capable of being granted legal benefits as an organization. The Emperor Justinian also decreed that rural workers could have interests in common that could be represented by one or two of their members.[19] The legal construct for the rural associations was probably a partnership. It was, for example, common for the heirs of an individual to keep property together and manage it together. The account statements and tax cadasters clearly show not only heirs paying their taxes or rents as an association or partnership (although not using that term) but individuals and their partners paying their taxes or rents as an association or partnership. Village associations probably worked on the same principles. Their *de facto* if not *de jure* authority to act as legal entities can be seen in the contracts that they signed. For example, in 473, the village association of Takona, acting through two of their members who guaranteed that they represented the others, nominated a specific individual to be their *nomicarius*, and made payment arrangements for his salary.[20] This document is interesting in that the nominee is apparently a minor, because he is being appointed through his father, who holds the same position. This may indicate that there are few local individuals with the funds and social position to take this position.

Rural associations made other kinds of contracts. We have extant contracts in which associations made a contract to provide for shepherd and field guard services,[21] took an advance of seed corn, promising to repay it with the next harvest,[22] and sold wine in advance of harvest.[23] In one case, an association of those named made a commitment to provide large amounts in wine, 3000 jars in this case, to the landlord for the coming year and to cover

[14] For an exception, see P.Oxy. XVI 1898. l. 9 (577) in which a steward is one of the named parties. His official status may indicate that he is operating on behalf of a larger group.
[15] P.Oxy. LIX 3985. l. 2 (473), Chr.Wilck. 8. ll. 10-11 (Arsinoite, 639/640).
[16] Berkes (2017) 19.
[17] Kaplan (2006) 21-22.
[18] Cod. Just. 1, (Confirmation) 4 from Blume's Code of Justinian, found at http://www.uwyo.edu/lawlib/blume-justinian/ajc-edition-2/, (last accession 07/06/2018).
[19] Novell. Just. 80.2.
[20] P.Oxy. LIX 3985. l. 2 (473).
[21] P.Cair.Masp. I 67001 (Aphrodito, 514).
[22] P.Oxy. I 133 (550).
[23] P.Lond. V 1764 (Oxyrhynchite, 579/580, 594/595 or 609/610).

arrears from the prior year.[24] In another case, dated to the fifth or sixth century, an association of *ampelourgoi* petitioned their local landlord/tax collector for partial relief of their responsibility to provide 150 jars of wine.[25] They stated that they could only provide 100 jars of wine per *aroura* because they have not been able to work in the vineyards. Rural associations also maintained the irrigation systems that watered their property. In this regard, we have a rural association providing a receipt to the landlord for parts for irrigation equipment.[26] There are also entries in the accounts of stewards for the Apion estate from rural associations paying for irrigation services and equipment.[27]

Rural associations also issued deeds of surety. A deed of surety is a commitment by a person or association to ensure that one or more individuals will remain either in the local area or in the employ of another person. For example, an association, probably of individuals from the village of Episemos of the Oxyrhynchite nome, promised to ensure that two individuals remained as guards for the Apion estate and did not take employment elsewhere.[28] In another case, the head-watchmen living in the village Pleein of the Oxyrhynchite nome promised the estate owner that they and their fellow watchmen would not steal irrigation equipment or cattle or anything else and that they would agree to provide a fine of twenty-four *nomismatia* of gold if it were found that they did.[29] It is not always clear why the rural associations would make these promises. The second document, by the head watchmen, makes more sense because it appears to be a collective agreement of good behaviour in return for which the association's members obtain paid positions. The reason for the first document, by the village association for the continued service of two individuals as guards on the estate, is less clear, although I note that there are no defined financial penalties in this case –the association merely promises to try to answer for anything found wanting. With these examples of contracts signed by associations, although the Justinian Code does not explicitly discuss the legal status of these associations, it is clear that they were in fact legal entities, which were recognized as having the authority to act for their members.

The final issue that this paper will address is whether the rural associations were rural cooperatives in the sense that this term is generally used in modern times; that is, associations in which there is a social as well as a fiscal role, and often in which there is joint ownership or control of certain agricultural resources. Bonneau thought that none of the *koina* were rural cooperatives because they exist solely for tax purposes.[30] In her view, they lacked significant communal land or common ownership of agricultural parts, and therefore their principal function was fiscal, not social or economic.[31] Hickey and Berkes disagreed with Bonneau, arguing that although the associations were responsible for coordinating the collection of taxes, they had other functions, which included the protection of common interests.[32] I agree with Hickey and Berkes in this regard.

The rural associations were not the major payers of rents and taxes in the village-wide lists of taxpayers that we have. Most entries in those documents are single farmers. There are some farmers with partners and some groups of heirs who are farming the land. There are also a

[24] P.Oxy. XVI 1896 (577).
[25] SB XVI 12554 (Unknown, 5th-6th cent.).
[26] P.Select 20 (Oxyrhynchites, 592).
[27] P.Oxy. XVIII 2195. l. 37.
[28] P. Oxy. LXX 4802 (Early 7th cent.); see also, P.Oxy. XVI 1979 for a similar document –both are from associations of those named above in the document.
[29] P.Oxy. LXVI 4536 (612).
[30] Bonneau (1983) 514.
[31] Bonneau (1983) 514-521.
[32] Hickey (2012) 66-67; Berkes (2017) 26 and 214-216.

few rural associations, but they are not a large percentage of the total numbers of payers. For example, in the tax register from 546/547 from the Hermopolite nome, there are 324 separate taxpayers from the village of Temseu Skordon and the settlement of Demeou.[33] Of these, there are only two associations (one from a settlement and one from the village), nine sets of heirs and a few groups of occupations, such as cobblers. The rest are individuals. Similar statistics appear in the Apion accounts. An example is P.Oxy. XVIII 2195, which contains an extensive list of receipts and expenditures for several settlements believed to belong to the Apion estate. There are 85 entries of receipts from various individuals and groups, of which nine are from associations of farmers, and these include rent for various pieces of equipment and land.

Although rural associations paid taxes on land that they farmed, they also had the ability to seek a reduction in the taxes, as did an association of *ampelourgoi* in the fifth or sixth century.[34] Rural associations could also benefit from general remissions of taxes.[35] In another document, an association of the named individuals in the document made an agreement to collect taxes among themselves and deliver them to the estate manager responsible for local collection of taxes.[36] This document is particularly interesting because there is another very similar document from the same period, also involving a handful of individuals living in a settlement on the Apion estate who promise to collect taxes.[37] The second document identifies the individuals, two of whom have positions as a manager and secretary respectively. These individuals personally, and not as a *koinon*, promise to collect the taxes and place their property at risk –although there is a partial notation on the back of the document concerning those from a *ktema*. The differences in these documents may reflect slightly different time periods or a different scribe, but it is also possible that the senior positions of the individuals in the second document were sufficient for the Apion estate.

These agreements to collect taxes are also interesting because the Emperor Zeno declared in the fifth century that one villager could not be held responsible for the debts, including taxes, of another.[38] That this practice of trying to hold a village jointly liable for the taxes of individual village members continued can be seen in a latter novel by the Emperor Justinian in 537 reemphasising that the debts or taxes of one man could not be assessed against another person, including another villager.[39] This restriction probably did not apply to properties jointly farmed by the rural associations, which, as we have seen, constituted a very small percentage of the total tax payers listed on the tax receipts for a locality. The nature of the association with its assumption of joint liability likely permitted taxes to be assessed against the association and its individual members.

The rural associations could reduce their tax liability by transferring land to private farmers, either permanently or in lease. In one document, a woman is selling the property that she inherited from her father, which included land which had been transferred, perhaps sold, to her father from the «those of Terythis Ebythis in the Hermopolite nome in the taxing unit of the village […]».[40] Assuming that the phrase «those of the village» refers to a village association, this is a sale from a village association. The document does not tell us why the property was sold, but the effect would have been to transfer responsibility for the taxes. This

[33] Bagnall / Keenan / MacCoull (2011) 37-47 (P.Lond.Herm 1).
[34] SB XVI 12554 (Unknown, 5th-6th cent.).
[35] P.Oxy. XVI 2038. l. 20 (6th-7th cent.).
[36] P.Oxy. LXII 4351. l. 17 (Late 6th cent.).
[37] P.Oxy. LXII 4350 (576).
[38] Cod. Just. 11.57.1 (debts); see also 11.59.16(17) and 12.60.4 for taxes.
[39] Novell. Just. 52.1. See also the discussion in Kehoe (2007) 148.
[40] SB XXII 15618. l. 4.

same document later describes the sales property by describing its boundaries, one of this is «to the east the cistern of the farmers' guild of the village of Alabastrine»,[41] providing evidence that the farmers' associations of the village owned or controlled property, probably for joint use. Rural associations, be they village or farmer or more limited associations, may have operated in smaller communities as tax-paying farming entities, but in most communities, the associations paid very little tax, indicating that they managed their liability.

We have seen that rural associations could perform several functions, including: renting and farming collective land, renting and paying for common facilities such as irrigation equipment and mills, paying rents and taxes on common land, entering into joint contracts with shepherds and field guards, acting as surety for their members, and selling common produce. These associations spread the risk of failure across their membership and acted to protect their common interests, using both legal means (such as petitions) and practical joint action (such as refusing to sell their produce if dissatisfied with the price or conditions offered). As with most efforts at collective action, they were sometimes successful and sometimes not. Their success depended upon the relative power of the protagonists, the importance of the issues and often the personalities of the individuals involved.

The rural association also had some ability to resist larger landowners or governmental action. For example, the salt dealers association sent a letter in the early sixth century to an official or powerful landowner asking for assistance because villagers were interfering with their collection of salt.[42] Although the association of salt dealers in this case was not a rural association, it is noteworthy that a village was obstructing them, presumably collectively. In another document, an estate manager sent a note to a colleague telling him that the inhabitants of three villages were refusing to pay their taxes and asked his colleague to send an armed messenger to persuade them to comply.[43] This letter illustrates both the collective action of the villagers in refusing to pay taxes, and the potential reaction from the tax collectors, to use force to compel them to pay their taxes.

Probably the best illustration of collective village action and its consequences comes from the efforts by the village Aphrodito in the early to middle sixth century to enforce its authority to collect its own taxes. The advantage of collecting and remitting one's own taxes into the provincial treasury, called *autopragia*, was that it avoided the tax collection expenses that were otherwise paid to the individuals tasked with collecting the taxes.[44] The Hermopolite cadastre of P.Lond.Herm. 1 informs us that these expenses could be in excess of ten percent of the total amount of taxes in addition to salary, which in that case was 1800 *folles* (about 7 ½ *solidi*) for the collection of 345 *solidi* of taxes.[45] Expenses of ten percent plus salary added to the tax bill significantly. Aphrodito had fought to maintain its ability to collect its own taxes since at least the 530s. In 540, Flavius Apollo, then a village headman, and his nephew, Flavius Victor, travelled to Constantinople to plead the village's case for maintaining its independent tax status.[46] Flavius Apollo's son, Dioscorus, later prepared petitions in support of the village's tax independence against the local pagarch to the Emperor Justinian I[47] and

[41] SB XXII 15618. ll. 7-8, translation by Gagos / van Minnen (1992).
[42] SB XXVI 16817 (Unknown, first half 6th cent.). See also Fournet / Gascou (2001) 139-149.
[43] P.Oxy. XVI 1856 (6th-7th cent.).
[44] MacCoull (1988) 118. See also Mirković (1996) 347-357, who argues that it was not the village but certain large landowners in the village that had the right of *autopragia*, and that this right had probably lapsed by 567 because much of the land was dry and was not being taxed as productive land.
[45] Bagnall / Keenan / MacCoull (2011) 28-33.
[46] P.Cair.Masp. II 67126 (Constantinople, 541). See also, Sarris (2006) 96-114.
[47] P.Cair.Masp. I 67109v (Antinoopolis, 567-570).

the Empress Theodora in 547/548.[48] The following year, Dioscorus went to Constantinople with two colleagues to plead for the village's *autopragia*. He obtained an imperial rescript ordering an investigation into the matter and sought the assistance of other imperial officials.[49]

Dioscorus was forced to move from Aphrodito to Antinoopolis in 565 to look for work as a jurist after being assessed a very large fine in gold by a local bishop. It is not known why this fine was assessed. Dioscorus found a position in the office of the notary on the ducal staff, and thereafter prepared a petition complaining that the Antaiopolite pagarch Menas had allied himself with local shepherds at Phthla to damage Dioscorus' family holdings.[50] At the end of 566/567, he prepared a petition for the Duke of the Thebaid complaining that Menas had falsely imprisoned residents of Aphrodito, burned some of its most beautiful houses, interfered with the irrigation systems and did violence to local nuns.[51] These petitions may have brought at least a temporary peace, although Aphrodito eventually lost its battle to maintain its *autopragia*. By 573, Dioscorus had returned to Aphrodito and resumed life as a local landowner.

So what does this tell us? It tells us that a village can successfully act in defiance of the local pagarch, particularly if it has the support of powerful allies, in this case the imperial family, the Duke of the Thebaid and a local large landowner, Ammonios. The costs, however, could be severe, to include damage and confiscation of property, assaults, a murder, imprisonment and fines. As always, the success of collective action depended upon the effective power of each side, including any allies; the importance of the issue; and the personalities of the protagonists. In this case, Dioscorus of Aphrodito, with his legal abilities assisted his village in maintaining its ability to collect its own taxes for some twenty or more years. *Autopragia* was an important benefit, permitting the villagers to avoid outside collection costs, but its costs were high. Not only did the village suffer from the pagarchs but the village itself was divided over the matter, and this had its own costs in terms of inter-village thefts and damage.[52]

To summarize, rural associations are attested acting in various ways. They nominated individuals for required functions, managed property, paid taxes, gave deeds of surety and engaged in collective action to include petitioning local and imperial leaders and refusing to pay rents and taxes. Rural associations, however, were not major taxpayers. Most of the taxpayers in our accounts are individuals, which indicate that rural associations generally only farmed land that they could not otherwise put in private hands. Based on the roles in which rural associations are attested, they had a social as well as a fiscal role, and often there was joint ownership or control of certain agricultural resources. They acted in many ways like the rural cooperatives of today. Their collective action was no panacea but could provide a method of balancing the power of local officials, especially with the aid of important allies.

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[48] P.Cair.Masp. III 67283 (Aphrodito, 547).
[49] P.Cair.Masp. I 67024 (Aphrodito, 551; rescript) and 67032 (Constantinople, 551; contract with imperial officials).
[50] P.Lond. V 1677 (Antinoopolis, 566).
[51] P.Cair.Masp. I 67002 (Antinoopolis, 566/567).
[52] Ruffini (2008) 157-170.

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A summary tax assessment from eighth century Aphrodito*

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The Würzburg collection houses a collection of 216 papyri, ranging in date from the Ptolemaic period until the Early Islamic period and written in a variety of languages, although the majority was written in Greek. The fragments discussed here are kept in six separate glass frames, identified by inventory numbers 122-127.[1] They once were part of a codex, containing the data of a summarized *merismos* ('tax assessment'). The codex was undoubtedly kept in the archive of eighth century Aphrodito that is renowned especially for the correspondence by Egypt's governor Qurra ibn Sharik to the local administrator Basileios and for the numerous other documents pertaining to the local administration of *kōmē Aphroditō*. Documents from this archive have turned up in various collections worldwide. At present, already several hundreds of these, written in Greek, Coptic and Arabic, have been published.[2] Still other (fragments of) documents belonging to the archive await publication, and it very well could be that new fragments will yet come to light.

That one archive has become dispersed over various papyrus collections in the world is far from unique. Nor is it always easy to retrieve how and through whose involvement that happened, as is the case for instance with the late seventh/early eighth century Aphrodito archive and its related Würzburg inventory numbers 122-127.[3] On the basis of various reports and correspondences pertaining to the Würzburg collection, Holger Essler reconstructed how and when which inventory numbers came to Würzburg.[4] The Würzburg collection was founded by Ulrich Wilcken. He acquired the pieces that make up the Würzburg collection between 1902 and 1909, when he represented the University of Würzburg as a member of the Deutsche Papyruskartell. For their conservation, the papyri were entrusted to Hugo Ibscher in Berlin, from where they returned to Würzburg in several batches. Wilcken finished a proper volume of Würzburg papyri at the beginning of the 1930's.[5] In late March 1935, apart from other inventory numbers, the newly glassed inventory numbers 53-127 were transferred to

* This contribution is based on my work in preparing an edition of P.Würzb. inv. 122-127. I cordially thank Holger Essler for his permission to edit these fragments and for his general help. Thanks are also due to the European Research Council for funding my position as a postdoc researcher in the ERC project "The Formation of Islam: the View from Below", directed by Petra Sijpesteijn. Furthermore, thanks are due to Handschriftenabteilung of the Würzburger University Library and to the the British Library for the permission to use images of the papyri in this contribution.

[1] See the description of the Würzburger collection on the website of Papyrus Portal Deutschlands: https://www.organapapyrologica.net/content/members_wuerzburg.xml (last accession 01/08/2016).

[2] Large Aphrodito-focused editions were issued by the institutions keeping parts of this archive, for example, those by Bell and Crum (particularly Greek and Coptic documents) in P.Lond. IV, by Jernstedt in P.Ross.Georg. IV, and by Becker in PSR I (Arabic).

[3] For an account of the Aphrodito papyrus find in 1901 and its dispersal among papyrological collections, cf. Becker (1907) 68-71.

[4] Essler (2009) 182-187.

[5] Wilcken had already published some selected texts. In 1932, the director of the University Library in a letter asked Wilcken about the state of the papyri and when they would be sent to Würzburg. In his elaborate reply, Wilcken among other things hinted at his planned edition whilst discretely requesting more money for the conservation of papyri. This was granted to him.

Würzburg.[6] By that time Wilcken had already published a volume with the texts he found most interesting: Mitteilungen aus der Würzburger Papyrussammlung = P.Würzburg I. In this volume's preface, Wilcken indicated that the Würzburg collection contained some 50-60 other documents that would be interesting to publish. In the decades after the Second World War, only a few Greek and Coptic documents were published.[7]

In the early 2000's, the Würzburg papyrus collection was actively taken care of again and reported about by Holger Essler at the 24th International Congress of Papyrology (Helsinki, 2004). Discussing some of its most interesting papyri, Essler briefly discussed the Würzburg collection's inventory numbers 122-127, a fiscal codex from Aphrodito from the Arab period.[8] I have been working on an edition of the codex, which will be published in the second volume of Würzburg papyri.[9] There, I will offer a more detailed discussion of the text and its relation to other documents concerning Aphrodito's fiscal administration. In this contribution, I will present some general observations and address selected issues relating to the codex' state, its contents and evaluate it as a type of assessment document in comparison to other assessments already known from eighth century Aphrodito. My aim is to point out why this is such a valuable document.

1. Present state of the folios

None of the six sheets is complete, their degree of damage being related to their original order, as will be specified below. Yet, the damage is slight enough to get an impression of their original size. The individual sheets now measure some 31 centimeters in breadth and 37 centimeters in height, which sizes in undamaged state may have been a few centimeters larger, as the margins of some of the sheets are incomplete.[10]

The exact number of pages of the original codex is unknown, just as whether the fragments constituted a complete codex, or were part of a larger one. It seems that the codex consisted of at least three papyrus quires. As each quire was folded, this resulted in two leaves (or sheets) rendering a writing surface of four pages. Of this particular codex, five sheets, that is ten pages, have been preserved. The fragments contained in the sixth glass frame turned out to fit with some of the other fragments and could be (digitally) relocated.

Thanks to the designation of fiscal units (either groups of people, geographical or toponymical) the original order of the fragments can be reconstructed. The subdivisions of Aphrodito, are listed in the following order:[11] *idia kōmē*, the monasteries, those who are in Babylon, *Pente Pediades*, *Treis Pediades*, *Duo Pediades*, and the people of St. Mary's.[12] After these, a list of *epoikia* follows: *Pakauneōs, Emphyteutōn, Bounōn, Keramiou, Poimēn, Psyrou, Hagios Pinoution* and *Sakoore*. Based on this arrangement the order of the fragments of Würzburg codex would be: 123r, 123v, 126v, 126r, 125r, 125v, 124v, 124r, 122r

[6] Essler (2009) 174: inventory numbers 53-127 were transferred from Berlin to Würzburg by Rolf Ibscher on 30 March 1935. A description of the inventory numbers was sent by Wilcken on 5 April 1935. This letter by Wilcken was registered in the archive of the University Library of Würzburg on 8 April 1935 as Archiv der UB I, 29, Fasc. 83a, 2.

[7] According to Essler (2009) 156, the collection now contains 209 Greek, 3 Coptic and 4 Arabic inventory numbers.

[8] Essler (2009) 296-297.

[9] The volume is in preparation, being edited by Holger Essler.

[10] For the development of the papyrus codex, see Gascou (1989) 71-101. In Appendix IV (pp. 98-101), Gascou presents a table giving the dimensions of the documentary codices listed.

[11] Cf. P.Lond. IV, xiv.

[12] Cf. P.Lond. IV 1412, where the order is slightly different in ll. 11-45: *idia kōmē*, *Pente Pediades*, *Treis Pediades*, *Duo Pediades*, the people of St. Mary's, those who are in Babylon, and the monasteries.

(including 127r), 122v (including 127v).[13] This order seems also to be confirmed by the increasing damaged state of the sheets beginning from the first page (which was on top of the others) towards the consecutive pages.

At least one sheet is missing. This probably would have had a protocol. In other documents of this type a summary of amounts (ἀνακεφαλαίωσις) is usually given at the end of the assessment. Such a summary is not preserved in the fragments P.Würzb. inv. 122-127 –and perhaps it was never there at all: the whole document was in fact an elaborate summary as will be clarified shortly. Moreover, the last page contains what seems to be a docket. A phrase, indicating the contents of the document, was written immediately on the back of the last page of registration with a blank space in the middle. It reads: † Σὺν θεῷ διφθ(έρα) σύντομο(ς) μερισμο(ῦ) χρυσικ(ῶν) δημοσίων (vacat) κώμης Ἀφροδιτ[ώ, «† With God. Concise notebook of the assessment of gold taxes of village Aphrodito».

Whether the date was indicated in the docket cannot be ascertained. Interestingly, the first line of P.Würzb. inv. 123r at the beginning of the document is almost the same as the docket-phrase. The difference is that it is written without the *vacat* in the document's opening line, and that the date is clearly indicated here. This first line may be considered as the heading and confirms that this was the first page. After the short invocation formula, the document is identified as διφθ(έρα) σύντομο(ς) μερισμο(ῦ), «a concise notebook of assessment» of *kōmē Aphroditō*. Following a more or less similar layout, various taxes to be paid by the various subdivisions of the *kōmē Aphroditō* are registered.

The expression διφθ(έρα) σύντομο(ς) μερισμο(ῦ) is notable.[14] I have found only one parallel for this among the *descripta* of P.Lond. IV 1491(b), which has διφθ(έρα) σύντομο̣(ς) χρυσικῶν [δημοσίων. The fragmentary state of this London papyrus obfuscates its function; but at least it does suggest that there must have been more concise assessments just like the Würzburg example. The word *merismos* by itself resulted in more attestations, but its presence in Bell's notes concerning another *descriptum*, P.Lond. IV 1470 (= inv. no. 1422) drew my attention, especially in combination with the part of a sentence –σμο χρυσικ(ῶν) δημο(σίων) κώμη(ς) Ἀφροδιτώ. P.Lond. IV 1470 descr. comprises ten fragments of papyrus framed together. Reading from top to bottom and left to right, the fragments can be labeled (a)-(j). The handwriting and contents demonstrate that fragments (a), (b), (c) and (j) belonged to a different document. Fragments (d), (e), (f), (g), (h), and (i), however, originally were part of the Würzburg codex, as handwriting and contents confirm. Commenting to fragment P.Lond. IV 1470 descr. (f), Bell considered whether the line's first half-preserved word could have been μερισμός, λογισμός, or ἀπαργυρισμός. Dismissing the latter, Bell suggested that λογισμός would be the best candidate. Bell furthermore observed that the handwriting of the fragments of P.Lond. IV 1470 descr. were probably to be identified with hands A (= foll. 2-8b, indiction years 12 and 13) and C (= foll. 15-16, indiction year 2) that drew up P.Lond. IV 1412. Unfortunately, Bell was not specific about which fragments he identified as such exactly.[15] It now seems that the scribe who wrote (the substantial part of) P.Würzb. inv. 122-

[13] The *epoikia* are ordered in this way in P.Lond. IV 1412 (699-705), except for indiction year 14, where *Psyrou* precedes *Poimēn* (ll. 254-259). In P.Lond. IV 1413 (716-723), their order slightly varies (four different orders for the six indiction years concerned).

[14] For the term διφθέρα, see the commentary to the edition of P.Würzb. inv. 122-127 (forthcoming). Derived from specific meaning implying skin, the term may well have gained a more general meaning of 'notebook', 'register' or even 'codex'. Cf. Sirat (1989) 121-123; P.Berl.Sarisch. 18, note to ll. 6-7 (Hermopolis, 7th-8th century).

[15] Bell states: «Three fragments in the same hand as C of 1412, the others, in which the ink is of slightly lighter colour, perhaps in the same or more likely in that of A of the same papyrus».

127 can be identified with the scribe of P.Lond. IV 1412, ll. 462-538 (foll. 15-16, indiction year 2).[16]

Checking fragment P.Lond. IV 1470 descr. (f) on the BM microfilm, its shape seemed familiar. Thanks to Holger Essler's technological assistance, fragment P.Lond. IV 1470 descr. (f) could be confirmed to match the first page of the Würzburg codex. So, the half-preserved word in fragment P.Lond. IV 1470 descr. (f) appeared to have been μερισμός. The reconstruction of the first line of P.Würzb.inv. 122-127 repeated what was already known from the docket, moreover adding as chronological marker the reference to a first indiction year. Also fragments P.Lond. IV 1470 descr. (d), (e), (g), (h) and (i) could be digitally relocated to the Würzburg codex.[17] These virtual reconstructions, which are greatly facilitated by the availability of digitalized papyri, provide another example of matches of fragments of Aphrodito papyri kept at different papyrological collections and of the opportune dispersal of papyri from eighth century Aphrodito through the Cairo antiquities market. In the next section, the text itself will be discussed: what did the present assessment contain?

2. Text and context: an assessment

Overall, the same basic elements recur for each individual assessment and for its 'mise en page':

At the top of each assessment, the name of the *epoikion* concerned is noted. The subdivisions of *kōmē Aphroditō*, however, are grouped together on the first and second page, resulting in a somewhat different design (see below).

This is followed by the total amount of the quota of the subdivision in question.

1. ἐπιζητούμενα ('quota', lit. «what is requested/demanded»). The amount indicated as quota is given in ἔχοντα νομίσματα (see below) and was 'stable': the amounts remained the same, at least for the period 699-720 CE, as P.Lond. IV 1412 and 1413 demonstrate. The quota is subdivided in three tax posts:

a. χρυσικὰ δημόσια (public taxes, in money)
b. τίτλοι καὶ ἐκστραόρδινα (titulary [perhaps just a term indicating 'tax post'] and extraordinary taxes, in money). This post in itself is subdivided in:

– τετάρτια (in money). The nature of this tax is unknown. Bell suggested that it may represent the amount covering the costs for collection. Where it is encountered, the amount demanded for this post represents some 1% of the quota of the χρυσικὰ δημόσια.

– ἀπαργυρισμοί (Lat. *adaerationes*, in money). This denotes the payment of a money equivalent instead of delivering certain requested goods. These ἀπαργυρισμοί could be made either at market prices or at a price set by the authorities.

– ἀπαργυρισμὸς γάλακτος. This post indicates the contribution in money for milk that is demanded. From use of the term ἐν εἴδ(εσιν), e.g. in line 9, next to the indication of an amount of money, it appears that the milk was partly delivered in kind, whereas the other part was paid for in money. This ἀπαργυρισμός is treated as a separate post from the unspecified ἀπαργυρισμοί which were ἐκστραόρδινα.

[16] The possible matching handwriting was confirmed by Holger Essler, who checked hands A and C from the original P.Lond. 1412 = inventory number 1513 in the British Library (e-mail 26/8/2014).
[17] See the full edition of P.Würzb. inv. 122-127 (forthcoming).

2. These three posts are added and result in the sum of the total tax quota: «Total amount demanded (ἐπιζητούμενα)».

The amounts of money are indicated in two different standards: ἔχοντα and ἀρίθμια νομίσματα. The *echonta* are stated in *nomismata* and *keratia*, and the *arithmia* are given in *nomismata* and fractions. The relation between both standards has been subject of discussion since long. Bell suggested that the *echonta* amounts may have indicated the real or actual (gold) value of money to be paid, whereas the *arithmia* indicated the nominal value. As the relation between the *echonta* and *arithmia* amounts is variable per case, the basis of establishing the number of *arithmia* coins seems to be based on estimation.[18] So, perhaps *echonta* were used for bookkeeping, representing the actual value in gold (and of the amounts demanded, *epizētoumena*) whereas the *arithmia* represented the money actually collected. The main issue for the authorities probably was that they received enough tax money: so they had to ensure that once the *arithmia* (the actually collected) coins were weighed, their worth would be (near or even higher than) that expressed in *echonta*.[19]

Then, a new section registers:

3. Amounts that have to be collected on the basis of an order to pay/assessment (διασταλμός), divided over two tax types:

a. For δημόσια γῆς (land tax)
b. For διάγραφον (poll tax)

4. Followed by the sum of the total for land and poll tax: «Total amount to be collected (obtained) and to be paid to the treasury…»

The amounts given here are all in *arithmia* and probably represent the part of the total quota given in the first section, which was to be collected. That is, these are the amounts that are to be collected as soon as the governor had issued the orders to pay the taxes (*entagia*) and had to be transferred to the *tablinum*, the treasury.[20]

Then, in this section two further tax types are listed:

a. For the account of δαπάνη (maintenance tax)
b. For the account of ἐμβολή (corn tax)

These amounts also belong to the annual taxes. *Dapanē* being a gold tax and the *embolē* being paid in kind. The reason that they are not mentioned in the section with the land and poll tax may be that they were indicated for the second indiction year, as the addition β

[18] Bell, P.Lond. IV 1412, Introduction 85-86. See also Morelli, CPR XXII 28, pp. 147-149: Morelli (2014) 218-224. Morelli in CPR XXII 28, p. 147 dismisses the hypothesis that the difference could be explained by viewing the difference as a bookkeeping fee: that would not explain the variability between the individual entries within the same documents. It is more likely that the value difference depends on the actual value and / or divergent standards where they were weighed. He suggests that use of two different standards would explain the difference also in the relation between both numbers. Morelli in CPR XXII calculates the relation between *echonta* and *arithmia nomismata* as follows: the number resulting from the number of *echonta* coins divided by their number in *arithmia* (both in *keratia*), multiplied by 24. Then, he comes to amounts of *keratia per arithmia nomismata* varying between 21, 43 and 24. See also Morelli (2014). However, the question remains why the relation between the amounts is so variable.

[19] In an Arab letter to Basileios, Qurra refers in ll. 25-26 to «Gewichtes des SchatzHauses» («weight of the treasury», German translation by Becker) which presumably refers to the standard against which the collected tax money should be weighed. Cf. Becker (1911) no. III, 253-255. P.Lond. IV 1405 also concerns an adhortation to pay the taxes in good money and refers to weighing, see Pintaudi / Sijpesteijn (1991).

[20] P.Würzb. inv. 122-127 has ταβλιν. Other documents from the Aphrodite archive have the term σάκελλα. Possibly there was no need to give the *echonta* amount here, as that did not matter for the actual collection.

ἰνδ(ικτίονος) to these tax types shows. The amount for maintenance tax was given in *arithmia*, the contribution of corn was demanded in artabas.

The assessment of each unit was subscribed by one or more ἐπιλεχθέντες ('chosen men'). These were selected by the leading men of the subdivisions of Aphrodito to distribute the tax quota ordered as a lump sum by the Islamic authorities over the individual tax payers. These selected men are referred to by their name and patronymic, or by name and ecclesiastic function.

3. Three more points

Basically, these are the recurring elements, which may vary per individual registration. For instance, not every subdivision is assessed for *apargyrismos* of milk[21] or for *embolē*.[22] Passing over some more of such points the individual registrations, I would like to bring up two topics, which to me seem to have some importance.

First, getting back to the 'more or less' same layout of entries mentioned above. Starting with the layout, there is a noticeable difference between the first two pages and the remainder of the assessment. The first two pages concern the *idia kōmē* and the subdivisions the monasteries, those who are in Babylon, *Pente Pediades, Treis Pediades, Duo Pediades*, the people of St. Mary's. The specification of the total quota divided over the three tax posts (χρυσικὰ δημόσια - τίτλοι καὶ ἐκστραόρδινα - ἀπαργυρισμὸς γάλακτος) is the same as sketched above. This section gives the totals of the subdivisions *idia kōmē*, the monasteries, those who are in Babylon, *Pente Pediades*, *Treis Pediades, Duo Pediades*, the people of St. Mary's. That is, one amount for each of the three *epizētoumena*-posts is given (= the resulting total amount of all the individual amounts of the subdivisions). In the next part, specifying the χρυσικὰ δημόσια, however, the subdivisions are listed in a kind of table format, so that of each of these the 'individual' assessments were visualized. The data for the land tax and poll tax are given in one such table (on the first page), whereas on the second page the data for the *dapanē* and for *embolē* are given in separate tabular forms. So, these subdivisions of *kōmē Aphroditō* were treated collectively on the first and second page. This stands in clear contrast with the treatment of the *epoikia* in the remaining sheets. They all have an individual page (with the exception of the last page, where the assessments concerning two smaller *epoikia* fit on the same page. However, this can still be considered as 'individual treatment'). Also interesting is that nine *epilechthentes* are named after the section relating to the subdivisions, coming from several of the subdivisions concerned. So, these *epilechthentes* were involved in making an assessment including their own subdivision. It is clear that the Würzburg codex confirms Bell's rendering of the subdivisions of the *komē,* which he listed separately from the group of *epoikia*. The explanation is that this reflects the geographical-administrative division of the whole *dioikēsis*: the clustered subdivisions belonged to the 'nucleus/center', which was so big that it was subdivided for reasons of convenience. The smaller-sized *epoikia* would be located in the surrounding territory.[23]

The second point I would like to address is how this assessment relates to other fiscal registers of eighth century Aphrodito. The Würzburg assessment can be compared with lists of collected taxes and with other *merismoi*. To start with the first, especially P.Lond. IV 1412-1414 are interesting. A more detailed discussion will be offered in the edition of the

[21] This post is only attested for *kōmē Aphroditō, Pakauneōs, Emphyteutōn, Bounōn* and *Keramion.*
[22] *Embolē* was not assessed for those who are in Babylon, people from St. Mary's, *Bounōn*, *Keramiou* and St. Pinoution.
[23] P.Lond. IV pp. xiv-xvii.

Würzburg codex in P.Würzburg II, but a few comments on P.Lond. IV 1412 should be made here, for it has a direct relationship with the Würzburg Aphrodito assessment: both deal with the first indiction year. P.Lond. IV 1412 is a register of 16 folios containing the χρυσικὰ δημόσια collected for several consecutive indiction years. It starts in indiction 12 (699/700 CE), continuing until the second indiction (704/705 CE). The χρυσικὰ δημόσια collected for the first indiction year are listed in lines 360-461. Unsurprisingly, as P.Lond. IV 1412, ll. 360-461 concerns the same indication year as P.Würzb. inv. 122-127, the *zētoumena* amounts for χρυσικὰ δημόσια in both texts are the same. However, P.Lond. IV 1412 provides different information. First, it is restricted to listing only the amounts collected for the χρυσικὰ δημόσια, and not for other tax posts. Second, P.Lond. IV 1412 is more detailed, as it presents the outcome of what was registered as 'to be collected' in the Würzburg codex. In other words, P.Würzb. inv. 122-127 and P.Lond. IV 1412 represent different stages in the tax collection procedure. P.Würzb. inv. 122-127 presents the assessment preceding the collection, of which the results were registered in P.Lond. IV 1412, ll. 360-346. As such, P.Lond. IV 1412 registers that the tax was collected in two installments (the second installment in two terms). Moreover, it also documents when and by whom the money was transferred to the treasury: for instance, in ll. 365-366 one reads that on 21 Tybi of the second indiction, the notary Senouthios from Thanaithe transferred a sum of 963 *solidi* to the treasury. Lines 367-369 state that on 12 and 23 Mesore of the third indiction, the pagarch Zacharias transferred the sums of the second installment. For each of the *komē*'s subdivisions and for each of the *epoikia*, P.Lond. IV 1412 provides the details of who transferred which amounts on which dates. In each case the dates and officials transferring the money are the same. The first indiction year's overview is concluded by a total summary (*anakephalaiōsis*) in lines 453-461. This summary provides the total amount of money collected for the χρυσικὰ δημόσια in the *dioikēsis*. Lines 456-457 furthermore inform that the money was transferred to the treasury in Alexandria, which was headed by al-Hārith b. 'Abs.

The final point for discussion is the nature of P.Würzb. inv. 122-127 as a *merismos*. Tax assessments were a crucial stage in the taxation procedure. Each year, the provincial Islamic government established the total quota of taxes for Aphrodito.[24] This was probably communicated to its chief financial director, the *dioikētēs*, who seems to have played a key role in the tax administration of Aphrodito. The sum of taxes demanded comprised taxes in money, contributions in kind and personal services which the local tax payers of Aphrodito had to deliver. The quota (*epizētoumena*) of all taxes and their distribution over the fiscal-administrative units of Aphrodito established by the central authorities, constituted the basis of the demands made of the individual tax payers. The lump sum amount communicated by the authorities to Aphrodito and its subdivisions was to be distributed over the individual tax payers by the *epilechthentes*. They did so by making tax assessments. Several examples of tax assessments from eighth century Aphrodito are published in P.Lond. IV.[25]

The major difference with P.Würzb. inv. 122-127 is that the *merismoi* published in P.Lond. IV are assessments for individual tax payers, whose dues for poll tax, land tax, maintenance tax and corn tax are listed, together with the size of their plots of land (if applicable). The Würzburg codex, however, gives the assessments per fiscal-administrative unit rather than the individual attributions. Thus, the collective assessments in the Würzburg codex convey tax data in a different form than the individualized assessments of P.Lond. IV. This may imply that also the purpose of the collective assessment of P.Würzb. inv. 122-127 differs from that of the individualized assessments, perhaps in the documents' practical use. Maybe P.Würzb. inv. 122-127 presents a preceding stage of the assizing procedure in relation to the

[24] Cf. Bell's general outline in P.Lond. IV, especially pp. xxv-xxxii.
[25] P.Lond. IV 1420-1429, probably 1432.

examples provided in P.Lond. IV, constituting the basis for the detailed assessments of individual tax payers.

4. Concluding remarks

The Würzburg Aphrodito codex presents a so far (to my knowledge) unattested type of assessment, made for the individual fiscal divisions of *kōmē Aphroditō* collectively. Even if we do not know for whom it was produced –whether for local use or whether (a copy of) this document was part of the documentation that was to be sent up to Fustat– it seems plausible to assume that this was one of the guiding documents (along with existing individual *merismoi*) for the individual assessments that were to be composed by *epilechthentes* and for which we have examples in P.Lond. IV. As such, the Würzburg Aphrodito codex represents another piece of evidence of the detailed bookkeeping system of eighth century Aphrodito. It may also constitute a piece in the procedural chain of tax collection, from the central ordinance of lump sums by the governor in Fustat to the local division of these, first over geographical-administrative units, and then in individually determined amounts over the tax payers.

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Plate



Fig. 1. P.Würzb. inv. no. 123 + P.Lond. inv. no. 1422.
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Adopting and Adapting – Zur Kopfsteuer im frühislamischen Ägypten

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1. *Diagraphon* und *andrismos* – Die Kopfsteuer im frühislamischen Ägypten

Obwohl das Arabische erst für die zweite Hälfte der Umayyaden-Zeit in Ägypten eine Kopfsteuer (*jizyat al-raʾs*) kennt, lässt sich eine Besteuerung der Person bereits in den griechischen und koptischen Papyri des 7. Jh. nachweisen.[1] Die Begriffe *diagraphon* und *andrismos* werden in der Forschung einhellig als Kopfsteuer verstanden, die von den neuen muslimischen Herrschern gleich nach der Eroberung in diesem Sinne eingeführt worden sei.[2] Die beiden Termini gelten als Synonyme gleichwohl der Überlieferung zufolge *andrismos* eher für den Hermopolites belegt ist.[3]

Das Griechische war bis zu den Reformen im ausgehenden 7. Jh. und beginnenden 8. Jh. Verwaltungssprache in Ägypten.[4] Insofern verwundert es auch nicht, dass die Kopfsteuer nach der arabischen Eroberung mit einem griechischen Terminus bezeichnet wurde. Geht man allerdings davon aus, *diagraphon*, bzw. *andrismos* seien als Steuer neu eingeführt worden, stellt sich die Frage, warum man sich bei der Wortschöpfung nicht an einer hellenisierten Form der bekannten *jizya* orientierte.[5] Eine Antwort ist sicherlich eng verbunden mit der Frage, ob und wenn ja in welchem Maße die frühe arabische Finanzpolitik für Ägypten an das byzantinische Steuersystem anknüpfte. *Diagraphē* / *diagraphon* ist bereits im 6. Jh. belegt, wurde aber zu jener Zeit vermutlich als Bodensteuer erhoben.[6]

Die geplante und hier in Teilen vorgestellte Studie wird also eine Abgrenzung beider Begriffe vornehmen müssen, um zu eruieren, in welchen Kontexten *diagraphon* und *andrismos* in der 'Übergangszeit' verwandt wurden, bzw. welche Veränderungen sich hinsichtlich Bemessungsgrundlage und Besteuerungssubjekt feststellen lassen. Hierfür wird eine chronologische Aufarbeitung des Materials angestrebt, die im Folgenden knapp skizziert werden soll. Ivo Polls Studie zu *diagraphon* und *andrismos* aus den 1990er Jahren wird hierbei richtungsweisend sein.[7] Allerdings ließ seine Aufstellung schon damals wichtige Dokumentengattungen wie etwa Steuerlisten oder offizielle Briefe unberücksichtigt. P.Lond. IV mit seinen ausführlichen Abrechnungen von Aphrodito wurde zum Beispiel nicht aufgenommen, doch sind es gerade die Steuerlisten, in denen sich wertvolle Information finden, die wir aus Steuerquittungen nicht erhalten können.

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[1] Für eine Zusammenstellung von Belegen für *jizya* und *kharāj* s. Legendre / Younes (2010); der erste Beleg für *jizyat al-raʾs* stammt aus dem Jahr 722 (P.Gen. inv. 713), ein *entagion* für Fuḍayl b. Ḥakīm (ebd., 3 Anm. 7); für dessen Datierung s. Legendre (2013) 220-221.
[2] Sijpesteijn (2013) 69-70; 72-74; Sijpesteijn (2007) 192; Poll (1999) 237 und Anm. 2 mit älterer Literatur.
[3] Clackson (2009) 8; Poll (1999) 237; 252, Anm. 84; Simonsen (1988) 184, Anm. 53; Gascou (1983) 102; Casson (1938) 275. S. auch Hussein (1982) 59, der sogar von einer Synonymie von *diagraphon*, *andrismos* und *jizya* ausgeht, allerdings ohne auf die diversen Bedeutungsnuancen letzterer einzugehen.
[4] Zu den Reformen unter Kaliph ʿAbd al-Malik und Gouverneur ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, s. Sijpesteijn (2013) 94; 102; Sijpensteijn / Clackson (2009) 104; Frantz-Murphy (2001) 25. Zu linguistischen Entwicklungen in privater und offizieller Korrespondenz, s. Morelli (2001) 13-14. Auf einzelne Begriffe geht Sijpensteijn (2013) 69-70 ein.
[5] Für die Kopfsteuer in der Levante, s. Dennett (1950) und Katbi (2010) bes. Kap. 1 und 2.
[6] Rémondon (1965) 411-413; Gascou (1983) 102.
[7] Poll (1999); zudem Gonis (2003) 157; Gonis (2000).

2. Chronologie

Bis jetzt finden sich 75, eventuell 84 Erwähnungen von *andrismos* in griechischen und koptischen Steuerquittungen, Abrechnungen, Briefen und Steuervorschreibungen (*entagia*).[8] Die Dokumente stammen aus Bawit, Deir al-Bala'izah, Aphrodito, Djeme, Akoris und Wadi Sarga. Die Zahlungen stammen von Einzelpersonen, die oft durch ihren Beruf näher beschrieben wurden, oder die Information, dass der Zahler ein Mönch war.[9]

Der früheste Beleg für *andrismos* ist eine Steuerquittung, die entweder in das Jahr 642/43 oder 657/58 datiert wird.[10] Sie stammt aus der Ortschaft Pkẹmo / Pkụmo, wobei es sich vermutlich um ein *epoikion* im Hermopolites handelt.[11] Obwohl die Quittung für das Kollektiv ausgestellt wurde, lässt der Verweis auf zwölf Namen (*hyper ono(matōn)* 12) vermuten, dass die Summe von 7 *nomismata*, 8 *keratia* von Einzelpersonen erhoben worden war. Die letzte Erwähnung von *andrismos* in einem publizierten Text stammt aus einem koptischen *entagion* des Jahres 724 aus Djeme.[12]

Der andere Begriff, der ebenfalls als Kopfsteuer gedeutet wird, *diagraphon*, ist weit häufiger belegt. *Diagraphon* findet sich in ca. 340 griechisch-koptischen oder rein koptischen Texten und ca 195 griechischen. Die Mehrzahl der koptischen stammt aus Theben, die der griechischen wird dem Fayyum zugeordnet.[13] Letztere wurden aus dem sogenannten ersten, respektive zweiten Fayyumer Fund akquiriert und von Karl Wessely in SPP III und VIII ediert.[14] Da sich unter den Ankäufen auch solche aus Herakleopolis befanden, kann die Herkunft aus dem Fayyum jedoch nicht für alle Texte sicher geklärt werden.[15] Oft findet sich auf den Steuerquittungen aber die Angabe des steuerlichen Bezirkes (z.B. Stadtviertel oder Straße), für den gezahlt wurde, so dass eine Zuordnung nach Arsinoe in vielen Fällen möglich ist.[16]

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[8] Die Zahlen basieren auf Poll (1999) sowie einer zusätzlichen Datenbanksuche des Begriffs über papyri.info, müssen aber in jedem Fall den begrenzten Möglichkeiten einer Datenbanksuche entsprechend behandelt werden. Bis jetzt finden sich für griechische Dokumente 26, evtl. 29 Quittungen, 4 offizielle Briefe, 12 Steuerlisten, hierunter die koptische Liste P.Ryl. Copt. 232 (= SB I 5948) m. BL XII, S. 184, die griechisch eingeleitet ist: (Z. 1) λόγ(ος) ε̣ἰ(σ)πραχθ(έντων)(?) ἀπὸ δημοσίω(ν) κ(αὶ) ἀνδρισμοῦ πέμπτη[ς] [ἰν(δικτίωνος)]. An griechisch-koptischen oder rein koptischen Dokumenten finden sich 16, evtl. 17 Briefe oder Anweisungen, Steuern zu zahlen oder Steuern einzuziehen, 8, evtl. 9 Steuerlisten, 6 *entagia* und 3, evtl. 6 Quittungen. Möglicherweise auch P.Louvre Bawit 75. Z. 2-3, das aber aufgrund des fragmentarischen Charakters keiner der obigen Gruppen zugeordnet werden kann.

[9] So z.B. in CPR IV 3; SB XXII 15275; P.Lond. V 1745 (Gewerbetreibende) oder SB XXVI 16646; 16788; P.Clackson 36-37; P.Lugd. Bat. XIX 24; P.Lond. V 1748 (Mönche).

[10] P.Lond. V 1750 (642/643 oder 657/658, Hermopolites? BL X, S. 108).

[11] Morelli (2010a) 132, zu Z. 50.

[12] P.Bal. II 130App.; s. aber auch P.Clackson 45, Komm. zu Z. 16 aus dem Jahr 753, wo die Lücke in Zeile 16 die Ergänzung von entweder *diagraphon* oder *andrismos* erlaubt, die Autorinnen sich jedoch für ersteres entschieden.

[13] Bis jetzt wurden, unterstützt durch eine Datenbanksuche mit Trismegistos, papyri.info und der Brussel's Coptic Database, 306 griechisch-koptische oder rein koptische Dokumente aus Theben gesammelt, der Rest stammt aus dem Fayyum, Aphrodito, dem Hermopolites, Deir al-Bala'izah oder ist unbekannter Herkunft. Die griechischen Texte stammen überwiegend aus dem Fayyum (95), gefolgt von der Region Theben (19) und Aphrodito (18), dem Hermopolites (14), dem Herakleopolites (9), Oxyrhynchites, Apollonopolites, Antinoopolites, Deir al-Bala'izah oder sind unbekannter Herkunft. Die Zahlen gelten selbstredend nicht absolut, sondern müssen den begrenzten Möglichkeiten einer Datenbanksuche entsprechend behandelt werden.

[14] Kritik an Wesselys Datierung, der zufolge viele der *diagraphon*-Quittungen in «byzantinische Zeit» verortet wurden, ist mehrfach geäußert worden, s. zusammenfassend Mitthof (2007) xxxiv.

[15] Zur Sammlung "Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer" generell, Loebenstein (1983).

[16] Worp (2004).

Der bislang früheste Beleg für *diagraphon* datiert mit I. Poll in das Jahr 645.[17] Es handelt sich um eine Steuerquittung über 6 *keratia* ¾, die in einer 4. Indiktion ausgestellt wurde. Die Zahlung erging von Theodoros, *tektōn*, für einen *merismos* der *diagraphon* Steuer für das Stadtquartier (*laura*) des heiligen Theodoros.[18] Sollte es sich hier um die Kopfsteuer *diagraphon* handeln, ist es interessant, dass diese als Umlage erhoben worden war, zu der Theodoros einen Teilbetrag beisteuerte. Hierzu unten mehr. Zunächst sei ein Problem der Datierung angesprochen. Die Steuer wurde auf Anweisung eines *amīr* namens ʿAbd Allāh eingezogen, für den I. Poll zwei weitere Quittungen anführt (SB I 5133; BGU II 681).[19] I. Poll zufolge handelt es sich hierbei entweder um 'den' *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh aus dem Jahr 645/646 oder den aus 705/706. Er ließ nicht nur offen, wen er hiermit meinte, sondern auch, welche Bedeutung er dem Titel *amīr* beimaß.[20]

Für die Jahre 705 bis 708/709 ist der Gouverneur ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik belegt, doch wurde der Gouverneur im Griechischen, wie aus bilingualen Protokollen hervorgeht, nicht *amīr*, sondern *symboulos* genannt.[21] Der *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh aus den drei Steuerquittungen, sollte es sich überhaupt um ein und denselben handeln, dürfte demnach kein Provinzgouverneur gewesen sein.

Für die Zeit unmittelbar nach der Eroberung bezeichnete *amīr* in griechischen Dokumenten eher einen arabischen Militärkommandeur.[22] Jene waren in den Provinzen für die Einhebung von Abgaben zuständig. Für diese frühe Zeit finden sich mindestens zwei ʿAbd Allāhs, unter denen die Anordnung zum Steuereinzug ergangen sein könnte: Ein *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh b. Jābir und ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd, einer der führenden Eroberer und späterer Governeur Ägyptens. Ersterer stellte im Herakleopolites die früheste überlieferte bilinguale Quittung für eine Requisitionsleistung aus.[23] Herakleopolis ist als Herkunft der Quittung (Fayyumer Funde) nicht ausgeschlossen. Doch macht der für Arsinoe belegte Quartiersname 'St. Theodoros' eine Verortung in den Herakleopolites eher unwahrscheinlich.[24] Für ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd wird berichtet, er habe in dieser Zeit die Aufsicht über das Fayyum innegehabt.[25] Allerdings wurde er im Jahr 25 d.H. (645/646) Gouverneur.[26] SPP VIII 715 zufolge hatte besagter ʿAbd Allāh jedoch noch am 29. oder 30. Dezember einer 5. Indiktion (646?) die Position eines *amīr* inne.

[17] P.Lond. I 116a (S. 221-222) (= SPP VIII 740 = W.Chr. 286) datiert auf den 18. Choiak einer 4. Indiktion; zur Datierung BL XII, S. 100.

[18] In der ed. pr. findet sich in Zeile 2 *diagraph( );* anders papyri.info: *diagraphē(s).* N. Gonis (2003) 150 zu Z. 2-3 sprach sich gegen eine Steuer *diagraphē* nach der Eroberung aus, da *Ēta* in vielen Fällen als Abkürzungszeichen zu verstehen sei. Vor diesem Hintergrund dürfte auch die Abkürzung in P.Lond. I 116a, Z. 2 zu *diagraphou* ergänzt werden.

[19] Diese sind SB I 5133 (= SPP VIII 741), die auf den 11. Choiak einer 5. Indiktion datiert, und BGU II 681 (= SPP VIII 715), die auf den 3. Tybi einer 5. Indiktion datiert. Die beiden Quittungen sind zeitlich also ein Jahr später zu verorten als die Quittung P.Lond. I 116a (S. 221-222) (= SPP VIII 740 = W.Chr. 286), die in einer 4. Indiktion ausgestellt wurde.

[20] Poll (1999) 239, Anm. 9: «SPP VIII 715 (5. Indiktion), 740 (4. Indiktion) und 741 (5. Indiktion); der Emir Abdallah kann derjenige aus 645/646 oder aus 705/706 sein».

[21] P.Lond. IV 1574, Z. 8 (710, Aphrodito), BL XI, S. 119 (Datierung); CPR III 43, Z. 7 (8) (= P.Lond. IV 1542) (709, Aphrodito), BL V, S. 58. Der Titel *symboulos* lässt sich in diesem Sinne auch schon in 643 nachweisen, s. SB XX 14443, Z. 1 (Hermopolites).

[22] Morelli (2010b) *passim* und demnächst Legendre (2013) 95-98; 144-147.

[23] SB VI 9576 (25.4.643) und P.Grohmann Muhadara II, S. 12. Zur Provenienz s. Morelli (2001) 48.

[24] Worp (2004) 236-237; 239.

[25] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (9. Jh.) Futūḥ Miṣr (Torrey) 173 berichtet, Ägypten sei nach der Eroberung von zwei *amīrs* verwaltet worden, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd. Einer Tradition zufolge hatte ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd die Führung der Thebais und Arkadia inne, einer anderen nur die des Fayyum; s. hierzu die Besprechung bei Legendre (2013) 84-85.

[26] Sijpesteijn (2013) 53.

Dieser knappe Exkurs zeigt, dass eine Datierung auf prosopographischer Grundlage schwierig ist. Angesichts der Differenz von einem Jahr zwischen den Quittungen (Dez. 4. Indiktion und Dez. 5. Indiktion) ist es nicht einmal gesichert, dass es sich bei dem in den von I. Poll angeführten drei Quittungen auftretenden ʿAbd Allāh um dieselbe Person handelt.[27] Der soweit früheste Beleg für *diagraphon*, P.Lond. I 116a (S. 221-222), ist daher nur mit Fragezeichen anzuführen. Der bislang späteste Beleg stammt aus einer Steuerliste aus dem Jahr 789/790.[28]

3. Bemessungsgrundlage und Erhebung – Ein Ausblick

Erste offizielle Verlautbarungen zu einem *andrismos* finden sich im Hermopolites, vermutlich zwei Jahre nach der Eroberung. Ein Brief von Athanasios, Pagarch des Hermopolites, an Senouthios, *notarios*, gibt indirekt Aufschluss über die besteuerten Personengruppen sowie den Steuerbezirk des *andrismos* für Hermopolis:[29]

Athanasios befürchtete, der *andrismos* für Hermopolis, der auf Anordnung des *amīr* erlassen worden war, könnte zu Fluchtbewegungen führen. Er ordnete deshalb an, Flüchtige zu ergreifen, ungeachtet dessen, ob es sich um einen *emporos* des Serapeions oder einen *paganos* handelte, der sich im Verwaltungsbezirk des Senouthios aufhielt. Für den Kreis der potentiellen Steuerträger des im Schreiben erwähnten *andrismos* ließe sich Folgendes überlegen: Der *emporos* könnte hier exemplarisch für diejenigen stehen, die ihren Unterhalt aus Geldgeschäften und Handel erwirtschafteten.[30] Der Verweis auf das Serapeion ließe die Überlegung zu, dass nicht der Seehändler gemeint war, sondern ein in der Stadt agierender *emporos*.[31] *Paganos* hatte verschiedene Bedeutungen. Oft definierte sich der als *paganos* Bezeichnete dadurch, dass er nicht Teil einer umrissenen Personengruppe war. Er kann als ‘Landmann’ gegenüber dem ‘Städter’ gelten, als ‘Laie’ gegenüber dem ‘Kleriker’ oder im Sinne eines Angehörigen der *plebs* verwandt werden, die mit der Oberschicht kontrastiert wurde.[32] Um die Mitte des 6. Jhs. existierte in Hermopolis zudem eine Phyle, die mit dem Adjektiv *paganikos* bezeichnet wurde.[33] Für CPR XXIII 33 erwog Fritz Mitthof, das Adjektiv *paganikos* könnte sich auf eine der Dorfphylen des Hermopolites bezogen haben.[34] Er hielt jedoch eine Aufteilung innerhalb der Stadt in eine landbesitzende Oberschicht und eine ‘plebejische’ Unterschicht für plausibler, so dass *paganikos* letztere bezeichnet haben könnte. Es ließe sich also überlegen, ob das Kontrastpaar ‘*emporos*’ / ‘*paganos*’ generell die ‘Landlosen’ charakterisiert haben könnte. Für die Verbindung mit *andrismos* überzeugt dies jedoch nicht gänzlich, denn Kopfsteuer wurde auch von jenen entrichtet, die Landsteuer zahlten (s. unten). Federico Morelli sah das Verhältnis von *emporos*/*paganos* eher als Gegensatz zwischen Stadt und Land und übersetzte *paganos* im Schreiben des Athanasios als ‘campagnolo’.[35] Dieser Deutung zufolge vergrößert sich die Gruppe derjenigen, die *andrismos* zahlen mussten: nämlich vom *emporos* in der Stadt, dessen Wirtschaftsgrundlage der Handel war, bis hin zum *paganos*, dem ‘Landmann’, der vermutlich Kapital aus der Bewirtschaftung von Land zog. Nach dieser Deutung wäre die Abgabe für *andrismos*

[27] S. Anm. 20.
[28] CPR XXII 17 (Arsinoites); zu dem Dokument auch Berkes / Younes (2012).
[29] CPR XXII 1 (3.4.644 oder 659, Hermopolis), zum Datum s. Morelli (2010) 23.
[30] Zum *emporos* als See- oder Lokalhändler, s. Ruffing (2008) 571-574.
[31] *Emporoi* des Serapeions finden sich auch in P.Lond. III 1028, Z. 17 (S. 276) (7. Jh., Hermopolis). Zu materiellen Überresten eines Kults des Sarapis in Hermopolis, s. Kater-Sibbes (1973) 20-21.
[32] Zu *paganus* s. Mitthof (2002) 204-206; Morelli (2001) 23, zu Z. 7 und Preisigke WB II, 220.
[33] CPR XXIII 33, Z. 4-5 (550) mit Kommentar zu Z. 4-5.
[34] Mitthof (2002) 205.
[35] Morelli (2001) 23 zu Z. 7.

ungeachtet dessen erfolgt, ob man in der Stadt oder im Umland registriert war, ob man Land besaß oder nicht.[36]

Neben *andrismos* existierte, wie bereits erwähnt, auch der Begriff *diagraphon* für die Kopfsteuer und beide Termini werden in der Forschung als gleichrangige Synonyme angesehen. Unterschiede werden nur auf lokaler Ebene angenommen, da man von einer Präferenz des Begriffs *andrismos* im Hermopolites ausgeht. Doch ergeben sich noch weitere Unterschiede, die vor allem die Erhebungsweise der Steuern betreffen. *Andrismos* erscheint z. B. in den Quittungen bislang nirgends in Verbindung mit dem Begriff *merismos*. Dies ist ein deutlicher Unterschied zu *diagraphon*-Zahlungen, die oft als Teil einer Gesamtsumme eines Steuerbezirks erhoben wurden, wie etwa im Fall des Theodoros für das Stadtquartier (*laura*) des heiligen Theodoros.[37]

Interessant ist auch, dass überall dort, wo *diagraphon* und *andrismos* in einem Dokument erscheinen, sie zueinander im Verhältnis von Teilbetrag zur Gesamtsumme stehen. So wie etwa in den Steuerabrechnungen der Mönche aus dem Kloster Deir al-Bala'izah. Während sich *diagraphon* kollektiv als 'für die Kopfsteuer (*diagraphon*) der Mönche' findet, zahlte der einzelne Mönch 'für seine Kopfsteuer (*andrismos*)'.[38]

Auch der erste uns erhaltene Beleg für *andrismos* (642/643 oder 657/658) aus dem Hermopolites weist auf eine individuelle Verwendung von *andrismos* hin. Die Quittung in Höhe von 7 *nomismata*, 8 *keratia* wurde zwar an die Bewohner von Pkẹmo adressiert, doch wurden zwölf Zahlungen von *andrismos* quittiert. Eine Quittung für *diagraphon*, die ebenfalls aus den ersten Jahren nach der Eroberung stammt, verwendet *diagraphon* hingegen in kollektiver Hinsicht. Im Jahr 653 bestätigte Kaeis (Qays b. al-Ḥārith), *amīr* von Herakleopolis, den Bewohners des *chōrion* Phys eine Zahlung für *diagraphon* in Höhe von 17 *nomismata*, 12 ¾ *keratia*.[39]

Die gemeinsame Verwendung beider Termini lässt sich auch noch etwa sechzig Jahre nach der Eroberung in einer Steuerliste aus Aphrodito nachvollziehen. Hierbei muss allerdings berücksichtigt werden, dass wir nicht wissen, in welcher Weise sich fiskalpolitische und regionale Entwicklungen auf die Bedeutung der beiden Begriffe ausgewirkt haben.

Die Steuerliste aus dem Jahr 706 führt Zahler der Goldsteuern (*chrysika*) aus dem Gebiet der Pente Pediades auf.[40] Zu Beginn des Dokuments finden sich die Steuergesamtbeträge für *dēmosias gēs, diagraphon* und *embolē*. Der Betrag für *diagraphon* summiert sich auf insgesamt 230 *nomismata* und wurde für 95 *onomata* (Namen) erhoben (Z. 2).[41] Anschließend werden die drei Positionen detailliert aufgeschlüsselt, wobei *diagraphon* durch *and(rismos)* plus *onomata* substituiert wird. Der Gesamtbetrag für *and(rismos)* korrespondiert mit eingangs genannter Summe von 230 *nomismata* und 95 *onomata* (Z. 153 αν$^{\delta}$ν$^{\delta}$ ονν ϙε).

[36] Man wird bei dem *andrismos* für Hermopolis an das spätrömische *epikephaleion poleōs* erinnert, das von 296/297 bis 320 im Oxyrhynchites belegt ist. Bisweilen wird dies als 'capitation tax of the city' besprochen, doch rekurriert *-poleōs*' vermutlich nur auf den Ort der Registrierung der Besteuerten, von denen viele außerhalb der Metropole residierten, hierzu Schmidt (2014) 174-182.

[37] S. z.B. auch BGU II 679, Z. 2 (unbekannt, 7.-8. Jh.); BGU III 739, Z. 3 (unbekannt, 7.-8. Jh.); CPR XXII 60, Z. 41 (Arsinoites, 7.-8. Jh.); P.Prag I 73, Z. 1 (Arsinoiton polis, 7. Jh.); P.Prag I 74, Z. 3 (Arsinoiton polis, 7. Jh.); P.Prag I 75, Z. 2 (Arsinoiton polis, 8. Jh.); P.Prag I 77, Z. 1-2 (Arsinoiton polis, 7. Jh.); O.Heid. 448, Z. 2 (Theben (?), 7.-8. Jh.); O.Heid. 449, Z. 3 (Theben (?), 7.-8. Jh.); SB XVI 13018, Z. 10 (Hermopolites, 714); SB XX 14682, Z. 2 (Herakleopolites, 7.-8. Jh.).

[38] P.Bal. II 303B, Z. 16: *apa Hl]lo ha-p-diagr(aphon) ne-monax[os…]* und 24: *ha-]pf-and(rismos).*

[39] SB VIII 9756 (653, Herakleopolis), m. BL VIII, S. 353; zu Qays s. Grohmann (1957) 32.

[40] P.Lond. IV 1420.

[41] Zu *onomata* als «personal assessment units for the poll tax, followed by their rates of taxation» in einem Steuerkodex unter 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, s. Gascou (2013) 675.

Es scheint sich auf den ersten Blick bei den *and(rismoi)* um Einzelzahlungen des *diagraphon* von 95 Individuen zu handeln. Bei näherer Betrachtung zeigt sich jedoch, dass eine *and(rismos)*-Zahlung mehrere Personen umfassen konnte, obwohl nur ein 'Name' in der Zusammenfassung berechnet wurde.[42] Die *onomata* bilden also keine realen Personen oder individuellen Bemessungseinheiten ab. Es dürfte sich eher um eine Recheneinheit von *and(rismos)*-Zahlungen handeln. War eine Person von *and(rismos)* befreit, finden sich zwei Schrägstriche in der Liste; diese wurden in die Zählung der 'Namen' nicht aufgenommen, sondern nur die wirklichen Zahler. Nichtzahler von *and(rismos)* waren Frauen, die nur Landsteuer und *embolē* zahlten.[43] Von zehn als Priester (*presbyter*) bezeichneten Personen zahlten fünf für *and(rismos)*, was sich mit der Überlieferung deckt, dass seit Gouverneur ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (685–705) Mönche Kopfsteuer entrichten mussten, jedoch nicht erklärt, warum die anderen fünf befreit waren.[44]

Die Betragshöhe von *and(rismos)*-Zahlungen variiert nach keinem erkennbaren Schema zwischen 1, 2, 2 ½, 2 $^{5}/_{6}$, 3, 4, 4 ½ und 5 *nomismata* pro Eintrag. Sie ist auch unabhängig von Zahlungen für die Landsteuer, was im Ganzen darauf schließen lässt, dass für jeden Steuerzahler ein individueller Steuerschlüssel existierte. Dies erforderte jedoch eine systematische Bürokratie, die neben den jeweiligen Raten für Landsteuern auch die einzelnen Forderungen für Kopfsteuern erfasst haben musste.

Für Aphrodito finden sich in der Tat zwei Hinweise auf solche Register. Drei Jahre nach der oben genannten Steuerliste sind uns zwei Schreiben des Gouverneurs Qurra b. Sharīk (709-714) an Basileios, *doikētēs* von Aphrodito, überliefert, in denen Qurra letzteren auffordert, zu ihm nach Fustat zu kommen.[45] Basileios soll zu diesem Anlass bestimmte Männer (*andres*) seines Verwaltungsbezirks (*dioikēsis*) mitbringen, deren Namen Qurra bereits übermittelt hatte. Hierüber hinaus verlangte Qurra auch, (Z. 21-22) *katagraphon kata chōrion tou ontos andrismo(u) en autō kai ti esti di'autōn diagraphon* zu sehen.[46] Sir Harold I. Bell übersetzte die Stelle wie folgt: «and [bring] also a register of places giving the male population in each, with the poll-tax to which they are liable». Mit Blick auf die Verwendung von *and(rismos)* in obiger Steuerliste wäre es aber ebenfalls denkbar, dass *diagraphon* den Gesamtbetrag an Kopfsteuer eines Steuerbezirks bezeichnete, *andrismos* hingegen auf den individuellen Steuerbeitrag in diesem rekurrierte. Dies würde dann auch jene (Männer) angemessen berücksichtigen, die von der Zahlung befreit waren, was bei der Angabe 'male population' nicht der Fall wäre.

Auch in Hermopolis wurden individuelle Aufstellungen für das Prozedere der Besteuerung verwandt. Vierzehn solcher *katagraphai tōn synteloumenōn* sind bisher aus der Pagarchie überliefert.[47] Sie gaben Auskunft über die Steuerschuld eines Individuums im Verhältnis zum Gesamtsteuerbetrag eines Steuerbezirks. Sie ähneln in der Sache den *entagia*, den

[42] Die Zahlungen für *andrismos* werden immer nur in den ersten Zeilen einer Berechnung ausgeschrieben, danach folgt nur noch die Nennung des Betrags oder, wenn keine Zahlung vorlag, ein Doppelstrich. In Z. 53; 58 und 62 zahlen jeweils zwei Personen für *and(rismos)*, werden in der Zusammenfassung in Z. 70 aber nur als ein 'Name' berechnet.

[43] P.Lond. IV 1420, Z. 46; 54; 91; 95; 119; 120.

[44] P.Lond. IV 1420, Z. 36; 38-40; 47; 49; 69; 77; 101; 108. Für die Einführung der Kopfsteuer unter al-Aṣbagh, s. Dennett (1950) bes. 79-81, hierzu Gonis (2000) 152 zu Z. 3, der einen *terminus post quem* für die Besteuerung von Mönchen von 697 für wahrscheinlich hält; Sijpensteijn (2013) 99.

[45] P.Lond. IV 1338 (Sept. 709); 1339 (Okt. 709).

[46] P.Lond. IV 1338, Z. 17-23 (709, Aphrodito). Die Anweisung wird in P.Lond. IV 1339 (709, Aphrodito) wiederholt. Zu diesen Registern bemerkt H.I. Bell, P.Lond. IV, xxvi, dass es zur Pflicht der Lokaladministration gehörte, «to keep a register for each χωρίον, specifying all the taxpayers, with the amount of each man's holding and the proportion of taxes to which he was liable».

[47] P.Laur. III 112-122; P.Lips 103; P.Würzb. 20; P.Strasb. VII 660.

Steuervorschreibungen, die im Büro des Pagarchen erstellt wurden, schließen aber mit einer in Form einer Homologie verfassten Anerkennung der Steuerschuld durch den Steuerzahler.[48] Im Hermopolites nun, also dort, von wo die meisten *andrismos*-Nennungen überliefert sind, erscheint interessanterweise in den *katagraphai* der Begriff *diagraphon* für die Bezeichnung dessen, was an Kopfsteuer gezahlt werden sollte. In den Aufstellungen zahlte man entweder knapp 'für *diagraphon*' oder 'für die Einkünfte an *diagraphon*'.[49] Dem Charakter des Dokuments entsprechend, welches eine Aufstellung der Einzelleistung im Verhältnis zum Gesamtbetrag ist, könnte also auch hier *diagraphon* die kollektiv zu erbringende Summe dargestellt haben.

Diese vorläufigen Ausführungen zeigen, dass das Verhältnis *andrismos* / *diagraphon* zu komplex ist, als dass eine einfache Synonymie angenommen werden könnte. Es gibt Hinweise darauf, dass *andrismos* in einigen Fällen die individuelle Besteuerungseinheit bezeichnete, während *diagraphon* den kollektiv zu erbringenden Betrag definierte. Eine Arbeitsthese ist zudem, dass die Kopfsteuer als Umlage erhoben worden war, im Rahmen derer jeder Steuerpflichtige eines Steuerbezirks proportional einen Beitrag leistete. In manchen Regionen könnte dieser individuelle Beitrag als *andrismos* bezeichnet worden sein, in anderen, wie dem Fayyum, als *merismos* zu *diagraphon*.

Für künftige Untersuchungen der beiden Begriffe wird zu überlegen sein, in welchem Kontext die beiden Termini im Zeitraum zwischen 642/643 und 724 verwandt wurden, ob sich bei der Veranschlagung Interdependenzen zu Landbesitz erkennen lassen und inwiefern Anknüpfungspunkte zu byzantinischen Steuertiteln existiert haben könnten.

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[48] Z.B. in P.Lips. 103, Z. 12; P.Würzb. 20, Z. 5 mit Anm. 3. Die Homologie könnte auch ein Hinweis darauf sein, dass die Erfüllung der Steuerzahlung noch in der Zukunft lag, s. Rupprecht (1971) 65-66.

[49] P.Laur. III 112, Z. 7; 113 Z. 9; 118 Z. 8; P.Würzb. 20, mit Anm. zu Zeile 3; eventuell P.Lips. 103, Z. 10 (?) und P.Strasb. VII 660, Z. 6 m. BL XII, S. 262.

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PART VII

LATIN PAPYRI

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Papyri and LAtin Texts: INsights and Updated Methodologies. Towards a philological, literary, and historical approach to Latin papyri (PLATINUM Project – ERC-StG 2014 no. 636983)*

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An in-depth examination of the contribution of Latin texts on papyrus may lead to whole chapters of Roman linguistic, literary, educational, cultural and social history being rewritten. This is because as a result of the well-established boundaries that have arisen between these disciplines, the documents in question represent a domain scholars have not previously tapped to its full potential –despite the fact that such texts provide us with both a broad diachronic perspective (running from the first BCE to the eighth century CE) and an extensive diatopic view (covering Rome and its provinces) to explore the actual circulation and development of Latin language and literature and to offer new insights into the differing attitudes of the Greeks and the Romans towards learning and getting to grips with a second language. They represent commentaries on society and culture in the wider Mediterranean sphere, for writing transmits culture, allows the transmission of knowledge between generations, and engineers the operations of complex bureaucracies.

1. *Status quaestionis*: research on Latin papyri

The idea of publishing a corpus of Latin papyri goes back to the early 20th century, when Seymour de Ricci envisaged producing a manuscript including all the Greek and Latin papyri, which never appeared.[1] The same project was supported by Friederich Bilabel[2] and Ulrich Wilcken (1936), and later revived by Augusto Traversa (1956). Furthermore, in 1945 Aristide Calderini gathered notes from his academic lectures to publish the first-ever compendium of Latin papyrology. However, it was another 10 years before a Corpus papyrorum Latinarum (C.Pap.Lat.) was published (between 1956 and 1958) by Robert Cavenaile. Cavenaile's corpus brings together 345 Latin and 28 bilingual papyri from Egypt, Palestine and Syria and categorizes them by genre (literary, legal and documentary texts).[3]

In recent decades, scholarly interest in Latin texts on papyrus has further increased. In 1971, Robert O. Fink published a collection of Roman military records on papyrus. This was followed in 1979 by the first publication of P.Qaṣr Ibrîm inv. 78-3-11/1,[4] opening up a new chapter in the history of Latin literature, containing as it does Cornelius Gallus' verses.[5] In 1983 and 2001 Johannes Kramer has published various bilingual (Latin / Greek) –and even trilingual (Latin / Greek / Coptic)– papyrus texts in his Glossaria bilinguia. Then, in the

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1 De Ricci (1914) 156.
2 Préaux (1948) 250.
3 A clear outline is given by Marganne (2013).
4 Anderson / Parsons / Nisbet (1979).
5 Capasso (2003).

1990s, Paolo Cugusi brought out his Corpus Epistularum Latinarum (C.Epist.Lat.): a collection of Latin letters (complete with commentary) on papyri, tablets and ostraca. These years also saw the publication, in 1997, of the first edition of a parchment fragment in the Michigan Collection containing about 40 verses from Seneca's Medea which appear to preserve readings that became corrupt in the archetype of the Medieval tradition.[6] More recently, between 2008 and 2014 Rodolfo Funari published the corpus of Sallust and Livy papyri and also various historical treatises by unknown authors. In 2010, the first edition of a literary text from the Late Antique school was published, namely the Hadrianus of P.Monts. Roca III, while a new edition of the Alcestis Barcinonensis began to circulate in 2014.[7] A corpus of Virgilian papyri appeared in 2013, and one collecting Latin grammatical texts on papyrus in 2015.[8]

Moreover, many other publications[9] have focused on particular aspects of literary and documentary Latin texts from differing and complementary points of view, highlighting how fertile, promising and challenging this field of research is, and how an overall collection and overview are a real *desideratum* for the research community.

2. Filling a *desideratum*

With funding for five years from the European Research Council (ERC-StG no. 636983) starting on 1st April 2015 and based at the Università di Napoli Federico II, the project PLATINUM ("Papyri and LAtin Texts: INsights and Updated Methodologies: Towards a philological, literary and historical approach to Latin papyri") aims to fill this *desideratum.*

The project offers a new, enhanced, multidisciplinary approach to Latin texts on papyrus in a bid to examine their potential and provide new insights into their philological, linguistic, literary, historical (both economic and social) and cultural contribution and value, so as to: (1) supply the scholarly community with an updated corpus and philological reference tool (taking the form of both a paper publication and an online platform); (2) afford a new understanding of the textual transmission of Latin classics and seek to assess their impact in various parts of the Roman Empire; (3) make a significant contribution to our knowledge of practices used for learning Latin and for education in the language, especially in the provinces of the Late Antique Roman Empire; (4) produce new research results with regard to linguistic aspects of diachronically marked Latin, particularly in bilingual (or even trilingual) contexts; and (5) promote knowledge of Roman 'micro-history' (and so of history in general) and culture.

The main aim is to reconstruct the circulation of Latin language and literature and its reflection of Roman society and culture through Latin texts on papyrus. From this perspective, the results will flow in different directions:

a. Eastern products will shed light on the circulation of the Latin language, literature and culture in the Eastern half of the Empire. In this way, Latin texts on papyrus coming from the East will make a particularly significant contribution to the reconstruction of ancient education, as many of them come from a pedagogical environment, linked to the teaching of the Latin language and / or law;

[6] Markus / Schwendner (1997).
[7] Gil / Torallas Tovar (2010); Nocchi (2014).
[8] Scappaticcio (2013); (2015).
[9] Most of these are articles or chapters in books; e.g. Daris (2008); Sánchez–Ostiz (2013). Many years after Richard Seider's palaeographical collection (1972; 1978; 1981), Ammirati (2015) provides an excellent point of reference for a palaeographical and bibliological analysis.

b. Manuscripts from the Western Roman Empire, such as Latin papyri from Herculaneum, will enrich our knowledge of Roman libraries.

c. Documentary texts from both the West and the East will offer new insights into the Roman economy and Roman society, culture and history and the interaction among populations.

3. A renewed approach to Latin texts on papyrus: shots

A three-fold reflection on literary, paraliterary, and documentary Latin texts on papyrus is being undertaken.

Literary papyri with known texts by Latin authors will be examined, as they bear testament to the passing down of these works from one generation to the next, and thus will be evaluated in terms of the contribution they make to textual criticism. These texts will be collated alongside the rest of the manuscript tradition in order to assess their importance in textual transmission or simply to reconstruct the development and circulation of the texts themselves in specific contexts. Their significance lies in their status as ancient ecdotics and in their potential importance for 'new' ecdotics.

A philological and literary examination will be performed of papyri that are the only surviving instances of particular literary texts to enhance our knowledge of the situation in terms of Latin literature. To illustrate this point, we only need to allude to the previously unknown hexameters on the War of Actium in a Latin papyrus from Herculaneum (P.Hercul. 817) that Jürgen Blänsdorf recently included in his Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum (2011), or the Hadrianus of P.Monts. Roca III.

Also going back to previously published literary Latin papyri proves fruitful: since it was published in Ch.L.A. (V 304) in 1975, P.Tebt. II 686 (inv. 3010 →) has been known to have transmitted a de laboribus Herculis, but the previously unnoticed presence of the names of C. Laelius and of the twin brothers Amphion et Zethus along with strong, indeed irrefutable, textual analogies with Cicero's philosophical writings demands a reassessment of the role played by this key literary source.[10]

The conventional label of 'paraliterary papyri' will be used to refer to anonymous grammars, word lists and lexicons, culinary texts, catalogues, texts covering medicine, magic and amulets, glossaries and conversation handbooks, subject to the proviso that further investigations could produce a different classification of these texts. Inclusion in this category is determined by the precarious balance in terms of the status of these texts, which are not considered to be completely literary while at the same time possessing some characteristic features of literature.

Literary and paraliterary texts on papyrus will also expand our understanding of the forms of Latin education in a multilingual and multicultural setting (especially in the Late Antique Eastern Roman Empire).[11] The paleographical and papyrological groundwork carried out in this respect will enrich our understanding of Latin books and aspects of cultural circulation, especially in an educational context. These papyri can be divided into the following groups: luxurious books from libraries; work-books with wide margins (sometimes annotated in both Latin and Greek); teachers' notebooks; bilingual handbooks; and scraps of papyrus on which students did their writing exercises or scribes did their calligraphy exercises (with their different respective aims).

[10] See Scappaticcio (2016).
[11] See Fournet (2009).

Documentary papyri will be examined for the historical information they supply and especially for the additional insights they provide into the historical background in the Eastern Roman Empire. They also give us key information about linguistic matters, the texts they relay being no less instructive than paraliterary texts about such subjects as Vulgar Latin and multilingual interference. Many of them include legal information as we find administrative and legal documents alongside imperial edicts and rescripts to join the Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani. There is a huge amount of textual variety: we find private records (communications, legal transactions, financial particulars and documents on piety and worship) and public documents (communications between the State and individuals and pronouncements by the government and the administrative authorities), and there are often substantial overlaps.

Letters on papyrus and ostraca are key to analysing specific formulas found in literary works, such as those of Cicero and Pliny,[12] for studying forms of bilingualism and for exploring unfamiliar aspects of everyday life in the various provinces of the Roman Empire. For instance, the Latin of papyrus letters reveals a wide range of phonetic and other linguistic changes: a finding that has moved forward research about so-called Vulgar Latin, i.e. the day-to-day colloquial form of the language. These texts also convey information about social and historical circumstances. Letters kept in archives (most of them family archives) are a veritable gold mine in this regard. Incoming and outgoing documents let us reconstruct prosopographical and historical data and provide us a melting-pot of legal and human values.[13]

The Latin of the texts inscribed on papyrus is also addressed by PLATINUM. This delicate matter will be further analysed from a linguistic and sociolinguistic perspective (phonetics, morphology, syntax, semantics and lexicology), for there are a wide range of diachronic and diatopic dimensions to Latin texts written on papyrus. Especially after Diocletian, we have significant evidence of a renewed interest in the Latin language in the Eastern part of the Empire: Latin literature circulated in Egypt more and more, and imported manuscripts were found side by side with writings produced locally, for instance papyri clearly written by (Greek) hands educated in Greek scripts, giving us pause for thought on how Greek and Latin bilingualism (or even trilingualism if we include Coptic or local languages) worked, even where Greek was the main language (so 'Langue[1]') and Latin was simply the 'L[2]', or second language.[14] This calls for a linguistic analysis (of morphology, syntax, semantics and lexicology) of not only literary (especially school texts and literary *unica*) but also paraliterary and documentary texts, allowing comparisons to be made between this type of Latin and the standard language and an evaluation of the Latin of papyri against a more general backdrop.

The fact that most of the Latin papyri found in the Eastern Roman Empire were very probably written there yields an opportunity for new aspects of Latin phonetics to be investigated, in particular given the bilingual status of most of the Roman provinces, holding out the prospect of new ideas concerning Latin / Greek bilingualism and the dissemination of the Latin language through the Greek-speaking world.[15] Most of the Latin papyri were written in Egypt or Palestine (or in other Roman provinces), and looking more closely at the scribes' transcriptions and 'mistakes' brings to light several linguistic peculiarities that can be readily understood if we acknowledge that for people who had Greek as their mother tongue,

[12] e.g. Halla-aho (2009).
[13] Pestman (1989) 7-8.
[14] e.g. Dickey (2016).
[15] e.g. Dickey (2009).

Latin was their second language (not to forget of course potential contact with other local languages as well).

4. "Latin Texts on Papyrus: a Corpus"

a. Outline of the planned new corpus

A new corpus is being produced, marking a significant improvement on Cavenaile's one, which since 1958 has been the first port of call for all scholars interested in Latin texts on papyrus. However, there are good reasons why this praiseworthy and important collection, while still unique in its genre, must now be considered obsolete: first, Cavenaile's C.Pap.Lat. suffers from the major shortcoming that most editions are simply reprinted from earlier publications, with the result that different texts are printed with different editorial criteria, none of which are explained anywhere. Second, in many cases the editions reprinted by Cavenaile have often been superseded in the meantime. Third, C.Pap.Lat. editions do not feature accompanying translations. Fourth, Latin papyri from Herculaneum (first century BC-CE) and Ravenna (early Medieval) are not included in C.Pap.Lat. despite their overall importance to Roman literature, history, and culture. Last but not least, a search through the Codices Latini Antiquiores (CLA and CLA Suppl.; Add.$_1$ and Add.$_2$), the Chartae Latinae Antiquiores (Ch.L.A.), the new volumes of papyrological collections, the Bibliographie papyrologique and current papyrological databases quickly shows how many more Latin texts on papyrus have emerged since 1958.

Our "Latin Texts on Papyrus: a Corpus" (Cambridge Univeristy Press, forthcoming) will: (1) offer comprehensive coverage of all known published and unpublished Latin papyri; (2) provide an overall but synthetic introduction to each papyrus, covering textual, linguistic and material aspects; (3) give rise to critical editions based on a new analysis of the texts, through direct examination and using a clear and homogeneous critical system; and (4) include both a palaeographical and a critical apparatus along with translations into English.

The corpus aims to gather all Latin and partially Latin texts on papyrus, thereby providing a starting point for consolidating the research and showing the necessity of taking both a papyrological and palaeographical (thus, material) approach and a philological, linguistic, literary, and historical one.

According to the authoritative definition in The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, papyrology has very flexible boundaries, generally including not only papyri and parchments mainly from Egypt but also ostraca and tablets. PLATINUM collects papyrus and parchment fragments along with ostraca. In contrast to Cavenaile's C.Pap.Lat., the texts on ostraca will not be separated from the ones on papyrus and parchment, but will instead be integrated into the corpus. Wooden and wax tablets are excluded from this corpus.

b. Latin papyri from the West: from Herculaneum to Ravenna, and Marichal's Archive

Unlike C.Pap.Lat., Latin papyri from the West will be included in this corpus. Of the 125 Latin literary papyri from Herculaneum, along with 1 from Pompeii, only very few (specifically, no more than five) have been published, although they come from the only Ancient library ever preserved.[16] Hence the reader can imagine the author's excitement when –at the suggestion of Tiziano Dorandi– going through the papers and other valuable data sets and materials in the long-forgotten archive built up by Robert Marichal, she discovered that Marichal had been preparing a history of Latin scripts from Herculaneum and, along with

[16] e.g. Capasso (2011); Del Mastro (2016).

this, an in-progress edition of the Latin literary papyri found there. His archive contains almost complete transcriptions of and commentaries on these texts, but this work was never published. Since spring 2015, Marichal's Archive has become one of PLATINUM's priorities as the project works on incorporating this extremely important material and making it available to interested parties.[17]

Texts from Ravenna and Northern Italy, which are primarily of a documentary nature, are included because of their clear affinities with the Egyptian materials and the considerable light they shed on these.

c. Latin papyri and juridical literature

C.Pap.Lat. includes juridical Latin papyri, of which there are now 100 ca. Legal literature on papyrus represents a special category since among these texts we find both known and unknown writers. Their importance lies primarily in the cultural contribution they make to knowledge of law and thought never encountered before, especially in Late Antiquity. Given the existence of the parallel project REDHIS on these papyri, including them in the PLATINUM corpus could be regarded as redundant, but REDHIS's work provides valuable insights for the PLATINUM project in terms of linguistic, educational and literary considerations. People in Egypt and the Eastern Roman Empire seeking to secure official positions in the administrative authorities or to study law needed training in Latin, even if this was just to acquire a reading knowledge of the language,[18] because among other things it was taught in law schools (e.g. in Beirut). Thus, it is worth exploring in more detail exactly what law students being instructed in Latin learned in educational and cultural settings in the Roman provinces.

d. Putting texts in context

Cavenaile's corpus is organized by genre, with texts classified primarily as 'literary' or 'documentary'. Although this type of classification is common in papyrological circles, it is problematic because the boundaries of the genres are not absolute: some texts straddle the literary/documentary divide, and those texts appear to be proportionally more common among Latin papyri.

The structure of the new corpus will be differently based on when and where texts circulated, with geography used as the primary basis for classification, with texts being ordered chronologically within this framework. This structure will show how Latin texts circulated at specific times and in particular places and put individual papyri back in their original contexts in the order province → region → circumscription (*meris*) → city/village/fort, moving from the West to the East and from the South to the North; of course, many papyri were bought on the antiquities market and/or became part of their current collections in mysterious ways – so they are considered as coming from the *pars Orientis*.

The importance of Latin texts on papyrus lies not only in the texts themselves but also in their contextualization. What does the fact that the anonymous poem on the Battle of Actium, presenting Cleopatra's drama in the style of a novelist and seemingly expressing an anti-tyrannical argument (P.Hercul. 817), was found in the Epicurean library at the Villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum (destroyed by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE) tell us? How could the documentary papyri in Latin from Herculaneum (all of them unpublished and which, although still unrolled, are worthy of much greater attention as they represent the only example of documentary Latin texts from the West, before the Late Antique texts from

[17] Scappaticcio (2017).
[18] e.g. Cribiore (2004).

Ravenna) enhance our knowledge of a social reality we can reconstruct on the basis of archaeology and literary texts? And how should we understand the prescriptive grammar of the Latin language found at Karanis (P.Lit. Lond. II 184 [Brit. Libr. inv. 2723] + P.Mich. VII 429 [inv. 4649 verso]), second century CE), along with the bilingual (Greek / Latin) archive of Tiberianus and Terentianus, which contained a large number of Greek documentary and literary papyri, or indeed the Virgilian *exercitationes scribendi* from Roman forts such as Masada and Mons Claudianus (O.Claud. I 190)?

Simply putting a text (be it literary or documentary) in its context and examining all its complexities from various points of view will contribute the reconstruction of a whole cultural and social dimension.

As Latin is the focal point of our corpus, bilingual (or multilingual) texts will be included only where Latin plays a significant role. For instance, the numerous Late Antique Greek documents closed and marked by a *di emu* formula (in Latin script) or by such formulas as *legi* and / or *signavi* are not included. Again, this criterion matches the usage of C.Pap.Lat. Although these papyri are not included in the paper corpus, they are featured on the PLATINUM website (http://platinum-erc.it), as the new corpus of papyri in Latin will have both a paper and a digital support.

5. How many Latin Papyri are there?

But just how many Latin papyri are there? Scholars who search the existing databases will find many conflicting answers, given the differing criteria and aims of each database, none of which is specifically conceived for Latin papyri.[19]

The first year of PLATINUM's work has mainly focused on a preliminary census: so far, more than 1,508 papyri meet the criteria for inclusion indicated above (status at June 2016). PLATINUM's corpus will include more than three times as many texts as C.Pap.Lat. does.

The census is based on detailed examination of all the available paper and online resources. Thus, the whole of CLA, Ch.L.A., C.Epist.Lat. and C.Pap.Lat. itself, all the collections of papyri and the papyrological bibliographical databases have been sifted through and the results combined with a survey of the papyrological online databases and of catalogues/inventories held by libraries and / or museums that are known to have papyrological collections.

Among these 1,500 ca papyri, more than 400 are ostraca (of which 283 are from *Numidia* and *Africa Proconsularis*). If we add to this papyri in which only *di emu*, *legi* or *signavi* formulas (or even dates) in Latin script are found, this number swells to ca. 2,000. Among the 1,500 ca papyri in the PLATINUM corpus, 185 come from the Western Roman Empire, and among the papyri in Latin from the eastern part of the Roman Empire, 400 ca come from the antiquarian market, with their exact provenance unknown (although we do know that they come from the *pars Orientis* of the Empire).

Of the 126 papyri in Latin from Herculaneum and Pompeii, only 26 have an LDAB/TM or MP^3 number; however, another 230 papyri of this type from the Eastern Roman Empire that are commonly found in collections worldwide (however minor) do not. More than 250 Latin

[19] Marganne (2013) has already set out how complex the answer to this question is and posited as an answer 1,800 Latin papyri, including tablets from both the Eastern and the Western Roman Empire.

papyri have still not been published, with nothing whatsoever being known about them.[20] Almost 25 of these are literary and in view of their literary character need an *editio princeps*; many others are simply described in the Ch.L.A.

The collaboration we have enjoyed to date from various institutions has been both invaluable and vital to pursuing our research. For instance, collaboration with the Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi Marcello Gigante let Valeria Piano work on a reconstruction of P.Hercul. 1067 and confirm Marichal's (tantalizing) reading *L. Annaeus* in the *subscriptio* (with intriguing implications for the papyrus's contribution to our understanding of Latin literature). Meanwhile, working at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek's Papyrussamlung meant that Giulio Iovine was able to identify more than eight Latin documents which had previously only been described in the Ch.L.A. Likewise, drawing on an examination of the Michigan papyri collection, Andrea Bernini was able to reconstruct a document bringing together the two unpublished texts P.Mich. inv. 3888c and 3944k with VII 445 and find the peculiar mention of *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*. Last but not least, the cooperation of the British Library meant that Dario Internullo (2016) was able to publish the first known Latino-Arabic papyrus: a unique document in that here Arabic is written in Latin script. Further effective partnerships and collaboration of this type will be needed, in order to try to add further *tesserae* to the incomplete mosaic of the knowledge we have of the Ancient Mediterranean languages, literatures, societies, and cultures.

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[20] There are many other unpublished Latin papyri known to exist in various collections which did not –and will not, in some cases– give permission to publish them within PLATINUM. So completeness will be impossible, despite the efforts the project is making in collecting and working on such items.

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New developments on Latin legal papyri: the ERC project REDHIS and the *membra disiecta* of a lost legal manuscript*

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1. The ERC project REDHIS: an introduction

REDHIS ("Rediscovering the hidden structure - A New Appreciation of Juristic Texts and Patterns of Thought in Late Antiquity") is the name of an ERC granted project based in the Department of Law in the University of Pavia which has started in February 2014; its principal aim is to chart and analyse the continued presence, circulation, and use of classical juristic texts in Late Antiquity.

While scholarship has traditionally viewed this as an age of decline in legal learning, this project fundamentally reconceptualises our understanding of Late Antique legal culture. In order to achieve this goal, Dario Mantovani (Principal Investigator) has identified three lines of research based on three distinct types of source. Each of these source types is studied within its own research Working Group, each under the supervision of the Principal Investigator and of the Senior Staff, Luigi Pellecchi.

a. People and patterns of research (Working Groups 1, 2 and 3)

Working Group 1 (whose members are Marco Fressura and I) is organised around publishing an annotated corpus of ancient and late antique papyrus and parchment fragments containing Roman jurists' writings. These include Latin as well as bilingual Greek-Latin material. Identifying and transcribing fragments as well as providing preliminary editions and codicological and palaeographical descriptions is our current work. First and foremost among the achievements, systematic exploration of library holdings in Europe and the US has resulted in the discovery of a large number of papyri and parchments with a juristic (that is: issued by private jurists) and / or legislative content that were previously unpublished or even completely unknown. To give an idea of the quantity of new material discovered by the REDHIS staff, it should suffice to point out that the corpus drawn up when Dario Mantovani first applied for the project has increased by ca. 30%: a complete list is now available on the project website: http://redhis.unipv.it/index.php/texts-static. A second major result is that preliminary transcriptions as well as bibliological and palaeographical analyses have allowed us to join several fragments that belong to the same original manuscripts but were inventoried separately by libraries. So far, 58 items are witnesses of juristic content, and 22 are of

* The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) / ERC grant agreement no. 341102 "REDHIS. Rediscovering the hidden structure. A new appreciation of Juristic texts and Patterns of thought in Late Antiquity", Università degli Studi di Pavia (Dipartimento di Giurisprudenza), Principal Investigator Dario Mantovani, Senior Staff Luigi Pellecchi (<http://redhis.unipv.it>). The first part of this paper (pp. 628-630) is an exhaustive presentation of the project and is intended to be co-authored and agreed by all REDHIS staff. I owe a special thank to Bernhard Palme and Marc Detienne for allowing me to work in Vienna and Paris, and for according permission for the pictures attached; to Dario Mantovani and Bernhard Palme, who have read this text throughly and suggested valuable improvements; and to the two anonymous reviewers, whose comments and corrections were very thought-provoking and useful. All errors are my own.

legislative content (carrying both single imperial constitutions and parts of the late antique codes). Beyond their absolute importance as textual witnesses for Late Imperial legislation, this second group of material is included among the edition because it throws important light on the state of juristic literature; for not only do these documents give important codicological and palaeographical information about legal texts, but they also preserve marginal notes that give a precious insight into legal learning in Late Antiquity. A significant example is the re-edition of P.Gen. lat. inv. 6: formerly considered a commentary on the Theodosian Code, it reveals itself as possible evidence of a collection of imperial constitutions carried out alongside the Theodosian codification;[1] in the third place, the transcription, preliminary edition, and bibliological and palaeographical analysis of the fragments have allowed us to refine the criteria used by scholars until now to classify the legal literature of Late Antiquity. The material studied and analysed is now best understood by reference to the following types of legal text:

a) copies of classical juristic works, in turn divided into: a1. works of classical jurists without interlinear or marginal glosses; a2. works of classical jurists with interlinear and marginal glosses;

b) Greek texts (or Greek-Latin bilingual texts) with juristic subject matter, which take the form of a commentary on a Latin text or which take material from classical jurisprudence and elaborate it in autonomous literary forms;

c) legislative texts, in turn divided into: c1. legislative texts without glosses and c2. legislative texts with glosses.

Working Group 2 (formed by Matthijs Wibier and Laurent Cases) studies the incorporation of and engagement with classical juristic texts in Late Antique legal writings. Rather than providing new editions of these later works, the research in this group is concerned primarily with mapping the continuing circulation of classical works and analysing in what ways they informed legal scholarship, teaching, and new forms of legal literature in Late Antiquity. This is a crucially new approach to the material: whereas previous scholars such as Huschke (Iurisprudentiae antejustinianae quae supersunt), Lenel (Palingenesia iuris civilis), Mommsen-Krüger (Collectio librorum iuris anteiustiniani), and Baviera (FIRA vol. II) have studied these texts first and foremost for their potential value to establish the *Urtexte* of the classical works that are quoted, Working Group 2 analyses how these classical works were read, used, recycled, and adapted in late antique teaching and legal practice. The project thus aims to provide a dynamic picture of legal learning, legal education, and legal writing in the Late Antique Mediterranean world. In addition, since some of the texts require highly specialist expertise beyond the fields of classics and Roman law (e.g. of the Syriac language), we have worked to find contributors so as to complement and enrich the span of expertise.

Working Group 3 (Francesco Bono, in collaboration with Marco Gardini and Salvatore Puliatti from the University of Parma) studies the presence of juristic knowledge and doctrine within imperial constitutions. The purpose of this analysis is to gauge to what extent emperors (and their staff) took legal doctrine developed by classical jurists into account when drafting new legislation. The corpus selection was made on the basis of integral readings of the Theodosian Code, the Novels, and the Code of Justinian. The results show that the late antique legislator drew widely from classical jurisprudence; the late emperors engaged actively with jurists' views, and they made use of them in interpreting constitutions in case of controversies. Finally, the fact that the emperors were well versed in classical jurisprudence also emerges from their use of the logico-juridical tools we find in the jurists, such analogy

[1] Ammirati, S. / Fressura, M. / Mantovani, D. (2015).

and technical definitions. In addition, Working Group 3 has been studying and analysing imperial constitutions from a rhetorical point of view. The main reason is that reading the constitutions made it clear to us that both their background and their meaning cannot be fully understood without a thorough study of their highly rhetorical nature. Not included in the original research proposal, this is a fundamentally new approach to Late Antique legislation, which has already led to fruitful collaborations with several Latinists.[2]

From the beginning, the project has been characterized by strong interdisciplinarity. This is reflected first and foremost in the recruited research staff (which brings together historians, lawyers, paleographers, papyrologists, and philologists) as well as in the collaborations that have been established with scholars from various disciplines. Bringing in different perspectives and competences has proven to be extremely helpful in fully understanding the texts of our corpus in context.

b. Editing and re-editing Latin and Greek-Latin legal papyri: new methods and discoveries

The chance to look systematically at this evidence (Greek-Latin and Latin legal papyri) as a corpus allowed us to extend our knowledge of ancient Greek and Latin books techniques and texts transmission. New discoveries as well as new looks on already known materials brought as well a lot of new issues in: a) in terms of palaeography, the mix of Greek and Latin graphical features that we found in most of the papyri in our corpus is extremely interesting. The material not only confirms but also allows us to extend our understanding of Greek-Latin digraphism in Late Antique Egypt; b) in terms of bibliology and codicology, we have been able so far to detect and ascertain some similarities in layouts, formats and scripts in relation to specific types of texts; c) from a linguistic point of view, the fairly frequent use of Greek-Latin hybrid syntax, morphology, and vocabulary throws light on ancient strategies of language acquisition and the knowledge and use of a second language (especially of Latin as a second language); d) we could also find consistencies in the use of diacritical signs (interpuncts, abbreviations, *obeloi*, *paragraphoi*); e) and eventually to rejoin some *membra disiecta*. And this is the case study that will be presented here.

2. *Membra disiecta* of a Latin legal book

Among the Vienna Latin unedited papyri,[3] there are two small scraps of parchment, which fit together perfectly, written in a very calligraphic *capitalis*. So far completely unknown, they are kept glass-framed in the Papyrussammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek under the inventory no. P.Vindob. L 141. I have examined the fragments several times in Vienna between the years 2015 and 2018 with the help of the microscope and of the UV-Lamp.

Text is written on both sides: noteworthy is the presence of a word written in red ink, *FORMVLAM* (figs. 1-2).

I offer here and discuss a provisional transcription and edition.[4]

P.Vindob. L 141 W 48 × H 18 mm

[2] Which resulted in a first meeting ("Le strutture nascoste della legislazione tardoantica. Lingua retorica e pensiero giuridico classico". Pavia, Almo Collegio Borromeo, 17-18 marzo 2016). A chronicle of the event is available on the project website: http://redhis.unipv.it/index.php/workshop/36-cronaca-del-terzo-workshop-di-redhis-pavia-17-18-marzo-2016.

[3] A brief notice on the existance of P.Vindob. L 141 can be found in ChLA XLIII.

[4] A complete edition will appear in the proceedings of the project REDHIS.

hair side (fig. 1)

	Transcription	Edition
1	]. *FORMVLAMEXS* . .[	]. *formulam ex s* . .[
2	] . *ORITATISSC·APR*·[	*auc*]*ṭoritatis s*(*enatus*)*c*(*onsult-*) *Apr*(onian-)[
3	] . *L* . *INTELLEGERE* .[	] . *l* . *intellegere* .[

flesh side (fig. 2)

	Transcription	Edition
1	] . . *TVTA·MG*^{a}*ERGO*[	] . . *tvta m(a)g(is) ergo*[
2	] . *PEGASIANOTRA*̣[	*P*]*e*̣[[*Pe*]]*gasiano tra*[-
3	]. . *EXTREBELLIA*̣*N*̣[	] . . *ex Trebellian*[*o*? -

l. 1: *restituta* vel *instituta*?
l. 2: numerous errors due to dittography seem to occur elsewhere in frr. belonging to the same manuscript: see infra.

Many abbreviations occur; although it is not possible to find any exact textual match, nonetheless the content is evidently legal and seems quite detectable: the mention of *senatusconsulta Apronianum* (hair side, l. 2), *Pegasianum* (flesh side, l. 2), and *Trebellianum* (flesh side, l. 3) reveals that main topic must have been *hereditas*, and changes that may have occurred in its discipline in relation to *fideicommissa*.[5]

The provenance of the Vienna fr. could not be traced in the Papyrussammlung archive (as we have very scanty information about provenances of this section of the collection); nonetheless, P.Vindob. L 141 shows a very strong resemblance to another couple of fragments of legal content written in *capitalis*, which were not edited, but recorded in catalogues:[6] P.Louvre inv. E 10295 bis, currently kept in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities in the Louvre Museum. P.Louvre consists of two parchment strips (which from now on will be referred as frr. 1 and 2, figs. 3-4) taken from the binding of a well known late-antique papyrus codex (P.Louvre inv. E 10295), that contains the De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate of Cyrillus of Alexandria (PG 68, col. 520B-597B) and which is written in Alexandrian majuscule dating to mid seventh century CE;[7] 38 leaves of the Cyrillus codex survive in Paris (PG 532 A-B-C; 532D-588B). Parchment strips had been removed from original binding sites, but appear still *in situ* in older pictures. Leaves and fragments of the same Cyrillus codex are also preserved in Dublin, London, and Vienna: Dublin, Trinity College Pap. Select Box 99 + Dublin, Trinity College Pap. Select Box 100 (PG 520, 521, 524, 525, 528, 529, 532D, 533C, 588B) + London, University College, Petrie Museum number unknown (PG 520 B-D; 521C; 524 A-B; 528A-532D) + Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek P.Vindob. G 19899-19908 (PG 589C-597B).[8]

[5] I limit myself to the essential bibliography on topic: Voci (1963) 344-407; Manthe (1989).
[6] Thompson / Warner / Kenyon / Gilson (1903) n. 203; CLA Add. 1857, where they are doubtly referred to IV c.
[7] Cavallo (2005) 196, 199; Crisci (2000) 23-24.
[8] LDAB 587; Publ. Sorb. Pap. I, no. 638; Aland / Rosenbaum (1995) KV 10; altogether, 54 leaves (most of them almost integrally preserved and still gathered into quaternion quires) and some minor fragments are extant; each leaf measures mm 214 (W) × 345-355 (H); text is written in long lines (29-30 per page), and size of the written space is mm 125-130 × 225; according to Turner (1977) 14-15, no. 507, the Cyrillus codex could fit into group 1 (largest sizes), «less broad, still very tall» codices; quaterniones vere made up with → on outside, and had like facing like inside (→↓↓→→↓↓→): Turner (1977) 66-67; quire marks ($\overline{\text{ια}}$-$\overline{\text{ιζ}}$) were written on the right top margin of first and last page of each quire. According to Bernard (1892), the Dublin quires were acquired by

Having directly examined both parchments in *capitalis*, I could ascertain that they must have belonged to the same original manuscript. Therefore, I can now confirm that the Vienna strips were taken from the P.Vindob. G 19899-19908 (of which two fragments of bifolia, a suitable site for the parchment strips, survive),[9] possibly soon after the manuscript had entered the Austrian collection;[10] according to old bibliographical references, strips bearing Latin writing were also among the Dublin folia,[11] but they seem to be currently lost;[12] nothing is in London.[13] Here I provide the first (provisional) transcription and edition of Paris frr. 1 and 2: noteworthy are the word *hereditas*, as well as the same system of abbreviations and same ductus of the script of P.Vindob. L 141.

fr. 1 W 95 × H 15 mm
hair side (fig. 3)

	Transcription			Edition	
1	]*ȩTUS*	*EXTRANEO*[	1	]-*ȩtus*	*extraneo*[
2	]*BERI²*	*BEREM*[.]*ET*[	2	*li*]*beri²*	*berem*[.]*et*[

flesh side (fig. 4)

	Transcription			Edition	
1	]*ATISPARTE*	*PLOS*.[	1	[8±11 *heredit*]*atis parte*(*m*)	[17±20 ***du***- vel *quadru*-] *plos*.[17±20 ***du***- vel *quadru*-]
2	]*V. . SEXVNCIAS*	*PLOS*[	2	[12±15]*v . . sex uncias*	*plos*[

fr. 2 W 97 × H 14 mm
hair side (fig. 3)

		Transcription		Edition
1		*ITEMSIBP·VELITEXCIPEREQVIDD*[.]		*item si b*(*onorum*) *p*(*ossess*-) *velit excipere, quid d*[*i*]
2	≻	*CEMVS·ETFORSITAMH'ASQ̄Q·CO*[.]	≻	*cemus? Et forsitan h*(*eredit*)*as q*(*uo*)*q*(*ue*) *co*[.]
3		*C . . . . . .*[ ]		*c . . . . . .*[ ]

flesh side (fig. 4)

	Transcription	Edition
1	]*ITIONEH**T~~A~~SANTE~~PETITION~~EXC·	[*pet*]*itione h*(*eredita*)*t*[[*i*]]*s ante exc*(*eptionem*?)
2	].*ANCADITO·SIB·QI·TITIO~~M~~C*MF·	]*hanc adito; si b*(*ona*?) *q*(*u*-?) *i*(*n*?) *Titio c*(*ausa*-?) *m*(*al*-?) *f*(*id*-?)
3	]	]

Flinders Petrie in 1890 from natives who stated that they had been dug up at El-Deir, near Hawara; the Louvre leaves were acquired by M. E. Revillout in 1893: a preliminary account in Serruys (1910).

[9] Digital images of all pieces are fully available on ÖNB Papyrussammlung website.

[10] An extensive description of the Austrian portion can be read in Sanz (1946); here nothing is said about time of accession to the Library and presence of Latin binding strips.

[11] Bernard (1892) 660: «fragments of vellum, covered with minute writing, apparently Latin, were used in the binding. Whether they are of equal antiquity with the MS. itself can hardly now be determined; the character of the writing on the vellum is certainly ancient, but there are not enough letters left to enable us to make any reliable inference as to its date».

[12] I had the latest updates from the Trinity College Library in fall 2016.

[13] I owe this information to Nikolaos Gonis (spring 2016).

The visits to Paris in March and September 2016 brought some further fortunate surprises: I could find other parchment scraps, two already taken away from the Cyrillus quires, and five still *in situ* (fig. 5).[14] Having seen them still sewn to the original binding allowed to ascertain how they were used:[15] they were glued and sewn in the middle of the quire, and prickings for the binding thread occur at a regular distance. A detailed unpublished description of the binding (and binding technique) of the Cyrillus codex was carried out by Berthe van Regermorther:[16] her typescript is still retained with the papyrus leaves in Paris and brings the date April, 27th, 1960:[17] at that date 4 parchment strips were still sewn *in situ*.

Therefore, we now have one fragment from Vienna and seven from Paris: but only 5 out of these 7 belonged to the same original parchment codex in *capitalis*; the other two (one still sewn, fr. 6, the other kept detached in an envelope and still bearing the binding thread, fr. 7),[18] preserve uncial letters, consistent in ductus and size with another Vienna Latin fragment, P.Vindob. L 94. Like P.Vindob. L 141, L 94 is of juridical content, too; still unedited,[19] it is known thanks to a brief description in CLA 10.1534; the consistency with P.Louvre inv. E 10295bis, frr. 6 and 7 suggests it possibly belonged to the binding of P.Vindob. G 19899-19908. Moreover, a further examination of fr. 6 and L 94 had revealed their nature of palimpsest, the lower script being Greek majuscule.[20]

The six fragments in *capitalis* (P.Vindob. L 141 and P.Louvre inv. E 10295, frr. 1-5) inform us about the format and possibly about the 'mise en page' of the original beautifully manufactured codex: dry ruled on flesh side, each extant line of text is 78 mm wide and 4 mm high (with an interlinear space of 2 mm), and contains approximately 24-27 letters; inner margin is 28 mm; an external margin must have been at least 50 mm, an upper more than 60 mm. The original number of lines per page, the height and width of the page and of its written space cannot be determined. Nonetheless, some comparisons with other late-antique manuscripts written in the same script can be made, thus helping a likely reconstruction of its entirety. Script is indeed a noteworthy characteristic of the fragments, a calligraphic *capitalis* from Late Antiquity, regular in size, with some letters exceeding the bilinear ruling, and regular alternance of thick and thin strokes; I suggest as possible comparisons: Berlin, SBPKB, Lat. Qu. 914;[21] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 1283B + Orléans, BM, 192 (169) + Berlin, SBPKB, Lat. Qu. 364;[22] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 1631;[23] Città del

[14] A complete description and edition will appear among the proceedings of the project REDHIS.
[15] Although we know that many Latin parchment fragments of archaeological provenance must have come from later book-bindings, especially papyrus codex bindings, this is a unique occasion to see them still in their original place.
[16] Her expertise in late antique book-binding is known through van Regenmorther (1958).
[17] «Quatre petits trous d'aguille dans la pliure del feuillets. Ceux-ci se trouvent à 7 cm – 14 cm – 23 cm – 29 cm de la base du cahier. [...] Le bandelettes de parchemin sont également trouées par une aguille et leur fil ainsi que ces trous correspondent exactement avec les trous que nous avon remarqué [...] c'est à dire que la première bandelette a un fil que va de 7 cm à 14 cm; la deuxième bandelette a un fil qui va de 23 à 29 cm». And distances between prickings in all strips are consistent with those measurements. Moreover, Berthe van Regenmorther remarks that the quires were sewn together with two independent laces: this is believed to be an earlier technique, which coexists in early VII century with the more modern one, in which only one lace is used: see van Regenmorther (1958) 22-24.
[18] As early as April 1960, for it is recorded in van Regenmorther' typescript.
[19] An edition is planned among the project REDHIS.
[20] I have identified the text, and a full edition and study in currently in preparation.
[21] CLA 8.1054; Seider (1978), no. 25; Funari (2008) 73-77; Cavallo / Fioretti (2014) 36; Ammirati (2015) 76.
[22] CLA 6.809; Pellegrin (1978) 160-162; Ammirati (2015) 77.
[23] CLA 1.99; Pellegrin (1982) 277-280.

Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 3867;[24] all referred by latest scholarship to the end of the V cent. CE.[25] To this range I would also ascribe P.Louvre inv. 10295bis, frr. 1-5 + P.Vindob. L 141.

As for the original format, and considering this is a prose text, two reconstructions can be suggested:

a) a small portable codex, with wide margins;

b) a somewhat bigger two columns codex, of square (or almost square) format;

This second option is so far more attested in late antique manuscripts of prose content written in *capitalis*,[26] as can be seen in the table below:

CLA no.	Author	Columns; lines per page	Size of the original page (W × H, mm)	Size of the written space (W × H, mm)
1.72	Fronto	4; 26 +	145 × 185	
1.74	Gellius	2; 13	195 × 150	115 × 105
1.75	Livy	2; 30	185 ×140	140 × 100
1.115	Cicero	2; 20 (22-23)	277 × 245	170 × 170
3.363	Cicero	3; 24	280 × 255	180 × 180
4.445	Cicero	2; [26]	180 × 175	150 × 140
4.501	Euclides	2; 23	260 × 245	165 x 185
8.1054	Sallust	2; 20	180 × 180	150 × 150
10.1539	Sallust	2; 26	230 × 230	170 × 180

It is important to underline that P.Louvre inv. E 10295bis frr. 1-5 + P.Vindob. L 141 is so far the unique extant evidence of a late antique manuscript of legal content written in *capitalis*; this is an important historical fact, because we know that in late antiquity *capitalis* was mainly[27] employed to copy manuscripts of non-Christian content, especially works of classical Latin authors (Cicero, Livy, Sallust, and above all Vergil), in the frame of a revival of ancient Latin works of the classical period as well as their books, now copied in the updated book-format of the codex, but with the same calligraphic script used to copy book-rolls.[28]

3. The text: preliminary observations

Although the scribe was very expert in writing, nonetheless he did many mistakes in copying, which were later amended and corrected by adding horizontal strokes on wrong letters: most of mistakes seem to be due to eye-skip, as can be seen in fr. 2, flesh side, l. 2 (fig. 4), and inferred for P.Vindob. L 141, flesh side, l. 2 (fig. 2). Remarkable is the quantity of *notae iuris* and abbreviations: they perfectly fit into legal texts, but open sometimes a wide variety of

[24] CLA 1.19; Pellegrin (2010) 336-340.

[25] Pratesi (1992); Radiciotti (2010); Cavallo / Fioretti (2014), who have gradually lowered the dating of those late antique codices from fourth up to sixth century CE. I believe that our group of fragments cannot be referred to an earlier period, for the script is very regular, and so the alternance of thick and thin strokes; noteworthy appears also F exceeding the bilinear scheme, as in the Vergilius Romanus (Vat. lat. 3867, second half of the fifth century CE).

[26] List includes items of archaeological provenance as well as manuscripts that were continuously preserved in Western libraries: a brief presentation of them all (which also addresses issues of origin and provenance) can be found in Ammirati (2015) 75-81.

[27] A significant exception is PSI XIII 1306, on which see the latest comments by Fressura (2016).

[28] Petrucci (1981); Pratesi (1992); Cavallo / Fioretti (2014) 36, n. 3.

reading possibilities: most of the interpretation has yet to come (and all hypotheses will be discussed in the final edition).

Yet, a preliminary intriguing possible match can be offered for P.Louvre inv. E 10295bis, fr. 1, hair side (fig. 3): a passage of Ulpian, Ad edictum, book 5 (Dig. 5.4.1.3); which also fits in terms of quantity of letter missing.[29]

	Edition		Dig. 5.4.1.3 Ulp. 5 ad ed.
1	]-*c̣ius*	*extraneo*[	*Si ego ex parte me dicam heredem, coheres autem meus possideat hereditatem cum extraneo, cum non plus coheres haberet sua parte, utrum a solo extraneo an vero et a*
2	*li*]*beri*²	*berem*[.]*et*[	*coherede deberem petere hereditatem, quaeritur. et Pegasus fertur existimasse a solo extraneo me petere debere eumque restituturum quidquid possidet, et fortassis hoc officio iudicis debeat fieri: ceterum ratio facit, ut a duobus petam hereditatem, hoc est et a coherede meo, et ille quoque dirigat actionem adversus exterum possessorem: sed Pegasi sententia utilior est.*

Topics dealt in Vienna and Paris fragments are consistent with topics addressed in Ulpian's Ad edictum, which the Digest and other late antique collections (Fragmenta Vaticana, Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum) have extensively preserved. Portions of Ulpian's Ad edictum are also transmitted by P.Ryl. III 474, PSI XIV 1449, and possibly by P.Ant I 22 and by a big palimpsest (currently under studying) kept in London.[30] Is it plausible that the Vienna and Paris fragments come from an integral copy of Ulpian? Without going that far, it can only be said that we are in the presence of the scanty evidence of some pieces of a page (or pages) of a calligraphic parchment codex, with a text where some issues about inheritance were discussed. Maybe it belonged to an edition of the Ulpian work, or maybe it did not.

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[29] The apparently interlinear signs above the lacuna after REM belong to the other side: in this place the parchment has lifted and turned upside down; thus, what is readable belongs to the text in the flesh side; so far, it could not be repositioned (nor can be read the back, whose content could confirm my hypothesis).

[30] A preliminary presentation can be read in Ammirati (2017).

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Plates



Fig. 1: P.Vindob. L 141 hair side © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

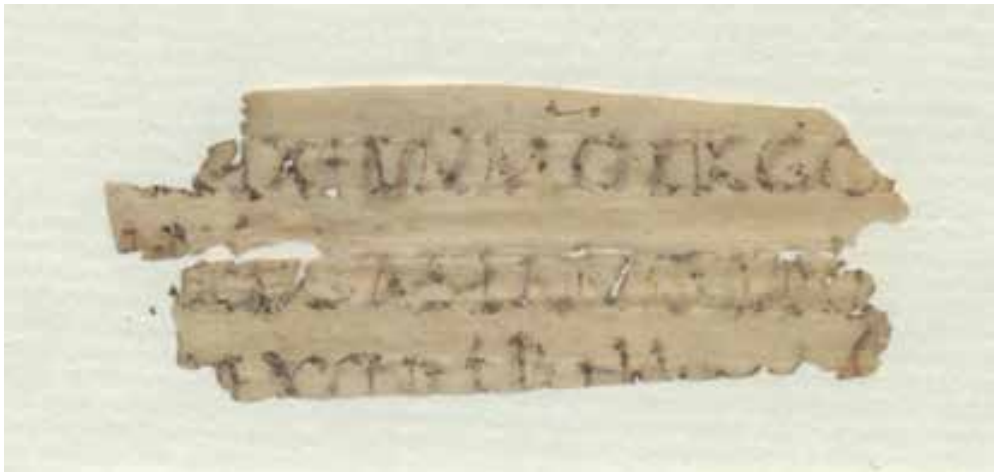


Fig. 2: P.Vindob. L 141 flesh side © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek



Fig. 3: P.Louvre inv. E 10295bis, frr. 1 and 2 hair side
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Fig. 4: P.Louvre inv. E 10295bis, frr. 1 and 2 flesh side
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Fig. 5: P.Louvre inv. E 10295, a fr. still sewn in the binding
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Preliminary inquiries on some unpublished Latin documentary papyri (P.Vindob. inv. L 74 recto; 98 verso; 169 recto)*

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According to H. Löbenstein's account in the introduction to P. Rainer. Cent., the Latin papyri stored in the Wiener Papyrussammlung at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek were found –together with all the Viennese papyri– in the Arsinoites and Herakleopolites nomoi; information about the origin of the individual papyri, when available at all, can only be gathered from their content.[1] Thanks to the scholarly efforts of Tiziano Dorandi, volumes XLIII to XLV of the Chartae Latinae Antiquiores, published between 1995 and 1996, were devoted to this particular set of Latin items and contain the largest and most important manuscripts of the whole collection; some of the most fragmentary and less clearly relevant, which were simply transcribed or described without an edition, do however present a number of issues. In line with PLATINUM's commitment to study Latin texts on papyrus, I have begun studying the unpublished Latin items from the Viennese collection; I discuss some results of this ongoing inquiry in this paper.

1. P.Vindob. inv. L 74 recto: further notes

The paper I gave at the Barcelona Congress originally opened with a discussion on L 74 recto; this was meant as a preliminary edition –with commentary– of that papyrus. While these proceedings were in progress, the first edition of the manuscript has been published in the journal Tyche.[2] My preliminary edition, which occupied the first paragraph of this contribution, is therefore obsolete, and will not appear here. Instead, I will make some further remarks on the papyrus.

a. At l. 5, instead of *aure*[, I would rather read *aere*[; the supposed *u* is way too angular and is likelier to be a forked *e*. Furthermore, at l. 10, what seemed initially to be *uil*[might also be *uel*[, as the *i* looks once again very similar to a forked *e*.

b. Although a παραθήκη is indeed mentioned more than once, the presence of land –l. 7 *partibus iug*(*era*)– suggests that it is not a real contract of deposit we are reading; the other possibilities I mentioned (dotal settlements, marriage contract, testament) still hold. There is an interesting parallel (at least, in the choice of words) in P.Mich. VII 453.[3] The document,

* The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement nº 636983); ERC-PLATINUM project, Università di Napoli Federico II. My warmest gratitude goes to the staff of the Papyrussammlung in Vienna, who allowed me to inspect and work on the papyri dealt with here, and to the staff of PLATINUM, whose constant advice and expertise have proven crucial for this paper.

[1] «Hatten sich doch in den Jahren 1881 und 1882 dank des Geschicks Grafs, der seine Gewährsleute von Kairo ausschwärmen ließ, an die 10.000 Papyri, die aus den Trümmerfeldern nördlich von Medinet el-Fayyum (dem griechischen Krokodilopolis-Arsinoe) und Ehnas (dem griechischen Herakleopolis Magna) stammten, in Wien angesammelt» (Löbenstein [1983] 4). See also pp. 24-25 for a complete account of the 'Lateinischer Bestand'.

[2] In April 2018; see Iovine (2017), with photographic reproduction.

[3] 2nd cent. CE, TM 42958. The text runs as follows: [1] [- - -] . . *lertis et eodem loco alia* [- - - | [2] - - -] *et eodem loco ex ypologo* [- - - | [3] - - -] *quae fuerunt prius meu*[- - - | [4] - - - *ha*]*buerat Liris alia iugera V et*[- - - | [5] - - -] . . . *quae*

though very fragmentary, has been construed by its first editor as a Roman will;[4] and by subsequent scholars, as the record of a purchase.[5] It can be clearly understood as mentioning portions of land (measured in *iugera*); in addition to identifying the portions through the name of their proprietors, it also employs the term *pars* (ll. 8-9). This reminds one of l. 7 in L 74 recto; and suggests that, while ruling out the possibility of a contract of deposit, it is not impossible to construe L 74 too as the record of some sort of purchase, or at any rate, an inventory of items and valuable goods.

2. P.Vindob. inv. L 98 verso: a pay record? (fig. 1 ll. 4-9)

This papyrus too can be dated to the second century CE.[6] The recto contains a hardly legible text, originally neatly written, where a *manumissio inter amicos* is spoken of. On the contrary, the verso appears to have been written in a less formal hand. Remnants of two columns survive, but the second column consists only of initial letters. No margins are visible but the upper one; the intercolumnium between column i and ii is instead clearly visible. Two blank spaces (3 cm the former, 1.5/2 cm the latter) divide what appear to be three distinct sections of the first column. The text runs as follows:

```
        ]eraris . .  uini n(umero) xui fit cxx
    ] .man fit s(umma) . . .
                  xx . .  xii

    ].ẹ̣dicos ob(oli) xxxii xiiii K(alendas) Aug(ustas)
5           V]alerio H<o>mullo co(n)s(ule)
    ] . . . .ṗ xii pdi f(it) xxu eraṣ[ . .] .
    ] ob(oli) xxxxiii nomi{m}<n>e M . . . ias
    ] .g · agra . . . tis sigillis
    Sep]tembres ·m·pdi . . . . .
10  ]o co(n)s(ule) . . . . . xui . . . . . .
    ] . gra . .

    ] Longus . .[ .] . . . . .[
    ] .u .ṇilus .l . . n . . . . . s
    Cl]emens .m· .assi . . . . . .
15  ] . .[ . .] . .s . .[ .]an . .s . . . . me . . .
```

The papyrus is in very bad condition and many lines cannot be fully read, at least at this stage. Many sequences of letters, such as *pdi* at ll. 6, 9, are probably abbreviations so far unparalleled, and I refrained from attempting to resolve them. At ll. 4-5]*ẹ̣dicos ob*(*oli*) *xxxii xiiii K*(*alendas*) *Aug*(*ustas*) | [… *V*]*alerio H<o>mullo co*(*n*)*s*(*ule*) one can see a sum (32 *oboli*) and a regular Roman dating, with the day of the month (July 19th) and the consular

fuerunt Sempro[*ni* - - - | [6] - - -] .*r*[.]*is quod fuit Antisti*[- - - | [7] - - -] .*phitu ius fiduciae lici*[*tum* - - - | [8] - - -] . *Philadelph<i>ae partem* [- - - | [9] - - -] . *filius et partem IIII faena*[- - -]. Both the upper and lower margins are lost.

[4] See Sanders in P.Mich. VII, 89.

[5] See D'Ors (1948) 362 and Gilliam (1950) 436.

[6] The script is remarkably irregular; however, some forms are clearly related to analogous forms in coeval documents. Ligatures *mi* and *xi* appear almost identical in PSI IX 1026 (CE 150, TM 17460); similar samples of *m* can be found in Ch.L.A. X 412 (= P.Berol. inv. 7124, CE 131, TM 69914); this kind of slightly sloping, narrow *f* can be compared to other *f* letters in BGU II 696 (CE 156, TM 69913), and also the ligature *co* bears comparison with analogous specimens in Ch.L.A. III 203 (= P.Lond. inv. 482, CE 130, TM 78865).

year (Valerius Homullus was consul in 152 CE).[7] The recipient of the sum is unclear: the sequence]*ẹḍicos* might be supplemented as *m*]*ẹḍicos*, but no reason can be given for the accusative plural. This pattern appears to be repeated at ll. 9-10 (*Sep*]*tembres* ... | […]*o co*(*n*)*s*(*ule*) …), again without a clearly recognizable recipient. Clues pointing towards the Roman army appear at ll. 1-3, where one can conjecture the word *tess*]*erari*<*i*>*s*,[8] and after it, some figures; given the word *uini* at l. 1, one can think of a payment consisting also in valuable items, not only in money. Also *man* (l. 2) may be an abbreviation for *manipulus*, though that word is usually abbreviated *manip*(*ulus*) elsewhere.[9] *Sigillis* (l. 8) has only one parallel in Latin papyri, i.e. Ch.L.A. I 12, l. 12 *ạçṭọ sup sigillo* (167 CE, TM 69871); no particular meaning is suggested in either context.

Given the military-related words and the structure of the papyrus, which seems to consist, at least for ll. 1-11, of a number of entries concerning payments, one may think of a pay record, pertaining to a specific unit from Roman army. However, one cannot understand this document as an official pay record, i.e. the one concerning regular *stipendia*. The format of this kind of document, which we know from a handful of papyri, appears to be very regular; it includes features –such as the name of the soldier and his birthplace in rustic capitals– and formulae –like *accepit stipendi*, *ex eis*– which one does not see here.[10] Such an arrangement as the amount of money (the payment being at least partially in kind: see l. 1) on a registered date is not attested yet in military papyri.[11] Moreover, an entry at l. 7 (] *ob*(*oli*) *xxxxiii nomi*{*m*}<*n*>*e*[12] *M . . .ias*) is worth some remarks. One can see in it the remnants of a particular Latin phrase, *nomine* + genitive 'under the name of', 'by way of', amply documented in Latin literature[13] and whose Greek parallel ὀνόματι + genitive is well attested in papyri.[14] Two Latin papyri also have a similar entry: Ch.L.A. XXV 790,[15] a list of names in nominative, some of which are followed by *nomine* + genitive;[16] and PSI XIII 1321, apparently a list of accounts whose context is uncertain.[17] Although the syntactic structure is

[7] The scribe has omitted the *o* in *Homullo*, and has mistakenly written *V*]*alorio*, here corrected in *V*]*alerio*.
[8] The *tesserarius* was the Roman army officer charged with the watchword. See Salati (2017a) for a full account.
[9] See T.Vindon. 5 (= C.Epist.Lat. I 24) *Q*(*uinto*) *Maio milit*(*i*) | *leg*(*ionis*) *xiii Gem*(*inae*) | [*h*]*ạsta*(*to*) *iii manip*(*uli*); T.Vindon. 69 (= C.Epist.Lat. I 56) *Prisco* | *medico* | *manip*(*uli*).
[10] See the military pay records collected by Fink (1971) 241-268, no 68 (Ch.L.A. I 7a-b, CE 81-90, TM 69867), 69 (Ch.L.A. I 9 recto, CE 83-84, TM 69868), 70 (Ch.L.A. X 410, CE 193-196, TM 63048), 71 (Ch.L.A. XLIV 1298, late 2nd cent. CE, TM 70085), 72 (P.Ryl. II 273a, 2nd cent. CE, TM 27910). One should add P.Harr. I 35 recto (1st cent. CE, TM 110834: see Salati [2017b]).
[11] Other kind of payment records are, for instance, P.Masada 722 (CE 72/75, TM 78491), P.Flor. inv. 129 recto (3rd cent. CE, TM 70148), PSI inv. 2450 recto (3rd cent. CE, TM 128489; for this and the preceding one, see Radiciotti [2006-2008]), Ch.L.A. X 446 recto (3rd cent. CE, TM 69944) and probably Ch.L.A. III 212 (3rd cent. CE, TM 69874). Though connected with Roman army, and recording some sort of payment, SB XX 14386 (CE 277-282, TM 32180) is probably not a pay register (see Renting-Sijpesteijn [1987]). None of these documents appears to be similar to L 98 verso in its formulary.
[12] For *nomime* instead of *nomine*, probably a phonetic slip, see PSI XIII 1307 recto (CE 65 ca., TM 25148), col. ii, l. 15 *a*[*d*] *nomem*.
[13] See OLD (1186) s.v. *nomen* 24.
[14] See for instance P.Erl. 42, l. 7 Διονύσιον ἀδελ(φὸν) ὀνό(ματι) τοῦ πατρὸ(ς) Λευκίο(υ) (2nd cent. CE, TM 28571), P.Strasb. Gr. I 56 fr. A 2, l. 2 ὀ[νό]ματι Ἑρμείνου τοῦ καὶ [Μύ]ρωνος Διοσκόρο[υ ὑπ]ηλλάχθαι τὴν οἰκίαν (2nd-3rd cent. CE, TM 27754), three instances in P.Oxy. XII 1534, col. II, l. 3 ὀνόμ(ατι) Ἡλιοδώρου, l. 12 ἄλ(λαι) [ὀ]νό(ματι) Μαρκίωνος, l. 13 ἄ]λ(λαι) [ὀ]νό(ματι) Ἀμυντιανοῦ Διονυς[ίου (3rd CE, TM 31757). See also P.Flor. II 226, ll. 12-13 πέμψον αὐτὰ εἰς | Τάλει τῶι ἐμῶι ὀνόματι («under my name», 3rd cent. CE, TM 11102).
[15] 1st cent. CE, TM 70007.
[16] See l. 1 *Eud*[*aimon*] *nomị*[*ne*, l. 12 *C · Noster · nomine · C · Rur . ḷọṇ . .*[, l. 16 *per · Ṣaluium · nomine · Clesippi* · [, l. 20 *idem · nomine · D*[ ]*ạ . . .*[, l. 23 *Zena · col*(*lybista*) · *n*(*omine*) · *me .*[, etc.
[17] Ch.L.A. XXV 788 (early 1st cent. CE, TM 25149). The *editores principes* M. Norsa and V. Bartoletti thought of 'conti' (see PSI XIII 1321 ad loc.). Gilliam moved slightly further, stating, «the use of Latin in the accounts also leads one to conclude that the fragment concerns the affairs of Roman merchants or bankers» ([1986] 371).

not perspicuous, one can find at l. 5 a figure followed by *nomine* and a name in genitive case: (*denarios*) *cccxiiii · e*[*t*] · *exactos · n*[*u*]*mm*[*o*]*s · nom*[*i*]*ne · C*(*aii*) · *Naevi*. This may well be the case for l. 7, where one might infer the presence of a name, perhaps in genitive, after *nomine*. To conclude, the safest way seems to classify ll. 1-11 as a register of accounts, probably not concerning official *stipendia*, and related instead to payments of some sort, regular or extraordinary, within a military unit. As for the last lines (12-15), almost nothing can be gathered from them; this section appears to have been a list of Latin names, perhaps names of soldiers (only Longus and Clemens are certain),[18] but which kind of entry was subsequent to these names one cannot fathom.

3. P.Vindob. inv. L 169 recto and the last Latin papyri from Egypt (fig. 2, ll. 2-3)

The last case I wish to discuss here is a small scrap, L 169, which can be dated back to the sixth century CE.[19] Three Latin lines are visible on the recto, whereas on the verso one can spot a handful of Greek lines, in faded ink and written along the fibres. The text runs as follows:

- - -
] . . . . *Kal(endarum) Nouembrium domino* . .[. .] .[.] . .[
] *cum ceteris contubernalibus suis* [
] *compleuisse dinoscitur* †

The dating formula is incomplete, but the presence of *domino* prompts one to think of an Emperor as consul (l. 1 *domino n*[*st*]*r*[*o*]?). The last two lines appear perfectly to match the closing lines (7-10) of P.Ryl. IV 609:[20]

ex die Iduum
[. . . . .] .*m Sabiniano et Theodoro uiris clarissimis consulibus ministrari curaturus cum ceteris*
[*conturma*]*libus suis muniis militaribus o*[*p*]*eram nauaturo ita tamen si octauum decimum annum*
[*peregi*]*sse dinoscitur*

This papyrus is an official Latin letter sent to recruit soldiers in the χώρα.[21] It is dated back to 505 CE and, until now, seems to be one of the latest papyri from Egypt written completely in Latin. The Viennese papyrus is akin to this document, and provides a suggestion on how to supply the two lacunae of the Rylands papyrus:]*libus suis* at l. 9 may in fact be [*contuberna*]*libus suis*,[22] and instead of [*peregi*]*sse* at l. 10, [*compleui*]*sse* might be read.[23] L

[18] In addition to several sources where they appear separately (Longus in P.Hamb. I 10, SB XXII 15215, P.Mich. IX 551, P.Mich. IX 570, BGU II 581, BGU I 69, etc.; Clemens in P.Mich. VIII 483, P.Mich. VIII 489 verso, P.Diog. 5, and so on) one can also witness them together in P.Gen. II 97 (second half of 1st cent. CE, TM 25170), Chrest.Wilck. 463 (96 CE, TM 80130), T.Mich. III 166 (128 CE, TM 78515) and P.Mich. IV 223 (171/172 CE, TM 11998); 224 (173 CE, TM 11999), 225 (175 CE, TM 12000).

[19] The document is written in the so-called Latin new cursive. Parallels found in Ch.L.A. XLIV 1288 (5th/6th cent. CE, TM 70075: compare in particular *e* and *n*), and P.Ryl. IV 615 (4th/5th cent. CE, TM 32758, particularly for *b* and *d*) suggest that the manuscript, probably written in Egypt, can be dated back to the 6th century CE, perhaps the first half.

[20] TM 17309.

[21] «A call-up notice served to an inhabitant of Hermoupolis by order of the Count of the Thebaid frontier through the local tribune, in which the conditions that would exempt him from conscription are carefully stated» (P.Ryl. IV, p. 97).

[22] The current supplement (*conturma*]*libus*) comes from Cugusi (see C.Epist.Lat. I 242, p. 260); Roberts and Turner thought of *aequa*]*libus* (see P.Ryl. IV, p. 98).

169 stands now as the only known parallel of a document up to now unique, and can be added to the list of the few fully Latin papyri from Late Antique Egypt.[24]

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[23] The supplement is to be ascribed to the *editor princeps*, Brandi (1914). Notably, the verb *complere* also appears in the subscription to the Rylands papyrus, at l. 12 (*conpleui*).

[24] One may mention for instance official documents and letters from imperial administration –the aforementioned P.Ryl. Gr. IV 615, Ch.L.A. XII 528 recto (4th/5th cent. CE, TM 69996), Ch.L.A. XXVIII 839 (4th/5th cent. AD, TM 70008), CPR V 13 (401 CE, TM 12866), the aforementioned P.Ryl. Gr. IV 609 –imperial constitutions and rescripts– P.Ryl. Gr. III 476 (4th/5th cent. CE, TM 64583), SB XX 14606 (CE 425-430, TM 23768), Ch.L.A. XVII 657 (436-450 CE, TM 69999), Ch.L.A. 44 1301 (465-467 CE, TM 70088) –and a handful of undetermined texts, such as P.Ryl. Gr. 3 481 (5th cent. CE, TM 64749), CLA X 1523 (5th cent. CE, TM 64817), Ch.L.A. III 213 recto (5th cent. CE, TM 99306: probably the minute of the verbal of an audience).

Plates

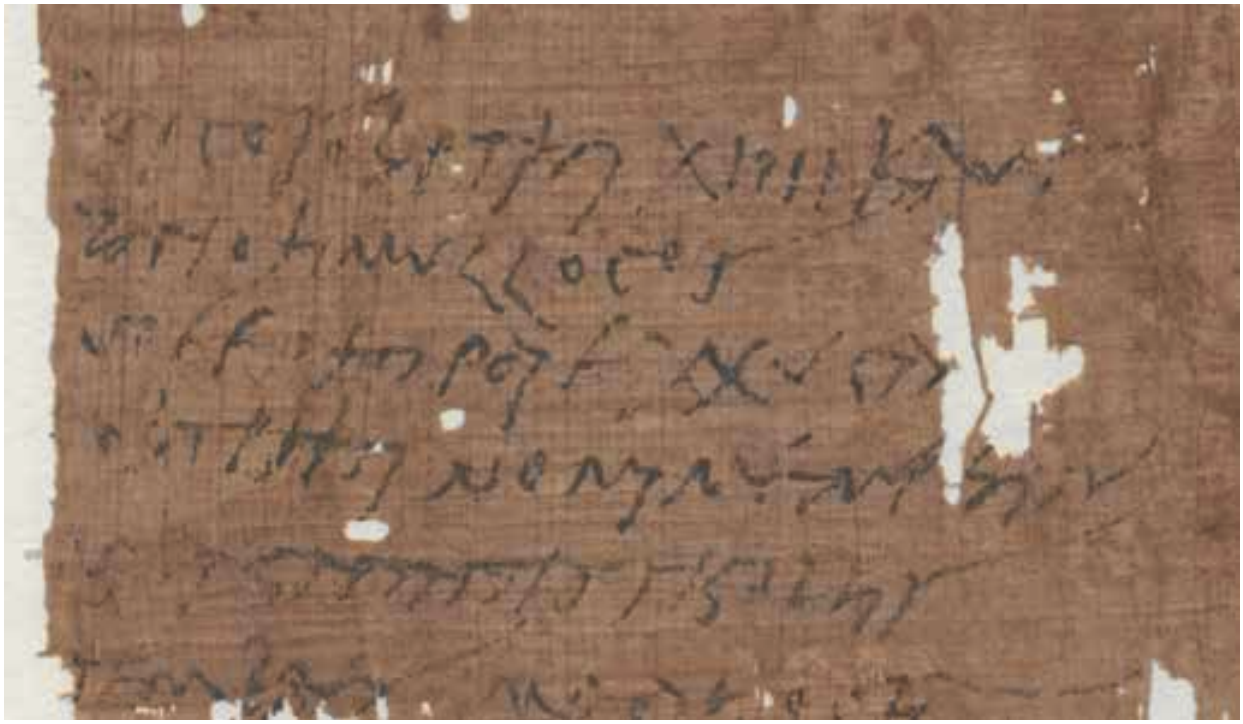


Fig. 1. P.Vindob. inv. L 98 verso, ll. 4-9. Courtesy of the Austrian National Library

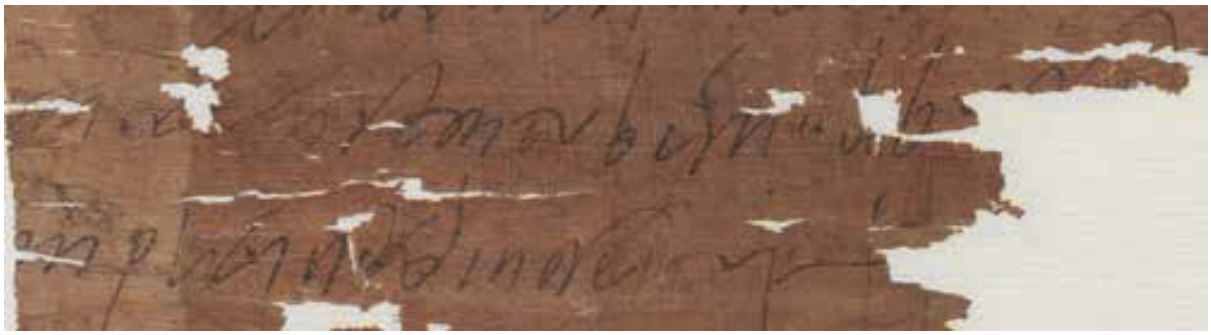


Fig. 2. P.Vindob. inv. L 169 recto, ll. 2-3. Courtesy of the Austrian National Library

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Accounting in the Roman Army
Some Remarks on PSI II 119r + Ch.L.A. IV 264*

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1. Introduction

In 1903, in the third volume of The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, A. S. Hunt published a fragment containing sections of Plato's Gorgias (P.Oxy. III 454). In 1913, four other fragments from the same roll were published by T. Lodi as PSI II 119v and afterwards, in 1977, three further fragments were joined to the same group by R. Pintaudi, namely P.Laur. IV 134v.[1] The Platonic dialogue –in order P.Laur. IV 134 + P.Oxy. III 454 + PSI II 119v–[2] was written around the late second century CE on the verso of a papyrus roll which bears on the recto, along the fibres, an account book in Latin. Interest in the Gorgias has overshadowed the interest in the Latin document. Only in 1967 did R. Marichal publish the recto of P.Oxy. III 454 as Ch.L.A. IV 264,[3] and just very recently PSI II 119r came to light.[4] In contrast, P.Laur. IV 134r still lies unpublished, but for a good reason: in antiquity, the roll was subjected to considerable tearing, and, in some parts, it was covered by sheets from several Greek documents.[5] Consequently, the recto of this papyrus has been lost.[6]

Now, the recent publication of PSI II 119r requires a closer reconsideration of the whole roll. PSI II 119r and Ch.L.A. IV 264 were written by the same hand and feature two different sections of an account book that can be dated with accuracy: in Ch.L.A. IV 264 there is evidence for six units and, in l. 10, the *cohors I Lusitanorum* is mentioned. This cohort made its first appearance in Egypt in 105 CE at the latest,[7] and this date can thus be assumed as a certain *terminus post quem*. Moreover, in PSI II 119r, fr. a l. 17, the abbreviation of the *legio III Cyrenaica* can be found. The movements of this legion have been quite widely discussed, but, according to a recent, commonly held, view,[8] in 125 CE it was permanently transferred to Arabia.[9]

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[1] Pintaudi (1977) 111-115. He also re-edited the papyrus in 1983 as P.Laur. IV 134.

[2] Re-edition in Carlini / Violante (1999) 70-78 (= TM 62613, LDAB 3798, MP^3 1414.1). On the dating of the re-use, which perhaps occurred after an interval of 15/20 years after the Latin side was written, see Lama (1991) 98-99.

[3] Ch.L.A. IV 264, 78-80 (= TM 69879).

[4] Salati (2017) 71-111. A brief reference to this papyrus can be found in Ch.L.A. XLVII 1461, 116 (= TM 70149).

[5] See Pintaudi (1977) 12, n. 14-15; Puglia (1997) 45, 52, n. 98. In general, on factors which could cause the deterioration of papyrus, see Leach / Tait (2000) 239-243.

[6] Together with P.Laur. IV 134r also PSI II 119r, in particular fr. d, has been partially covered by a small piece of a Greek document, orientated at a right angle to the Latin text.

[7] Lesquier (1918) 92; Daris (1988) 760-761; Alston (1995) 175-176.

[8] Gatier (2000) 341-349. See also Speidel (1977) 691-697; Cizek (1983) 463; Alston (1995) 25, 73.

[9] The palaeographical features are also consistent with the early second century CE. See Marichal (1950) 123; Ch.L.A. IV 264, 79; Ch.L.A. XLVII 1461, 116.

Furthermore, and more importantly, this account book is clearly related to the Roman army, but the hypothesis suggested by Marichal –that it was kept in an office of the central administration, probably that of the idios logos– [10] appears hard to confirm.

The present paper aims to analyse the evidence in order to describe the exact nature of the document and clarify its purpose. Given their different contents, PSI II 119r and Ch.L.A. IV 264 raise different questions and therefore they will be examined separately. Here attention will be paid only to the salient points. In the final part of the paper, considerations of the evidence as a whole will reassess the theory of the original setting of the roll and will support the alternative explanation of it as a specific military account book.

2. PSI II 119r (fig. 1)

The literary content of the verso, arranged in columns of standard width of 5.7 cm, with standard intercolumnium of 1 cm, allows us to reconstruct the format of the roll and to work out the place of all the fragments within it. Here it is sufficient to say that, according to my reconstruction,[11] the height of the roll was about 31 cm, and its length was about 10 m, which were typical measures.[12] In particular, PSI II 119r was likely to stand at a distance of ca. 20 cm from the beginning of the roll. It consists of four fragments,[13] in which parts of three columns have survived. Since fr. a is the best preserved, my analysis will focus mostly on this item. The text runs as follows:

– – –

1]*ṣ* . . [.]*l*[. .] . [
K(alendis) Aprilibu[*s*
ratori ṗa[.] . . [
praef(ect-) castr(orum) [
5 *firmę* . . . . . [
(denar-) arg(ent-) ẹṭ ạụṛị[
Ẋ[.] . . [.] . . . . . [±16 *e*]*x epistu*[*la*
ṛ . . [±20] . *u* . *ri* [*p*]*raef*[*(ecti) castr(orum)*]
sum[*ma* ±18]*is f(it)* · *Aug(ust-) IIỊ*[±5]
10 *defun*[*ct-* . . .] . . . . [±5] . . [. . .] . . . . [. . .] . . . *rę* . [±3]
ipse ṣạ[. . .] . . [.] . *at propos*[. .] . . [.] . . [.] . *ọ* . . . [±4]
[. . . .]*es pṛebant bona* (vac.) *ạḍ ḳ(astra)*
XIII K(alendas) M[*ai*]*i*[*a*]*s i* . *ṭi* . *mṇ*[.]*u* . *r* . . *ex epistul*[*a Pe*]*troni praef*[*(ecti)*]
castror(um) ex b[*oni*]*s* . *ẹrv* . [. .]*m XIIIỊ qui mortem*
15 *sibi conscit exit auri ob debit*[*u*]*m* (vac.) *ad k(astra)*
ṾIIIỊ K(alendas) Mai(as) Valerio Capitoni (centuria) Papiri heredi Valeri ca[. .]
dr(achm-)
. . . . . *m*[. .] *leg(io-) III Cyr(enaica-) ex epistul*[*a P*]*etroni praef(ecti) castr(orum)*
[*ex bonis*] . *ẹrvilụm XẊṾ qui mortem sibi conscit*
[*exit auri*] *ob dębịṭ*[*um*] (vac.) *ad k(astra)*

[10] Marichal (1964) 110-111; Ch.L.A. IV 264, 79.
[11] Salati (2017) 72-79.
[12] On this point see Puglia (1996) 56, who equally speaks about roll length; Johnson (2004) 141, 192, 221 indicates ca 27.9 cm in height and 8 m in length.
[13] The fragments are, unfortunately, numbered with respect to the text on the verso and therefore come in reverse order with regard to this text.

Here the greater part of one column is visible and just the upper margin is missing. The information is grouped into four distinct blocks that are arranged under the days of the months. The opening of each entry is indicated by *ekthesis* of the first line. In addition, the scribe left blank spaces at the end of entries (ll. 12, 15, 19) to highlight certain elements of the document. This layout is standard among military papyri and is employed in different kinds of records, such as morning reports (e.g. PSI XIII 1307, mid-first century CE) and lists (e.g. P.Dura 97, 251 CE).

Focusing attention on the language, entries 3 (ll. 13-15) and 4 (ll. 16-19), the best preserved, make it evident that the present document deals with payments relating to soldiers who had died by suicide. All details point to the military sphere exclusively. In particular, entry 3 contains the following salient elements: date (1), mention of written instruction (*ex epistula*) by the prefect of the camp (2), reference to some goods followed by figures (3), and, at the end, the information that the suicidal soldier owed an amount of gold, expressed with the partitive *auri*, to the camp to cover his debt (4).[14] Entry 4 follows a similar pattern but, after the date, it makes mention of one Valerius Capito, who belonged to the *centuria* of Papirius and who was appointed as heir to a homonymous Valerius. At the end of l. 16 the abbreviation of drachmae occurs, but no figures survive at all. At the beginning of l. 17 the mention of the *legio III Cyrenaica* is found. On the one hand, the content of this latter entry might recall that of another military record, P.Mich. VII 435 + 440, which lists inheritances and payments of the *vicesima hereditatum* and concerns the *legio III Cyrenaica* as well. On the other hand, one should note that the Michigan papyrus consists only of autographed receipts, written by different hands, in which the content appears quite fixed and suicide is never mentioned as the cause of death. In this light, it is evident that the present papyrus is unique in its genre and a very important document. Indeed, it is the only papyrological source attesting to cases of self-killings within the Roman army. What is more, it gives a clear insight into the financial outcomes of these suicides.[15]

It is worth remembering that Roman law did not punish suicide, but, as is well known, there were situations in which it caused juridical complications.[16] If the accused committed suicide before the court had come to a verdict, this was thus to be interpreted as a confession, and the Roman state confiscated his goods as if he had been condemned.[17] As for soldiers, given their special relationship with the state, suicide was regarded as a form of desertion and, consequently, there was a general tendency by the state to discourage it.[18] Financial penalties, among others, were employed for this purpose.[19] In view of the date of the roll, we should note that an important change in the law occurred in the early second century CE, when the emperor Hadrian narrowed down the valid and invalid motives for suicide (*distinctio*

[14] For this meaning of the verb *exeo*, see OLD, s.v. 6b, with the example of Cic.Ver. 2.61: *nummos qui per simulationem ab isto exierant revertisse*.

[15] For a full discussion of the topic from a legal point of view, see Mentxaka (2010); Manni (2013) 293-374, with earlier bibliography. In general, for the suicide in antiquity, see Grisé (1982); van Hooff (1990); Veyne (1990).

[16] See van Hooff (1990) 83; Manni (2013) 296-297.

[17] On this point, see Wacke (1980) 52-61; Volterra (1999) 187-189, 193-207; Manni (2013) 293-315 with a discussion of relevant passages from Digesta.

[18] Veyne (1981) 266-268; Manni (2013) 339, 349-350.

[19] A complete list of military penalties is provided by Dig. 49.16.3.1 (Mod. 4 de poenis): *Poenae militum huiuscemodi sunt: castigatio, pecuniaria multa, munerum indictio, militiae mutatio, gradus deiectio, ignominosia missio. Nam in metallum aut in opus metalli non dabantur nec torquentur*. On this, see the remarks of Manni (2013) 339 n. 147, with further bibliography.

causarum).[20] The fullest evidence of this is provided by a section of the Digesta, in which Ulpianus is analysing the opinion of Sabinus about wills.[21] In a letter to the governor of Britannia, the emperor distinguished the cases in which a soldier could keep his testamentary rights. This was possible if the suicide was committed because of the burden of age (*taedium*) or grief (*dolor*). In addition, Hadrian established that, without a legal will and heirs, his goods went to the camp as a whole.[22]

Thus, when we compare the imperial disposition with the present papyrus two points of interest come to light. First, the document does not contain any reference to the reasons for the suicide. Second, unlike the instance of Valerius Capito, legitimate offspring of dead Valerius, no mention of heirs can be found for suicide cases. For these features, the record would seem to predate Hadrian's regulation (119 CE). Unfortunately, the evidence is not sufficiently explicit to support this assumption. Moreover, this omission can be easily explained by the fact that the soldier was in debt (*ob debitum*) with the legionary cash. Given its nature and purpose, the document considers only the economic aspects. And, thereby, it gives us a glimpse into the Roman idea of army properties.

3. Ch.L.A. IV 264 (fig. 2)

According to my reconstruction, Ch.L.A. IV 264 comes from an outer portion of the roll. The estimated loss between PSI II 119r and this fragment is about 154 cm.[23] The text as a whole reads:

– – –

1] . [
Iri[*naeo Aug(usti) l(iberto)*
cartul[
in bassil[*i*]*c* . [
5 *XII K(alendas) `Kal(endas)´ Decembreṣ* [±9 *r*]*ạtio*[
relịquaẹ ex d[±9] . . *et ra*[*tione*
Irinaeo Aug(usti) l(iberto) [±7]*gentos Ị*[
et d[i]stributoṣ [±8]*ụris*
missae ab Vale[*rio Perp*]*etuo c(enturione) de chort*[*ibus et alis i(nfra) s(criptis)*]
10 *coh(ortis) I Lusi*[*tanor*]*um* (vac.) *d(enari)* [
coh(ortis) II Ị[*turaeo*]*rum* [
c[*oh(ortis)*] *Ị Ṭ*[*hebae*]*orum* [
ạ[*lae Vocon*]*ṭiorum* [
ạ[±9]*orum* [

[20] For a concise picture of the emperor and his juridical activity, see Manfredini (2008) 132-138. Full bibliography in Mentxaka (2010) 114 n. 14. Disagreement on this point is expressed by Volterra (1999) 191, who attributes these juridical changes to the reign of Tiberius.

[21] Dig. 28.3.6.7 (Ulp. 10 ad Sab.): *quam distinctionem in militis quoque testamento divus Hadrianus dedit epistulam ad Pomponium Falconem, ut, si quidem ob conscientiam delicti militaris mori maluit, irritum sit eius testamentum: quod si taedio vitae vel dolore, valere testamentum aut, si intestato decessit, cognatis aut, si non sint, legionis ista sint vindicanda*. Scholars generally agree on the authenticity of this section: see Wacke (1980), 66 and n. 172, Volterra (1999) 190-191; Manni (2013) 341-342. Specifically, for an overview of the different explanations of the section, see Manni (2013) 307-308, 340.

[22] More concisely, the same disposition can be found also in Dig. 29.1.34 pr. (Pap. 14 quaest.): *eius militis, qui doloris impatientia vel taedio vitae mori maluit, testamentum valere vel intestati bona ab his qui lege vocantur vindicari divus Hadrianus rescripsit*. Further evidence is collected and analysed by Manni (2013) 298-306.

[23] Salati (2017) 78-79.

15 *coh(ortis) I* [*Flavi*]*ae Cilicum* [
item [*a*]*llatae* [±8] *per Livium* . [
⟦*(centurionis)*⟧ *p(rimi)pili sc* . [±9]*soṇ* . . *ḷum*[
⟦ . . . . . ⟧
(vac.)
summa ac[*cep*]*ta d*[*racm(arum)*] *CLXXXṾ*[
20 *et quae p*[*er B*]*rutu*[*m*] *latae erant* [
fiunt dr[*acm(ae) Aug(ustae)* . .] *CXXXVIII*[
et calcul[*atae sunt dr*]*acm(arum) Aug(ustarum)* [±5 *argenti*]
Tyri XVI · *aeris Italic*[*i*

On the basis of the text on the verso, we may conclude that the papyrus preserves the greater part of the column, and presumably only the top margin and the first two lines of the text are missing. The layout, which emphasises the various steps taken by the scribe, resembles that of several military lists.[24]

As for the content, in his excellent edition Marichal summarises the evidence as follows: «the accounts record receipts from six detachments of troops stationed in Upper Egypt, from the exploitation of the salt monopoly and perhaps also the patrimonium».[25] He believes that the expression *in bassilic*[in l. 4 alludes to the βασιλικὴ γῆ and suggests a restoration such as *in basilicis agris*. From his point of view, this would refer to receipts from the imperial estates. Moreover, unlike the present edition, in l. 16 he reads the sequence *linae* and restores the word [*sa*]*linae*. In Roman Egypt, as is well known, the production, trade, and distribution of salt were carefully controlled by the state, because of its link with taxation.[26] These two kinds of payments thus lead the scholar to the conclusion mentioned in the introduction, according to which the register was deposited in an office of the central administration, perhaps recognizable as that of the idios logos.[27]

However, the evidence cannot support this view. First, as far as the word *bassilic-* is concerned, the loss of the context warns us to be cautious: in general, we cannot be sure about its exact meaning and use. In addition, if the adjective concerns a specific land category, one should take into account the most recent debate on the categorization and status of land in Roman Egypt. Several essential studies have shown the crucial distinction between the Ptolemaic fiscal settlement and that introduced by Augustus, especially regarding terminology and the conception of the properties.[28] The old Ptolemaic royal land was transformed into *ager publicus*, and was placed under the control of the prefect and his subordinate in charge of fiscal responsibilities, the *dioiketes*. The adjective βασιλικός ('royal') was replaced by the new δημόσιος, implying a reference to the *populus Romanus*,[29] and was used in opposition to the adjective ἰδιωτικός, that is the equivalent to the Latin *privatus*. Since in fact βασιλικός continued throughout the Roman period, its use broadly

[24] Among financial documents, comparisons can be made with P.Fay. 105, bank deposits of the riders of an *ala* (120-150 CE), and with Ch.L.A. III 203, a receipt for hay from a *turma* (130 CE). In the third century CE a further parallel is provided by P.Oxy. IV 735, a receipt for wheat for cavalrymen and infantry (4 Sept 205 CE).
[25] Ch.L.A. IV 264, 79.
[26] Adams (2013) 272-274.
[27] On the jurisdiction and responsibilities of the idios logos, see Swarney (1970).
[28] Parássaglou (1978); Rathbone (1993); Rowlandson (1996); Lo Cascio (2000) 122-130; Monson (2012).
[29] Rathbone (1993) 85; Rowlandson (1996) 39 n. 35, 93. By contrast, according to Lo Cascio (2000) 127 n. 85, the adjective δημόσιος cannot be regarded as the equivalent of the Latin *populus Romanus*; rather, it basically indicated that the land was under the control of the emperor.

overlapped with that of δημόσιος.[30] In the papyrological documents, it is not always self-evident that it refers to a category of land and the use of a classification term such as *bassilic-* does not find parallels in Latin papyri. Last and not least, the word *bassilic-* could have another meaning and, as the use of the preposition *in* suggests, mean a real place. As an abbreviation of a toponym, *Basil*(-) occurs in P.Oxy. XIV 1659. l. 27 (218-221 CE) and BGU XIII 2365. l. 8 (late third century CE), where it refers to a village of the Herakleopolite nome, perhaps of the Koites toparchy.[31] Alternatively, it would mean a specific building of the fort, the so-called *basilica exercitatoria*. Such buildings have been identified in legionary fortresses, but their purpose has not been confirmed: the *basilica* was used as drill-hall, but, in some camps, it was also a sort of granary (*horreum*) or workshop (*fabrica*).[32]

As for l. 10, direct inspection of the papyrus cannot confirm the reading *linae* suggested by Marichal and thus a reference to the salt monopoly; the scribe clearly wrote *llatae*.[33] Since these letters are preceded by a very small lacuna,[34] a possible restoration is [*a*]*llatae*. The verb thus would refer to the transfer of drachmae through Livius, like in l. 20. In the light of this, it seems reasonable to conclude that the present account is not a list of revenues held by the *idios logos*. It is, rather, a list of income of the camp. In order to corroborate this interpretation, comparative evidence can be used. In particular, the last entry (ll. 21-23), which gives the total amount expressed first in drachmae, the normal currency of Egypt, and then in other coinage, finds close parallels in some financial accounts from Vindolanda.[35] The tablets prove that the military clerks were accustomed to counting large sums in cash and converting money.[36] In addition to the bureaucratic documents, the extensive use of coin is clearly shown by the archaeological evidence. Vast quantities of coins, even of high value, have been discovered in military sites on the northern frontier.[37] A comparison with what we know about the economic activities of the Roman army thus confirms that the present account pertains to military matters.

Despite this, certain crucial points of the text remain unclear, in particular the source of payments. As an alternative to the collection of taxes, suggested by Marichal, one might suppose that these cash sums were connected with some financial activity of the units or with the supply system paid in money instead of in kind. Together with the *annona*, special levies could also be demanded by the army.[38] Nevertheless, the extant evidence does not allow for a more precise interpretation. Moreover, some details of the money collection by soldiers cannot be securely inferred. In addition to the six auxiliary units listed in ll. 10-15, specific ranks are mentioned. Firstly, the centurion Valerius Perpetuus named in l. 9 took care of the carriage of the cash, as the phrase *missae ab* would suggest. Secondly, the *primus pilus*

[30] As Rowlandson (1996) 40 points out, in most instances «it was essentially an arbitrary choice of one description rather than the other». For an overview of the use of category terms in official tax documents and of the specific difficulties in their meaning in Oxyrhynchite evidence, see pp. 31-62.
[31] Pruneti (1981) 38; Falivene (1998) 58.
[32] For the basilica as drill-hall, see Collingwood / Richmond (1969) 17, 23, 41-42, 45. For instance, it was employed in the camp of Lambaesis for this purpose; see Le Bohec (2008) 257-259. In contrast, the basilica of the fort of Inchtuthil has been interpreted as granary or workshop by Pytts / Joseph (1985) 123-128.
[33] The confusion is easy to explain: the *I* read by Marichal corresponds to *L* with a short and almost horizontal second stroke (a comparable letter shape can be seen in the word *pilis* in l. 17); then, the scholar mistakes the letters *AT* for *N*, because the horizontal stroke of *T* has almost fully vanished.
[34] The hole of the lacuna accommodates just one letter or two very narrow ones.
[35] T.Vindol. II 178; T.Vindol. II 185. ll. 28-29; T.Vindol. II 191. ll. 14-15; T.Vindol. II 192. ll. 9-10; T.Vindol. II 201. l. 11
[36] Bowman (1998) 34-35.
[37] See Alston (1995) 102, who points out that the Roman army was an important market and source of coinage.
[38] These kinds of levies are well documented from the legal sources and papyri; on the topic, see Isaac (1990) 285-291.

recorded in l. 17 likely played an active role as well, but in this passage the reading remains rather uncertain and does not supply the details of his task. Thirdly, one can find two men, Brutus and Livius, in ll. 16 and 20. Their names are very usual and neither the rank nor the unit to which they belonged are stated. Perhaps both could be ordinary soldiers in charge of carrying specific, more abbreviated account books.[39]

Lastly, a further point of interest concerns the role of Irinaeus *Augusti libertus* mentioned twice, in ll. 2 and 7. Given the condition of the item, his role remains here unclear, but this detail can be explained and reinterpreted in the light of my new interpretation. Military evidence from different contexts clearly witnesses the presence of imperial slaves or freedmen and their involvement both in the supply system and in commercial transactions with the Roman army.[40]

4. Conclusion

If we look at the evidence as a whole, we do not find any data to support the view that the roll comes from the office of the *idios logos* or any other civil department. It must rather be placed in a military context. Specifically, PSI II 119r and Ch.L.A. IV 264 feature an account book or ledger related to different aspects of the internal administration of the Roman army. This account book combines special records about inheritances and debts of soldiers who died and those who committed suicide (PSI II 119r), together with payments and summaries of revenues (Ch.L.A. IV 264). It might have come from the camp at Nicopolis, or more likely from the governor's headquarters, since soldiers from several units are mentioned.

Furthermore, the evidence provides us with a stimulating body of new data relating to the military life of the second century CE: PSI II 119r throws light on the juridical condition of the soldiers and their property after suicide and provides the unique papyrological attestation of the phrase *qui sibi mortem conscit*.[41] It adds a new *praefectus castrorum* to our list, and also elucidates some administrative tasks which he undertook.[42] Ch.L.A. IV 264 enriches our knowledge of the financial and economic activities of the soldiers. It shows a variety of military ranks involved in the different stages of collecting the revenues in cash.

If my interpretation is right, this account book offers further evidence of the meticulous paperwork carried out within the Roman army and may be of more general relevance for the imperial military history.

[39] Marichal in Ch.L.A. IV 264, 79, who quotes Cic. Ver. 1.100. As regards the first instance, he is in doubt whether Livius was the messenger or the administrator. See also T.Vindol. II 190, a long daily account of foodstuffs, in which, besides other entries, a similar notation *per Privatum* can be found. According to Bowman (1998) 35, the servile status of Privatus is suggested by his name and the use of the word *dominus* (l. 31).

[40] As for the supply system, see P.Dura 64, a letter from the praepositus to the tribunus of the cohors Palmyrenorum (221 CE), which deals with the distribution of barley by an imperial freedman. As regards commercial transactions in the Vindolanda tablets, see Bowman (1998) 34. For Egyptian evidence, see the instance of Gaion καισαριανός provided by O.Claud. III 417, who was a freedman at the centre of a particular loan transaction. On this, see the remarks of Cuvigny (2000) 60-62.

[41] The sentence *qui sibi mortem conscit* is the traditional way to refer to self-killers. Latin, in fact, has no distinctive word to signify 'suicide' or 'self-murder'. For several phrases meaning 'to killing oneself', see van Hooff (1990) 139 n. 11, 272, 246-250 (Appendix C). Among these, the most common was just *adsciscere* / *conscicere sibi mortem*.

[42] A list of *praefecti castrorum* in the early principate is provided by Saddington (1996).

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Plates

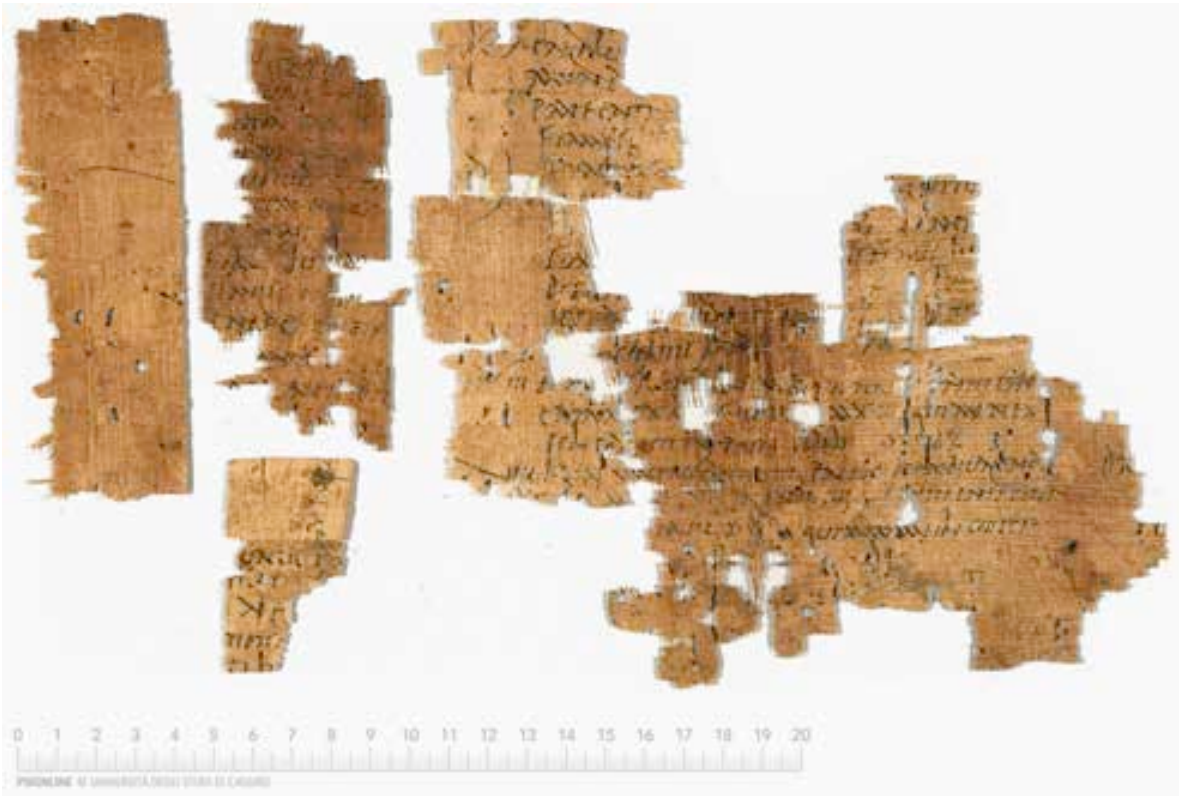


Fig. 1 PSI II 119r
Photo by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence. With the permission of MiBACT. Every reproduction with any medium is strictly forbidden.



Fig. 2 Ch.L.A. IV 264
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Latin Documents Written on Papyrus in the Late Antique and Early Medieval West (5th-11th century): an overview*

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The overview studies of Leo Santifaller (1953) and Jan-Olof Tjäder (first volume, 1955) on Latin documents written on papyrus in the West between the fifth and eleventh century still remain unsurpassed in the field of medieval papyrus studies. In some cases even the work of Gaetano Marini, published in 1805, must still be taken into consideration.[1] Discoveries of papyri in the West, none of which come from excavation but are preserved *ab antiquo* in archives and libraries, surely occur less frequently than their Eastern counterparts; nevertheless, these discoveries do exist. From this point of view, the aforementioned studies are nothing but illustrations or photographs of the *corpus* made in different years: 1805, 1953 and 1955. After their initial publication some of the documents were lost, others recovered or discovered, others re-read and better understood, all of them becoming part of a renewed interest in medieval Latin papyri by historians of society, economy and culture, as well as paleographers and diplomatists, jurists, and linguists.[2] The lack of papyrologists among them is quite surprising, but it is less puzzling if we consider that an ancient tradition binds these papyri to historians of the Middle Ages and to diplomatists.[3]

In recognition of the high level of interest in these sources, new surveys of the corpus of medieval Latin papyri can contribute usefully to scholars from these different fields, especially because they can offer a new and updated overview of the materials available and their relevance to the history of the medieval West. The present contribution thus has a twofold purpose: first, it offers an updated synopsis of the currently preserved Latin documents written on papyrus in the late antique and early medieval West; then, it considers this corpus in relation to those areas in which the papyrus remained in use as writing material after the seventh and eighth century.

This overview will divide the documents into two broad categories, based on the main macro-areas of production, plus a third category of some still-unpublished or particularly problematic manuscripts: 1) Italian papyri; 2) French papyri; 3) unpublished papyri. The first two categories are further divided into subgroups, taking into account documentary typologies (public documents, private documents, inventories/lists, epistles and relic labels)

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[1] P. Marini (1805); Santifaller (1953); P.Ital. I (1955). For papyrus codices cf. Ammirati (2015) 105-111.

[2] Examples of historians are Brown (1984); McCormick (2002); Pasquali (2005); Caliri (2012). Paleographers / diplomatists: Atsma / Vezin (1999); Vezin (2004); Santoni (2011); Carbonetti (2011). Jurists: Migliardi Zingale (2008); Tarozzi (2017). Linguists: Francovich Onesti (2010). About the editions cf. P.Rain.Cent. 166; Salomons / Tjäder / Worp (1998); ChLA^2 LV; Radiciotti (2004); Ghignoli / De Robertis / Zamponi (2018).

[3] On this point cf. Carbonetti (2011) 36. An exception is made for the Spanish papyrologists: Noël / Tudela (2007); Tudela (2015). The Checklist of editions and papyrological databases does not cover all these documents: I will quote some of them with the ChLA number or with the title of the works in which they are published or mentioned.

and chronology.[4] The final part of the paper explores indirect evidence and the most recent studies about the use of papyrus in the medieval West in order to discuss, in a preliminary form, the circulation of papyrus in the Mediterranean Sea, from Egypt to the West, during the early Middle Ages.

1. Italian papyri

The papyri written in Italy total 91 items dating from 433 to 1052 CE. They have been drafted in Byzantine or formerly Byzantine areas, especially Ravenna and Rome. Of these, 45 are public documents, 33 are private documents, 5 are inventories / lists, 3 are epistles and 5 are (groups of) relic labels.

a. Public documents

15 of the 45 public documents are fragments of *gesta municipalia*, proceedings of city councils (*curiae*) in which documents were presented by citizens to the council for inspection, recitation, and registration in the city archives, with copies of the transcripts of these proceedings given out to citizens. They date from 433 to 625 CE, and refer not only to the territory of Ravenna, but also to Lazio (Rieti) and Sicily (Syracuse).[5]

The so-called Butini papyrus is a solemn act issued by the chancery of a *comes sacri stabuli* in mid-sixth century Italy. Following Tjäder's interpretation, scholars ascribed it to a Iohannes, maybe one of the Justinian's *magistri militum*, but a new inspection of the text has linked it to the chancery of Costantianus –a key figure in the Gothic war– and to the city of Ravenna in the years 540-543 CE ca.[6]

P. Ital. 49, dated to 557 CE, is a fragment containing witness statements related to an inquiry about landed property near Nepi, carried out under the supervision of the *vicarius praefecti Urbis,* with Goths among the parties .[7]

Two further documents were issued by the archiepiscopal chancery of Ravenna: the former is dated between 642/643 CE and 665/666 CE, and contains a grant in *emphyteusis* of land to the exarch; the latter, datable to the years 851-867 CE, contains a solemn deed of donation directed to the Church of Ravenna.[8]

Like a Roman counterpart to the archiepiscopal papyri from Ravenna, the papal papyri are a series of 25 public documents issued by the chancery of the Roman bishops that range from 788 to 1052 CE. The series is composed almost exclusively of grants and confirmations in

[4] I use the term 'document' in a (rather) general sense, meaning a non-literary or non-paraliterary text. For the division between public and private documents see Pratesi (1999). As regards the epistles discussed here, despite their similarity with some public documents, I have chosen to consider them as a separate group, since their senders (ecclesiastics, officers) are related to public institutions, but the genetic context of these texts can not be immediately linked to public documentary practices.

[5] P.Ital. 59 (433 CE), 10-11 (489 CE), 12 (491 CE), 29 (504 CE ca), 31 (540 CE), 33 (541 CE), 26 (6th cent. CE, half), 9 (6th cent. CE, half), 27 (6th cent. CE, second half), 4-5 (552-575 CE), 7 (557 CE), 8 (564 CE), maybe 2 (565-570 CE), 14-15 (572 CE), 21 (625 CE), discussed by Santoni (2011) and Everett (2013) (from which I take the definition). P.Ital. 7 is referred to Rieti, P.Ital. 10-11 to Syracuse. The structure of the *gesta* is very close to that of Egyptian court proceedings.

[6] P.Ital. 55; cf. Internullo (2018).

[7] P.Ital. 49 (probably written in Rome); cf. Cosentino (2014).

[8] P.Ital. 44; Carte Ravennati 22, both of them written in curial writing.

favour of ecclesiastical authorities, churches and monasteries of Italy, France, Germany and Spain.[9]

The group ends with two papyrus fragments from a Carolingian deed of donation directed to a Roman pope, written in Caroline minuscule and dated to the ninth century CE. The editors believe that this is not original, but a copy of an actual diploma made at the behest of the recipient (in Rome), or a fake created within a papal milieu.[10] However, indirect evidence regarding the use of Carolingian script (cf. infra), as well as comparison with P.Marini 70-71 and P.Vat.Mai (infra), suggest that further research should be undertaken to determine whether (and in which sense) this document is original.

b. Private documents

The private documents consist mostly of deeds of sale and donation. The deeds of sale (11 in total) date from 539 to 767 CE, mention only Ravenna and its territory as the place of their composition, and essentially concern the land market in which the major social and economic actors of the area were involved: Latins and Goths, soldiers and clergy, bankers and tailors, mostly men but also women.[11] There are also 15 donations, 13 written in Ravenna and 2 in Rome, from the beginning of the sixth to the middle of the tenth century CE. They involve actors of different cultures and extractions (including Goths, Greeks, Latins, soldiers, ecclesiastics, later even artisans, *viri honesti* and *consules*) and are addressed to the Church of Ravenna.[12] A further Italian payrus may fall under one of these two typologies, but its content has not yet been precisely determined.[13]

Among the private papyrus documents there is also the resolution of a lawsuit between a married couple and a *navicularius*, dated to about 542 CE and written in Ravenna, as well as a will, composed on February 25th, 575 CE (opened on April 1st) in the same city on behalf of a Goth, with provisions in favour of the local Church.[14]

Three petitions of *emphyteusis* follow. These date to the eighth and ninth centuries CE and are directed to the same Church of Ravenna by prominent local personalities.[15]

The last document in this group is a renunciation completed in Ravenna around 858 CE, made by a Lombard named Atroaldo in favour of a *dux* named Gregory.[16]

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[9] ChLA XVI 630 (788 CE), Carte Ravennati 9 (819 CE), Radiciotti 2004 (847 CE), Carte Ravennati 13 (850 CE), Tock (2001), 138 (855 CE), 239 (863 CE), 140 (876 CE), Frühe Papsturkunden 1 (891 CE), P.Marini 20 (892 CE), Noël / Tudela (2007), 3 (893 CE), Papsturkunden 5 (897 CE), 206 (971 CE), 207 (971 CE), 210 (971 CE), 245 (978 CE), 325 (995 CE), 357 (998 CE), 377 (999 CE), 299 (1001 CE), 405 (1002 CE), 416 (1004 CE), 437 (1007 CE), 457 (1011 CE), 507 (1017 CE), Prou (1903) (1052 CE), all written in curial writing.

[10] ChLA^2 LV 8.

[11] P.Ital. 30 (539 CE), 32 (540 CE, an *epistula traditionis* concerning a land sale), 34 (551 CE), 35 (572 CE), 36 (575-591 CE), 37 (591 CE), P.Rain.Cent. 166 (6th-7th cent. CE), P.Ital. 46 (7th cent. CE), 42 (7th cent. CE), 38-41 (616-619 CE), Carte Ravennati 5 (767 CE ca.). All of them are written in new Roman cursive.

[12] P.Ital. 16 (6th cent. CE), 13 (553 CE), Solomons-Tjäder-Worp (1998) (553-564 CE), P.Ital. 18-19 (590-598 CE), 20 (590-602 CE), 28+56 (613-641 CE), 22 (639 CE), 25 (7th cent. CE), 24 (650 CE ca.), 23 (8th cent. CE), Carte Ravennati 6 (767 CE ca.), 10 (823/824 CE), 24 (853-868 CE), 20 (858/859 CE), Kehr 1896 (10th cent. CE, half). P.Ital. 18-19 (addressed to the Church of Ravenna) and Kehr 1896 seem to be written in Rome; P.Ital. 23 is addressed to a monastery of Ravenna, Kehr 1896 to a Roman monastery, P.Ital. 25 (which contains also a grant of *emphyteusis*) to privates. Except for Kehr 1896, written in Roman curial writing, all other documents are written in new Roman cursive.

[13] P.Ital. 54 (500 CE ca for Tjäder), in new Roman cursive. I am working on a new edition of it.

[14] P.Ital. 43 (542 CE ca), 6 (575 CE), both of them in new Roman cursive.

[15] P.Ital. 45 (8th cent. CE, first half), Carte Ravennati 15 (9th century CE, half), 34 (850-882 CE), in new Roman cursive.

[16] Carte Ravennati 18 (858 CE).

c. Inventories and lists

There are five Latin papyrus documents of this type. They are related to institutions but concern internal practices and do not exhibit the solemn forms of chancery acts. Three date to the sixth century CE: an inventory of documents stored in the archives of the treasurer of the praetorian prefect in Ravenna; another similar in form and content, dated to the sixth century CE as well; and a fragment of a description of several estates –one of which near Padua– that contains a list of dues owed by a set of tenants towards their lord, probably the Church of Ravenna.[17] The fourth might be assigned to the eighth century CE and describes several items plausibly part of a church treasure.[18] The fifth is the so-called *Breviarium Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, a papyrus codex drafted in Ravenna, with reused material, between 966 and 978-983 CE, in which 186 documents are recorded, all of them concerning properties of the archbishop of Ravenna in the Pentapolis.[19]

d. Epistles

Three Italian papyri are epistles. The first dates back to the years 445/446 CE and is a fragment of a personal *volumen epistolarum missarum* of Lauricius, once court officer in Ravenna: it has been written in Ravenna and contains the text of three letters concerning estates owned by Lauricius in Sicily, plus a list of money sums that the *conductores* were to give him.[20] The second one, recently published, can be dated between the late sixth and the early seventh century CE and contains an epistle sent by a high-ranking ecclesiastic to a lay authority, probably the Lombard queen Teodolinda, about religious issues.[21] The third one, composed in 788 CE, is a letter sent by the abbot of Saint-Denis to Charlemagne; it was probably written in Spoleto and concerns a mission of the abbot in this Lombard duchy.[22]

e. Relic labels

This category includes the small papyrus strips used to identify relics of saints or similar small objects. Divided by Jan-Olof Tjäder into five items, these labels date from the sixth to the eighth century CE and were probably written in Rome, within a papal milieu. Among them is also a papyrus sheet containing a classification of oil lamps that burned on the martyrs' tombs in Rome. It was composed by a priest named Iohannes on behalf of the queen Teodolinda and brought to the queen by him.[23]

2. French papyri

The group of Latin papyrus documents written in the French (Frankish) area is rather scant if compared to Italy: in fact, only 18 items are preserved. The types represented do not seem very different from those of Italy as from this region, too, survive public documents (13), some private documents (4), and a relic label.

[17] P.Ital. 47-48 (*post* 510-half of 6th cent. CE), in new Roman cursive; the second, now published in Ghignoli / De Robertis / Zamponi (2018), is written in new Roman cursive; the third, P.Ital. 3, is illustrated in Pasquali (2005) and Wickham (2005) 273-299. It is written in new Roman cursive too.
[18] P.Ital. 53 (8th cent. CE), in new Roman cursive.
[19] *Breviarium Ecclesiae Ravennatis*.
[20] P.Ital. 1 (445/446 CE), in new Roman cursive. Cf. Caliri (2012).
[21] Lettere originali I 1, in new Roman cursive. Cf. Ammannati (2004). The place of writing cannot be determined.
[22] ChLA XVI 629 (= Lettere originali II/2 1), in Merovingian script.
[23] P.Ital. 57 (6th cent. CE), 50 (6th-7th cent. CE = *pittacia* and list), 51 (8th cent. CE, beginning), 52 (8th cent. CE, beginning), 58 (8th cent. CE, beginning). They are in total 24 small strips written in new Roman cursive. Cf. Smith (2014).

a. Public documents

All of the 13 public documents are solemn acts issued by the Merovingian kings from the years of Clotaire II (584-629 CE) to the early 670s. They consist of precepts, privileges and judgements written in Merovingian script, and concern both the properties of the powerful monastery of Saint-Denis and other properties related to Saint-Denis or to local élites.[24] Where exactly these acts were written remains unclear. Topographical details, where specified, refer to two areas of the Île de France (Clichy and Étrépagny), and yet the strong homogeneity that such documents share, especially from the palaeographical point of view, has led Jean Vezin to think that all of them were at the behest of the recipient, thus the monastery of Saint-Denis.[25]

b. Private documents

The four preserved private documents are more difficult to date, but are placed between the end of the sixth and the seventh century CE. Two are wills, one written in Arthies in the Île de France, and the other in an unspecified location, but likely in the same area; they represent the last will of the son of Idda and of a woman, Erminetrude, who were both rich local aristocrats. The third document coincides with a fragment of a deed of donation from the years 619/620 CE, probably made in favour of Saint-Denis, while the fourth, written about 691 CE, is an exchange of properties between the abbot of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois (Paris) and that of Tucionevalle (Oise).[26]

c. Relic labels

In contrast with the many parchment relic labels found in areas politically and culturally related to the Merovingians, only one papyrus label has been found. It comes from a reliquary of the Swiss monastery of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune and includes the name of saint Euphemia.[27]

3. Unpublished papyri

A brief summary of unpublished papyri is here presented.

Several fragments have been extracted from the book binding of an eighth-century manuscript containing the works of Gregory the Great (probably of French origin), 10 of which were written on papyrus. These papyri, dated paleographically to a period running from the fifth to the seventh century CE, include a document in new Roman cursive, two Merovingian documents, perhaps containing a *petitio* and a regal privilege concerning monastic environments, and fragments of a Byzantine protocol. These papyri still remain unpublished in the Capitular Archives and in the Biblioteca de Catalunya (Barcelona).[28]

From another –or several– book binding(s), other papyrus fragments have been extracted which probably came from the archbishop's archive of Ravenna. They are in Greek and Latin

[24] ChLA XIII 550 (584-629 CE), 552 (625 CE), 554 (629-637 CE), 551 (632-633 CE), 556 (639-642 CE), 555 (639-650 CE), 559 (639-650 CE), 558 (654 CE), 557 (657-679 CE), 560 (657-688 CE), 561 (659/660 CE), 553 (660-673 CE), 562 (660-673 CE), all republished and better dated in Urkunden der Merowinger. A list in Atsma / Vezin (1999).
[25] Vezin (2004) 250, followed by Radiciotti (2008).
[26] Respectively ChLA XIII 569 (end of 6th or 7th cent. CE), XIV 592 (end of 6th or 7th cent. CE), XIII 549 (619/620 CE), 563 (691 CE ca.), in Merovingian script. The first two are now published in Barbier (2014), 259-348, who considers them as contemporary copies dating to the end of the sixth century CE. On paleographical grounds, Radiciotti (2008) 84-85 ascribes them to the seventh century CE.
[27] Schnyder (1966) 123, probably of the seventh century CE.
[28] Cf. Tudela (2015) and Ronzani (2013).

and currently stored in Pommersfelden castle. An excellent edition of the Greek texts has been carried out, whereas the Latin set, analyzed only in part, still awaits an overall study and a complete edition. One document fragment remains completely unpublished.[29]

Among the papyri preserved *ab antiquo* in the Basilica of S. Giovanni Battista in Monza, from which several labels and the epistle mentioned above come, there is another papyrus fragment that cannot be linked to either. Tjäder considered it part of a private document of the seventh century CE, while Giulia Ammannati believes it to be a further letter, written in the same period.[30]

Among the unpublished texts it is necessary to mention two endorsements, written on the verso of deeds of sale issued in Ravenna in 572 and 591 CE respectively (P.Ital. 35 and 37). Containing topographical data of the good sold in the deed, these endorsements are very similar to the ones written on the verso of coeval parchment documents and Byzantine papyrus documents. They provide precious evidence about archival practices in Ravenna.[31]

Lastly, a papyrus palimpsest stored in the Vatican collection contains a (fake?) Carolingian diploma (ninth century CE) in the *scriptio superior*, and an unpublished text in the *scriptio inferior*.[32] The latter probably belongs to a private document of the seventh century CE, in which a priest of an *ecclesia sanctae Mariae* is mentioned.

4. Widening the overview: indirect evidence and the circulation of papyrus in the West

The geographical and chronological distribution of the papyri discussed above is relatively limited. As regards Italy, the papyri date to between the fifth and the sixth century CE and range from what is now Romagna (Ravenna and its territory, 443-end of sixth century CE), to Sicily (Syracuse, 489 CE), passing through Lazio (Rome, 557? CE, 590-598 CE; Rieti, 557 CE). The later papyri from between the seventh and the eleventh century CE elucidate only the city of Ravenna (until the tenth century CE) and Rome (until the mid-eleventh CE), with perhaps a reference to Spoleto (788 CE). As for the Frankish area, if we exclude the label from the Swiss monastery, which may be an imported item, all the papyri lead back to a single area, the Île de France of the late sixth and seventh centuries CE. From these data, one could conclude that from the end of the sixth century CE onward papyrus had a very limited circulation.

Nevertheless, indirect evidence shows that this impression is not fully correct. Historians of the early medieval economy and diplomatists have realized that by enlarging the perspective to later copies of lost papyrus documents, and mentions of papyri in different typologies of sources, the amount of items becomes much greater. Thus, we learn that, for documentary purposes, papyrus was used in Italy not only in Rome and Ravenna, but also in Milan until the end of the eighth century CE at least, in Venice until the tenth, in Pavia perhaps until the later eighth, in Siena and S. Miniato until the eighth, and in Naples, Gaeta and Amalfi until the eleventh, while near Palermo at the end of the tenth century CE the papyrus plant was cultivated *in loco*, although the paper obtained from it was reserved to the sultan's

[29] P.Pommersf. G 1-11 and L 1-14. The Greek texts are published in Sirks / Sijpesteijn / Worp (1996). For the Latin set cf. Seider (1981) nos. 36, 48 and 52; Ammirati (2015), *ad indicem*. About the two documentary papyri, one is published by Tjäder as P.Ital. 59; the latter contains on the recto a not yet identified text.
[30] P.Ital. I, 64-65; Lettere originali I 1, 4; Ammannati (2004) 1052.
[31] I am working on the *editio princeps* of these texts.
[32] Inv. P.Vat.Lat. 2. The text of the *scriptio superior* is in P.Vat.Mai V, 362-363. Cf. Tjäder in P.Ital I, 65, and Brown (1979) 24. I am working on the edition of the *inferior*.

entourage.[33] In other words, public and private documents were written on papyrus not only in areas of Byzantine tradition and in Islamic Sicily, but until the later eighth century CE also in territories occupied by the Lombards.[34]

In France the last extant papyrus dates to 691 CE, but a document of 716 CE, although not fully clarified, still witnesses batches of papyrus paper arriving in the monastery of Corbie. Such indirect evidence could be used to reconsider the fact that, while no fragments of the *gesta municipalia* from this area survive in the original, their presence is attested in many cities.[35]

In Spain the first parchment document series dates to the late seventh century, but a document issued by the bishop of Girona and written on papyrus, now preserved in a later copy,[36] dates to 977 CE.

An expanded overview also allows consideration of further areas. In 862 CE, when some German bishops added an attachment to a document issued by Lothar II and Louis the German and addressed to the Roman pope, they apologized for having chosen parchment as writing material, and not papyrus *iuxta morem antiquum*.[37] A Latin document published by Marini which is lost today can be linked to the city of Solin in the Balkans. It was identified as a will and dated to between the sixth and seventh century CE.[38] Finally, a Greek literary work produced in late seventh-century Palestine, referring to the city of Carthage in 643 CE, informs us about writing practices not only on (wooden) tablets, but also on papyrus.[39]

Another reason to reconsider the circulation of the papyrus in the West concerns Islamic Egypt. Its conquest by the Arabs in 642 did not, in fact, create a crisis in the production and export of papyrus paper: medieval Arab papyrus is not far in manufacture/form from its late antique predecessor, presenting an argument for continuity rather than rupture. As for export, a papal privilege of 876 CE still bears an Islamic Arab protocol very close to those produced

[33] Milan: P.Marini 54 (789 CE, archiepiscopal document), but cf. also Santifaller (1953), 55, about a private document of 489 CE. Venice: Carbonetti (2011) 46 (828/829 CE, private document; 819 CE, ducal privilege). Pavia: P.Marini 69 (745-752 CE, 5 Lombard diplomes, issued perhaps in Pavia). Siena and S. Miniato: Carbonetti (2011) 34n (650 CE, episcopal *conventio*; 714 CE, judgement of the *maiordomus* of Liutprando; 715 CE, judgement of some bishops issued in S. Genesio in Vallauri, near S. Miniato). Napoli, Gaeta and Amalfi: Martin (2000), 9th-11th century CE, private documents. Palermo: Lewis (1974) 18-20 and D'Ottone (2008): the source is an account of the traveler Ibn Hawqal. It is not certain that the *munimina voluminum* mentioned in Santifaller (1953) 54 (and published in CDL IV/1, nos. 8, 10, 13), are referred to papyrus documents. An overview on Byzantine Italy in Carbonetti (2011). For further documents, now lost, see Tjäder (1989) and (1998).

[34] On the Lombards cf. the remarks of Ghignoli / Bougard (2011).

[35] Urkunden der Merowinger 171, where *carta tomi L* are mentioned. As the document is a confirmation of previous privileges, it is not clear whether the mention of papyri is a simple transcription of the previous privileges, or rather is related to a still existing import. Similar problems for the ninth-century document published in Polyptyque de l'Abbé Irminon, 336. For the *gesta* in Frankish areas cf. Barbier (2014).

[36] P.Marini 104, on which Santifaller (1953) 69. The document is preserved in a transcription made in 1252 on behalf of Innocent IV, referred to a *privilegium antiquissimum in papiro conscriptum*. In papal registers *papyrus* means '(Chinese) paper' only from 1289. The bishop of Girona, Miró Bonfill, issued acts characterized by an antique linguistic patina, and had close relationships with papal Curia, where documents were written on papyrus. Cf. Zimmermann (2003) *ad indicem*, s.v. 'Miró Bonfill'.

[37] Epistolae Karolini Aevi IV, 212-214; cf. Bresslau (1998) 1102. Compare it with Urkunden der Merowinger 108.

[38] P.Marini 78 (6th-7th cent. CE), about which cf. Santifaller (1953) 64; but this papyrus is linked to P.Ital. 26, in Tjäder's opinion written in Ravenna. For a more complete edition see Tjäder (1985). About papyrus in England cf. the hypothesis of Kelly (1990). For Ireland cf. now Read (2011).

[39] Doctrina Iacobi I 43; cf. Claude (1985) 90.

in Egypt. It is very likely that the writing material of the other documents shares the same origin.[40]

It is, therefore, difficult to identify a clear break in the circulation and use of papyrus. Rather, it is necessary to illuminate the reasons that led some Western political and professional environments to abandon its use as a writing material, thus interrupting its import into the West. From the evidence considered above, two breaks in usage seem identifiable: 1) the last years of the seventh century into the beginning of the eighth; 2) the tenth and eleventh centuries. Both of these moments can be identified as breaks when considering the dating of the first Western documentary series preserved on parchment.

As to the first break (end of seventh/beginning of eighth century CE), we know that in these years the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik (†705), after a dispute with Justinian II over restrictive measures on the Egyptian economy, prohibited for a certain period the export of papyrus from the region.[41] The embargo cannot be considered as the real cause of the change –the first parchment documents of Europe precede this event for more than fifteen years– but it provides an important clue of some constrictions in the circulation. These constrictions would run well upstream of the decision, made by monarchs and professional élites in several Western cities, to stop once and for all the use of papyrus in favour of parchment, which was much more readily available. The same period saw a constriction of larger economic systems/processes, reducing to a local level some trading systems which ranged much wider earlier, and leading urban societies to live in a deeper relationship with the surrounding natural environment.[42] Parchment came to represent, for documentary uses, what wood constituted for architectural ones.

The second break (tenth to eleventh century CE) seems related to the widespread adoption and dissemination of Chinese paper, which decreased papyrus production in Egypt for writing purposes and hence its export.[43] This shift was certainly at the root of the second phase of the dismissal of papyrus as a writing surface, although complementary internal reasons remain to be explored in each area. To this point, further and more specific research would be welcome.

Across these two breaks, several areas chose to mantain the use of papyrus. Economic and trade relations with the East can certainly explain this persistence, but the main reason for this phenomenon stemmed from a choice.[44] Rulers and writing experts across Western cities decided to follow an old tradition that would affirm their identity and increase their prestige, particularly at the political level for rulers, and at the juridical and cultural level for writing experts.

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[40] D'Ottone (2008) for the Arabic papyri. About the privilege cf. P.Ital. I, 84 (I am working on a new edition of it together with Arianna D'Ottone).

[41] Lopez (1943) 23-28 and *passim*, Lombard (1948); Heck (2006) 169.

[42] Wickham (2005).

[43] Lopez (1943) 26-27; Santifaller (1953) 118-119; Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda (1999); Grob (2010) 4.

[44] One should also consider that recent sudies are putting into discussion an absolute monopoly of the papyrus on behalf of the Egyptian Muslim rulers, bringing out a rather free market: cf. Malczycki (2011).

Barbier, J. (2014), Archives oubliées du haut Moyen Âge. Les *gesta municipalia* en Gaule franque (VI^e^-IX^e^ siècle) (Paris).
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PART VIII

LINGUISTICS AND LEXICOGRAPHY

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The new Fachwörterbuch (nFWB). Introduction and a lexicographic case: The meaning of βασιλικά in the papyri

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1. A new Fachwörterbuch

The new Fachwörterbuch (nFWB) is a multilingual online dictionary of the administrative language of Greco-Roman-Byzantine Egypt which is based on Friedrich Preisigke's Fachwörterbuch (Fachwörter), published in 1915. It is being developed at the University of Leipzig by a team of historians, papyrologists, classical philologists and computer scientists directed by Prof. Reinhold Scholl and can be accessed via http://organapapyrologica.net/nfwb/.[1]

The imperatives for working on a new edition or version of the Fachwörterbuch are obvious: Since the dictionary was published more than a hundred years ago, many things have happened in papyrology: The number of published papyri has grown, thus new words have appeared, the pool of evidence for already known words has expanded, new light has been cast upon fragmentary passages and obscure meanings of words. In addition, full texts and metadata of most edited papyri and ostraka are available through the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (DDbDP).

With our new Fachwörterbuch, we want to take these developments into account and offer an updated and extended resource for papyrologists and scholars of the ancient world in general. However, not only the lexis and semantics as well as the given German translations and bibliographical references of Preisigke's lemmata are being corrected, supplemented and updated, but a variety of new features, such as translations into further papyrological discourse languages are added as well (an overview of the features can be found below). Finally, the nFWB is presented as a website –thus offering modern functions such as linking to full texts and further resources, searching the dictionary entries or exporting data. Therefore, the nFWB is a completely newly-designed dictionary which:

– comprises the Greek, Roman and Byzantine period,

– offers translations into English, German, French, Italian, Spanish and Arabic,[2]

– allocates words to subject groups (i. e. taxation, official correspondence), thereby allowing individual ways of displaying and structuring the lemmata,

– gives orthographic variants of the lemma,

– indicates the earliest and the latest record of a word's meaning and gives respective geographical information,

– links to the full-text provided by the DDbDP at papyri.info and further papyrological sources of information like the section "Places" at trismegistos.org,

[1] Our work is made possible by a nearly 3 years funding granted by the Saxonian Ministry of Sciences and Culture (Sächsisches Ministerium für Wissenschaften und Kultur).
[2] We owe the Arabic translations to the voluntary efforts of Usama A. Gad of Ain Shams University in Cairo.

– gives typical expressions and phrases in which a word appears,

– provides synonyms, antonyms and related words,

– showcases explanations and remarks concerning the lemma and its meaning(s),

– offers current bibliographical references,

– quotes the corresponding entry of Preisigke's Fachwörterbuch and, if applicable, also the terms stated by Mason (1976),

– allows advanced search options according to different criteria,

– will soon offer different ways to export contents (i. e. as pdf, xml, csv) and to print.

A more elaborate introduction to the new Fachwörterbuch with a detailed description of its features as well as background information on how the lemmata are being developed can be found in Scholl / Weilbach (2016).

Finally it should be emphasized that the nFWB is a work in progress with regard to both content and functionality. New lemmata are added continually while the website itself is being refined.[3]

2. The meaning of τὰ βασιλικά in the papyri

While working on the dictionary entries for βασιλικ-, it became evident that there should not only be lemmata, of course, for both an adjective βασιλικός, -ή, -όν ('royal, state, public') and a neuter noun τὸ βασιλικόν ('state treasury', 'exchequer', 'administration of public warehouses', 'administration of state land'),[4] but also a distinct entry for the plural form of the noun, τὰ βασιλικά. Preisigke does not explicitly take it into account, neither in his Fachwörterbuch (1915) nor in his Wörterbuch (1925).[5] Though we find τὰ βασιλικά as a lemma in the supplement of the Wörterbuch edited in 1958 by Emil Kießling (WB),[6] it is treated together with its singular equivalent τὸ βασιλικόν. However, at least LSJ and DGE offer particular sections for τὰ βασιλικά where, among other things, also papyrological references are provided, cf. LSJ s. v. βασιλικός II. 3.f.: 'interests or revenues of the crown' (with reference to P.Rev.Laws xv l.4; P.Teb. I 5. l. 256) as well as DGE s. v. B IV 2: 'exacciones imperiales' (with reference to P.Cair.Isid. 56. l. 4).

Currently (as of 01/02/2017) there are about 120 attestations of (τὰ) βασιλικά recorded in the DDbDP, all of which date back to Ptolemaic times and the majority can be traced to the Arsinoite, Oxyrhynchite or Herakleopolite nome.[7] In many of these texts, βασιλικά occurs in certain formulas allowing to group its attestations and get an overview of the material. Consequently, the word appears in the following expressions:[8]

i. In the 'Praxisklausel': πρᾶξις (ὡς) πρὸς βασιλικά (24 records), cf. also πράσσειν πρὸς βασιλικά (3 records).[9]

[3] We gladly welcome any comments and suggestions –please write to fwb@lists.uni-leipzig.de.
[4] Cf. nFWB s. v. βασιλικός, -ή, -όν and s. v. βασιλικόν, τό.
[5] Cf. Fachwörter, s. v. βασιλικός 38-9 and WB s. v. I 258-260.
[6] Cf. WB IV.2. s.v. βασιλικός 2.
[7] However, one exception may be P.Cair.Isid. 56. l. 4, dated to 28th July 315 CE, if ἑτέρ(οις) β(ασιλικοῖς) is correctly resolved.
[8] The records are given in chronological order. Where a reading is uncertain I quote the text from the DDbDP in parentheses.
[9] Cf. with ὡς: P.Cair.Zen. IV 59667. l. 16 (πρᾶξις probably lost); P.Cair.Zen. IV 59668. ll. 4-6; P.Iand.Zen. 1. l. 21-23; P.Cair.Zen. II 59182. ll. 9-10; P.Iand.Zen. 2. ll.15-6; P.Iand.Zen. 3. ll. 2-3 (completely supplemented);

ii. In the phrase: τὰ (ἄλλα) βασιλικά τοῦ κλήρου (14 records).[10]

iii. In the phrase οἱ τὰ βασιλικά (καὶ προσοδικὰ καὶ ἰδιωτικὰ) κρίνοντες χρηματισταί (12 records).[11]

iv. In the phrase οἱ τὰ βασιλικά πραγματευόμενοι (10 records).[12]

v. With reference to πράκτορες (5 records).[13]

vi. In the formula καθαρὰ (scilicet ἡ ὑποθηκὴ respectively ἡ γῆ) ἀπὸ βασιλικῶν (3 records).[14]

vii. In the phrase (scilicet ἀπομετρεῖν or πράσσεσθαι) εἰς τὰ βασιλικά (3 records).[15]

These formulas reveal the outlines of the semantic field in which (τὰ) βασιλικά is located: everything concerning the administration of the royal kingdom, be it its affairs in general or, say, taxation in particular. By allocating these formulas to their appropriate administrative domains, the following reflections aim at specifying the different situational contexts βασιλικά is used in and, as far as possible, defining single meanings more precisely.

a. 'royal levies or charges (in general)'

Several of the given formulas and expressions show βασιλικά denoting financial matters as a generic term. As such its superordinate meaning seems to be 'levies or charges' which include e. g. taxes, fees and interest.

Understanding βασιλικά in this general sense is implied by a number of papyri conveying the phrase τὰ ἄλλα βασιλικὰ τοῦ κλήρου (see ii).[16] All of these documents mention the στέφανος-tax just before, cf. e. g. BGU VIII 1734. ll. 8-9 [ἔσχεν ὁ] (…) πατὴρ εἵς τε τοὺ[ς στεφ]άνους καὶ τἆλλα τοῦ κλήρου βασιλικά. Therefore, in contrast to signifying a specific

SB XVI 12812. l. 16 (ὡς πρ[ὸς βασιλικά]); P.Col. III 54. l. 23; P.Petr. I 16. l. 14; P.Hamb. I 24. ll. 17-18; without ὡς: BGU VI 1226. l. 14; P.Hib. I 94. ll. 2-3 (κ̣α̣[ὶ ἡ πρᾶξις πρὸς βασιλι]κά), 15 ([ἡ πρᾶξις πρὸ]ς̣ βασιλικά); BGU VI 1228. l. 13; P.Hib. I 95. l. 14; P.Sorb. I 17. ll. 15-17 (π[ρᾶξις (…) πρὸς βα[σιλικ]ά); PSI V 509. ll. 16-17; P.Hamb. II 183. l. 11; P.Hib. I 124. ll. 5-7; SB VIII 9841. l. 13; SB XX 14429. ll. 10-1; SB XX 14430. ll. 16-17 (πρᾶ[ξις πρὸς βασιλικά]); SB III 6301. ll. 19-21; as well as πράσσων πρὸς βασιλικά: P.Cair.Zen. I 59001. ll.15-16; P.Hib. I 126. l. 1; P.Köln V 220. ll. 26-27 ([βασιλ]ικά).

[10] Cf. with τὰ ἄλλα: BGU VIII 1732. l. 9 ([τἆλλα τοῦ κλήρου βασιλικά]), 19; BGU VIII 1733. ll. 10-11 ([τὰ ἄλλα τοῦ κλήρου] β̣ασ[ιλι]κ̣ά); BGU VIII 1734. l. 9; BGU VIII 1740. l. 11; P.Bingen 51. l. 1 ([τἄλλα βασιλικὰ τοῦ] κ̣λή̣[ρου]); BGU VIII 1739. l. 14; BGU XX 2843. l. 9 (τ[ὰ ἄλλα τοῦ κλήρου βασιλικά); BGU VIII 1731. ll. 8-9 ([τὰ ἄλλα βασιλικὰ τοῦ κλή]ρου); without τὰ ἄλλα: P.Sorb. I 11. l. 3, cf. 6; BGU VI 1262. l. 14; BGU VIII 1735. ll. 14-15 ([τοῦ κλήρου] βασιλικά); BGU VIII 1734. l. 13; P.Oxy. XLIX 3482. l. 11; cf. also BGU VIII 1773. l. 6.

[11] Cf. Chr.Mitt. 25. l. 1 (τοῖς τ[ὰ βασιλικὰ καὶ προσοδικὰ καὶ ἰδιωτικὰ κρίνουσι] χρηματισταῖς); P.Tarich. 8. l. 1; P.Tarich. 9a. ll. 1-2, cf. 5; P.Gen. III 126. l. 21; P.Amh. II 33. ll. 9-10; P.Tebt. III.2 934. ll. 2-3 (οἱ τὰ βασιλικὰ καὶ] προσοδικὰ καὶ ἰδιωτικὰ κρίνοντες (…) [χρηματισ]ταί); P.Mert. II 59. ll. 4-6; P.Tebt. III.1 782. ll. 12-13 (τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων κρίνουσιν τ[ά τε βασιλικὰ] καὶ ἰδιω[τικὰ -ca?-]); UPZ I 118. ll. 4-6; BGU VIII 1826. ll. 18-19 ([οἱ (…) τὰ βασιλικὰ κ]αὶ προσοδικὰ καὶ [ἰδιωτικὰ κρίνοντες χρηματισταὶ]); BGU VIII 1827. 11, ll. 15-17.

[12] Cf. P.Rev.Laws xx l. 15; P.Rain.Cent. 45. ll. 8-9 ([τὰ βασιλικὰ(?)] πραγματε[υομένοι]); P.Gen. III 132. l. 5 ([τὰ βασιλικὰ πραγματευομένοι]); P.Tebt. I 6. l. 16 ([τὰ βασιλικὰ πραγματευομένοι]); P.Tebt. III.2 904. l. 3 (τὰ βασιλι[κὰ πραγματευομένοι]); P.Grenf. II 37. ll. 4-5; SB XII 11078. l. 6 (πραγματευ[ομένοι]), cf. l. 19 (ἐκπληροῦν τὰ βασιλικά); UPZ I 106. l. 5; UPZ I 107. l. 6 ([τὰ β]ασιλι[κὰ πραγματευομένοι]), cf. P.Hib. II 198. ll. 141-142 (πραγματευόμενοι [τ]ι τῶν βα[σιλ]ικῷ̣ν) and l. 231 (-ca?-]λ̣αντες οἱ τὰ βασιλ̣[ικὰ][-ca?-]σοντ[]).

[13] Cf. UPZ II 153. ll. 12-13, 24-25; UPZ II 154. ll. 11-12; UPZ II 155. ll. 12-13; SB XIV 11371. l. 16, cf. 1; BGU VIII 1851. l. 14, cf. 5.

[14] Cf. P.Tebt. III.1 817. l. 23; P.Oxy. XLIX 3482. l. 12; P.Oxy. XIV 1635. l. 13.

[15] Cf. BGU VI 1226. ll. 11-12; P.Yale I 51. l. 27 ([εἰς τὰ βασιλικά]); BGU VI 1272. l. 10 ([εἰς τὰ ἐν τῶι τό]π̣ωι βασιλικά). Maybe SB XVI 13014. l. 19 ([. . .]ε̣ις τὰ βασιλικὰ [-ca?-]) also belongs here.

[16] BGU XX 2843. introduction, pp. 23-28 provides a recent summary of the state of research on selling catoicic land.

tax (στέφανος), further levies are collectively referred to by the term βασιλικά.[17] It can be inferred from the given context that βασιλικά denotes the encumbrances of a land lot including taxes, fees etc. As the word itself connotes, these levies are assigned to the crown. Likewise, the term ἰδιωτικά denotes encumbrances of a land lot which are assigned to private persons, cf. BGU VI 1262. ll. 13-14 ἐὰν δέ τι πραχθῇ Ζήνων ὑπὲρ [τοῦ κλήρου εἰς τὰ] τοῦ κλήρου βασιλικὰ ἢ ἰδιωτικά.[18]

In the same way, we can understand βασιλικά in the formula καθαρὰ (scilicet ἡ ὑποθήκη respectively ἡ γῆ) ἀπὸ βασιλικῶν (see vi) which exempts the lessee of land from its encumbrances owed to the crown.[19]

Finally, there are a few other documents which deal with βασιλικά within the framework of land affairs, thus suggesting it is used in the given meaning, cf. e. g. BGU VI 1271. l. 9 τὰ δὲ βασιλικὰ πάντα ὅσα καθήκει ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς ταύτης μετρείτωι (l. μετρείτω) ὁ̣ [. . . . .].[20]

Obviously levies are also addressed where a πράκτωρ appears in the context of βασιλικά (see E), cf., for instance, the wording πράκτωρ τῶν βασιλικῶν in UPZ II 155. ll. 12-13. Similarly, texts in which further technical terms regarding taxation are found in connection with βασιλικά, like πράσσεσθαι or διορθοῦν, should also be mentioned here. I also count the phrase ἀπομετρεῖν or πράσσεσθαι εἰς τὰ βασιλικά (see vii) to these technical expressions.[21]

Since βασιλικά, here, is applied to subsume several levies or charges under one word, it is not possible to further specify it. In order to find out which particular levies it refers to, one has to examine the single texts individually to figure if distinct levies are mentioned. Otherwise, they have to be inferred by the document's context.

Remaining within the context of the financial affairs of the kingdom, we find a number of documents in which βασιλικά is used in a different manner than presented above. Here, the word seems to denote 'debts to the crown' respectively 'receivables of the crown'. However, we will have to get back to this aspect later on in order to point out where the distinction is to be made.

Firstly, βασιλικά as it appears in the 'Praxisklausel' (ἡ πρᾶξις (ὡς) πρὸς βασιλικά or πράσσειν πρὸς τὰ βασιλικά) belongs here (see i). Scholars commonly render the word mentioned in this context as 'debts to the state', along with similar variations thereof.[22] In fact, here, πρός appears in a more abstract sense of 'regarding, to(wards)', especially as it concerns financial affairs.[23] As Mayser (Gram. I) shows as well, it is frequently used to express an obligation –which is lexically connected to words like ὀφελεῖν and its derivatives. Hence, βασιλικά may have been generally understood as βασιλικὰ ὀφειλήματα.[24] Probably this observation can also help to explain the missing article in the Praxisklausel because with

[17] Cf. Scheuble-Reiter (2012) 234-246 who specifies different taxes on catoicic land and comments on them.
[18] Cf. also O.Deiss. 58. ll. 4-6 ἂν δέ τι[ς] ἐπέλθῃ περὶ βασιλικῶν ἢ ἰδιωτικῶν, ἐκστήσω αὐτόν.
[19] Cf. e. g. Herrmann (1958) 156 on the Roman equivalent of this formula, καθαρὰν ἀπὸ δημοσίων.
[20] Cf. also O.Deiss. 58. l. 5; SB XVI 12721 (= P.Mil.Congr. XVII p. 21-22). l. 20; SB XIV 11968. l. 7 ([βασι(?)]λικά); P.Berl.Salmen. 3. l. 5; BGU VIII 1889. l. 7.
[21] Cf. Mayser, Gram. II.2,2 416-417 (§119, 9 b) β)) for the use of εἰς in this context. Further evidence can be found in SB III 7202. ll. 32-33; BGU VIII 1856. ll. 8, 14, 21; BGU VIII 1822. l. 17 [τὰ βασιλικά]; BGU VIII 1815. ll. 8-9, 14, 21; BGU VIII 1843. l. 16.
[22] Cf. e. g. Wolff (1961) 119: 'Schulden an den Staat', Pringsheim (1950) 522: 'public debts', P.Köln V 220. introduction, p. 153: 'fiskalisches Interesse des Staates' or P.Sorb. I 17a. l. 17 (translation p. 70): 'dettes envers le trésor royal'. See also P.Hamb. I 24. introduction, p. 104-105 with n. 5 for a brief overview of the early discussion of the formula's meaning. A recent account of the main views on the Praxisklausel is given in P.Köln V 220. introduction p. 153-154.
[23] Cf. Mayser, Gram. II.2,2 505-507 (§127, 6), esp. b) α).
[24] Cf. P.Hamb. I 24. introduction, p. 104 n. 5.

the article, βασιλικά would be confined to serve syntactically as a proper noun and semantically in a less specific sense ('royal matters').[25] Apart from the given formula, there are a few further texts which convey βασιλικά in this meaning.[26]

But the main difference between βασιλικά in the sense of 'levies' (as shown above) and the understanding put forward here seems to consist only in a differing point of view: levies and taxes imposed by the government become debts owed by the citizen respectively receivables claimed by the fisc. Consequently, while βασιλικά sometimes can be grasped a little more precisely (as 'debts' respectively 'receivables'), the word still is a collective term denoting capital (monetary and in kind) assigned to the kingdom.

This rather general meaning of βασιλικά within the field of financial affairs is also to be found in a number of additional papyri, cf. e.g. the petition of Heliodor to the hipparch Ammonios PSI III 168. ll. 20-25: καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου ἔλυσαν τὸ δηλούμενον χῶ[μ]ᾳ, ὥστ᾽ ἀναβροχήσαντας τὸ πεδίον οὐ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐλάττωμα παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς.[27]

b. 'legal affairs of the crown'

From the phrase given under iii, we repeatedly learn that the χρηματισταί appear as judges in royal (βασιλικά) and private (ἰδιωτικά) matters as well as in cases concerning the revenues of the state (προσοδικά).[28] Thus, βασιλικά also occurs in juridical aspects and denotes 'legal affairs of the crown'. While, on the one hand we can observe a clear distinction between the different main matters (royal / public affairs, taxation and other revenues, private affairs), on the other hand the question remains what βασιλικά means in particular. As Wolff (1962) 89 has stated, the χρηματισταί were concerned with virtually all kind of legal issues. In accordance, though being mentioned in connection with the χρηματισταί, βασιλικά in several texts from P.Tarich. (cf. n. 25) does not denote legal matters, but (a part of) the προσοδικά of the crown as described above (a). This just confirms that βασιλικά served as a collective term in legal matters as well. Hence, the different cases described in the papyri have to be examined individually in order to find out which juridical issues are subsumed under the term. Finally, there is at least one other text (apart from those conveying the phrase given initially) in which τὰ βασιλικά denotes legal matters, cf. P.Cair.Zen. IV 59636. ll. 9-12 μὴ ὑπολάβῃς με ὅτι προσελήλυθα πρὸς τὰ βασιλικά.

c. 'royal affairs'

We also read τὰ βασιλικά in the address of several letters where it appears in the denomination of a group of certain officials: οἱ τὰ βασιλικὰ πραγματευόμενοι (see iv),[29] cf. e. g. P.Grenf. II 37. ll. 1-5: Ἑρμίας τῶι ἐπιστάτει Παθύρεως καὶ ἀρχιφυλακί[τ]ηι καὶ φυλακίτηι καὶ βασιλικῶι γραμματεῖ καὶ τοπογραμμα[τ]εῖ καὶ κωμογραμματεῖ καὶ σιτολόγωι καὶ τραπεζίτηι καὶ το[ῖς] πρεσβυτέροις τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τὰ βασιλικὰ πραγματευομένοις χαίρειν. Almost always at the end of the address, these remaining officials

[25] It has to be added that, at the same time, the omission of the article is common in formulaic expressions, cf. Mayser, Gram. II.2,1 35, 39 (§ 59).

[26] Cf. P.Genova II 54. l. 2; P.Hib. I 93. ll. 10-11 (ἡ διά̣χ[νωσις περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔσ]τω πρὸς βασ[ιλικά.]); P.Col. 1 inv. 480 (= C.Ptol.Sklav. 5). ll. 19-20.

[27] Cf. furthermore PSI IV 400. l. 3; P.Tarich. 1. l. 5 ([βα]σι̣λ̣ικ[ῶ]ν); P.Tarich. 3. l. 6; P. Tarich. 4a. l. 13; P.Tarich. 4b. ll. 13-14; P.Tarich. 13. l. 5 ([βα]σι̣λ̣ικ[ῶ]ν); P.Tarich. 9a. l. 5; P.Tarich. 9b. l. 3; SB XX 14708. ll.24-25 (?); P.Tebt. III.1 786. ll. 21-22; P.Tebt. I 29. l. 14 (βασιλ̣[ικῶν]); PSI Congr. XVII 23. i l. 1, ii l. 13 (always βα(σιλικῶν)); P.Tebt. I 140. l. 1; BGU VIII 1865. l. 4; BGU VIII 1789. l. 4 (βασιλικ[ά]); BGU VIII 1771. l. 21, 14; BGU VIII 1825. l. 5 (βα[σιλι]κῶν), 29; BGU VIII 1819. l. 6; BGU VIII 1800. l. 4, 6.

[28] Cf. e.g. the translation given in P.Mert. II 59, p. 29: «judges of cases which concern the crown, the revenues and the private individual».

[29] Only in P.Rev.Laws xx l. 15 and P.Hib. II 198. ll. 141-142 the denomination is to be found outside of an address.

dealing with (different) royal affairs are greeted collectively –two features which suggest they served in a lower position.[30] In a similar way, the functions they fulfilled must have been of less importance compared to, say, the ἐπιστάτης mentioned earlier.

To specify the meaning of βασιλικά in this context, I would argue that it refers rather to general administrative tasks than to financial affairs which can be assumed by the semantic links between πραγματεύεσθαι and, for instance, πράσσεσθαι or πράκτωρ.[31] In fact, during Ptolemaic times, there are πραγματευόμενοι responsible for taxes such as δερματηρά, χαρτηρά or χειρωνάξιον[32] –yet in these cases the respective taxes are precisely stated. At the same time, we also read about these officials serving public institutions like the ἐπισκόπιον,[33] being engaged in further administrative issues like the δωρεά[34] or standing in for other officials.[35]

Finally, there is a number of additional texts in which βασιλικά seems to be mentioned in the sense of 'royal affairs', cf. e. g. P.Rev.Laws xv l. 4 ὅσοι τι τῶν βασιλικῶν διοικο[ῦσι or lxxiv l. 1-2 οἱ πράσσ[οντές τι] τῶν βασιλικῶν.[36] In a small number of remaining texts, βασιλικά lacks sufficient context making it impossible to understand its meaning.[37]

It has been demonstrated that βασιλικά in the papyri and ostraka of Ptolemaic Egypt occurs in a number of different formulas and phrases. From this basic point of view we can see that the word served as a generic or collective term applied in different domains of the royal administration, predominantly within the context of general administrative, financial and legal matters. Within these, it collectively denotes 'royal affairs', 'royal levies' and 'legal matters of the crown'. While on the one hand, these cannot be considered to be precise meanings –according to the nature of a collective term– on the other hand, the presented reflections hopefully help to understand the meaning and function of βασιλικά and can be used as basis for further research in the field.

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[30] Cf. UPZ I 106. commentary to l. 5, p. 460. One may even get the impression that this last addition is just a means of a formal politeness to show that nobody in the administrative apparatus has been forgotten to be addressed.
[31] By contrast, some scholars consider βασιλικά in the given formula as referring to financial matters, cf. e. g. Mayser, Gram. II.1 5 (§ 1), 2. a): 'Verwalter der königlichen Kasse' or the translation of J. Bauschatz (2005), p. 317-8) of UPZ I 106. l. 5 quoted on papyri.info/ddbdp/upz;1;106: «the others in charge of royal revenues».
[32] Cf. P.Diosk. 5. ll. 3-5 (δερματηρά); P.Petr. III 115. ll. 23-23 (χαρτηρά); P.Hamb. IV 237. ll. 3-7 (χειρωνάξιον).
[33] Cf. PSI XIII 1310. ll. 26-27 with P.Tebt. I 5. l. 189.
[34] Cf. P.Hib. I 66. ll. 1-2; P.Col. IV 120. ll. 12-13.
[35] Cf. P.Hamb. II 168. l. 12: [καὶ ὁ παρὰ τοῦ ν]ομοφύλ̣α̣κος πρ̣αγματευόμενος.
[36] Cf. moreover P.Rev.Laws xx ll. 11-2; P.Cair.Zen. IV 59647. ll. 27-28 (μ[ὴ τῶν βα]σιλ̣[ικῶν τ]ι̣ παρακού[ωμεν]); Chr.Mitt. 5. l. 15; P.Rain.Cent. 51. ll. 8-9; BGU VIII 1825. l. 14; BGU VIII 1762. l. 8; BGU VIII 1786. l. 5.
[37] Cf. O.Leid. 34. l. 9; P.Enteux. 1. l. 6 ([βασ]ιλικῶν); P.Hib. II 198. ll. 25 ([βασ]ι̣λ̣ικῶ[̣]), 1 42 (βα[σιλ]ικῷ̣ν); P.Petr. II 25. l. 25; SB VIII 9899b. l. 18; BGU IV 1185. l. 16.

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Hypomnema und seine verschiedenen Bedeutungen

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Seit Juni 2015 ist an der Universität Leipzig das Projekt "Mehrsprachiges Online Wörterbuch zum Fachwortschatz der Verwaltungssprache des griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Ägypten" (kurz: nFWB) ansässig[1]. Es wird vom Sächsischen Staatsministerium für Wissenschaft und Kunst für zwei Jahre gefördert. Die Arbeit mit den Lemmata des Wörterbuchs wirft bisweilen interessante Fragen auf. Ich möchte hier das Lemma ὑπόμνημα kurz vorstellen, dessen vielfältige Bedeutungen von einer simplen 'Notiz' über komplexere Bedeutungen wie 'Eingabe', 'Verfügung' bis hin zu 'Prozeßprotokoll' und 'Amtstagebuch' reichen.[2] Zentrale Frage dabei ist, wie es zu den Bedeutungsverschiebungen bzw. -erweiterungen kam.



Fig. 1

Dieser Aufsatz ist die leicht veränderte und erweiterte Fassung meines Vortrags "Memoranda – the use of ὑπόμνημα and other noteworthy administrative terms throughout the centuries", den ich in Barcelona halten durfte und der 'work in progress' darstellt, zumal der Begriff des ὑπόμνημα so reich an Bedeutungen ist, daß man ihm in einem Aufsatz nicht gerecht werden kann. Daher wird an geeigneter Stelle öfter auf weiterführende Literatur verwiesen.

[1] http://organapapyrologica.net/nfwb.
[2] Siehe Fig. 1.

1. Das ὑπόμνημα in den Papyri

Die erste und ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Wortes ὑπόμνημα ist die einer 'Notiz', einer 'Gedächtnisstütze', wie schon die Etymologie –ὑπό = 'unter' und μιμνήσκω = 'sich erinnern' bzw. μνῆμα = 'Erinnerung'– zeigt. Das Wort wird sehr häufig im sogenannten Zenon-Archiv verwendet.

Der erste Beleg für ὑπόμνημα in den Papyri überhaupt ist P.Cair.Zen. IV 59804[3] verso, Z. 11-12, ein Brief von einem sonst nicht näher bekannten Philotas an Zenon: χαρίζοιο δ' ἄμ (l. ἀν) μοι περὶ ὧν σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἔδωκα ἀγοράσας καὶ ἀποστείλας | μοι.[4] Philotas hatte Zenon also zu einem früheren Zeitpunkt ein Memorandum, eine Notiz, geschrieben, gewissermaßen eine Erinnerung, wenn man ὑπόμνημα wörtlich nimmt. Der Brief ist auf den 6. September 258 v. Chr. datiert und repräsentiert die früheste, exakt datierbare Erwähnung des Wortes in dieser Bedeutung. Es gibt zwar andere Papyri aus dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. oder aus der Mitte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr., die jedoch keine genauere Datierung zulassen. Wir haben es also hier nachweislich mit der bislang allerersten, genau datierten Erwähnung des Wortes ὑπόμνημα in den Papyri zu tun; doch obwohl die Bedeutung 'Notiz' im privaten oder halboffiziellen Sinne die primäre und ursprüngliche Bedeutung von ὑπόμνημα ist, findet man diese lediglich bis ins 4. Jh. n. Chr.[5] Mit anderen Worten: Andere Bedeutungen scheinen wichtiger zu werden und die ursprüngliche Bedeutung zu überdauern.

Preisigke schrieb unter dem Lemma ὑπόμνημα in seinem Fachwörterbuch:[6]

> «**1.** Eingabe, Meldung jeglichen Inhaltes. - W.Ostr. I 440 (Volkszählungsmeldung); 451 (Geburts- u. Todesanzeige). - **2.** Verfügung in Briefform. - Stud. Pal. V 59. l. 8 = WChrest. 151 [267 n.]: κελευσθέντα δι' -μάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιστρατηγήσαντος, Anordnungen auf Grund schriftlicher Verfügungen des damaligen Epistrategen. - WChrest. 151, 16 Anm.: die Verfügung heißt ὑ., weil sie in das Amtstagebuch aufgenommen war. Vgl. WChrest. 146, 16 Anm. - **3.** Klagschrift. - MGrdz. 13; 37. Lesquier, Magd. S. 11. Jouguet, Lille 6 Einl. S. 57. Mitteis, Zur Lehre von den Libellen (Berichte Ges. Wiss. Leipzig 62) S. 87. Semeka, Prozeßrecht I 268. - **4.** richterliche Verhandlung. - Mitteis, Lips. I S. 106. Vgl. Wenger, GgA. 1907, 305. - **5.** Angebot bei Pacht und Miete, insbes. an Behörden. - MGrdz. 57. WOstr. I 526. WArch. II 129; 137. Preisigke, Girowesen 239; 242. Semeka, Prozeßrecht I 271. - **6.** Vertrag (mit der Grundform eines Angebotes des Pächters oder Mieters). - Waszynski, Bodenpacht 20. MGrdz. 58. Berger, Zschr. f. vergleich. Rechtswissensch. 29, 305.»

In unserem neuen Fachwörterbuch haben wir folgende Bedeutungen: **I.** Eingabe / Gesuch, **II.** Verfügung, **III.** Meldung / Mitteilung / Deklaration, **IV.** Mahnbescheid, **V.** Register (bes. Zensusregister), **VI.** Protokoll (bes. Prozeßprotokoll) und **VII.** Amtstagebuch.[7]

Das erste, was dem aufmerksamen Leser auffällt, ist, daß nicht alle Bedeutungen aus Preisigkes Fachwörterbuch in das neue Fachwörterbuch übernommen wurden, andere Bedeutungen im Original-Wörterbuch fehlen.[8] Die Bedeutung 'Notiz, Gedächtnisstütze' wird nicht angezeigt, da es sich nicht um einen Verwaltungsterminus handelt.

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[3] TM 1428.

[4] «Du würdest mir einen Gefallen tun, wenn Du die Dinge, über die ich Dir in einem *hypomnema* geschrieben habe, kaufen und mir zusenden würdest.»

[5] Die Belege für diese Bedeutung enden im 4. Jh. n. Chr. mit P.Kell. I 53, einer Ausgabenliste (TM 33313). Allerdings ist eine andere Ausgabenliste (SPP X 255 verso, Z. 2: [ὑ]πόμνημα Παύ[λου]; TM 33226) nur grob vom 4. bis 8. Jh. n. Chr. datierbar, so daß das Lemma in der Bedeutung 'Notiz' auch etwas länger im Umlauf gewesen sein könnte, was aber nicht mit Sicherheit zu sagen ist.

[6] Preisigke (1915) 176-177.

[7] Quenouille (2016b).

[8] Siehe Abb. 2.



Fig. 2

Ein Blick auf die Zeitleiste zeigt, daß die letzte Bedeutung ‘Amtstagebuch’ lautet und alle anderen Bedeutungen zeitlich überdauert.[9]

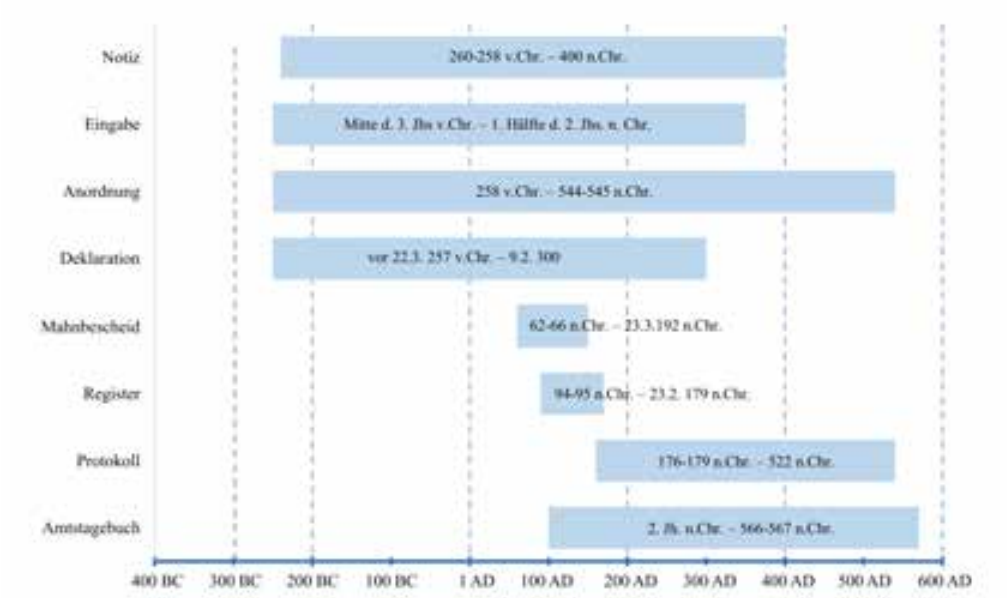


Fig. 3

2. Die Bedeutung Eingabe, Gesuch

Die Eingabe an den König wurde ἔντευξις genannt. Die Eingabe an Staatsbeamte hingegen hieß Hypomnema.[10] Da das neue Fachwörterbuch lediglich das erste Auftauchen des Wortes selbst in den Papyri aufzeigt, kann sich der erste Beleg für eine ‘Hypomnema’ genannte Eingabe an einen Beamten von der ersten Eingabe, die lediglich im Stil eines Hypomnema geschrieben wurde, unterscheiden. Im neuen Fachwörterbuch wird z.B. P.Köln XII 476[11] aus der Mitte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. als erster Beleg für das Wort ὑπόμνημα im Sinne von ‘Eingabe,

[9] Siehe Abb. 3. Zum Begriff ὑπόμνημα allgemein siehe unter anderem P.Tebt. III.1 703, Einleitung, bes. S. 68-73.
[10] Ein Standardwerk dazu ist immer noch Di Bitonto (1967) und Di Bitonto (1968). Vgl. auch Bickermann (1930) 24-25 und 155-182.
[11] TM 128728.

Gesuch' angegeben, während J. Hengstl P.Cair.Zen. II 59236[12] aus dem Jahre 253-252 v.Chr. als frühesten Beleg für eine Eingabe im Hypomnema-Stil angibt.[13] Zwar ist die Datierung dieses Papyrus exakter als die des oben genannten Kölner Papyrus, aber das Wort ὑπόμνημα kommt darin nicht vor. Ich werde unten noch einmal auf das Problem des Vorkommens des Wortes an sich und der Nutzung des Wortes ὑπόμνημα als *terminus technicus* für ein Formular zurückkommen.

Was die Bedeutungsverschiebung bzw. -erweiterungen von einer simplen Notiz zu einer Eingabe, ja, zu einer regelrechten Anordnung, angeht, gibt es gute Beispiele im schon genannten Zenon-Archiv. Die drei Bedeutungen –Notiz, Eingabe, Anordnung– finden beinahe zur selben Zeit Eingang in den Sprachgebrauch der Papyri, d.h. in der Mitte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr.

Viele Briefe aus dem Zenonarchiv enthalten Bitten an höher gestellte Personen, z.B. P.Lond. VII 2074[14], Z. 1-3: ὑπόμνημα Ἀθη[να]γόραι παρὰ | Θεοδώρ[ου ἀρχιτέκ]τ̣[ο]νος | τοῦ Ἀρσ̣ινοίτ̣[ου νομοῦ].[15] Der Architekt Theodoros und seine Leute haben ihren Lohn nicht erhalten, und er bittet Athenagoras, laut dem "Guide to the Zenon Archive" ein hoher Beamter in Memphis oder Alexandria,[16] daß er einer nicht genannten Person schreiben solle, damit sie ihren Lohn erhalten. Er beendet seine Bitte in derselben Weise wie Enteuxeis, also Eingaben an den König, enden, nämlich mit dem Wort εὐτύχει –Lebwohl–, und gibt ihr so einen offziellen Charakter.

Wie zu sehen, waren Hypomnema-Eingaben ursprünglich inoffizielle Bitten in Form eines Briefes, allerdings ohne den üblichen Gruß an den Empfänger χαίρειν, den man in Briefen vorfindet.

Claire Préaux und Marcel Hombert sahen noch eine andere Verbindung zwischen Hypomnema als 'Notiz, Gedächtnisstütze' und der 'Eingabe': «l'ὑπόμνημα adressé au stratège est une seconde plainte ou un rappel d'ἔντευξις».[17] Sie implizierten somit, daß das Hypomnema ursprünglich eine 'Erinnerung' an eine zuvor eingereichte Eingabe oder eines zuvor eingereichten Gesuchs ist bzw. die Bedeutung einer 'zweiten Eingabe' hat und später der Begriff für das Dokument der Eingabe bzw. des Gesuchs selbst wurde.

3. Verfügung, Anordnung

Der Schritt von einer simplen Gedächtnisstütze zu einer Verfügung oder Anordnung ist ähnlich. Als Satyra an Zenon schreibt, beschwert sie sich, daß sie und ihre Mutter keine Kleidung bekommen hätten, obwohl Apollonios, der Dioiket, dies angeordnet hatte: Σατύρα Ζήνωνι χαίρ[ε]ιν. Ἀπολλωνίου συντάξαντος ἱματισμὸν | ἡμῖν δοῦναι, ἐμοί τε καὶ τῆι μητρί, εὑρήσεις δὲ καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ὃ ἔγραψεν | Ἀ̣π̣ο̣λ̣λ̣ώ̣ν̣ι̣ο̣ς̣ π̣ε̣ρὶ τούτων.[18] Der Brief endet mit dem Gruß ἔρρωσο – Leb wohl! Die schriftliche Anordnung, die hier mit dem Verb συντάσσω –befehlen– eingeführt wurde, wird hier ὑπόμνημα genannt. ὑπόμνημα muß somit mit 'Anordnung' übersetzt werden. Der Papyrus datiert aus dem Jahr 258 v. Chr.

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[12] TM 881.
[13] Hengstl (1997) 271 Anm. 32.
[14] TM 1635.
[15] «Hypomnema an Athenagoras von Theodoros, dem Architekten des Arsinoites». Datierung und Ort: nach 28. Mai 249 v. Chr., Arsinoites.
[16] Pestman *et alii* (1981) 277, Nr. 2.
[17] Hombert / Préaux (1942) 165. Vgl. auch P.Heid. IX 423, Einleitung, S. 30.
[18] «Sartyra grüßt Zenon. Nachdem Apollonios angeordnet hat, uns, meiner Mutter und mir, Kleidung zu geben, wirst Du anbei das Hypomnema / die Anordnung finden, das / die Apollonios diesbezüglich geschrieben hatte». (P.Cair.Zen. I 59028. l. 1-3; 258 [?] v. Chr., Alexandria; TM 688).

4. Meldung, Mitteilung, Deklaration (oft als Synonym von κατ᾽ οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή gebraucht)

Die Entwicklung der Bedeutung von Hypomnema von einer Notiz hin zu einer Meldung, Mitteilung oder Deklaration ist ebenfalls nicht allzu weit. Dies zeigt schon der erste Beleg für ὑπόμνημα in der Bedeutung ‘Meldung, Mitteilung’, PSI V 488, datierbar vor dem 22. März 257 v. Chr.

Harmais schreibt Zenon, um ihn zu informieren, daß er dem Dioiketen Apollonios geschrieben habe, um ihm eine Rechnung über Ausgaben zukommen zu lassen: γέ|[γραφα δὲ Ἀπολλωνίωι] | ὑπόμνημα, οὗ τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑπογέγραπται.[19] Es folgt eine Abrechnung zur Reparatur von Dämmen, die den Finanzminister Apollonios über die verschiedenen Ausgaben informiert. Was Deklarationen betrifft, so bemerkten Hombert und Préaux in ihrem Werk zu Zensusdeklarationen: «D’autres expressions désignent aussi le bulletin de recensement: ἀπογραφή, qui est le terme le plus fréquent, γραφή, ὑπόμνημα, κόλλημα, ἀναφορά».[20] Hypomnema fungiert also als Synonym zur κατ᾽ οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή. Als Beispiel möge SB XIV 14440[21], Z. 12-19, dienen, das früheste Beispiel für eine Zensusdeklaration und den Gebrauch des Wortes ὑπόμνημα in diesem Zusammenhang. Der Papyrus aus Theadelphia ist auf den 22. Januar 12 n. Chr. datiert: Ἁρθώτ[η]ς | ὁ προγεγραμέν[ο]ς ὀμνύω | Καίσαρ̣α̣ [Α]ὐ̣[τ]οκράτ̣[ο]ρα Ἐλ̣ε̣υθέρ(ιον) | θεοῦ <υἱὸν> Δία Σεβ̣αστὸν̣ ἢ μὴν | ἐξ ὑγιοῦς καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀληθείας ἐπι|δεδωκέναι τὸ προκ̣είμενον | ὑπόμνημα μηδὲν ὑποσ̣τει|λάμενος.[22]

Während meiner Recherchen bemerkte ich zudem, daß der Terminus ὑπόμνημα in der Bedeutung Zensusdeklaration fast nur im Arsinoites gebraucht wurde. Die bislang einzige Ausnahme stellt ein Papyrus aus Oxyrhynchos dar, während die anderen von Préaux und Hombert genannten Termini auch in anderen Gauen vorkommen.[23] Es handelt sich hierbei wahrscheinlich um einen Überlieferungszufall. Dennoch ist diese Tatsache auffällig.

Ein anderer Typ von Deklarationen, der nicht nur auf den Arsinoites beschränkt ist, ist als ὑπόμνημα bekannt: Die Todesdeklarationen respektive Todesanzeigen. C.Pap.Gr. II 4, Z. 14[24] aus Euhemeria ist das früheste Beispiel für den Gebrauch des Wortes, datiert auf den 7. August 37 n. Chr.: δ[ιὸ] ἐ̣[π]ιδί|δωμί σοι τὸ ὑπόμνη[μ]α | ὅπως ταγῆι τοῦ[το τὸ] ὄ̣ν̣[ο]μ̣α̣ | ἐν τῆι τῶν [τετ]ελευτη|κότων τάξ[ει κατὰ] τ̣ὸ̣ ἔ̣[θ]ος.[25]

Die Bedeutungen, die ich hier bisher behandelt habe, haben alle ihren Ursprung in der Ptolemäerzeit und werden weiterhin die gesamte Römerzeit über gebraucht. Lediglich die Bedeutung ‘Anordnung’ wird bis zum 6. Jh. n. Chr. überdauern.

[19] PSI V 488, Z. 5-7: «Ich habe Apollonios ein Hypomnema –eine Mitteilung– geschrieben, deren Kopie angehängt ist» (vor 22. März 257 v. Chr., Philadelphia; TM 2119).
[20] Hombert / Préaux (1952) 101.
[21] TM 14882.
[22] «Ich, der oben genannte Harthotes, schwöre beim Caesar Imperator Eleutherios, Sohn des Gottes Zeus Augustus, daß ich heilsam und wahrheitsgetreu die vorliegende Deklaration (ὑπόμνημα), ohne Vorbehalt, eingereicht habe».
[23] P.Oxy. III 479, Z 17-18 (29. Juni 157 n. Chr.; Oxyrhynchos; TM 20615). Siehe auch die Liste bei Hombert / Préaux (1952) 101 Anm. 2-6 und bes. Anm. 4 sowie 112 Anm. 6.
[24] TM 10851.
[25] Z. 13-17: «Daher reiche ich Dir diese Deklaration / Mitteilung ein, damit dieser Name auf die Liste der Toten gesetzt wird wie es Brauch ist».

5. ὑπόμνημα in der Römerzeit

Da der Umfang dieses Aufsatzes begrenzt ist, werde ich lediglich zwei, drei Worte über die Bedeutungen in der Römerzeit verlieren.

Es ist nicht wirklich schwierig, sich den Bedeutungswandel in der Römerzeit vorzustellen, nachdem schon die Vorläufer aus der Ptolemäerzeit betrachtet wurden. Eine Anordnung kann spezifischer eine 'Zahlungsanordnung', also ein 'Mahnbescheid', ein sogenanntes διαστολικὸν ὑπόμνημα, meinen. Dieses ist bislang lediglich von der Mitte des ersten bis zum Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts in den Papyri belegt, also 150 Jahre lang.[26]

Ebenfalls ihren Ursprung in der Bedeutung 'Deklaration' haben die 'Register', denn Zensus- wie auch andere Deklarationen oder auch Listen wurden archiviert und stellen somit ein Archiv bzw. Register dar.[27] Die Angewohnheit, Urkunden zu registrieren führt zum Protokollieren, also zu Protokollen und somit auch zu Prozeßprotokollen und daraus abgeleitet zu Amtstagebüchern.[28] Letztere sind besser unter ihrem Synonym ὑπομνηματισμοί bekannt. Die ὑπομνήματα als Amtstagebücher sind lediglich seit den 70er Jahres des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. in den Papyri attestiert, während die ὑπομνηματισμοί in der Bedeutung Amtstagebuch schon 40 Jahre früher, also um 130 n. Chr., belegt sind.[29] Es ist erstaunlich, daß sich offizielle Protokolle bzw. Amtstagebücher nicht schon in der Ptolemäerzeit in den Papyri finden, wo doch Demosthenes (384-322 v. Chr.) 49.5, schon im 4. Jh. v. Chr. informiert, daß auch Bankangestellte Hypomnemata führten: θαυμάσῃ δὲ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν εἰ ἀκριβῶς ἴσμεν: οἱ γὰρ τραπεζῖται εἰώθασιν ὑπομνήματα γράφεσθαι ὧν τε διδόασιν χρημάτων καὶ εἰς ὅ τι καὶ ὧν ἄν τις τιθῆται, ἵνα ᾖ αὐτοῖς γνώριμα τά τε ληφθέντα καὶ τὰ τεθέντα πρὸς τοὺς λογισμούς.[30]

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[26] Frühester Beleg: P.Ryl. II 119, Z 32 (62-66 n. Chr.; Hermupolis; TM 19506). Spätester Beleg: P.Vind.Sal. 5, Z 17 (23. März 192 n. Chr.; Ptolemais Euergetis; TM 13678). Literatur: P.Vet.Aelii 4, Einleitung, S. 162-164, mit Komm. zu Z. 3, S. 166-168. Primavesi (1986). P.Vindob.Sal. 5, Einleitung, S. 52, und Komm. zu Z. 15/16, S. 63. Kupiszewski (1956), 92-97. Der Mahnbescheid διαστολικὸν ὑπόμνημα wird später zur allgemeinen Zahlungsanweisung und Giroanweisung (siehe hierfür auch Kupiszewski [1957] sowie Preisigke [1971] und P.Lips. II 140-141, Einleitung, S. 141). Vgl. Quenouille (2016a).

[27] Frühester Beleg: P.Lond. II 259, Z 79 u.ö. (94-96 n. Chr.; Philadelphia?; TM 11660). Spätester Beleg: CPR XV 26, Z. 5.8 (nach 24. Februar 179 n. Chr.; Soknopaiu Nesos; TM 9910). Vgl. hierzu Burkhalter (1990), 208 und P.Col. X 274, Komm. zu Z. 3.

[28] Protokoll: Frühester Beleg: P.Oxy. LXXV 5055, Z.10 (2. Jh. n. Chr.; Oxyrhynchos; TM 128896). Spätester Beleg: ChLA XLI 1197, Z. 14 (vor dem 24. Februar 179 n. Chr.; Antinoupolis?; TM 18878). Besonders zu Prozeßprotokollen vgl. Coles (1966). Zur Bearbeitung von Eingaben und Protokollen, die in Amtstagebüchern archiviert wurden, vgl. Haensch (1994) 506. Zum Amtstagebuch: Frühester Beleg: SB XVI 12749, Z 1 (176-179 n. Chr.; Arsinoites; TM 16287). Spätester Beleg: SB XX 14674, Z. 35 (nach dem 23. Januar 492 oder nach dem 22. Januar 507 oder 522 n. Chr.; Hermupolis; TM 23785).

[29] Frühester Beleg: P.Princ. III 124, Z. 10 (131-132 n. Chr.; Arsinoites; TM 12844). Spätester Beleg: SB XVI 12692, Z. 1 (17. 5. 339 n. Chr.; Karanis; TM 14649). Zu den ὑπομνηματισμοί siehe immer noch Wilcken (1894), sowie Bickermann (1933). Vgl. auch Quenouille (2016c). Zu den Amtstagebücher führenden Beamten siehe Wilcken (1894) 109.

[30] «Und daß sich niemand von Euch wundert, daß wir genauste Kenntnisse über diese Dinge haben; denn Bänker sind es gewohnt, ὑπομνήματα zu führen über das Geld, das sie verleihen und wofür, und über das, was jemand einzahlt, damit sie Kenntnis haben über die Einnahmen und das, was auf den Konten liegt». Auch sonst sind ὑπομνήματα in späthellenistischer Zeit als offizielle Amtstagebücher, besonders der Herrscher, bekannt, z.B. bei Diod. Sic. 18.4 und 38.3, oder auch Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 20.10.2. Allerdings muß man dabei beachten, daß Diodor und Dionysios von Halikarnass beide während ihrer schriftstellerischen Tätigkeit mit der römischen Welt vertraut waren und man daher vermuten könnte, daß ὑπομνήματα eine Übersetzung von lat. *commentarii* darstellt. Bei zeitlich früheren Autoren haben die ὑπομνήματα m.W. nicht die Bedeutung 'Amtstagebuch'. Dasselbe gilt für die synonym gebrauchten ὑπομνηματισμοί. Demosthenes könnte eventuell eine Ausnahme darstellen, wenn man die Notizen der Bänker als 'Rechnungsbücher', also quasi 'Amtstagebücher', ansieht. Die Vermutung, daß auch Polybios von den königlichen Hypomnemata –Amtstagebüchern– gesprochen haben könnte, wie Walbank suggeriert, ist allerdings interpretationsabhängig: Walbank (1999) Komm. zu Polyb. 18.33.3 τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, S. 592: «Philip's ephemerides, or official records of public business, part of the

Die ὑπομνήματα der Bänker könnten hier durchaus auch als eine Ansammlung von Notizen und Protokollen in Form von 'Rechnungsbüchern', im weitesten Sinne also als 'Amtstagebüchern', verstanden werden. Ist das Fehlen von Protokollen und Amtstagebüchern in der Ptolemäerzeit Ergebnis der Überlieferung? Immerhin haben wir in der Ptolemäerzeit einen Beleg für einen Hypomnematographen, also einen 'Protokollschreiber', der für προστάγματα (allgemeine Anweisungen), ὑπομνήματα (Anweisungen an Beamte), Eingaben und Anhörungsprotokolle zuständig war, wie P.Mich. I 55, Z. 20-27, zeigt. Es handelt sich um einen Brief von Philon, der Zenon über eine Gerichtsverhandlung informiert: καὶ τὴν ἀνάκρισιν τὴν ὑπὲρ | αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένην, ἣ καὶ | ἐπέλυεν αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν | ἐπικληθέντων, εἶχεν ἤδη Δωσί|θεος ὁ ὑπομνηματογράφος, ἵνα [25]| ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπαναγνῶι πρὸ τοῦ | ἀφεθῆναι \αὐτόν/, παρὰ τὸ ἔθος εἶναι οὕ|\τως γίνεσθαι/.[31]

6. Der Begriff 'Pachthypomnema'

Was Preisigkes Bedeutung 'Angebot bei Pacht und Miete' und 'Vertrag (mit der Grundform eines Angebotes des Pächters oder Mieters)' betrifft, so konnte ich keinen einzigen Beleg für die Bedeutung des Wortes ὑπόμνημα als 'Pachthypomnema' oder 'Pachtvertrag' finden. In seinem Aufsatz "The Rise of Hypomnêma as a Lease Contract" zeigte Uri Yiftach-Firanko die Entwicklung der Form des sogenannten Pachthypomnema und führte die Geschichte und den Gebrauch solcher Dokumente vor Augen.[32] Alain Martin untersuchte ebenfalls die Form von Dokumenten, die die Form eines Hypomnemas aufwiesen, indem er ausführte, daß in der Einleitung dieser Dokumente die Wörter ὑπόμνημα und χαίρειν ausgelassen wurden.[33] Das Wort ὑπόμνημα an sich kommt jedoch niemals in den Dokumenten selbst vor. Tatsächlich wurde das sogenannte Pachthypomnema, das einen Pachtvertrag meint, in der Römerzeit mit ἀναφόριον (Meldung) oder μίσθωσις (Pacht) bezeichnet. Dies wurde schon von Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz in P.Mil.Vogl. II 104[34], Einl., S. 195, erkannt: «Onde vien fatto di pensare che il nome col quale venivano chiamate le proposte di affitto non era già ὑπόμνημα (come, per quanto mi risulta, senza appoggio testuale usiamo dire), ma ἀναφόριον».[35] Diese Sichtweise wurde später von Arnold Kränzlein in seinem Aufsatz "Zu den Privatpacht-Hypomnemata der ersten zwei nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte" bekräftigt.[36] Und die Durchsicht aller 727

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normal apparatus of Hellenistic kings since Alexander, kept diary form and recording all that concerned the king; […] They are often called ὑπομνήματα, but must be distinguished from memoirs […]». Allerdings werden hier die βασιλικὰ γράμματα als ὑπομνήματα bezeichnet, also eher als 'Aufzeichnungen' denn als 'Amtstagebücher'. Vgl. zu dem Thema auch Collomp (1926) 18-26, der ebenfalls die Polybios-Stelle als Beleg für die Bedeutung 'Amtstagebücher' sehen möchte. Auch hier ist zudem der römische Einfluß auf Polybios während seines Aufenthalts in Rom zu bedenken. Zur Frage, ob Alexander der Große ὑπομνήματα oder ἐφημερίδες geführt habe, siehe Samuel (1965). Zur Diskussion von ὑπομνήματα in den literarischen Quellen allgemein siehe Peremans (1967).

[31] «Die über ihn geschriebene Untersuchung, welche ihn von allen Anschuldigungen freispricht, hat schon Dositheos, der Protokollschreiber (Hypomnematograph) erhalten, so daß der König sie lesen kann, um ihn aus der Haft zu entlassen wie es die gewohnte Prozedur ist». Zum Hypomnematographen in der Ptolemäerzeit mit Amtssitz Alexandria siehe Huß (2011) 40-41, sowie zum Hypomnematographen als Beamter des βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς P.Tebt. V 1151, Komm. zu Z. 87, S. 121. Zum Hypomnematographen in römischer Zeit siehe Whitehorne (1987); vgl. auch P.Oxy. XL 2892-2922, Einleitung, S. 31-32; BGU XVIII.1 2732, Komm. zu Z. 9, S. 45; Braunert (1964) 349-352; Mitthof (2001) 366-369 und Drecoll (1997) 103-104. Siehe auch Quenouille (2016d). Zum demotischen Äquivalent des ὑπομνηματογράφος siehe Depauw (2006) 100, mit weiterführender Literatur.

[32] Yiftach-Firanko (2007).

[33] Martin (2007).

[34] TM 12350.

[35] P.Mil.Vogl. II 104, Z. 38-39: Πρωτᾶς Κρονίωνος ἐπι[δέδ]ωκα τὸ ἀ|ναφόριον «Protas, Sohn des Kronion, ich habe das Anaphorion eingereicht».

[36] Kränzlein (1982).

Belege für das Wort ὑπόμνημα in den Papyri hat bislang die Ansicht von Arangio-Ruiz nur bestätigen können.[37]

7. Zusammenfassung

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, daß das Wort ὑπόμνημα einen Bedeutungswandel von der simplen 'Notiz, Gedächtnisstütze' bis hin zu komplexeren Bedeutungen 'Protokoll' und 'Amtstagebuch' durchlief. Letztere könnten in der Ptolemäerzeit schon existiert haben, allerdings gibt es bislang keine papyrologischen Belege dafür. Die Existenz eines Hypomnematographen in dieser Zeit spricht allerdings indirekt dafür. Was wir für das Wort ὑπόμνημα jedoch nicht nachweisen konnten, ist die Bedeutung 'Vertrag' oder 'Pachthypomnema' *stricto sensu*, mit anderen Worten: Das sogenannte Pachthypomnema ist lediglich ein moderner Terminus und bezieht sich nur auf das Formular eines Dokuments, nicht aber auf dessen Inhalt.

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[37] Stand: 30.03.2017. Interessanterweise wird hingegen die Kündigung eines Pachtvertrags anscheinend tatsächlich mit ὑπόμνημα bezeichnet, wie P.Mil.Vogl. III 196, Z. 18-23, zeigt: ἐπιδι̣δο̣ῖμι (l. ἐπιδίδωμι) | τὸ̣ ὑ̣πόμνημα̣ ἵν' εἰδῇς [20]| [ἐ]κουσίως καὶ αὐ̣[θαιρ]έτω[ς] | ἡμᾶ̣ς ἐκβένοντα̣ς (l. ἐκβαίνοντας), | σ̣ὲ̣ δ̣ὲ̣ ἀν[τεχομένην καὶ] | ἑτέροις μεταμισθοῦν· «Ich reiche das Hypomnema ein, damit Du weißt, daß wir freiwillig und aus freien Stücken (vom Vertragsverhältnis) austreten, damit Du aber berechtigt bist, auch anderen weiterzuverpachten».

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Medicalia Online
A Lexical Database of Technical Terms in Medical Papyri*

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ἐπεὶ τοίνυν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τούτῳ νῦν καθεστήκαμεν,
ἀνάγκη μέν που θέσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ὀνόματα.
(Gal. De meth. med. 2.1 [X 81,11-12 K.])

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to present the project "Medicalia Online", its issues and goals, its history and interdisciplinary methodology. The project "Medicalia Online" is aimed at creating an electronic lexical database consisting in a series of in-depth studies of selected technical terms attested in the Greek medical papyri.[1] These studies, indeed, scrutinize a selection of *termini technici* found in the Greek (para)literary and documentary papyri dealing with medical topics. Among the *specimina* produced so far, the semantic fields of pathologies, containers for the storage of drugs and remedies, surgical instruments, surgical operations and other medical procedures have been mainly involved. This lexicographical database is connected to the main project "Corpus of the Greek Medical Papyri Online" (CPGM), a textual database providing comprehensive digital editions of the Greek papyri of medical content: it forms a corpus of more than 300 published items, including text, basic critical apparatus, line-by-line commentary, translation in one or more modern languages and metadata (the project is presented and described by Reggiani [2019]).[2] Thus, "Medicalia Online" has been conceived as a supplement to the digitised corpus of the Greek medical papyri. Both of these interrelated projects, "Medicalia" and "CPGM Online", have been supported by a grant of the European Research Council and developed, from 2014 to the end of 2016, at the University of Parma (Italy) by a team led by Prof. Isabella Andorlini ("Online Humanities Scholarship: a digital medical library based on ancient text", project acronym DIGMEDTEXT).[3]

The contribution of the papyri to our knowledge of the Greek language is undoubtedly great. Generally speaking, papyri represent a body of evidence capable of providing concrete linguistic information, as well as fresh insights into the nature of Greek vocabulary.[4]

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[1] On "Medicalia Online" see also Bonati (2018) and (forthcoming a). Cf. Bonati (forthcoming b).

[2] On the digitisation of the CPGM see also Andorlini (forthcoming), Reggiani (2015) 341-352, as well as the dedicated webpage at http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/CPGM/project.html. On the Digital Papyrology see Reggiani (2017) and (2018). For further bibliography on the topic, see the contributions by Francesca Bertonazzi and Nicola Reggiani in this same volume.

[3] See at http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/ERC/index.html. The contributors in the project "Medicalia Online" are Prof. Isabella Andorlini, Prof. Anastasia Maravela, and some members of the Parma Digital Papyrology Team: Isabella Bonati, Francesca Bertonazzi and Nicola Reggiani.

[4] See Evans / Obbink (2010).

Likewise, Greek medical papyri from Egypt, such as recipes, fragments of treatises and catechisms, but also physicians' reports, petitions of private individuals and private correspondence concerning issues of health and diseases, have not only enhanced our knowledge of ancient medical literature and practice, but have offered rich attestation of Greek technical vocabulary and its development over time. Along with the new attestation of technical words already known through the medical corpus transmitted by way of the medieval manuscript transmission, papyri of medical content sometimes reveal elements of the ancient Greek medical terminology unattested or, at least, extremely rare or weakly attested in other (better known and more official) medical sources.

Medical papyri represent a corpus of peculiar texts with a peculiar nature, as papyrus fragments preserve not only works more or less of the same status as the medical literature transmitted in medieval manuscripts, but also texts with a borderline and paraliterary character, that is combining features of papyrus documents with issues proper of their special technical nature. Furthermore, as I have already mentioned, documentary papyri with medical terms bring to light the non-technical but, in a certain sense, still medical vocabulary used in everyday life by lay persons and by practising physicians. In all these cases, the analysis of the terms found in medical papyri on the one hand contributes to enrich and refine our knowledge of ancient medical language, its diachronic trajectory and its registers, on the other hand can promote the contextual and philological interpretation of the texts in which they appear by reaching a more exact definition of both the words expressing the contents and their textual context. This can even result, sometimes, in new readings and corrections. The critical exegesis of ancient medical texts is indeed strictly dependent on a deep understanding of technical terminology. For this reason, an in-depth study of technical vocabulary is an undertaking of unquestionable importance and strongly enhances our philological awareness of medical texts.

2. Inside the Project: methodology and aims

The methodological approach of "Medicalia Online" is profoundly interdisciplinary and 'interdisciplinarity' is one of the keywords of this project. The significance of 'interdisciplinarity' in Papyrology has been stressed several times in recent years. In this regard, it would suffice to remember how often words and expressions like 'broader concept', 'broader view', 'combination' of sources, and, of course, 'interdisciplinarity' occur in The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology edited by Roger Bagnall in 2009. Thus, although the core focus is papyrological, a systematic interdisciplinary approach inspires the lexical *lemmata* in "Medicalia Online". This methodology involves a strong sense of dialogue and cooperation among disciplines, merging and combining components of several subject areas, viz. (beside papyrology) classics and history of textual transmission, linguistics, digital humanities, epigraphy, archaeology and material culture, history of science and of medical practices across the ages. Papyri, literary sources (passages from medical authors and from any other literary genre in which the terms are attested), as well as inscriptions and archaeological artifacts are comparatively and critically examined, in order to provide the broadest and the most complete overview of each *lemma*. Therefore, bridging papyrology and archaeology, in dialogue with the other subject areas in ancient studies, promotes an integrated approach which enables us to throw new light on the complex and multicultural setting of the Graeco-Roman medicine in Egypt, presenting –to quote Nutton (2004) 16– «an inclusive model for understanding the medical word of Antiquity».

Such a vertical approach, which is the strong point of originality of this work topic, contributes to improve our understanding of textual as well as of concrete aspects of the

Ancient World, with its *verba* and its *realia*, making the past more accessible to the present generation of scholars. As a consequence, thanks to this strong interdisciplinary focus, aimed at creating a tight dialogue among different disciplines and kind of sources, "Medicalia Online" can be a reference tool potentially useful to all scholars in the research on Antiquity and ancient technical language: not only papyrologists, but also archaeologists, historians of medicine and of science more generally, historians of language, and so on. The study of the ancient medicine, indeed, draws upon a variety of evidence including ancient literary sources (first and foremost works on medical topics), papyri of medical (and other) content, inscriptions and archaeological discoveries attesting to medical practice. In the research involved in "Medicalia Online" papyri play, of course, a leading role, but their witness is integrated with other types of evidence aiming at a broader and better knowledge of the Ancient World. Accordingly, since the study of medicine/medical practice in the Ancient World presupposes a combination of diverse, often contradicting, pieces of knowledge, a methodological approach based on a close cooperation of several disciplines seems vital.

Other methodological aspects and main purposes of the project are:

a. to explore the linguistic strategies employed to create the terms in exam and their development into a technical vocabulary, often presenting different degrees of technicality depending on the contexts. Some of the selected *specimina* are in fact very useful to illustrate the main strategies to create a technical terminology, such as, in particular, the coinage of new terms through compounding (e.g. ὑδροκέφαλον and φαρμακοθήκη) or suffixation (e.g. ἐγκατατομικός and καθέδριος), and the borrowing of existing terms from other semantic fields, i.e. metaphors (e.g. πτερύγιον and τερηδών);

b. particular attention is devoted to the evolution and survival of the examined words into contemporary scientific discourse starting from the evidence of the papyri. Thus, one of the goals is to shed new light on the diachronic development of both the Greek technical language and the scientific medical discourse from antiquity into modern times;

c. intention to analyse the relationship between the medical vocabulary attested by the papyri of medical content and the –often more sophisticated– medical language known through the medieval manuscript transmission of the writers of ancient medical literature, from the Hippocratic authors to the compendiasts of Late Antiquity. As a consequence, the lexical studies of "Medicalia Online" allow us to explore the contribution of the papyri to our knowledge of the Greek medical language.

Some difficulties can be encountered. In particular:

a. the practical difficulty hidden inside the nature itself of such an approach, which requires much time and effort to look into all the attestations of a term, especially in case of extremely attested words, in order to understand which ones are really useful and to find out how to succeed in managing them;

b. the fact that one must often approach branches of knowledge that are extraneous to his/her education as a classicist or a papyrologist, so that it can be necessary to consult specialists in the various fields. This is the case, for example, when, studying a name of pathology, it can be hard to determine what the ancient disease may have been and to what it may correspond in modern medicine.

A further point of interest is that, being the *lemmata* characterized by methodological rigour and thorough analysis, it is possible to contribute to a better and more accurate definition of the ancient terms. Also for this reason, from a methodological viewpoint, it became clear that a dictionary of short definitions would not have fitted the exegetical requirements of ancient medical discourse. This entailed the necessity to produce a rigorous and detailed reference

collection of relevant *lemmata* critically discussed. Since an extensive and diachronic treatment of ancient Greek medical terms was still missing from the scholarly landscape, we decided to concentrate on a selection of *specimina*, in order to provide not merely brief explanations of many words but a series of in-depth studies on selected terms. In this order of ideas, "Medicalia Online" is not a simple glossary or a dictionary with just a definition, but it includes articles or entries more like the ones of an encyclopedia. Therefore, it is not extensive in quantity of terms, but extensive in the kind of information. As a natural consequence of this, the entries of "Medicalia Online" are even very long and hold a comprehensive and strategically organized bulk of information. This method is aimed at promoting an essentially vertical rather than horizontal dimension in approaching lexical items, so that 'verticality' is another keyword of this project.

The *specimina* included in the database have been selected on the basis of their relevance under several respects. Among the reasons: some of these terms are widely attested and cover a broad semantic area (e.g. πυξίς, ὑδρία, ὑδροκέφαλον, χύτρα), but a study sufficiently inclusive and extensive has not been produced so far. Other words are very rare (e.g. φαρμακοθήκη), highly technical (e.g. καθέδριος), or represent *addenda lexicis* recovered only from medical papyri (e.g. ἐγκατατομικός), and have never been studied at all, despite their linguistic and contextual interest. Some of these words, indeed, are not recorded in any existing dictionary of ancient Greek or their definitions are faulty and inexact and sometimes quite far from the actual meaning that only a careful study of all the sources and of secondary materials can actually reveal.

3. The database platform

The database can be accessed from the dedicated page on the website of the course of Papyrology of the University of Parma:[5] by clicking «some preliminary *specimina*» at the bottom of the page, one will be immediately redirected to the actual database. The site is searchable and browsable in two ways:

a. alphabetically: the list of the terms starting with a certain letter can be obtained by clicking the corresponding letter either at the top or at the left bottom of the page. So it results in an alphabetical list of the items commencing with the selected letter;

b. by thematic categories. There are three macro-categories further divided into subcategories: *lexicalia* (e.g. containers, ingredients, instruments, *termini technici*), medical branches (e.g. gynaecology, ophthalmology, pathology, pharmacology, surgery), text typologies (e.g. *adespota*, catechism, prescription). A single term can also be subordinated to two or more subcategories, so that it can be searchable in each of them.

Furthermore, being the subproject "Medicalia Online" closely connected to the main project "CPGM Online", as aforesaid, another technical aspect concerns the connections between the textual database and the lexical entries of "Medicalia Online" and, vice versa, between the lexical entries and the related medical texts in the CPGM database.

An example is shown by the digital edition of a papyrus that has already been added to the "Digital Corpus of Literary Papyri" (DCLP).[6] The papyrus, GMP I 6 (LDAB 10278, MP3 2340.01),[7] is a fragment of a medical catechism on afflictions of the head dating back to the late second-early third century CE. Some of the words appearing in the front matter

[5] See at http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/ERC/medicalia.html.
[6] See at http://litpap.info/. A full insight of a CPGM digital edition is given by Bertonazzi (2019).
[7] See at http://litpap.info/dclp/69007/.

(ἐρωταπόκρισις, τερηδών, ὑδροκέφαλον) have been linked to the corresponding entries in "Medicalia Online".[8] Taking as an example the caries of the skull known as τερηδών, by simply clicking on the word one is instantly transported to the entry and, conversely, can access the complete digital edition of the text by clicking the CPGM reference at the end of the entry itself.

4. The layout of the entries

The definitive layout of the entries was the result of several attempts. Tracing a sort of prehistory of the project, the preliminary steps of "Medicalia Online" were carried out in Norway, during a research stay that I spent at the University of Oslo, supported by the Norwegian Research Council as an Yggdrasil scholar during my PhD in Papyrology, from August 2012 to April 2013, under the supervision of Prof. Anastasia Maravela, who contributed greatly to the development and improvement of the current layout. In that first phase I focused on the vocabulary of some representative Greek medical containers,[9] that I used as samples to test advantages and disadvantages, usefulness and usability of the entries. So, after many adjustments, fruitful discussions and presentations at workshops,[10] the final version was reached. The result was an innovative lexicographical structure that reflects the methodological framework and the interdisciplinary approach of the project. Each entry provides a broad overview of the examined words under multiple aspects and is essentially comprehensive. At the same time, this structure has been thought to be user-friendly for a consultation tool and applicable to any lexical category and semantic field.

Each lexical entry has the following layout:

a. Variants including a list of orthographic / spelling variants, Latin transliteration or form(s) of the term, cognates of medical relevance, if any;

b. General definition in which the main elements concerning the *lemma* are summed up;

c. Language between text and context: a linguistic section containing discussions on etymology, morphology, semantics, as well as on variants and cognates of the examined word. The linguistic history of the term up to modern times and developments of its technical meanings are also discussed. This section is divided in:

c.1. Etymology

c.2. General linguistic commentary: two separated sections or a single section depending on the quantity and kind of information available

c.3. Abbreviation(s) in the papyri

d. *Testimonia* –a selection of representative sources: a list of selected passages of medical relevance taken from all kind of written sources (literature, papyri, inscriptions) with English translation

[8] See MedOn respectively s.vv. ἐρωταπόκρισις (author: Nicola Reggiani), τερηδών and ὑδροκέφαλον (author of both: Isabella Bonati).

[9] On the vocabulary of Greek vases and containers in the papyri, see Bonati (2016).

[10] The first official presentations of the project "Medicalia Online" were: "Trying out layouts for the «Medicalia Online» *lemmata*: the example of *pharmakotheke*", given at the kick-off workshop "Strengthening Research Capacity in the Papyrus Collection of the Oslo University Library" (3-5 December 2012), at the University of Oslo, and "The vocabulary of some representative ancient Greek containers for food, *salsamenta*, *aromata* and medicines", given at a workshop organized by the Department of Archaeology (Institutt for arkeologi, konservering og historie - IAKH) of the same University (9 February 2013).

e. Commentary divided into two chapters:

e.1. (the term) and its medical sources discussing aspects such as what emerges from the ancient sources about the term, if and how its semantic value changes over time from its earliest attestations to Late Antiquity, the comparison between its ancient and modern meaning(s);

e.2. (the term) in practice (word and object / action etc.) dealing with the practical side of the term and outlining the connection between the word and its concrete dimension. This means, for example, the material reconstruction of the related object in case of words denoting e.g. containers or surgical implements, as well as the methods of treatment and surgical procedures to be performed in case of word denoting diseases and disorders, with particular focus on parallels, divergences and innovations along the history of medicine.

f. Bibliography divided in

f.1. Lexicon entries

f.2. Secondary literature

g. CPGM/DDbDP reference(s): some of the examined terms occur only in the CPGM Online (e.g. ἐγκατατομικός, ἐκκοπεύς, καθέδριος, πτερύγιον), while others appear also or only in texts dealing with medical topics, such as letters requesting remedies and medical or surgical instruments, that are contained in the DDbDP (e.g. κάδος, ὑδρία, φαρμακοθήκη, ψυγμός). We have already seen how the entries in "Medicalia Online" can be linked to the texts in the CPGM database. If, on the one hand, it is possible to link the DDbDP reference in "Medicalia Online" to the actual text in the DDbDP, it might be also useful to create similar links between the medical words in the DDbDP and the corresponding *lemmata* in the Medicalia database. This could also be a way to broaden the use of "Medicalia Online" to a larger number of users.

Finally, there is a clickable list of the terms connected to the main term (diminutives, variants, cognates, Latin forms) that are also searchable through the alphabetical list that can be found both at the top and at the bottom of the home page.

To conclude, the interdisciplinary and holistic approach to the medical technical vocabulary of the project "Medicalia Online", that considers the various sources and the material nature of the artifacts in their context, can enhance both the contextual and philological interpretation of the ancient texts, and enable us to give back a voice to the words (and, when possible, a name to the objects and the medical procedures) by tracing their trajectory from the past into the present.

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Itacism from Zenon to Dioscorus: scribal corrections of <ι> and <ει> in Greek documentary papyri*

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1. Introduction

Documentary papyri provide a rich source for the study of the Greek language, because they preserve a significant amount of linguistic variation. Orthographic variation is often noted by editor of the document and there is a custom to regularize scribal errors or deviant spellings in the text or apparatus of a papyrus edition, but also to note scribal corrections made in antiquity. In this paper, I will show how these modern editorial regularizations and ancient scribal corrections can be collected and applied to study the spread of orthographic variation. The frequent interchange of <ι> and <ει> does not only show us the phonetic realization of the sounds, but especially scribal knowledge and awareness of orthographic conventions. The quantitative approach to the data is complemented by a qualitative analysis of the scribal corrections of itacism at different times, from the third century BC Zenon archive until the sixth century CE archive of Dioscorus.

2. Collecting linguistic information from papyrus editions: Trismegistos Text Irregularities

Gignac's two volumes of A Grammar of the Greek papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods published in 1976 and 1981 provide an extensive analysis of the phonological and morphological variation attested in papyri, including many representative examples. However, his approach is limited by the technology available at the time and the format of publication, as Gignac, Gram. I 50 explains: «Even if it were possible to give every example in the papyri of every grammatical phenomenon, i.e., if all papyrus texts were in machine-readable format for analysis by computer, the resultant data would fill over 100 volumes».

Even though the corpus of published Greek papyri has been digitized during the last decades, the means of searching for linguistic phenomena in this corpus are still limited. In fact, more linguistic information is tagged in the papyrus editions in the Papyrological Navigator than what is searchable through the user interface (www.papyri.info). For example, editors conventionally comment on irregular spellings and morphological forms by adding brackets in the text (< > for missing and { } for superfluous letters) or by giving the standard form in the apparatus (l.). This inspired Mark Depauw and the author of this article to develop a tool to search for editorial regularizations, which is now accessible through the Trismegistos portal (www.trismegistos.org/textirregularities).[1]

The annotation of scribal corrections in papyrus editions is comparable to the editorial regularizations. Again, it involves the use of brackets in text (\ / for an insertion above the line, ⟦ ⟧ for a deletion) and/or comments in the apparatus of the type 'A corr. ex B'. Thus, the

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[1] The development of this tool and its potential for quantitative study of linguistic variation is discussed in Depauw / Stolk (2015).

tool developed for editorial regularizations can also be used to collect scribal corrections.[2] Although tagging is similar, scribal corrections provide an entirely different kind of resource for linguistic study. While the editorial regularizations are dependent on a modern editor's linguistic insights, scribal corrections reflect real instances of reworking at the time of text production.

3. Editorial regularization of <ι> and <ει>

The confusion between <ι> and <ει> is the earliest and most frequently attested of all itacistic interchanges in Greek papyri. Gignac, Gram. I 189, qualified this interchange as «very frequent», which means that it does not occur in the majority of the occurrences but «in very many instances (over 200 examples)» in his corpus (p. 50). The massive scale of this interchange is evident from the results of the editorial regularizations. The use of <ει> instead of <ι> is signalled 13453 times (in 6578 texts) and <ι> instead of <ει> even 19705 times (in 8745 texts) by the editors, which is by far the most frequent of all interchanges in the Text Irregularities database: cf. Depauw / Stolk (2015) 207.[3] It means that on average 24% of all published documentary papyri include at least one regularization of this type. Based on the spread and frequency of this interchange, there seems little doubt about the phonological reality of the merger in the spoken language. Therefore, this particular feature could be taken as an example to test the discrepancies between a phonological merger in the spoken language and the occurrence of the variant spellings in the written language.

Graph 1 gives a chronological overview of the percentage of texts with editorial corrections of <ι> and <ει> in documentary papyri from third century BCE until eighth century CE.[4] It shows that the percentage of texts with an interchange of <ι> for <ει> is still relatively low in the third and second centuries BCE (around 5%), the percentage starts to increase before the Roman period and reaches almost 30% of the texts in the fourth century CE. The opposite interchange <ει> instead of <ι>, which could be regarded as hypercorrection, is less frequent.

The fact that the number of occurrences never reaches more than 30% of the texts –not even after a thousand years– and declines again after the fourth century CE shows that this graph is not a straightforward representation of the spread of a sound change across the population. One could wonder whether this decline may have been caused by editors who apply different standards to different periods, although there is no general policy for papyrologists to change the norms for regularization according to the date of the document.[5] It seems unlikely to me that the low number of itacistic interchanges in the third and second centuries BCE and seventh and eighth centuries CE are purely caused by editors ignoring the majority of the interchanges in the earliest and latest texts. The exact distribution is probably caused by variety of factors, including non-random preservation, the selection of texts for publication as well as historical and cultural changes. Most likely, the graph does not represent the spread of a sound change at all (cf. Versteegh [2002]), but only the way in which this sound change affected the written sources preserved to us. The attitudes of the writers towards the standard

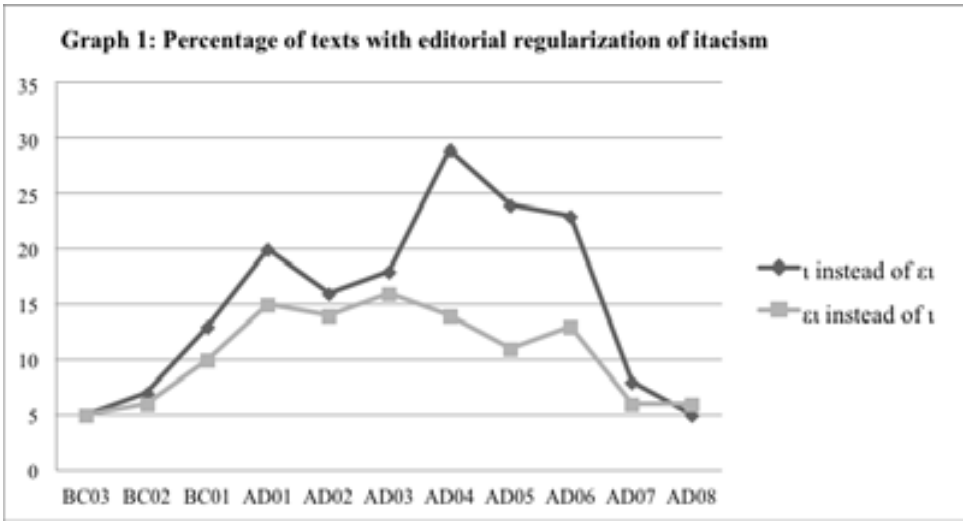
[2] As soon as all types of scribal corrections have been categorized, this new material will be made available through the Trismegistos portal.

[3] The numbers are based on all published Greek papyri in the DDbDP (state 4 January 2014) and the annotated database TM Text irregularities (state 21 March 2017).

[4] Graph 1 is a weighted graph in which papyri dated to more than one century are spread out over the time range they are dated to; cf. B. Van Beek / M. Depauw (2013). The numbers are based on all published Greek papyri in the DDbDP (state 4 January 2014) and the annotated database TM Text irregularities (state 21 March 2017).

[5] A critical review of the method of editorial regularization in papyrus editions with some problematic examples for the regularization of itacism can be found in Stolk (2018).

written language as well as the level of education (Evans [2012] 39-40) are essential to understand these deviations. The importance of Classical norms may have differed according time, place and social setting (Bucking [2007] 237). Thus, if scribes in the third century BCE were well-educated and cared about maintaining conservative norms for the spelling of <ι> and <ει>, this might explain the lower number of interchanges in the third and second centuries BCE.



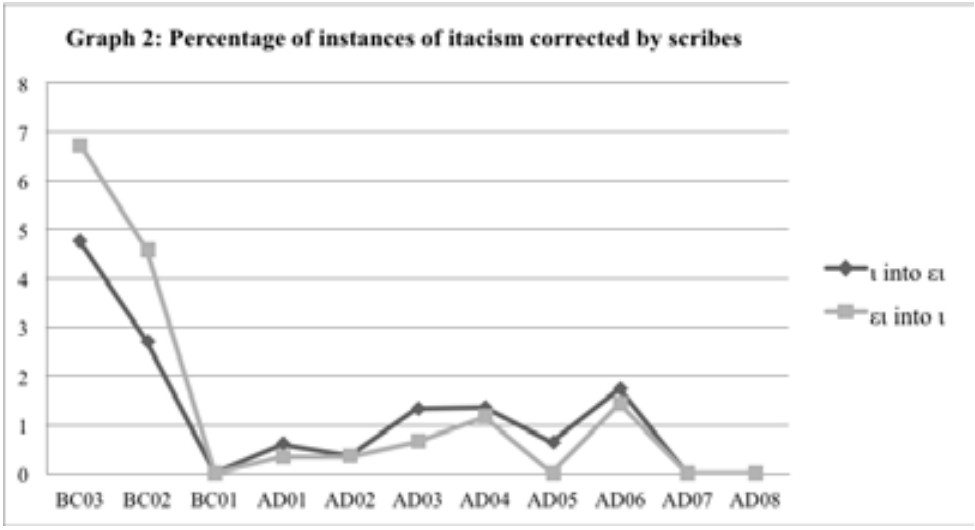
4. Scribal corrections of <ι> and <ει>

Although scribal corrections are not as frequent as editorial regularizations, interchanges between <ι> and <ει> are corrected by scribes throughout the centuries. Generally, the corrections follow the Classical standards. In total, 122 examples (in 90 texts) are found of the correction of <ι> into <ει> and 70 (in 57 texts) of <ει> into <ι>.[6] Corrections typically concern the dative singular of nouns as in πόλ\ε/ι (P.Cair.Zen. III 59301. ll. 2 and 5) and μέλ[[ε]]ι (P.Oxy. LV 3812. l. 6), verb endings, such as γράψ\ε/ις (PSI XIV 1414. l. 23) and διδάσκ\ε/ιν̣ (BGU X 1915. l. 9), the root vowel of verbs, such as ἀπέστ\ε/ιλα̣ (P.Oxy. LIX 4002. l. 5) and ἀποτ[[ε]]ῖσαι (P.Mich. I 57. l. 12-13), and the dative plural of personal pronouns like ἡμ[[ε]]ῖν (UPZ I 21. l. 3), see also Mayser / Schmoll, Gram. I 1 60-70. Usually, the different spelling does not change the semantic or grammatical interpretation of the word, but in instances like π̣όλ[[ε]]ις (CPR VII 13. l. 13), τρ\ε/ῖς (P.Oxy. LIX 4002. l. 7), ἐπ\ε/ί (CPR V 10. l. 10) and μέλ[[ε]]ι (P.Oxy. LV 3812. l. 6) that could be an unintended side effect.

Graph 2 shows the percentage of scribal corrections of itacism per century from the total number of instances of editorial regularizations and scribal corrections per century.[7]

[6] The numbers are based on all published Greek papyri in the DDbDP (state 4 January 2014) and the annotated database TM Text irregularities (state 21 March 2017).

[7] Graph 2 is a weighted graph in which papyri dated to more than one century are spread out over the time range they are dated to; cf. B. Van Beek / M. Depauw (2013). The numbers are based on all published Greek papyri in the DDbDP (state 4 January 2014) and the annotated database TM Text irregularities (state 21 March 2017).



Corrections of itacism are rare compared to the high numbers of itacistic interchanges attested in papyri (cf. graph 1). However, graph 2 shows that a relatively large portion, about 3-7 %, of the itacistic spellings gets corrected during the third and second centuries BCE.[8] Much lower percentages are corrected in the Roman and Byzantine periods, generally less than 2 % of the regularizations.[9] The preservation of scribal corrections itself is, of course, also related to the attitude towards revision in (official) texts and the preservation of drafts and other text varieties that typically contain corrections. Therefore, qualitative rather than quantitative study of the relevant instances can provide more information about the apparent differences in attitude towards the correction of itacism. Below I discuss in chronological order some interesting papyri with scribal corrections of itacism.

5. Scribal corrections in the Zenon archive

While editorial regularizations of itacism are not very frequent in the papyri from third century BCE, corrections of itacism are relatively common. This may be the result of the generally high level of education of the scribes. It shows that some scribes already had difficulties with the spelling of this sound, but at least part of them recognized this as a problem and they were trying to avoid it. Almost half of the corrections dating to the third century BCE are found in the Zenon archive (263-229 BCE).[10]

Zenon's handwriting has been identified by C.C. Edgar and Willy Clarysse in 28 documents from the archive (Clarysse [2009] 38-41). Zenon writes in an old-fashioned handwriting and follows also some older writing norms, such as the use of *sandhi* at the end of articles and prepositions (Clarysse [2009] 42). He hardly makes any mistakes himself and any errors can mostly be classified as mechanical slips of the pen, such as Δισοκουριδην for Διοσκουριδην in his personal to-do-list P.Col. III 58. l. 11. Therefore, Willy Clarysse (2009) 42, even seems to doubt the reading of the itacistic spelling ἰδῖν for ἰδεῖν (l. 4, but cf. l. 1) on the same

[8] This high percentage of corrections in the Ptolemaic period is partly caused by the relatively low number of editorial regularizations of itacism in this period, but also the absolute number of itacistic corrections is high in comparison to most other centuries.

[9] The differences between the Ptolemaic (3rd-1st BCE), Roman (1st-3rd CE) and Byzantine (4th-6th CE) periods are significant (Chi-Square test $p<0.00001$).

[10] Apart from the examples cited in this section, the following corrections of itacism are found in the Zenon archive: ἡμ[[ε]]ῖν in P.Cair.Zen. II 59196. l. 6; οἰ̣ι̣̣[[ει]]\ί/διον in P.Cair.Zen. IV 59631. l. 6; ἀποτ[[ε]]ῖσαι in P.Mich. I 57. ll.12-13; ἀκρ[[ε]]ιβῶς and προειληφέναι (ε corr. ex ι) in P.Lond. VII 1941. l. 3 and 7; and ἐγκαταλ[[ε]]ίπηις in PSI IV 361. l. 11.

papyrus. The archive contains predominantly incoming documents and corrections of itacism are found in documents coming from various people. This also means that most of the corrections were made to the final version of the document. Apparently, the correct spelling of <ι> and <ει> was considered important enough to make revisions to the final version of a text, but these minor corrections did not warrant a new copy of the document.

Most of the corrections are attested in letters written in standard language, containing only few corrections and regularizations, such as P.Cair.Zen. III 59301 (Philadelpheia, 21-22 July 250 BCE). In this memorandum from Kassandros to Zenon the scribe writes two times ἐμ πόλ\ε/ι adding an *epsilon* of the dative singular ending above the line (ll. 2 and 5). The scribe also skips part of the name of the sender and later adds the missing syllable to the name: παρὰ Κασ\σάν/δρου (l. 1). The mistake in the name could suggest that Kassandros, described as one of the soldiers of Apollonios (ll. 1-2), did not write the letter himself. Furthermore, the neat chancellery handwriting and regular line spacing point to a professional scribe, who habitually corrects his own imperfections along the way. The hand of the scribe can also be recognized in the correction in P.Iand.Zen. 24, a letter from Korragos to Proxenos, where ἐρῖ is corrected into ἐρ\ε/ῖ, «he will tell» in l. 10. The *epsilon* added above the line is identical in shape and *ductus* as the first *epsilon* of the same word (on digital photo). Based on this striking similarity with the previous *epsilon*, one could wonder whether the correction was made relatively quickly after the scribe finished writing this last word of the letter, with the previous shape of the *epsilon* still in his mind. An immediate correction of <ι> into <ει> can also be found in ἐν τῶι πλήθει, «in the total amount» in P.Col. III 8. l. 5, a letter from Artemidoros to Zenon. I agree with the editors that «the scribe first wrote πλήθι, then changed to πλήθει by writing an *epsilon* over the original *iota* and adding the final *iota*» (P.Col. III 8 n. to l. 5).[11]

Dative singular endings in -ι or -ει are a recurrent topic in the corrections during the Ptolemaic period. Only stems in -ι, -υ and -σ show e-grade in their suffixes, other consonant stems have a dative singular in -ι. The stem types may have been difficult to keep apart (see further examples in Mayser / Schmoll, Gram. I 1, 60 and 69), perhaps even more so in the case of Egyptian loan words. In a list of articles, P.Cair.Zen. I 59069. l. 5, we find ἐν θίβει (ε corr. ex ι), the dative singular of θῖβις 'basket' from Egyptian *db3t* (see Torallas Tovar [2004] 184). The method of correction is identical to the previous example: the final *iota* of θίβι is changed into an *epsilon* and then followed by another *iota* (θίβει), probably by the same scribe during the writing process.

6. Scribal corrections during the Roman period

During the Ptolemaic period (3rd-1st BCE), about 40% of the texts with scribal corrections of itacism contain editorial regularizations of itacism as well. This number increases in the Roman and Byzantine periods (1st-6th CE): on average more than 70% of the papyri with corrections of <ι> and <ει> also contain editorial regularizations of the same interchange.[12] This means that the corrections in Roman and Byzantine papyri are often inconsistent and orthographic variation remains in many corrected texts. For example, in P.Neph. 5 (Alexandria , late 4th CE; cf. BL IX 173), the conjunction \ε/ῖ has been corrected in ll. 5, 11, 12 and 13. The verb ἀποστ\ε/ίλῃς (l. 10) is corrected as well, but stands next to the

[11] The correction is misleadingly rendered into the PN as «πλήθ\ε/ι» with the apparatus note «\ε/ι corr. ex πληθ⟦ι⟧» instead of the notation πληθ⟦ι⟧ει in the ed. pr., which reflects at least the order of events better.

[12] The percentage of corrected texts that contain regularizations of itacism increases from the third century BCE (34%) until the third and fourth centuries CE (both 85%), decreasing again to 61% in the sixth century CE. The difference between the Ptolemaic and Roman-Byzantine papyri is significant (Fisher Exact Test p=0.00439).

uncorrected ἀπόστιλον (l. 12) and ἀπεστίλαμεν (l. 14). Perhaps, the writer only intended to correct all instances of the conjunction \ε/ῑ and corrected \ε/ῑ in the verb next to it by accident (the inserted \ε/ in the verb is also written less clearly than the other corrections).

Scribal corrections in the Roman and Byzantine periods often seem to have been produced by scribes aiming at a high register, such as the letter from Eunoios to Horigenes in P.Oxy. LV 3812 (Oxyrhynchos, end 3rd CE). A peculiar feature of this private letter is the use of prosodic signs, such as punctuation marks (l. 5 and l. 11), accents (l. 10) and breathings (l. 6), which are rarely found in documentary texts. The editor, J.R. Rea, concludes: «Eunoius was evidently an educated person with literary tastes». The high ambitions of the scribe and/or sender are also reflected in how the text was written: the scribe has a tendency to write hypercorrect <ει> instead of <ι>, e.g. in ἀσχολ[ε]ίᾳ (l. 3) and μέλ[ε]ι (l. 6).[13] The same tendency returns in the corrections, when the unproblematic <ι> in συσσίτους (l.9) is corrected into \ει/ and the correction cancelled again. Two hands may be distinguished: the cursive hand of the scribe of the main text and the added wish by the sender in a smaller and faster hand (ll. 13-14); see introduction to the edition. Although the added *epsilons* in ll. 3 and 6 seem to me more similar to the hand of the scribe, it is difficult to rule out the possibility that Eunoios made or suggested some of the corrections.

P.Oxy. XXXI 2600 (Memphis, late 3rd-early 4th CE), a private letter from Koprias to Sarapion, contains a large number of itacistic spellings, especially <ι> for <ει>, such as ἐνετ\ε/ίλω (l. 3), ἐπιδώσ\ε/ις (l. 9), \ε/ῖς (l. 11) and ἀργυρ[ε]ίου (l. 12). Most of them are corrected, but not all; cf. ὀφίλ\ε/ις for ὀφείλεις (l. 6). These corrections seem to have been added in a second hand, possibly by the sender. The same situation may be found in P.Oxy LIX 4002 (Oxyrhynchus, 4th-5th CE), a letter sent by Diogenes, a *scholasticus* with legal training. Based on the differences in handwriting, the editor, H.G. Ioannidou, suspects that the first part (ll. 1-15) may have been written by a clerk, while the sender himself was responsible for the corrections to the first part, the postscriptum and final greetings (ll. 15-21). Even though the corrections may have been made by a well-educated author, they are not entirely consistent; compare the corrections in ἀποστέλλ\ε/ις (l. 4) and ἀπέστ\ε/ιλᾳ (l. 5) with the uncorrected ἀποστίλῃς ἡμεῖν for ἀποστείλῃς ἡμῖν (l. 11).

Highly educated authors may also have been responsible for corrections in more formal documents, such as petitions and contracts. For example, the third century public *grammaticus* Lollianus alias Homoeus seems to have dictated and revised drafts of petitions himself (Luiselli [2010] 75), including itacistic corrections, see for example τ\ε/[ι]χῶν and παράδ\ε/ισον in P.Coll.Youtie II 66. l. 63-64 (Jan-March 258 CE). The same method may have been applied by Dioscorus to documents produced by his scribes during the sixth century CE.

7. Scribal corrections in the Dioscorus archive

More than half the corrections in texts dating to the sixth century CE are found in the Dioscorus archive (dated between 543 and 573 CE).[14] A total of 56 documents can be

[13] The same pattern is visible in the corrections of hypercorrect spellings σαι to σε (l. 3) and σοι to συ (l. 7). Most orthographic variants are corrected, only γλυκείων for γλυκίων (l. 6) remains. Furthermore, the genitive Εὐνοΐου in ἔστιν γὰρ Εὐνοΐου σύντροφος, «for he is a friend of Eunoios» (l. 13) is corrected to the more literary dative Εὐνοΐῳ (cf. edition n. to l. 13).

[14] Apart from the examples cited in this section, the following corrections of itacism are found in the Dioscorus archive: ἐπ[ε]ί and κατ\ε/ιργασμένη P.Cair.Masp. I 67020r. l. 3 and 19; τάξ[ε]ις in P.Cair.Masp. I 67026. l. 23; ὧσ[ε]ι and πλ\ε/ίονος in P.Cair.Masp. I 67097. l. 11 and 51; ἀπολαύσ\ε/ι in P.Cair.Masp. II 67151. l. 258; οἰκίας corr. ex οἰκείας in P.Lond. V 1708. l. 39.

identified as being written by Dioscorus' own hand according to Del Corso (2008) 91-94. Furthermore, two drafts of petitions from his archive (P.Cair.Masp. I 67019v and 67020r) have been revised in his own hand,[15] including corrections of itacism such as [ἀ]φ\ε/ιδῶς (l. 19) in 67019v and εὐαρχ\ε/ίας (l. 3), ἐπαρχ\ε/ίας (ll. 6 and 11) and χαλκ\ε/ῖς (l. 17) in 67020r. Most of the corrections concern <ι> to <ει>, while several possible interchanges of <ει> for <ι> remain unnoticed in the same documents, e.g. εἵνα (l. 26; but cf. ἵνα in 67020r, l. 12) and εὐζωείας (l. 28) in 67019v and θλεῖψιν (l. 5), ἀθλειῴτατα (l. 12) and δ̣ι̣δ̣ασκαλείας (l. 14) in 67020r. The corrections by his own hand show that Dioscorus was well aware of the issue and attempted to regularize the spelling of <ι> and <ει> in his documents where possible.

A particular feature of the Dioscorus archive is the spelling of the suffix of nouns in -(ε)ια.[16] The spelling of this suffix is not always consistent with contemporary sources and the suffix is frequently the subject of correction. In P.Lond. V 1708, an arbitration written by Dioscorus, an *epsilon* was added to σιταρχ\ε/ίας in l. 153. The correction method is similar to the corrections in the above mentioned petitions that are assumed to be corrected by Dioscorus himself. The shape of this added *epsilon* also resembles closely the one in [δυσπρ]α̣γ\ε/ίᾳ in P.Cair.Masp. III 67305. l. 15.[17] Another correction is found in ἐπικαρπ\ε/ίας in the testament P.Cair.Masp II 67151. l. 71. This last correction may not have been by the hand of Dioscorus (the *epsilon* rather resembles the first *epsilon* of the word), but the text happens to be copied from P.Cair.Masp. II 67152, a draft of the same document written in Dioscorus' hand. The scribe of 67151 copies the abbreviations for -ων (which Dioscorus writes only at the end of the line) regardless of their position (cf. ed. pr. pp. 101-102). This makes it likely that the scribe may also have revised his spelling following Dioscorus' model. Another procedure may be followed in the two copies of the divorce contract P.Cair.Masp. II 67153 and 67253. The word ἀηδ\ε/ία, 'dislike', is corrected in l. 9 of the woman's version of the divorce contract (67253), while in the man's version the corrected form ἀηδεία (67153. l. 12) seems incorporated directly and an additional τις is added above the line.

The suffix of the above mentioned words has been changed to -εια in the documents from the Dioscorus archive, while they are usually spelled with -ια in Classical Greek and other (contemporary) papyri. The opposite phenomenon also occurs in the archive: the suffix of the derived noun ὑπερφύεια, 'excellency', is spelled with <ει> according to Classical rules, but it is consistently spelled ὑπερφύια in the Dioscorus archive.[18] Of course, these tendencies could point to a change in spelling habits concerning these specific words or suffices, but most changes do not apply to the majority of the papyri from that period and sometimes not even to all texts from the Dioscorus archive. The frequent –but often inconsistent– corrections of <ι> and <ει> in the Roman and Byzantine periods show that awareness of spelling difficulties is not the same thing as producing a consistent text in conservative orthography.

8. Conclusion

The lower number of interchanges between <ι> and <ει> during the Ptolemaic period may have been due to the higher awareness among scribes. Most scribal corrections of <ι> and

[15] See Fournet / Gascou (2004) 152-153.
[16] Cf. Palmer, Gram. 54.
[17] We also find the (hypercorrect) spelling <ει> in εὐτεκνείᾳ l. 10 of the same text. Considering the tight fit of the <ε> in respect to following <ι>, the <ε> of εὐτεκνείᾳ may have been added later as well, squeezed on the line rather than above it. The *epsilon* resembles the other corrections by Dioscorus, but the *ductus* is also very similar to the hand of the scribe of this document.
[18] P.Cair.Masp. I 67003, 67005-67008; see e.g. the contemporary Apion archive, where the noun is almost always spelled ὑπερφύεια.

<ει> seem to have been made by the scribes themselves during the writing process and the texts usually do not contain other interchanges of the same type, showing that the scribal efforts generally resulted in a high level of standardization. During the Roman and Byzantine periods, scribal corrections are less common in comparison to the abundance of interchanges of <ι> and <ει> noticed by editors. Corrections of <ι> and <ει> are found, although in the majority of these texts other interchanges of the same type remain. The corrections are typically made by scribes and/or authors with high ambitions. Well-educated authors, such as Dioscorus of Aphrodito, seem to consider these spelling issues important enough to correct them in texts written for them according to their own orthographic standards.

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The persistence of Greek and the rise of Coptic in the early Christian liturgy in Egypt

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In the third-fourth centuries, when the documentation begins, Christian liturgy in Egypt was recited in Greek, while Coptic had a marginal position. By the end of the first millennium it was predominantly in Coptic, although Greek upheld a visible presence in certain parts of the liturgy and in certain contexts. The questions of when, where and why the Christian liturgy of Egypt was translated from Greek into Coptic have never been examined by the research in detail. In spite of its interest for the history of the Coptic liturgy as well as for the study of the relationship between Greek and Coptic in Late Antique Egypt, this topic has only been treated in passing and in short sketches.[1] This paper aims at exploring the change in details in the context of the relationship between Greek and Coptic in the late antique everyday life and culture.

The source basis for the enquiry is the corpus of the liturgical papyri. This corpus, consisting of over three hundred pieces edited so far from the third to the ninth centuries, provides a unique possibility to pinpoint which languages were used in each century in certain regions. This is also the only evidence available, since other sources of the liturgy, such as church orders or patristic writings, are by and large silent on the topic of languages. Despite their value, liturgical papyri also present a number of problems. Their dates are usually based on paleography and are therefore uncertain, while the provenance is unknown for around a third of the items. The state of edition is also uneven; in particular Coptic liturgical texts have received limited attention. This loss of information imposes limitations on the conclusions.

In the following, I will present the liturgy according to its different parts, since these diverge when it comes to translation. Christian liturgy works like a role playing game, where different actors recite different parts. Prayers are pronounced by the bishop and the priests. The communication between the celebrant, their helpers the deacons, and the congregation happens through acclamations. Hymns are intoned by the cantor, who can be supported by a choir or the congregation. The reader contributes with parts of the Bible. These parts: prayers, hymns, acclamations, and readings, are often in different languages within the same service, and they emerge in Coptic in different periods and in different contexts. Thus in order to follow the path of Coptic in the Egyptian liturgy, we need to observe it independently in the different parts: prayers, hymns, and acclamations. Readings will not be treated here due to a methodological problem: among the biblical papyri those used in liturgy and those used in other contexts are often difficult to dissimilate.[2] The liturgical use of the Bible in late antique Egypt needs a separate study that cannot be attempted here.

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[1] In connection with the history of the liturgy: e.g. Brakmann (2006) 134-135, in the context of multilingualism, e.g. Wipszycka (1992) 106, n. 67. Achim Budde alone treated the question more extensively; he elaborated on individual questions such as the translation of the anaphora of St. Basil into Coptic (Budde [2004] 94 and 104).

[2] The potential liturgical use of the earliest Biblical manuscripts has been widely discussed since the thought-provoking book of Larry Hurtado (2006). Coptic manuscripts of the Bible have been studied for the fourth century by Frank Feder (2007), who however did not treat the question of their potential liturgical use. Burmester (1934) 453 discussed the liturgical readings of the sapiential books and suggested that there were two

1. Prayers

Prayers were initially in Greek. Until the sixth century there are no papyri or other evidence of liturgical prayers in Coptic. This does not exclude the possibility that there might have been prayers in Coptic, since evidence might be lost; moreover, the liturgy did not have to be written to be performed.[3] There is however one consideration against supposing a widespread practice of praying in Coptic in the formative period of Christian liturgy in Egypt, the fact that the acclamations are in Greek in all periods. Since the acclamations were short injunctions of practical nature, it would have been strange if they were originally in a language different from the language of the prayers. Although acclamations were hardly ever recorded until the sixth century, we may safely assume that they were as a rule in Greek in the earliest period, since they were in Greek in later periods as well, and as it has been shown by Achim Budde (1998), they were conditioned by tradition and inertia. This in turn implies that the prayers were also in the same language, Greek, in the earliest period.

Prayers in Coptic surface in the written record only in the sixth century. The exact date and place of their first appearance cannot be stated due to the above-mentioned lack of precise dates and provenances. However, in the late sixth and early seventh centuries two monastic centres can be observed in which praying in Coptic was the rule, while Greek continued to be in use. The first is Deir el-Bala'izah, where a group of five fragmentary *euchologia* from the sixth-seventh centuries was found in the monastery, three in Coptic and two in Greek.[4] The liturgy in the monastery was apparently performed in both languages, whereas the monastery was administered in Coptic, and Greek played a very limited role in daily life.[5] A similar bilingual praying practice can be observed in the early seventh century in the monasteries of Western Thebes as well. There Coptic prayers outnumber by far the Greek ones, of which only two or three can be associated with the area.[6] This reflects the general linguistic landscape of the region, where the monks were corresponding and writing their documents in Coptic.[7] Two of the Greek prayers, O.Crum 516 and 519, are associated with the monastery of St. Phoibammon, and one in particular with the bishop Abraham, who resided there. Apparently in this monastery, which served as a bishop's see at the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries, the Eucharist could be celebrated in Greek as well.

Praying in Greek and Coptic co-existed also in other parts of Egypt. The position of Greek in prayers remained strong until the eighth or even ninth century. An inedited Coptic prayer for the consecration of the chalice from the seventh or eighth century, P.Oslo inv. 1665, concludes with a Greek sentence introducing the Lord's Prayer, which is to be recited by the people.[8] This indicates that the people were still expecting the last sentence indicating their

translations, a literary and the liturgical one, the latter deriving from Coptic interpretations of the Greek readings during the service (cf. Till [1955] 51). In spite of these partial results, much of the work related to the liturgical use of biblical manuscripts from late antique Egypt remains to be done.

[3] On the improvisation of prayers in the earliest period and the process of their fixation, see Budde (2004) 546-567.

[4] P.Bal. I 28, 30, and II 412 are in Coptic, while P.Bal. I 29 and a carefully written *euchologion*, last edited by Roberts / Capelle (1949), are in Greek.

[5] Cf. Sijpesteijn (2010) 113-114.

[6] These are O.Crum 516, a prayer for forgiveness for the sins of the celebrant written on the back of a letter of the bishop Abraham of Hermonthis, O.Crum 519 (found in the Monastery of St. Phoibammon) with a fragmentary prayer of thanksgiving for communion or a diaconicon (ll. 13-19), and potentially O.Petr.Mus. 19 (which might come from Dendera; on the discussion of the provenance, see O.Petr.Mus. Introduction 5). For an overview of the Coptic prayers see Winlock / Crum (1926) 198-199.

[7] On the use of and proficiency in Greek in the Theban monasteries see Winlock / Crum (1926) 254-256 and Boud'hors (2010).

[8] Ed. Maravela / Mihálykó / Wehus (2017).

imminent intervention in Greek, that is, they were accustomed to hear such prayers in Greek. Even later, in the ninth century, new Greek prayers continued to be created by combining older ones. A sheet is preserved with the beginning of the Eucharistic prayer of the Apostolic Constitutions (Pap.Colon. XXVIII 10), which ends mid-sentence.[9] This text could not be performed on its own and was probably to be combined with the rests of another prayer. While Greek prayers were more or less out of fashion by the beginning of the second millennium in the Upper Egyptian *chora,* in the patriarchal court and in some monasteries of Lower Egypt they continued throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period, and they even had a renaissance in the eighteenth century.[10]

It is interesting to observe that some of the Coptic prayers of the sixth-seventh centuries are connected to the West Syrian liturgical tradition.[11] The sixth century was a period of intensive contact between the Miaphysite churches of Egypt and Syria, which resulted in a strong impact of the Syriac liturgy on that of the Egyptian church.[12] The prayers witnessing this influence tend to be preserved in Coptic among the papyri.[13] This is a fact worth noting, even if a thorough assessment of the Syriac influence on the texts preserved on papyri would be required for a more precise evaluation of the situation.

In the same period, the traditional texts of Egypt were also translated. The translations seem to have been made locally, since wherever more manuscripts of the same prayer are known from different places, they present different, independent variants.[14] The prayers were as a rule translated into Sahidic. Only one example in Fayumic dialect has been edited so far from the ninth century.[15] The lack of earlier examples, the presence of two Greek prayers in the Fayum from the sixth to eighth centuries (BKT VI 7 and P.Ryl. III 465), as well as a possible reference to a Greek *euchologion* in P.Fay.Copt. 44. l. 15 might indicate that the liturgy was translated into Coptic here only as late as the eighth or ninth centuries.[16] Fayumic was not the only Coptic dialect used in the liturgy in the Fayum. From later centuries prayers in Sahidic with Fayumicizing influence are also known.[17]

[9] Pap.Colon. XXVIII 10 was dated to the sixth century by the ed. pr., but a comparison of its writing with CPR XXXI 12, dated to the ninth century by its editor, suggests this later date for the liturgical papyrus as well.
[10] Budde (2004) 70-71.
[11] These include the anaphoras of St. Basil and St. Gregory, which are generally assumed to originate from the West Syrian tradition with a later Egyptian stage of redaction (see Budde [2004] 580 on Basil, and Gerhards [1984] 168-175 on Gregory), and a prayer of inclination before communion preserved in Coptic on O.Crum 6 and the papyrus Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. K 8586b (ed. Satzinger [1971] 428-429) and in Greek on BKT VI 7 2r, which has two shorter Syriac redactions as well (Raes / Rücker / Codrington [1939] 81-83).
[12] Budde (2004) 580-581.
[13] The anaphoras of St. Basil and Gregory have copies in Coptic (Basil: Doresse / Lanne [1960] and P.Bal. I 28; Gregory: P.Vindob. inv. K 4854, ed. by Henner [2000] 38-43), but none in Greek from the first millennium. The above-mentioned prayer of inclination has two Coptic and one Greek copies from the seventh century.
[14] This has been shown for the anaphora of St. Basil by Achim Budde (2004) 585-586, for which there is a version from the White Monastery and one probably from Middle Egypt. Other texts, such as the intercessions of the liturgy of St. Mark, present similar patterns, but their detailed treatment exceeds the limitations of this paper.
[15] P.Lond.Copt. I 517.
[16] P.Fay.Copt. 44 is a list of books, partly belonging to the monastery of the Archangel Michael in Hamouli, of which l. 14 mentions a μγστικον in Greek. Although this term is otherwise not attested for '*euchologion*', in this period only liturgical books are expected to be in Greek. Since the adjective μυστικός can mean 'related to Eucharist' (Lampe [1961] 894a), the term can very well indicate a *euchologion*.
[17] In particular Prague Or. Inst. MS I-IV (ed. Hažmuková [1936-1937]).

2. Hymns

Almost all hymns are in Greek in the entire period. Egypt takes part in the circulation of church music in Greek, as the extant manuscripts of famous hymnographers like Romanus Melodus or Severus of Antioch show, some of which are almost contemporary with the authors.[18] The borrowings continued well beyond the Chalcedonian split, at least up to the ninth century, since the manuscript of a hymn attributed to the ninth-century Johannes Monachus is also preserved.[19] Although there is nothing to indicate the ecclesiastical affiliation of the users of these manuscripts, it would be surprising if all the instances of borrowing would come from Chalcedonian circles. It is more probable that the schism did not block the circulation of hymns among the churches. Hymns were in Greek even in Coptic speaking milieus as in the Theban monasteries. In such circles the scribes, who were no longer used to copying Greek texts and did not master the language properly, copied hymns full of irregularities, which sometimes impede understanding.

Even though the overwhelming majority of the hymns are in Greek, hymns in bilingual Greek and Coptic version and one Coptic hymn appear among the first liturgical documents. The Coptic hymn, P.Scherling inv. 127,[20] is clearly intended to be a poetic composition, since it is copied in stichometry, and it has a title *Alleluia*, which associates the text with the Psalms. It is uncertain whether the composition was intended for recitation. The title *Alleluia* could in fact indicate recitation, since it could have served as a refrain.[21] Hymns in Coptic were not unheard of in Egypt; Manicheans certainly performed hymns in this language.[22] Other Christian groups may have experimented with it as well. The Origenist scholar Hieracas of Leontopolis, who explained the Bible in Greek and Coptic, is recorded to have written 'new psalms', although it is not specified that this too happened in both languages or whether they were meant for the liturgy.[23] P.Scherling inv. 127 might be another example of such experiments.[24]

The two bilingual Greek and Coptic hymns may not attest Coptic singing either. P.Würzburg inv. K 1003[25] (3rd-4th cent.) has an alphabetic acrostic hymn in Greek on the one side and its translation in Fayumic on the other. Since the Coptic does not follow any metrical structure or the acrostic, to all likelihood it did not serve performance needs, but only the interpretation of the Greek for Egyptian speaking users.[26] The other early bilingual hymn, the Great Doxology in Scheide Ms 144[27] (5th cent.), is copied after the Gospel of Matthew first in Greek, then in Middle Egyptian dialect. The text probably served as a consciously selected final doxological text with which to round off the Gospel, and the hymn was not performed directly from the codex. This does not exclude the possibility that the translation was

[18] Romanus Melodus: MPER N.S. III 41 (late 6th or early 7th cent.), P.Vindob. inv. G 26225 (ed. Porter / Porter [2002], 7th cent.), MPER N.S. XVII 41, P.Amst. I 24, Severus of Antioch: MPER N.S. XVII 12 and 17 (cf. Lucchesi [2004]).
[19] P.Vindob. inv. G 31956 (Theodoridis [1977]).
[20] Ed. Lefort (1939) 1-7.
[21] Bernard (2005) 73.
[22] T.Kell.Copt. 2 contains the incipits of every second line of four Manichean Psalms, thus it was designed to aid the performance of the hymn by alternating choirs (P.Kellis IV Introduction 19). On Manichean hymnography, see Puech (1979).
[23] Epiph. Adv. haeres. 67.3.7.
[24] Indeed, Peterson (1947) suggested that P.Scherling inv. 127 was a work of Hieracas. However, there is no reason to suppose that Hieracas was the only person who wrote hymns in Coptic. Besides, the dialect of the fragment, Achmimic, is a strong counterargument, since Hieracas of Leontopolis would be expected to have written hymns in Bohairic.
[25] Ed. Brashear / Satzinger (1990).
[26] A similar case has been made for the bilingual P.Mon.Epiph. 49+592 by Boud'hors (2010) 185.
[27] Ed. Schenke (1981) 128-131.

originally made for the purposes of performance, but it cannot be proven either. However, even if the Coptic hymn of this manuscript and P.Scherling inv. 127 were actually sung in service, they seem to be isolated examples awaiting further evidence to be re-assessed.

After the fifth century the possibility of singing Christian hymns in Coptic seems to have been forgotten. It was much later that Coptic hymnography resurfaced. The earliest examples are dated on the basis of paleography in the eighth or ninth century.[28] Most of them are in Fayumic or Fayumicizing Sahidic, but there is a manuscript in Bohairic as well (P.Monts.Roca inv. 18). Those with a known provenance come from the Fayum. The first ample collections, which are preserved in two manuscripts, also originate from the oasis, from the Monastery of the Archangel Michael in Hamouli.[29] Written at the very end of the ninth century, they contain thirteen alphabetic acrostic hymns and a collection of hymns for the various feast days of the entire liturgical year, which represents a fairly developed stage of Coptic hymnography. Since some time needs to be allowed for its evolution, Coptic hymnography can reasonably be supposed to have started somewhere in the eighth century. But besides Coptic hymnography, Greek persisted as well, sometimes even in cohabitation, as the Greek refrain of P.Monts.Roca inv. 18 indicates.

3. Acclamations

Acclamations were throughout the period in Greek, also if the prayer is in Coptic.[30] This does not necessarily mean that the congregation understood the Greek. Acclamations could be explained if needed. Two such explanations, O.CrumST 16 and P.MoscowCopt. 89r, were preserved on an ostrakon and a papyrus sheet. A later example, P.Naqlun II 20 (dated between the ninth and the eleventh century by the editor) has been interpreted by Achim Budde as a translation of the acclamations of the people in dialogue with the priest and the deacon.[31] However, to all likelihood most of the interpreting happened orally and did not leave any record.

4. Conclusion

Thus altogether the following picture of the relationship of Greek and Coptic in the liturgy can be drawn: In the third to fifth centuries, when the first written evidence appears, everything was in Greek as a rule (although the biblical readings could have been in Coptic– perhaps alongside the Greek version–as soon as a translation was available in the third-fourth centuries). Some groups might have used Coptic hymns, which were in vogue with the Manicheans. However, Coptic hymnography could not establish itself. Prayers in Sahidic Coptic appear around the sixth century. The diverging texts show that the prayers were translated into Sahidic Coptic independently in different centres. Prayers in Greek and Coptic coexisted for centuries, sometimes even in the same monasteries. In the same period, hymns were still sung in Greek, often a rather irregular one. The Fayum kept the liturgy entirely in Greek until the eighth-ninth century, when the monasteries of the oasis introduced both

[28] The first example might be P.Heid. inv. K 95, which was placed by its editor into the seventh-eighth century on the basis of paleography, Dosoo (2019) 32-40; I thank the author for having shared his work with me. Other hymns coming from the eighth-ninth centuries include the Fayumic P.Fay.Copt. 5, 6 and 10 (9th cent.?), moreover P.Lond.Copt. I 519 (9th cent.) written in a mixed Sahidic-Fayumic, as well as the Bohairic P.Monts.Roca inv. 18 (ed. Roca-Puig [1977], 9th cent.).

[29] New York, MLM, M574 (the hymns were edited as Kuhn / Tait [1996]) and MLM, M575 (the hymns were edited as Cramer / Krause [2008]).

[30] E.g. P.Bal. I 28. l. 9.

[31] Budde (2002).

hymns and prayers in Coptic, both in Fayumic and in Sahidic. This did not mean the immediate demise of Greek, and the monastery of the Archangel Michael might have had a Greek book of prayers and a Coptic book of hymns at the end of the ninth century according to P.Fay.Copt. 44. l. 14. The acclamations were in Greek in the entire period and beyond.

Having sketched, as far as the sources allow, the process of the translation of the liturgy into Coptic, we might ask the question of why: Why did certain parts get translated, why did others not, and why at that given moment? First an old theory has to be mentioned, namely that after the Chalcedonian schism the Miaphysite Coptic Church embraced the Coptic language and rejected the Greek in a deliberate, to some authors 'nationalistic', effort of demarcation from the Chalcedonian Church, and the translation of the liturgy was part of this rejection of the Greek.[32] This theory has been refuted convincingly by Ewa Wipszycka. She showed that Greek persisted for a long time after Chalcedon in anti-Calcedonian ecclesiastical circles.[33] The survey above also demonstrates that there was no Miaphysite rejection of Greek or an all-encompassing promotion of Coptic in the liturgical domain. Nonetheless, a certain link could be observed between the Syrian and therefore Miaphysite connections of the prayers and the preference for the Coptic language. It is all the more curious since we can safely assume that any exchange of liturgical texts between the two Miaphysite churches happened in their common language, Greek. The Syrian influence might thus be partly responsible for the changes in Egypt, since in the Miaphysite sister church praying in Syriac was more wide-spread already in earlier periods, and this might have inspired translators in Egypt.[34] In addition, some effect of the formation of the Miaphysite church of Egypt on the process of translation might be assumed. It has recently been demonstrated for Syria by F. Millar that the increased use of Syriac–without the rejection of the Greek–became a formational element of the Miaphysite church there.[35] A similar approach to Coptic in Egypt might have prompted some ecclesiastical figures to translate prayers. However, the effect of such considerations or the influence of the Syrian practice was moderate and uneven: it clearly did not affect hymns, which had been composed in Syriac since the fourth century, but established themselves in Coptic only in the eighth-ninth centuries.

If the Chalcedonian schism cannot sufficiently explain the phenomenon, then what could have motivated the translation of the liturgy or the lack of it? It is evident that at different parts of the service different factors were at work. Comprehension played a minor role, and the least for the acclamations of the people and the deacon. These texts were conditioned by tradition and inertia.[36] People learnt these formulary contributions from generation to generation, and they expected to answer the same things in the same language that they were used to.

As for hymns, the insistence of the people, who could contribute to singing them, could be a factor why they were kept in Greek. But hymns were also difficult to translate. The Coptic version had to fit the melody and observe the rhythm and the structure of the original, which poses a considerable challenge.[37] However, as the Manichean hymns, the psalms of Hieracas and P.Scherling inv. 127 show, hymns could be translated into or written in Coptic already in the third-fifth centuries. Such a practice would have been in line with the widespread strategy

[32] On the theory, see Wipszycka (1992) 83-89.
[33] Wipszycka (1992), cf. Budde (2004) 70-71 for the liturgy.
[34] Brock (1994) 158-159.
[35] Millar (2013) 90.
[36] Budde (1998).
[37] The melodies of hymns in the modern Coptic Church tend to be kept when the texts are translated, Moftah / Robertson / Roy / Toth (1991) 1715b.

of using hymns to popularise a theological position.[38] Hymns in Coptic could have reached parts of the population that hymns in Greek could not. It is unclear why this practice did not become popular. Perhaps orthodox circles shunned making use of a medium that was associated with sects and especially the Manicheans. It is equally unclear why, after a long silence, the eighth-ninth centuries suddenly saw the creation of Coptic hymnography at the same time as Greek hymns were still being imported. Since processes in Lower Egypt, from where one of the first Coptic hymns, the Bohairic text copied on P.Monts.Roca inv. 18, originates, remain obscure in the lack of sources, and since Coptic hymns have in particular been neglected by the editors, it cannot be affirmed at the present stage of the research where the custom was initiated, and what the motives were behind it.

As for prayers, their translation is not particularly demanding. Understanding could also be desirable, as prayers often convey theological thought. More importantly, prayers were growing with time, they moved towards fixation, and they were often memorised by the priest. This was a factor which could press the stakeholders towards translation. With Coptic literacy people felt less and less the need to learn Greek, and even important personalities of the church like the bishop Abraham of Hermonthis could not understand it any longer. Praying in Coptic must have simplified the service of such clerics considerably. The thickening of the parochial network in the villages by the sixth century could add to this need, as Achim Budde has suggested, since it meant more village clergymen with humble education.[39] But losing Greek did not force anyone to use Coptic prayers, as Greek prayer texts were also copied by people whose mother tongue is revealed to be Coptic by their mistakes. The monastic milieu, with its early predilection for Coptic, could play a role as well, as evidenced by the fact that most of the early Coptic prayers with a known provenance come from two monastic hubs. It is easy to imagine that the different Coptic translations of the liturgy emanated from influential monastic centres. But the translation of prayers into Coptic in the sixth-seventh centuries also fits the trends of the era. In the course of these two hundred years, Coptic was on the rise, conquering wider and wider areas of the daily writing as well as literature.[40] The translation of the prayers of the liturgy into Coptic could easily be part of this general tendency.

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[38] Bernard (2005) 76.
[39] Budde (2004) 94, n. 3.
[40] Fournet (2009) 437-441.

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Noms de personne ou noms de lieu ? La délicate question des 'toponymes discriminants' à la lumière des papyrus d'Aphroditê (VI^e^ -VIII^e^ siècle)*

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Dans le village d'Aphroditê ont été trouvés au début du XX^e^ siècle deux ensembles d'archives exceptionnels qui constituent chacun le groupe documentaire le plus important de sa période.[1] Les plus anciennes sont des archives bilingues byzantines qui comptent près de sept cent cinquante textes couvrant à peu près tout le VI^e^ siècle et dont le protagoniste est le célèbre notaire et poète Dioscore d'Aphroditê.[2] Les plus récentes sont trilingues et regroupent près de quatre cents documents du premier quart du VIII^e^ siècle.[3] Souvent désignées de façon inexacte comme les archives du gouverneur Qurra b. Šarīk, elles ont pour figure centrale Basileios, l'administrateur du village qui s'appelle alors Aphroditô. Ces deux ensembles de plus d'un millier de textes fournissent une occasion unique de comprendre l'organisation sociale et spatiale d'une zone rurale à la fin de la période byzantine et les changements apportés par la conquête arabe.

L'objet du présent article est de présenter quelques cas d'identification de toponymes discriminants, non une liste exhaustive, qui sera incluse dans le catalogue des microtoponymes d'Aphroditê prochainement mis en ligne, mais quelques exemples illustrant des pistes méthodologiques à appliquer et l'intérêt de ces identifications pour notre juste compréhension de la société villageoise.[4]

Un 'toponyme discriminant' ou 'surnom toponymique' est un nom de lieu participant à l'identification d'un individu. Le toponyme est immédiatement reconnaissable dans des cas comme Diodore de Sicile ou Athanase d'Alexandrie. Dans l'onomastique grecque, il s'agit souvent d'un démotique –le nom du dême dans lequel un citoyen est enregistré– ou d'un ethnique qui peut par exemple rappeler la cité ou la région d'origine d'un immigrant.[5] Cependant, de nombreux documents grecs emploient des formulations non explicites qui ont souvent embarrassé leurs éditeurs, en particulier quand le toponyme renvoie à un lieu de petite taille, plus petit qu'un village –hameau, lieu-dit, quartier–, ce qui sera appelé par la suite 'microtoponyme'.

Pour ce qui est des formules explicites, à l'époque byzantine, le lieu d'origine d'un individu est habituellement mentionné lorsque l'on décline son identité. C'est ce que l'on appelle

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[1] Pour un récapitulatif des trouvailles et de leur contexte, voir Marthot (2016) 161-162.

[2] Pour une liste des papyrus de ces archives, voir Fournet (2008) 307-343.

[3] Pour une analyse de la composition de cet ensemble, voir Richter (2010) 197-208.

[4] Ce catalogue des microtoponymes est inclus dans le projet de guide numérique des papyrus d'Aphroditê sous la direction de Jean-Luc Fournet, prochainement accessible à l'adresse: aphrodito.info.

[5] Voir Depauw (2014) 82, qui souligne également que les références au lieu d'enregistrement ou d'habitation dans l'identification d'un individu relèvent d'un usage grec et non égyptien.

l'*origo*, un toponyme au génitif introduit par la préposition ἀπό.[6] Par exemple, dans P.Cair.Masp. I 67110, un contrat de location de 565 provenant d'Aphroditê, l'identité du locataire est donnée aux lignes 4 à 8:

> Αὐρήλιος Ψάϊς [ἐκ πα]τρὸς Ἱερημίου
> ἐκ μητρὸς Μαρί[ας, κερ]ᾰ[μ]οπλά[σ]της
> ἀπὸ κ[ώ]μης Πτ̣ε̣[με] τ̣οῦ Ἀνταιοπ[ο]λίτου
> νομοῦ, τ[ὰ] ν[ῦ]ν οἰκ[ῶν ἐν]τα[ῦ]θα ἐπὶ [κώ]μης
> Ἀφροδ̣[ί]της
>
> «Aurêlios Psaïs, dont le père est Ierêmias, la mère est Maria, potier, (originaire) du village de Pteme dans le nome Antaiopolite, résidant à présent ici dans le village d'Aphroditê».

On reconnaît différentes composantes de l'identité: le statut d'Aurelius et le nom propre ou idionyme (Psaïs), le nom du père ou patronyme (Ierêmias), introduit par la formule explicite *ek patros*, le nom de la mère ou matronyme (Maria), le métier ou technonyme (potier) puis l'*origo*. Dans ce texte, l'*origo* a la particularité de contenir deux informations: au groupe habituel d'un toponyme introduit par *apo*, le village de Pteme, très certainement le lieu de naissance ou du moins d'un rattachement administratif initial de Psaïs, s'ajoute la précision que l'individu a déménagé et réside à présent à Aphroditê.[7] Cependant, les informations données pour définir l'identité d'un individu ne suivent pas un modèle immuable, même dans des textes de nature similaire. Par exemple, dans P.Lond. V 1691, un autre contrat de location d'Aphroditê d'une trentaine d'années antérieur (532), le propriétaire est désigné ainsi aux lignes 4-5: Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀπολλῶτι Διοσκόρου Ψιμανωβετ ἀπὸ κώμης | Ἀφροδίτης τοῦ Ἀνταιοπολίτου νομοῦ, «à Aurêlios Apollôs (fils de) Dioskoros, (petit-fils de) Psimanôbet du village d'Aphroditê dans le nome Antaiopolite». Cette fois, après le statut d'Aurelius et l'idionyme, on trouve le patronyme directement juxtaposé au génitif puis un troisième nom qui est celui du grand-père ou papponyme et enfin l'*origo*. L'usage de préciser le papponyme est un phénomène bien mis en évidence et il se trouve que la suite même de ce contrat confirme cette information, puisque le bien loué est situé, ll. 15-16, ἐπὶ ῥ̣ύμης | [τῆ]ς οἰκίας τ̣οῦ γέροντος Ψιμανωβετ τοῦ σοῦ προγώνου (l. προγόνου), «dans la rue de la maison du vieux Psimanôbet ton aïeul».[8]

Cet Apollôs, fils de Dioskoros, petit-fils de Psimanôbet, est bien documenté dans les archives byzantines car il est le père du poète Dioscore.[9] Ainsi, lorsqu'un contrat de location de mai 585 est adressé aux propriétaires désignés comme κληρ[ο]ν[ό]μ̣ο̣[ις Διοσκόρου] | Ἀ̣π̣[όλλω]τος Φαροοῦτος, «héritiers de [Dioscore] fils d'Apollôs de Pharoous», on peut être

[6] Depaw (2014) 83: «In official documents in Greek an indication of regional or local provenance within Egypt seems to have been compulsory for Egyptians in the Ptolemaic period, taking the form τῶν ἀπό + toponym "one of those from + TN", e.g. τῶν ἀπὸ Λάτων πόλεως. […] In the Roman period the geographical indications [ἀπό + toponym] seemingly gain importance […]. At the latest from the second half of the 1st century AD onwards all indications of provenance become standardized, which may be related to fiscal and social changes». Voir aussi, pour la période du IVe au VIIIe siècle, Delattre (2014) 156: «L'indication géographique, tout comme le nom et le patronyme, fait partie des éléments de base nécessaires à l'identification, notamment dans les contrats et les documents administratifs».

[7] La restitution Πτ̣ε̣[με] était déjà proposée en note dans l'*editio princeps*. Le nom de ce village, bien attesté, est le seul de l'Antaiopolite qui corresponde aux traces et à la taille de la lacune.

[8] La mention du grand-père paternel était exceptionnelle avant la deuxième moitié du Ier siècle apr. J.-C. mais elle devient très commune par la suite, sans doute, comme pour le matronyme, suite à de nouvelles régulations introduites durant ce siècle. Le nom du grand-père maternel peut alors également être indiqué, cf. Depaw (2014) 91-92. L'affirmation que «l'usage du papponyme est pratiquement inexistant aux IVe-VIIIe siècle» rencontrée dans Delattre (2014) 159 mérite d'être nuancée: si cet usage est rare et non systématique, il se rencontre cependant à plusieurs occasions, notamment dans la documentation d'Aphroditê, cf. Ruffini (2011) 621: «The Aphrodito papyri occasionally identify people both by patronymic and papponymic».

[9] Ruffini (2011) 56-64, s.v. 'Apollos 2'.

sûr que le terme en troisième position, Pharoous, n'est pas le papponyme, qui serait Dioskoros, mais un toponyme discriminant.[10] Pharoous est en effet bien connu par ailleurs pour être le nom du lieu où Apollôs a fondé un monastère et s'y est retiré à la fin de sa vie.[11]

Cet exemple invite à la prudence quand un nom rare est attesté en troisième position: le doute est permis de savoir s'il s'agit d'un papponyme ou d'un toponyme discriminant. C'est ce qui a conduit Giovanni Ruffini, lorsqu'il a rédigé la prosopographie d'Aphroditê byzantine, à consacrer l'Appendice 2 à la question "People or Toponyms?" qu'il formule ainsi: «The question thus arises whether obscure names placed in the papponymic position should be treated as topographical identifiers, or the names of otherwise unattested grandparents».[12]

Il relève vingt-et-un cas de noms en troisième position qu'il classe en quatre catégories: les noms attestés seulement comme toponymes, ceux pouvant être aussi bien des toponymes que des anthroponymes, ceux identifiés uniquement comme anthroponyme, et enfin ceux qui restent ambigus. Il déclare: «In short, names appearing immediately following a patronymic in the Aphrodito papyri are more likely to be papponymics than toponyms. Only four of these twenty-one examples appear as place names and place names alone».[13] Dans son décompte, quatre noms sont à la fois toponymes et anthroponymes et cinq sont ambigus. Il conclut: «From this, we may conclude that otherwise unknown names appearing in papponymic position in Aphrodito papyri are on balance likely to be personal names, not toponyms».[14]

Cette conclusion s'avère trop simpliste puisqu'elle s'appuie sur une liste non exhaustive des triples noms, qui sont bien plus nombreux que vingt-et-un, et parmi les vingt-et-un cas étudiés, plusieurs analyses sont à discuter.[15] Nous développerons ici l'exemple du nom Psekês.

Il se rencontre en troisième position dans l'identité du locataire du bail P.Cair.Masp. I 67109 du 18 juillet 565, ll. 9-13:

> π(αρὰ) Αὐρηλίου Ψεμπνουθίου
> τοῦ καὶ Λίλοτος, υ[ἱ]οῦ Ἑρμαύ\ωτος/
> Ψε̣κῆτος, ἐκ μ[η]τρὸς
> Τσώνης, μηχαναρίου ἀπὸ κώμης Ἀφροδίτης
>
> «de la part d'Aurêlios Psempnouthios alias Lilôs, fils d'Hermauôs, de Psekês, sa mère étant Tsônê, *mêchanarios*, du village d'Aphroditê».

On reconnaît les composants déjà énumérés: le statut d'Aurelius et l'idionyme, cette fois suivi d'un alias, le patronyme explicitement introduit par υ[ἱ]οῦ, «fils de», le nom Psekês au génitif, le matronyme, le technonyme et l'*origo*. Ruffini classe Psekês dans la catégorie des noms qui peuvent être soit des toponymes soit des papponymes et s'en explique ainsi: «When Maspero encountered Psempnouthi(o)s 16 son of Hermauos Psekes in P.Cair.Masp. I 67109, he thought Psekes a toponym. The Aphrodito cadastre records arable land at the *topos* Psekes the *chalkotupos*, thus confirming that it can be both a toponym and a personal name».[16]

[10] P.Cair.Masp. III 67341 iiir. ll. 9-10 descr., édition en cours par Florence Lemaire.
[11] Sur ce monastère, voir Wipszycka (2008) 261-273.
[12] Ruffini (2011) 621.
[13] Ruffini (2011) 623.
[14] Ruffini (2011) 623.
[15] Par exemple Pankam n'est très vraisemblablement qu'un toponyme discriminant revoyant à un lieu avec des roseaux, cf. Crum (1939) 108a, et Atrep( ) doit être rapproché du toponyme copte Atripe, correspondant au grec Tripheion, souvent employé pour désigner le Monastère Blanc de Shenouté, voir Marthot (2012) 489.
[16] Ruffini (2011) 623.

Ruffini s'appuie donc sur la présence de Psekês dans un toponyme du Cadastre d'Aphroditê pour l'identifier comme un anthroponyme.[17] Il crée une entrée 'Psekes 1' dans sa prosopographie comme si Psekês le forgeron était un habitant du village byzantin.[18] Il enregistre ensuite sous l'entrée 'Psekes 2' l'occurrence de P.Cair.Masp. I 67109 précédemment cité qu'il présente ainsi: 'Psekes, father of Herma(o)(u)os 108', individu qui ne serait connu que par ce texte.[19] Ce faisant, il interprète nettement la présence du nom Psekês en troisième position comme le papponyme de Psempnouthios et ne conserve pas l'éventualité d'un toponyme discriminant.

Psekês est bien un anthroponyme solidement attesté par une vingtaine de textes, particulièrement à Kellis, mais aucune de ces attestations n'est postérieure au IV^e^ siècle.[20] Ces sources sont donc antérieures de deux siècles aux attestations d'Aphroditê. À Aphroditê même, aucun individu ne s'appelle Psekês et il n'y a pas d'autre entrée à ce nom dans la prosopographie que les deux qui viennent d'être mentionnées. Il n'y a d'ailleurs que quatre attestations de ce nom dans les papyrus du village: la plus ancienne est celle du Cadastre où *Psekêtos chalkotupou* est le nom d'un lieu (*topos*). La plus récente est celle où Psekês apparaît au génitif en troisième position dans l'identité de «Psempnouthios, fils d'Hermaous». Dans les deux restantes, Psekês est explicitement le nom d'un hameau, ἐποίκιον, sur le territoire d'Aphroditê. Il s'agit de P.Cair.Masp. I 67102. l. 4 (25 juillet 526) et P.Cair.Masp. I 67112. l. 5 (544-545).

Avant de voir plus en détail ces deux textes, il convient de revenir brièvement sur le toponyme du Cadastre. Deux hypothèses se présentent pour ce τόπου Ψεκῆτος χαλκοτύπου: tout d'abord, il peut effectivement s'agir d'un anthroponyme suivi d'un technonyme, comme l'entrée suivante, ligne 66, qui mentionne le «*topos* d'Hatrês l'huilier», τόπ(ου) Ἀτρῆτος ἐλαιουρ(γοῦ). Ce *topos* aurait alors gardé le souvenir d'une personne dont le nom est tombé en désuétude au VI^e^ siècle, et nulle autre attestation de ce lieu n'aurait survécu. L'autre possibilité est, comme le suggère en note l'éditeur du Cadastre, de voir dans sa première partie une allusion à l'*epoikion* de Psekês, et dans sa seconde partie un lien avec le *georgion* – petite exploitation agricole– dit «du forgeron» (*chalkotupou*) attesté dans P.Cair.Masp. III 67325 IVr. l. 28 (585), et le *topos chalkopra(tou*), présent dans les papyrus du VIII^e^ siècle.[21] On sait en effet, par des textes mentionnant les associations professionnelles, que les forgerons étaient appelés *chalkotupoi* dans les documents byzantins d'Aphroditê mais deviennent des *chalkopratai* dans les documents d'époque arabe.[22] De plus, le monastère d'Apa Sourous, qui paie pour ce *topos* dans l'entrée du Cadastre, avait encore des biens dans le *topos chalkopratou* au VIII^e^ siècle.[23] Il est possible que ce «lieu du forgeron» se soit trouvé proche du hameau de Psekês et que l'entrée du Cadastre puisse être explicitée ainsi: «le lieu [qui se trouve à] Psekês [appelé] 'du forgeron'».

Cette seconde hypothèse n'est pas sans intérêt. En effet, les textes d'Aphroditê ne permettent pas aisément de cerner la réalité recouverte par le terme *epoikion*. Nul document ne nous informe explicitement de ce qui se passait dans les *epoikia* d'Aphroditê. Par exemple, un *epoikion* s'appelle Kerameion, nom commun signifiant 'atelier de potier'. Il est l'un des rares

[17] SB XX 14669. l. 65 (ca 524): τόπ(ου) Ψεκῆτος χαλ[κο]τ̣(ύπου). Voir la réédition de ce texte dans Gascou (2008) 247-305.
[18] Ruffini (2011) 506.
[19] Ruffini (2011) 506.
[20] Voir par exemple P.Kell. I 48 (Kellis, 355).
[21] P.Lond. IV 1419. ll. 101, 170, 687, 928, 990 et 1048 (716/717) ; SB XX 15099. ll. 4, 10 et 147 (716/717).
[22] Comparer par exemple P.Hamb. I 56 col.v, l. 10 (VI^e^ s.) et P.Lond. IV 1419. l. 1215 (716/717).
[23] SB XX 15099. l. 10 (716/717).

noms d'*epoikia* à se maintenir jusqu'au VIII^e^ siècle.[24] Or, rien ne permet de comprendre pourquoi ce lieu portait ce nom ni s'il a gardé une quelconque vocation de production particulière. Pour comprendre ce qu'étaient ces *epoikia*, il faut donc patiemment rassembler les informations relatives à leurs habitants. Par chance, comme l'*epoikion* était un regroupement d'habitations, ce qui le rapproche d'un petit village, son nom peut entrer dans la formulation de l'*origo*: P.Cair.Masp. I 67093 (553) est une pétition au *riparios* (agent de l'ordre) d'Aphroditê rédigée par Aurêlios Biktôr, fils de Iôannês et de Tsenpatermouthia, originaire de l'*epoikion* Psinios de la campagne du village d'Aphoditê.[25] Cet exemple souligne le caractère officiel et administratif que peut revêtir ce genre d'information.

Ainsi, il est parfois précisé que les personnes ayant un *epoikion* comme *origo* sont des paysans (*geôrgoi*), locataires (*misthôtai*), quelques fois les deux ensemble, ou encore bergers (*poimenes*) mais ces éléments sont bien minces pour retracer l'activité de ces hameaux.[26]

Il est donc intéressant de regarder plus en détail les deux attestations de notre *epoikion* Psekês en tant qu'*origo*. Dans P.Cair.Masp. I 67112, un certain Phoibammôn, fils de Biktôr, petit-fils de Tagapê, se présente en début de contrat comme résident (*katamenôn*) dans l'*epoikion* de Psekês qui se trouve «autour du village» et précise qu'il est berger.[27] Le texte est un contrat de location de pâturage dont le propriétaire n'est autre qu'Apollôs fils de Dioskoros, le père de Dioscore. Or le second texte, P.Cair.Masp. I 67102 est aussi un contrat de location d'Aurêlios Phoibammôn, fils de Biktôr, petit-fils de Pelêmôn, et Aurêlios Hermauôs fils de Pamounios, tous deux originaires de Psekês, pour un bien dont la nature est en lacune mais qui appartient à Isak, fils de Iôannês, par l'intermédiaire d'Apollôs fils de Dioskoros, son agent.

On retrouve donc dans les deux cas un Aurêlios Phoibammôn, fils de Biktôr, petit-fils tantôt de Tagapê tantôt de Pelêmon, originaire de Psekês et en affaire avec Apollôs. Ce sont des similitudes suffisantes pour reconnaître le même personnage, ce qu'a fait Ruffini sous l'entrée 'Phoibammon 79': «Phoibammon is identified as the grandson of Pelemon 1 in (a) [P.Cair.Masp. I 67102] and the grandson of Tagape 4 in (b) [P.Cair.Masp. I 67112]. While this means that the two attestations may be for separate individuals, it seems unlikely, given the convergence of patronymic, economic activity and location in both attestations. Is it therefore possible that Phoibammon is identified as the grandson of Tagape in (b) because Pelemon has died since (a)?».[28] Cette dernière hypothèse est séduisante puisqu'il y a un intervalle de presque vingt ans qui sépare les deux textes; il serait intéressant d'approfondir les cas, tout à fait exceptionnels, où le nom de la grand-mère est donné dans l'identité d'un individu mais cela dépasse l'objet de la présente étude.[29] Ruffini enregistre le collègue de Phoibammôn, lui aussi originaire de Psekês, sous l'entrée 'Herma(o)(u)s 71' dont P.Cair.Masp. I 67102 constitue l'unique source.

Il convient à présent de revenir au dernier texte mentionnant Psekês, le contrat de location P.Cair.Masp. I 67109 par lequel nous avons commencé et où Psekês se trouve en troisième

[24] Sur les noms des *epoikia* d'Aphroditê entre le VI^e^ et le VIII^e^ siècle, voir Marthot / Vanderheyden (2016) 226-227.

[25] P.Cair.Masp. I 67093 i.r. ll. 3-5: π(αρὰ) Αὐρηλ[ίο(υ)] Βίκ̣τορ[ο]ς Ἰωάννου, ἐκ μ(ητρὸς) Τσενπατ[ερμ]ο(υ)θίᾳ[ς] γεωργὸς (l. γεωργοῦ) | μισθωτὴς (l. μισθωτοῦ) ἀπὸ ἐποικ[ί]ου Ψινί̣ου | πεδιάδ(ος) κώμης Ἀφροδ(ίτης).

[26] Voir par exemple P.Cair.Masp. I 67093. ll. 4-5 (553) pour un paysan locataire et P.Cair.Masp. I 67106. l. 6 (539) pour un berger.

[27] P.Cair.Masp. I 67112. ll. 3-6: Αὐρήλιος Φοιβάμμω̣ν | Βίκτορος Ταγάπης, καταμένων | ἐν ἐποικείῳ (l. ἐποικίῳ) Ψεκῆτος περὶ τὴν | αὐτὴν κώμην καὶ πο[ιμ]ήν.

[28] Ruffini (2011) 459-460.

[29] Ni Depauw (2014) ni Delattre (2014) ne mentionnent d'indications de noms de grand-mère.

position, juste après le patronyme. Nous avons vu qu'il est peu probable qu'il s'agisse d'un papponyme. Aux vues des attestations dans le dossier d'Aphroditê, il est préférable d'y reconnaître le nom de l'*epoikion*. Mais ce ne peut pas être l'*origo* du locataire, Psempnouthios, puisqu'il est dit venir du village d'Aphroditê. Il semble que Psekês soit un toponyme discriminant complétant le nom du père, Hermauôs, dans lequel il est séduisant de reconnaître 'Hermaous 71', le collègue de Phoibammôn. Le rapprochement est d'autant plus tentant que les propriétaires du bien loué sont les héritiers d'Apollôs par l'intermédiaire de Dioscore, son fils. Si cette identification est exacte, il reste à souligner que Psempnouthios n'est pas un simple berger comme l'était peut-être son père.[30] Il est *mechanarios*, ouvrier spécialisé en machines, probablement des équipements d'irrigation comme la *sāqiya*. Le bien loué a d'ailleurs une description unique dans le dossier des papyrus d'Aphroditê: il ne s'agit pas d'un champ en pleine campagne mais de petites parcelles de terre près d'une ferme et d'un verger, ce qui suggère un besoin d'arrosage plus subtil qu'une simple terre arable.

Un second exemple peut être brièvement développé pour compléter ces premières remarques, celui de Psinios qui a manifestement embarrassé l'auteur de la prosopographie d'Aphroditê. En effet, Ruffini crée une seule et unique entrée à ce nom, 'Psinios 1', dans laquelle il fait figurer deux références.[31] La première renvoie à P.Cair.Masp. II 67141 (avant 547/548): «Psinios appears in Iakob 25's patronymic location, but Maspero takes it to be a toponym, specifically an *epoikion*». La seconde décrit l'occurrence de Psinios dans P.Cair.Masp. III 67325 (codex contenant des textes datant entre 559 et 585) en ces termes: «A toponym in an account of grain received from Apa Tatianos 1 and in a series of accounts under the responsability of Apa Tatianos». Le nom Psinios ou Psineios ne se rencontre que dans les papyrus provenant d'Aphroditê, en l'occurrence dans une quinzaine de textes répartis entre le début du VI^{e} siècle et le début du VIII^{e} siècle. Comme on peut le déduire de la courte entrée de la prosopographie qui vient d'être citée, ce nom n'est jamais attesté comme anthroponyme en première position (idionyme), c'est-à-dire qu'aucun habitant d'Aphroditê agissant dans les textes ne s'appelle Psinios. Au contraire, dans la quasi-totalité de ces textes, le contexte permet de clairement l'identifier comme un toponyme. La seule occurrence ambiguë est la première de la prosopographie, qui se trouve dans P.Cair.Masp. II 67141 (avant 547/548), comptes privés de Dioscore: à la feuille IV ligne 14 se rencontre ϩΙακὼβ Ψι̣νί̣ου. Puisque Psinios n'est pas attesté par ailleurs comme anthroponyme, il convient de ne pas se précipiter à y voir un patronyme et à interpréter «Iakôb fils de Psinios». Un autre passage de ce même document confirme la justesse de cette précaution puisqu'au verso de la feuille I à la ligne 24 se rencontre [ϩΙα]κ̣υβ́ίου γεωρ(γοῦ) Ψινίου, «Iakôb paysan de Psinios». Cet emploi correspond de nouveau à un toponyme, ce que confirme l'autre texte cité dans la prosopographie: P.Cair.Masp. III 67325 i.r concerne effectivement des versements reçus par Apa Tatianos mais le paiement enregistré à la ligne 29 est pour le *topos* de Psineios aux mains (ὑπ̣ὸ) d'un certain Iakôb. En rassemblant ces trois attestations, on reconnaît un même Iakôb travaillant dans cette partie de la campagne en faveur de Dioscore et ce dernier n'a pas jugé utile de l'identifier autrement que par ce lien avec la terre qu'il exploite.[32]

Ainsi donc, grâce à la richesse incomparable du dossier des papyrus d'Aphroditê, qui contient des informations exceptionnelles sur la société villageoise, tant par leur nombre que par leur degré de précision, il est possible de repérer des toponymes discriminants, non seulement en troisième position, c'est-à-dire à la place d'un papponyme, mais aussi en deuxième position et pouvant alors se confondre avec un patronyme. Il faut bien évidemment tenir compte du

[30] L'activité d'Hermauôs n'est pas connue mais celle de Phoibammôn, son associé dans P.Cair.Masp. I 67102, est celle de berger dans P.Cair.Masp. I 67112, texte qui est d'ailleurs un bail de pâturage.
[31] Ruffini (2011) 516.
[32] Il convient donc de rassembler les entrées 'Iakob 25' et 'Iakob 36', Ruffini (2011) 237-238.

type de texte que l'on examine: les comptes privés, non officiels, sont plus à même d'employer des surnoms, des périphrases, des désignations approximatives. Cependant, des textes appartenant à l'administration villageoise, comme le registre fiscal d'Aphroditê, peuvent également avoir recours à un toponyme discriminant.[33] Il convient donc d'être vigilant lorsque des noms propres n'apparaissent jamais en première position, c'est-à-dire directement en tant que nom de l'individu (idionyme), mais seulement en deuxième ou troisième position: la possibilité qu'il ne s'agisse pas de patronyme ou papponyme mais d'un toponyme discriminant ne doit pas être écartée. Elle doit même être nettement préférée lorsque ces noms sont attestés par ailleurs comme microtoponymes. Le phénomène n'est certainement pas propre à ce village mais ne peut être clairement identifié que grâce à une documentation abondante et un patient recoupement des données fournies par les textes. Pourtant, les exemples cités montrent que l'enjeu n'est pas une simple chasse aux noms fantômes dans les index et prosopographies mais qu'une juste compréhension de ce genre de formulation permet d'éclairer les comptabilités, textes souvent arides et difficiles à interpréter. Outre des données économiques, le cas des *epoikia* a également illustré l'importance de ces identifications pour la reconstitution des réseaux sociaux de la sphère villageoise. C'est un point qui reste à approfondir mais qui est une des clés permettant de saisir l'importance des changements administratifs et sociaux apportés par la conquête arabe. En effet, les *epoikia* d'Aphroditê, qui n'étaient que de simples regroupements d'habitations à la période byzantine, sont devenus, au début du VIII^e^ siècle, des *chôria*, c'est-à-dire des unités fiscales clairement structurées, hiérarchisées, responsables de la bonne levée de leurs impôts devant l'administration centrale des nouveaux dirigeants. Ce ne peut être qu'en rassemblant le maximum d'informations solides sur les habitants de ces *epoikia* que la nature exact de ces changements pourra être appréhendée, ce qui implique une juste identification des toponymes discriminants.

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[33] Par exemple, Sakkos, employé au génitif sans préposition Sakkou, est à identifier comme un toponyme discriminant dans P.Aphrod.Reg. ll. 137, 229 et 346 (525/526). Il renvoie à un *epoikion* d'Aphroditê bien attesté. Les quatre entrées Sakkos de la prosopographie montrent que ce nom ne se rencontre qu'en deuxième position, d'où sa possible confusion avec un patronyme, cf. Ruffini (2011) 527.

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PART IX

ARCHAEOLOGY

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Papyrology, Stratigraphy, and Excavation Methods

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At the Congress in Copenhagen in 1992, Claudio Gallazzi raised an alarm about the threats to archaeological sites in Egypt and the consequent risk to whatever papyri remain buried in their ruins. At the Geneva congress of 2010, he provided an update, no more encouraging than the earlier paper.[1] The past quarter-century has seen an increase in the number of archaeological missions on Greco-Roman sites, but a movement by the AIP to encourage more such projects after 2010 was thwarted by the instability following the Egyptian revolution of 2011.[2] The compelling points Gallazzi raised go far beyond papyrology and papyri and affect the entire archaeological and textual record of Egypt.

Recent years have only intensified the degradation of archaeological sites. Some of the reasons are natural: changes in the climate, with rainfall even in the desert. Others are less natural, including a loss of control by the central authorities of parts of the country.[3] The spread of settlements, cemeteries, and farmland into archaeological areas has accelerated; at the same time, the looting of sites, thefts, and vandalism in museums and magazines have drawn attention to the vulnerability of cultural heritage in Egypt.[4] It is not too much to speak of a state of emergency.

This is not the first time Egypt has faced such a threat of irremediable harm to large parts of its cultural patrimony from otherwise beneficial development; the nineteenth century offers a parallel.[5] That was, of course, also the century of great discoveries, papyrological as well as archaeological, both by the *sebbakhin* and by archaeologists, Egyptologists, and papyrologists working in a near-constant state of emergency to keep up with the threats from clandestine digging and the spread of agriculture. Today the situation is eerily similar: still, despite the extensive excavation and conservation of sites carried out for scientific purposes, Egypt lacks any real preventive archaeological policy to support and manage salvage archaeology so as to at least document remains before they are destroyed by development. In Europe, emergency intervention is managed by state institutions but largely carried out by private contractors. In Egypt, it is the local inspectorates that have to carry this burden, often without the means and competence to intervene adequately. Economic development is still a dominant force as in the nineteenth century; there has never been a national and international debate on archaeological ethics,[6] nor on archaeological professionalism,[7] nor yet on the

[1] Gallazzi (1994) 131-135; Gallazzi (2012) 272-282.
[2] Bagnall / Davoli (2011) 103-157.
[3] Gallazzi in 2010 recorded a decrease of illegal excavations, but after 2011 this trend was reversed and archaeological work became less safe: Gallazzi (2012) 276-277.
[4] Hanna (2013) 371-375; Ikram / Hanna (2013) 33-47.
[5] Cf. at least Davoli (2015) 87-112.
[6] Beaudry (2009) 17-29.
[7] These issues have provided the impetus for the creation of an NGO based in Great Britain called Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organization, by Fekry Hassan and G.J. Tassie (http://www.e-c-h-o.org/) that operated at least by 2012. One of the main aims of the ECHO was to prepare a list of archaeological sites to be protected. However this is not a real solution: first there needs to be an internal debate and a real renewal of the concept of Cultural Heritage and management in Egypt. Cf. Tassie / Owens (2010).

possibility that a private sector in archaeology might employ Egypt's many archaeological graduates.

These weaknesses carry great risks for the archaeological patrimony, particularly in a time of continued demographic growth, economic crisis, and unsustainable social inequality.[8] The ministry lacks the resources to counter this situation effectively on the ground, except for some cases of rescue archaeology in urban centers. And these are possible only where foreign missions have permanent full-year national installations to serve as a base of operations, as, for example, with the Swiss Archaeological Institute in Aswan or the CEAlex in Alexandria. But these institutions remain guests of Egypt and subject to national and local laws, which are not always appropriate or enlightened from an archaeological point of view.

Nor do local and foreign archaeological missions always observe the scientific standards considered necessary in western countries; these have come into use in Egypt only recently, and far from universally.[9] And the impossibility or great difficulty of carrying out analyses of samples with advanced technologies in specialized laboratories greatly limits the range of scientific investigation; what is obligatory today outside Egypt is in Egypt impossible. But those barriers do not prevent the use of the stratigraphic method, the usefulness of which has been demonstrated by decades of use in Europe.[10] This is, however, a complex and slow method, which demands the presence of specialized personnel and the extensive collection of data during the excavation, which slows it down greatly. Clearance (or 'nettoyage'), in contrast, requires only the removal of deposits, often of sand and debris, and collection of objects found. It is quick, easy, can be done by anyone –but it is not an archaeological method.

The limits of these two procedures are immediately obvious: the difficulty and slowness of the first, with much documentation to manage; the destruction of unrecognized deposits, decontextualization of materials, and difficulty of dating different phases of occupation in the second. Clearance, which was widely used in the past even in Europe and in Asia, has had a long life in Egypt, theorized and justified in various ways –the supposed lack of true stratigraphy, given the dominance of accumulated sand, a lack of human and financial resources, or the perennial state of emergency.[11] Our present dire situation is in many ways similar to what Gaston Maspero and his contemporaries encountered.[12] The strategies and practices adopted by our predecessors are well known: rapid excavations intended above all to recover material, undifferentiated gathering of objects found by authorized *sebbakhin* in their clearances, protection only of monumental architecture, abandonment or destruction of settlements and buildings in mud brick, and above all disregard of context and stratigraphy.

[8] The Cairo Post, September 9 2014, registered that more than 25% of the population in Egypt is illiterate (http://egyptianstreets.com/2014/09/09/more-than-25-of-egypts-population-illiterate/). See also The New Arab June 8 2015 for which the percentage is around 40%:
(https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/features/2015/6/8/almost-half-of-egyptians-are-illiterate).

[9] At the last International Congress of Egyptologists, held in Florence in August 2015, methodological issues, and particularly those relating to archaeology, did not even appear, not to mention the theory of archaeology. Disciplines such as Archaeology of Architecture, Landscape Archaeology, or the Archaeology of production have not yet fully become part of the research involving Egypt in its various geographical and temporal components. However we have to record an increase of archaeological missions that today adopt scientific methods of investigation, which means not only obtaining the hardware and satellite photographs, but of scientific working methods: Bagnall / Davoli (2011).

[10] Harris (1979); Carandini (1991); Giannichedda (2016[2]) 24-26.

[11] Gelichi (2002).

[12] Maspero (1912). Despite what Gallazzi wrote in his article published in 2012, nowadays also the Eastern Desert sites are at risk because of work (perfectly legal) in search of raw materials to be industrially exploited. For this information we are grateful to Thomas Faucher.

Archaeology, like other disciplines, was in its infancy, and theoretical or ethical issues were far from central.

Today we are still in an emergency condition, but we at least have a better sense of what we should not do. Gallazzi (1994, 133) already insisted that no one today can think of looking for papyri by making holes here and there, above all because our interest lies also in recovering the contexts in which documents were produced and used. Modern papyrology has experience of the real benefits to our knowledge of ancient society that come from studying texts in their contexts.[13] Excavation in Egypt today must therefore adopt scientific methodologies and techniques, even in contexts in danger, where the papyri and other buried objects are probably at risk of disappearing.

Our experience of a decade of excavation at Amheida / Trimithis, in the Dakhla oasis, has confronted us with various methodological and strategic issues deriving in part from its scale. The archaeological area, including both the city of Trimithis and its necropoleis, occupies an area of about 1.5 km^2. Its chronology extends at least from the Old Kingdom to the end of the fourth century CE.[14] The site is surrounded by agricultural fields, and it is bordered by a village of bedouin shepherds and farmers who use the area in their daily life, despite prohibitions and barriers. This activity of the local community is impossible to block entirely, and it does far less damage to the site than what we witness in the Nile valley, where the demographic pressure is extremely high. Along with the usual risks posed to the many structures, we face the dangers to the paintings still preserved at Amheida and other contemporary sites, such as Kellis, as well as to texts on walls, tablets, papyri, and ostraka.

Our work has included both the documentation of visible remains by topographic survey and extensive excavation, conducted from the start with the stratigraphic method.[15] Altogether, five areas and seven buildings have been investigated, including three houses, one of them the house of Serenos, a church, a Roman bath, a late-antique bath, a school subsequently transformed into stables, and parts of two streets. The area where the temple of Thoth stood before it was demolished has yielded hundreds of decorated blocks. Taking account of the limitation of the excavation to one month a year and the natural slowness of stratigraphic excavation and its consequent documentation, we think this is a good record. The results have sometimes been innovative in the type of multidisciplinary approach both on the field and at the study phase; we would mention particularly the work on the ostraka and their stratigraphic contexts presented to the 27th International Congress of Papyrologists in Warsaw.[16] But we cannot really be satisfied in quantitative terms with the relationship between the investment of time and money and the results, if we consider the large scale both in extent and in duration of the site, of which we have managed to explore in ten years only a tiny part, so that we are still far from being able to put forward any hypothesis about the diachronic development of the settlement. Overall, we have worked for about 300 days with some 30-50 workmen each season, and with some 25-30 professionals and students at a time, spending perhaps a million dollars on fieldwork, not counting capital costs of buildings or the associated student educational program.[17]

[13] Cf. at least Bagnall (2016); van Minnen (1994).
[14] Bagnall / Aravecchia / Cribiore / Davoli / Kaper / McFadden (2015).
[15] Conservation and restoration were carried on together with the excavations: cf. preliminary reports at: www.amheida.org.
[16] Ast / Davoli (2016).
[17] The excavation started in 2004 and in 2009, 2011, and 2016 was not carried out because of the revolution and problems connected with the security clearances. On average, a worker works in the field six hours, while an archaeologist works daily up to 12-14 hours.

During the most recent season, 2015, we also investigated the state of preservation of the painted plaster visible on the surface in many buildings. We hoped to develop a strategy of excavation, consolidation, and documentation of the paintings that would be relatively rapid and efficient. The amount, variety, quality, and good preservation of the painted decoration are of a level practically to make Trimithis a Pompeii of the desert. Such decoration, however, is very fragile, and its deterioration begins with contact with air, soon provoking detachment from the wall. Interaction between archaeologists and conservators was constantly needed during the excavation; this takes a lot of time and therefore is expensive. Removing the windblown sand fill of the upper strata, sometimes as much as 2 meters deep, could be done quickly and with little documentation, but the precariousness of the paintings on the walls and the presence of detached fragments in the sand actually makes even this stage of work very slow. As we observed in the house of Serenos, recording the position of fragments in the sand is important for reconstructing the original painted program. Experience also teaches that caution is needed even with plain white walls, which can turn out to bear incised or painted texts, as in Room 15 in the house of Serenos.

The area of the temple was severely disturbed by the digging of the *sebbakhin* and by the systematic demolition of the temple, which destroyed even the foundations. Even in this case, however, detailed documentation of the finds and application of stratigraphic excavation produced compelling results. We were eventually able to interpret a complex stratigraphic situation resulting from superimposed buildings going back to the Old Kingdom. Moreover, the precise locations recorded for individual decorated blocks and other architectonic elements scattered in the *sebbakhin*'s pits allowed us to hypothesize the position and dimensions of the temple of the Roman period and the placement of decorative cycles inside it.[18]

The good results obtained through our field practices do not conceal the fact that we cannot dig enough of the city to give us an adequate sense of its extent in time and space, let alone how private and public space was used, in the years that remain before rain melts the site or settlement swallows it up.

Given all of these circumstances and experiences, we confront an essentially ethical problem of what to do: save what can be saved with quick but unscientific excavation or continue slowly but with scientific methods. What results would we have obtained if we had simply cleared the house of Serenos and the temple area? Would we have been able, for example, to distinguish the functions and chronology of the more than 900 ostraka found so far? The majority of these, the tags, would tell us little if studied outside a precise context; and we would in that case have acquired only a vague sense of the various phases of construction and demolition of the house of Serenos and the adjoining structures.[19]

No, we cannot respond to the present emergency by regressing to the methods of the past, which would deny us the possibility of recovering more than a small part of the archaeological evidence –more objects, perhaps, but much less information. Such an excavation would be destructive from more than one point of view: sites excavated by scholars in a hurry are often left uncared for, to their eventual destruction. Moreover, the data recovered with summary methods can easily lead to false historical reconstructions.

Is there any compromise possible? It cannot involve abandoning scientific method or lower quality standards; but we do see possibilities of managing time and resources more

[18] O.E. Kaper will reconstruct and study the inscribed and decorated blocks. So far five stages of the temple of Thoth have been identified, from Dyn. 19 until the reigns of Titus and Domitian: Kaper (2012).
[19] Ast / Davoli (2016).

effectively, of speeding up work while maintaining the highest scientific standards.[20] Debates in European archaeology, which has faced similar problems both practical and theoretical already thirty years ago, have led to proposals for flexibility of methods, although not the stratigraphic method in itself, and simplification of the documentation.[21] They need to take account of a critical assessment of risk, site by site, and offer strategies appropriate to individual cases.[22] The general documentation of sites is always the necessary first step, using photography and survey by means of Total Station.

In cases of high risk or rapid loss of archaeological evidence, for example with urban real estate development, certainly it is appropriate to use the methods of rescue archaeology, which may include even the use of mechanical equipment,[23] and which sometimes use simplified forms for stratigraphic units, preferring graphic documentation (drawing and photographs), which accompany a final report. This method is customarily applied to small areas excavated continuously until completion by a single archaeologist. It is not well suited to large-scale excavations, like those of a city, carried out in short annual seasons and usually limited by time rather than the context. In medium risk cases, local conditions will dictate choice of areas to be dug, giving preference to those areas most exposed to destruction. At Amheida, mechanical evacuation of excavated sand might help. But more effort devoted to site protection might also extend the site's future potential.

How and when it is possible to speed up fieldwork in a reasonable manner must be established by site archaeological directors taking account of the local risk profile.[24] Teamwork is in any case vital for maximum quality as well as efficiency.[25] In the particular case of Amheida, we believe that fewer but more experienced workmen could help speed work up. Similarly, we would look to strengthening the skills and continuity of the field team to help reduce hesitation in excavation and redundancy in documentation.

Some stages of our operations can certainly be sped up, particularly as we have come to know better the materials, local construction techniques, and post-abandonment dynamics of the site, like erosion, sanding up, and collapse. The documentation of collapses of walls and vaults is certainly needed for reconstructing buildings and events, but it can be largely streamlined or carried out with photogrammetry and the Total Station instead of manual

[20] Documentation is necessary because it enables us to reconstruct and study retrospectively stratigraphic contexts that are dug and thus destroyed by the excavation itself. Therefore, the documentation must answer this purpose, and must be accurate but not redundant. A good documentation strategy and proper equipment can help avoid wasting time. Carandini (2000) 139-144; 160.

[21] Gelichi (2002). On total documentation as a utopia cf. Ferdière (1989) 299.

[22] Drawing up a list of at-risk sites as proposed by C. Gallazzi and Fekhry Hassan can be a starting point. The same proposal was suggested by Evaristo Breccia in 1903, but it does not overcome the question about methodologies. Cf. Davoli (2015) 102-103.

[23] For a discussion of the method and of the strategies adopted cf. Brogiolo (1988) I 39-42. For the use of mechanical means see also: Van Horn / Murray / White (Summer 1986) 239-244.

[24] The documentation must have a high degree of accuracy, but should not be redundant and must make use of the latest technology during the recording of the data, its storage, and the final analysis. At present it is highly recommended to use digital information systems, such as Total Station, digital photography, digital drawings of objects and strata, and an efficient database. In Egypt the use of the computers in the field is not an option because of the dust and of the strong brightness. This implies that the field paperwork should then be entered into digital form, which is time-consuming. This phase of the work may however be dealt with at the end of the field season.

[25] A good site organization must also take into account the excavation logistics, which includes the intervention of restorers, photographers, and general needs related to the documentation. These activities must not interfere with the excavation in order to avoid downtime.

drawing *in situ*.[26] The removal of layers of windblown sand, even under the control of an archaeologist, can certainly be done more rapidly, because it generally is devoid of archaeological material. Detached plaster is only a partial exception.

In the case of painted decoration, we are usually dealing with geometric patterns. Room 1 of the house of Serenos, with its figured scenes placed in multiple registers, is so far a unique case. The precise documentation of the position of detached fragments of repetitive patterns can be left aside in favor of closer attention to the conservation of what remains on the walls. Photographic and photogrammetric documentation of these painted plasters needs to be detailed and technically adequate; the highest-resolution photogrammetry does not replace photos of the whole wall and context, but it is extremely useful for graphic documentation and for measuring particular painted details, which can even, if needed, be reproduced at 1:1.

The technology of photogrammetry is perhaps still underutilized in excavations in Egypt; it can form an exceptionally valuable tool in rapid and precise documentation. It is time-consuming at the stage of processing, but this can be done outside the limits of the field season. A newer technology, which is revolutionary in its speed and ease of use as well as in its high-quality results and relatively low cost, is 3D modelling photography of contexts (Camera Scanner), buildings, and objects, by using simple digital photographic equipment and inexpensive software.[27] An experimental season was carried out in Dime es-Seba / Soknopaiou Nesos in the Fayyum by the Soknopaiou Nesos Project in 2016.[28]

This technique of 3D photogrammetry or photomodelling, allows a very precise and quick three-dimensional and metric documentation of monuments with simple and inexpensive equipment, like a common digital camera and processing software (i.e., Agisoft-PhotoScan). The basic principle of this technique is that of stereoscopic photogrammetry, in which a variable number of digital images is taken to obtain complete photographic coverage of all visible surfaces of the monument/object. The photos, elaborated with Agisoft-PhotoScan, create a scale model, with its proper texture, exportable in any digital format, both 2D (ortho) and 3D (mesh). The final product is a three-dimensional representation of the object that is visible from various points of views.[29]

In Dime, the Camera Scanner technique was mainly applied to document the excavation in the day by day work, and on some monuments. The 3D metric photos of the excavation were used to create orthographic projection images that were then digitized with Autocad for the realization of plans and prospects. During the excavation of the contra-temple ST 203 the time devoted to the documentation on site of stratigraphy (plans and sections), walls, and architectural elements has been significantly reduced using the Camera Scanner technique. Plans and drawings of strata, walls, and objects have been obtained from the pictures in the

[26] On the usefulness of aerial photogrammetry cf. at least Rinaudo / Chiabrando / Lingua / Spanò (2012) 583-588.

[27] Kersten / Lindstaedt (2012) 1-10; Kersten / Stallmann (2012) 273-278; McCarthy (2014) 175-185.

[28] SNP is a project of the Centro di Studi Papirologici of the University of Salento, Lecce (Italy) under the direction of Mario Capasso and Paola Davoli: http://www.museopapirologico.eu/soknopai.htm. Cf. Capasso / Davoli (2012).

[29] The photomodelling procedure needs the acquisition of one or more pairs of photographic images, taken by fixed focal length lens, with a certain percentage of overlap (at least 60%). To have a correct orientation of the photographs within a system of spatial coordinates it is necessary to use control points on the images, like artificial targets, or easily recognizable points. These points must then be brought together in a three-dimensional space with geographical coordinates by means of a Total Station or of a GPS. The final result is a metric three-dimensional model, scale 1:1, perfectly georeferenced. The technique of the Camera Scanner is easier, faster, and cheaper than the laser scanner, and can be used in Egypt without special permits. Cf. at least: Remondino / El-Hakim (2006); Douglas / Lin / Chodoronek (2015).

laboratory. This means that the time usually spent each day for the graphic documentation on site can be devoted to continuing the excavation or to other tasks.

Some other technologies now available, from drones to the laser Total Station, allow greater precision and speed of documentation, but are hard to use in Egypt because of permit restrictions.

We must admit that we will never be quick enough to face the rapid evolution of the situation due to climatic and anthropic causes, and that one main solution is to increase the protection of sites. But this is only to a limited degree within our power. In this connection, we would suggest the value of a process for monitoring the threats to sites, with indication of levels and types of risks, in conjunction with the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities. A database of this type would be useful at various levels, both in protection of sites and in the possible choice of rescue archaeology interventions. The assessment of risk could be studied by a multidisciplinary team, perhaps as a result of joint action by the AIP and other scholarly organizations, which we urge to continue to promote the highest scientific and ethical standards even in the present situation. The preliminary work of enumerating and assessing risk would permit a more systematic approach to the protection of Egypt's still rich patrimony.[30]

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[30] Cf. Gelichi (2002).

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On Discarding Papyri in Roman and Late Antique Egypt
Archaeology and Ancient Perspectives*

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It is a given in our discipline that most of the precious papyri we study were found on ancient rubbish heaps of cities such as Antinoë, Hermopolis, Heracleopolis, Oxyrhynchus, and sites in the Fayum Oasis.[1] I have always been surprised that texts were found as garbage –not just receipts and bureaucratic trivia, but also important documents such as testaments and literary works, even sacred scriptures. In an article about the conundrum of the trashing of biblical manuscripts, I applied insights from the modern scholarly discipline of garbology to make sense of these habits.[2]

In this paper, I explore ancient trash practices in order to understand better why and through what process texts were discarded. My question is: How and where concretely were these papyri discarded in antiquity? I address this question by first studying late nineteenth and early twentieth century archaeological publications of the finds of papyri. Then I turn to a range of ancient sources that give information on discarding practices, such as papyri, mosaics, and literary sources.

Before I do that, a short theoretical note is in place. As Christopher Anderson reminds us, creating garbage is an exclusively human activity.[3] This then also means that studying garbage can give insights into human behavior. Garbologist William Rathje made that his life's work. He observed: «To an archaeologist, ancient garbage pits or garbage mounds, which can usually be located within a short distance from any ruin, are always among the happiest of finds, for they contain in concentrated form the artifacts and comestibles and remnants of behavior of the people who used them».[4] While archaeologists and papyrologists rightly rejoice over the discarded remains of the people and societies we study, as we will see below, for the ancients themselves, trash had less positive connotations.

1. Archaeology

Modern sources for the excavations of papyri consist of late nineteenth and early twentieth century archaeological reports. The excavation reports insisted that papyri were found among

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[1] In this piece, I use different words for refuse (garbage, trash, rubbish) interchangeably, but strictly speaking, these terms differ slightly in meaning, with trash indicating dry, and garbage wet discards. See Rathje / Murphy (2001) 9.

[2] Luijendijk (2010).

[3] Anderson (2010) 35.

[4] Rathje / Murphy (2001) 10.

actual ancient garbage.[5] Although the excavators focused on finding papyri, they acknowledged that the garbage heaps did not exclusively contain texts. As J. de M. Johnson wrote about digging at Antinoë: «in stirring a rubbish heap not the written materials only but much of the machinery of life as well is disclosed […] almost all objects were worn, broken, or torn before they earned their place on the mound».[6] In his excavation report, Ulrich Wilcken, a German contemporary of Grenfell and Hunt who excavated for papyri at Heracleopolis Magna, some 70 km north of Oxyrhynchus, discussed the trash heaps ('Kehrichtshaufen') and their contents: kitchen debris, manure, rags, and above all innumerable potsherds ('unzählige Thonscherben').[7] Indeed, in photographs taken at the time, we see the papyri among ubiquitous potsherds.[8] For Oxyrhynchus, Grenfell and Hunt enumerated a long list of rather random objects that they sent to England in cigarette boxes: broken combs, pens, copper coins, and rag dolls.[9]

The most important yet also most enigmatic comment we constantly encounter in these old excavation reports is that papyri were found in specific layers consisting of what the local population called *afsh*. The noun *afsh* (فعش) means 'refuse, rubbish, trash, junk' (in addition to 'luggage, baggage; household effects, furniture' –the verb *afasha* means 'to gather, collect, heap up, amass').[10] *Afsh*, we read repeatedly, «consists of earth mixed with little bits of twig and straw» (so Grenfell and Hunt)[11] or as J. de M. Johnson put it «earth intermixed with vegetable matter, commonly twigs and straw».[12]

Grenfell and Hunt observed that «objects of stone, wood, or pottery [a papyrus seeker] may find elsewhere, but without *afsh* [a papyrus seeker] will hardly ever find papyrus».[13] From an archaeological perspective, these layers of straw and twigs preserved the papyri, whereas papyri deposited among potsherds perished or became brittle and illegible. Johnson described layers of potsherds as «the worst bed in which papyrus can lie and live –imparting an intense dryness and brittleness both to papyrus and vellum and often destroying the ink».[14] Apparently the organic remains within the *afsh* created just the right environment to preserve the papyri (i.e. shelter from rain, yet also the right humidity as to not dry them out).

It was their work in the Fayum that taught Grenfell and Hunt the skills to detect papyri at Oxyrhynchus, as they stated: «But greater perhaps than the direct results of these two seasons' work [in the Fayum] were the indirect. It was the discovery of the principles of *afsh* at Ûmm el 'Atl [ancient Bacchus] in 1896 which enabled us in 1897, amid the hundreds of acres covered by the ruins of Behnesa [ancient Oxyrhynchus], to select those mounds which contained papyri, and to find the Logia on the second day of our excavations».[15] The Oxford papyrologists even compared digging for papyri to gold mining –with the analogy that gold

[5] Not all papyri were found as trash. In Karanis, for instance, papyri were found among the debris of houses; see, for instance, Gazda (1983), Van Minnen (1994); Verhoogt (2017). For a groundbreaking and thorough discussion of the discoveries of early Christian manuscripts, see Nongbri (2018).
[6] Johnson (1914) 180.
[7] Wilcken (1903) 300-301.
[8] For Oxyrhynchus, see the website Oxyrhynchus Online at http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/.
[9] In their archaeological reports, Grenfell and Hunt enumerate such 'anticas'. The reports are republished in Grenfell / Hunt (2007). A good impression of artifacts from Oxyrhynchus other than papyri can also be gained from Bailey (2007).
[10] See Cowan (1994). I thank Jonathan Gribetz for his help with the Arabic.
[11] Grenfell / Hunt (1900) 24.
[12] Johnson (1914) 174.
[13] Grenfell / Hunt (1900) 24.
[14] Johnson (1914) 175-176.
[15] Grenfell / Hunt (1900) 26.

miners follow quartz veins just as papyrus excavators follow *afsh*.[16] While Grenfell and Hunt admitted that they did not know exactly what *afsh* was, their best guess was that it consisted of household rubbish.[17] With this concept of papyri discovered among domestic garbage from antiquity, I now turn to a variety of ancient sources to investigate what they reveal about discarding practices and then will return to the issue of *afsh*.

2. Clues from the past

How and where did ancient garbage heaps form? Where did the trash come from and who deposited this material on the garbage heaps? I address these questions by analyzing references to trash in the papyri themselves and in literature and art.

a. Concepts of trash

In order to understand ancient garbage, a few general reflections on trash are due. «For thousands of years city dwellers put up with defective, often quite vile, sanitary arrangements, wallowing in rubbish and filth they certainly had the power to remove».[18] State sponsored, centrally organized trash removal is a recent good; trash removal in New York City began only at the end of the nineteenth century.[19] Indeed, people in antiquity had an entirely different concept of and experience with trash than most people living in developed countries do. For most of human history, recycling was not a virtue, but an economic necessity.[20] In his contribution to the volume Sordes urbis, E. Rodríguez-Almeida[21] discusses the stark difference between our disposal habits and those of the ancients, noting that what makes up the majority of our urban waste would have been reused in ancient Rome: stone was recycled, as were glass and metal, which were even valuable enough to be collected; some intact pottery was reused; in other cases, potsherds were recycled as building materials (or piled up at the port into a large hill, such as Monte Testaccio in Rome).[22] Wood was

[16] Grenfell / Hunt (1900) 24. They write: «The method of digging for papyri in a town site presents some parallels to that of gold-mining. The gold-seeker follows a vein of quartz, while the papyrus-digger has to follow a stratum, or vein, of what the natives call *afsh*, –one of those convenient 'blank-cheque' words which in the limited vocabulary of the *fellahîn* can take a variety of meanings. The gold-digger does not look for gold where there is no quartz, and similarly, the papyrus-seeker may practically disregard any other kind of earth than *afsh*».

[17] Grenfell / Hunt (1900) 24: «No doubt in a general way *afsh* is to be explained as house-rubbish, in the sense of what was rubbish at the time the house was being used, but how *afsh* comes to lie in the particular ways in which it is found is not in our power to explain». It should be noted here, that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Egyptian farmers used the remains of ancient sites as fertilizer, *sebakh*. As D. Bailey (1999) 211 writes: «*Sebakh* is primarily the remains of mud-brick houses and other structures of the same material, forming the ancient mounds of Egyptian cities and villages […] added to which is the nitrogen-rich occupational material surviving within the buildings. It also includes the courtyard work-areas, and the unpaved streets between houses on which household rubbish was constantly dumped, causing the streets to rise ever higher and turning the ground floors of houses into basements […] There were also the droppings of innumerable animals, […] as well as the massive rubbish-dumps once a feature of many Graeco-Roman settlements in Egypt and a particular target for papyrus-seekers».

[18] Mumford (1961) 75.

[19] Shanks / Platt / Rathje (2004) 71; Strasser (2000) 118-125.

[20] Ancient people had different trash habits and were much more frugal and creative in recycling (they also reused papyri) than we are today in the western world and therefore they have an entirely different concept of trash than we. As Rathje / Murphy (2001) 10-11 write: «That the distant past often seems misty and dim is precisely because our earliest ancestors left so little garbage behind».

[21] Rodríguez-Almeida (2000).

[22] See, for instance, Rodríguez-Almeida (1984). The issue of the discarded potsherds also evokes the question of whether the ancients would retrieve ostraka from the garbage or whether they collected broken pottery at home for writing documents.

expensive and therefore either reused or burned. Finally, organic waste materials were either eaten by rodents and other animals, burned, or composted. Rodríguez-Almeida concludes: «Compared to a modern city, Rome proved much more flexible and adapted, almost to be a city *autopulentesi* ('self-cleaning')».[23] In a society that produces very little household rubbish, domestic waste consists of completely useless materials such as potsherds, straw, and excrement.[24]

Despite the happiness of archaeologists at finding ancient trash, overall, actual trash is not a topic that elicits great joy either from us moderns or for the ancients. Obviously not: we are dealing with dirt, filth, even excrement. Unsurprisingly, trash inspired few ancient authors, unless they used its vocabulary rhetorically to heap insults on their opponents; for example, a bishop at the 431 Council of Ephesus called his opponents «the dung heaps of the city» (αἱ κοπρίαι τῆς πόλεως).[25] Even our everyday papyri refer rather sparsely to these issues. Thus few traces remain in written sources to go by in our research.

b. Vocabulary

In order to conduct word searches for trash in ancient textual sources, I compiled a list of vocabulary for discarded materials: such as in Greek βόρβορος ('mire, filth'), φορυτός ('refuse'), κόπρος ('trash, dung') and related κοπρία ('dung heap'), δεῖσα ('filth'), συρφετός ('litter'), and σκύβαλον ('dung, excrement'), σκῶρ ('dung, ordure') and in Latin *stercus*. Some of these terms do not show up at all in our papyri. In her article on "Refuse, Filth, and Excrement in the Writings of John Chrysostom", patristic scholar B. Leyerle studied this vocabulary. But most of the words for refuse and filth that the eloquent preacher John Chrysostom employed do not turn up in our papyrus documents. For instance, Leyerle tabulated that Chrysostom uses the word φορυτός ('refuse') 28 times in his writings and συρφετός ('refuse, litter') 7 times; however, these idioms do not occur in our papyri.[26]

c. Placing trash: outside and inside cities

Where are these trash heaps located? Knowing where trash is deposited provides insights into the habits of discarding papyri. Archaeological and textual sources indicate that rubbish heaps formed both outside and within the city walls. Despite the lack of state sponsored trash removal in antiquity, some refuse was deposited outside the city walls, especially dung, human and animal excrement.

[23] Rodríguez-Almeida (2000) 127 writes: «la diversa condizione della città antica rispetto a ciò che oggi è la nostra esperienza ci obbliga a considerare, nell'ambito che ora ci interessa, il diverso ammontare relativo e la diversa condizione conflittuale che essa poteva avere con il problema rifiuti. Comparata ad una città moderna, Roma si dimostra molto più flessibile e adattata, quasi fino a risultare una città *autopulentesi*». One may think of the *Zabaleen*, 'garbage people', in modern day Cairo. They are Coptic garbage collectors who collect and recycle 85% of the city's trash. See, for instance, Kingsley (2014): «the *zabaleen* still deal with 9000 of Cairo's 15000 daily tons of household rubbish, recycling 85% of it».

[24] Based on excavations at Pompeii, Dicus (2014) 61 argues that extramural debris and garbage could be reused again in the city as fill for building projects. According to Dicus (2014) 62, the garbage heaps were even intended to be reused, otherwise, he claims, they would become too big. Descriptions of the ancient Egyptian garbage heaps suggest that these indeed became very large and unwielding.

[25] Concilium universale Ephesenum (anno 431) 1. 22. Text from Schwartz (1927) 111.

[26] Leyerle (2009). Also the word βόρβορος ('mire, filth') used by Chrysostom, does not feature in our papyri. As Leyerle (2009) 337 n. 2 notes: «Chrysostom does not use σκῶρ, σκατός; his references to σκύβαλον are confined to commenting on Philippians 3.8». Κοπρώναι, referenced by Chrysostom as sewer clearers, do not appear in papyri. The word σκῶρ (not used by Chrysostom) occurs twice in papyrus documents: O.Did. 395 (2nd cent. CE.) and P.Cair.Masp. I 67009 (ca. 567-570 CE).

In fact, garbage or dung heaps outside cities are relatively well documented in literature. In his Constitution of the Athenians 50 (accidentally preserved at Hermopolis, P.Lond. I 131), Aristotle describes as the duty of city police agents (ἀστυνόμοι) that they «provide that no collector of sewage shall deposit any of his sewage within ten stadia of the walls».[27] Ancient cities had even a so-called Dung or Trash Gate. It is still the name of one of the gates of Jerusalem, known already from the Book of Ezra as ἡ πύλη τῆς κοπρίας.[28] Another biblical book, the Book of Job, also locates a trash or dung heap outside of the city walls and gives an impression of the associations the ancients had with trash heaps. When Job has learned that all his children are dead and his possessions gone, he retreats to a trash heap outside of the city (ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, Job 2.8 LXX), where he scratches his wounds with a potsherd.[29]

Legal sources, such as the *Lex Julia Municipalis*, indicate that in Rome, 'dirt' and / or 'excrement' (Latin *stercus*) was transported outside the city walls on wagons.[30] This was also the case in late antique Antioch. Libanius in one of his orations –as Liebeschuetz remarks, «the only speech surviving from Antiquity which is exclusively concerned with the disposal of rubbish»– relates that peasants that entered the city of Antioch with fresh produce in the morning were being forced on their return home to transport on their donkeys building rubbish outside the city walls (Oratio 50).[31]

In his In inscriptiones Psalmorum, Gregory of Nyssa paints a vivid picture of garbage heaps outside the city. Expounding on Ps. 58.7: «They shall go round about the city», Gregory wrote:

> «Everything useless and to be thrown away so far as usefulness in respect to living beings is concerned is thrown outside the city, whether it is something dead and corrupted, or stinking dung, and dogs are found around these things, compelled by hunger, living in the filth which is thrown out of the city [...] the things outside the city reveal the evil which is taken into account on the contrary, in which is found everything cast away by the refined life, which is stinking sin, which consists of decaying bodies and filthy dung».[32]

Let me give one more example concerning trash heaps outside of the city. The seventh century CE Cypriot bishop Leontius of Neapolis describes how Saint Symeon the Fool «found a dead dog on a dunghill outside the city». He tied the cadaver to his belt and thus «entered the gate».[33]

Papyri from an agricultural milieu refer to dung heaps and manure, such as several letters of Lucius Bellenus Gemellus, a Roman veteran who possessed large farm holding in the Fayum Oasis (late 1st-early 2nd cent. CE).[34] In one letter, Gemellus instructs Epagathus to «have the

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[27] Barnes (2016) 308-309.

[28] 2 Esdras 13.13 LXX = Neh. 3.13; Masoretic text: שער השפות.

[29] This passage inspired Christian exegetes and is also frequently depicted in Byzantine and Medieval manuscripts: see Brubaker (1999) 361; Morrison (2008). Medieval authors recognized both the humility of the dung as excrement and also the promise of its fertilizing powers, symbolizing new life.

[30] See Liebeschuetz (2015) 6. This is in regard to *Lex Julia Municipalis* = tabula Heracleensis 56-61. «We see that most waggons only entered Rome in the evenings and at night. They were not obliged to return the same night: Caesar's law allows waggons that have entered the city with a load during the night to remain until the tenth hour of the day, and it specifically states that this permission holds whether they are going to leave the city empty or carrying out 'dirt' (*stercus* Lex M 66-67). It follows that a lot of refuse or of excreta or indeed of both, for the word does not distinguish between the two classes of rubbish, was regularly taken out of the city in waggons pulled by oxen».

[31] Liebeschuetz (2015) 3. The speech dates to 385, during the reign of Emperor Theodosius I.

[32] Gregory of Nyssa, In inscriptiones Psalmorum 2.16.279-280; trans. Heine (1995) 211-212.

[33] Krueger (1996) 151. For the edition, see Festugière / Rydén (1974) 55-104.

[34] On this archive, see Ast / Azzarello (2012) and (2013).

manure there banked up in order to make the store-place that you speak of» (ἐκχῳσθῆναι τὸ ἐν αὐτῶι κόπριον ἵνα καταβ[ο]λαῖον γένηται ὃ λέγεις ταμε[ῖ]ον) and further on to «take away the manure to the manure heap» (καὶ χώρισον τὸ κόπριον εἰς τὴν κοπρηγίαν) (P.Fay. 110).[35]

But papyri, as I understand from excavation materials, were also found on dumps within cities. The practice of leaving discarded remains within cities is not unique to Egypt; but given the climatological circumstances, only the Egyptian garbage heaps preserved papyri. Israeli archaeologists located multiple garbage dumps within the late antique village of Shivta in the Negev Desert.[36]

What then can we learn about garbage heaps inside cities or villages from ancient sources? The sale of a house and courtyard in Socnopaei Nesus from the year 159 CE specifies that the house borders a dung or rubbish heap (κοπρία) on the north (P.Ryl. II 162, dated 30 March 159 CE). The plot is surrounded by other houses and a public road; the garbage or dung heap was thus located in an inhabited section of the village.[37]

This scenario matches descriptions of the excavations in Kasr el Banat in the Fayum (the ancient site of Euhemeria), where Grenfell and Hunt worked in the winter of 1898-1899. They found papyri within the city not in modest dwellings but among the rubbish of wealthier households. The decorated plaster on the wall of a house with papyri signaled a neighborhood with well-off inhabitants; the kind of people who indeed were more likely to possess literature and documents.[38]

At the larger cities such as Heracleopolis and Oxyrhynchus, however, the papyri were not just discovered among the rubbish of collapsed houses. Rather, these sites functioned as waste disposal sites for a larger neighborhood, rising up to great height. Comparing the excavation drawings from the early twentieth century with maps recently published by E. Subias, a Catalan archaeologist currently working at Oxyrhynchus, it seems that the Oxyrhynchite rubbish heaps were inside the walls of the ancient city.[39] They had probably formed on deserted or collapsed houses. Old photographs and archaeological descriptions indicate that

[35] P.Fay 110 (94 CE). Translation, Grenfell / Hunt (1900) 264: «Lucius Bellenus Gemellus to his own Epagathus, greeting. On receipt of my letter please have the manure there banked up in order to make the store-place that you speak of (ἐκχῳσθῆναι τὸ ἐν αὐτῶι κόπριον ἵνα καταβ[ο]λαῖον γένηται ὃ λέγεις ταμε[ῖ]ον), and dig a deep trench round the oil-press outside so that it may not be easy to walk into the oil-press, and take away the manure to the manure heap (καὶ χώρισον τὸ κόπριον εἰς τὴν κοπρηγίαν), and make them let the water in over all our fields in order that the sheep may be folded there […]». Epagathus, the recipient of this and other letters from Gemellus was «perhaps a nephew» (Grenfell / Hunt [1900] 262). See also from the same archive, P.Fay. 118 and 119; both also contain references to manure and dung.

[36] Tepper / Weissbrod / Bar-Oz (2015). As Yotam Tepper communicated to me via email (23 July 2017), the archaeologists are still analyzing the finds from the middens but so far have not found evidence for papyri. Papyri were found in abandoned rooms in nearby Nessana.

[37] «[T]he half share of a house and yard belonging to her in the village of Socnopaei Nesus and forming part of her heritage from her mother; the boundaries of the whole house and court are, as stated by mutual consent, on the south the house of […] son of Stotoëtis, on the north a dung-hill, on the west a public road, on the east plots of various proprietors» (ἧς γίτονες ὅλης τ[ῆς οἰκίας] καὶ αὐλῆς καθὼς ἐκξυφώνου ὑπηγόρευσαν νότου Τ[. . . .] . Στοετεως οἰκία βορρᾶ κοπρία λιβὸς ῥύβη βασιλ(ικὴ) ἀπηλ[ι]ώτου ἑτέρων οἰκόπεδα) (transl. HGV; TM 12950).

[38] Grenfell / Hunt (1900) 43 on plain houses: «The commonest kind of houses were filled up with sand, mingled with the débris of the roof and walls, and contained few papyri or antiquities of any sort». On the houses of the more well-to-do, Grenfell / Hunt (1900) 44: «houses and adjacent lanes into which rubbish had been thrown, and which had an *afsh* layer. […] The plaster on the walls of house which was underneath part of this mound had been painted».

[39] For the old drawings, see http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/VExhibition/images/a10a.jpg:
«This plan was presumably prepared from the rough pencil version. Grenfell and Hunt intended to publish it but never did; it was eventually published in the fiftieth volume of The Oxyrhynchus Papyri in 1983». For the new maps, see Subias (2011) esp. figures 1, 2, 4, and 5.

these were very high mounds with large accumulations of rubbish.[40] According to Wilcken, following G. Schweinfurt, the purpose of these rubbish mounds was to make room in the inhabited sections of the cities.[41]

Trying to find out more about what happened to trash, apparently some rubbish or filth was burned, as we read, for instance, in a third century CE letter (P.Oxy. XLII 3066):

> «Apollonius to Sarapammon, greetings […] It's unreasonable, the way you've stayed away even though I wanted to tell you about the programme for sowing and rush-cutting […] and how the rubbish (filth, dirt) should be burned» (καὶ ὅπως καῇ ἡ δεῖσα).

Grenfell and Hunt also refer to ashes in rubbish heaps; these may also be ashes from cooking.

d. 'The unswept house'

In contrast to the rich materials from actual ancient garbage heaps that archaeologists with many types of expertise can examine, there are only a few depictions of trash in ancient art.[42] Artistic renditions of household waste are preserved on several domestic mosaics which are so similar that they form a small corpus.[43] A lavish mosaic from the third or fourth century CE hat once adorned the *triclinium* in a wealthy home presents a playful and perhaps also slightly moralistic picture of what would take place in that dining room: nine men recline on couches while as many as seven slaves serve them. The guests nibble from delicate dishes displayed on elegant tables. One has passed out already –a sign that they had imbibed heavily. But what draws our attention here are the food remains on the floor in the center of the scene: animal and fish bones, vegetables, a chicken leg –all neatly set off against a black (or in other mosaics, a clean white) background.[44] No manuscripts are depicted here, but it is well known that Greek and Roman elite would read and discuss literature during dinner.[45]

This piece belongs to a small group of mosaics from around the Mediterranean that depict what Pliny, in a section on flooring in his Natural History 36.184, called the 'unswept house' (ἀσάρωτος οἶκος). He writes:

> «In this latter field (namely, mosaics) the most famous exponent was Sosus, who at Pergamum laid the floor of what is known in Greek as 'the Unswept Room' (*quem vocant asaroton oecon*)

[40] Wilcken (1903) 300 did not appreciate this practice: «Diese Hügel sind in der That nichts als Kehrichthaufen, […] nur berührt es unseren europäischen Geschmack eigenartig, daß man diese Abfuhrhaufen unmittelbar von den letzten Häusern der Stadt aufgeschüttet und so die Stadt mit einem Kranz von 'Müllhaufen', die die Häuser schließlich hoch überragten, umgeben hat». He admires the ancients who mounted these ever higher trash heaps, that could reach well over 20 meters high. These heaps contained rubbish. It is unlikely that they consisted of the remains of collapsed houses, for, as Peter van Minnen (1994) 230-231 notes: «[…] houses were often entirely rebuilt at no great expense. The older house was leveled and its various material remains were squashed underneath the new house. It is unlikely that the refuse was dumped on an open space somewhere down the street, because in Roman Egypt even such open spaces were not without an owner».

[41] Schweinfurth realized that these garbage heaps served «zur Gewinnung von Raum in den bewohnten Stadtteilen» (quoted by Wilcken [1903] 300). But the majority of the papyri was not found in the ruins of houses: «Diese Häuser sind nun bisher nur in wenigen Fällen Fundplätze für Papyri gewesen. …Dagegen ist es zweifelhaft, ob in Arsinoë und den grossen Städten im Nilthal grössere Funde von griechischen Papyri in Hausruinen bisher gemacht worden sind» (quoted by Wilcken [1903] 299).

[42] Moormann (2000) 75: «Depictions of litter are rare in Greek and Roman art».

[43] Hagenow (1978).

[44] According to Moormann (2000) 75, these mosaics «simply aim at emphasizing the contrast between the realistically rendered dirt and the beauty of the scene, laid on an irrealistically [*sic*] clean surface of white or black mosaic stones». The purpose of this is «to tantalize the onlooker with what he will drop during a banquet in the room where the motif is applied. Moreover the litter is neither rotting nor putrefying […] but remains fresh as if it were dropped a second before».

[45] See Johnson (2000); Johnson (2010).

> because, by means of small cubes tinted in various shades, he represented on the floor refuse from the dinner table and other sweepings, making them appear as if they had been left there».[46]

Here we thus catch a rare glimpse of what the ancients considered trash: matters that had to be swept up afterwards –no doubt by these same slaves that also served the food and wine, as we will see shortly. But first I must discuss the ancient evidence for dirty houses in more detail.

e. House leases

Lease contracts for houses suggest that left behind waste was a problem to be reckoned with. To guarantee that the new occupants would find the house in acceptable condition, ancient leases contain standardly phrased stipulations specifying that the renters should clean the house and hand in the keys, such as this lease from Oxyrhynchus from the fourth century CE (P.Oxy. XLVIII 3386, 28 March 338 CE):

> καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραδώσω τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἀπὸ κ[ο]πρίων καὶ δίσης πάσης καὶ ἃς ἐὰν παραλάβω θύρας καὶ κλεῖς {ἀποτίσω} ἢ οὗ ἐὰν μὴ παραδῶ ἐκ[τ]ίσω τὴν ἀξίαν τιμη.
>
> «And after the period I shall turn over the half house free of dirt and all filth, as well as such doors and keys as I have received, or, if I fail to turn them over, I shall pay their fair value».[47]

These formulaic rent contracts consider it a serious possibility that the departing renters would leave behind household waste including excrement and therefore make sure that before the next renters moved in, the house was cleaned out. I assume that the previous family's trash was discarded at the nearest trash heap. As we picture texts turned to trash, we can reasonably reconstruct that not only personal papers, but also literature would be discarded. Thus this is one moment where we can imagine that both unused books and documents would transfer status from home to heap.

f. Sweeping slaves

If, as we have seen, mosaics depict the unswept dining room floor and lease contracts stipulate that the building should be handed back cleaned of dung and filth, how did that stuff and other domestic garbage end up on a trash heap? Or, how did a house turn from an *asarotos oikos* into a presentable home?

Sources from all around the Mediterranean indicate that slaves had to empty and clean toilets.[48] Augustine, for instance, refers multiple times to the fact that slaves must clean the

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[46] Eichholz (1962) 144-145.

[47] Aurelius Aphynchis, father of Papnuthis and Dorotheus, rents the house. Other leases have: καθαρὰν ἀπὸ κοπρίω(ν) καὶ δείσης πάσης, for instance, P.Oxy. XIV 1694 (280 CE). I found 20 leases from Oxyrhynchus and one from Alexandria with similar formulae. Leases from Oxyrhynchus with that specific stipulation: P.Erl. 72; P.Genova I 22; P.Harr. I 82; P.Harr. II 225; P.Köln III 150; P.Mert. II 76; P.Mil. II 55; P.Oxy. III 502; P.Oxy. VI 912; P.Oxy. VII 1036; P.Oxy. VIII 1128; P.Oxy. XIV 1694; P.Oxy. XVII 2109; P.Oxy. XX 2284; P.Oxy. XLIV 3200; P.Oxy. XLVIII 3386; PSI VI 707; P.Yale I 69; SB IV 7444 and 7445; lease from Alexandria, 13 BCE: BGU IV 1115 and 1116. For a discussion about papyri that mention doors and keys in houses (and even doors as valuable objects that were stolen), see Huebner (2016) 162-164.

[48] Thüry / Hoss (2011) 45. For instance, P.Mil.Vogl. VII 306: ἐκφέροντες κοπριν (l.κόπριον). Interesting is also, that the wealthy men in Antioch did not make their own slaves do this (Liebeschuetz [2015] 3-4). This implies at the same time that it would be normal to have one's slaves do this.

cloaca domus.[49] This waste was deposited outside of the city gates.

For trash that could remain inside the city, a papyrus from the Hermopolite nome specifies «wages for slaves sweeping and taking out leaves» (μισθ(ὸς) παιδ(ὼν) σαρ[οννυό(ντων) κ(αὶ)] ἐξαιρο(ύντων) φύλ(λα)).[50] So taking out the garbage is not what one's husband does on the night before trash removal. This is the work of poor and enslaved people, perhaps also of poor women.

g. Women at the trash heap

I have not yet found references in papyri to women taking out rubbish, but I derive the possibility from an observation by Wilcken. During the excavation season he lived in a tent at the edge of the settlement. Every morning at dawn, he writes, he observed women from the neighboring homes depositing all sorts of dirt and garbage very close to his tent, so that by the end of his eleven-week-long archaeological season, a little *kom*, or rubbish mound, had formed.[51] I suspect that these women also practiced «the art of resistance»[52] in response to Wilcken's presence –of which the archaeologist seemed blissfully unaware.

h. Abandoned children

In addition to enslaved people, that (poor) women would take out trash would make sense also in light of the disturbing ancient practice of abandoning children at trash heaps. In a chilling letter found at Oxyrhynchus, a man instructs his pregnant wife to discard her newborn baby if it is a girl (P.Oxy. IV 744, 17 June, 1 BCE):[53]

> «Hilarion to Alis his sister, many greetings, and to my lady Berous, and Apollonari(o)n. Know that at present we are still in Alexandria. Don't worry if they all come back, and I stay in Alexandria. I ask you, I urge you –care for the child, and if we soon get pay, I will send it up to you. If perhaps you give birth, then if it is male, let it be; if it is female, throw it out. (ἐὰν πολλὰ πολλῶν τέκῃς ἐὰν ᾖν ἄρσενον ἄφες, ἐὰν ᾖν θήλεα ἔκβαλε.) You told Aphrodisias "Don't forget me". How can I forget you? So I ask you not to worry».[54]

In his book Kindness of Strangers, John Boswell concluded that child abandonment was common practice until fairly recently.[55] Inquiring further into the nature of the actual places where these children were left, this practice presupposes that these trash heaps are not out there in no-man's land, but rather that they are at a place where people walk by, where these children have a chance to be discovered.

i. *Afsh*

I now return to one element mentioned in the archaeological sources, the layers of *afsh*

[49] For instance, De libero arbitrio 3.9.27: the slave must clean the *cloaca domus*. Also Enarratio in Psalmum 103, sermo 4.10. References from Thüry / Hoss (2011). But according to Scobie (1986) 414: «It is probably that those who emptied cesspits (*stercorarii*) sold their contents to farmers on city outskirts. […] The references in the *Lex Julia Municipalis* and the Digest to sewage waggons are to be set in this context. […] It seems […] that *stercorarii* performed the same functions in Roman towns as *koprologoi* at Athens who, according to a recent writer, were not public slaves, but private entrepreneurs».

[50] P.Lond. I 131 = TM 20004; for translation, see Johnson (1936) 177-180, no. 104.

[51] Wilcken (1903) 301. See also Luijendijk (2010) 227 n. 35.

[52] James Scott (1990).

[53] Grenfell and Hunt note dryly: «A letter from a man who had gone to Alexandria […] regarding certain domestic matters» (P.Oxy. IV 744).

[54] Translation modified from McKechnie (1999) 157-158.

[55] Boswell (1988).

consisting of straw and twigs. Grass and hay turn up in papyri as crop –for instance, in P.Oxy. III 499 (22 September 121 CE), a lease of land. Part of the land will be cultivated with «grass for cutting [i.e., for hay] and grazing». (ll. 15-16, χορτον [l. χόρτῳ] εἰς κοπὴν καὶ ἐπινομήν).

Straw had multiple applications in the ancient household: It was used to make mud brick, the building material for their houses. Straw and straw mats served as floor coverings and filling for mattresses. P.Oxy. III 520, an account of sale from the year 143 CE, mentions among jars of pickled fish, ropes, and couch legs, also three mattresses (l. 10 Ἰουλᾶτ[ο]ς στιβάδων γ). Perhaps the ancients also employed straw to wipe themselves after going to the bathroom, as is known from Medieval Europe.[56]

Unlike wood or glass, straw and twigs have little potential for reuse. The enslaved persons in the Hermopolite papyrus I referred to above (P.Lond. I 131) had to sweep and take out leaves, φύλ(λα), the kind of organic remains that formed *afsh.* The late fourth century Antiochene preacher John Chrysostom mentions exactly these materials found in the *afsh* as clogging up drains of his city. In his sermon on 2 Cor. 12.6, Chrysostom mentions how sewer ditches become clogged by «the refuse of dung, hay, straw, stones and clay» (Οἱ φορυτοὶ κόπρου, χόρτου, καλάμης, λίθων, πηλοῦ).[57] As mentioned above, Leyerle carried out a careful analysis of Chrysostom's rhetorical use of the language of refuse and excrement. In his Expositio in Psalmos, as Leyerly notes: «Chrysostom's reference to garbage, as "hay, sticks and straw" (χόρτος […] ξύλα καὶ καλάμη) also seems to point to the realities of urban waste removal».[58] In other words, in ancient cities such as Antioch and Antinoë, these kinds of unusable organic remains would be left behind (and not always brought to a trash heap).

j. *De profundis*

While, as I noted earlier, for modern archaeologists trash heaps are happy finds, from another perspective, trash heaps are sad and silent. The items deposited there were so broken, dirty or unwanted that even the frugal, inventive, and recycling-minded people of antiquity could no longer see any use in them. Our sources are silent about the enslaved persons or the poor women who physically deposited the offal outside the ancient city and whose identities remain mere whispers.

In addition to the stench of discarded organic remains –straw, twigs, and excrement– trash heaps are also socially disturbing places. While Job, an imaginary figure, spends moments of deepest misery on the trash heap, as we have seen, some new mothers had to leave their newborns, actual humans, often female, at the dump, in the hope that someone would pick them up, spend a bit of money on a nurse and then profit from them as slaves. And as far as I have been able to ascertain, slaves and poor women were also the ones bringing the trash there. If we think of the social life of things,[59] the precious papyrus fragments that we now value so much were once devalued lives, low things. So too they were thrown out by those whose lives were devalued, and whose lives are today so difficult to reconstruct historically. But while sad and silent, the trash heaps of these ancient cities are also loud with discarded texts, the very texts that we study and in doing so, bring to life the inhabitants of these cities.

[56] Bildhauer (2010) 388.
[57] Hom. in 2 Cor. 12.6 (PG 61.489). Leyerle (2009), 339 n. 6. See also Thüry / Hoss (2011) 44. Thüry refers here to Liv. 1.56.2, wherein the *cloaca maxima* is identified as *receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis*. On domestic waste in the canals, see also Thüry / Hoss (2011) 44, sub. 7.
[58] Leyerle (2009) 339 no. 6. The quotation is from Expositio in Psalmos 43.3 (PG 55.170).
[59] Arjun Appadurai (1988).

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L'enigma della provenienza dei manoscritti Freer e dei codici cristiani viennesi alla luce dei nuovi scavi a Soknopaiou Nesos

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1. Un caso di 'atetesi' papirologica

Di Soknopaiou Nesos, la cittadina templare posta a due chilometri a nord del Birket Qarun, sul margine settentrionale della pseudo-oasi del Fayyum,[1] sappiamo grosso modo l'epoca nella quale, in séguito alla bonifica della regione attuata dai primi due Tolemei, dovette essere fondata, vale a dire nei primi decenni del III sec. a.C., e l'epoca in cui fu abbandonata dalla sua popolazione, probabilmente per la mancanza d'acqua dolce, che metteva in forse la sopravvivenza degli abitanti, vale dire gli anni intorno alla metà del III sec. d.C., come si ricava dall'assenza, a partire da quegli anni, di documentazione papiracea relativa ad attività fiscali.[2] La convinzione che la vita della cittadina si fosse arrestata nel III sec. d.C. non è stata senza conseguenze sul piano papirologico. Nel 1993 H. Harrauer e K.A. Worp[3] partirono da questa convinzione per negare decisamente a Soknopaiou Nesos una serie di papiri letterari greci della collezione viennese, che paleograficamente vengono fatti risalire ad un arco di tempo compreso tra il III-IV e il V-VI sec. d.C. e che annotazioni di archivio riferiscono a Soknopaiou Nesos in modo variamente insicuro.

La conseguenza più cospicua della revisione riguardò certamente 12 testi cristiani, di cui 11 appartenenti alla collezione viennese ed uno a quella di Lipsia. Nel suo inventario K. Wessely annotò che 10 dei viennesi, tutti parti di codici pergamenacei e tutti pubblicati in MPER IV (van Haelst 114, Salmi, VII-VIII sec.; 204, Salmi, V sec.; 225, Salmi, VI sec.; 258, Proverbi, V-VI sec.; 394, Vangelo di Marco, IV sec.; 450, Vangelo di Giovanni, V sec.; 496, Romani, IV sec.; 512, II Corinzi, VI sec.; 513, II Corinzi V-VI sec.; 1161, interpretazione di un passo della Genesi?, VI-VII sec.), provenivano dagli acquisti del 1891, dunque uno degli anni ai quali risaliva l'arrivo nella raccolta viennese della maggior parte dei papiri da Soknopaiou Nesos. Secondo Harrauer e Worp tanto la datazione (riferibile ad un arco di tempo compreso tra il IV ed il VII-VIII sec.) quanto il contenuto inducono ad escludere la loro provenienza da Soknopaiou Nesos; a loro avviso Wessely per errore può avere riferito questi testi al 1891, influenzato dal numero di inventario 19891. Essi negavano la provenienza dal sito anche per un codice pergamenaceo (van Haelst 506, contenente I Corinzi), sulla cui busta era scritto «ex SN, 1893», annotazione, a loro avviso, del tutto priva di valore, considerato che il testo risale al VI sec., e per un codice papiraceo (P.Leipz. inv. 170 = van Haelst 224, contenente Salmi 118 ss.) risalente all'inizio del III o, secondo Roberts,[4] al II sec., che rappresenterebbe un caso unico, perciò dubbio e dunque da rivedere per quanto riguarda il sito di provenienza.

[1] Su Soknopaiou Nesos cf. almeno Davoli (1998) 39-71.
[2] Sul problema dell''exit' di Soknopaiou Nesos cf. Jördens (2005) 54-56; Capasso (2015a) 70-74.
[3] Harrauer / Worp (1993) 35-40.
[4] Roberts (1954), 186 n. 2.

2. Un caso analogo: i manoscritti biblici Freer

a. L'acquisto

Al problema della provenienza di questi dodici testi cristiani sparsi tra Vienna e Lipsia è legato l'altro, in larga misura analogo, della provenienza di quattro dei cinque codici biblici greci (quattro pergamenacei e un papiraceo), che, risalenti all'arco di tempo compreso tra la metà del III ed il V-VI sec. d.C., furono acquistati in Egitto dall'industriale e collezionista d'arte di Detroit Charles Lang Freer (1854-1919) in due momenti diversi, nel 1906 e nel 1916, e oggi sono conservati nella Smithsonian Institution di Washington DC. Si tratta di Washington MS I (van Haelst 54, Deuteronomio e Giosuè, IV, V o VI sec. d.C.); Washington MS II (van Haelst 83, Salmi, V sec. d.C.); Washington MS III (van Haelst 331, Vangeli, tardo IV-inizi V sec. d.C.); Washington MS IV (van Haelst 507, Lettere di Paolo, V-VI sec. d.C.); Washington MS V (van Haelst 284, Profeti Minori, metà del III sec. d.C.).

Sulla vicenda del loro rinvenimento e del loro acquisto da parte di Freer si è soffermato, ben cento anni dopo gli avvenimenti, nel 2006, Kent D. Clarke,[5] professore di Storia delle Religioni nella Trinity Western University di Langley, in Canada, sulla base di una ricca documentazione di archivio, costituita in larga parte dall'epistolario e dal diario di Freer. I primi quattro codici vengono acquistati direttamente dal Freer, per la somma di 1.600 sterline (o 7750 dollari) nel primo dei suoi viaggi in Egitto, il 19 dicembre del 1906, dall'antiquario di Giza Ali Arabi.

La notizia del rinvenimento dei quattro codici desta grande entusiasmo. Studiosi come H.A. Sanders (1868-1956, filologo dell'Università del Michigan, al quale viene affidato il compito di pubblicare i quattro manoscritti), C. Schmidt, coptologo, e E.T. Goodspeed, studioso della Bibbia, discutono sulla loro provenienza originaria e sul luogo di ritrovamento; si prospettano due possibilità: il Monastero Bianco di Sohag ed il Monastero del Vignaiolo a Giza.

Nelle schermaglie tra questi studiosi si inserisce ben presto un fatto nuovo. Nel maggio del 1908 Freer si reca per la seconda volta in Egitto, soprattutto allo scopo di individuare sia il luogo di origine sia la località in cui sono stati trovati i quattro manoscritti ed esperire la possibilità di acquistarne altri, essendo convinto che essi facciano parte di una Bibbia, della quale da qualche parte probabilmente si trovano altre porzioni. In un primo momento Freer è convinto della veridicità del racconto di Ali Arabi sulla provenienza dei materiali da Akmim. Tuttavia, successivamente, il commerciante ed il suo amico Haggi, anch'egli mercante di antichità, gli rivelano il vero luogo dove i quattro manoscritti sono stati trovati: Dime es-Seba; li ha trovati, lavorando nel corso di una notte, uno scavatore clandestino che è in contatto con lo stesso Arabi.

Freer a questo punto si convince fermamente del fatto che i suoi codici provengano da Dime per una serie di motivi, non ultimo l'assicurazione che il sito era stato sede di un antico monastero.

b. A Dime

Manca però ancóra la fatidica conferma della provenienza dei codici da Dime. Questo spinge Sanders a visitare nel marzo del 1913 il sito, insieme con William H. Worrell (1879-1952), che l'anno successivo pubblicherà il Salterio copto ed altri materiali copti della Collezione Freer.

[5] Nell'articolo Clarke (2006) 17-73, sul quale mi baso per la ricostruzione dei fatti. Cf. anche Soderquist (2014) 6-7.

La visita a Dime, sovvenzionata da Freer,[6] delude alquanto Sanders,[7] perché non trova tracce di Cristiani nel sito, per quanto Worrell, come riferisce Sanders, sostenga che «certi segni sembravano 'in qualche modo cristiani'». In conclusione Sanders definisce «l'occupazione cristiana a Dime assai dubbia e in ogni caso temporanea». Ciò non ostante, lo studioso è ancóra fiducioso sulla possibilità che i testi siano stati trovati a Dime: a suo dire uno scavo sistematico del sito avrebbe potuto portare alla luce le prove sicure della presenza cristiana. Anche Francis W. Kelsey (1858-1927), professore di Letteratura Latina all'Università di Michigan e incaricato dallo stesso Freer di sovrintendere alla conservazione e alla pubblicazione dei quattro codici, è convinto della necessità dello scavo, sembrandogli incredibile che una comunità abbastanza numerosa di monaci da avere posseduto dei manoscritti possa avere soggiornato nel sito tanto a lungo da poter scegliere un posto per nasconderli, senza lasciare altre tracce della sua presenza.[8]

Successivamente, nel 1917, nell'edizione del codice Freer contenente i Salmi, Sanders scriverà significativamente che non ha nulla da aggiungere alla storia dell'acquisto e del luogo di rinvenimento dei manoscritti, dal momento che aveva visitato personalmente «l'ipotetico luogo di ritrovamento» e che lo ha trovato «non incoerente con la storia raccontata».[9]

Nel 1915, due anni dopo il sopralluogo effettuato da Sanders a Dime, Freer, Kelsey e lo stesso Sanders tentano di avere notizie sulla provenienza dei codici attraverso David L. Askren, un missionario medico chirurgo, che vive a Medinet el Fayyum.[10] Essi contano sul fatto che Askren ha contatti con contadini di un'area non lontana da Dime impegnati nella raccolta del *sebbach*, il fertilizzante derivato dalla decomposizione dei mattoni crudi e di altro materiale organico di cui i siti archeologici egiziani sono ricchi: asportando questo fertilizzante, i contadini egiziani molto spesso si imbattono in papiri ed altri oggetti antichi che nascondono e poi vendono ai commercianti locali.[11] Informato dell'incontro tra Kelsey ed Askren a Capri e della possibilità che il medico possa avere notizie sul ritrovamento dei quattro codici, Freer invia a quest'ultimo la somma di 50 sterline come rimborso spese, ma essendo tempo di guerra, la posta funziona male ed Askren non riceve la somma.[12] In ogni caso in una lettera a Kelsey del 27 luglio 1915 Askren scrive che la persona che conosce al Fayyum ha abbandonato la raccolta di *sebbach*, perché troppo onerosa in termini di manodopera e di trasporto; tuttavia promette di recarsi a Dime, per contattare altri cercatori di *sebbach* e chiedere loro di portargli ogni reperto antico nel quale essi eventualmente si imbattano.[13]

Tre anni dopo, nel 1918, rompendo gli indugi, Kelsey chiede a Freer[14] un modesto finanziamento che consenta lo scavo del monastero a Dime, scavo che, a suo avviso, non sarebbe né difficile né costoso e che porterebbe alla scoperta di altri testi, se Ali Arabi ha detto la verità, dal momento che nessun monastero potrebbe possedere solo i manoscritti che il commerciante gli aveva venduto. Secondo Kelsey, sarebbe sufficiente una campagna di 25 giorni ed un'équipe di una trentina di operai, per scoprire finalmente la verità delle cose.

[6] Cf. la lettera di F.W. Kelsey a Freer del 12-7-1918, in Clarke (2006) 63. Su Kelsey cf. infra.
[7] Cf. la sua lettera a Freer del 26-6-1913, in Clarke (2006) 62.
[8] Cf. la sua lettera a Freer del 9-4-1913, in Clarke (2006) 62. Le considerazioni espresse qui da Kelsey si basavano su un rapporto iniziale di Sanders.
[9] Cf. Sanders (1917) 107.
[10] Cf. la lettera di Kelsey a Freer del 12-10-1916, in Clarke (2006) 63.
[11] Sul *sebbach* ed il suo ruolo nella storia dell'archeologia egiziana cf. Davoli (2008) 100-124.
[12] Cf. Knight (2004) 232 n. 4.
[13] Cf. Clarke (2006) 63.
[14] Nella ricordata lettera del 12-7-1918, in Clarke (2006) 63-64 e n. 122.

Freer mette a disposizione di Kelsey la somma richiesta di 1500 dollari.[15] Tuttavia un sopralluogo condotto sul sito nel febbraio del 1920 raffredda l'entusiasmo di Kelsey. Evidentemente le difficoltà logistiche e finanziarie (dovute alla lontananza e all'estensione del sito) gli appaiono difficilmente sormontabili. Nell'ottobre successivo così scrive al paleontologo e segretario dello Smithsonian Institute, Charles D. Walcott (1850-1927):[16]

> «Quando l'11 febbraio ti ho scritto, pensavo che valesse la pena condurre un saggio di scavo nel sito di Dime, per vedere se si potesse trovare qualche prova della probabile scoperta dei Manoscritti Freer in quella località. Dopo avere visitato il sito ho concluso che nelle condizioni attuali intraprendere un tale scavo non sarebbe stata la cosa migliore, almeno finché non sarà stato fatto uno studio più completo del problema. Nei termini più precisi ed enfatici il signor Freer era stato assicurato da Ali Arabi che i manoscritti erano stati rinvenuti a Dime. D'altra parte, dopo che ti avevo scritto, ho scoperto che un altro commerciante del Cairo che era in rapporti col signor Freer, Maurice Nahman, era ugualmente certo nell'affermare che i manoscritti Freer fossero stati trovati a Batn-Harit».[17]

Freer è morto nel settembre del 1919; nel 1927 muore Kelsey; Sanders morirà nel 1956: tutti e tre convinti dell'ipotesi di Dime, tutti e tre privi del conforto della prova della presenza cristiana nel sito.

Nel ricostruire la complessa vicenda del rinvenimento e dell'acquisto dei codici Freer e dei tentativi esperiti da lui e dai suoi più stretti collaboratori di individuare il luogo del loro rinvenimento, Clarke ha scritto[18] che la storia narrata da Ali ed Haggi a Freer sembra avere una qualche legittimità, in considerazione dei seguenti motivi: 1. La descrizione fatta dai due commercianti egiziani sia di Dime sia della regione corrisponde sostanzialmente all'effettiva situazione dei luoghi, peraltro descritta da B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt e D.G. Hogarth nel 1900 nel celebre volume Fayûm Towns and Their Papyri.[19] 2. È inverosimile che i due e lo stesso scavatore clandestino si siano basati sulla descrizione dei tre studiosi britannici o di altri scritti. 3. Dime si trova in un posto isolato nel deserto, circostanza che rende improbabile una 'popular knowledge' dell'area, che avrebbe potuto essere utilizzata dai tre egiziani, i quali per altro forniscono una descrizione fatta di dettagli inequivocabili. 4. Se i codici non furono trovati a Dime, deve essere stato necessario un grande sforzo per descrivere correttamente il sito e l'area circostante: l'autore della descrizione comunque doveva conoscere perfettamente Dime.

c. La Missione Archeologica dell'Università di Lecce

Nel momento in cui Clarke scrive, a Dime lavora, dal 2001, una Missione Congiunta delle Università di Lecce e di Bologna, che dal 2004 passa sotto la conduzione della sola Università di Lecce, con la direzione mia e di Paola Davoli. Clarke annota[20] che nelle poche Campagne di scavo fino ad allora portate a termine sono state rinvenute, tra l'altro, decine di papiri ed ostraca greci e demotici, ma nessun testo cristiano né segni della presenza cristiana nel sito.

Nelle Campagne di scavo successive, tuttavia, le cose sono cambiate e, faustamente, ci siamo imbattuti in quelle inequivocabili prove della presenza cristiana che invano cercarono i tre della Università del Michigan, prove che sono tutte concentrate all'interno del *temenos*, al centro del quale, probabilmente, tra il VI ed il VII secolo l'antico tempio dedicato al dio

[15] Lo apprendiamo da un'annotazione apposta dallo stesso Freer sulla lettera di Kelsey, cf. Clarke (2006) 64.
[16] Lettera di Kelsey a Walcott del 6-10-1920, in Clarke (2006) 64.
[17] Batn-Harit (o Kharabet Ihrit) era l'antica Theadelphia.
[18] Clarke (2006) 57-58.
[19] Su Dime cf. le pp. 6-7, 18-19, 22-25.
[20] Clarke (2006) 65 n. 126.

Soknopaios fu trasformato in un monastero. Innanzitutto va ricordata la testimonianza di un viaggiatore britannico, Richard Pococke (1704-1765), il quale, nel corso di un suo viaggio in Egitto (1738-1740) visitò anche il Fayyum e, pur non arrivando a Dime, ne vide da lontano le rovine. I locali gli dissero che il sito era un monastero, tuttavia, dal momento che gli edifici gli apparvero come resti di un antico insediamento, egli ritenne che in esso poteva essersi stabilito un monastero.[21] La testimonianza di Pococke dimostra che ancóra nei primi decenni del XVIII sec. perdurava tra i locali la nozione dell'esistenza a Dime di un monastero. Particolarmente significativa, sotto questo aspetto, la descrizione del posto fatta da Ali, il quale, evidentemente informato dallo scavatore clandestino, riferisce a Freer che il monastero si trovava al centro di quella che un tempo era una grande città cinta da mura, ancóra parzialmente in piedi e che del monastero restavano solo la parte bassa dei muri:[22] da questa descrizione ricaviamo che il monastero era insediato nell'antico tempio della cittadina, posto al centro del *temenos*; del tempio, costruito in gran parte con mattoni crudi, resta in effetti solo la parte inferiore della mura, mentre del *temenos* che chiude l'area sacra sono ancóra in piedi parti delle mura.[23] Nel corso del nostro scavo abbiamo accertato che tale tempio (da noi contrassegnato con la sigla ST 18) alla fine dell'epoca tolemaica o agli inizi dell'epoca romana divenne una sorta di vestibolo di un più imponente tempio in pietra (ST 20), il quale in epoca tardoantica fu rioccupato, come mostra un pavimento costruito con frammenti di statue e di altri monumenti dinanzi al suo ingresso laterale ovest, a proposto del quale scrive la Davoli:[24]

> «Il fatto stesso che un nuovo pavimento si sia reso necessario, così come i restauri di alcuni altri nelle stanze del santuario, suggerisce una presenza stabile di persone (e di animali) che hanno riorganizzato e riutilizzato gli antichi spazi per nuovi scopi. Data la collocazione remota del sito, in un deserto in cui è ben nota la presenza di eremitaggi si ritiene che possa essersi trattato di una comunità monastica».

Possiamo aggiungere che il tempio, protetto soprattutto dal vento impetuoso proveniente dal nord dalle alte mura del *temenos*, costituiva una sede adatta ad ospitare una comunità di persone intenzionata ad uno stanziamento non provvisorio. Sappiamo che il sito (e con esso il tempio) di Soknopaiou Nesos fu abbandonato verso la metà del III sec. d.C.;[25] tuttavia all'interno dell'area sacra abbiamo rinvenuto ceramica databile tra il IV e gli inizi del VII sec. d.C., circostanza che dimostra che tanto il tempio quanto l'area del *temenos* furono in qualche misura abitati tra il IV e il V sec. d.C. e che quasi certamente tra il VI ed il VII sec. il santuario fu trasformato in un monastero.[26]

Coerente con queste acquisizioni di tipo archeologico è il rinvenimento, all'interno dell'area templare, di un papiro (ST06/323/1244, forse del VI sec.) e di tre ostraca copti (ST05/212/910, ST05/236/1008/; ST07/400/1804).[27] Ma ancóra più significativo è il ritrovamento, nella Campagna del 2104, di un ostracon (ST14/982/4179), sulla cui superficie convessa è delineato uno staurogramma (o croce monogrammatica), inscritto in un rettangolo realizzato alquanto grossolanamente con ocra gialla.[28] L'ostracon, che risale almeno al IV sec., è stato rinvenuto in un saggio da noi eseguito nell'angolo sud-est dell'area del *temenos* (Saggio 10). Abbiamo realizzato il saggio allo scopo di trovare una qualche conferma alla notizia che sembra potersi ricavare da uno schizzo di Dime delineato dal Freer sulla base

[21] Cf. Capasso / Davoli (2012) 12.
[22] Cf, la lettera di Freer a Kelsey del 23-5-1908, in Clarke (2006) 53-54.
[23] Per una descrizione del tempio di Soknopaios rinvio almeno a Davoli (2013) 45-56.
[24] Davoli (2013) 48.
[25] Sull'abbandono della *kome* cf. sopra, n.2.
[26] Cf. Davoli (2015) 120-121.
[27] Su questi testi copti cf. Capasso (2012) 242, 245.
[28] Sull'ostracon, cf. Capasso (2015b) 91-101.

evidentemente delle informazioni dategli da Ali e da Haggi. In esso è un cerchio eseguito piuttosto grossolanamente, vicino al quale è la legenda 'wall'; più o meno al centro del cerchio è un rettangolo al cui interno è la scritta 'monastery'; nell'angolo inferiore destro del rettangolo è segnato un punto, nei pressi del quale è scritto 'mss. + letters'. In alto a sinistra, all'interno del cerchio, apposta su due linee è la scritta 'Medinet Dimay | Big City'. Dunque lo schizzo costituisce una sintetica mappa di Dime: il cerchio sembrerebbe riprodurre le mura esterne della cittadina ed il rettangolo il *temenos*, che però Freer indica come 'monastery'. Non conosciamo l'orientamento della mappa; in ogni caso il punto nella parte inferiore del rettangolo indicherebbe l'angolo del *temenos* nel quale sarebbero stati trovati manoscritti e lettere a cui fa riferimento la relativa legenda: l'angolo potrebbe essere stato quello sud-orientale del *temenos*. Se però consideriamo la ricordata descrizione di Dime che Ali ed Haggi fanno a Freer e che questi riferisce per lettera a Kelsey,[29] dello schizzo si potrebbe dare anche una diversa interpretazione. Come si è visto, Freer nella lettera scrive che del monastero «restano solo la parte bassa dei muri», che lo stesso monastero «si trova nel centro di quella che un tempo era una grande città cinta da mura, ora abbandonata, anche se le mura, a quanto dicono, sono tuttora parzialmente in piedi» e che lo scavatore clandestino ha lavorato da solo in un angolo dell'ampio basamento del monastero. Se si considera corretta la legenda 'monastery', apposta al centro del rettangolo, lo schizzo coerirebbe con la descrizione: il monastero, infatti, verrebbe a trovarsi al centro della cerchia muraria ('wall'), che andrebbe interpretata come il recinto del *temenos* e non come le mura esterne della città: agli inizi del Novecento, epoca alla quale risale l'attività dello scavatore clandestino, le mura della città già erano quasi del tutto scomparse, mentre invece restavano, come restano ancóra oggi, ampie parti delle alte mura dell'area sacra: lo scavatore clandestino e gli stessi Ali ed Haggi, quando parlano di alte mura, non possono che riferirsi a queste ultime; di conseguenza il 'monastery' dello schizzo non può che essere l'edificio centrale del *temenos*, vale a dire l'antico tempio di Soknopaios. La nostra Missione ha accertato che originariamente nell'area sacra fu costruito, verosimilmente al tempo della fondazione di Soknopaiou Nesos, cioè agli inizi dell'epoca tolemaica, un tempio in mattoni crudi in onore del dio con la forma di coccodrillo con la testa di falco (ST 18) al quale poi alla fine dell'epoca tolemaica o agli inizi dell'epoca romana fu aggiunto a nord di esso un più monumentale santuario in pietra (ST 20), del quale il vecchio tempio venne a costituire una sorta di *pronaos*. Agli inizi del Novecento il tempio ST 18 era ben visibile al centro del *temenos*, per quanto delle mura esterne restasse solo una parte alta una decina di metri; secondo Grenfell e Hunt[30] anche parti dei muri di ST 20 erano in qualche misura visibili, tanto da permettere ai due studiosi di affermare che il santuario era costituito da due edifici.[31] Se questa diversa lettura dello schizzo fosse esatta, allora i manoscritti Freer potrebbero essere stati rinvenuti verosimilmente nell'angolo sud-est di ST 18, proprio là dove c'è un ambiente che risulta essere stato scavato in profondità. Va però detto che la nostra Missione, nel corso della Campagna di scavo del 2016, ha cominciato lo scavo del tempio ST 18 (Saggio 11, Tav. 1), partendo proprio dalla stanza situata nell'angolo sud-orientale del santuario: lo scavo ha permesso di constatare l'assoluta assenza nella stanza (da noi contrassegnata con la lettera P) di tracce di materiali tardo antichi, circostanza che induce a ritenere che in quell'epoca il vano non era utilizzabile come riparo, probabilmente a causa del crollo della copertura che era realizzata con travi in legno e quindi con materiali deperibili. Da quanto rinvenuto possiamo asserire che molto probabilmente in epoca romana la stanza fu adoperata come magazzino, tuttavia a causa di scavi clandestini poco si è conservato della stratigrafia originale.

[29] Cf. la lettera di Freer a Kelsey del 23-5-1908, in Clarke (2006) 53-54, su cui *vide* sopra.
[30] Grenfell / Hunt (1901) 5.
[31] Cf. Capasso / Davoli (2012) 16.

d. Qualche punto fermo

Sui codici Freer e Dime mi sembra che si possano fissare i seguenti punti con sufficiente sicurezza: 1. Il racconto dei tre egiziani si armonizza perfettamente con la situazione di Dime e dell'area circostante, per cui, come nota Clarke, esso appare genuino, e del resto Freer, attraverso il suo fidato dragomanno ebbe l'assicurazione della loro sincerità. 2. È ormai certo che, qualche tempo dopo l'abbandono di Soknopaiou Nesos da parte degli abitanti, nel sito si insediò per un certo periodo una comunità, che considerati la testimonianza di Pococke, il racconto dei tre egiziani, il rinvenimento del papiro e degli ostraca copti e dell'ostracon con lo staurogramma ed anche la presenza di altri due eremitaggi nell'area a nord del lago Qarun,[32] si può considerare probabilmente monastica. 3. Sotto questo aspetto i quattro codici Freer possono certamente essere stati rinvenuti a Dime. 4. L'anno del loro ritrovamento può ben essere stato il 1906, come racconta Ali a Freer;[33] lo scavatore clandestino tirò fuori i codici lavorando di notte, circa un mese prima che Ali li mostrasse all'americano nel dicembre del 1906: da qualche decennio antiquari e scavatori clandestini avevano compreso la grande ricchezza del sito ed avevano cominciato a perlustrarlo in maniera piuttosto massiccia.[34] 5. Essi risalgono ad un periodo compreso tra tardo IV-inizi del V sec. e VI sec. 6. Difficile individuare il luogo in cui essi furono originariamente prodotti; verosimilmente, come sostiene Sanders, furono delineati in diversi monasteri e almeno quelli del Deuteronomio e delle Epistole di Paolo potrebbero risalire ad uno stessa scuola scrittoria. 8. I quattro codici dovettero essere stati messi insieme per costituire un'unica Bibbia.

e. Restituire a Dime anche i codici viennesi?

L'avere individuato la probabile presenza di una comunità cristiana a Dime induce legittimamente a riproporre la connessione tra il sito archeologico e i dodici codici, negati, come si è detto, al sito di Dime da Harrauer e Worp. La cronologia degli undici viennesi (IV-VII/VIII sec.), con cui i due studiosi motivavano la loro negazione, non contrasta certo con l'ipotesi che essi facessero parte, insieme con i manoscritti Freer, della biblioteca del convento di Dime. Dunque contrariamente a quello che essi pensavano, Wessely potrebbe per niente essersi sbagliato annotando nel suo inventario che dieci di quei codici furono acquisiti nel 1891 e uno nel 1893: essi potrebbero avere fatto parte dell'ingente acquisizione da parte della raccolta di Vienna risalente appunto agli anni 1891-1893.

Nulla vieta di pensare che tale biblioteca ospitasse anche il codice papiraceo lipsiense degli inizi del III o del II sec. (van Haelst 224), che qualche monaco potrebbe essersi procurato. Sul piano paleografico è da notare una qualche somiglianza: 1. Tra il MS Freer del Deuteronomio e i codici van Haelst 513 (II Corinzi) e (ma in misura più lieve) 258 (Proverbi), entrambi datati al V-VI sec. 2. Tra il MS Freer dei Salmi e il MS Freer delle Lettere di Paolo e lo stesso van Haelst 513 (II Corinzi). Si tratta di somiglianze che potrebbero suggerire una comune origine scrittoria.

Naturalmente, se i codici viennesi e il lipsiense, da un lato, e i Freer, dall'altro, furono rinvenuti a Dime, bisogna quasi certamente concludere che essi vennero alla luce in due momenti diversi, comunque nell'àmbito dei massicci scavi di frodo che tra gli ultimi decenni dell'Ottocento e i primi anni del Novecento interessarono l'area.

[32] Cf. Gallo (1993) 57-66.
[33] Cf. il report di Freer non datato, di cui è una sintesi in Clarke (2006) 54.
[34] Cf. Capasso / Davoli (2012) 15-16.

3. Conclusione

Mi piace concludere con le parole con le quali Clarke chiude la sua ricostruzione delle vicende dei quattro codici, che ben esprimono lo spirito che animò l'esistenza di Freer e le nobili motivazioni di fondò che lo spinsero alla ricerca di antichi manoscritti:[35]

> «I manoscritti biblici di Freer incarnano questo superiore senso della bellezza che Freer cercò e riconobbe con così grande impegno attraverso la sua collezione. Per cui, se noi permettiamo a loro di farlo, questi antichi testi possono far correre la nostra immaginazione con storie di scoperte sbalorditive sepolte in sabbie lontane. Essi possono raccontarci qualcosa del passato – un passato che potremmo decidere di rivendicare come nostro. La storia dell'acquisizione e della pubblicazione di questi testi può ricordarci la generosità, la gentilezza, la lungimiranza di un uomo che ha cominciato in condizioni di povertà e ha cercato di condividere con gli altri i benefici del suo successo».

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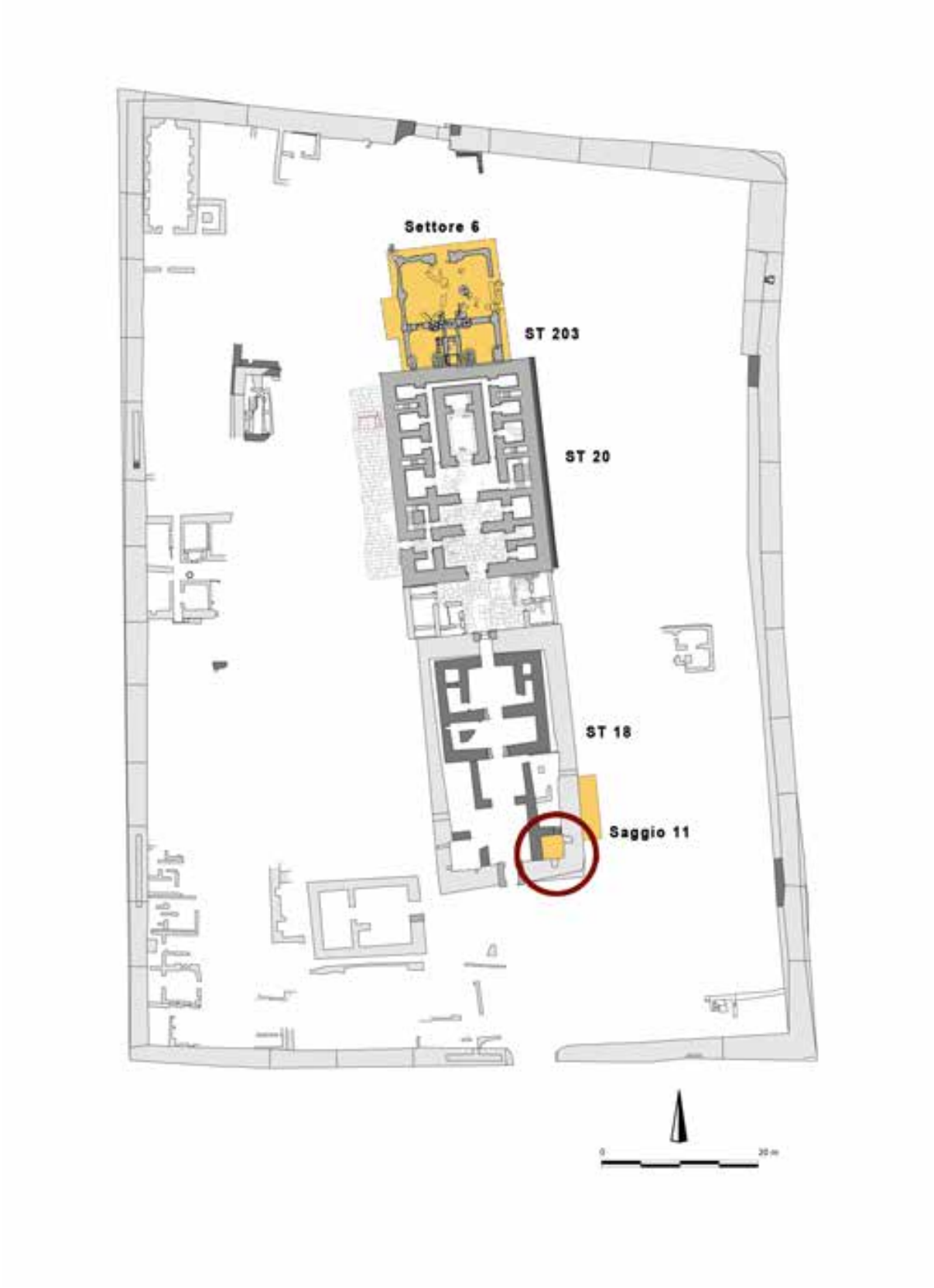
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[35] Clarke (2006) 68.

Tavola 1



Planimetria dell’area sacra di Dime, con il Saggio 11 e la stanza P (nel cerchio)



PART X

PAPYRI AND REALIA

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Signs of Use, Techniques, Patterns and Materials of Textiles – A Joint Investigation on Textile Production of Late Antique Egypt*

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1. Introduction

Papyrus documents abound in information related to textiles and textile production. These valuable papyrological data are far from being fully examined and interpreted in a satisfactory way. A comparative study of the vast corpus of published documentary papyri and the fabrics preserved in the arid sands of Egypt offers the opportunity to examine thoroughly their meaning. To date, Theodor Reil's, Ewa Wipszycka's and Kerstin Droß-Krüpe's study on textile production in papyri are considered to be standard works.[1] The present paper constitutes additionally an approach of combining data and methods of Papyrology, Philology, Archaeology and Textile History. The objects of our study are the already published documentary texts preserved on papyri or other writing materials dated to a period extending from the Roman to the early Arab period of Egypt on the exception of Zenon's archive dated to the Ptolemaic period. These written sources will be compared on the one hand with literary texts and on the other hand with the rich textile evidence dated to ca 300-800 CE. In particular, we will examine information related to signs of using textiles in everyday life, textile patterns, techniques and materials used in textile production.

2. Signs of use: 'Wear and Tear'

As our second skin, textiles form part of our life and constantly undergo daily wear and tear. Due to the time- and labour-intensive manufacturing process, ancient societies used their goods for longer periods. Textiles were estimated and evaluated on the basis of their actual condition. Therefore, it is no surprise that in papyrus documents from everyday life, we find words and prepositional phrases that meticulously denote different conditions of new and already used textiles bearing traces of wear and tear. These specifications concern both garments and furnishing textiles.

1.	New textiles
	καινός = καινούργιος: new[2]
	νέος: new

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[1] Reil (1913); Wipszycka (1965); Droß-Krüpe (2011).

[2] For all English translations offered, we critically examined Ancient Greek dictionaries, such as Adrados *et alii* (1989[2]-2009); Sophocles (1992); Lampe (1978); LSJ[9]; Beekes (2010); as well as the editors' suggestions.

When used in a textile context, the commonly attested adjective καινός as well as its variation καινούργιος qualify fabrics which are either unused or lightly used and are undoubtedly in good condition; cf. P.Tebt. II 406 = Sel.Pap. I 189 = M.Chr. 379. l. 17-18 (ca 266 CE; Tebtynis, Arsinoite nome): κολόβιον λινοῦν δ[ί]σημον καινόν, | φακίανον (l. φακιάλιον) λινοῦν καινόν; P.Oxy. LXXVII 5126. l. 8 (early 7th century CE; Oxyrhynchos): σινδ(όνια) καινούργια δ.

The very frequently attested νέος is found only once in a textile context to date: P.Fam.Tebt. 49, (b) col. ii. 3 (205 CE?; Antinoopolis): τύλαι νέ[αι - - -].

2.	Already used textiles (I): various signs of wear and tear
	παλαιός: old
	< χράομαι (‘to use’) ἀπὸ χρήσεως: used ἀπὸ ὀλίγης χρήσεως: slightly / hardly or partly used
	< τρίβω (‘to rub’, ‘to wear out’) τριβακός: rubbed, worn-out ἡμιτριβής = μεσοτριβής = μεσοτριβακός: half or partly worn-out τρίβων-τριβώνιον, τριβωνάριον (morphological diminutives): worn-out garment (cloak) τριβάς: worn-out / worn-out garment
	ῥυπαρός: filthy πεπλυμένος (< πλύνω, ‘to wash, to launder’): laundered

The linguistic elements contained in table 2 are used for fabrics bearing signs of wear and tear:

When related to textiles, the frequently attested adjective παλαιός moreover implies that a fabric is in a less than perfect condition because it was worn out over time; cf. P.Apoll. 104. ll. 11-12; 17-20 (2nd half of 7th century CE; see BL VIII 10; Apollonopolite nome): [ἀκ]ρούλι(ον) καινούργι(ον) | [ἀ]κρούλι(ον) παλαι(όν) | … | βράκ(ια) παλαι(ά) | βράκ(ια) καινούργ(ια) | ἀλαξαμ(άριον) καινούργ(ιον) | ὁμ[ο](ίως) παλαι(όν). In addition, the two prepositional phrases including the substantive χρῆσις point to the notion of the ‘already used’ or ‘second-hand’ fabric; cf. SPP XX 245. l. 11 (6th century CE; unknown provenance): καμίσ(ιον) ῥοδινοπορφ(υροῦν) | ἀπὸ χρήσε(ως) α.

Due to their etymology, words deriving from τρίβω are evidently connected with used textiles;[3] cf. P.Cair.Zen. IV 59659. l. 20 (after Oct. 23, 241 BCE; see HGV; Philadelphia?, Arsinoite nome): τριβώνιον ἄξιον (δραχμῶν) γ; SB XVIII 13766. l. 24 (2nd/3rd century CE; unknown provenance): τύλαι τριβακὰ̣ι β (δραχμαὶ) ιβ; SB XXVI 16645. l. 21 (2nd/3rd century

[3] For the words deriving from τρίβω (except of the noun τρίβων and its diminutives) as well as the adjectives and prepositional phrases belonging to the word family of χράομαι, cf. the study of Diethart (1992) 57-64, where examples and bibliography are offered.

CE; unknown provenance): χιτὼν μόρινος ἡμιτριβ(ὴς) α; P.Michael. 18 (b) col. iv. l. 7 (mid-3rd century CE; unknown provenance): [- - - τ]απήτιον μικρὸν μεσοτριβές.[4]

The substantive τρίβων is often translated as 'worn cloak'.[5] This word, as well as its morphological diminutives, are frequently attested in literature for an outer garment, of which the actual condition is less than perfect. Most of the texts, where τρίβων occurs, deal with the contempt of material goods; for instance, Plutarch (before 50 CE-after 120 CE) writes: Κράτης δὲ πήραν ἔχων καὶ τριβώνιον παίζων καὶ γελῶν ὥσπερ ἐν ἑορτῇ τῷ βίῳ διετέλεσε, «Crates bearing a pouch and a *tribonion* spent his life playing and laughing, as if he was celebrating» (Plut. De tranq. anim. 466e).

In addition, the derivative τριβάς is attested so far only in P.Fam.Tebt. 49 (205 CE?; Antinoopolis); in fragm. a, col. ii. ll. 4-5 (τύλη τριβὰς $\bar{α}$ | περίστρω(μα) ῥ̣ . .κο̣ς τριβάδ̣ο(ς) $\bar{α}$) the word is used as an adjective, whereas in fragm. b, col. i. 6 (τριβ̣ὰ̣ς ἡμιτρηβ(ῆ) [l. ἡμιτριβῆ)] $\bar{α}$ as a noun.[6]

In general, the word families of τρίβω and χράομαι concern the extent to which a fabric is worn. Nevertheless, it is difficult to draw the line between the phrases ἀπὸ χρήσεως and ἀπὸ ὀλίγης χρήσεως (which is attested only in P.Fouad 74. ll. 6-7 (6th century CE?; see BL III 61 and BL XI 82; unknown provenance): στιχάριον ἀντιοχήσιον, ἔμπλουμον, ἀπὸ ὀλίγης χρήσεως, | ἕως τιμῆς κερ(ατίων) ι, πλέον ἔλαττον). Similarly, the less informative context of papyrus documents for derivatives of τρίβω does not allow us to define the exact difference between their meaning, namely the extent to which a fabric was worn, even when they coexist in the same text; cf. P.Oxy. XIV 1645. ll. 9-10 with BL IX 187 (308 CE; Oxyrhynchos): τ[υ]ρῖα (l. τυλεῖα) μικρὰ τριβακὰ δύο, στρωμάτια τριβακὰ δύο, | [- - -] ἰδιόχρωμον μεσο[τριβ]ακόν, ὑπολύχνιον, τραπέζι[ο]ν, κιθών[ιο]ν π̣εδ̣ικὸν (l. παιδικὸν) τριβακόν.

Filth is another sign of use. The adjective ῥυπαρός, frequently attested as designation of coins and other products, as well as the participle πεπλυμένος show the circulation of filthy textiles, and also the necessity to launder them every now and then; cf. P.Cair.Zen. I 59092 = Sel.Pap. I 182. ll. 2; 3; 6; 9-10; 13; 18; 20 (257 BCE?; Alexandria?): περίβλημα λινοῦν πεπλυμένον α | χλαμὺς γεωβαφὴς χειμερινὴ πεπλυμένη α | … | αὐτόχρους χειμερινὴ πεπλυμένη α | … | χιτὼν λευκὸς χειμερινὸς | χειριδωτὸς πεπλυμένος α | … | λευκοὶ χεμειρινοὶ (l. χειμερινοὶ) πεπλυμένοι β | … | ἱμάτιον λευκὸν χειμερινὸν πεπλυμένον α | … | θέριστρον λευκὸν πεπλυμένον α; P.Mich. I 120. ll. 3-4 (mid. 3rd century CE; see HGV; Philadelphia, Arsinoite nome): λινὸν στυππύιν<ο>ν (l. στυππέινον) | πεπλυμένον. P.Giss.Apoll. 28 = P.Giss. I 76. ll. 2-3 (117-120 CE; see HGV; Hermopolite nome?; see HGV): τρίβωνα̣[ς] | ῥ̣υ̣παρὰ[ς] $\bar{β}$ καὶ στο̣λὴν ὁμοίως λευκ̣ήν̣, τρ̣ί̣β̣ω̣να ῥυ̣[πα]ρὰν $\bar{α}$.[7] In a few cases, we learn that this also holds true for wool as raw material for manufacturing textiles; cf. P.Col. IV 113. ll. 31-32 (mid-3rd century BCE; see HGV; Philadelphia?, Arsinoite nome): ἔχω δὲ καὶ παρὰ Καλλί|π̣ου (l. Καλλίππου) ἐ̣ρ̣ίων ῥ̣υπαρ̣ῶν. The ancient recipes P.Holm. 90 and P.Holm. 151 particularly

[4] For the use of μεσο- instead of ἡμι-, cf. Diethart (1992) 59-60 n. 10.

[5] Cf. LSJ[9] supplement s.v.; P.Giss.Apoll. 28 (= P.Giss. I 76; 117-120 CE; see HGV; Hermopolite nome?; see HGV), note to l. 2.

[6] In the editor's opinion (note to l. 6), the words belonging to the word family of τρίβω should be related to a sort of smoothing technique (polishing or rubbing), which does not seem to be the case considering the rest of the attestations.

[7] This is the only case where the noun τρίβων is feminine. The adjective καθαρός (or καθάρειος) ('clean') for fabrics as finished products is attested in P.Harr. I 105. l. 13 with BL VII 67 (3rd century CE?; see BL XI 90; unknown provenance). Youtie (1973) 1031-1034; esp. 1032 and 1034, though, suggests a different approach to the meaning of the word in this context.

inform us about washing wool to remove the lanolin, a natural grease, as preparation before dyeing.[8]

Papyrological attestations, like the above-mentioned, prove that already used fabrics were not considered as useless, unless of course, they were completely damaged. This assumption is based on three observations:

a. They are included in lists along with new ones; cf. the aforementioned case of P.Apoll. 104. ll. 11-12; 17-20, and cases like P.Oxy. VI 921r. ll. 12-21 with BL X 140 (3rd century CE; Oxyrhynchos): σανανοφακιάριον (l. σαβανοφακιάριον) Θαήσι(ος) α, | ἄλλο τριβακὸν α, | ἐπικάρσιον καινὸν α, | σινδόνια σκιωτὰ β, | κολόβια τριβακὰ δ, | ἀναβολάδια γ, | βαλανάριον α, | σινδόνιον παχὺ α, | κερπικάρια τριβακ(ὰ) β, | σινδόνιν Κυ̣ο̣πολ(ιτικὸν) τριβ(ακὸν) α.

b. They are asked to be sent in private request letters; cf., for instance, the aforementioned case of P.Giss.Apoll. 28 = P.Giss. I 76. ll. 2-3.

c. They have a price, which proves even more that they were sold and bought; cf. the above cited SB XVIII 13766. l. 24 and P.Fouad 74. ll. 6-7.

3.	Already used textiles (II): damaged but repaired
	τεθεραπευμένος (< θεραπεύω ‘to take care of, to treat medically’): mended

The (so far twice attested) τεθεραπευμένος in a textile context reminds us that damaged garments were repaired until they have been completely worn out; cf. P.Giss.Apoll. 24 = P.Giss. I 79 col. iv. ll. 2-5 (ca 117 CE; Hermopolite nome): τοὺς φ[αι]|νο[ύ]λας σου τεθεραπευμένους | ἤνεγκε<ι>ν ἀπ᾽ Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀ̣π̣ολ|λώνιος ὁ̣ ἀδελφός σου. The use of this participle is in line with the preserved textiles from Late Antique Egypt that were often repaired, patched, darned, refashioned, or even re-used as shrouds for the deceased (fig. 1).



Fig. 1: A cover from Late Antique burial grounds showing exceptionally colourful decorations with various traces of darning. © Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Ann Arbor, acc.-no. 0000.09.0257.

[8] Reinking (1938) 2, no. 2; 41, no. 64. The verb πλύνω is moreover seen as one of the stages of fulling.

4.	Already used textiles (III): damaged and useless
	ἄχρηστος (< ἀ + χράομαι, 'to use'): useless
	σεσημμένος (< σήπω, 'to rot') = σαπρός: rotten
	σεσινωμένος (< σινόω, 'to damage'): destroyed

The above-mentioned words define fabrics which are damaged beyond repair and are consequently useless, i.e. ἄχρηστα. In this case, the written evidence almost serves as the 'only witness' we have as these textiles were thrown away and hardly survived; cf. P.Giss.Apoll. 1 = P.Giss. I 21. ll. 6-7 (ca 113-115 CE; Hermopolis): ἀτταλιανὸν σα|πρόν; P.Oxy. XII 1449. ll. 50-51 and 55-56 (213-216 CE; see HGV; Oxyrhynchos): σεση(μμεν)] | [ἀ]χρηστ(ο) α, τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια πάντ(α) ἀπὸ τ(οῦ) χρό(νου) σεση(μμένα) ἄχρηστ(α) | … | περίστρωμα | φοι]ν{ε}ίκινον σεση(μμένον) ἄχρηστ(ον); P.Iand. VI 100. ll. 11-13 (2nd half of the 4th century CE; unknown provenance): καὶ περὶ τοῦ | κολοβίου, σεσινωμένον ἐ[στί]ν.[9]

3. Textile techniques and their patterns

Preserved textiles from Egypt are well known for their multi-coloured decorations in tapestry weave that were used as ornaments on particular parts of garments and furnishing textiles. In addition, other ways to decorate textiles can be seen, as the following paragraphs will show.

a. σκουτουλᾶτος: pattern or technique?

The Latin loanword σκουτουλᾶτος derives from *scut(u)latus* (< *scutla*: 'lozenge' or 'rhombus') and is translated as 'diamond', 'lozenge-shaped', 'checkered' or 'checked'.[10] Apart from the geometric form of a rhombus, Pliny the Elder uses this adjective in order to describe particular textiles: *Plurimis vero liciis texere quae polymita appellant Alexandria instituit, scutulis dividere Gallia*, «But the fabric called damask woven with a number of threads was introduced by Alexandria, and check patterns by Gaul». (Plin. HN 8.196).[11]

This translation is not completely satisfying, and a closer examination might be helpful for our cause. Beginning with the second part, the substantive *scutla* can also denote a rectangular form and, as suggested by John Peter Wild, *scutulatus* refers to a checkered design of textiles.[12]

Within papyrus texts, the adjective is securely attested so far in SPP XX 41v. l. 5, where a set of kermes-red, checkered garments is mentioned: συνθεσίδιον κόκκινον σκουτουλᾶ[τον (2nd century CE; Hermopolite nome?).

In literature, the term occurs more often, for instance in the Periplus Maris Erythraei, a first century CE handbook on the Red Sea trade.[13] A passage informs us about these textiles as exported goods to the Arabian Peninsula: φορτία δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν προχωρεῖ πορφύρα διάφορος καὶ χυδαία καὶ ἱματισμὸς Ἀραβικὸς χειριδωτός, ὅ τε ἁπλοῦς καὶ ὁ κοινὸς καὶ σκοτουλᾶτος καὶ διάχρυσος [. . .], «Merchandise for which it offers a market are: purple cloth, fine and

[9] See also Naldini (1998) 87.
[10] Hoffmann (1989) s.v.
[11] English translation: Rackham (1940) 137.
[12] Wild (1964).
[13] Casson (1989) 7.

ordinary quality, Arab sleeved clothing, either with no adornment or with the common adornment or with checks or interwoven with gold thread».[14] (Peripl. M. Rubr. 24).

Here, σκοτουλᾶτος καὶ διάχρυσος ἱματισμός are presented in contrast to non-patterned, plain textiles (ὅ τε ἁπλοῦς καὶ ὁ κοινός).

In Late Antiquity, in particular in Diocletian's *Edictum de Pretiis Rerum Venalium* (301 CE), the word is used in connection with specialized craftsmen and their wages for working on silk textiles (Edict.Diocl. 20.11: εἰς ὁλοσειρικὸν σκουτλᾶτον).[15]

These snapshots from various written sources show that σκουτουλᾶτος as a checkered pattern (tartan) was used throughout the Roman Empire, in connection with different materials and was even estimated as merchandise.

b. τρίμιτος – πολύμιτος

The compounds τρίμιτος (τρεῖς + μίτος) and πολύμιτος (πολύς + μίτος) have particularly caught the attention of textile scholars.[16] In dictionaries τρίμιτος is translated not only as three-threaded but also as made of coarse textile or drill, an interpretation which we will discuss further, taking into consideration textile technology in the following:[17] In her comprehensive work, Elizabeth Barber examines τρίμιτος with the eye of a weaver; considering μίτος as term for heddle, she suggests identifying τρίμιτος with twill, a special type of weave.[18] Although Egypt is particularly famous for its plain tabby weaves that form the majority within the preserved textiles, twill fabrics have been attested from archaeological excavations.[19] The characteristic structure makes it more durable for the use as clothes and furnishing textiles.

Diocletian's Edict on Prices lists many textiles, and therein a δελματικὴ ἄσημος Λαδικηνὴ τρίμιτος is recorded, an undecorated Laodicean δελματική which is further designated as τρίμιτος (Edict.Diocl. 19.39). It appears plausible that the technique of the weave, i.e. twill, is meant because decoration and material are described by the other two preceding terms.

In papyri, τρίμιτος is found in P.Stras. III 131 = SB V 8013. l. 9 (363 CE; Arsinoite nome): προσκεφάλεον (l. προσκεφάλαιον) ἡμιτριβῆ<ν> τρίμ{ε}ιτον ἕν and SB XVI 12291. l. 4 (3rd century CE, Arsinoite nome): φαι(νόλης) τρίμ(ιτος) ἀμμι( ) (δραχμαὶ) ρξη.

Polymitos is attested in P.Princ. II 82 = SB III 7033. l. 37 (481 CE; Lykopolis): προσκεφάλαια πολύμι(τα), and P.Cair.Masp. I 67006v. l. 61 (ca 566-570 CE; Antinoopolis?): προσκαιφάλ̣ε̣ια (l. προσκεφάλαια) πολύμι[τα] δύο. It is semantically related to τρίμιτος and literally means 'consisting of many threads', which does not give a clear picture of a textile, or even a textile technique at first sight. Some dictionaries translate τὰ πολύμιτα as 'damask stuffs'.[20]

In order to identify a technique denoted as πολύμιτος, let us consider once again the above-mentioned passage in Pliny's Natural History, especially the first part *plurimis vero liciis texere quae polymita appellant Alexandria instituit.* Following Elizabeth Barber's suggestion, that the Greek term μίτος denotes the heddle, we learn from Pliny that πολύμιτα were woven

[14] English translation: Casson (1989) 65.
[15] Lauffer (1971) 161.
[16] Recently see Wild / Droß-Krüpe (2017); Spantidaki (2017), esp. 203-206.
[17] LSJ[9]; Montanari 2004[2] s.v.; this compound is also attested as noun (τὸ τρίμιτον).
[18] Barber (1991) 267-268.
[19] See, e.g., the finds from the Roman town Karanis, or Mons Claudianus: see Thomas (2001); Bender Jørgensen (2007).
[20] See WB; LSJ[9]; Montanari, s.v.

with several heddles or heddle bars on a loom. Generally, heddles that are tied on a heddle bar separate the warp threads and open the sheds in which the weft is inserted. This description does not correspond to damask, which is, per definition of CIETA's vocabulary of technical terms, a «figured textile with one warp and one weft in which the pattern is formed by a contrast of binding systems».[21] It corresponds, though, to the structure used for taqueté, a «weave, derived from reps lancé, with two warps, main and binding, and two wefts, main and pattern».[22] Still much discussion is going on regarding the type of loom used to weave such πολύμιτα.[23] However, among preserved textiles from Egypt, including finds from archaeological excavations, several taquetés or weft-faced compound tabbies have survived.[24] With a glance to taqueté textiles from the Roman town Karanis, one might understand why Pliny chose to compare these two techniques from different provinces of the Roman Empire (figs. 2 and 3). Both were used to produce checkered patterns.



Fig. 2: Taqueté with a checkered pattern from Karanis. © Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Ann Arbor, acc.-no. 0000.02.9916a.

[21] CIETA (2006) 12.
[22] CIETA (2006) 47.
[23] Wild (1987); Ciszuk (2000); Ciszuk / Hammarlund (2008).
[24] Pritchard (2014).



Fig. 3: Taqueté with checked pattern and red warp threads from Karanis. © Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Ann Arbor, acc.-no. 0000.01.2798.

4. Material: gold

Linen and wool are the most commonly used fibres in ancient textile production. Sometimes other materials were used, such as cotton, hemp, silk, nettles, or even asbestos or gold. In this paper we would like to focus on the latter.

Using gold for fabrics poses some challenges in practical terms. Gold for textiles was used for decoration because of its shining effect. Being a metal, gold is rigid. In order to apply gold in a flexible textile structure, ancient craftsmen used different techniques, which can be seen in preserved textiles in the Mediterranean:[25]

a. gold wire or strip.
b. gold wire twisted around a fibre core.
c. gold strip twisted around a fibre core.
d. gilded membrane twisted around a silk core.

To produce a thin gold wire and strip that is been twisted around a fibre core implies highly skilled and experienced metalworkers. In other words, ancient weavers had to cooperate with other craftsmen.

[25] Gleba (2008).

Textiles with gold have rarely survived. Plundering graves and melting gold for re-using the precious metal is one of many reasons. Fortunately, some fabrics with golden decorations, *auratae vestes*, have survived from Late Antique Egypt.[26] In this period, it appears that the predominant technique used golden strips that were twisted around yarns made of linen or silk; these strips were woven in tapestry technique (see fig. 4). This corresponds to the technique listed as c.



Fig. 4: Macro image of Late Antique tapestry decorated with gold threads: thin gold strips are twisted in z-direction around a linen yarn (core). Private collection © Ines Bogensperger.

In addition to those rarely preserved *realia*, written sources have to be considered as further evidence of this precious material and its use in ancient textile production.

In papyrus documents, we find a few cases where gold is used as material for textiles:

SB III 6024. ll. 7-10 with BL XII 185 (4th-7th century CE; see HGV; Hermopolis?) lists two different garments, both of which were made with gold threads: στιχαρομοφόριν (l. στιχαρομαφόριον) χρεσ|ὸν (l. χρυσοῦν) /ạ/, ὁμοί(ως) στιχạ[ρο]|μαφ[όριν] χρεσσὸν (l. χρυσοῦν)[27] π̣[αλαι]|ὸν /α/. SB III 6222. ll. 33-34 (Dec. 22 after 301 CE?; see HGV; Alexandria) is one of the few written sources, where, in addition to gold, silver is attested for a κολόβιον: καὶ ἔλαβ[ον κ]ο[λό]β̣ιον ἀργυροῦν καὶ κολόβιο(ν) | καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον. The list CPR VIII 65. l. 6; 8; 14 (6th century CE; unknown provenance) provides some remarkable terminology: three fabrics are recorded which are described as χρυσόσημος, 'decorated with gold':[28] ῥ̣άχνη λευκὴ χρυ̣σόσημος(?) α | … | κ̣ερβικάριον χρυσόσημον α | … | ῥ̣άχν̣η

[26] Stauffer (2007).

[27] A different approach to the reading of this passage is suggested by Russo (2003) 57-58: «Quanto a χρεσσον ... potrebbe trattarsi anche di una variante grafico-fonetica di un termine della sfera semantica di χράομαι, utilizzato per indicare una veste più o meno 'usata': si potrebbe pensare all'espressione ἀπὸ χρήσεως, o all'aggettivo ἄχρηστος, forse storpiati». In our opinion, assuming a spelling mistake by the writer in ll. 8-9 (στιχạ[ρω]|μαφ[όριν]; op. cit.; see also BL XII 185) is questionable.

[28] The Greek σημεῖον denotes the decoration of textiles, which is best seen in the encyclopedia Etymologicum Magnum: Ὁ φορῶν στολὴν ἔχουσαν σημεῖα ὡς γαμμάτια (Etym. Magn. 766.6-7).

χρυσόσιμος (l. χρυσόσημος) α. Considering the preserved textiles, we might assume that tapestry decoration with gold threads, as discussed above, is meant.

A different case can be seen with adjectives χρυσανθής and χρυσάνθινος, which are once attested in the texts under study: P.Mich. II 121r. col. iv.1 l. 3, (Apr. 30-May 28, 42 CE; Tebtynis, Arsinoite nome): καὶ κιθῶν(α) (l. χιτῶνα) χρυσανθῆ; SPP XX 67r. l. 12; 26, 2nd/3rd century CE; Arsinoite nome): γαυνάκης χρυσάντινο(ς) (l. χρυσάνθινος), | … | [λ]ωδίκια χρυσάντ(ινα) (l. χρυσάνθινα). So far, dictionaries offer translations such as 'with flowers of gold' for χρυσανθής and 'gold-coloured' for χρυσάνθινος.[29] Therefore, the adjectives should be either connected with dyeing or some sort of adornment.

We should draw our attention to some attestations literature provides for gold-tapestries: Herodian (2nd/3rd century CE), for instance, literally mentions χιτῶνες with gold woven in: χιτῶνας χρυσοϋφεῖς καὶ ἀλουργεῖς χειριδωτοὺς καὶ ποδήρεις ἀνεζωσμένος […] ἐσθῆσιν [...] χρυσῷ καὶ πορφύρᾳ πεποικιλμέναις, «…wearing a long-sleeved *chiton* that hung to his feet and was gold and purple …with garments ornamented with gold and purple…» (Hdn. 5.3.6).[30] This is one of the rare cases, where we find the textile technique clearly described with ὑφαίνω, 'to weave'. In terms of colours, i.e. gold threads used with purple, this passage corresponds well to the particular group of purple-coloured textiles from Egypt as seen above. Also Athenaeus (fl. ca 200 CE) refers to a purple-coloured ἱμάτιον with golden tapestry decoration: περιεβέβλητο δὲ ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν χρυσοποίκιλον, «a purple-coloured himation, spangled with gold, was thrown around [i.e. his shoulders]» (Ath. 5.198c).[31]

5. Conclusion and discussion

The linguistic elements on which we focused in the present paper could be divided into three categories on the basis of their frequency in the papyrus documents under study as well as of their connection to textiles:

vocabulary clearly connected to textiles	σκουτουλᾶτος τρίμιτος, πολύμιτος τρίβων, τριβώνιον, τριβωνάριον
vocabulary attested only in a textile context that could be potentially used in a different context as well	The once attested ἀπὸ ὀλίγης χρήσεως, τριβάς, σεσημμένος, σεσινωμένος, χρυσόσημος, χρυσανθής, χρυσάνθινος, and the twice attested τεθεραπευμένος
vocabulary attested in various contexts but bearing a special meaning when used	καινός, καινούργιος νέος

[29] The adjective ἄνθινος is also used in documentary papyri dated to Late Antiquity and are usually translated as 'colourful' or 'with flowers': P.Cair.Zen. IV 59696. l. 6 (mid-3rd century BCE; see HGV; unknown provenance): ἀνθίνη [scil. ταινία]; P.Sorb. III 110. l. 18 (after Aug. 13-Sept. 11, 219 BCE?; Muchis?, Arsinoite nome): χιτὼν ἄνθινος; SPP XX 245. l. 7 with BL IX 349 (6th century CE; unknown provenance): λ̣ε̣[υ]κοῦ (or κρ[όκου]) ἀνθίν(ου); cf. also BGU XIX 2800. ll. 2-3 (7th century CE; Hermopolis): καμίσια ἀνθίσκ(ινα) ιη τι[μ]ὴ ν̣ο(μίσματα) [- - -] | μαλλωτὰ ἀνθίσκ(ινα) θ [τ]ι̣[μὴ - - -]; for the supplementation of the abbreviation ἀνθισκ( ) suggested by the editor, see his commentary to ll. 2-3 on p. 92; for a different reading and interpretation of the word, see Hagedorn (2007) 11-12; cf. BL XIII 44.

[30] English translation: Whittaker (1970) 21.

[31] Cf. also the third meaning of ἄνθος (in pl.) offered in LSJ9 s.v.

in textile contexts	ἀπὸ χρήσεως τριβακός ῥυπαρός πεπλυμένος ἄχρηστος σαπρός χρυσοῦς

The frequent attestation of vocabulary for wear and tear in papyrus documents demonstrate the high circulation of used textiles in daily life. Moreover, the distinctive use of different grades, such as 'half-worn' in comparison with 'worn', confirm the perceived value of textiles.

In addition, written sources complement and shed a new light on our perception of textiles and their patterns. Apart from well-known decorative ornaments (*clavi, orbiculi, tabulae, manicae*), other possibilities of patterning textiles are evident. On a closer look, these patterns match with the style of preserved textiles, although less known. However, they illustrate the broad spectrum of decoration throughout the Mediterranean region.

Finally, the use of materials is based on availability and climate, but also includes a high level of technology and cross-cooperation with other crafts. This is best seen in the case of gold, where metalworkers (goldsmiths), but also dyers are involved in textile production, which confirm a highly specialized industry.

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ʾΕρίκινον ξύλον, de la bruyère en Égypte?*

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En même temps qu'elle rendait à l'acacia sa juste stature –les papyrologues avaient tendance à le remplacer par l'épineuse acanthe dans le paysage égyptien– Bärbel Kramer (1993) rappelait que l'identification précise de l'espèce botanique désignée par un phytonyme peut avoir son importance, *a fortiori* quand il s'agit de distinguer une plante ornementale d'un arbre dont l'intérêt économique n'est pas à rappeler. Or, par un procédé particulièrement propre à générer des confusions, l'adaptation de la langue grecque aux réalités égyptiennes tend à dissimuler les spécificités de la flore locale, notamment lorsqu'elle assimile la nouvelle matière en lui transférant le nom d'un végétal plus familier auquel elle le relie par analogie.[1] Aussi, même lorsque les noms de plantes paraissent transparents, il est indispensable de vérifier les identifications traditionnellement acceptées par les éditeurs, en les confrontant aux données botaniques modernes.[2] Il m'est ainsi apparu, au cours des recherches que j'ai engagées sur l'arboriculture dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine, qu'il faut ajouter à la liste des noms trompeurs, outre celui de l'acacia (ἄκανθα ou ἀκανθέα) ou du sycomore (συκάμινος), un nouveau phytonyme: 'l'erica', ἐρείκη en grec, et surtout son dérivé, ἐρίκινος, qui apparaît dans une vingtaine de papyrus d'époque principalement romaine.[3]

C'est en 1912, dans l'édition de Preisigke du P.Stras. I 29, un acte de partage de terrain datant du III^e^ s., que paraît la première occurrence du terme éditée avec traduction: τῶν ἐρικίνων φυτῶν, 'Erikasträucher'. Th. Reil, dans un ouvrage qui fera autorité après sa publication en 1913, renverra à ce texte ainsi qu'aux textes non traduits des P.Oxy. VI 921 (descr.) et BGU I 40 pour affirmer ainsi l'utilisation du bois de bruyère comme matériau servant à la confection d'un gouvernail ou d'un pétrin; M. Schnebel renverra ensuite à Th. Reil lorsqu'il mentionnera le bois de bruyère en 1925 ; et par ailleurs, cette même année, l'essence se trouve lemmatisée dans le WB de Preisigke, s.v. ἐρίκια (τά), et ἐρίκινος, avec les traductions 'mit Erikaholz bestandenes Land' et 'Erikaholz betr.'[4] Enfin, s'appuyant sur des références littéraires telles que l'*Agamemnon* d'Eschyle (A. Ag. 295) où c'est en effet un foyer de bois de bruyère qui, du haut du mont Arachné, annonce en Argolide la victoire des Grecs sur Troie, le LSJ donnera de son côté pour ἐρείκη: 'heath, *Erica arborea*', et renverra à cette même identification botanique les occurrences papyrologiques citées sous ἐρείκινος: «of

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[1] Sur les différents procédés de création de phytonymes dans la langue grecque, voir Amigues (1992) et Cadell (1970) 69-70; sur la création lexicale liée plus largement au domaine agricole en Égypte, voir Cadell (1974); sur les variations phytonymiques dans le grec d'Égypte, voir aussi Schram (2018).

[2] Voir les flores égyptiennes de référence de Tackhölm (1974) et Boulos (1999-2005), auxquelles on pourra confronter les données archéobotaniques recueillies dans le Codex de Vartavan / Arakelyan / Asensi Amorós (2010).

[3] Kramer (1995) et (1998), Morelli (1998).

[4] Reil (1913) 73, Schnebel (1925) 293.

ἐρείκη, ξύλα, φυτά BGU 731 II 8 (II CE), PStrassb.29.11 (III CE): written ἐρίκ-ινος». Dès lors, mis à part quelques variations de traduction selon la langue de l'éditeur, l'identification de la plante était scellée: il s'agissait d'une forme arborescente de bruyère répandue sur les hauteurs du bassin méditerranéen et utilisée notamment comme bois de chauffe ou en petite menuiserie. La plante, associée au maquis méditerranéen, et rapprochée du tamaris par Reil et Schnebel au titre d'arbustes dont on exploitait le bois, avait ainsi été arbitrairement implantée dans les représentations que se faisaient les hellénistes du paysage égyptien, jusqu'à ce que des botanistes se saisissent des données textuelles et les confrontent aux réalités phytogéographiques. C'est en effet à partir d'une étude archéobotanique menée dans l'oasis de Kharga, qu'a commencé à se poser, presque insensiblement, la question de la réalité botanique à laquelle renvoyait ce phytonyme.[5] Les auteurs y citent ainsi un registre qui mentionne la plante parmi les descriptions des associations de cultures sur parcelle dans la région de Douch, le P.Iand. VII 142 (164-165, Kysis?); mais au lieu de reprendre la traduction 'Erikasträucher' donnée par l'*editio princeps*, ils préfèrent la solution adoptée dans une étude des parcellaires de la même région citant déjà ce texte, à savoir, la simple translittération du mot grec assortie d'un point d'interrogation.[6] Et pour cause: la bruyère n'appartient pas à la flore égyptienne.[7]

C'est le lexique de botanique antique de J. André qui permet de comprendre l'origine de cette méprise: le terme grec ἐρείκη a certes bien désigné la bruyère arbustive et a d'ailleurs, après avoir été emprunté par le latin, laissé son nom à l'ensemble de la famille des *Ericaceae*, mais il a aussi pu désigner le tamaris, en grec classique μυρίκη.[8] Les deux arbustes, identifiés d'après les descriptions de Théophraste comme *Erica arborea* L., la bruyère arborescente, et *Tamarix tetrandra* Pall., une espèce de tamaris répandue en Grèce, semblent en effet avoir été identifiés par les Anciens comme deux espèces d'un même genre arbustif ayant pour points communs un port rameux, des feuilles glabres, fines et raides, et des inflorescences se rappelant l'une l'autre, qu'elles soient sous forme de grandes panicules pyramidales blanches ou de grappes rose pâle.[9] Aussi le terme ἐρείκη a-t-il pu également désigner le tamaris dans la *koinè,* comme l'attestent les glossaires bilingues des *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*, cette méthode d'apprentissage du latin à usage pratique destinée aux hellénophones de l'Empire et se diffusant dès le III^{e} s.[10] Or si le mot ἐρείκη a pu être compris comme un synonyme de μυρίκη à partir de l'époque romaine, il ressort de l'observation de son emploi dans les papyrus grecs qu'il a en réalité complètement remplacé μυρίκη dans les textes documentaires entre la fin du I^{er} s., date à laquelle apparaissent les premières occurrences du mot ἐρείκη, et le début du II^{e} s. –la dernière occurrence de μυρίκη étant datée de 119. On note néanmoins une résurgence de la racine dans le composé ἀγρομυρίκινα issu de la LXX et désignant des tamaris sauvages dans le P.Hamb. I 12, daté du début du III^{e} s.

Le tamaris appartient à la flore indigène de l'Égypte et plusieurs espèces s'y développent spontanément, mais il en est deux, apparemment les plus communes, dont les relevés

[5] Gonon / Newton / Wuttmann (2005).
[6] P.Iand. VII 142, ii. l. 8: ἐλ(άϊνα) φυτ(ὰ) γ κ(αὶ) φοί(νικες) κ(αὶ) ἐρεόξυλ(α) κ(αὶ) ἐρίκ(ια), «3 junge Ölbäume, Dattelpalmen, Baumwollstauden, Erikasträucher»; cf. 'Erika (?)' dans Bousquet / Reddé (1994) 88, puis Gonon / Newton / Wuttmann (2005) 176. On résoudra ici l'abréviation plutôt par ἐρίκ(ινα), la forme la plus courante. L'ensemble des attestations de tamaris dans les papyrus grecs est répertorié, à titre indicatif, dans le tableau final; elles font par ailleurs l'objet d'une étude développée dans le cadre de ma thèse.
[7] D'après Vartavan / Arakelyan / Asensi Amorós (2010) 108, on n'a jamais identifié de bois ni d'autres restes végétaux anciens d'Éricacées en Égypte, si ce n'est de rares pollens datés de la 13^{e} et de la 19^{e} dynastie.
[8] André (1985) s.v. 'erice'.
[9] La bruyère est évoquée par Thph. HP I 14.2 et IX 11.11, cf. Amigues (1988) 111, n. 5; le tamaris: HP I 4.3; 9.3; 10.4; III 3.1 et 3; IV 5.7 et VI 4.8, cf. Amigues (1988) 101 n. 11.
[10] CGL III 428, 40: ερεικη *tamarice*; cf. III 539, 7; 540, 65.

archéobotaniques ont mis plus particulièrement en évidence la présence et l'exploitation à l'époque gréco-romaine: *Tamarix nilotica* (Ehrenb.) Bge. et *Tamarix aphylla* (L.) Karst.[11] Or si *T. nilotica* se développe volontiers sous une forme arbustive qu'on exploitera pour du petit bois ou pour du fourrage, *T. aphylla* peut de son côté atteindre 15m de haut et développer un véritable tronc. Dès lors, si le mot ἐρείκη a effectivement désigné aussi cette dernière espèce, sa présence aux côtés d'acacias et de saules dans le registre arboricole du SB XX 14087 (132-133, Arsinoïte?) n'a plus rien d'incongru, si l'on considère qu'il a été ajouté dans l'interligne, probablement à la dernière minute, en tant qu'arbre susceptible de fournir du bois de construction.[12]

Le tamaris fait en effet partie des rares essences locales susceptibles de fournir du bois, qui, s'il n'est pas d'une excellente qualité, se travaille bien et suffit aux besoins de menuiserie domestique. Ainsi, on le trouve mentionné pour la confection d'un lit (P.Tebt. III.1 793 [183 av. J.-C., Tebtynis] l. 6: κλίνη σπαρτότονος μυρικίν[η) et d'un plateau (BGU I 40 [II-III, Arsinoïte]: μαγὶς ἐρικίνη);[13] une planche aussi doit servir à la fabrication (ou la réparation ?) d'un coffre (BGU III 824 [97/8, Arsinoïte]: ξυλ̣άριον | ἐρίκινον).[14] En outre, aux exemples textuels déjà connus de portes en bois de tamaris, viennent désormais s'ajouter celles qui apparaissent à l'époque romaine dans les comptes de réparation d'un temple et qui sont achetées à l'État 50 drachmes, auxquelles se joignent, pour 8 autres drachmes et 2 oboles, des pièces de tamaris cette fois déjà travaillées, et achetées directement auprès d'un menuisier.[15] Quoique les attestations textuelles soient peu nombreuses, le bois de tamaris devait être aussi régulièrement utilisé pour le matériel agricole: c'est le cas des chariots du P.Cair.Zen. II 59176 (255 av. J.-C., Philadelphie): ξύλων μυρικίνων | ὥστε εἰς τὰς ἁμάξας, ou encore de piquets d'enclos à porcs.[16] Enfin, ce bois servait également en batellerie: si l'on avait déjà une mention d'un πηδάλιον μυρί|κινον (P.Cair.Zen. IV 59566), c'est-à-dire un aviron de gouverne en tamaris, la mention de γουβεναρίων ἐρικίνω̣ν, quelques siècles plus tard, permet de remarquer, malgré la latinisation du nom de l'équipement, la permanence de cet usage du bois –qui devait alors subir un traitement spécifique pour éviter son altération au contact de

[11] Cinq espèces sont décrites chez Tackhölm (1974) 366-367, six chez Boulos (2000) 127. Sur le tamaris en Égypte ancienne, voir Germer (1985) 124-125; Baum (1988) 200-206; Barakat / Baum (1992) 73-74; Gale *et alii* (2000) 345. On trouvera un relevé des identifications archéobotaniques de tamaris en Égypte dans Vartavan / Arakelyan / Asensi Amorós (2010) 224-233. On a notamment identifié du tamaris sur divers objets d'époque gréco-romaine: sarcophages, chevilles et étiquettes dans Andelkovic / Asensi Amorós (2005) et Asensi Amorós / Détienne (2008) 33-35, mais aussi petit matériel de construction navale et objets de la vie quotidienne (bols, bouchons, couvercles) dans Van der Veen *et alii* (2011), Gale / Van der Veen (2011), Bouchaud *et alii* (2018), Marchand (2015, 2018), enfin c'est un des bois les mieux représentés en construction et en petite menuiserie d'après les premiers résultats d'analyse des bois de Karanis, cf. Vermeeren (2016).

[12] SB XX 14087. l. 36: Δίδυμο(ς) Εὐδαίμονο̣ς ἄκανθ(α) α \ἐρίκεινο(ν) α/, cf. Daris (1989).

[13] Μαγίς au sens de 'plateau' semble être un particularisme égyptien, le mot désigne plus généralement une sorte de pétrin, cf. Pap.Flor. XLV 17 et l'étude lexicographique de R. Mascellari (annexe 2, 119-124).

[14] Cf. BGU III 844 (83, Arsinoïte), l. 14-15: τὸ ἐρείκεινον | ξυλαρειν (l. ξυλάριον).

[15] On connaissait déjà P.Tebt. I 45 et 47 (113 av. J.-C., Kerkeosiris): θύρας μυρικίν(ας) et θύραν μυρικί(νην); et P.Petr. III 48 (III^{e} av. J.-C., Gurob): ξύλον μυρίκινον, cf. Husson (1983) 94. On y ajoutera P.Oxy. XX 2272 (169, Hérakléopolite ?), l. 35: ξύλου ἐρικίνο̣υ; l. 38: ἄλ(λων) ξύλων λεπ[τ]ῶν ἐρικίν̣ω̣ν, et très probablement aussi le SB XIV 11958 (117, Hérakléopolite ?), l. 52: ἄλλων ἐρικίνων. Dans P.Berl. Zill. 1 (155 av. J.-C., Hérakléopolis), l. 91, parmi les consignes pour la construction de nouvelles fortifications, le diœcète Dioskouridès insiste pour que les portes soient en «bois local», ἐξ ἐπιχωρίων ξύλω̣[ν]: là encore, probablement du tamaris.

[16] P.Enteux. 71 (222 av. J.-C., Magdôla): συνκλείσαντες εἰς τὰ μυρίκινα. La métonymie s'éclaire grâce à la définition du terme ῥᾶχοι donnée par Hésychius (ρ 161): une clôture végétale faite de piquets de tamaris: ἄλλοι τὰς μυρικίνας ῥάβδους.

l'eau.[17] L'usage essentiellement domestique de ce bois explique peut-être que son transport ne soit que rarement évoqué: un seul document pour l'époque romaine, un acte de vente, atteste une livraison d'olivier, de jujubier, de saule et de tamaris acheminés par voie fluviale d'Oxyrhynchos à Hermoupolis.[18] Le tamaris semble en effet avoir fait l'objet d'une gestion propre à chaque domaine qui assurait ainsi ses besoins en matière ligneuse, mais cela ne devait pas aller sans susciter l'envie, à en croire les nombreuses mentions de vol dans l'Arsinoïte. Ainsi cette pétitionnaire qui se plaint que tout le bois de tamaris qu'elle stockait dans sa cave, pour une valeur de 3000 drachmes, a disparu; tel kômogrammate qui se trouve accusé, entre autres délits, d'avoir décimé une plantation entière de tamaris (à Karanis ?); Gemellus qui se plaint au stratège d'avoir été dépouillé des plants d'oliviers secs et de tamaris qui se trouvaient sur sa propriété.[19]

Mais au-delà de la promesse de son bois, la culture du tamaris présentait bien d'autres avantages. Ainsi, le spécimen poussant sur un lot de terre situé au bord du canal de Karanis, dans la division de propriété du P.Mich. IX 558 (103-111), fait écho aux consignes arboricoles du diœcète, dans le P.Tebt. III.1 703 (210 av. J.-C., Tebtynis) l. 191-207, enjoignant à ses subordonnés de faire planter saules, sycomores, acacias et tamaris sur les digues royales, sans doute non pas tant comme arbres d'ombrage et d'ornement que parce que les racines permettaient d'en stabiliser les berges.[20] En outre le P.Petr. III 43 (ca 240 av. J.-C.), extrait du courrier de l'architecte Théodôros en charge des travaux publics dans l'Arsinoïte, mentionne également et de manière explicite l'utilisation de la frondaison de tamaris dans les travaux de renforcement des digues.[21] Or si l'utilisation de fascines de roseaux ou de petit bois, φρύγανον, est bien connue dans ce type d'opération, dite de φρυγανισμός, qui consistait à insérer des végétaux dans la terre aux endroits les plus sensibles du réseau hydraulique, la ramure souple et légère des tamaris s'y prête aussi tout particulièrement par la morphologie des feuilles qui assurent une protection des sols grâce à ce que l'on appelle aujourd'hui en génie végétal: un effet tapis.[22]

C'est sans doute dans l'oasis de Kharga que le rôle écologique des tamaris se trouve le mieux illustré grâce à la complémentarité des textes et des données archéobotaniques. Le P.Iand. VII 142, déjà mentionné, recense en effet diverses plantations économiquement utiles, et il convient ici de rappeler que le tamaris produit des galles riches en tanins dont on peut récolter jusqu'à 30 kg pour les sujets de grande taille.[23] Dioscoride précise ainsi dans sa description du tamaris, μυρίκη, que l'on en cultive une espèce en Égypte et en Syrie et que celle-ci porte un 'fruit' qui ressemble à la noix de galle. En raison de ses qualités astringentes, il le préconise comme succédané de la noix de galle pour les affections des yeux et de la bouche.[24] Or tandis que ni Dioscoride, ni Galien ne disent rien des propriétés pharmacologiques du fruit

[17] P.Oxy. VI 291 (III, Oxyrhynchos), cf. Daris (1991) 38. Le traitement des rames est précisé dans le BGU II 544 (138-161, Arsinoïte), l. 21: φαρμακηρὰ κωπῶν ζεύγη. Sur les différents types de poix et leurs usages: Meiggs (1982) 467; Blue / Whitewright / Thomas (2011) 186.

[18] P.Stras. IV 184 (125-175), l. 3-4: ξύλα | ἐρίκινα καὶ ἐλάϊνα καὶ παλιούρια καὶ ἰτέϊνα. Le prix de la vente n'apparaît pas. À propos du jujubier en Égypte, voir Schram (2018).

[19] BGU III 731 (180, Arsinoïte): ξύλα ἐρίκινα πάμπολλα; SB IV 7368 (II-III, Karanis), l. 19-20: ξύλα ἐρίκινα; P.Mich. VI 423/424 (197, Kerkesoucha), l. 9-10: ἐλάεϊνα φυτὰ ἀπεξηραμμένα καὶ ἐρίκινα.

[20] P.Mich. IX 558. l. 8-9: ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶ μέρο]υς τῆς διώρυγος ἄρουραν μίαν ἐν ᾗι | ἐρίκινον φυτόν; pour le P.Tebt. III.1. 703, voir Kramer (1993) 135-137.

[21] Fr. 2v, col. iv. l. 10: π[αρ]αφρυγανίσαι τὸ χῶμα τ[ῆ]ι μυρικίνηι κόμηι. Cf. P.Petr. II 13, fr. 20, l. 7.

[22] Bonneau (1993) 36; 126-127; Lavaine *et alii* (2011) 6.

[23] Bosch / Louppe (2008) 698.

[24] Dsc. Mat. Med., I, 87 (I, 82, 6-21 Wellmann); cf. aussi Gal. Simp. Med. VII 12.28 (XII 80.10-81.7, Kühn).

de la bruyère[25], on voit apparaître, plus tardivement, la mention ἐρείκης καρπός parmi les ingrédients entrant dans la composition d'un collyre ophtalmique, le κολλύριον ἀχάριστον.[26] À en croire Aëtius (VI^{e} s.), l'usage de ce collyre aurait été particulièrement répandu en Égypte ; il précise en effet que «les médecins n'[y] utilisent que celui-là et avec succès, surtout à la campagne»[27]. Considérant l'absence de disponibilité de la bruyère en Égypte, il semble bien falloir comprendre que l'ingrédient premier de ce collyre, aussi appelé ἐρικηρόν d'après le même passage d'Aëtius, correspondait en réalité à la galle de tamaris plutôt qu'au fruit de la bruyère.[28] Mais au-delà de cette production 'fruitière', les résultats de recherches archéobotaniques portant sur l'évolution de la végétation des oasis de la région du sud de la dépression de Kharga ont mis en évidence la présence de tamaris plantés autour d'un bassin qui constituait, à l'époque impériale, le cœur d'un jardin d'oasis.[29] Or si l'écosystème mis en place par les activités humaines se construit dans ce cas principalement autour du palmier, les auteurs rappellent l'importance d'une végétation spontanée de différentes strates dans la création de l'effet oasis. Le tamaris, de taille moyenne inférieure au palmier, outre l'effet brise-vent produit par sa ramure, dispose de glandes lui permettant d'excréter sur ses branches du sel sous la forme d'une fine pellicule à potentiel hygroscopique responsable d'une rosée aux premières heures de la journée[30]. Participant ainsi à la régulation des flux d'eau et de chaleur au niveau du sol, à la réduction de l'évapotranspiration et donc de la consommation en eau des cultures, il joue pleinement son rôle au sein des différentes strates responsables d'un microclimat.[31] Enfin, la présence d'eau à proximité de laquelle poussaient divers arbres produisant de l'ombre faisait de ce lieu non seulement un lieu de vie mais également un espace de pâture pour les animaux domestiques dont il reste des traces de fumier dans le jardin.[32] Et c'est sans doute pour toutes ces raisons que les plants de tamaris associés à un réservoir d'eau qui se trouvent mentionnés dans l'acte de partage du P.Stras. VI 555 (289, Hermoupolis) sont gardés en commun.[33]

Enfin, il est encore un aspect lié à la végétation du tamaris qui mérite d'être mentionné. Si ces derniers documents enregistrent en effet la culture du tamaris, d'autres laissent aussi entrevoir sa présence sauvage au sein du paysage égyptien. Le registre cadastral du P.Hamb. I 12 (209-210, prov. inc.) enregistre ainsi l'état d'un lot de terre dont une partie est recouverte d'une croûte de sel (χερσάλμης), une autre inondée depuis plusieurs années (ὑφ' ὕδωρ), et par conséquent toutes deux non cultivables: la déclaration de Herôn *et alii* visait en effet à obtenir pour ces terres une exonération du fermage. Or à la fin du texte sont énoncées les limites des aroures inondées (l. 18-20): au cœur de ces dernières s'est formée une cuvette bordée de tamaris sauvages, ἀγρομυρίκινα ξύλα. Le terme ἀγρομυρίκινα, hapax papyrologique entérinant la disparition de la racine μυρικ- dans les documents, se trouve contextualisé dans un passage de la LXX qui constitue d'ailleurs sa première mention connue dans la langue grecque: «il sera comme le tamaris sauvage dans le désert, il ne verra pas le bien venir, et il

[25] Chez Dioscoride et Galien, la bruyère, ἐρείκη, fait l'objet d'une description laconique où il n'est question que de ses fleurs et de ses feuilles: Dsc. Mat. Med. I 88 (I, 82, 22-26 Wellmann); Gal. Simp. Med. VI 5.19 (XI, 877, 10-11 Kühn).

[26] L'ingrédient apparaît notamment dans les recettes de collyre éditées par Préaux (1956) 136-137; Gazza (1956) 81; Fausti (1997) 101; Hanson (2001); voir aussi Fournet / Magdelaine (2001).

[27] Aët. VII 104 (CMG VIII 2, p. 364.17-365.4 Olivieri), cf. Gal. Comp. Med. IV 7 (XII, 749, 13-15 Kühn) citant Asclépiade le jeune (activité c. 100). Je remercie le relecteur anonyme qui m'a précisé cette référence.

[28] On trouve d'ailleurs l'équivalence ἐρίκης καρποῦ ἤτοι ἡ μυρίχη dans un lexique botanique du corpus galénique: Delatte (1939), 389.

[29] Gonon / Newton / Wuttmann (2005) 171.

[30] Cf. Cappers (2006) 24 et fig. 2.4.

[31] Gonon / Newton / Wuttmann (2005) 178. Cf. Thanheiser (2002) 300; Baum (1988) 201.

[32] Gonon / Newton / Wuttmann (2005) 177-178.

[33] P.Stras. VI 555. l. 11: τῶν νῦν ἐνόντων ἐρικίνων φυτῶν.

prendra ses quartiers dans un désert de sel, sur une terre saumâtre inhospitalière».[34] S'il n'est pas rare que l'adjectif ἄγριος, 'sauvage', entre en composition dans la formation de termes botaniques, il est, dans le cas du tamaris, particulièrement révélateur de sa présence dans le paysage égyptien sous la forme d'une végétation spontanée capable de s'adapter à des milieux hostiles à la plupart des autres espèces.[35] Et si les plants sont ici cités en marge de l'inspection (ἐπίσκεψις) et donc exclus des aroures concernées par le fermage, leur mention ne doit pas être considérée comme indifférente pour autant. Elle est peut-être la marque d'une valorisation relative de la terre concernée, dans la mesure où le tamaris, en tant qu'espèce halophyte, peut contribuer au dessalement et à la régénération des sols.[36] Cette observation semble d'ailleurs pouvoir expliquer les termes d'un contrat provenant d'Oxyrhynchos, qui établit qu'outre le versement du prix de location d'une terre à cultiver, Horiôn a dû remettre à la propriétaire la somme convenue de quarante-huit drachmes d'argent pour prix des tamaris abattus qui s'y trouvaient auparavant.[37] En place du vague 'brushwood' indiqué par l'éditeur, il semble bien s'agir là aussi de tamaris sauvages, laissés dans l'attente d'une reconversion possible d'une terre salée en terre à céréales, avec à terme l'exploitation possible du fourrage ou de bois de chauffe.[38]

Ainsi, l'identification de l'ἐρείκη comme tamaris aura permis de remettre en évidence la présence après le II^{e} s. ap. J.-C. de cette essence en Égypte, où elle n'a, de fait, jamais cessé d'être exploitée. Si elle y joue bien sûr un rôle au niveau économique, pour l'exploitation de son bois ou de ses galles, il m'a semblé que son ancrage dans le paysage égyptien et son rôle écologique méritaient d'être davantage mis en valeur pour les différentes raisons ici présentées: stabilisation des berges, effet brise-vent et effet oasis, ou encore restauration des sols salés. Je terminerai néanmoins en sortant quelque peu des textes documentaires pour évoquer le fait que cette évolution lexicale, particulièrement manifeste dans les documents grecs d'Égypte, n'est pas propre à la langue des sources documentaires. Ainsi dans le bestiaire chrétien du Physiologue, dans ce chapitre sur l'antilope où l'animal se retrouve prisonnier de la gracile ramure d'un arbre des bords de l'Euphrate: l'éditeur, A. Zucker, évoquait «un vrai fouillis végétal dont la bruyère ne ressort que comme une maigre et fragile hypothèse», mais si l'on considère l'origine égyptienne et la datation qu'il établit entre le II^{e} et le IV^{e} s., il doit bien falloir y voir aussi un tamaris.[39] De même que chez Plutarque, dans l'épisode où le cercueil renfermant Osiris rejeté par les flots sur les rivages de Byblos, vient s'échouer auprès d'une ἐρείκη qui l'enveloppe de tout son tronc.[40] Mais c'est sans doute bien davantage au niveau symbolique qu'écologique qu'il faudra alors chercher le sens d'une juste association entre le phytonyme et la plante qu'il désigne.[41]

[34] Je. XVII 6: ἔσται ὡς ἡ ἀγριομυρίκη ἡ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, κτλ.
[35] Sur l'omission du ι de ἀγρομυρίκινα, voir Gignac, Gram. I 304.
[36] *Tamarix aphylla* a ainsi été introduit en parcelles au Sénégal dans le cadre du Projet de Restauration Agronomique des Sols Salés (PRASS) dans la région de Kaolack depuis 1998.
[37] P.Oxy. XLI 2973. l. 15-17 (25 sept. 103): τῶν ἐκκε|κομμένων (…) ἐρικίνων ξύλων.
[38] Modification qui entraînera très probablement un changement du statut fiscal de la terre, comme établi dans l'*apographē* du SB IV 7360 (214, Karanis). D'après Bosch / Louppe (2008) 698, il faut attendre quatre ans pour que des tamaris produisent du bois de chauffe, cinq à huit ans pour des piquets d'enclos, et une vingtaine d'années pour du bois d'œuvre.
[39] Zucker (2004) 12-13 (36, 5): εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐρίκινα λεπτόκλονα; ibid. 214.
[40] Plu., De Iside et Osiride 357a.
[41] Koemoth (1994) 276-279 propose de voir une image de la renaissance osirienne dans le tamaris et renvoie à Chassinat (1968) 544 qui remarquait déjà que: «pour les Coptes, ⲙⲩⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛ (μυρίκη), ⲉⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛ (ἐρίκη, ἐρείκη) et ⲛⲟⲙ sont synonymes» et qu'ils désignent le *Tamarix orientalis* L. (syn. *Tamarix aphylla* [L.] Karst.).

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Les occurrences du tamaris dans les sources papyrologiques documentaires

En blanc : la racine μυρικ- ; en gris: la racine ἐρικ-

Document	Date	Provenance	Texte	Arbre	Bois	Objet	Contexte
P.Cair.Zen. III 59383, 16-17	III[a]	Philadelphie	τὰς μυρί|κας	x			Coupe de roseaux et tamaris (entretien des digues)
P.Cair.Zen. II 59176, 39	255[a]	Philadelphie	ξύλων μυρικίνων		x		Bois de tamaris pour faire des chariots
P.Petr. II 13, (20), r°, 7	255[a]	Gurob	μυρικίνων		x		Correspondance de Kleôn : tamaris (pour les digues ?)
P.Col. III 47, 4	253[a]	Philadelphie	ξύλα μυρίκινα		x		Transport de bois de tamaris vers l'Ibion de Mêa par bateau
SB VI 9215, 12	250[a]	Oxyrhynchos	[ξ]ύλα (…) μυρίκινα	x			Abattage d'essences locales (construction navale)
P.Cair.Zen. IV 59566, 11-12	250[a]	Philadelphie	πηδάλιον μυρί|κινον			x	Aviron de gouverne en tamaris
P.Petr. III 43 (2), v° 4, 10	ca 240[a]	Arsinoïte	τ[ῆ]ι μυρικίνηι κόμηι		x		Correspondance de Theodôros : branchages de tamaris pour renforcer les digues
P.Petr. III 48, 4	III[a]	Gurob	ξύλον μυρίκινον		x		Contrat de construction : tamaris pour les portes (?)
P.Enteux. 71 (P.Lille II 4), 3	222[a]	Magdola	συνκλείσαντες εἰς τὰ μυρίκινα		x		Enclos à porcs en branches de tamaris
P.Enteux. 37, 4	222[a]	Magdola	μυρίκινα ξύλα	x			Plainte pour abattage d'une plantation de tamaris
P.Enteux. 68, 6	222/221[a]	Ghoran	μυρύκινα	x			Contestation sur le bornage de deux tenures et sur l'exploitation des tamaris
SB XVI 12823, 9	215[a]	Athribis	ξύλα μυρίκινα	x			Abattage illégal de 30 tamaris (valeur 80 dr.)
P.Tebt. III.1 703, 196	208[a]	Tebtynis	ἀκάνθης καὶ μυρύκης	x			Plantation d'essences locales sur les digues royales (acacias, tamaris, saules et sycomores)
P.Tebt. III. 1 793, 6, 5	183[a]	Tebtynis	κλ̣ίνη σπαρτότονος μυρικίν[η			x	Vol d'un lit à sangle en tamaris
P.Tebt. I 45, 37	113[a]	Tebtynis	θύρας μυρικίν(ας) β			x	Vol de deux portes en tamaris (Kerkeosiris)
P.Tebt. I 47, 35	113[a]	Tebtynis	θύραν μυρικί(νην)			x	Vol d'une porte en tamaris (Kerkeosiris)
P.Sijp. 56, 3	I	Oxyrhynchite	τὸ μυρίκινον	x			Élagage de tamaris (besoin de combustible)
O.Erem. 34, 5	I	Syène	τὸ ξύλον | τὸ̣ .[.]κινον		x		Dépôt de bois de tamaris (ἐρί]κινον ou figuier, σύ]κινον ?) dans une cour
BGU III 844, 14	83	Arsinoïte	τὸ ἐρείκεινον | ξυλαρειν		x		Envoi d'une planche de tamaris
BGU III 824, 13	97/8	Arsinoïte	ξυλ̣άριον | ἐρίκινον		x	x	Envoi d'une planche de tamaris pour un coffre
P.Oxy. XLI 2973, 16	103	Oxyrhynchos	ἐρικίνων ξύλων	x			Contrat de location : tamaris abattus (= 48 dr. arg.) et reconversion de la terre
P.Mich. IX 558, 9	102-111	Karanis	ἐρίκινον φυτόν	x			Division de tenure, dont une aroure avec un plant de tamaris (nord du canal)

Document	Date	Provenance	Texte	Arbre	Bois	Objet	Contexte
P.Lond. II 267 (p. 129), 272	114-	Arsinoïte	μυρικ(ῶν) | μηδὲν δυναμένων φέρειν	x			Tamaris "improductifs" sur terre sèche
SB XIV 11958, 52	117-	Oxyrhynchos	ἄλλων ἐρικίνων		x		Bois de tamaris pour la rénovation d'un temple (Hérakléopolite)
BGU XI 2085, 14	119	Kerkesoucha	τοξικὸν κάλαμον | μ[ηδὲ] μυρίκινον	x			Serment déniant la culture de *toxikon kalamon* et de tamaris
SB XX 14087, 36	132/133	Arsinoïte ?	ἄκανθ(α) α \ἐρίκεινο(ν) α/	x			Registre d'acacias (avec quelques saules et tamaris)
P.Iand. VII 142, 2, 8	164-	Kysis ?	φοί(νικες) κ(αὶ) ἐρεόξυλ(α) κ(αὶ) ἐρίκ(ινα)	x			Relevé d'*episkepsis* : une parcelle avec oliviers, dattiers, coton, tamaris et arbres fruitiers
P.Oxy. XX 2272, 35	164-	Oxyrhynchos	ξύλου ἐρικίνου		x		Bois de tamaris pour la rénovation des portes d'un temple : 50 dr. (Hérakléopolite)
P.Oxy. XX 2272, 38			ἄλ(λων) ξύλων λεπ[τ]ῶν ἐρικίνων [		x		Autres boiseries en tamaris : 8 dr., 2 ob., achetées auprès d'un menuisier (Hérakléopolite)
P.Stras. IV 184, 4	II	Oxyrhynchos	ξύλα | ἐρίκινα		x		Vente de bois (tamaris, olivier, jujubier, saule), livraison par bateau d'Oxyrhynchos à Hermoupolis
P.Lond. III 905 (p. 219), 5	II	Philoteris	φυνικων | τριων καὶ ἐρίκια	x			Description de terrain : 12 aroures de terre à blé, 3 dattiers et tamaris
P.Bour. 44, r. *descr.*	II	Arsinoïte	ἐρίκινα	x			Relevé de terrain avec figuiers, dattiers et tamaris
P.Diog. 46, 34	II	Oxyrhynchite ?	φυτ(ῶν) ἐρικ(ίνων) καὶ ἀκανθ(ίνων)	x			Plants de tamaris et acacias dans un compte
BGU III 731, 8	180	Arsinoïte	ξύλα ἐρίκινα		x		Vol de bois de tamaris en dépôt dans une cave (3000 dr.)
P.Mich. VI 423, 10	197	Karanis	ἐλαεῖνα φυτὰ ἀπεξηραμμένα καὶ ἐρίκινα	x			Plainte pour abattage de plants de tamaris et oliviers secs dans une oliveraie (à Kerkesoucha)
SB IV 7368, 27	II/III	Karanis	ξύλα (…) ἐρίκινα	x			Audience d'un kômogrammate accusé d'avoir illégalement abattu des tamaris
BGU I 40, 8	II/III	Arsinoïte	μαγὶς ἐρικίνη (δραχμαὶ) δ			x	Plateau en bois de tamaris
P.Hamb. I 12, 19	209-210	prov. inc.	ἀγρομυρίκινα ξύλα	x			Relevé d'*episkepsis* : tamaris sauvages en bordure d'une cuvette inondée
P.Oxy. VI 921, r.	III	Oxyrhynchos	γουβεναρίων ἐρικίνων			x	Avirons de gouverne en tamaris
P.Leipz. 23, 7	III	Memphis	ἐρικ(ιν-)	x			Fragment de relevé de terrains (?) avec tamaris
P.Stras. VI 555/556, 11	289	Hermoupolis	ἐρικίνων φυτῶν καὶ ἀκανθίων	x			Acte de partage : tamaris et acacias à proximité d'un point d'eau
CPR XIV 52 (B), 21	VII	Boutô (Memph.)	γνῶσι(ς) ξύλ(ων) ἐρικ(ίνων)		x		Achat de 10 tamaris pour le compte d'un grand propriétaire (une unité = 3-11 artabes de blé)
P.Köln VII 318, 5	VII/VIII	Hérakléopolite	ἐρέκ(ινον) α ἑνός		x		Réquisition de bois (et autres matériaux) dont un tamaris (bois de construction, cf. Morelli 1998)



PART XI

CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION

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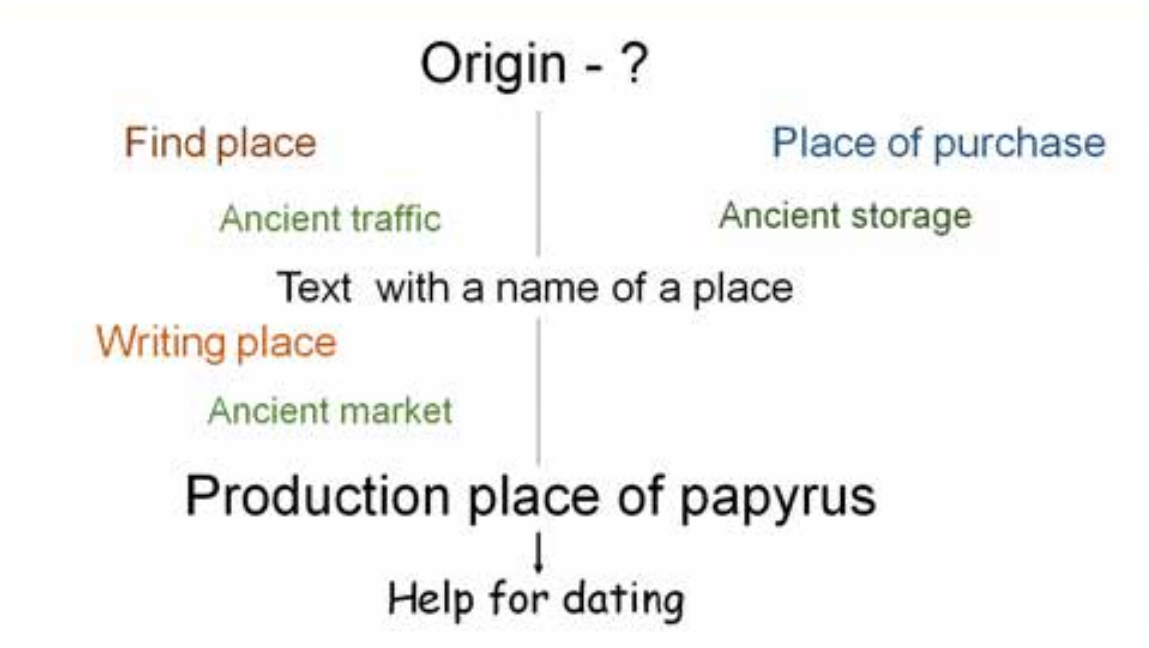
The Writing Surface Papyrus and its Materials
1. Can the writing material papyrus tell us where it was produced?
2. Material study of the inks

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1. Can the papyrus used as writing material tell us where it was produced?

Various material criteria gained during the conservation-restoration process provide a glimpse of material-technical details that were previously little known or unknown, for example, about the origin of the papyrus material, in the sense of where it was produced. A fundamental question about the origin of a papyrus is what is meant by 'origin'. The production site of the text, the site of the find, and / or the place mentioned in the text are often not identical; in addition, they can all differ from where the papyrus material was produced.

Over the centuries or millennia, a papyrus can take a path through a number of places quite distant from each other. If we retrace this path, i.e., beginning with the present and going back to the plant, then the problem of different reference points is quickly obvious:



In his Natural History (13.23-27), Pliny already mentions the connection between the quality and sort of papyrus and its production site. Decades of optical observations during the intensive restorative processing of papyri in the Berlin Papyrus Collection and in various collections around the world confirm for us this thesis, namely that the individual qualities

are a kind of trademark of a specific place and thus of a specific site of manufacture. Along with this spatial attribution, simple measurements of the thickness of the sheets and the width of their joins already show striking series of development. These dimensions are ancient benchmarks and thereby enable a first, initially coarse temporal categorization.[1]

But back to the issue of production sites. It is becoming increasingly clear that there were in fact sites or regions in which specific qualities of papyrus were produced, with only one special quality in each. Some sites appear for a limited time; others had a long or even have a still-continuing tradition. This observation leads to the question whether it is possible to support this knowledge with natural-scientific evidence. We therefore carried out initial examinations of fragments found in the following places:

– Fragment a) from Achmim

– Fragments b) - d) from Dimê

– Fragments e) - g) from Elephantine

– Fragment h) from Illahun

– Fragments i) - l) from Tebtynis.

Two more papyri were added during the preliminary investigations with the Dino-Lite microscope: a papyrus from Abusir from the time of the Old Kingdom, and one from Thebes from the New Kingdom. Photos were taken with the Dino-Lite at 50x magnification under VIS, UV, and NIR light.[2] Then a nondestructive elemental analysis was performed on fragments a) to l) at the Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung Berlin (Federal Institute for Materials Research and Testing - BAM). The relevant elements are: chlorine (Cl), potassium (K), calcium (Ca), iron (Fe), copper (Cu), zinc (Zn), bromine (Br), and strontium (Sr). Added to these in individual cases are also titanium (Ti) and, rarely, manganese (Mn) and lead (Pb). In the selected fragments, the one from Dimê showed all three of the latter elements. All these elements except lead were found in fragment e) from Elephantine.

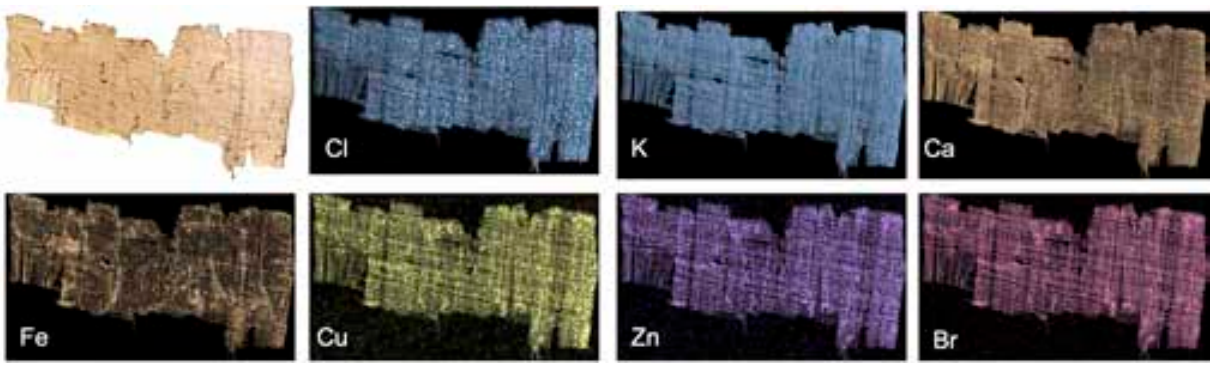


Fig.1: Element distributions of a fragment with no inscription (c), Dime.

The most interesting fragment is c), a papyrus from Dimê with no inscription, which can be dated to the Arab period (see fig. 1). The even distribution of chlorine, bromine, potassium, calcium, copper, and zinc is clearly recognizable, while iron is more sporadically present indicating contamination.

[1] Krutzsch (2017).
[2] Rabin (2014a).

In the further course of the investigation, a statistically relevant number of papyri will be selected and, first, tested to see whether the traces that a papyrus accumulates over time can be distinguished from each other and attributed to specific events. This approach is based on the assumption that diverse events leave recognizable traces that accumulate in the fragment. Added to the trace elements present in the papyrus plant are ever new traces that can be associated with the production of the writing material, its use, and finally its deposit in the ground. The sharp separation of traces in fig. 2 serves clarity; in reality, a heterogeneous mixing takes place.

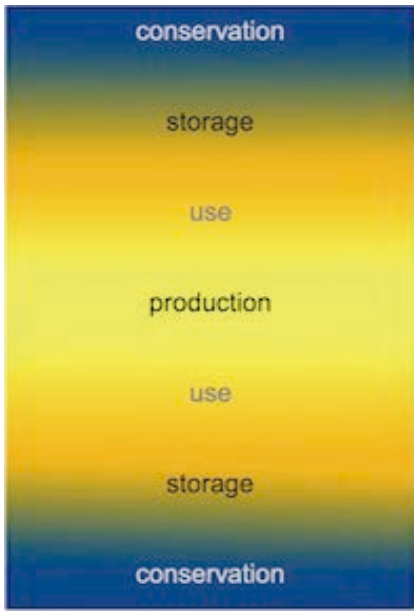


Fig. 2: Schematic cross-section of an object with traces spatially separated. In the outer layers are traces of the treatment the object was subjected to in the time after its discovery (oils, glues, etc.). The burial in the ground is recognizable based on mineral remnants. Use, too, leaves characteristic traces; and the papyrus plant itself contains contaminations from the soil.

Examinations of the manuscripts from Qumran, the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls, brought an entirely different result. These scrolls, usually of skin-based material, are from the late period of the Second Temple in Jerusalem and were discovered in the caves near Qumran. Here, namely, it turned out that the layers could often be distinguished by an extensive spatial characterization.[3] In the framework of the international Qumran project, an analytic procedure for the nondestructive characterization of ancient fragments was developed. It proceeds in several steps. First, a fragment is mapped by means of μ-XRF, in order to obtain spatially resolved distributions of the elements. Through the statistical analysis of the element maps, the overall surface is reduced to target areas whose chemical composition is now investigated with other high-resolution methods to obtain chemical fingerprints. The resulting chemical maps correspond to the characteristic traces of production, soil contamination, and substances that indicate later interventions. If the chemical maps display markedly different areas, these can be attributed to different events. Comparison with the reference materials, soil minerals, and known chemicals used for restoration would permit the events to be identified. To answer the question whether the writing material papyrus could tell us where it was produced, we plan to use a statistically relevant number of papyri for each quality group.

[3] Rabin / Hahn (2013) 4648-4654.

2. Material study of the inks

The other focus of our investigations is the ancient writing materials such as black inks. Soot, plant, and iron-gall inks belong to different typological classes of black ink. Soot ink is a fine dispersion of carbon pigments in a water-soluble binding agent, while plant-based ink consists of a solution of tannin extracts with a binding agent. Iron-gall ink combines water-soluble components (iron sulfate and tannin extract from gall nuts) with insoluble black material that evolves when the components undergo a chemical reaction. Each ink class has distinct optical properties that readily permit their differentiation. We use this property for the initial reflectographic screening of the inks. It must be said here that inks often contain additives that can't be detected by reflectography alone. Table 1 presents a number of known inks together with their characteristic features and means of identification.

Type	Precursors	Colorant	Color	Properties	Detection[a]
carbon[b]	wood, oil	carbon (soot or charcoal)	black	pigment; stays on the surface; solid black color from UV to IR spectral regions.	IR photography, Raman[c]
copper[d]	blue vitriol ($CuSO_4$), gall nuts	not identified	brown	pigment; solid brown color from VIS to IR spectral regions.	PIXE[e]
iron gall	green vitriol[f] ($FeSO_4$), gall nuts	iron gallate	black (brown when deteriorated)	pigment & solution; penetrates substrate; loses opacity toward IR; becomes transparent at 1200nm	IR photography, Raman, XRF, PIXE
plant[g]	bark, gall nuts	tannin	brown	solution; readily penetrates substrates; becomes invisible in NIR	IR photography, FTIR
mixed	carbon & copper[h]	carbon	black	same as carbon; presence of copper can be detected only by x-rays.	IR photography + XRF
mixed	carbon & lead[i]	carbon	black	same as carbon	IR photography + XRF
mixed	carbon & tannin[j]	carbon	black	same as carbon	extraction
mixed	Carbon & iron gall[k]	carbon & gallate	black	same as carbon	IR photography + XRF

Table 1: Black inks detected in various documents ranging from Antiquity to the Middle Ages.

a) A detailed description of the detection techniques is given in Rabin (2014b).
b) In addition to the multitude of recipes, there is a great deal of analytical work in progress that reflects a growing interest in historic inks.
c) It is now routinely detected by infrared reflectography and Raman spectroscopy.
d) Copper-tannin ink was identified in a number of documents from Egypt in the 3rd century BCE.[4]
e) Particle-Induced X-ray Emission.
f) Natural vitriol consists of a mixture of metallic sulfates (iron sulfate, copper sulfate, manganese sulfate, and zinc sulfate) with relative weight contributions characteristic of the source, which contributions can be easily

[4] Delange *et alii* (1990) 213-217.

detected by X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF). We use this property of the iron gall inks for their comparison and identification.[5]

g) Plant inks can be easily recognized by their homogeneous brown color in contrast to the heterogeneous brown of degraded iron-gall inks.

h) Copper-containing carbon inks have so far been detected only from the first centuries CE.

i) Similar to the copper-containing ink, carbon ink with lead (Pb) additive can be identified only by a combination of two techniques: IR photography and XRF.

j) This ink presents a challenge to identification using non-invasive methods and hasn't been found yet in a historical manuscript.

k) As with copper- and lead-containing carbon inks, two techniques are required for an unequivocal identification: IR photography and XRF.

In Late Antiquity, the main black writing ink was based on soot or charcoal produced mostly from oils and wood, respectively. The best-known descriptions originate from Pliny the Elder (HN 35. 25) and Vitruvius (De arch. 7.10.217) and suggest a mixture of two ingredients: soot and gum. We can identify carbon in the inks of many documents from this period: infrared images of the documents that show clear writing in black, unlike those taken under visible illumination, invariably indicate the presence of soot. In a relatively small number of ancient documents studied with x-ray methods, among them five manuscripts from the Dead Sea Scrolls collection, analysis revealed the presence of copper in a soot-based ink.[6] Similar inks were also identified on Tebtynis papyri.[7] This finding brings us to the recipe of Dioscorides in Materia Medica 5.181,[8] which contains a copper-based substance, χαλκανθου or Chalchanton. For Pliny the Elder (HN 34.32) this substance was *atramentum sutorious* or shoemaker's black, i.e., he believed that this substance was used to blacken leather. Yet, this is chemically implausible, since no copper substance produces a black pigment upon reaction with tannin. Therefore, shoemaker's black must have contained an iron-based substance. A clear distinction between copper and iron sulfates probably marks the beginning of the era of iron gall inks, though they occasionally appeared at an earlier date. We find confirmation of this hypothesis in the Talmudic tractates, in which the list of possible ingredients from the Mishnah corresponding to the records from the 2nd-3rd centuries CE (e.g. Sabbath 104b or Gittin 19a) contains *kankantum*, which, despite the slight linguistic distortion, remains easily recognizable as the *chalchanton* of Dioscorides, whereas the later-compiled Gemara refers to the same substance as the 'shoemaker's black' of Pliny. By the 5th century CE, iron-gall ink seems to have become established, though the earliest extant written recipe did not appear for another 300-400 years in the Orient and another 600-700 years in Europe.[9]

Another additive to carbon inks recently discovered in one of the charred fragments from Herculaneum caused great excitement in scientific and scholarly circles alike. In their pioneering work on phase-contrast tomography, Vito Mocella and his co-workers discovered that the element lead was added to the black inks.[10] Curiously, the only written records found so far that refer to such ink can be found in the Mishnah, the older part of Talmud.

Though our work addresses inks of different periods, we would like to present here some of the inks from Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, a period that, at this stage of research, seems to testify to a great diversity of writing inks. In the Book of Proverbs, dated to the 3rd-4th centuries CE, our first example, we have found the earliest evidence of iron-gall

[5] Hahn *et alii* (2004) 234-239.
[6] Nir-El / Broshi (1996).
[7] Christiansen *et alii* (2017) 218.
[8] Zerdoun (1983) 80.
[9] Zerdoun (1983).
[10] Brun *et alii* (2016) 3751-3754.

ink. After the initial reflectographic screening indicated that the ink doesn't contain carbon (fig. 3 top), we performed XRF analysis that has clearly shown the presence of both iron and copper, as is typical of iron-gall ink (fig. 3 bottom).

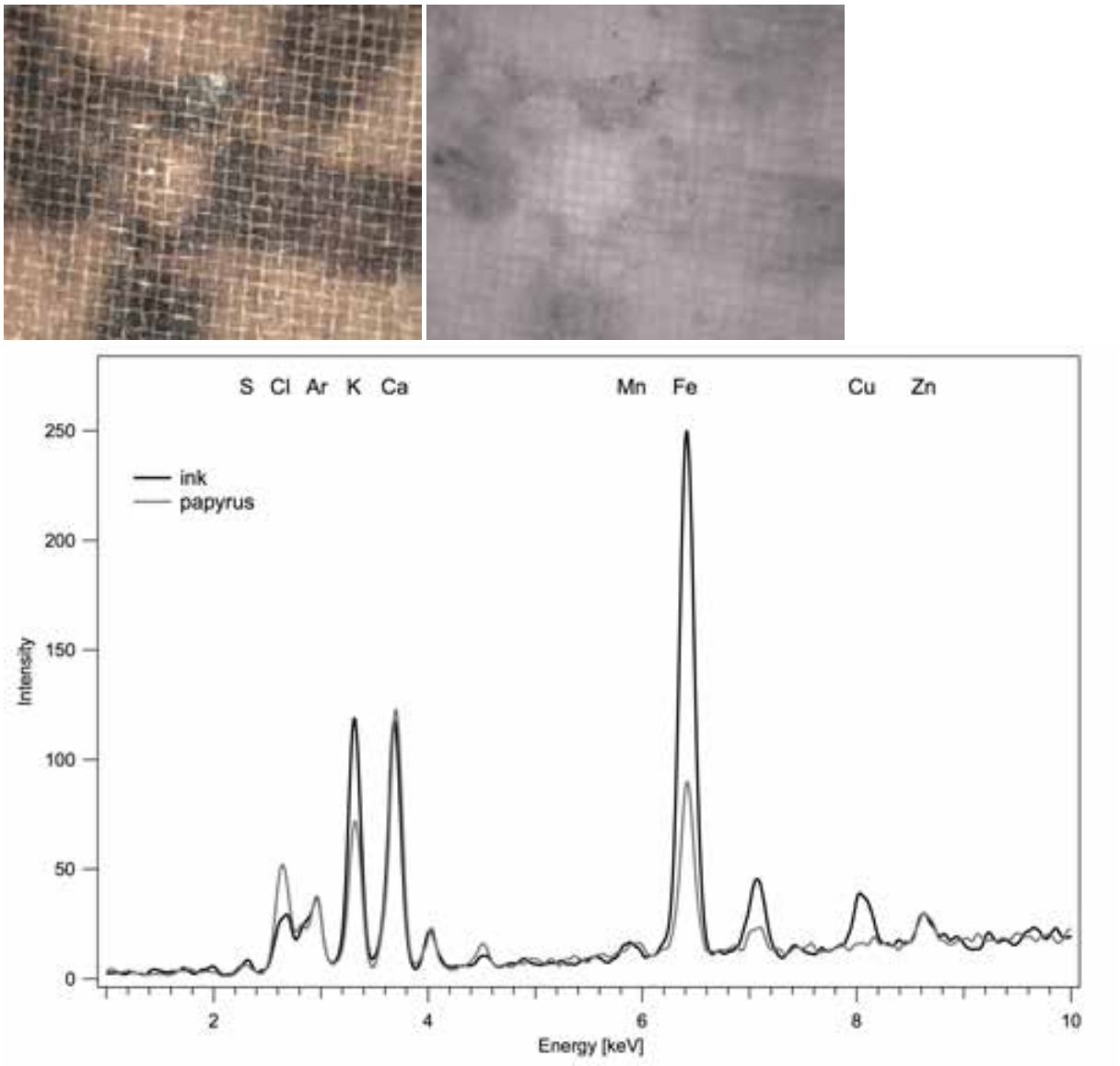


Fig.3: Ink of the Book of Proverbs (Ms. or. oct. 987, Staatsbibliothek Berlin). Top row: comparison of the ink under illumination with visible (left) and near infrared (right) light. Bottom row: XRF spectra of the ink (black) and of the support (grey).

In the second example, we have applied reflectography screening and Raman analysis to a fragment excavated in Dime, which, however, is unfortunately undated. Both tests have shown that the inks are of the carbon type. A routine XRF mapping, however, revealed the presence of the element lead (Pb) in the inscription on the verso side of the fragment. Lead is present in a relatively high amount and is clearly associated with the ink. It seems to us, therefore, that lead-containing ink was not such a great rarity. It escaped notice only because XRF screening of inks doesn't belong to the ink analysis protocol.

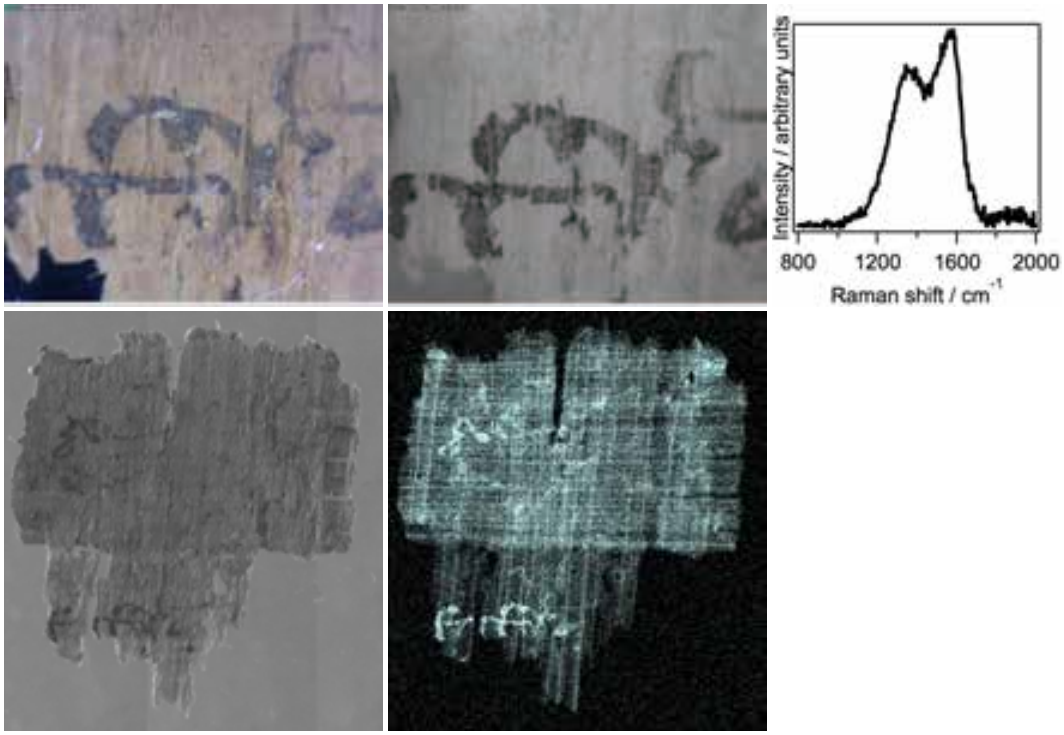


Fig.4: Ink study of the Dime fragment. Top row: comparison of the ink under illumination in the visible (left), near infrared (middle), and Raman spectrum that unequivocally proves that here we are dealing with carbon ink (right). Bottom row: micrograph of the area subjected to XRF analysis (left) and distribution of lead (Pb) in the fragment (right). No other elements have shown a correlation with the inscription.

In the third example, a Greek fragment from the Byzantine era, we also see the presence of lead (Pb). In this case, however, we measure minute amounts of lead both in the writing support and in the ink, which suggests that this element came from the water used to prepare both papyrus and ink. Note that amount of lead in the inscription exceeds the amount of lead in the papyrus writing surface. Therefore, lead belongs to contaminants that would be characteristic of the area of production rather than storage.

3. Conclusions

When we manage to analyze precisely which minerals are found in a papyrus and to compare them with regional soil compositions, it will be possible to determine the sites of production. In this way, we can not only read ancient trade and transport routes, but also determine a papyrus' previously unknown origin. Another result of the investigations consists in recognizing and determining the inks and washes, which not only contribute to learning the origin of a manuscript, but especially to dating it. In addition, this method allows us to distinguish forgeries from originals.

4. Note on instrumentation

To determine the ink typology, we used a three-color USB microscope (Dino-lite AD413T-I2V). We performed XRF analysis with a portable ELIO (XG Lab) spectrometer with an Rh-tube at 40kv and an interaction spot size of 1 mm. The element maps were obtained with a high-resolution imaging spectrometer M6 (Bruker GmbH) that is equipped with a Rh-tube. The measurements were conducted at 50 kV, 100 µm interaction spot and 100msec dwelling time.

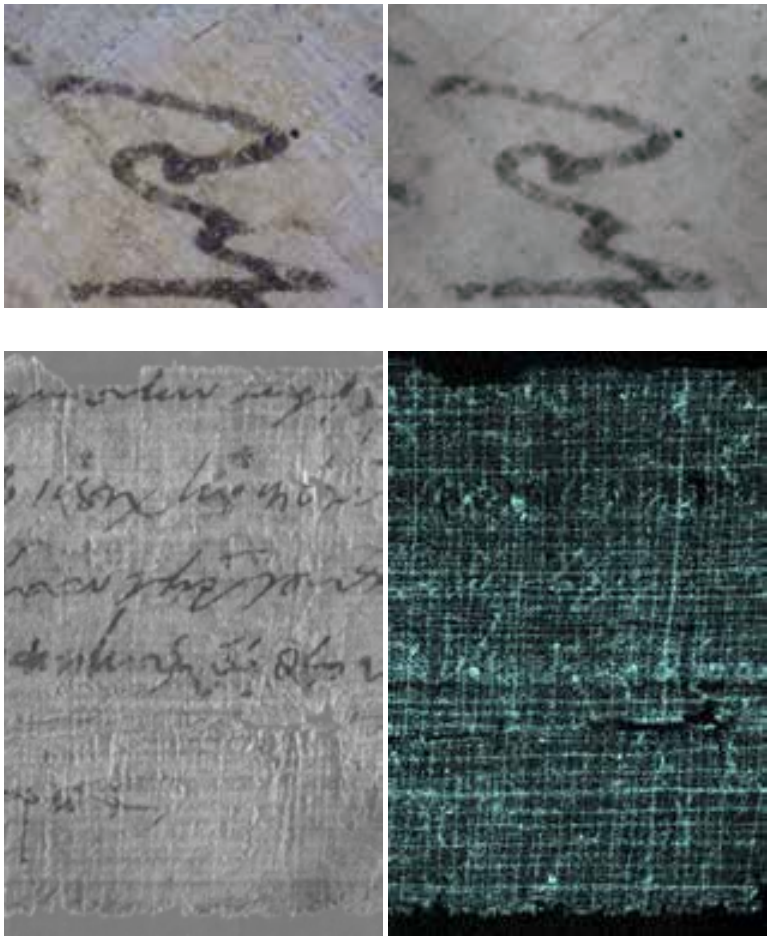


Fig.5: Greek text from the Byzantine era. Top: comparison of the ink under illumination in the visible (left) and near infrared (right) spectra. Bottom row: micrograph of the area subjected to XRF analysis (left) and the distribution of lead (Pb) in the fragment (right). In this case, the element lead (Pb) traces the structure of the substrate as well as the script.

5. Acknowledgements

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Exploring New Glass Technology for the Glazing of Papyri

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1. Introduction

There is a general consensus that papyrus is best handled, exhibited, and stored between sheets of a transparent rigid material such as glass; however, debates remain as to the very best material for glazing. Managers and conservators of papyrus collections strive to use a material that is strong, lightweight, and withstands moderate handling and travel. Historically, soda-lime glass has been used, with acrylic being more recently favored in some institutions. The use of damaging materials such as cellulose nitrate, cellulose acetate, and static-laden polyester films are also found in collections.[1] There has been much advancement in the field of glass manufacture in recent years, influenced by the need for a light-weight, scratch-resistant, and unbreakable glass for the manufacture of watches, cell phones, PCs, and tablets. Brands of high-quality alkali-aluminosilicate glass such as Corning Gorilla Glass, Asahi Dragontrail, and Schott Xensation, are a key part of the electronic devices we use every day. The application of glass proven to be extraordinarily stable is worth exploring for use in glazing papyri. These new glass products are created using a high ion exchange (HIE) fusion process, which produces glass with extremely high impact and bending strength as well as scratch and crack resistance, while keeping the sheets thinner, lighter, and clearer than traditional panes of glass.[2] With a particular focus on Gorilla Glass, this article will explore how new types of glass may be successfully employed in the housing of papyri, including economic feasibility and an investigation of how it handles under stress in a variety of environments.

At the University of Michigan (U-M), with a collection of well over 18,000 fragments, one has to be very economical about how papyri are housed. It is not possible to glaze every fragment. There is not enough space, time, or resources to accomplish such an overwhelming task. Generally, papyrologists will separate fragments of interest from the hundreds within boxes for conservation treatment. Each of these fragments is a potential treasure, but housing them after treatment and cataloging is a challenge. A solution at U-M is to house fragments in folders within clamshell boxes in a temperature and humidity-controlled vault (fig. 1), in which 100% cotton blotter paper that has a slight texture to the surface is adhered to 20-point folder stock and the fragment is placed within. The texture keeps the papyrus from sliding within the folder. If there are multiple fragments associated with an inventory number, each fragment is placed in its own acid-free tissue folder, which is held within the larger folder. Glazing is designated for items that are handled frequently for scholarship and tours, displayed in exhibits, or going on loan. In general, U-M fragments have been glazed with annealed soda-lime glass, also referred to as float or window glass. The edges are lightly sanded, and the glass distributor provides sheets that contain no bubbles, flaws, or scratches. The edges of the glass sandwich are sealed with Filmoplast SH, which is a white linen tape. When fragments are glazed at U-M, the papyrus is anchored to the glass using tiny strips of

[1] Leach and Tait (2000) 245.
[2] Technical details and videos on Corning fusion manufacturing process: https://www.corning.com/gorillaglass/worldwide/en/technology/how-it-s-made.html

glassine, which is pre-coated with dextrin adhesive and can be remoistened with water, but this material is now difficult to acquire. More frequently, people use lightweight Japanese paper and wheat starch paste for anchoring papyrus to the glass. Most glazed items are stored vertically in the vault so that there is no weight resting on the fragments. For larger pieces that need to be stored horizontally, no more than a few are stacked. The largest challenge is housing oversized pieces. The majority of U-M's oversized papyri are currently glazed with acrylic. Some pieces are in special aluminum frames to keep them from torqueing, but the acrylic still presents problems to be discussed further, especially at this large size (fig. 2).[3]

2. Historic overview

There is a multitude of different materials historically used for glazing papyri. Many pieces collected in the 19th century, especially those in the British Museum collections, were mounted onto paper or board with a sheet of glass placed on top and bound along the edges with strips of leather or tape. Papyri were sometimes lined with linen as well. When fragments had writing on both sides, they were sandwiched between two sheets of glass. Regular window glass is still the most widely acceptable material for mounting papyri. Nitrocellulose film was used occasionally to back fragments. These fragments completely blackened and disintegrated and there is nothing that can be done to save them. They were essentially cooked by the off-gassing chemicals the way we see old movie film disintegrating at rapid rates. Fragments that were backed with gelatin film have deteriorated but remain comparatively stable. Wood and paper-based board backings are prone to warp and distort, damaging the papyrus. The only board that may be safe to use as a backing is Tycore honeycomb board (also known as Hexamount), but this obviously cannot be used with pieces that are double-sided. Laminated glass, such as safety glass, is much too heavy to be realistic. When regular glass breaks, it is held in place by the binding tape along the edges, so although laminated glass seems less prone to breaking, it is overkill. Last, Mylar (also known as Melinex or polyester film) is much too flexible and holds a tremendous amount of static –a problem that will also be explored further in this article.

There are about a half-dozen articles specifically written about 20th and 21st century papyrus housing methods, such as that at the Brooklyn Museum, Yale, and Princeton, which all use acrylic sheeting.[4] In Princeton's case, the housing also uses Stabiltex, which is a polyester multifilament textile, and Mylar. Papyrus fragments were stored in a different plastic material called Vinylite at the University of California, Berkeley (UCB) several decades ago. UCB provided some images of the damage done from their collections being housed in Vinylite, which is similar to Mylar (fig. 3). Vinylite is thin and flexible, and studies show that it is full of static. The intentions were excellent at UCB: since they are located right over an active earthquake fault, they did not want to use glass. Fragments were housed in Vinylite with the greatest care decades ago. But the static and flexibility of the material broke down the papyrus, turning it to dust. In the 1990s, UCB conservators worked with scientists in the university's microelectronics facility to find a system that would allow for safely opening the Vinylite enclosures. They ultimately worked with a company called Ion Systems, which supplied the air ionization system installed at the microelectronics facility at UCB. After careful measurements, static was proven to be the main cause of the harm done to the papyri in Vinylite.[5] They ended up using an air ionizer when opening the Vinylite housings to mitigate further damage (fig. 4). This worked well for them, and it is now an important piece

[3] Kaye (2015) 1-3.
[4] Owen (1993) 36-40; Noack (1986) 61-73; Stanley (1994) 49-55.
[5] Steinman (1997) 3B.6.1-5.

of equipment to have on hand when working with plastic housing materials in a papyrus collection. The ionizer is mounted about 30 to 40 cm away from the item, operated at a low fan speed, and both sides of the package are then neutralized as it sits on the work surface.

3. The use of acrylic

Due to its popularity, acrylic must be addressed further. It is a highly desirable and frequently discussed material that many people turn to for the housing of papyrus. There are many different grades and types of acrylic, but the most reputable company in the US is Tru Vue, which makes glazing products that are used by conservators and museum professionals and has conducted a lot of testing and scientific research to support the validity of their products.[6] One of their specialties is Optium Museum Acrylic, which is a conservation-grade glazing that incorporates a UV-blocking layer, along with an optical coating that allows for excellent light transmission and no reflection. It is also manufactured to be anti-static. In the past, acrylic often yellowed and discolored over time, and the thickness did not allow for the best visibility. Tru Vue prides itself in lessening the reflection that bounces off the surface, as well as creating a surface that is no longer easily scratched. The regular Optium Acrylic nonmuseum variety does not protect against UV, but papyrus collections are rarely exposed to UV light for long periods of time and exhibit cases are often built with UV filtering capabilities. In the search for a potentially safe acrylic for papyrus, Tru Vue's StaticShield looks the most desirable, and one that is chosen by colleagues working with papyrus collections. It is hard to find anything wrong with this product, as it claims to be more anti-static than glass, scratch-resistant, shatter resistant, and cleans like glass. But what raises concern is the proprietary coating engineered for static control. Whenever there is a coating that cannot be readily identified, one must consider whether its components can leach out over time, especially since it will be in direct contact with the papyrus. Tru Vue's glazing was not designed with direct contact in mind –in general when artwork is framed there is a window mat or spacers between the artwork and the glazing. This is a consideration when thinking of materials to use for glazing papyri, which will be touching the glazing material directly.

If acrylic remains the material of choice, at least the data shows that the anti-static properties of StaticShield hold up for long-lasting protection, and it also proves to be abrasion resistant, another strong plus. But no matter how many great properties a piece of acrylic may display, a major downside is its flexibility. This property may make it less prone to breaking, but when it comes to the papyri being supported between sheets of acrylic the flexing can cause real damage. The oversized items at U-M that are housed in unframed acrylic readily flex, resulting in risk whenever handled (fig. 5). Even when handled with care, grabbing the piece from one end will inevitably flex the entire package, potentially causing breaks or at the very least putting undue stress on the papyrus that is anchored on the acrylic. Additionally, some oversized items at U-M are mounted on foam board lined with fabric, with a sheet of acrylic resting on top of the papyrus. The static from the acrylic has caused small fibers to break off and scatter, some of which likely contain ink. Although pricier and newer varieties of acrylic may have improved working abilities, the higher quality choices are not always what people purchase outside the conservation community, due to budget constraints or lack of knowledge about all the choices available on the market. Concerns over coatings and the expansion and contraction of acrylic with fluctuations in humidity and temperature must still be considered. The papyrus at U-M is kept in a temperature-controlled storage vault, but the room where people use the collections has variable conditions and at times the temperature has risen to

[6] Please refer to Tru Vue's company website for in-depth studies and options: http://tru-vue.com

26ºC at a higher humidity than is appropriate for papyrus, so stability of the glazing material is a big concern. Acrylic sheets have an expansion allowance of 1.6 to 6 mm depending on temperature and humidity.[7] In addition, acrylic is more expensive than glass. Not many people are aware that acrylic is petroleum based, so it is susceptible to oil price spikes. As with gasoline, when the cost of a barrel of oil goes up, so does the price of acrylic.

4. The use of soda-lime glass

Aside from the popularity of acrylic, attention must turn back to soda-lime glass, because it is still used in the majority of papyrus collections today. The glass starts out as a mixture of very fine powders, including limestone, silica sand, and soda ash. The raw materials are very inexpensive, keeping it the most cost-effective option. Annealed soda-lime glass is used at U-M. When glass is annealed, it is slowly cooled to relieve internal stresses. When not annealed, glass is more likely to crack when exposed to temperature changes. Annealed glass will break off into large, sharp shards, which obviously poses safety risks. Another soda-lime glass variety to consider is chemically strengthened. As described by a representative at the glass distributor Abrisa Technologies, annealed glass is not the same as chemically strengthened. Most float glass is considered annealed glass. Chemical strengthening of glass requires that the glass be placed into a chemical bath for a prescribed amount of time, and the compression of the top layers of the glass is thus changed, making it stronger and more scratch resistant. Another popular glass variety used in the conservation community is borosilicate glass. This glass is commonly known for its use in laboratory glassware as well as Pyrex products. Glass chemist Otto Schott developed this glass to withstand sudden, uneven temperature shifts without shattering. This quality was obtained when Schott included boron in the glass recipe, which was later perfected by Corning scientists. Boron moderates vibrations that can cause shattering by making the distance between atoms in the glass almost identical, resulting in nearly zero net movement of the glass atoms.[8] With so little expansion, the glass does not break. Most notably, it is used to replace deteriorated glass in the conservation of daguerreotypes because it is physically stable, chemically inert, highly transparent, and has been tested in the conservation field as a component of accelerated aging packages for decades.[9] It is proven to be at least twice as stable as regular soda-lime glass, and can be ordered in varying thicknesses. A downside is that unlike soda-lime glass, it cannot be cut by hand and the cost is more significant.

With so many choices, debate over the best choice remains. Several years ago, on a discussion list for papyrologists, experts argued over the use of glass versus Perspex (acrylic).[10] Some of the most respected papyrus conservators in the world, including Bridget Leach, Myriam Krutzsch, and Leyla Lau-Lamb, responded with their complete support for the use of glass. In her response and numerous publications, Bridget Leach emphasizes that glass is preferred precisely because it requires such great care to handle. She explains that in her observations at the British Museum, glass has cracked or broken but the papyrus remained relatively unharmed because the glass takes the impact of the vibration and damage involved, not the papyrus.[11] To date, papyrus conservators have not published accounts on trouble with ink offsetting from papyrus onto glass. It is a very inert, smooth surface with no

[7] Tru Vue's Acrylic Collection Facts and Specifications: http://tru-vue.com/2016/01/acrylic-collection-facts-and-specifications/
[8] Corning Museum of Glass - All About Glass: https://www.cmog.org/article/finding-right-recipe-borosilicate-glass
[9] Bulat (2009) 151.
[10] Bulow-Jacobsen (2014).
[11] Leach (2005) 195.

risk of abrasion or static. Glass is very easy to clean with plain water and a paper towel, so no chemicals or special solutions are required. It may be breakable, but history shows that even when it cracks, the harm to the papyrus remains minimal because the damage is contained by the support of the second sheet and the binding at the edges. These items should be handled with the greatest care in the first place, so handling glass carefully is not an unreasonable request.

The main disadvantage is the microenvironment that is created between the two sheets, which can be seen manifesting in salt blooms. Papyrus contains salt deposits from being buried and exposed to soil at archaeological sites. The source of salt in the soil largely stems from the limestone and clays that lie beneath the desert sand. The composition of the salt is the same as simple table salt, and extensive research has shown that it does not harm the papyrus. If the bloom greatly disrupts legibility, it can simply be cleaned away from the glass with water or a little ethanol and water mixture, and the piece can be re-glazed again. Removing salt efflorescence must be considered carefully, however, because the salt may be an inherent part of the history of the papyrus, potentially revealing clues as to its origin and use.[12] It is important to note that more recently the conservator Jörg Graf produced a study, which indicates that the seemingly inert components of soda-lime glass may not be as inert as we think, depending on provenance and composition. His analysis indicates that a combination of fluctuating humidity, minerals in the glass surface, and minerals within the papyrus fragment result in float glass corrosion. Graf explains that the white bloom we often observe under the glass may arise from chloride ions in the papyrus reacting to the sodium ions in the glass, thus leading to glass corrosion.[13] Graf concludes that further investigation is needed, as observation with an electron microscope showed no significant surface changes took place where the bloom was observed.[14] He also aims to analyze borosilicate glass and whether it is conducive to bloom.

5. New glass technology

Along with the many pros and cons to consider with the more traditional glazing materials, it is time to consider new glass technology. Corning has always been a leader in glass manufacturing in the United States, and when cell phones and tablets took over the world, they observed that regular glass was not succeeding as a screen material. A tougher and more light-weight glass was required for portable electronics, so using glass technology they developed in the 1960s as inspiration, in 2006 Corning scientists started developing a glass that was damage resistant with a pristine surface quality and free of environmentally harmful materials such as arsenic, lead, and antimony. Corning uses a fusion-draw process that enables them to make the glass extremely thin, so grinding and polishing is not required, which are steps that can introduce flaws that weaken the glass matrix. The alkali-aluminosilicate sheet glass they developed, which they named Gorilla Glass, is ideal for the touch technology used in sleek electronic devices. There is a deep layer of high compressive stress created through an ion-exchange process, which is a type of chemical strengthening or tempering. Large ions are stuffed into the glass surface, creating a state of compression. The compression acts as a sort of ‘armor’, making the glass extremely tough and damage resistant. There have been five generations of Gorilla Glass to date, with each generation becoming thinner. It can be produced at a thinness of 0.4 mm. Gorilla Glass is by no means damage proof if subjected to enough abuse, but it is better at surviving real-world events. The

[12] Neate (2011) 153.
[13] Graf (2016) 51.
[14] Graf (2016) 51.

larger chemically strengthened depth in the Gorilla Glass prevents the damage from extending far into the matrix when compared to soda-lime glass. Illustrations provided by Corning in their product information sheets demonstrate the way damage is suppressed in Gorilla Glass.[15] For example, the comparison of a scratch test applied to the two kinds of glass clearly demonstrate how scratches are visible to the naked eye in soda-lime but nearly invisible in Gorilla Glass. Corning also created a Gorilla Glass variety that is antimicrobial, but one must remain wary of the coating they use. The coating is not meant to last longer than the lifespan of a typical device, which is really not long at all, seeing as people cycle through their devices every few years. Corning developed an easy-to-clean coating as well, but again, it is not clear how stable it is or what goes into it that may potentially harm a papyrus fragment in direct contact with the surface. Another consideration is that haze is a problem with soda-lime glass as it ages, and regular non-coated Gorilla Glass is not immune to haze, but still out-performs soda-lime glass.[16]

A small collection of samples from a few glass distributors were obtained for experimentation, including samples obtained directly from Corning, the manufacturer. Corning's business director of emerging innovations, Hank Dunnenberger, provided samples of Gorilla Glass-1 in various thicknesses including some oversized pieces. While the clarity and lightness of the largest pieces are unparalleled, they were very flexible. The large pieces used for experimentation were 1 mm in thickness, which was the thickest available for the largest sheets. Fig. 6 illustrates two 1 mm pieces placed together, which still remain flexible. It is strong, but the flexibility is a problem with papyrus unless the piece is single-sided and mounted on a stiff board such as Tycore, which is the most dimensionally stable of any fiber based mounting board. Another solution is to build trays out of Tycore and then place the papyrus glazed in Gorilla Glass in the tray for handling. But it remains a challenge if a papyrus has writing on both sides and would require careful support to turn it over. Acrylic has the same flexibility problem, so the downside is shared between the two materials. A frame is another potential solution for increasing stability, such as the aluminum frames used at U-M for oversized pieces glazed with acrylic. Apart from flexibility, another downside to Gorilla Glass is that Corning is unable to provide any information or test results on the longevity of aluminosilicate glass, as there are no artificial aging tests completed to date. Personal consultation with glass scientists shows confidence that the aging will directly parallel other trusted varieties of glass due to the fact that it contains no harmful ingredients; however, this has not been technically proven when it comes to aluminosilicate glass. There is a lack of urgency to prove longevity, likely due to the short life spans of electronic devices where it is used most. Despite some of the unknowns, the conservation department at the University of Chicago Library recently put Gorilla Glass to use for one of their papyrus fragments. The Gorilla Glass they ordered was 1.1 mm thick and from McMaster Carr.[17] Personal communication with Ann Lindsey, head of conservation, shows a high level of satisfaction with the material. While there was some worry about the thin glass torqueing, it did not show any movement with two layers taped together. Patti Gibbons, head of collections management in special collections at the University of Chicago, stated: «So far, I, too, think the papyrus glass is a nice solution. It looks wonderful, it is lightweight, and easy to handle. The older glass is much thicker and gives me 'crash anxiety' where I worry about handling accidents where someone would accidentally drop and shatter the glass and harm

[15] Gorilla Glass 2 product information sheet: http://www.valleydesign.com/Datasheets/Corning-Gorilla-glass.pdf

[16] Please refer to Corning's company website for more information on Gorilla Glass: https://www.corning.com/gorillaglass/worldwide/en/technology/technology-overview.html

[17] McMaster-Carr Gorilla Glass size and price list: https://www.mcmaster.com/#gorilla-glass/=16wbnuq

the papyrus fragment». The Library of Congress has also started to put Gorilla Glass to use for their small papyrus collection, and personal communication with conservator Yasmeen Kahn has also resulted in positive feedback for the housing of small fragments.

6. Conclusion

Pros and cons run through all three materials as seen in fig. 7. The workability of Gorilla Glass with papyrus proved to be satisfying overall; however, for the time being soda-lime glass will be kept in use at U-M due largely to budgetary restrictions. It is worth pursuing the idea of using Gorilla Glass for special cases, groups of items that are handled frequently, and oversized items, despite the flexibility of large pieces. The ease of handling, stability in different climates, easy cleaning, and light weight in storage would make Gorilla Glass a joy in a papyrus collection. The fact that there is little to no concern over scratches and the optical clarity is extremely sharp is also appealing when thinking of users' needs. But if Gorilla Glass is too expensive, at least conservators and papyrologists can generally be confident about the dimensional stability and impermeability of the more affordable glass options, still making glass a safe choice for years to come. In the end, the reality of Gorilla Glass comes down to cost. A cost comparison for each type of glass can be found in fig. 8. The high cost of several of these options is likely to be prohibitive in many institutions. Perhaps if grant money is obtained for a housing project, the choices can broaden. Anyone can appreciate the rarity and awe-inspiring survival of papyrus, and proposing to use a material for its housing that can withstand the stresses of use even better than any material encountered to date does not seem too much to ask. The industries that are beginning to request Gorilla Glass are expanding rapidly.[18] As it starts to be used for more products in the world, the cost of Gorilla Glass is also likely to decrease, making it the material of choice for glazing papyri, bringing the ancient and modern to a unique crossroads.

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[18] Gorilla Glass was recently in the headlines for use in the automotive industry: http://mashable.com/2017/01/05/corning-gorilla-automotive-glass-ces/#L6JZhtwSnOqZ

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Plates



Fig. 1. Clamshell boxes housing papyri on shelves in the vault at the University of Michigan. ©Marieka Kaye. University of Michigan.



Fig. 2. Papyrus fragment glazed with annealed soda-lime glass. ©Marieka Kaye. University of Michigan.



Fig. 3. University of California Berkeley, old housing using Vinylite. ©Center for the Tebtunis Papyri,The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



Fig. 4. Air ionizer used to reduce static when opening plastic based-housings. ©University of Michigan.



Fig. 5. Flexing of acrylic glazing. ©Marieka Kaye. University of Michigan.

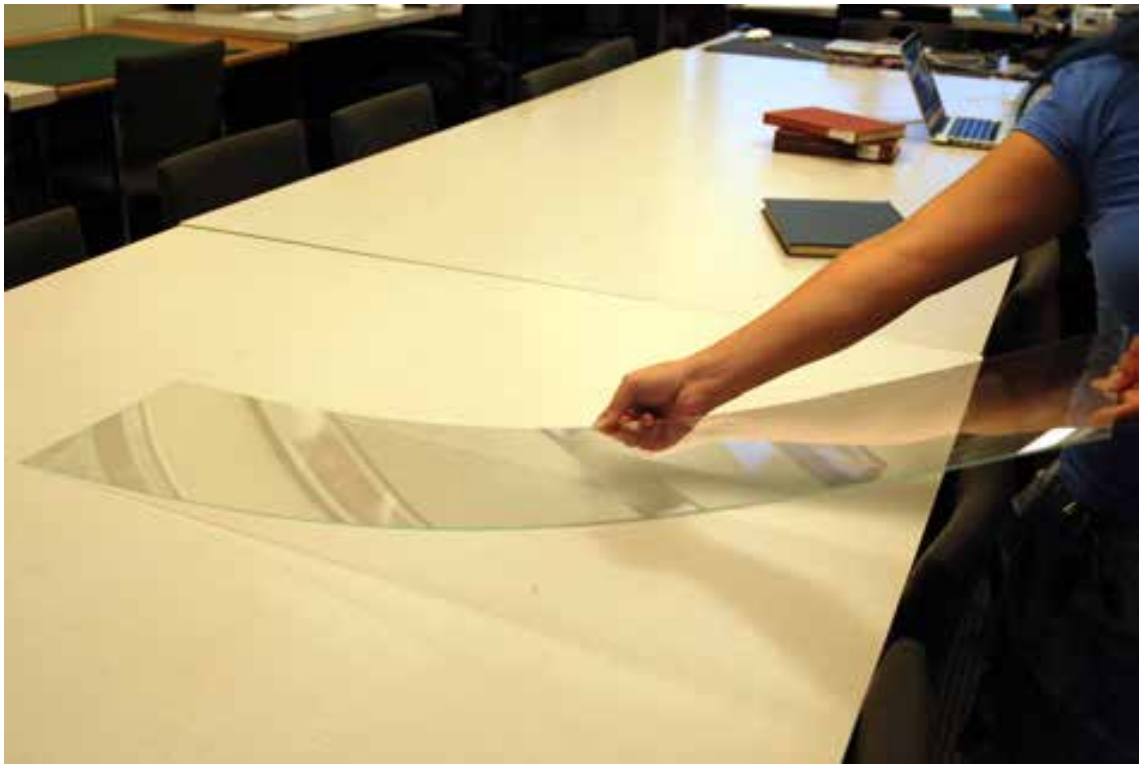


Fig. 6. Flexing two pieces of 1 mm thick Gorilla Glass sandwiched together. ©Marieka Kaye. University of Michigan.

Gorilla Glass	Soda-lime Glass	Acrylic
Nearly unbreakable	Can break & damage papyrus	Shatter-proof
Easy care & scratch-resistant	Easy care & scratch-resistant	Requires special cleaner & soft cloth; easily scratched
Lightweight, thin, flexible	Heavy, thin, inflexible	Lightweight, thick, flexible
Optically clear with no discoloration over time	Green tint; color distortion with extra thickness or coatings	Clear but can yellow over time
Nonporous & impermeable	Nonporous & impermeable	Permeable to gas, including water vapor
Most expensive	Cheap	Expensive
Easy transport	Difficult transport	Easy transport
Non-flammable	Non-flammable	Flammable
No size fluctuations	Negligible size fluctuations	Expands & contracts due to temp & humidity

Fig. 7. Pros and cons of soda-lime, acrylic, and Gorilla Glass.

Type	Size	Cost
Annealed (heat strengthened) soda-lime glass	8 x10", 1.1 mm	$8.61
Chemically strengthened soda-lime glass	8x10", 1.1 mm	$9.97
Tru Vue StaticShield acrylic	8 x10", 3 mm (thinnest available)	$14
Borosilicate glass	8 x 10", 1.1 mm	$20.40
Gorilla Glass	8 x 10", 1.6 mm	$25.55

Fig. 8. Cost comparison of available glazing materials.

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A Proposal for the Unified Definition of Damages to Papyri*

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The drafting of this document is set against the backdrop of conservation efforts applied to papyrology collections as a whole, and it is intended as an initiative to highlight some of the problems we have detected in the course of our conservation duties in the Palau Ribes Collection in order to contribute towards the drafting of a specific lexicon applied to the conservation of this unique heritage.

1. Grounds and motivation for this proposal

The entire justification and 'raison d'être' of glossaries simply stems from the application of the scientific method, which in turn requires the use of clear, unambiguous language that is both accessible and helps avoid mistakes in interpretation.

We have drafted this paper with the goal of, on the one hand, drawing the attention of curators and restorers of papyrus-based documents to this need and, on the other, to address the community of those who study the contents of the aforesaid documents and who are closely linked to the aforesaid collections, in order to warn them about a number of aspects which, albeit already known to us, are no less relevant.

All in all, and despite the fact that this is by no means an innovative proposal insofar as there is already an extended corpus on the appropriate vocabulary to describe damages to cultural goods, we are led to the conclusion that the use of the aforesaid terms is not unified when it comes to providing clear, accurate coverage to the descriptions offered by these terms.

This may ultimately give rise to more questions than answers on the subject, and I trust that the combined experience of many of our colleagues shall contribute towards providing certain terms with consistency throughout the drafting of this glossary.

Far from being definitive, this work is a first step in a path that I invite you to follow alongside me, as, indeed, if there is one trait that has distinguished the community of papyrologists and the professionals involved in their work from its very origins as an independent discipline, it is the will to carry out international exchanges in knowledge related to Papyrology and the Conservation of our heritage.

The International Council of Museums Committee for Conservation, which represents a vast international professional network through the I.C.O.M., is acutely aware of the need to use a clear and cohesive terminology that facilitates communication between its members, within the community of heritage professionals at the global level as well as with the public at large.

This widely acknowledged organization has been involved in the definition of the role of conservator-restorers as well as the tasks that befall them as professionals, and it is a driving

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force behind the drafting of specific terminology that is coherent with the principles of Heritage Conservation in all of its aspects.

The basis for this proposal lies in the cataloguing of actions that can be carried out in order to safeguard cultural assets.

The order of the phases in which the work is carried out (regardless of the level of action on the objects) likewise requires that the appropriateness of terms according to different levels of meaning be ascertained.

From a transversal perspective, caring for papyrological heritage is ultimately based on an accurate diagnosis of the state of conservation of the samples and on differentiating the vectors that intervene in said conservation.

For instance, the permanence and durability of documents should be considered separately,[1] being specific and relevant terms in the use of conservation of papyrus-based texts which imply a *modus operandi* that differs from that which has been commonly used for the purposes of reading and consultation, custody, and display.

It is obvious that any actions that are both projected and carried out in fact should be carried out according to prior concepts that have been (our should have been) described clearly, using a terminology that is useful, flexible, complete and accurate in order to ensure successful communications. In this field of activity, the fields we are referring to can be summed up based on the phases that are generally carried out on any collection, and which can be briefly described as follows:

–Assessing the state of preservation and deciding on criteria for intervention.

–Diagnosis: Documenting procedures that have been carried out in order to achieve a definition of the general state as well as the appropriateness of the actions to be carried out on the asset or assets subject to conservation efforts.

–A description of the agents that are playing a role in the deterioration or ageing of the material; definition of the consequences thereof.

–Documenting the actions that are carried out, highlighting the order of the different phases, including those that must be carried out and / or maintained after the intervention itself, regardless of the types of actions that have been carried out.

From the viewpoint of the History of Conservation, it is worth pointing out that what has become commonplace in this day and age was not always so, and this is due to the scientific and technical bent the profession of conservator-restorers has acquired.

A brief historical outline, without aspiring to delve into the depths or lengths of that which was carried out by García Fernández[2] on this subject, could contain the notes listed below. They highlight the milestones and theoretical grounds from which the legitimate aspirations of conservator-restorers for their discipline to be regarded as a job that is based on the consideration and diversification characteristic of developing disciplines stem. In this discipline, the word ‘conservation’ overtook the word ‘restoration’ as an all-encompassing term that includes all aspects related to the maintenance of heritage, separate from that of

[1] Crespo / Viñas (1984) 7 «Permanence and durability are the conditions that determine the proper conservation of an object. The former refers to the capacity of an object to maintain its original characteristics. Permanence affects the very materiality of which the object is made up. Durability affects its function. Without permanence there can be no durability, even though permanence is of little use if an object fails to fulfill the purpose for which it was created for a lack of durability».

[2] García Fernández (2013) 109-116.

other professionals who also carry out interventions on cultural assets such as archaeologists, philologists or historians, to name a few.

In 1930, the International Museums Office held an International Conference with the goal of implementing scientific methods applied to the examination and conservation of the works of art in Rome.

In 1956 Harold J. Plenderleith,[3] the conservator at the scientific laboratory of the British Museum and subsequently director of the Rome Centre, an organization which ultimately gave birth to the ICCROM (International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property), was another noteworthy precursor, due to the fact that he stressed diagnosis as a revealing element for the maintenance of collections; he published The Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art, which stands out owing to the fact that it was one of the first publications to focus on the systematic explanation of mechanisms of deterioration, which remain at the heart of conservation and restoration.

On the other hand Ward (1986) in his book The Nature of Conservation: a Race Against Time,[4] published by the Getty Institute, stressed the importance of acting as a guide in order to involve both professionals and the public at large. The author also highlighted the youth of this discipline.

The first draft that marked a turning point in terminology applied to the conservation of heritage was the Venice Charter of 1964, which was drafted on the occasion of the 2nd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historical Monuments. Based on the aforesaid charter and throughout numerous international meetings, the words that define different assets, specialties, actions, professional profiles and their respective competences have been outlined through the implementation of actions and the launching of organizational resources.

Since those seminal moments, a significant number of people have focused their efforts on compiling and organizing documentation on the conservation of heritage.

The formation of organisations such as the Spanish A.N.E.C.A. (Agencia Nacional de Evaluación de la Calidad y Acreditación, National Quality Assessment and Accreditation Agency) and the E.C.C.O (European Confederation of Conservator-Restorers' Organizations) has provided the community with meetings, international conference and debate fora, as well as numerous and up-to-date registries on subjects such as training, the description and defense of the profession of conservator-restorers and, above all, the need for coordinated action on all of these fronts, both at the national and international levels.[5]

In what concerns caring for our papyrological heritage, insofar as it usually belongs to archives of libraries that also contain other types of documents, both at the formal and the material levels, we could also quote the following publications as close precedents: the Manual on Documentary Processing for Cultural Heritage Collections, published by U.N.E.S.C.O,[6] and, more recently, meetings such as the International Workshops in Leipzig in 2006,[7] or The papyrus curatorial and conservation meeting in 2016, held at the British Museum. The above could rightly be held to be inspiring points of departure whose objectives include the importance of using a joint terminology that is applicable both to

[3] Plenderleith (1956).
[4] Ward (1986) 9 «must be explained to the community of professionals».
[5] E.C.C.O. (2003); (2013); (2016).
[6] U.N.E.S.C.O. (2008).
[7] Graf / Krutzsch (2008).

conservation as well as restoration among the entire community that is involved in the maintenance of papyrus collections.

Recently, in what concerns the history of heritage conservation, Vokić[8] has insisted on the importance of the way in which we treat information in conservation. To quote the author «therefore, the new proposal for a scientific profession makes the methodically systematized documentation the prerequisite of the scientific aspect of conservation-restoration work and the basis for the epistemology of the profession».

2. Goals

The main goal to be achieved is the formation of a glossary that provides a specific description for papyrus-based materials that combines all of the peculiarities of this material and which expressly defines the typologies of damages that can be seen in papyrus collections, focusing specifically on the most common ones.

We should keep in mind that the raw material from which these documents are made clearly displays their vegetable nature, which is barely processed when compared to paper, and it is therefore also important to describe their parts and components according to the descriptions used in botany. A highly illustrative example is the difference between the terms fiber, fibrils and nerves. Ideally, the descriptions in this glossary should also feature graphs and visual documentation systems, striving to make them as accessible as possible to the community of conservators in papyrus collections. They should also be included in documents on which the work is recorded, including both online platforms and conventional paper files, such as the ones displayed on the DVCTVS platform or the proposal developed by Graf and Krutzsch[9] on control files in restoration laboratories and workshops.

Terms related to pathologies and damage should be consistent, on the one hand, with the way in which the disposition of the texts is carried out in papyrology and, on the other, it should include a description of the means or technology through which these damages have been observed (sensory examination, examination assisted by lens and/or a microscope, among other tools). All of the above should be consigned in a fact sheet according to standard conservation procedures or should be reflected in the drafting of later reports and statements.

One distinctive form of damage that is particularly dangerous to papyri is contamination by salts. Both the origins and consequences of the aforesaid contents (salts) must be treated with the utmost care. Considerable attention has been drawn to the damage caused by saline compounds on other materials, including materials that are more consistent and better preserved than papyri such as wood or decorated walls. In what concerns papyri, these compounds are omnipresent and are invariably involved in the drift of damages caused by other factors of deterioration.

As a medium, papyrus is made from extremely porous vegetable fibers, and its base (chiefly cellulose) is exposed to different forms of deterioration that are common to all organic compounds. Examples include the oxidation, acidification and decomposition of glues made from glutinous substances that ultimately result in the total collapse of the artifact.

In other words, regardless of whether they manifest on the surface or as efflorescences, the migration of salts can entail a number of damages that should be identified with the utmost accuracy: blooms, concretions, pulverulence, which results in bursts. Other damages that

[8] Vokić (2011) 1.
[9] Graf / Krutzsch (2008) 68-104.

might be inferred by them include lacunae in ink caused by erosion, to which we might add the effects of oxidation, lacunae from perforation, fiber abrasion or ink abrasion, among others.

One of the purposes of this glossary is to contribute towards the detailed description of damages that affect the structure of the medium, that is to say those that not only involve the superficial appearance of both sides of the document, but also those that affect the stability of papyrus as a unit and that compromise both its permanence and its durability.[10]

Using vocabulary that is as accurate as possible could also allow us to reconstruct the history of fragments that belong to the same document but which are scattered across two or more papyrus collections, archives or museums, which would, in turn, allow us to improve the treatments to be applied in each case. An example of this would be cases in which several fragments of a given piece (a document that was recovered starting from the same state of conservation) have been maintained in different collections, and the objects have naturally evolved differently based on the conditions in which they have been held in the various locations to which they have become acclimated.

Distinctions between different inks and pigments generally refer to calligraphic inks, since papyrology is concerned with the study of texts in Egyptian languages rather than other papyrus-based artistic or cultural objects such as funerary decorations, as in the case of cartonnage masks. Notwithstanding what we have stated so far, inks should be described in conformity with the denominations of archival items, following the example set by Bello and Borrell.[11]

The way in which information in conservation is compiled covers two interconnected aspects which, in our opinion, should also be unified. On the one hand there is graphic information, and on the other there is written information. Thus, both a glossary aiming to unify terminology as well as a graphic pattern (icons or signalectics), based on drawing and digital photography programs that are both easy to use and accessible to the entire community would be a means to easily transfer information between the different professionals and organizations devoted to the conservation of our collections.

3. First draft and future actions

The first draft proposed herein starts from the following sources:

–Importing descriptive glossaries concerning damages to related media, mainly paper-based documents or archival materials, as well as items from archaeological digs, as those in Bello and Borrell[12] and Rico and Martínez.[13]

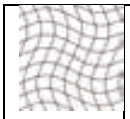
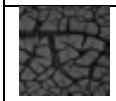
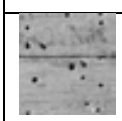
–Contributions based on experience in conservation and restoration, specifically in what concerns papyri.[14]

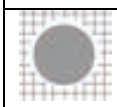
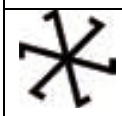
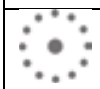
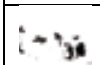
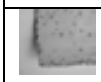
–Commitment to carry out constant and regular revisions.

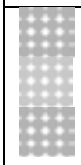
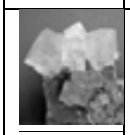
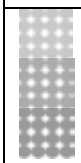
[10] Ideally, a distinction ought to be drawn between the terms ‘brittle’ (breakable, fragile, frail, weak, delicate, flimsy, thin) and ‘friable’ (crumbly, easily crumbled, chalky, pulverulent) as they are most likely due to the action of different damaging agents and, moreover, they provide papyrus with a different appearance.
[11] Bello / Borrell (2002) 72.
[12] Bello / Borrell (2002) 67-74.
[13] Rico / Martínez (2003).
[14] Graf / Krutzsch (2008) 70-81.

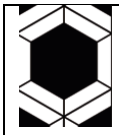
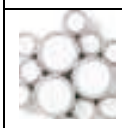
Based on the structures and parts to be considered, and applying a simple color code, it is possible to draw a distinction between the following items (the icons would be included in the damage map in order to assist in graphically reading the location and extent of what is observed):

	NAME	TRANSLATION AND DEFINITION
	SOPORTE	SUPPORT
	ESTRUCTURA	STRUCTURE
	ACIDEZ	f/ Säuregehalt m/ acidity, acid content/ acidità f/ acidité f
	ENCOLADO	m/ Leimung f, Leimen n, Ableimen n/ sizing/ incollaggio m/ encollage m
	ENTELADO	m (Rest. Pint.)/ Doublierung f/ Rentoilieren n, Reintoilierung f/ lining, relining/ rintelatura f/ foderatura f/ reintoilage m
	FRAGILIDAD	f/ Zerbrechilchkeit f/ brittleness, delicacy/ fragilità f/ fragilitè f
	INFECCIÓN	f / Infektion f, Ansteckung f/ infection/ infezione f/ infection f
	REPARACIÓN	f/ Reparatur f, Instandsetzung f/ repair, mend/ riparazione f/ réparation f, réfection f
	RESTAURACIÓN	f / Restaurierung f/ conservation, restauration/ restauro m/ restauration f
	RIGIDEZ	starr, steiff/ rigid, stiff/ rigido/ rigide, raide
	QUEBRADO	spröde, brüchig, zerbrechilch/ brittle, fragile/ fragile/ cassant f
	SEPARACIÓN DE LAS TIRAS EN EL MISMO LADO DEL SOPORTE	SEPARATION OF THE STRIPS ON THE SAME SIDE OF SUPPORT
	DEFORMACIÓN	f/ Deformierung f, Deformation f, Verformung f/ deformation, distortion/ deformazione f/ déformation f
	ARRUGA	f / Falte f, Runzel f/ wrinkle, crease/ piega f, ruga f/ pli m

	DESHILACHADO / DESHILACHAR	(Text.)/ ausfrasen, frasen/ fray(to)/ slilacciare/ effilocher, effiler
	ENROLLADO	(Rest.) / eingerollt, aufgerollt/ rolled/ arrotolato/ roulé
	EXFOLIACIÓN	(Rest.)/ abgeblättert/ exfoliated, flaked off, peeled off/ esfoliato/ exfolié
	REPELADURA	f (Encuad.)/ Abschürfung f / rapir (to)/ repellere/ repousser
	HUNDIMIENTO	m/ Einsturz m, Versinken n, Abascken n/ sinking/ affondamento m, sprofondamento m /enfoncement m
	ONDULACIÓN	f (onda) (efecto) (Rest.)/ Welle f/ undulation, wave/ ondulazione f/ ondulation f (conséquence)
	PLEGADO	gefalter, gefalzt/ folded/ piegato/ plié
	TENSIÓN	f/ Spannungkraft f/ Zug m/ tension, strain/ tensione f/ tension f
	PÉRDIDAS DE SOPORTE	f (Rest.)/ Fehlstelle f/ loss, lacuna/ mancanza f/ perdita f/ perte f
	AGUJERO	m/ Loch n/ hole/ buco m /trou m
	CORTE	m/ Schneiden n/ cutting/ taglio m/ coupure f
	DESGARRO	m/ Riss m, Bruch m/ tear, rip/ strappo m/ déchirure f
	FRAGMENTADO / FRAGMENTACIÓN	f/ Splitterung f/ fragmentation/ frammentazione m/ fragmentation f
	GALERÍAS (INSECTO)/	f/ Galerie f/ gallery/ galleria f/ galerie f m/ Insekt n/ insect/ insetto m/ insecte m

	GRIETA (FISURA):	f/ Riss m, Sprung m, Spalte f/ flaw, crack, fissure/ crepa f/ fissure f
	PERFORACIÓN	f (Gral.)/ Durchbohren n Öffnung f, Perforation f (film)/ perforation, puncture/ perforazione f/ perforation f
	PERFORACIÓN (por rotura)	f / Durchstoss m/ perforation, puncture/ perforazione f/ perforation f
	ROTO	m / Bruch m, Sprung m/ crack, rupture/ rottura f /rupture f, cassure f
	ROZADURA / (EROSIÓN)	f (efecto)/ Bereibung f, Reibung f, Anstreifen n, Schramme f, Schrammen n/ abrasion, rubbing, wear/ abrasione f/ éraflure f
	MANCHAS EN SOPORTE	SUPPORT STAINS
	MANCHA DE AGUA	f / Wasserflek m/ water stain/ macchia d'aqua f/ tache d'eau f
	CERA	f/ Wachsflech m / wax stain/ macchia di catrame f/ tache de cire f
	COLA	f / Leim m/ glue, size/ colla f/ colle f
	DECOLORACIÓN	f/ Entfärbung f, Verblassen n/ discoloration, fading/ decolorazione f, scolorimento n/ décoloration f
	HONGOS	f / Schimmelfleck m/ mould stain/ macchia di muffa f/ moisissure f
	HUMEDAD	f / Wasserfleck m/ damp stain/ macchia di umidità f/ tache d'eau f
	MOHO	f / Schimmelfleck m/ mould stain, mildew/ macchia di muffa f/ tache de moisissure f
	ÓXIDO	f/ Rostfleck m/ iron stain, rust stain/macchia di ruggine f/ tache de rouille f
	EXCREMENTOS	m / Exkrement n, kot m/ excrement/ escremento m /excrément m
	FOXING	m (Pap.)/ Stockfleck m, Foxing n/ foxing/ foxing m/ foxing m
	HUELLA DACTILAR	f/ Fingerabdruck m/ fingerprint/ impronta digitale f/ empreinte digitale f

	POLVO	m/ Staub m, Pulver n/ dust, powder/ polvere f/ poussière f, poudre f
	SUCIEDAD	f / Schmutz m, Verschmutzung f/ dirt, grime/ sporcizia f, sporco m/ saleté f
	TINTA	f/ Tintenfleck m/ ink stain, ink-blot/ macchia di inchiostro f/ tache d'encre f
	CAMBIO TONALIDAD SOPORTE	CHANGE OF SUPPORT COLOUR
	OXIDADO	(Quím.)/ oxidiert/ oxidized/ ossidante/ oxydé
	DEPÓSITOS	DEPOSITS
	ARENA	f/ Sand Einzahlung f/ sand deposit/ deposito sabbia m/ dépôt de sable m
	CONCRECCIONES SALINAS	f/ Salz Verschmelzungen f/ salin concretions/ concimi di salino m/ concretions de salin f
	TINTAS / ELEMENTOS SUSTENTADOS	**INKS**
	ABRASIÓN-DESGASTE	Abrasión del color (Pint.) f/ Farbabrieb m/ paint abrasion, colour abrasion/
	CORROSIÓN (por) TINTAS	(Pap.) f / Tintenfrass m/ ink corrosion/ corrisione da inchiostro f/ corrosion f
	CRAQUELADO	(Rest. Pint.)/ krakelliert, craqueliert/ crackle, cracking, craquelure/ crettato/ craquelè

	DESCAMACIÓN	(Rest. Pint.) f / Schollenbildung f, Abblättern n/ flaking/ sfaldaftura f, sollevamento in scaglie m/ descamation f
	DESVAIMIENTO	(Fotogr.) m/ Verblassen n/ fading/ scolorimento m/ disparition f, effacement m
	DIFUMINADO	gewischt / stumped/ sfumato/ stomper
	LAGUNA	(falta) (Rest.) f / Fehlstelle f/ lacuna, loss/ lacuna f/ lacune f
	RAYADO	(arañado) m/ zerkratzt/ scratched/ rigato, graffiato/ rayé
	RETOQUE	(Rest.)/ retuschiert, retouchiert/ retouched / ritoccato/ retouché
	VIRAJE (de color)	(Fotogr.) m / Tonung f/ toning/ viraggio m/ virage m

4. Organization for future work on the subject

In order to develop word descriptions, the following points should be observed:

a. It is necessary to pay attention to the structure on which the starting document is presented, including medium, ink, and pigments.

b. Provide definitions for each term, which should reflect the following points:

Appearance of the papyrus from a damaging agent (or agents) and the way in which it is observed (sensory examination or assisted by observation instruments).

Precipitating factor(s): common or contributing factors.

Possible interactions with other damaging agents.

Stages or degrees of development of the observed damages.

c. Once development of this part has begun, it may be necessary to carry out parallel work, or to redirect actions towards other points such as:

Expanding glossary terms.

Grouping glossary terms.

Substituting glossary terms.

Graphical description.

Photograph of a specimen with the described damage.

Proposing other icons to represent it in subsequent damage maps.

d. Iconographic proposal

Maintaining a color code based on the structure of the textual description (?)

Representation through achromatic patterns (e.g. module patterns) (?)

Proposing applications to specific cases as practical examples.

Searching for computer applications that are ideally suited to disseminate this work.

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The Preservation of the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California Berkeley

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1. Part I

a. The Tebtunis Papyri 1940-1970s

In June 1899 Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt, two young Oxford trained papyrologists, agreed to excavate the ancient town of Tebtunis. George Reisner, an archeologist, recommended and hired them on behalf of Phoebe Apperson Hearst, a philanthropist who gave much to the University of California in Berkeley and had wanted to furnish archeological objects for study and research. She funded this excavation with the understanding that their findings were to be given to the university.[1] Reisner was the liaison between Grenfell and Hunt and Phoebe Hearst keeping her up-to-date on the excavation. Grenfell, just a couple of weeks short of his thirtieth birthday, and Hunt, also a young man at twenty-eight, started their excavation on December 3rd, 1899; they excavated the Roman town, human cemeteries, a crocodile cemetery, and a temple.[2]

Their excavation revealed thousands of papyri fragments, and over one thousand Egyptian objects. Some of these objects were sent to UC Berkeley Museum (1902), once located in San Francisco, but moved to the UC Berkeley campus and today the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology. There were over 1500 items transferred, while some of the Demotic papyri were sent to Cairo.[3] The remainder of the papyri went to Oxford so that Grenfell and Hunt could translate and publish them. Grenfell and Hunt's shipment arrived in May 1900.[4] The intention was that once translated and published the papyri would eventually go to Berkeley. It wasn't until 1939, after an added sojourn of a couple of years in the British Museum, when most of the Tebtunis papyri finally arrived at UC Berkeley Library.[5] These papyrus fragments were interleaved in The Oxford University Gazette newspaper and placed in tin boxes (fig. 1). There were thousands of papyri fragments, however, this shipment wasn't the last of papyrus fragments.

During the 1950s, UC Berkeley received another shipment of tin boxes packed with Tebtunis papyri and ostraca.[6] In the late summer of 2005 three more tins containing over three hundred papyrus fragments arrived in Berkeley after much research and investigation.[7] To summarize, thirty-nine years after the excavation UC Berkeley received its first shipment of papyri; fifty

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[1] O'Connell (2004) 809-812.
[2] O'Connell (2004) 811. O'Connell notes in her footnote the general areas and that the actual start date might have been December 4th citing other sources for this date.
[3] O'Connell (2004) 821.
[4] Grenfell / Hunt / Smyly (1902) viii.
[5] Keenan / Shelton (1976) 1.
[6] O'Connell (2004) n. 9. The transactions among various curators and papyrologists about the Tebtunis papyri and objects that finally arrived in Berkeley August 1950 are listed.
[7] Remarks of Donald Mastronarde, Director of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, at the ceremonial opening of Hearst Tebtunis papyri delivered to Berkeley 105 years after the excavation (October 18th, 2005). https://web.archive.org/web/20150914161918/tebtunis.berkeley.edu/remarks/oct1805. Accessed February 3rd, 2019.

years after the Tebtunis excavation (eleven years after volume 3 part II was published in 1938) UC Berkeley received another shipment of papyri in August 1950. One hundred and five years after the excavation UC Berkeley received three more tins in August 2005.[8]

b. Physical Condition of the Papyri

In the first volume of the Tebtunis Papyri (1902) the translations focused on the crocodile mummy papyri where the physical make-up and condition of the papyri are noted in the Preface:

> «The ordinary system employed was to stuff the mummy with reeds and sticks, which were covered with layers of cloth, generally arranged in the check pattern with diminishing squares, which is characteristic of Graeco-Roman mummification. When papyrus was used, sheets of this matter were wrapped once or several times around the mummy inside the cloth, to which the outer layer was often glued; and a roll or two would frequently be inserted in the throat or other cavities. It is natural that papyrus under these conditions, having been placed inside the mummy, was even more liable to decay than that used in the cartonnage of ordinary Ptolemaic burials, which is outside thick cloth wrappers and is generally protected from contact with the soil by a sarcophagus; and much of what was found was too damaged to have any value while except in the case of a few of the best mummified crocodiles, even the papyrus that was survived is as a rule extremely fragile».[9]

Lorna Kirwan, a member of the conservation staff who took care of the papyri for several years noted in a presentation:

> «The context had a dramatic effect on the material condition of the papyri. The cartonnage often has multiple layers of papyri adhered together, which usually require separation to see the written contents of the individual pieces. Also, it is common for the fragments to be covered in gesso that obscures the text. Sometimes these fragments also have a thicker layer of paint. The papyri from the crocodiles are most often very brittle and have foreign matter and/or swatches of linen that need to be removed in order to read the text. The fragments from the various archives are usually in the best condition, usually needing less treatment. However, all three categories might also have folds, dirt, and salt deposits that need attention.»[10]

These varied physical states of deterioration will greatly influence the conservation treatments thirty-eight years later. The Library started preserving the papyri collection one year after the first shipment of 1939. Unfortunately, the first method proved to be unsuitable and eventually destructive.

c. 1940

In the summer of 1940 the Library hired papyrologist Edmund Kase, Jr. from Grover City College Pennsylvania to catalog and preserve the papyrus fragments. He preserved the Tebtunis Papyri by sandwiching the fragments between Vinylite plastic sheets. He taped the fragments to a sheet, placed a top sheet and then heat sealed the Vinylite on all four edges.

Kase accomplished quite a bit during the summer of 1940. He sealed 1705 fragments in two months of work, June 17th-August 14th.[11] In the forty-two days of work (allowing for a July 4th holiday) he sandwiched 40.5 pieces a day, or 5 pieces an hour. This is part of his report:

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[8] Verhoogt (1994) 6, Mastronarde (2007) 7, Maclay (2005) 5-7, and vcresearch.berkeley.edu/research-unit/center-tebtunis-papyri. Last accessed August 29th, 2018.

[9] Grenfell / Hunt / Smyly (1902) vi-vii.

[10] Kirwan 2004. Kirwan was one of the first conservation staff members to conserve the Tebtunis Papyri continually for over a ten-year period during the APIS years. In her presentation "Papyrus Guidelines at Berkeley" she notes the physical condition of the papyri and associates it with possible location. She deduces from condition to location as opposed to location to condition, *a posteriori*.

[11] Verhoogt (1994) 6.

> «Having devoted the summer of 1940 to the work of mounting and cataloguing the papyri in the possession of the University of California, it occurred to the writer that it might be of some service to papyrologists to furnish a brief statement with reference to: (1) the origin and extent of this important collection; (2) the opportunities for further study which it affords; (3) the new method employed in mounting this collection…
>
> As mounted and catalogued at the present time, the collection consists of 1705 pieces, almost all of which are written in Greek, the majority being from the Ptolemaic period …
>
> In the mounting of the documents "Vinylite," a vinyl resin manufactured by The Carbide and Carbon Chemicals Corp., was employed in the place of glass. The use of a plastic for such purposes has many advantages. It is unbreakable, making possible the easy and safe shipment of documents for the examination and study of the originals at distant points. It is very light, making for convenience in handling. It is thinner than glass, requiring much less space for storage (33 pieces make a pile only an inch high, so that 300 documents can be housed in an ordinary filing drawer). Through thermal sealing the mounts can be made air-right. Documents, moreover, can be mounted in plastic more rapidly than in glass…
>
> Thermal sealing can be effected most conveniently through the use of an electric strip-heater and a small hand-press»[12] (figs. 2-4).

The Vinylite was a new plastic material that was available during the 1930s. The sheets that Kase used were lightweight, strong and transparent. It was possible to store many papyrus fragments in very little space. The sealed Vinylite frames were stored in filing cabinet drawers. It appears that the method of storage is modeled on the filing of paper documents (figs. 5-7).

d. From 1940 to the late 1970s: the various methods of preservation for the Tebtunis Papyri

Thirty years later in the early 1970s papyrologists John Shelton and James Keenan removed some of the papyrus fragments that were in Vinylite and placed them between glass sheets and taped the edges of the glass. Keenan, a young man of 25, was an assistant professor in the Classics Department at UC Berkeley, and Shelton was also a 26 or 27 year old papyrologist and scholar who was keen on publishing the Tebtunis material. In 1969 after a six-week papyrology summer institute sponsored by the American Society of Papyrologists Shelton and Keenan used materials that were left over; materials such as glass plates, tweezers and tape were useable for rehousing papyri. Their preservation work entailed removing papyrus fragments from the Vinylite with a cake spatula, transferring them to glass plates and taping the edges with black tape in an as-needed basis (fig. 8). As Keenan wrote in his presentation, "The Berkeley Papyrus Collection, 1968-1979: Unfinished Business", «There was a sense of danger and excitement in the air…common kitchen spatulas were used to separate them from the plastic sheets...».[13]

There were major drawbacks with the Vinylite sheets and this rehousing effort was necessary to ameliorate the damage that had taken place since 1940. The Vinylite sheets were flexible and could thereby produce a static charge. This combination of static and flexibility helped produce papyrus dust. The accumulation of papyrus dust made reading difficult because it would obscure the surface of the fragment. The dust also got under the pressure sensitive tape that was used to hold the fragments stationary. The already delicate and frail fragments broke apart between the plastic sheets and the static charge drew fragments apart. Furthermore, the adhesive on the pressure sensitive tape that held the fragments is not reversible and cannot be removed from the surface of the papyrus without causing more damage (figs. 9-10).

[12] Kase (1940) xliv-xlv.
[13] Keenan (2000) Shelton and Keenan transferred approximately 100 papyrus fragments from Vinylite to glass.

In 1979 Dr. Elbert Wall, Director of the American Center of the International Photographic Archive of Papyri, also working for a National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) grant funded program whose goal was to «create a comprehensive and permanent record of surviving ancient Egyptian papyri…»,[14] preserved the UC Berkeley's papyri by photographing the papyrus fragments that were in the Vinylite. He also removed over 20000 papyri from their tin boxes and stored them in folders, 10 per folder.[15] He noted in his interim report that the Tebtunis Papyri collection in UC Berkeley was his largest collection in the Archive:

> «The largest collection represented in the Archive is the body of uninventoried and published materials from Tebtunis, presently housed at the Bancroft Library. We discovered more than 20 strong-boxes filled with flattened fragments, plus three or four others with badly crumpled fragments. All need considerable restoration, and represent a rich store of materials for anyone willing to make the trip to Berkeley with microscope and tweezers. The Bancroft Library is most anxious to have scholars in for the purpose of restoring and publishing these papyri. The Center felt that these fragments should be photographed first, since the Bancroft has been advised to sell off the uninventoried materials.»[16]

By the end of the 1970s the papyri were housed in four different ways. They were sandwiched between Vinylite plastic sheets, glass sheets, in folders, or remained interleaved in newspaper in their tin boxes (fig. 11).

2. Part II

a. The Advanced Papyrological Information System (1996-2013)

The Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS) was a NEH grant funded program where a small group of American universities with prominent and substantial papyri collections came together with the goals «first, to transform instruction and research in papyrology; and second to make papyrological material readily available to non-specialists».[17] The goal was to make a virtual library composed of the various collections. The attention given to digitizing papyri grew out of collective interest within the American Society of Papyrologists in the mid-1990s.[18]

The first grant was awarded in 1996 and the original six American universities were Columbia University, Duke University, Princeton University, University of Michigan, Yale University and University of California Berkeley. The Free University of Brussels lent its

[14] NEH grant RC-*0791-78. The American Society of Papyrologists and the University of Illinois-Urbana received an NEH grant. Wall and Prof. G. M. Browne sought to photograph and archive the photographs and negatives of various papyrus collections for use and study. The first two papyrologists / photographers were Dr. Elbert Wall and Dr. Whitney S. Bagnall. See also NEH grants PM-10138-76, Project Director Roger Bagnall (NYU), (March 1976), and RC-*1233-80, Project Director Gerald Browne (Univ. Illinois) (November 1980).

[15] Wall (1979) 81 «The photographers have also been trained in the restoration of papyri and can assist the staff of the holding institutions in the safekeeping of their papyri».

[16] Wall (1981) 162.

[17] The quotation is derived from the APIS I and APIS II grant narratives: www.columbia.edu/cu/libraries/inside/projects/apis/admin/grants/neh.app.95.html. The first APIS grant (APIS I) started July 1, 1996 and ended June 30, 1998. See also in APIS II, URL: www.columbia.edu/cu/libraries/inside/projects/apis/admin/grants/neh.app.97.html.

[18] Bagnall (1995) For a full list of APIS grant dates, see also the National Endowment for the Humanities website www.neh.gov/grants. APIS II July 1st, 1998-December 31st, 2000; APIS III July 1st, 2001-June 30th, 2004, APIS IV July 1st, 2003-Jun 30th, 2006, APIS V July 1st, 2005-December 31st, 2008, APIS VI August 1st, 2008-July 31st, 2012. NEH search site:
https://securegrants.neh.gov/publicquery/main.aspx. Accessed August 29th, 2018.

expertise during APIS I.[19] The Division of Preservation and Access within the National Endowment for the Humanities granted the funding.

Once the standards were established among the institutions for digital capture and storage among other criteria, then depending on what the university was doing for its own papyri collection, each university could proceed as necessary in order to participate in the making of this virtual library. The APIS grants established the beginning of committed conservation treatment work. There was now dedicated funding for supplies and labor.

Once the first grant was awarded UC Berkeley was a subcontract to Columbia University. Within UC Berkeley Library various departments worked together and coordinated the work-flow that included curatorial, conservation, photographic services, papyrological translation and description, and systems staff. As in any program, the inaugural one is the hardest, but with time the work-flow became consistent. Two notable participants in this initial step were Anthony Bliss, then Curator for Rare Books at Bancroft Library, who was pro-active in getting the Tebtunis preserved after 50 years of storage, and Arthur Verhoogt, visiting scholar, for taking on the job of consulting papyrologist during the early years of APIS.[20]

Throughout APIS grants II-VI there were various national and international associated partners and collaborators during the seventeen-year grant period participating by adding their respective collections to the collaborative project. The subsequent APIS grant requests were awarded with a few extensions and ending with APIS VI in 2013, each grant request referring to and building on the previous grant. For example, as noted in APIS IV grant, «During APIS I, Berkeley conserved, catalogued and imaged more than 400 of the papyri previously housed in decaying Vinylite mounts. An additional 500 papyri were conserved in the two years of APIS 2. In the same period, 600 new catalogue records and 1200 digital images were created»[21] (fig. 12).

At UC Berkeley Libraries while the APIS grants were in place the Center for Tebtunis Papyri (CTP) (an Organized Research Project)[22] was established in 2000, with Prof. Donald Mastronarde as Director, and Prof. Todd Hickey was hired as its Curator in 2001. Prof. Hickey became Director in 2011. Today the virtual library site is Papyri.info and is maintained by Duke University.

b. Conservation Treatment Division in the Preservation Department and The Advanced Papyrological Information System

At UC Berkeley the conservation priorities during the early days of APIS were papyri that were sandwiched between Vinylite plastic sheets that were published or about to be published. The Conservation Treatment Division's (CTD) paper conservator Nancy Harris initially worked on the project as the conservator. Later CTD hired Heather Shepherd and Lorna Kirwan in February 1998, and Harris trained these new part-time conservation staff to

[19] Bagnall (1995) 7. The Free University of Brussels was to participate in the bibliographic part in APIS I.

[20] In addition to Heather Shepherd, Lorna Kirwan, Nancy Harris, Lynn Jones and later Andrew Shapiro in the Conservation Treatment Division in the Preservation Department at UC Berkeley, other UC Berkeley library staff who worked continually or periodically on this project were Patrick Russell (principal cataloger at the Bancroft Library), Barclay Ogden (Director of Preservation), Marilee Proffitt (Digital Development, The Bancroft Library), and Dan Johnston (Library Photo Service that included scanning services). Some names were listed on APIS grants and on other supporting documents. As the years passed, the names changed, too.

[21] www.columbia.edu/cu/libraries/inside/projects/apis/admin/grants/neh.app.2003.html Accessed August 28th, 2018.

[22] The Center for Tebtunis Papyri was established as an organized research unit by the university in September 2000, and was awarded funding for its first ten years in order to study and preserve the collection. The papyri remain the property of The Bancroft Library. www.lib.berkeley.edu/libraries/bancroft-library/tebtunis-papyri/about-ctp. Accessed August 30th, 2018.

conserve the Tebtunis collection while she coordinated the logistics in and out of the Conservation Lab. In 2000 when Shepherd moved on Andrew Shapiro was hired to replace her. Of APIS he recalls the assembly-line atmosphere.[23] Though his responsibilities changed over the years there was continuity because for approximately ten years Kirwan performed conservation treatments on the Tebtunis Papyri in addition to her other conservation assignments.

Here is a summary of a Vinylite treatment. While working at the designated work bench the sealed Vinylite frame is passed over the ionizing fan[24] that is generating ions, and these ions help clear the static charge (figs. 13-14). Once this step is performed the frame can be cut with an Olfa knife (or scalpel blade) and the top Vinylite sheet can be lifted away. It is then possible to cut the tape tabs that hold the fragment stationary. The tape that is left on the surface of the papyrus may not be removable because the adhesive may be too sticky to be lifted without causing more damage. Lifting and separating the papyrus away from the bottom Vinylite sheet may require some manipulating. After slipping glassine paper (a glossy and slippery paper) under the whole fragment it is then possible to lift it out and place it on a glass surface for mounting or a blotter for further treatment (figs. 15-16).

Overall, the papyri conservation treatments were based on the Advanced Papyrological Information System Guidelines for the Conservation of Papyrus.[25] Once the papyri fragments were removed from Vinylite, Kirwan performed other measures such as humidification, dry or aqueous surface cleaning (at times she used her saliva) to remove grime from the gesso or from the papyrus surface, flattening bridging fragments (back) together, and finally mounting the fragments to a glass surface using Japanese paper and Japanese wheat starch paste. The storage also changed from vertically stored Vinylite frames on open shelves (figs.17-18) to vertically stored glass frames in manuscript boxes.

c. The Conservation Treatment Division and the Center for Tebtunis Papyri

The Center for Tebtunis Papyri (CTP) has historically been very supportive of the conservation staff members who work to preserve its collection. In 2002 during the APIS grant III CTP supported Kirwan to train with papyrology conservator Ms. Andrea Donau, in Vienna. In 2004 CTP supported Leyla Lau-Lamb, principal papyri conservator at the University of Michigan, to work with Kirwan on various Tebtunis papyrus fragments in the Conservation Treatment Division here at UC Berkeley.

In May 2008 Myriam Krutzsch (noted Papyri Conservator at the Egyptian Museum in Berlin) spent time in CTD training the three Library Conservators, Erika Lindensmith, Hannah Tashjian and the author (Emily Ramos). After this initial training with Myriam Krutzsch we designed a conservation treatment protocol where we would work in a rotation so that each of us treated a papyrus fragment while in order to accommodate CTP's conservation requests. We decided one conservator would devote approximately ten hours a week to a papyrus fragment and this program would be mutually advantageous for us conservators as well as for CTP.

In February 2009 CTP supported a visit by Erja Salmenkivi (papyrology researcher cum papyrology conservator) to present and teach us a technique that her teacher, Jaakko Frosen,

[23] Andrew Shapiro, private conversation about his remembrances working on the APIS project, July 2016.
[24] Steinman (1997) Ion Systems Inc. in Berkeley donated the fan that made it possible for UCB conservators to remove the papyri from between the Vinylite sheets. Ion Systems was sold to another company, ca 2005.
[25] www.lib.umich.edu/papyrus-collection/advanced-papyrological-information-system. Accessed August 30th, 2018.

had taught her. The technique, the Stohler-Zimmer & Harrauer method, was a method of treating cartonnage without destroying the gesso or removing the ink on the papyrus fragment beneath the painted areas (figs. 19-21).

In 2010 Martha Little was a contract conservator in the CTD who was later hired as a full-time Library Conservator in 2014. In addition to her other responsibilities, she enthusiastically accepted the responsibility of the conservation of the papyri. Later she applied for and was awarded the Baker Fellowship at the University of Michigan. She decided to use part of the fellowship to pursue her interests in the conservation of papyri and at the end of 2015 she spent time at the University of Michigan learning many techniques under the direction of conservators Leyla Lau-Lamb and Marieka Kaye.

In 2012 CTP partially funded Library Conservator, Erika Lindensmith, and in 2014 Emily Ramos, to participate in the two-week Papyrus Conservation Seminar taught by Leyla Lau-Lamb at the University of Michigan. To date, my attendance in this 28th International Congress (2016) was another way to participate and learn from other conservators and scientists in the field, since there are new and amazing technological methods of accessing text. Our collective interest and education of papyrus conservation is an on-going project.

Our conservation program at University of California Berkeley Libraries is use driven. We treat those library materials that are used or will be used by students, faculty, researchers, and staff. We serve twenty-four branch libraries on campus; these libraries are divided into three subject councils, and we conservators are liaisons to the three councils. Accordingly, when CTP requests conservation treatments for those papyri that are currently in use, or will be used in a class, for publication, or an exhibit they fill out their specific routing form that identifies the date of delivery, a brief explanation of the damage and when necessary a deadline date. Erika Lindensmith, who is currently the liaison to CTP, checks-in the papyri into the conservation lab. These papyri are assigned a unique conservation database number and a corresponding condition report is printed out. We take note of the papyrus fragment's physical condition and document our treatment as it progresses. We use the FileMaker Database 8.5.

A very short summary of our conservation treatment process follows. We photodocument the papyrus fragment (recto and verso) before and after treatment. Currently we use the Canon G-11 digital camera. We examine the fragment noting its physical condition. We perform solubility tests on the inks and other media. Treatments can include the following: flattening, mending, joining, removing previous repairs, mechanical / water cleaning, and section and fiber alignment. We re-attach or bridge parts together using pre-toned Japanese medium light weight paper and sodium carboxy methyl cellulose. We humidify using wet blotters or a humidification chamber. Once the treatment is completed the fragment is mounted and sandwiched between glass plates and taped along the four edges with adhesive backed cloth tape. These frames are stored vertically in manuscript boxes. There are three sizes and the size of the fragment and the inclusion of a label dictate to the resultant size of the glass plate. An over-size fragment is mounted and sandwiched in custom ordered glass plates. These larger pieces are then housed individually in custom boxes.

3. Conclusion

Since the inception of APIS 1996 a little over twenty years ago with the designated funds for conservation, we in the Conservation Treatment Division have been conserving the Tebtunis Papyri by using methods and materials that are conservationally acceptable, durable for use and are not inherently deleterious.

We work closely with CTP keeping in mind their requirements and deadlines. We have integrated the preservation of the Tebtunis Papyri into our routine and have committed to expanding our knowledge of papyrus conservation, an unexpected but welcome addition in our traditional library preservation practices. CTP and CTD have a stable enduring arrangement that is mutually beneficial.

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Plates



Fig. 1 Papyrus fragment that was stored in an Oxford Gazette newspaper (Feb 24, 1903). Photo by E. Ramos (2009). Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

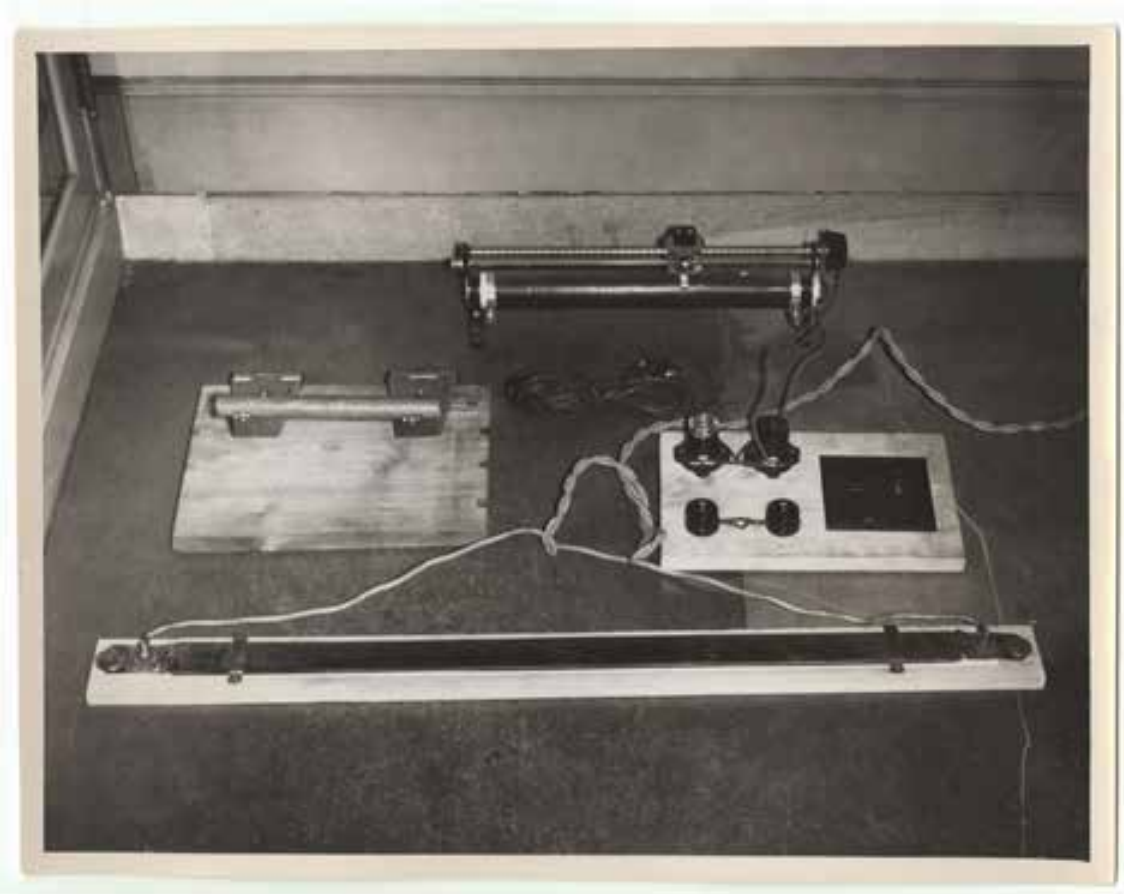


Fig. 2 Apparatus used to seal papyrus fragments between Vinylite sheets during the summer of 1940. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

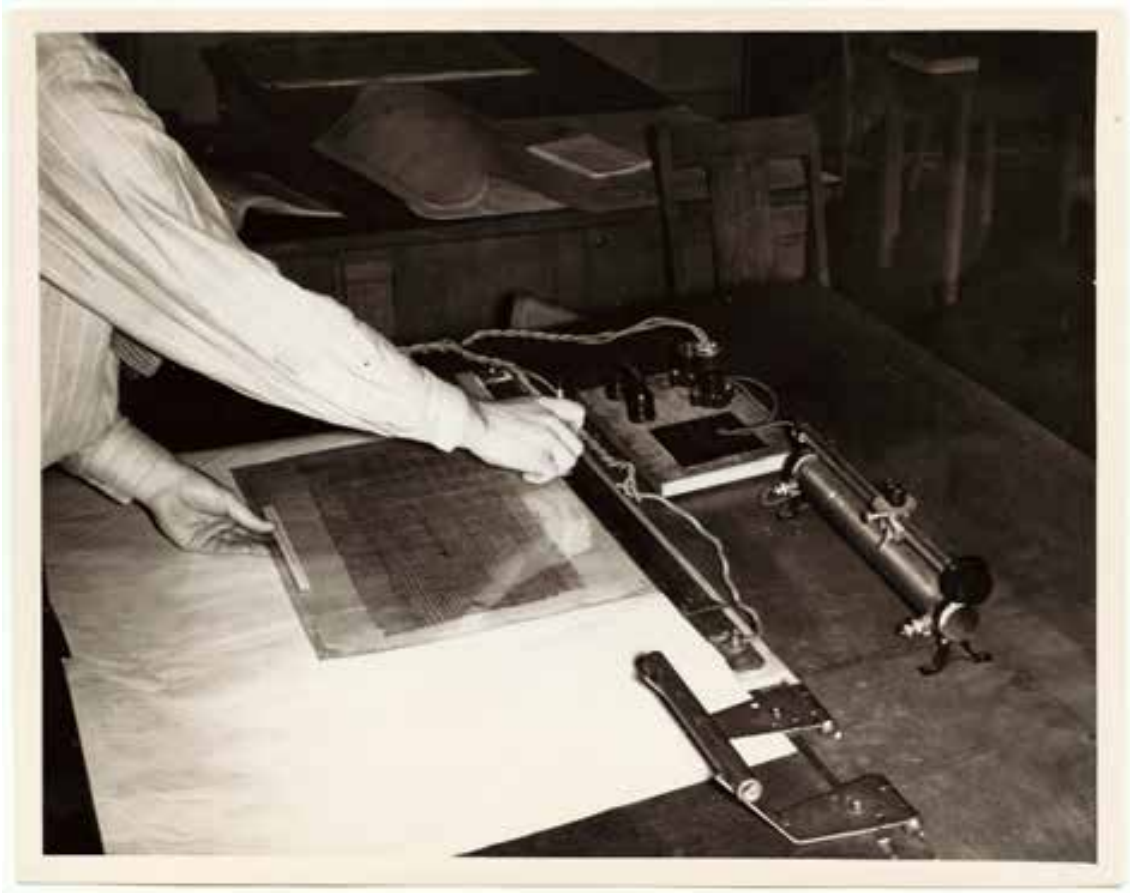


Fig. 3 Image of someone (Kase?) sealing a papyrus fragment. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

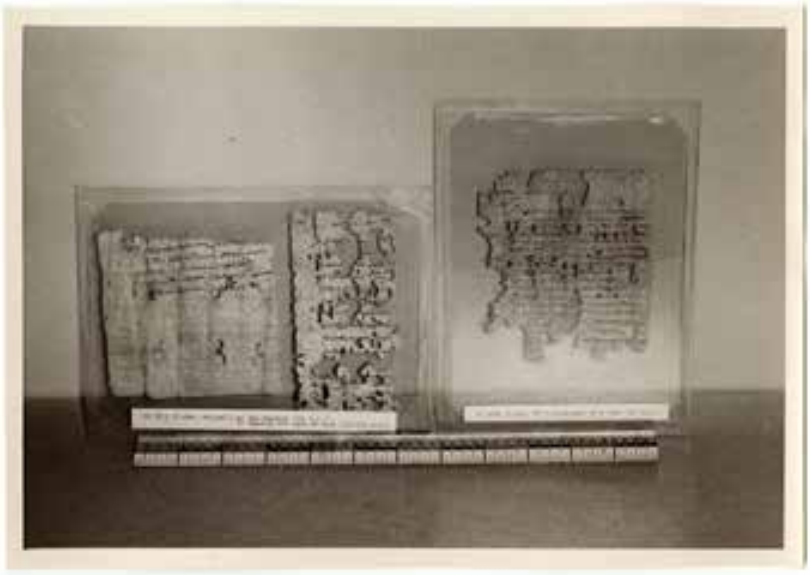


Fig. 4 Examples of papyrus fragments sandwiched in Vinylite sheets. The labels read on the left UC 2301 (two separate fragments: P Teb. 0536 – tax receipt and P Teb. 0541 – receipt for payment). The label on the right UC 2302 (P Teb 0537 – loan repayment). Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



Fig. 5 Measuring the completed work using a ruler. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



Fig. 6 Completed work that fits easily into a filing cabinet drawer. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



Fig. 7 Image of the completed work gathered together. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



Fig. 8 Example of a papyrus fragment between glass and black taped edges. APIS ID #2473. Photo by E. Ramos (2016). Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



Fig. 9 Example of a papyrus fragment sandwiched between Vinylite plastic sheets. The fragment is UC 2470 (P.Tebt. I 2 (a-c)). Note the papyrus crumbs distributed throughout the frame. This example is from a crocodile mummy. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



Fig.10 Example of a papyrus fragment sandwiched between Vinylite plastic sheets. The fragment is UC 1653 (P.Tebt. I 4, Iliad, Book 2, lines 95-210.) The fragments are taped in place with many tabs of pressure sensitive tape. This piece comes from a crocodile mummy. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



Fig. 11 Different storage boxes in CTP's vault collected over the years. Photo by E. Ramos (2014). Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



Fig. 12 Manuscript boxes are currently used for storing papyrus fragments after conservation treatments. Photo by E. Ramos (2014). Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



Fig. 13 Ionizing fan that was still in use. Fan was donated by Ion Systems, Berkeley, California. Photo by E. Ramos (2016). Courtesy of the Conservation Treatment Division, Preservation Dept., University of California, Berkeley.



Fig. 14 Designated work space for papyri conservation in the conservation lab. Photograph by E. Ramos (2016). Courtesy of the Conservation Treatment Division, Preservation Dept., University of California, Berkeley.



Fig. 15 An example of a papyrus fragment in Vinylite about to be treated. Photo E. Ramos before treatment (2013). Courtesy of the Conservation Treatment Division, Preservation Dept., University of California, Berkeley.

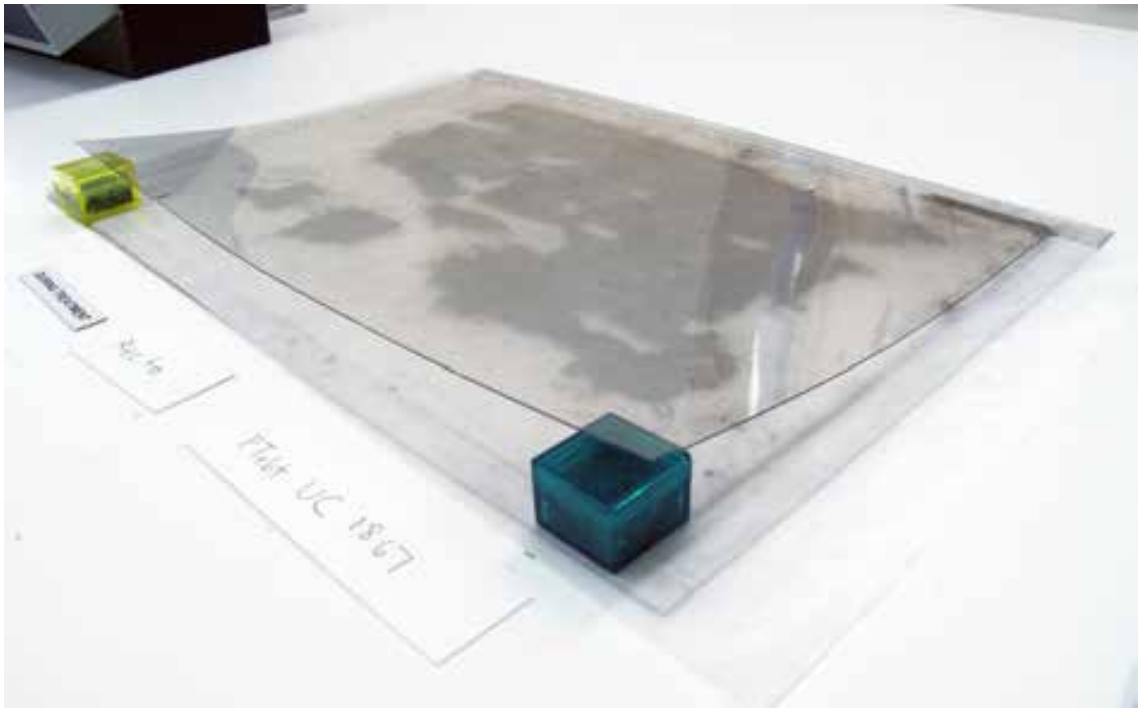


Fig. 16 Removal of the papyrus fragment from Vinylite. Photo by E. Ramos during treatment (2013). Photo by E. Ramos, Courtesy of the Conservation Treatment Division, Preservation Dept., University of California, Berkeley.



Fig.17 Former shelving for the Vinylite and black taped papyri and before conservation treatment. Photographs by Leyla-Lau Lamb (2004). Courtesy of The Bancroft Library. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



Fig.18 Former shelving for the Vinylite and black taped papyri and before conservation treatment. Photograph by Leyla-Lau Lamb (2004). Courtesy of The Bancroft Library. Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



Figs. 19 - 21 Examples of the Stohler-Zimmer & Harrauer method. The painted gesso will be separated from the papyrus fragment. Photos by E. Ramos (2009). Courtesy of the Conservation Treatment Division, Preservation Dept., University of California, Berkeley.



Fig. 20 Stohler-Zimmer & Harrauer treatment in process. Photos by E. Ramos (2009). Courtesy of the Conservation Treatment Division, Preservation Dept., University of California, Berkeley.



Fig. 21 The Stohler-Zimmer & Harrauer treatment completed, before mounting to glass. Photos by E. Ramos (2009). Courtesy of the Conservation Treatment Division, Preservation Dept., University of California, Berkeley.

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Conservation of the Louvre Medical Papyrus: Cautions, Research, Process

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In 2007 the French government purchased a highly valuable medical papyrus, thanks to the sponsorship of the pharmaceutical French company IPSEN.[1] The papyrus is now kept in the Louvre museum.[2] It is composed of eight individual pieces mounted between glass sheets reaching a total length of seven meters (fig. 1).

The text was written in hieratic on the recto and the verso by two successive scribes during the New Kingdom. The recto bears descriptions of diseases together with remedies for treatment. The verso shows detailed descriptions and magical spells that were both previously unknown. The first text was written during the reigns of Thutmose III or Amenhotep II (1479-1404 BCE) and the second was written 150 years later, at the beginning of the Ramesside period, as an updated version of the preceding text. Black carbon and red inks were used by both scribes (fig. 2).

Because this medical treaty is historically significant, it is important to consider its condition. In 2007 we completed a first condition report stating the fragility and the ongoing degradation of the papyrus and explaining the possible link to its poor mounting system. Further research, analysis and examinations were necessary to complete the report.

In 2010, the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the Louvre asked us to undertake research on possibilities for intervention.[3]

1. Condition report

The scroll was likely already in bad condition when it was discovered.

It is separated into two parts (upper and lower) by a horizontal fracture running accross its entire length. When the papyrus was unrolled, fragments were placed into eight mounts without the corresponding upper and lower parts being joined. All the lower parts are gathered in one mount, without connection, the other seven mounts gathering the upper parts.

The dark brown colour and the fragile and friable state of the document are indicative of an unusual and advanced state of deterioration. The papyrus contains many vertical fractures, lacunae and broken fragments, with many pieces detached and now loose. Some fragments have become so brittle that it is no longer possible to distinguish the fibre structure of the papyrus (fig. 3).

---

[1] French pharmaceutical company, IPSEN stands for 'Institut des produits de synthèse et d'extraction naturelle'.

[2] See http://www.louvre.fr/expositions/papyrus-medical-egyptien-du-nouvel-empire-1550-1050-av-jc (last accession 12/08/2018); exhibition held from 6th June 2007 to 6th August 2007 with links to press release and thematic paper on medical skill in Egypt as pdf files.

[3] We would like to acknowledge the Louvre Museum and its curatorial team for their support and trust and, of course, IPSEN for their sponsorship.

Fragments were unfortunately attached with strips of self-adhesive plastic tape to a sheet of glass (fig. 4). The tape adhesive is still very sticky. It hardened over time, much more than the papyrus itself. In some areas, a brownish strip is the only remnant of a lost piece of papyrus.

A second sheet of glass was placed on top of the first sheet and held together with opaque self-adhesive tape. The interiors of the glass mounts are soiled by the dust of papyri and some include white stains due to previous exposure to moisture.

White halos (most likely salt deposits) are the only traces of displayed or lost pieces.

2. Intervention

The condition report not only describes the very bad condition of the papyrus, but clearly underlines the link with incorrect mounting techniques: hard and sticky self-adhesive tape, along with loose pieces and improper pressure placed on the fragile papyrus.

The aim of an intervention is to stabilise the remaining pieces and to change the mounts to improve the conservation and the storage conditions. It also provides an opportunity for scholars to check the organisation of the fragments and to match the corresponding parts of the upper and the lower sections of the roll.

After the condition was assessed a big question remained: is it possible to open the mounts, handle the fragments and replace them in the correct order before storing them in a satisfactory way?

A very progressive approach was decided upon, consisting of several steps, to evaluate the practical possibilities and to produce an intervention protocol.

a. Step 1: Opening the mounts

We were conscious of the extreme fragility of the document and our first intention was to limit our intervention to a minimum by only replacing the fragments and changing the glass. We began by opening a first mount. This step was alone particularly stressful: if most of (but not all) the pieces remained attached to the bottom glass, some randomly distributed pieces might be stuck to the top glass and lifted during the opening process. It would be necessary therefore to release them carefully with a sharpened blade and to remember their precise location.

Once the mounting was opened, we quickly noticed that despite all our precautions, the papyrus was too brittle to be lifted out and handled without preliminary consolidation.

Moreover, after several attempts, the tape strips proved impossible to remove, even with solvents. The papyrus was simply too fragile.

Our next objective was then to select an appropriate consolidant to restore the cohesiveness of the material.

b. Step 2: Selecting a consolidant

On the basis of our practical experience in the conservation of papyri and that of our foreign colleagues, we selected funori, an adhesive made from various Japanese seaweeds from the Gloïopeltis family (fig. 5). It is well known for its great smoothness and its low surface tension, which allows for better penetration inside the layers of fibres of papyri, which are not

refined or felted like paper. Used correctly, funori does not result in the brightening or darkening of the papyrus.[4]

We carried out a number of tests to determine the best preparation and concentration of funori.[5] We selected a very dilute solution (0.5%), to allow good penetration and avoid distortion and a surface sheen. The algae are soaked during one night and cooked in a bain-marie for thirty minutes. The liquid is then filtered through a piece of linen.

Based on experience and conservation literature, the safest method for applying funori consists of brushing it over the surface through an intermediary film. The surface of the papyrus is too fragile to support direct friction from the brush, and rapid evaporation of a consolidant does not make a uniform funori impregnation easy.

After several tests, it appeared absolutely indispensable to supplement consolidation by adding a lining paper.

c. Step 3: Selecting a lining paper

Our selection criteria for the lining paper included the following: transparency so that the writing on the covered side remain readable, strength and firmness in paper structure and permeability to successfully allow the transfer of the consolidant.

A number of the thinnest Japanese papers were tested (fig. 6):

• Paper Nao 8g/m² Japanese paper in roll.[6]

• Paper Nao 3.6g/m² Japanese paper in roll.[7]

• Berlin tissue 2g/m² handmade Japanese style paper.[8]

• Tengu 3.5g/m² and 2g/m² Japanese paper in roll.[9]

The first paper was too thick and the second, although very thin, was coated and did not let the consolidant penetrate easily. The Tengu paper 3.5 g/m² was less transparent, but best results were obtained with 2g/m² papers, therefore we selected the Berlin tissue.

d. Step 4: Lining protocol

The development of this protocol had a positive impact on all measurable factors (dispersion, transparency and brightness).

We carried out tests on both brown-toned pieces of paper and on pieces of unwritten papyri provided by the Louvre.

As for the method of application, we chose to apply the consolidant evenly over the surface through Berlin tissue using a flexible flat brush, which is the fastest and the most precise method.

---

[4] We didn't choose Lascaux JunFunori® in the light of the tests conducted by Anne-Cécile Dauchez (2012).

[5] Several methods for preparing funori exist in Japan: it can be soaked for varying durations, heated or unheated and can be used in various concentrations. We carried out a number of experiments to determine the best preparation and concentration of funori. To reduce the surface tension, we thought of adding a few drops of ethanol without interesting results.

[6] Machine made roll of Japanese paper, 100% Kozo fibers, sold by Atlantis ref. PAJARK0001.

[7] Machine made roll of Japanese paper, 100% Kozo fibers, sold by Atlantis ref. PAJARK0000.

[8] Handmade Japanese style paper, mixture of Kozo and Mitsumata fibers, produced by Gangolf Ulbricht in Berlin (Germany) and sold by Atlantis ref. BERL3042AA.

[9] Machine made roll of Japanese paper, 100% Kozo fibers, produced and sold by Hidaka Washi.

3. Final protocol and treatment steps

Resulting from our tests, a four-step protocol was developed:

Preliminaries

- Prepare funori using 5 grams of dried algae in 100 millilitres of water (fig. 7).
- Write small labels with an identification number for each piece.
- Draw a map of the placement of the papyrus pieces.

Step A

- Open the mount, carefully releasing every piece stuck to the top glass (fig. 8).
- Cut all the strips of self-adhesive tape, around the papyrus, with a very sharp blade.
- Cover each piece with silicone release paper.
- Close the mount and turn it over to the other side.

Step B

- Open the mount, carefully releasing every piece stuck to the bottom glass.
- Lift each piece one at a time (fig. 9) and place them in a humidification chamber (90% relative humidity) for 10 minutes (fig. 10).
- Line the humidified papyri with Berlin tissue adhered with funori attaching the small label for identification (fig. 11).
- Dry without pressure for five minutes, then turn upside down to remove the polyester tissue or silicone release paper (fig. 12) and complete the drying on a blotter paper.

Step C

- After another ten minutes of humidification, consolidate the recto with funori (fig. 13).
- Complete drying without pressure (fig. 14).

Step D

- Flatten between blotters under light pressure after ten minutes of further humidification.

We are now in the process of treating larger pieces and we hope to finish two mounts before the end of the year (2016).

4. Temporary mount design

Our next goal was to create a mount to support the completed conservation work on this extremely fragile document, while allowing careful handling. The mount is temporary, while waiting for the study and translation of the text to be completed. Ultimately, the various pieces will be re-arranged to their correct positions in the final mount.

We are using sheets of neutral corrugated cardboard[10] for the bottom layer of the mount (fig. 15). Strips of the same cardboard are adhered to the four edges to protect the glass sheet, on top of a layer of a neutral-toned paper strips. The latter acts as a spacer to avoid too much pressure on the fragile papyrus.

[10] Two sheets of 2.7 mm corrugated cardboard (Klug ref. 0211103) glued together as a carrier sheet.

We are using anti-reflective glass sheets because of their well-known chemical stability and lack of static electricity. The anti-reflective effect allows the scholar to have a good view of the fragments. Two small cotton ribbons are glued to the bottom side of the glass to help when lifting it is needed.

The fragments are placed directly on the neutral corrugated cardboard and fixed only by a single drop of funori through the Berlin tissue (fig. 16).

5. Conclusion

In conservation, experience frequently reminds us that the rule of 'less is more' is very effective. Everybody who works with papyrus can see how strong a material it is, when kept in good condition. More often we struggle with inappropriate older additions than with the original material.

But conservators sometimes face difficult predicaments where they need solutions that involve adding new materials for strength. In the case of this papyrus document, we selected well known products, used for centuries in the conservation of cellulose materials. The protocol described in this paper has been built gradually and documented to provide a safe path to the preservation of this valuable document.

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Plates



Fig. 1 The Six first plates © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.



Fig. 2 Detail recto and verso © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.



Fig. 3 Self-adhesive strips, powdery and broken pieces © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.

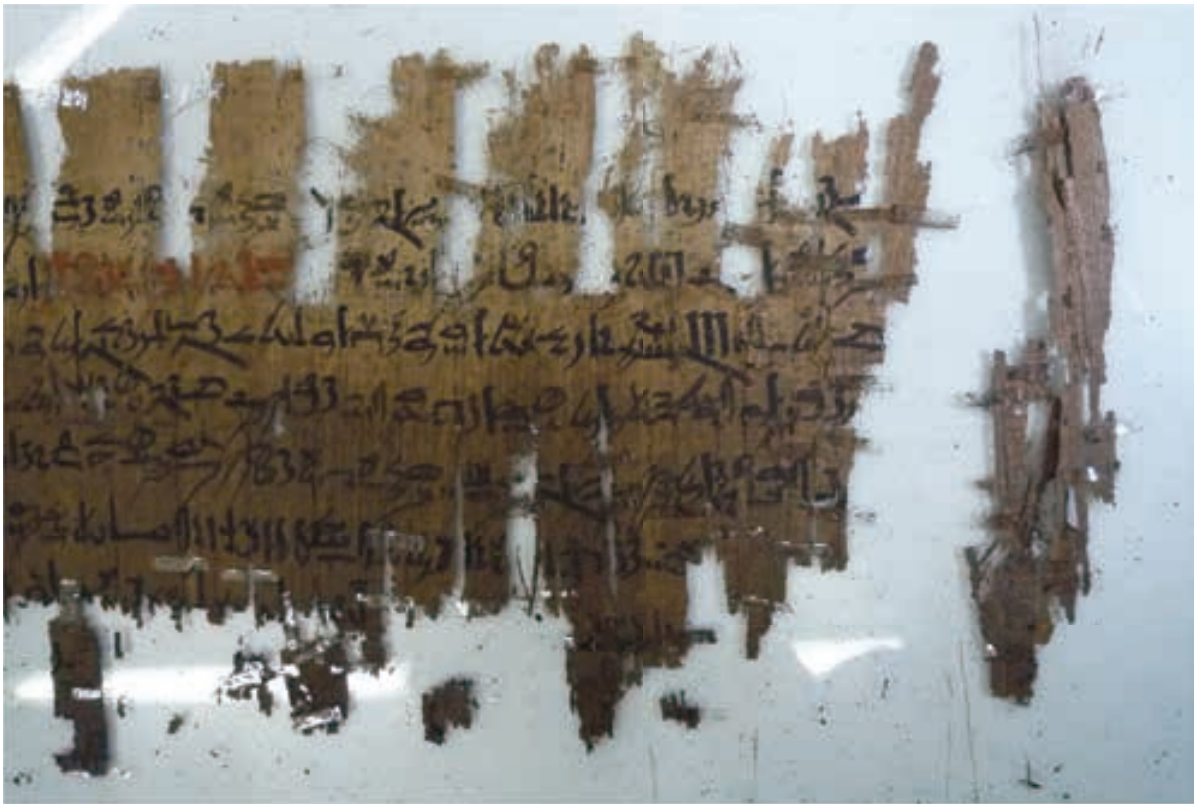


Fig. 4 Self-adhesive strips © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.



Fig. 5 Dried funori © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.

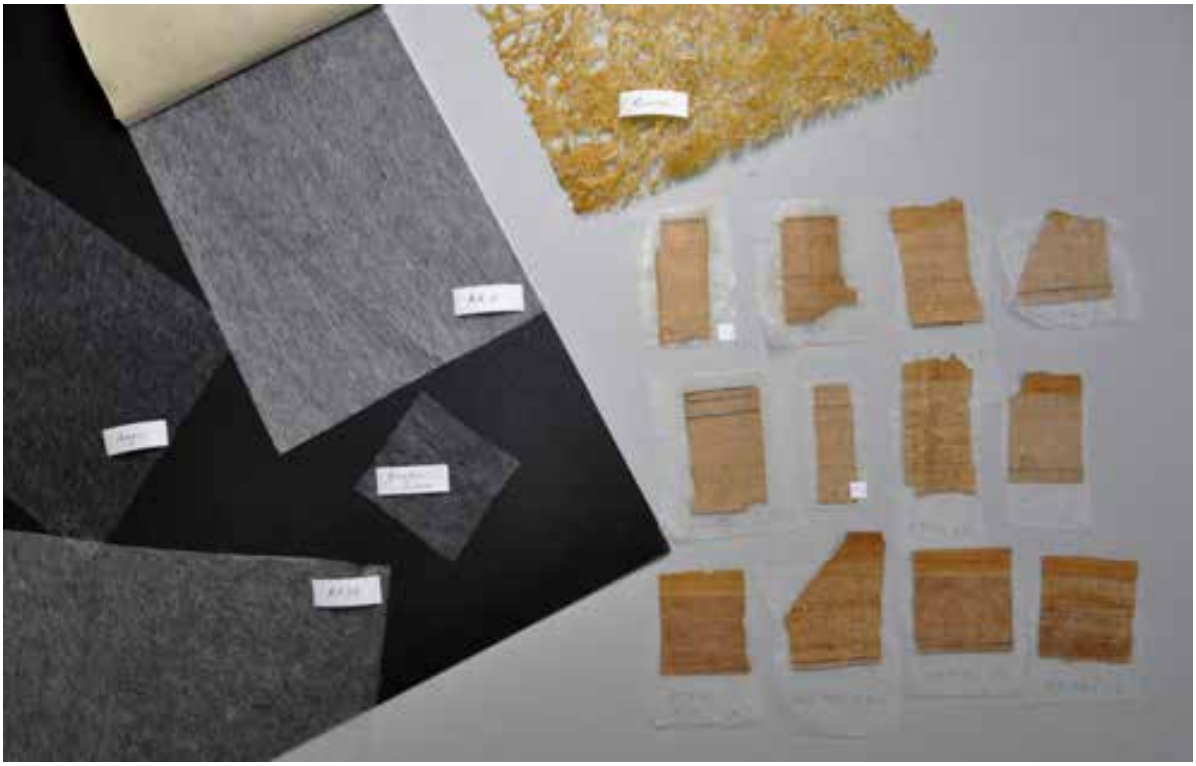


Fig. 6 Tests with various lining papers © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.



Fig. 7 Preparing funori: cooking and filtering © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.

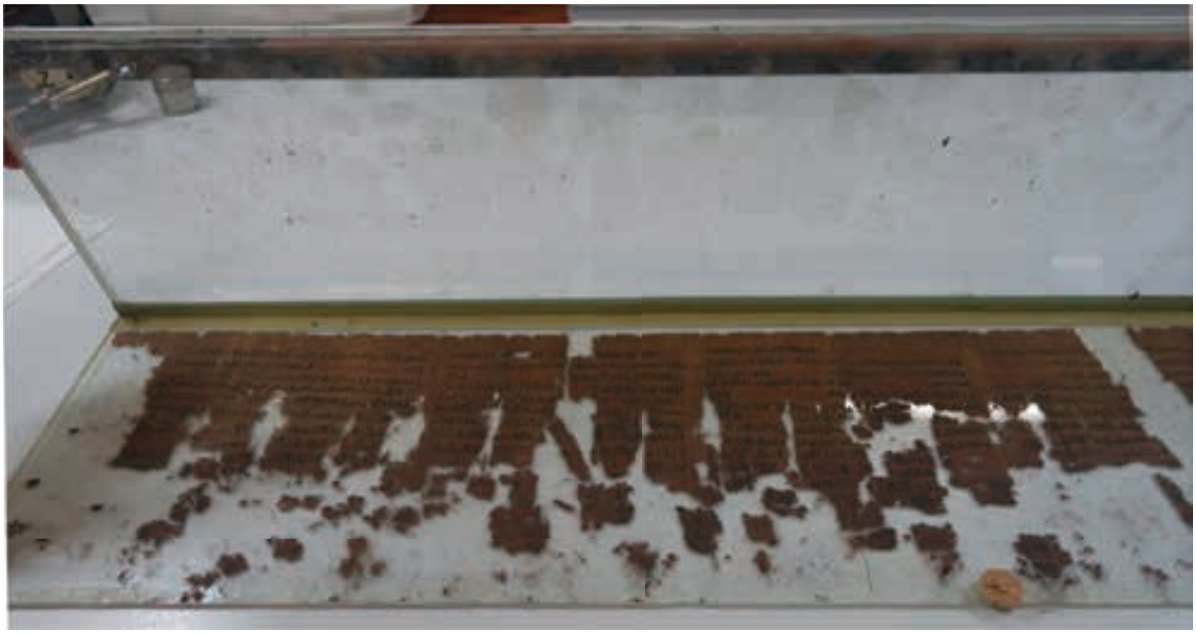


Fig. 8 Mount opening © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.



Fig. 9 Extracting a piece and preparing for the lining © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.



Fig. 10 Humidifying the papyrus before lining © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.



Fig. 11 Lining of small fragments © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.



Fig. 12 Peeling of the silicon-coated paper after drying © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.



Fig. 13 Large piece consolidation on recto side © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.



Fig. 14 Three pieces after lining, and flattening, recto and verso © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.

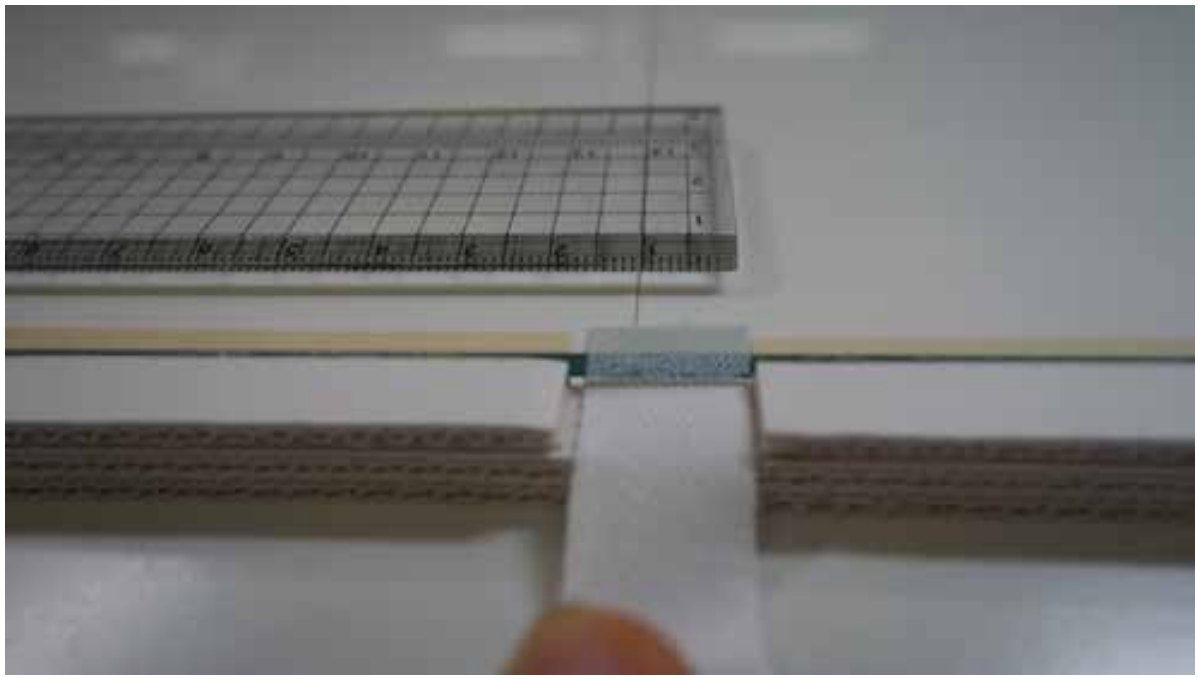


Fig. 15 Temporary mount: structure detail © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.



Fig. 16 Temporary mount before closing with glass © E. Menei & L. Caylux. All rights reserved.



PART XII

DIGITIZING PAPYRUS TEXTS

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The Corpus of Greek Medical Papyri Online and the Digital Edition of Ancient Documents*

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πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἰατρῶν ἐστι συγγράμματα
(Socrates ap. Xen. Mem. 4.2.10. 5)

1. Presentation of the project

The first section of this contribution is devoted to a general presentation of the project mentioned in the title, its history, its purposes, and its current results. The Project "Corpus of Greek Medical Papyri Online" (acronym from the Italian version is CPGM) is aimed at creating a textual database of the Greek papyri dealing with medicine, complete with introduction, critical apparatus, commentary, and translation, connected to a lexicographical databank of their own technical terms. It is housed at the University of Parma (Italy) and was directed (until November 2016) by Professor Isabella Andorlini; the core team has always been composed by a small group of researchers holding PhD or post-doc positions at Parma,[1] but the work took advantage also of a roster of guest collaborators[2] as well as students[3] from the University of Parma, who contributed to the digital encoding of the texts during several workshops and seminars organized over the past years.

The project is deeply rooted in Professor Andorlini's well-known, long-standing interest in medical papyri;[4] her original idea to collect the medical texts in a specific corpus was at first conceived of as a series of traditional paper editions,[5] then she became attracted to the possibilities offered by the developments of the digital tools.[6] In fact, initially no textual databank hosted the entire corpus of the Greek medical papyri, due to their borderline nature that ranges from literary texts (treatises by both known and unknown authors) to technical handbooks, school manuals and collections of recipes, to the proper documentary texts (prescriptions or letters containing medical references). Thus most of them fall into that

* The present contribution falls into the DIGMEDTEXT project (ERC-2013-AdG no. 339828) funded by the European Research Council at the University of Parma (Principal Investigator: Prof. Isabella Andorlini). See http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/ERC.

[1] The latest team has been composed –beside Dr Nicola Reggiani, who succeeded Prof. Andorlini in the general coordination of the project– by Dr Francesca Bertonazzi, Dr Isabella Bonati, Dr Margherita Centenari, and Dr Luca Iori. Former collaborators have been Dr Andrea Bernini (now at Naples) and Giulia Ghiretti, MA.

[2] I take the occasion to thank Andrea Bernier (Parma), Nicoletta Canzio (Cassino), Gianmario Cattaneo (Turin), Vincenzo Damiani (Würzburg), Angelica De Gianni (Naples), Maria Elena Galaverna (Parma), Maddalena Mauriello (Naples), Anna Monte (Berlin), Stefano Napolitano (Naples), Federica Nicolardi (Naples), Fabian Reiter (Trier), and Letizia Rivera (Turin) for their active collaboration.

[3] E. Angolani, C. Baccaro, M. Blanco, C. Bottioni, E.I. Breviglieri, A. Brunazzi, M. Catania, M. Conti, C.M. Ferrari, C. Foti, D. Gaetano, S.L. Giacchi, F. Giraldi, M. Guareschi, S. Haji Mohamed, P. Lillo, F. Marazzini, E. Mazzetti, L. Mazzolari, B. Nava, N. Pajares Collado, C. Quartarone, V. Riccò, L. Rizzardi, G. Saccani, E. Spedicato. Particular thanks go to Marcel Moser (Erasmus exchange student from the University of Würzburg) who professionally edited several medical texts in the framework of the DIGMEDTEXT project.

[4] Cf. Andorlini (2018); Reggiani (2017b); (2018a).

[5] Cf. Andorlini (1997a) and the subsequent, well-known Greek Medical Papyri series.

[6] Cf. Andorlini (2018) I 363-375 and 380-390.

uneasy category usually labelled as ‘paraliterary’ or ‘subliterary’; nonetheless, they are of the utmost interest from many viewpoints: for papyrology and for the history of medicine, just to mention the most obvious ones.[7] Therefore, our project intended to complete and integrate the existing databases by providing texts that are updated –and constantly updatable, according to the SoSOL philosophy–, fully searchable, and complete, in that they are based on the collation of all the possible extant paper editions of each papyrus.

From 2010 to 2011, we performed a test by digitizing the Ammon archive (P.Ammon II). The 29 documents pertaining to the archive of the famous *advocatus* of Panopolis are an example of quasi-paraliterary texts with a certain degree of complexity and indeed represented a wonderful test case. In 2011, the first approaches to the digitization of the medical papyri were made: 16 *specimina* were encoded in Leiden+ on the SoSOL platform (Papyri.info), followed by the entire text of the Michigan medical codex (P.Mich. XVII 758) with the help of some students. From 2011 to 2012 the “CPGM project” joined the third phase of the “Integrating Digital Papyrology project” (IDP3),[8] conducted by Roger Bagnall and Josh Sosin, who created a special place within the SoSOL platform, called the “ParmaMed Community”, to allow us to play around with our texts. Thirty more texts were entered with the usual collaboration of some students of Papyrology. At the end of 2012, in collaboration with Professor Anastasia Maravela (University of Oslo), we started the creation of a lexicographical database of Greek medical technical terms to be connected to the texts (the project “Medicalia Online”, which is described by Dr Isabella Bonati in these same Proceedings). In 2013 Professor Andorlini obtained an Advanced Grant of the European Research Council (7th Framework Programme, Programme “Ideas”), under which from 2014 to the end of 2016 we undertook the project “Online Humanities Scholarship: A Digital Medical Library based on Ancient Texts” (acronym DIGMEDTEXT). In the meantime, the “Digital Corpus of Literary Papyri” project (DCLP) was launched,[9] and the Parma medical project became one of the first partners for both entering texts and discussing new encoding strategies.

The current state of the art is showed by the tables at the end (figures 2-7; more detailed and updated online at https://goo.gl/ZBbHkp, where hyperlinks to each digital edition and further information are provided): of the ca. 300 medical texts published so far,[10] 281 have been completely encoded in the ParmaMed SoSOL community. Most of them have already been moved to the DCLP platform and are publicly available, and just (comparatively) few are still on hold for a final check; a dozen texts, paradoxically, could not be moved because they were considered ‘documentary’ and for the moment they lack XML support in the DCLP GitHub repository. A full insight of a typical CPGM digital item is given by Dr Francesca Bertonazzi in these same Proceedings; I now move to a second section of my presentation, devoted to the particular technical requirements of digitizing medical papyri.

2. Special technical needs of a special technical corpus.

Medical papyri are mostly technical texts: they conveyed technical knowledge, i.e. theoretical and practical information at the same time –a knowledge that is, in turn, mirrored and refracted in the different written genres encompassed by the corpus.[11] The importance of

[7] Cf. Andorlini (1993).
[8] Cf. Reggiani (2017a) 232-250.
[9] Cf. http://isaw.nyu.edu/news/digital-literary-papyri and Ast / Essler (2018).
[10] The catalogues by Marganne (1981a), Andorlini (1993), and Marganne / Mertens (1997) are snapshots of the past state of the art; one should refer to LDAB and M-P^3 for more updated counts.
[11] Cf. Reggiani (forthcoming a).

medical technical skills is apparent, and not only for health reasons (think of Galen's instructions to the patients so that they can choose the best doctor after an enquiry about his skills):[12] one might recall P.Oxy. I 40 (+ BL I 312, V 74, VI 95; Oxyrhynchus, 2nd cent. CE), a copy of the report of a court judgement where a public doctor claims for immunity from some liturgies, and the judge, after a rather witty remark, requests a scientific proof of his assertion.[13] The importance of written text for this education is stressed as earlier as in the Hippocratic corpus: «I consider the ability to evaluate correctly what has been written as an important part of the art» –says the author of the Epidemics– «He who has knowledge of it and knows how to use it will not commit, in my opinion, serious errors in the professional practice» (Epid. 3.16 = 3.10.7-8 L.). In fact, the transmission of this knowledge was carefully carried out through a specialized education, which was based on oral teachings later entrusted to written form. In the introduction to the treatise On his own books, Galen himself explains how in the context of the oral lesson one used to take written notes, thence moving to the publication of *memoranda*, the *hypomnemata* of the lessons heard.[14] Stemming from both the knowledge of oral teaching and the know-how of practical records, medical writing is not a fixed book but a tool in flux: the older treatises are commented upon, corrected, updated; the collections of personal annotations on clinical cases, therapies or remedies are constantly updated with notes and corrections based on the practice; prescriptions are transcribed, gathered and passed down; handbooks of different typologies are used to teach again… retaining in written form every stage of transmission and use.[15] Accordingly, the letters that constitute the main text of the written document are interwoven with a large variety of paratextual devices, which make a contribution to articulating an expressive network that is essential to the medical writing itself, to its transmission, to its learning, and to its practical use: therefore, they deserve particularly careful consideration. Critical and diacritical marks, punctuation, graphical and layout features, technical terms and formulae, literary or sub-literary references or echoes, marginal annotations –to cite the most outstanding ones– form a complex interplay that cannot be separated from the text itself, nor –even more– ignored, without compromising the correct interpretation of the evidence. The new technological horizons opened by the development of electronic databanks and platforms offered a suitable way of representation and in-depth analysis of such features, but also raised discussion about the best way to encode these complex texts, since we had as a starting point a powerful platform –Papyri.info– designed in the first instance to host documentary papyri, with partially different needs.[16]

A couple of meaningful cases will now be considered. The well-known typology of the questionnaire, or catechism (*erotapokrisis*), provides medical notions in a dialogue format, where a question about theoretical definitions or practical procedures is followed by a more or less detailed answer.[17] Its use as a handbook, a reference tool for the doctors' preparation, is clear also from the complex set of devices employed to highlight the articulation of the text: questions are very often indented in *eisthesis*, and further marked with *paragraphoi*, line fillers or other lectional marks that introduce the answers as well. This 'mise en page' reflects the central role played by the question-and-answer structure of the didactical tool:[18] it is therefore unconceivable to encode such texts without paying attention to their paratextual aspects. This of course raises some issues, like how to represent the *eisthesis*, a textual feature

[12] Cf. Nutton (1990).
[13] On official examinations of physicians see Reggiani (forthcoming b).
[14] Cf. Nutton (1972); Nieddu (1992) 555-567; Andorlini (2018) I 297.
[15] Cf. Andorlini (2018) vol. 1, 294-317; Reggiani (forthcoming a); (forthcoming c).
[16] Cf. Reggiani (2017a) 202-254 passim.
[17] Cf. Reggiani (2016) with earlier bibliography.
[18] Cf. Andorlini (2018) vol. 1, 286-293.

that has not been taken into consideration for documentary papyri so far. It is tempting, at a first stage, to equate it to a vacat and therefore to encode it like that. However, theoretically, we are not dealing with a blank space, but with an indention of the line with the purpose of putting a particular stress on it. We must be aware of the fact that when we encode a text digitally we do not (or not only) aim at creating a lovely display output, but above all at annotating the text with semantic information.[19] Each Leiden+ tag, as well as its underlying XML code, represents a papyrological feature: when we underdot an *alpha* in the Editor (α̣ = <unclear>α</unclear>) we primarily want not to draw an *alpha* with a dot below, but to represent an unclear character that may be read as *alpha*. Similarly, when we encode a vacat (e.g. vac.? = <space extent="unknown" unit="character"/>, we intend to describe a certain extent of space intentionally left without characters. The *eisthesis* is something different: it is a displacement of the line beginning to stress its relevance.[20] Its specular counterpart, the *ekthesis*, makes the picture clearer: by no means can it be indicated by creating weird virtual vacats at the beginning of the surrounding lines. The current suggestion is that it be encoded as an attribute of the line: <lb n="1" rend="indent"/>, which in Leiden+ appears as (1, indent) –the same way marginal annotations are tagged.[21] This seems to work fine, and is now fully supported by the platform even in the HTML output display, which renders the layout correctly. However, a further problem arises if we consider that in some catechisms questions do not start in a new line, but on the same line as the end of the previous answers, after a blank space that cannot be considered as a vacat for the same reasons as above. In this case, if we tagged the entire line as «eisthesis» we would not represent the situation correctly. A possible solution might be to tag the question phrase with the TEI/EpiDoc XML <hi> element, which is used to sign «highlighted characters or words», «with a rend attribute specifying the kind of highlighting».[22] In our case, the attribute would be «eisthesis» (i.e. <hi rend="eisthesis">…</hi>, which is not supported by SoSOL currently).[23]

The picture is even more complex if we turn to recipes and collections of recipes, where an entire set of textual and paratextual features contributes to make up what Isabella Andorlini described as a «graphical and expressive jargon» of medical prescription.[24] We find not only layout devices like *eisthesis* and *ekthesis* again, but also sets of graphical marks aimed at preserving the aspect of fragment that prescriptions bear.[25] For instance, *paragraphoi, coronides, diplai obelismenai*, and any other paratextual devices meant to separate text blocks are currently encoded as «milestones» (XML <milestone rend="paragraphos" unit="undefined"/>), which in Leiden+ are rendered by sequences of hyphens or other typographical signs (---- or the like) placed between two lines. This is fine, until we meet with *paragraphoi* that separate two lines while the real break (i.e. the 'milestone') falls within the preceding or the following line (e.g., in P.Oslo inv. 1576v): it is quite clear that the line unit loses relevance when one deals with technical texts stemming from oral, or oral-like, transmission. Abbreviations are another painful chapter. Medical prescriptions make an extensive use of abbreviated words; given their technical nature, it would be extremely useful to understand if there is any pattern behind them. As of now, abbreviations are to be encoded in the same way as the documentary papyri, that is according to the type of expansion – known or unknown, distinguished on the ground of the XML syntax. Any attempt to encode

[19] Cf. Reggiani (2017a) 232-241.
[20] On the ecdotic relevance of line displacement in the system of the margins of the Greek literary papyri see Savignago (2008).
[21] See the Leiden+ guidelines at http://papyri.info/docs/leiden_plus. For *ekthesis*, the term 'outdent' is used.
[22] Cf. http://www.stoa.org/epidoc/gl/latest/trans-charactershighlighted.html.
[23] Cf. Reggiani (forthcoming d).
[24] Andorlini (2018) vol. 1, 15-36.
[25] Cf. Reggiani (forthcoming c).

the type of abbreviation (e.g. by raised letter or by overline) is currently deprecated. We strongly hope that in the future this level of annotation may be taken into consideration: our tentative proposals, listed at http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/ERC/cpgm.html#markup, are based on a preliminary survey conducted on the different abbreviation typologies in the Greek medical papyri and on the TEI/EpiDoc XML guidelines[26].

These sample considerations, provided *exempli gratia* just to show how complex is to find out the best way to encode properly a technical text such as a medical writing,[27] are fundamental to develop the concept of digital critical edition as outlined in the following, closing section.

3. The contribution of medical papyri to the concept of digital critical edition of ancient documents.

The so-called paraliterary texts –like the catechisms and the prescriptions described above– are further characterized by intertextual and transtextual connections: references, quotations, more or less literal parallels, are another key to understand and contextualize the matter at the best. The recipes, and their collections known as *receptaria*, find inspiration in the pharmacological treatises and are further enriched by the doctors' personal practice and by references and quotations from different medical sources; the questionnaires are connected to the literary tradition of the Definitiones medicae. These are by no means stemmatological relationships between ascendants and descendants: it is a fluid knowledge under continuous changes, updates, adaptations, much influenced by oral teaching and actual practice. Rigid definitions of philological variants (for which a new tag |var| has been envisaged on the basis of the extant TEI/EpiDoc XML syntax) do not really apply, as well as the treatment of linguistic variants can be more complex than the simple application of a regularization tag (|reg|) which categorizes a standard (not to say correct) and a deviant version of a word.[28]

P.Tebt. II 272 verso (late 2nd cent. CE) is a fragment of Herodotus Medicus' De Remediis, describing the symptomatology of thirst and its treatment; the text corresponds in part to an excerpt preserved with Oribasius (Coll.Med. V 30. 6-7 = CMG VI 1. 1 Raeder). Above line 5, where the text reads αἰτίαι τῆς προσφορᾶς introducing the different reasons for giving the sick something to drink, the scribe adds two groups of three letters between dots: *τῶν* above τῆς, and *ρῶν* above ρᾶς. When digitizing that, we must find a way to state that: (1) the scribe wrote some text above the line, but not as an addition, since it is clearly a variant of the syntagm below (plural instead of singular). We cannot therefore use the standard way to tag supralinear or interlinear insertions, since it would not make sense. (2) He actually wrote *τῶν* and *ρῶν*, but meaning τῶν προσφορῶν: we must report both readings, since we have to represent what exists on the papyrus but also to make the full combination of words searchable. (3) Since nothing appears deleted, it is not clear if he wanted to correct the text or just juxtapose two different versions of the same passage. There are examples of philological corrections added *supra lineam* without deletion marks, as well as of deletions indicated with overdots (e.g. P.Oxy. XXIV 2404. l. 2. 6); otherwise, writing a word between dots can be a way to highlight a later correction (e.g. P.Eirene III 25. l. 3). We cannot be sure of what is going on here because this variant is unattested in the manuscript tradition, in that all Oribasius' passages quoting Herodotus feature the singular form. The P.Tebt. editors speak of «correction or alternative reading» (p. 20, Introduction), M.H. Marganne of «deux variantes»

[26] Cf. Reggiani (2018b) 24-26.
[27] The Parma project contributed substantially to the definition of a common guideline framework for encoding literary papyri within the DCLP project.
[28] Cf. Reggiani (2019) for further details.

and «hésitation».[29] If we should define it, we ought to call it a 'scribal variant', but which should we consider as the original reading? The temporary solution I proposed is no more than a trick that exploits the tags intended for editorial corrections and regularizations, with some descriptive comment (see fig. 1). This is clearly a way of describing what is going on and displaying it in a pleasant way, but does not comply with the semantic core of the instance.

P.Oslo inv. 1576 (III CE),[30] a fragment of a catechism dealing with tumour-like diseases, partly overlaps with P.Oxy. LXXX 5239 (II-III CE), which is more likely a proper treatise, as may be perceived e.g. from the lack of *eisthesis* in its questions. What is the philological relationship between the two? Does the questionnaire depend on the treatise, or are they two different outcomes of a same ascendant? As far as the extant parallel text is concerned, the wording diverges from each other only for one variant: ὑδροκήλη (P.Oslo, l. 5) vs [ὑ]γροκήλη (P.Oxy., l. 15). The latter is usually considered as a minority variant (LSJ: Poll. IV 203) of the former (cf. Ps.Gal. Def.med. 424 = XIX 447.12-13 K.), but it is attested three times among the medical writers (Orib. Syn.Eust. 3.28.6 and 9 = CMG VI 3. p. 75. 15-16 and 21 Raeder; Steph. In Hp. Progn. Comm. 2.1 = CMG XI 1. 2. p. 140,25 Duffy). Are we facing a trivialization in the Oslo papyrus, or a phonetic variant in the Oxy one, or just two different traditions bearing the same degree of correctness?

As in many other cases, the situation is fluid and difficult to define, and thus to properly represent in a digital edition that should be as critical as possible.[31] I wonder whether the most effective way to deal with such issues, rather than deploying alternatives or regularizations that relegate one or more parallel versions or variants to the apparatus, or force editors to make whichever choice between a theoretically genuine form and an allegedly deviant version, is to apply a multitext model, which has already been employed to represent and clarify the complex textual tradition of ancient historical fragments, and which seems to be the best way to deal with texts characterized by a high degree of orality and fragmentation.[32] A multitext is basically a dynamic collection of multiple critical editions, a network of versions with a single root.

> «It produces a representation and visualization of textual transmission completely different from print conventions, where the text that is reconstructed by the editor is separated from the critical apparatus that is printed at the bottom of the page. […] It] allows the reader to have a dynamic visualization of the textual tradition and to perceive the different channels of both the transmission and philological production of the text that is usually hidden in the static, concise, and necessarily selective critical apparatuses of standard printed editions. Producing a multitext, therefore, means producing multiple versions of the same text, which are the representation of the different steps of its transmission and reconstruction, from manuscript variants to philological conjectures».[33]

This would also lead us to treat in a more rational way the issue of the linguistic variants, envisaging a set of parallel layers (as currently deployed by the Sematia platform developed by Marja Vierros at Helsinki)[34] rather than applying uneasy regularizing patterns.[35]

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[29] Marganne (1981a) 320 and (1981b) 76 respectively.
[30] Published by Maravela / Leith (2004); a re-edition is forthcoming in P.Oslo IV (I am grateful to Anastasia Maravela for discussing this papyrus with me).
[31] «The textual tradition of compilations of this sort was highly fluid, and we should not conclude that they represent exactly the same text» (D. Leith, P.Oxy. LXXX 5239).
[32] Cf. e.g. Berti (forthcoming).
[33] Berti (forthcoming), 4-5.
[34] Cf. Vierros / Henriksson (2017); Vierros (2018).
[35] Cf. now further and deeper discussion in Reggiani (2018b) and Stolk (2018).

To conclude, digitizing papyri (especially technical texts, but not only!) helps re-considering the texts and their context, as well as the shape of the databases and the very meaning of a digital edition, which must not be a simple digital transfer of existing paper editions, nor the mere description of an ancient text, but a new tool to enhance our understanding of the past and of our cultural roots, and eventually a new step in the transmission of ancient texts.[36] The future of the Digital Corpus of Medical Papyri[37] will be precisely to implement new strategies to face all the described challenges.

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[36] Cf. Reggiani (2018b), (forthcoming c) and (forthcoming e).

[37] Work is never completely done: some very complex and very recently published medical papyri, such as the *Anonymus Londinensis* and most of the P.Oxy. LXXX texts, have been excluded for practical reasons from the DIGMEDTEXT project, but will certainly encoded in the near future.

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Plates

LEIDEN+

5.- [ου]ς αἰτίαι|ed| πλει5.- [σ]ται <αι>τίαι:> **<:τῆς προσφορᾶς=actual text|ed|*dot*τῶν*dot*<:προσφορῶν|reg|*dot*ρῶν*dot*:>=scribal original insertion above line:>** εἰσιν·

XML

<lb n="5" break="no"/><supplied reason="lost">ου</supplied><unclear>ς</unclear> αἰτίαι</lem><rdg> πλει<lb n="5" break="no"/><supplied reason="lost">σ</supplied>ται <supplied reason="omitted">αι</supplied>τίαι</rdg></app> **<app type="editorial"><lem resp="actual text">τῆς προσφορᾶς</lem><rdg resp="scribal original insertion above line"><g type="dot"/>τῶν<g type="dot"/><choice><reg>προσφορῶν</reg><orig><g type="dot"/>ρῶν<g type="dot"/> </orig></choice></rdg></app>** εἰσιν·

HTML

5[ου]ς αἰτίαι(*) τῆς προσφορᾶς(*) εἰσιν·
App.:
^ 5. actual text : ((dot)) τῶν ((dot)) ((dot)) ρῶν ((dot)) (l. προσφορῶν) scribal original insertion above line

Fig. 1

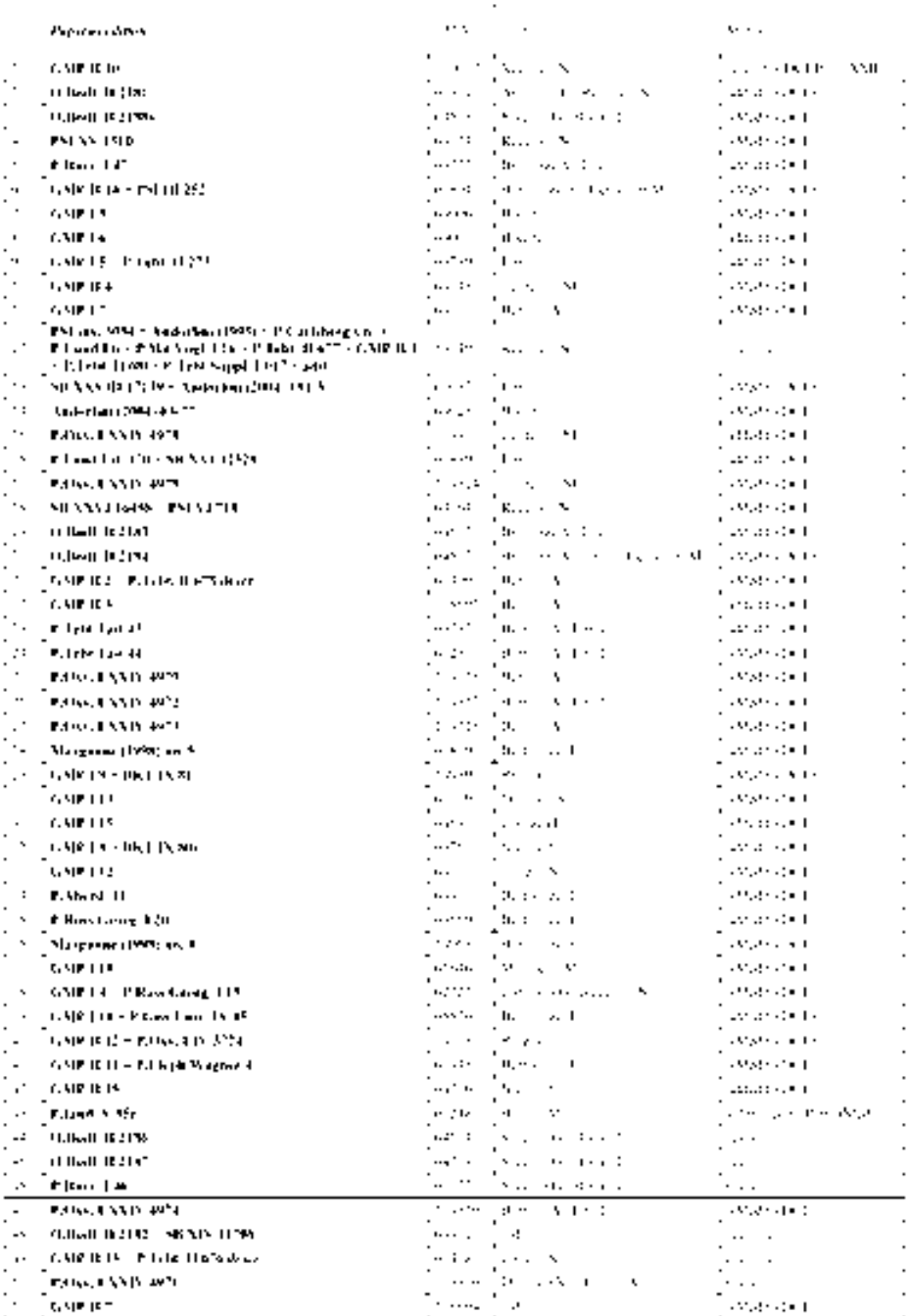


Fig. 2

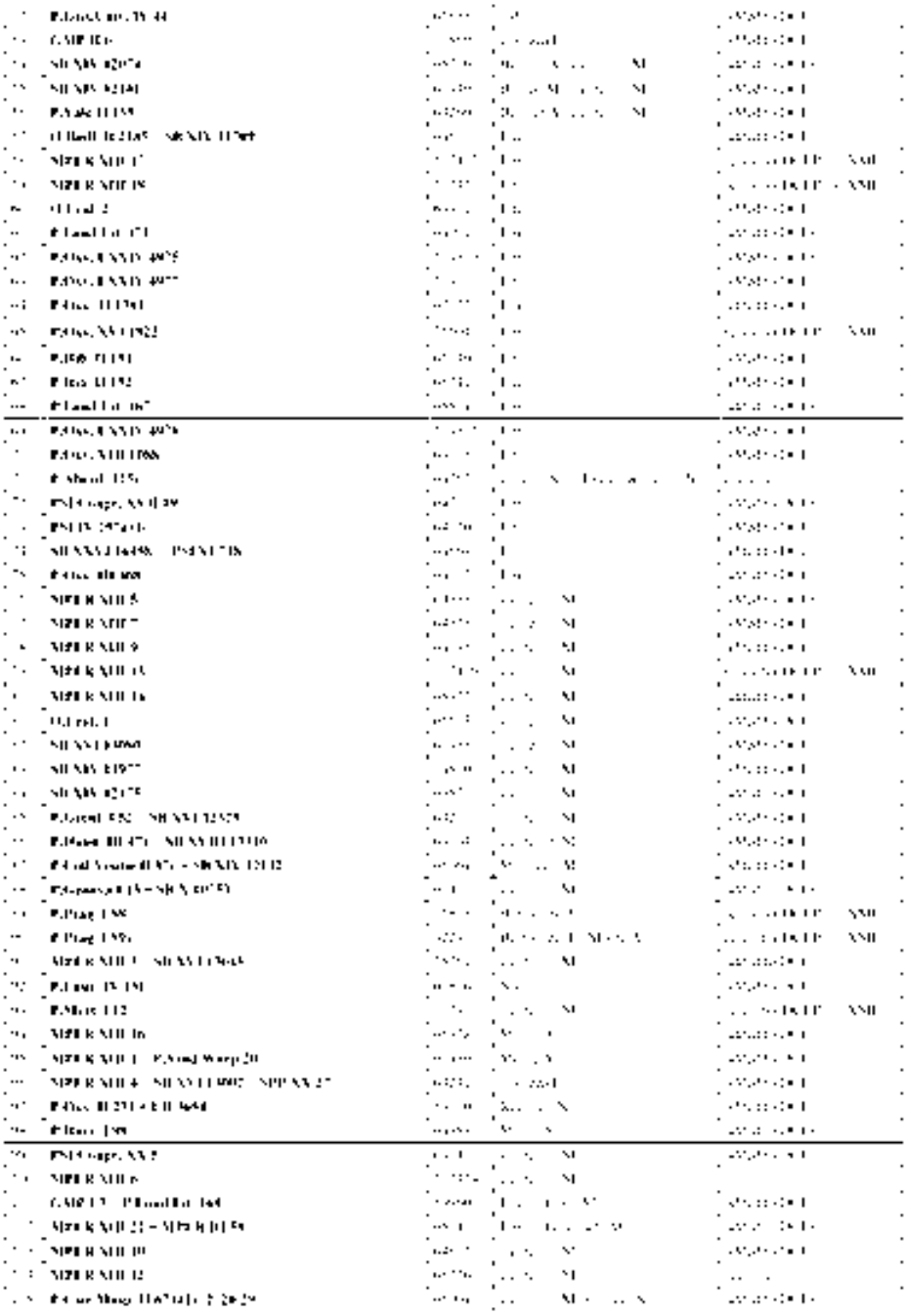


Fig. 3

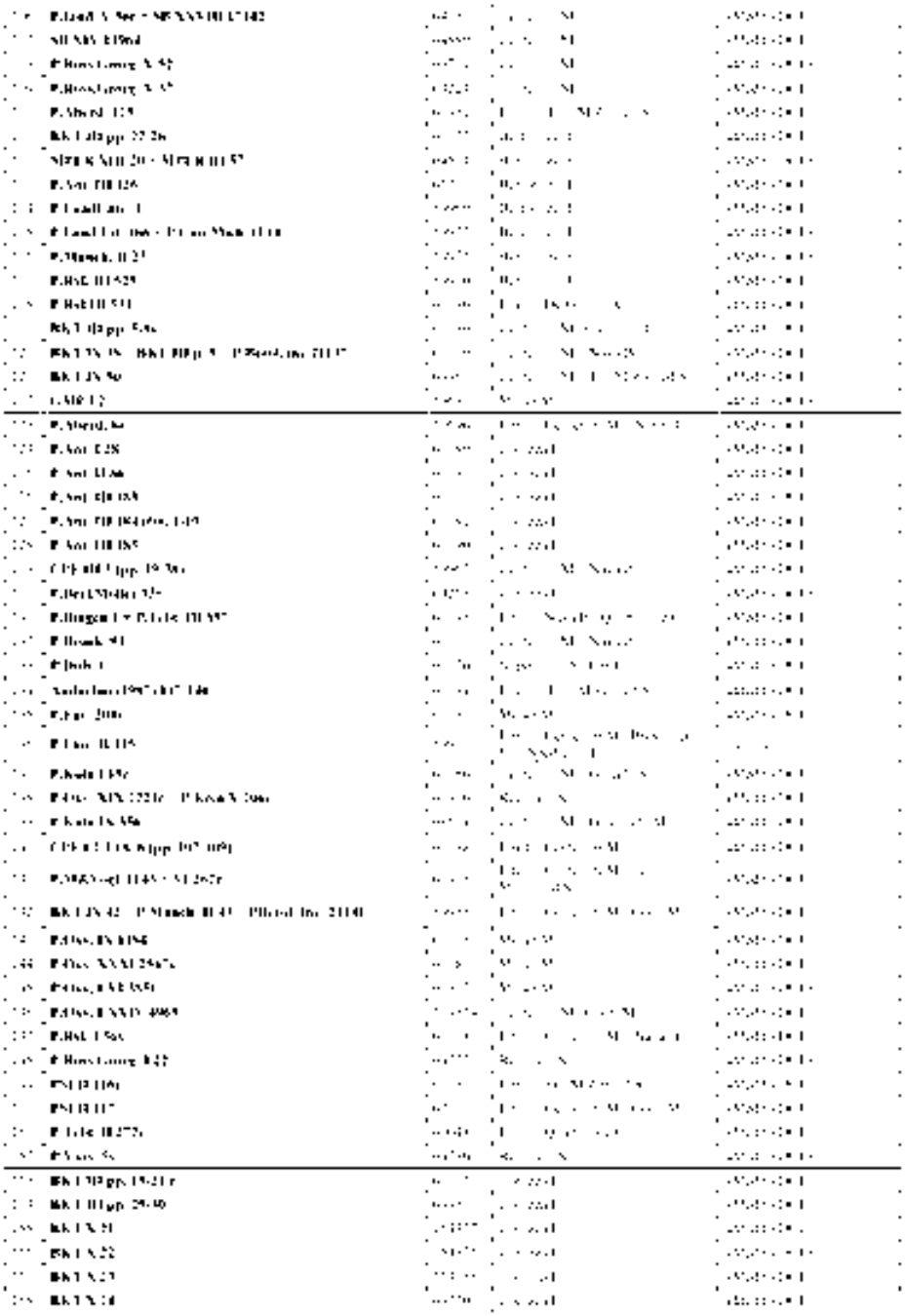


Fig. 4

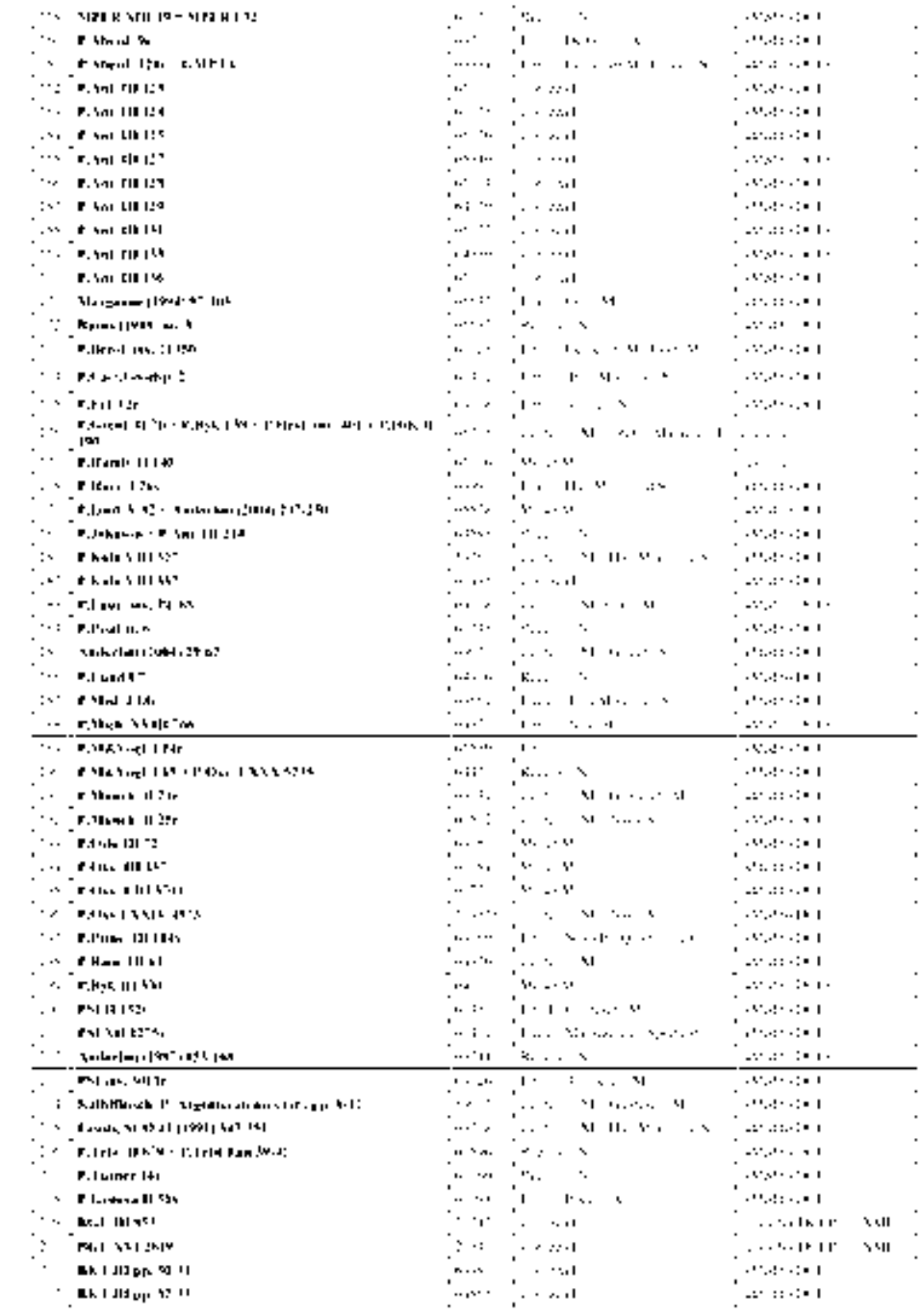


Fig. 5

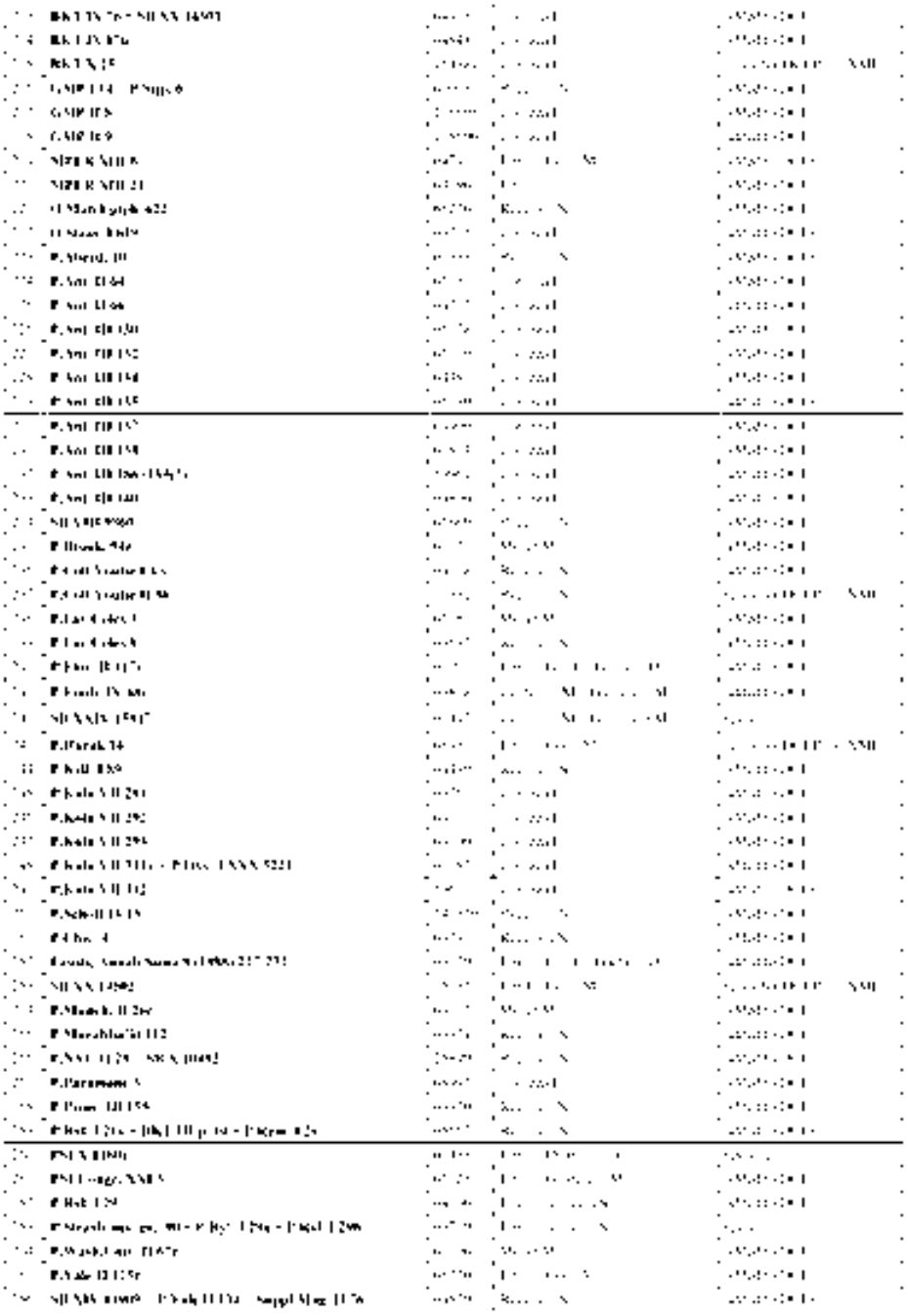


Fig. 6

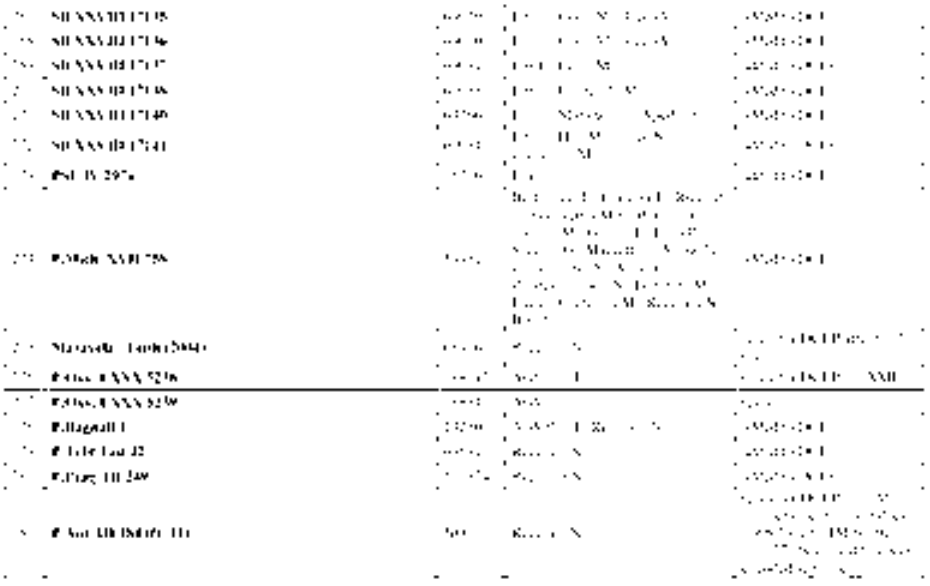


Fig. 7

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Digital edition of P.Strasb. inv. 1187: between the papyrus and the indirect tradition*

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1. Introduction

The present paper presents the new digital edition of P.Strasb. inv. 1187 (TM 59968 = LDAB 1080), encoded in Leiden+ markup language in the framework of the project "Corpus of the Greek Medical Papyri Online", based upon the SoSOL platform and conducted at the University of Parma by Professor Isabella Andorlini with funding from the European Research Council.[1] The project aims at creating a digital library of ancient medical texts on papyrus and is merging with the Digital Corpus of Literary Papyri (DCLP).[2]

Alongside the relevance of this new digital edition, P.Strasb. inv. 1187 is also significant for its editorial history and its lexical content. The text, which has had three previous editions, preserves the description of a bone surgery to the skull, or to the ribs, carried out with three of the main ancient surgical tools, i.e. ἐκκοπεύς ('chisel'), σμιλιωτὸς ἐκκοπεύς ('sharp chisel'), and τρύπανον ('drill'). Furthermore, it presents strong similarities with literary excerpts of Heliodorus as conveyed by Oribasius. Being *adespoton*, the papyrus cannot be attributed to Heliodorus with certainty; however, the digital edition offers the chance to highlight textual affinities with the latter's manuscript tradition. Generally speaking, what will be pointed out here is how the digital edition can be an occasion to critically rethink the entire text and its main features.

2. Previous editions and description of the content

Kept at the Cabinet Numismatique of the Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire at Strasbourg, the papyrus preserves two fragments of a volume in a bad state of preservation.[3] The text was the object of three complete editions and a number of critical notes. The *editio princeps* was made by Naphtali Lewis in 1936; subsequently, the text was republished by Daniela Fausti in 1989 and Marie-Hélène Marganne in 1998. Some comments were provided by Alfred Körte in 1938 and by Isabella Andorlini in 1993.[4]

As noticed by the *editor princeps*, the text contains «a number of words and phrases of a decidedly medical character»[5] and, despite its fragmentary state, it could be identified as the description of operative surgery with technical instruments such as an ἐκκοπεύς ('chisel'), a

* The present paper falls into the ERG-AdG-2013-DIGMEDTEXT project, Grant Agreement No. 339828 (principal investigator Prof. Isabella Andorlini), funded by the European Research Council at the University of Parma (Italy) [http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/ERC].

[1] ERC-2013-AdG DIGMEDTEXT.

[2] http://litpap.info/dclp/59968. See Reggiani (2017) § 8.7.

[3] Fr. A preserves two columns of text and measures 10.5 x 5.7 cm; fr. B measures 5.5 x 1.6 cm; no margin survives.

[4] Lewis (1936); Körte (1938); Fausti (1989); Andorlini (1993); Marganne (1998).

[5] Lewis (1936) 90.

σμιλιωτὸς ἐκκοπεύς(‘very sharp chisel’), and a τρύπανον (‘trephine’), in order to eliminate a fistula in the rib area or in the cranium.[6]

In fr. A. col. i it seems likely that instructions are given to find a hole (ἐφώρασεν τρῆμα, l. 2) and then to use a chisel (τῶν ἐκκοπέων, l. 4) in order to lift (the edges of a wound?) (ἐπιτέλει τὸν βαστά|[ζοντα], ll. 5-6). Two copulative particles μὲν and δὲ (ll. 6 and 7) may indicate the two consecutive phases of the surgery (‘on the one hand… on the other…’), showing that the text «ha una struttura espositiva ben delineata»,[7] as can also be seen by the use of three sequential adverbs τότε (‘then’, l. 1), εἶτα (‘next’, l. 3) and αἰφνίδιον (‘sudden’, l. 19). Subsequently, the surgeon had to go forward in trepanning until he had found a hollow (π]ροσεπιτρέπει τῷ τρυ|[πάνῳ]. . . ἕως κενεμβατεῖν, ll. 9-10); in the following line the name of a sharp chisel is legible (σμιλωτός ἐκκοπεύς, l. 11), although the very bad state of preservation of the lines which follow does not allow us to identify with certainty its appropriate use; however, in this case, parallels with indirect tradition are crucial for supplementing the text (see infra). Alongside a diplography (τῶν σιναρῶν, «of the damaged…», l. 14) and a reference to the patient (ὁ παθών, l. 14), lines 14-18 explain the post surgery protocol: there is a recommendation to put some lint over the wound and to continue with a suppurative therapy ([διαμό]τωσις ἐνκρείνεται καὶ ἡ πυοποιὸς |[θεραπ]εία, ll. 15-16), considering that (ἐκεῖνο δὲ εἰδέναι δεῖ ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ |[ ], l. 16) the abscesses ([τῶ]ν ἀποστημάτων μετὰ ὀλίγας, l. 17), we may infer, if not satisfactorily healed, would cause a new wound in a short time and increase the depth of the wound (] . αἰφνίδιον ὁρᾶ̣ι τὸ βάθος, l. 18).

In fr. A. col. ii very few terms are clearly legible, nevertheless we may suppose that the text deals with a fistulous sore (σῦριγξ, l. 5) that has a ‘mouth’, a cavity (στόμιον, l. 4) and has grown in depth (τῷ βάθει, l. 5) as in Heliod. ap. Orib. 44.20.65,[8] in which the three terms recur together as well.

In fr. B, two treatments of διόρθωσις (ll. 3 and 6) are possibly discussed: such a technical term may indicate a ‘reduction’ of a dislocation, but also a more generic ‘settlement, restoration’, as suggested by Fausti (1989) 159.

3. Lexical notes

The content of the papyrus could be of some interest considering its similarities with the indirect literary medical tradition;[9] this paragraph is going to point out some parallels, especially with Heliodorus[10] ap. Oribasius, because in some cases they are crucial for supplementing the text.

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[6] For details of the content, see the French version of Marganne (1998) 73-74.

[7] Fausti (1989) 159.

[8] CMG 6.2.1, 140.33-36 Raeder.

[9] Fausti (1989) 163: «Il lessico di P.Strasb. 1187 trova pienamente riscontro con quello dei medici del I/II secolo d.C. quali Eliodoro e Galeno ed anche con il molto più tardo Paolo Egineta».

[10] Information about Heliodorus is scarce and uncertain. He presumably *floruit* in the second half of the 1st century CE and allegedly belonged to the pneumatic school; he is mentioned by Iuv. 6.373 as a *castrator*, but his specialization was probably in surgery. He was author of various treatises, including the Χειρουργούμενα, known by indirect tradition mainly through Oribasius’ Collectiones medicae, except for the *explicit* of book 4, preserved by direct tradition in P.Münch. II 23, in which a *subscriptio* with Heliodorus’ name is clear legible; on P.Münch. II 23 see the main editions by Manetti (1986) and Marganne (1988) 96-109, and the comment by Marganne (1992). For a basic bibliography on Heliodorus see Crönert (1903); Deichgräber (1965); Diels (1908); Früchtel (1949); Gossen (1912); Kudlien (1967); Michler (1968) and (1986); Sigerist (1912); Tafuro (2004-2005); Wellmann (1895).

The occurrence of two technical surgical instruments, namely ἐκκοπεύς and τρύπανον (fr. A. col. i. ll. 9-10 and 14), is not so frequent in medical literature. Just seven occurrences are recorded in all, three of which are in Heliodorus ap. Oribasius;[11] all of them deal with the very same type of surgery that is bone –especially skull– surgery.[12]

Furthermore, the occurrence of the adjective σμιλιωτός deserves attention because of its editorial, linguistic, and lexical relevance. At line 13, Lewis (1936) 91 read]ν̣ῳ̣ δεῖ λιο\ω/των ἐκκοπέω(ν), accepting the scribal correction *supra lineam* as made «without erasure of the incorrect letter»; Lewis was thinking of a form of the adjective λειωτέων «to be smoothened». Nevertheless, that interpretation is problematic, since λειωτέων is quite a rare adjective, and it is never used with ἐκκοπεύς. Indeed, in the following critical edition, Fausti (1989) 160-162 transcribed τῶ]ν σ̣μ̣ειλιο\ω/των ἐκκοπέω(ν), based principally on Heliodorus ap. Oribasius. The word was thus read as an itacistic variant of σμιλιωτός (a very sharp chisel used for bone surgery, especially in case of injury of the head bones and in hand surgery), which is attested a few times in Greek literature, in three authors only: Dioscorides,[13] Heliodorus ap. Oribasius,[14] and Paulus of Aegina.[15] Given Dioscorides' and Heliodorus' chronological coincidence (both of them date back to the second half of the first century CE), it might be possible that the adjective was a linguistic neologism consequent to a technical innovation in the field of surgical instruments. The uncommonness of σμιλιωτός may have created some difficulties in the late copyists, as can be supposed from the phonetic variant in the text of the papyrus, and above all from the occurrences with different spellings in Paulus' tradition. Therefore, the spelling σμιλιωτός may be considered as the *lectio difficilior* and accepted for this reason.[16] The occurrence of σμιλιωτός in the text of P.Strasb. inv. 1187, which is dated to the second century CE, makes our papyrus the third earliest occurrence of such an adjective, and could have a crucial role in the attribution of the text to Heliodorus. On the other hand, the occurrence of the phrase σμιλιωτὸς ἐκκοπεύς in the literary excerpt of Heliodorus ap. Oribasius, which clearly refers to bone surgery, proves that the kind of

[11] The other occurrences are in Gal., Meth. med. 6.6 (10, 446.14-18–447.1-7 K.), Paul.Aeg. 6.77.3 (CMG 9.2, 119.26-30 Heiberg) and 6.88.5 (CMG 9.2, 132.17-22 Heiberg), and Paulus Nicaeensis, Liber medicus 106.7. In fact, there are some periphrastic expressions featuring the verb ἐκκόπτω in combination with τρύπανον, e.g. in Aët. 15.12,73-80 (37,11-18 Zervos).

[12] Heliod. ap. Orib., Coll. med. 46.11 (CMG 6.2.1, 220-222 Raeder) about the ῥωγμαί ('skull fractures'); Gal. ap. Orib., Coll. med. 46.21.15-16 (CMG 6.2.1, 229.18-22 Raeder) about the κατάγματα ('a certain type of fracture') and Heliod. ap. Orib., Coll. med. 46.29.8 (CMG 6.2.1, 239.27-31 Raeder) about ὀστώδους ἐπίφυσις ('bony excrescence').

[13] Dsc. 1.68: δευτερεύει […] καὶ ὁ σμιλιωτός, ὃν ἔνιοι κοπίσκον καλοῦσι, μικρότερον καὶ κιρρότερον ὄντα. In this case, σμιλιωτός is referred to a particular kind of incense, the λίβανος (*Boswellia Carterii*), also called κοπίσκος, less fine than the white one. The terms σμιλιωτός and κοπίσκον indicate the specific shape of the incense's leafs, sharp as a σμιλίον, 'scalpel', and pointy as a κοπίς, 'sting of a scorpion', see Ghiretti (2010) 65.

[14] Occurrences of σμιλιωτὸς ἐκκοπεύς in Heliodorus are found in Orib., Coll.med. 46.11.16-18 (CMG 6.2.1, 221.2-13 Raeder) and 46.12.2 (CMG 6.2.1, 222.24-32 Raeder) about a fracture, περὶ ἐγκοπῆς; 46.22.16 (CMG 6.2.1, 234.3-7 Raeder) about caries in the skull bones, τερηδών; 46.29.8-10 (CMG 6.2.1, 239.27-35 Raeder) about a bone excrescence, ἐπίφυσις; 47.15.5 (CMG 6.2.1, 259.2-5 Raeder) about a supernumerary finger; 47.17.4 (CMG 6.2.1, 259.33-35 Raeder), about removing a stuck ring.

[15] Three are the occurrences of σμιλιωτός in Paulus of Aegina: with *sigma* and *iota*, referred to a elliptical substantive e.g. ὄργανον (Paul.Aeg. 6.28.1 [CMG 9.2, 66.7-10 Heiberg]); with the different spelling μηλιωτός (see LSJ[9] 160 s.v.): Paul.Aeg. 6.90.4 (CMG 9.2, 139.16-20 Heiberg) and μηλιωτῶν ἐκκοπέων (Paul.Aeg. 6.90.5 [CMG 9.2, 140.6-10 Heiberg]). Nevertheless, Bliquez (2015) 193 provides a different interpretation of this adjective: «[*g*]*omphoter* suggests a bolt- or nail-like punch, which may be the same as the chisel mentioned by Paul as μηλιωτός, i.e. a chisel round and pointed like a simple probe», adding in footnote: «[t]his makes more sense than taking μηλιωτός as a variant of σμιλιωτός, as do LSJ».

[16] See Ghiretti (2010) 66.

surgery described in P.Strasb. inv. 1187 also dealt with a bone (skull?) surgery,[17] perhaps complicated by abscess and fistula, despite the lack of further specific information in the papyrus.

Also the second part of the papyrus text (fr. A. col. i. ll. 14-18) contains several parallels with Heliodorus' indirect tradition. The use of a linen bandage after a bone surgery performed with an ἐκκοπεύς as described in the papyrus is also attested in Paulus;[18] furthermore, the combined use of a διαμότωσις 'bandage' and a πυοποιὸς θεραπεία (or φάρμακος, or ἀγωγή) 'suppurative therapy' to help the regrowth of flesh after an operation is attested in Aëtius[19] and in three excerpts of Heliodorus ap. Oribasius.[20] In fr. A. col. ii the text deals with a case of fistula (σῦριγξ, l. 5; στόμιον, l. 4, 'mouth of the fistula', τῷ βάθει, 'in deep'), just as Heliod. ap. Orib. 44.20.65,[21] in which all the three terms recur together.

4. The digital edition

Due to the borderline nature of the Greek medical papyri, mainly categorized in that unclear zone between documentary and literary texts, which is called paraliterary or subliterary,[22] they were not systematically included –except for very sporadic cases– in the main papyrological online database, the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri, which has always been focused on documents. The project CPGM ("Corpus dei papiri greci di medicina") has tried to bridge this gap, as the paper by Nicola Reggiani in this volume shows.[23]

Digital editions are encoded in Leiden+,[24] which is a user-friendly markup language, by means of which a scholar can annotate the text with critical marks inspired by the Leiden editorial conventions and a set of labels indicating linguistic variants, scribal or modern corrections, alternative readings, and other textual features that are automatically transformed into TEI/EpiDOC-compliant XML strings by the SoSOL interface of Papyri.info.[25] This

[17] For the identification of this operation with a skull surgery see Bertonazzi (2018), in which, in addition to the discussion about P.Strasb. inv. 1187, the most relevant Greek medical texts dealing with skull surgery from the *Corpus Hippocraticum* and *Galenicum* are presented, showing how technical innovations in surgical instruments have been able to improve the performing of trepanning from fifth-fourth century BC to the second century AD. An unexpected evidence from Fidenae (near Rome), dated to the second century AD, showed in a 5-6 year-old-child's skull clear traces of a cranial surgery carried out with the same technique and tools explained in medical literature; in particular, the gouge (ἐκκοπεύς) probably used for this surgery is very similar to one model found in the *Domus* 'del Chirurgo' in Ariminum.

[18] Paul.Aeg. 6.90.5 (CMG 9.2, 140.6-10 Heiberg).

[19] Aët. 16.45.1-3 (62.8-10 Zervos).

[20] All the three passages belong to the paragraph about trauma therapy, in which some skull bone surgeries are described and the σμιλιωτὸς ἐκκοπεύς is mentioned: 46.8.4-5 (CMG 6.2.1, 217.32-35– 218.1-4 Raeder); 46.8.10-11 (CMG 6.2.1, 218.16-26 Raeder). It is said that the suppurative therapy is the least dangerous healing method after an incision: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιδιαίρεσιν οἱ μὲν ῥαφαῖς ἐχρήσαντο, οἱ δὲ διαμοτώσει καὶ τῇ ἀκολούθῳ πυοποιῷ θεραπείᾳ. σύντομος μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἡ ἔναιμος ἀγωγή, ἄνευ βλάβης δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ ἀφλέγμαντος καὶ πυοποιός θεραπεία (Heliod. ap. Orib., Coll.med. 46.8.14 [CMG 6.2.1, 218.30-33 Raeder]), Fausti (1989) 165: «dopo l'incisione alcuni si servono di suturazioni, altri di tamponi e della successiva terapia suppurante; la più veloce è la terapia che prescrive di far uscire il sangue dalle ferite, ma quella antinfiammatoria e suppurante è meno dannosa».

[21] CMG 6.2.1, 140.33-36 Raeder.

[22] Cf. Huys / Nodar (2007).

[23] See also his monograph on methods and tools for digitizing ancient papyri, Reggiani (2017), providing further bibliography on the topics mentioned here. For other references to digital papyrology, online resources and new projects see e.g. Andorlini / Reggiani (2012); Bagnall (2010) and (2012); Delattre / Heilporn (2014); Reggiani (2012), (2015) and (2016).

[24] More specific guidelines can be found online: for the Leiden+ language see http://papyri.info/docs/leiden_plus; for XML see EpiDoc http://www.stoa.org/epidoc/gl/latest/intro-intro.html.

[25] See Sosin (2010) and Baumann (2013).

markup language allows all registered users, even those who are not so skilled at information technology, to edit a papyrus online. The Leiden+ tags also automatically produce a critical apparatus, which contains the main philological information only –therefore it is not intended to replace the traditional printed editions, but rather to provide an updated and accessible first overview of the texts.[26] The texts are provided with integrated information metadata sourced from the Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens (HGV), Trismegistos (TM), the Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS), and – for the only case of the literary and paraliterary papyri– the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB via TM).

The Parma project brings many benefits, starting from the possibility of having the texts available in an online, open-access platform, thus granting free access to any scholar; moreover, an online edition is much easier to update than a printed one: every text may be corrected, updated, revised, or improved in whichever manner by registered users, and an editorial board always supervises the editing process and controls that required standards are followed in order to ensure quality. All changes are saved into a history log, which is available to the users at all times. Some temporary drawbacks, such as a still imperfect display of some features tagged (e.g. in-line *ekthesis* or *eisthesis*), are of secondary importance as long as the text is correctly encoded in Leiden+/XML syntax. Last but not least, the digital edition of medical papyri stems from the collation of all available printed editions of each text, being therefore a commented, reasoned, and critical summary overview of the state of the art on each item.

There are four main sections in a typical digital edition of a medical papyrus as uploaded in the Papyrological Navigator. First comes the front matter (fig. 1), which precedes the text and explains physical characteristics of the papyrus, layout features, content, paleographical analysis and (hypothesis of) dating. The second part is the annotated text itself (figs. 2, 6 and 7), by which, through the appropriate tags, the *apparatus criticus* is created (third part, fig. 3). The fourth and last part is a line-by-line commentary (fig. 4), mostly used to annotate parallels with literary tradition and/or all notes that cannot be included in the text by means of tags. The most striking textual features, i.e. linguistic variants, alternative readings, ancient and modern corrections, etc. are noted in the apparatus through the specific tagging, as presented below.

a. Linguistic variants

Linguistic variants are important for evaluating the degree of literacy or other various sociolinguistic factors which influenced the ancient scribe. In our text, the most frequent cases are –as usual– the phonetic ones, which fall into well-known phenomena of the spoken Greek as attested in the papyri,[27] and are marked with the usual 'regularization' tag |reg|, e.g.:

Fr. A. col. i. l. 8 <:οὐκ|reg|οὐχ:>

[26] The fact that the *apparatus criticus* in digital editions on Papyri.info cannot replace entirely the printed version is true in case of (para)literary, and specifically medical papyri, due to the present difficulty in encoding some philological features, such as textual variants (see Reggiani [2018] 37 with footnote 146). Issues in the apparatus arise also in case of born-digital editions of documentary papyri as well: as Berkes (2018) 79-80 pointed out, it has not been possible, so far, to represent abbreviations in the apparatus as in the printed edition. Although the availability of high quality images could partially solve this issue, however the lack of suitable encoding of abbreviations is still preventing the full searchability of these.

[27] Cf. e.g. Gignac (GGP I 189-91) for the Roman age and Mayser (GGP I 87-94) for the Ptolemaic period. All types of textual irregularities in the documentary papyri are now recorded in the searchable database http://www.trismegistos.org/textirregularities/.

(XML <choice><reg>οὐκ</reg><orig><unclear>ο</unclear>ὐχ</orig></choice>)

Fr. A. col. i. l. 11<:<:σμιλιωτῶν|reg|σ̣μ̣ειλι\ω/τῶν:>|subst|σ̣μ̣ειλιοτῶν:>
(for XML syntax see f. infra)

Fr. A. col. i. l. 15 <:ἐγκρίνεται|reg|ἐνκρείνεται:>
(XML <choice><reg>ἐγκρίνεται</reg><orig>ἐνκρείνεται</orig></choice>)

Fr. A. col. ii. l. 3 <:καθίεται|reg|καθείεται:>
(XML <choice><reg>καθίεται</reg><orig>καθείεται</orig></choice>)

Fr. B, l. 3 <:διορθώσει|reg|δειορθώσει:>
(XML <choice><reg>διορθώσει</reg><orig>δειορθώσει</orig></choice>)

b. Outright scribal mistakes

Plain writing mistakes by the scribe, on the contrary, are marked by means of the 'correction' tag |corr|, such as the following verbal form:

Fr. A. col. i. l. 8 <:ἀποδίδοται|corr|ἀποδίδ̣εται:>
(XML<choice><reg>ἀποδίδοται</reg><orig>ἀποδίδ<unclear>ε</unclear>ται</orig></choic
e>)

c. Previous and alternative readings

In digitizing medical (and, in general, literary and / or paraliterary) papyri, the deployment of the 'alternative' |alt| and 'editorial' |ed| tags is usually more frequent than in treating documentary texts, in order to emphasize all reading variants of philological interest across all the extant editions. For the purpose of stressing the stratification of editions and making them as clear as possible, the basic |ed| tag can be further specified with indications of responsibility ('resp' attribute) such as =ed.pr., =ed.alt., =ed.ter., or =editor's name, which come to replace the default label 'prev.ed.' that is automatically displayed in the apparatus to indicate previous readings.

Fr. A. col. i. ll. 6-7 <:ἐργα.1
7.- [.?]|ed|ἐργασ7.- μένα=ed.pr.:> <:α̣θων||ed||[ἐ]λ̣θών=ed.pr.|[π]α̣θών=Fausti:>
(XML <lem>ἐργα<gap reason="illegible" quantity="1" unit="character"/><lb n="7"
break="no" xml:id="div1-div1-lb10"/><gap reason="lost" extent="unknown" unit=
"character"/></lem><rdg resp="ed.pr.">ἐργασ<lb n="7" break="no"/>μένα</rdg>
</app> <app type="editorial"><lem><unclear>α</unclear>θων</lem><rdg resp=
"ed.pr."><supplied reason="lost">ἐ</supplied><unclear>λ</unclear>θών</rdg>
<rdg resp="Fausti"><supplied reason="lost">π</supplied><unclear>α</unclear>
θών</rdg></app>)

Fr. A. col. i. l. 14 <:<:ν|alt|[τῶ]ν:> σιναρῶν|ed|α̣ισι ναίων=ed.pr.:>
(XML <lem>ν</lem><rdg><supplied reason="lost">τῶ</supplied>ν</rdg></app>
σιναρῶν</lem><rdg resp="ed.pr."> <unclear>α</unclear>ισι ναίων</rdg></app>)

Multiple nested tags are possible, i.e. complex syntax where one or more tags can be inserted into a similar or different tags to mark several annotation layers on the same textual string, as in the following case of an 'alternative reading' within a 'regularization':

Fr. A. col. I. l. 15 <:<:ἐγχρίεται|alt|ἐγχραίνεται:>|reg|ἐνχρείνεται:>
(XML <lem>ἐγχρίεται</lem><rdg>ἐγχραίνεται</rdg></app></reg><orig>ἐνχρείνεται
</orig></choice>)

d. Abbreviations

The papyrus exhibits two cases of allegedly abbreviated words which have been the object of interpretative discussion. At ll. 11 and 14 two ν overlined with a horizontal stroke (belonging to a plural genitive and a nominative respectively: -ω̄) are clearly legible; these strokes are abbreviation marks according to Fausti (1989) 158 *contra* Marganne (1998) 68, following the *editio princeps* for the latter, which supplies the ν as omitted by the scribe, in angle brackets. The presence of the overline strongly suggests that we are indeed dealing with abbreviated words: therefore, although as a rule I rely on the more recent edition, I have in this case chosen to follow the *editio altera*, marking the abbreviations according to the current Leiden+ conventions, while at the same time preserving the reading of the *editio tertia* in an |ed| tag:

l. 11 <:(ἐκκοπέω(ν))|ed|ἐκκοπέω<ν>=ed.alt.:>
(XML <expan>ἐκκοπέω<ex>ν</ex></expan>)

l. 14 <:(παθώ(ν))|ed|παθώ<ν>=ed.pr., ed.alt.:>
(XML <expan>παθώ<ex>ν</ex></expan>)

e. Diplography

A single case of diplography occurs in the text at line 14; in Leiden+ language, it is expressed with the traditional Leiden braces, which generate the specific XML 'surplus' tag:

{τῶν σιναρῶν} (XML <surplus>τῶν σιναρῶν</surplus>).

f. Final appearance

The final layout of the whole text marked with the Leiden+ language is shown in figs. 6 and 7. As can be noticed, simple tags, such as regularization (l. 8 <:οὐκ|reg|οὐχ:>) or previous readings (l. 10 <:.3 εως κενεμβατεῖν ε|ed|υμεστωσκεν ἐμβατεῖ νε=ed.pr.:>) are perfectly clear in both their presentation and meaning. In the case of multiple nested tags, however, some problems may arise when encoding into a single string of text more and more information that would normally be conveyed by a traditional apparatus, as in line 15:

<:[διαμό]τωσις <:ἐγκρίνεται|reg|ἐνκρείνεται:> καὶ ἡ πυοποιὸς|ed|[μό]τωσις
<:<:ἐγχρίεται|alt|ἐγχραίνεται:>|reg|ἐνχρείνεται:> καὶ .5 ποῖος=ed.pr.:>

In some (fortunately rare!) cases, the tags are so nested that the current stylesheet that manages the conversion from XML to HTML does not render a 100% correct display in the apparatus. The following example is telling: an ancient scribal correction with insertion of a letter *supra lineam* was read differently by two editors, so that they offer two different interpretations, one of which involves a regularization. The results shown in the previous platform Papyri.info, as illustrated in fig. 8, did not really make any sense. After the migration of all the digital editions of medical papyri into DCLP (hosted in the new platform Litpap.info) the stylesheet displays this line in the correct way.

<:<:<:σμιλιωτῶν|reg|σ̣μ̣ειλι\ω/τῶν:>|subst|σ̣μ̣ειλιοτῶν:>|ed|ν̣ῳ
δεῖ<:λι\ω/των|subst|λιοτων:>=ed.pr.:>
(XML <lem><subst><add place="inline"><choice><reg>σμιλιωτῶν</reg><orig>
<unclear>σμ</unclear>ειλι<add place="above">ω</add>τῶν</orig></choice>
</add><del rend="corrected"><unclear>σμ</unclear>ειλιοτῶν</del></subst>
</lem><rdg resp="ed.pr."><unclear>νω</unclear> δεῖ<subst><add place="inline">
λι<add place="above">ω</add>των</add><del rend="corrected">λιοτων</del>
</subst></rdg> </app>)

As already envisaged and outlined by Reggiani (2015) and (2016), some further implementations of the digital editions of medical texts are under consideration, in order to take into account sets of information that «have been pointed out as potentially useful sources of information concerning Greek medical papyri»[28] but are, at present, poorly or not supported at all by the current platforms.

g. Technical terms

Annotation of special terms would be of the utmost relevance for medical papyri, which, as technical texts, exhibit a special vocabulary pertaining to the technical language of medicine. Currently, we proceed by just hyperlinking technical terms commented in the front matter of the line-by line commentary to external pages, namely the *lemmata* of the Medicalia Online platform;[29] for a single example see the front matter of P.Ross.Georg. I 20 (fig. 5), in which technical terms like ἐρωταπόκρισις,[30] πτερύγιον and σταφύλωμα are linked to the relative lexical record.[31] In P.Strasb. inv. 1187 ἐκκοπεύς and τρύπανον are key-terms provided with specific *lemmata*.[32]

h. Linguistic annotation

Linguistic annotation of documentary papyri has recently been undertaken on a scale which is both systematic and collaborative thanks to the project Sematia conducted by Marja Vierros at Helsinki;[33] annotation of literary papyri had already been applied to the Herculaneum papyri by Daniel Riaño Rufilanchas and Holger Essler.[34] Annotating medical papyri linguistically, and especially from the syntactic viewpoint, would bring an invaluable improvement to the knowledge of the language and structure of ancient medical texts. Suffice it to recall the syntactic structure of P.Strasb. inv. 1187, which appears to be quite well delineated, by both correlatives (μὲν… δὲ…, ll. 6 and 7), and temporal adverbs (τότε, 'then', l. 1; εἶτα, 'next', l. 3; αἰφνίδιον, 'sudden', l. 19). In this case, for example, a syntactic analysis, facilitated by some sort of linguistic annotation like e.g. a treebank, might show the structure of the text more clearly and eventually help parallel the content of the papyrus against Heliodorus' excerpts as preserved by both direct and indirect tradition (if not to support the authorial identification of the text itself, as suggested in the Introduction above).

[28] Reggiani (2015) 343.
[29] Medicalia Online is an electronic lexical database dealing with the technical terms of Greek medical papyri, linked to the main CPGM core; for the presentation of the online Medical Encyclopaedia, see the paper of Isabella Bonati in this volume.
[30] For a minimal bibliography on the genre of catechism, see at least Andorlini (1999); Hanson (2003); Ieraci Bio (1995); Leith (2009); Zalateo (1964), and papers of Bonati (forthcoming) and Reggiani (forthcoming) at the International Congress "Where Does it Hurt? Ancient Medicine in Question and Answers" (30-31 August 2016, Leuven), as well as the lemma 'Catechism':
http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/CPGM/medicalia/vocab/index.php?tema=8&/catechism
[31] http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/CPGM/medicalia/vocab/index.php?tema=8 (ἐρωταπόκρισις),
http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/CPGM/medicalia/vocab/index.php?tema=128 (πτερύγιον),
http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/CPGM/medicalia/vocab/index.php?tema=21 (σταφύλωμα).
[32] See the newly created lemmata:
http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/CPGM/medicalia/vocab/index.php?tema=189&/n (ἐκκοπεύς),
http://www.papirologia.unipr.it/CPGM/medicalia/vocab/index.php?tema=190&/yny (τρύπανον).
[33] Vierros / Henriksson (2017). See also the website http://sematia.hum.helsinki.fi.
[34] Essler / Riaño Rufilanchas (2013). In general on linguistic annotation of papyri see Reggiani (2017) § 7.1.

i. Literary references and parallels

At the present stage of development, it is not possible to specify literary references or parallels directly through tags in the text (except for a very basic way of indicating supplied parallels), so they are inserted in the line-by-line commentary (with future plans of hyperlinking them to the appropriate passages in literary databases such as TLG or other kinds of textual repositories like the Corpus Medicorum Graecorum online). As indicated by the guidelines of the Parma project, two cases only are currently to be added in the commentary: a) parallels useful to reconstruct the integrity of the text, e.g. the case of Fr. A. col. i. ll. 3-4, in which Marganne supplies a form of the verb διακόπτω ('cut through') based on Heliod. ap. Orib., Coll.med. 46.8.7 (CMG 6.2.1, 123.2-3 Raeder); b) excerpts that are relevant due to striking analogies between the papyrus and the manuscript/indirect tradition, as shown supra (fig. 4).

5. Conclusion

Being part of the digital Corpus of Greek Medical Papyri (CPGM) and having been merged to the platform of literary texts (DCLP), the digital critical edition of P.Strasb. inv. 1187 offers the possibility to rely on an open-access, peer-reviewed and constantly updated text online, which completes and summarizes the previous printed editions without replacing them completely, whilst providing a more integrated and mutual enrichment through currently developing features such as the links to the Medicalia Online platform and future improvements involving literary parallels and syntactic analysis. As discussed by Nicola Reggiani in his contribution here, significant work has been done to adapt the Leiden+ language, more suitable for documentary papyri, to literary ones; however, some points still need to be improved. The Digital Corpus of Greek Medical Papyri reached an important goal, but several challenges are still to be faced for future enhancement and knowledge.

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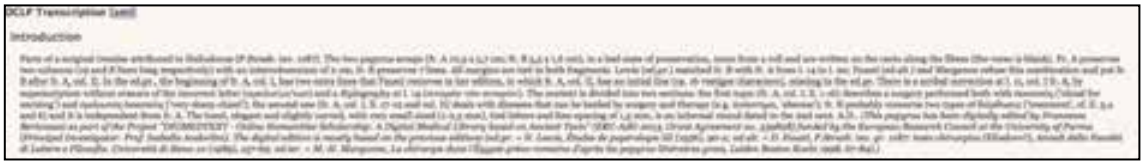
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Plates


DCLP Transcription (until)

Introduction

Fig. 1 Front matter commentary

fragment a

column I

-- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --
1 [-ca.?-] . . [σ]ιναρὰς τότε
[-ca.?-] ἐφώρασεν τρῆμα
[-ca.?-]νων εἶτα διὰ τῆς
[-ca.?- τ]ῶν ἐκκοπέων δια-
5 [-ca.?-] ἐπιτέλει τὸν βαστα-
[-ca.?-] τὰ μὲν τὰ ἔργα -
[-ca.?-] αθων· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν
[-ca.?-]ν οὐχ ἀποδίδεται μα-
[-ca.?- π]ροσεπιτρέπει τῷ τρυ-
10 [πάνῳ -ca.?-] . . ἐως κενεμβατεῖν ε-
[-ca.?- τῶ]ν σμειλι\ω/τῶν ἐκκοπέω(ν)
[-ca.?-] . . . ιν δι' ἑνὸς τῶν βα-
[-ca.?-] . . γ . . . τω . . ε βαστα-
[-ca.?-] . ν σιναρῶν (τῶν σιναρῶν) ὁ παθώ(ν)
15 [διαμό]τωσις ἐνκρείνεται καὶ ἡ πυοποιὸς
[θερατ]εία· ἐκεῖνο δὲ εἰδέναι δεῖ ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ
[-ca.?- τῶ]ν ἀποστημάτων μετὰ ὀλίγας τα.
[-ca.?-] . αἰφνίδιον ὁρᾶται τὸ βάθος ἀνα-
[-ca.?-] – ca.30 –
-- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --

column II

-- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --
1 – ca.16 – [-ca.?-]
γων μετὰ τὸν οικε . . [-ca.?-]
τισμον καθείεται . π . [-ca.?-]
μα διὰ τ[οῦ] στομίου . [-ca.?-]
5 γως τῷ βάθει τῆς σ[ύ]ρι[γγος -ca.?-]
τὰ πεπονθότα τῆς [-ca.?-]
γενομένης . [-ca.?-]
[-ca.?-] . . [-ca.?-]
-- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --

fragment b

-- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --
1 [-ca.?-] των . εντω . . [-ca.?-]
[-ca.?-] . νυ . τιωνας μὲν ει . . [-ca.?-]
[-ca.?-] . . . . . εδωκέναι τῇ διορθώσει καὶ [-ca.?-]
[-ca.?-] – ca.9 – ε συντετρημένας διορθω[-ca.?- -ca.?-]
5 [-ca.?-]θ . υ . τητους· ἡμεῖν δὲ ἀρέσκει π[-ca.?-]
[-ca.?-]οττα . ειν [τ]ῇ διορθώσει . . υ . εδ . [-ca.?-]
[-ca.?-] . . [-ca.?-]
-- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --

Fig. 2 Text



Apparatus

^ a.l.2. ἐφώρησεν ed.pr.
^ a.l.4. or [ἀκμῆς τῶν σμειλιωτ]ῶν
^ a.l.4–5. or δια|κοπ- [-ca.?-]
^ a.l.5–6. βαστά|ζοντα ed.pr.
^ a.l.6–7. ἐργασ|μένα ed.pr.
^ a.l.7. [ἐ]λθών ed.pr. : [π]αθών Fausti
^ a.l.8. or [λοιπῶ]ν
^ a.l.8. l. οὐκ
^ a.l.8. l. ἀποδίδοται
^ a.l.10. υμεστωσκεν ἐμβατεῖ νε ed.pr.
^ a.l.11. corr. ex σμειλιοτῶν, νῳ δεῖλι\ω/των (ωλι\ω/των corr. ex λιοτων) ed.pr.
^ a.l.13. ενατωαστου τὸ δὲ ed.pr.
^ a.l.13–14. βάστα14.–[γμα] ed.pr.
^ a.l.14. or [τῶ]ν, αισι ναίων ed.pr.
^ a.l.14. παθώ<ν> ed.pr.
^ a.l.15. l. ἐγκρίνεται, [μό]τωσις ἐνχρείνεται (l. ἐγχρίεται (or ἐγχραίνεται)) καὶ . . . . . ποῖος ed.pr.
^ a.l.17. [-ca.?-]ενα τι ὅστις λαγὼν μετὰ ὀλίγας ταῖς ed.pr.
^ a.l.18. ἀνδ ed.pr.
^ a.II.2–3. οἰκέω[ν] ed.pr. : οἰκε[ῖον σχημα]|τισμόν Fausti
^ a.II.3. l. καθίεται, τι ἐμὸν καθεῖρται . . . . ed.pr.
^ a.II.4. τοὺς τομίους ed.pr.
^ a.II.5. ευτι ed.pr
^ b.1. τῶν ἐν τῶ α ed.pr.
^ b.2. στ . . . τῶν ἃς μὲν εἴτε ν . ed.pr.
^ b.3. γμα . ιεν . ωκεναι ed.pr.
^ b.3. l. διορθώσει
^ b.4. διορθώ[σει] ed.pr.
^ b.5. . . . ατητους prev. ed.
^ b.6. . επα . τειν ed.pr.
^ b.6. . . . εδι ed.pr.
^ b.7. ἐν ed.pr.

Fig. 3 Apparatus



Notes

Fig. 4 Line-by-line commentary

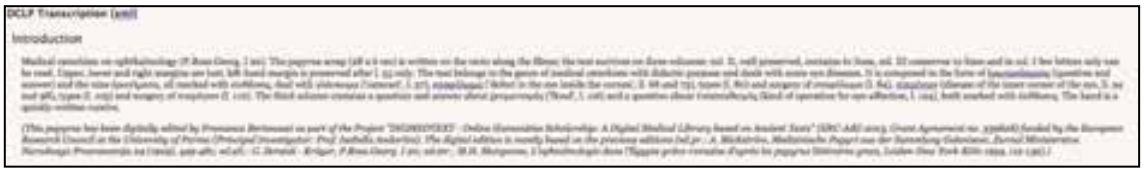


Fig. 5 Front matter of P.Ross.Georg. I 20, in which some technical terms are linked to the lemma in the lexical databank Medicalia Online.



```
<S=.grc
<D=.a.fragment
<D=.l.column
<=
1. lost.?lin
1. [.?] .3 [σ]εναρὰς τότε
2. [.?] <:ἐφώρασεν|ed|ἐφώρησεν=ed.pr.:> τρῆμα
3. [.?]νων εἶτα διὰ τῆς
4. <:[.?] [τ]ῶν|alt|[ἀκμῆς τῶν σμελιωτ]ῶν:> ἐκκοπέων <:δια
5.- [.?]|alt|δια5.- κοπ- [.?] > ἐπιτέλει τὸν <:βαστα
6.- [.?]|ed|βαστά6.- ζοντα=ed.pr.:> .1 τὰ μὲν τὰ <:ἐργα.1
7.- [.?]|ed|ἐργασ7.- μένα=ed.pr.:> <:σθων|ed|[ἐ]λθών=ed.pr.|[π]αθών=Faust|:>· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν
8. <:[.?]ν|alt|[λοιπῶν:> <:οὐκ|reg|οὐχ:> < ἀποδίδοται|reg|ἀποδίδεται:> μα
9.- [.?] [π]ροσπιτρέπει τῷ τρυ
10.- [πάνυ] [.?] <:.3 εως κενεμβατεῖν ε|ed|υμαστωσεν ἐμβατεῖ να=ed.pr.:>
11.- [.?] [τῶ]ν <:<:<:σμιλιωτῶν|reg|σμελι\ω/τῶν:>|subst|σμελιωτῶν:>|ed|νῳ δεῖ<:λι\ω/των|subst|λιοτων:>=ed.pr.:> (ἐκκοπέων|v|)
12. [.?] .3 ιν δι' ἑνὸς τῶν βα
13.- [.?] <:.2 γ .3 τω .2 ε|ed|ενατωαστου τὸ δὲ=ed.pr.:> <:βαστα
14.- [.?]|ed|βάστα14.-|γμα|=ed.pr.:> .1 <:<:v|alt|[τῶ]ν:> σιναρῶν|ed|αιση ναίων=ed.pr.:> (τῶν σιναρῶν) ὁ <:(παθών|v|)|ed|παθὼ<v>=ed.pr.:>
15. <:[διαμό]πωσις <:ἐγκρίνεται|reg|ἐνκρίνεται:> καὶ ἡ πυοποιὸς|ed|[μό]πωσις <:<:ἐγκρίεται|alt|ἐγκραίνεται:>|reg|ἐνκρίνεται:> καὶ .5 ποῖος=ed.pr.:>
16. [θερα]πεία· ἐκεῖνο δὲ εἰδέναι δεῖ ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῦ
17. [.?] <:[τῶ]ν ἀποστημάτων μετὰ ὀλίγας τα|ed|[.?]ντα τι ὅστις λαγὼν μετὰ ὀλίγας ταῖς=ed.pr.:>.
18. [.?] .1 αἰφνίδιον ὁράται τὸ βάθος <:ἀνα|ed|ἀνὸ=ed.pr.:>
19.- [.?] .30
19. lost.?lin
=>
=D>
<D=.ll.column
<=
1. lost.?lin
1. .16 [.?]
2. γων μετὰ τὸν <:οιιε .2|ed|οἰκείω[ν]=ed.pr.|οἰκε[ῖον σχῆμα]3.- τισμόν=Faust|:> [.?]
3. <:τισμον <:καθίεται|reg|καθείεται:> .1 π .1|ed|τι ἐμὸν καθεῖραι .4=ed.pr.:> [.?]
4. μα διὰ <:τ|οῦ| στομίου .1|ed|τοὺς τομίους=ed.pr.:> [.?]
5. γως τῷ βάθει τῆς <:σ|ώ|ρ|γγος|ed|ευτι=ed.pr.:> [.?]
6. τὰ πεπονθότα τῆς [.?]
7. γενομένης .1 [.?]
8. [.?] .2 [.?]
8. lost.?lin
=>
=D>
```

Fig. 6 Final appearance of the Leiden+-marked text, Fr. A.

```
<D=.b.fragment
<=
1. lost.?lin
1. <:[.?] τ̣ων .1 εντω .2|ed|τ̣ῶ̣ν ἐ̣ν τ̣ῷ̣ α=ed.pr.:> [.?]
2. <:[.?] .1 νυ .1 τ̣ι̣ωνας μ̣ὲ̣ν ε̣ι̣ .2|ed|στ .3 τῶν ἃς μ̣ὲ̣ν ε̣ἴτε ν .1=ed.pr.:> [.?]
3. <:[.?] .5 εδωκέναι|ed|γ̣μ̣α̣ .1 ι̣εν .1 ωκεναι=ed.pr.:> τῇ <:διορθώσει|reg|δειορθώσει:> καὶ [.?]
4. [.?] .9 ε συντετρημένας <:διορθω̣[.?]|ed|διορθώ̣[σει]=ed.pr.:> [.?]
5. [.?]<:θ̣ .1 υ .1 τητους|ed|.3 ατητους:>· ἡμεῖν δὲ ἀρέσκει π[.?]
6. [.?]<:ο̣π̣τ̣α̣ .1 ειν|ed|.1 ε̣π̣α̣ .1 τ̣ειν=ed.pr.:> [τ]ῇ̣ διορθώσει <:.2 υ .1 εδ .1|ed|.2 ε̣δ̣ι̣=ed.pr.:> [.?]
7. [.?] <:.2|ed|ε̣ν=ed.pr.:> [.?]
7. lost.?lin
=>
=D>
```

Fig. 7 Final appearance of the Leiden+-marked text, Fr. B

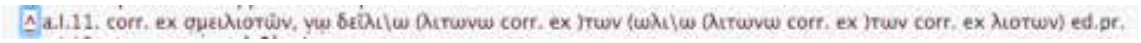


Fig. 8 Preview of a particularly nested tag, with display issues